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Austronesian Personal Naming Systems

Guest Editors

Kun-hui Ku

and

Lamont Lindstrom

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NAMES REDUX: PERSON, STRUCTURE, CHANGE

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Naming systems are evergreen targets of anthropological attention. Names simultaneously individuate and associate. They plug people into their encompassing social structures, thereby exposing local understandings of persons and the durability of groups. Anthropologists have inspected personal names and naming systems at least since the compilation of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (Garson and Read 1892: 157–59), and descriptions of names and naming practices are scattered in many subsequent ethnographies. Austronesian naming systems caught notable anthropological attention in the 1940s. Both mid-century phenomenology and structuralism, theoretical shadows of each other, had boosted comparative interest in persons and in social systems. On the existential side of things, French missionary-ethnographer Maurice Leenhardt argued that New Caledonian Kanak personhood was relational or, as this would also come to be called, partible. Making this claim, Leenhardt drew partly on Kanak naming systems. In every island relationship, "the person assumes a different aspect which requires a new name or surname. No single name includes him entirely. Each name represents him in one of his kinship or mythic relationships" (1979, 155).

Later, from a counterpart structuralist perspective, Claude Lévi-Strauss likewise pursued systematic aspects of names within *Pensée Sauvage*,

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wherein proper names are "a means of allotting positions in a system admitting of several dimensions" (1966, 187). Among the Paiwan and Bunun of Taiwan, on Tanna, as in many other Austronesian societies, for example, new acquaintances might ask each other (where such asking is polite), "Who is your name?" A name in these societies is not a thing—a "what"—but rather a personage, or a structural position that a name bearer fills while he or she carries that name. Appellatives identify persons, as persons, but also as slots or locations within social systems. Thus, "there is an imperceptible transition from names to titles, which is connected not with any intrinsic property of the terms in question but with their structural role in a classificatory system from which it would be vain to claim to separate them" (1966, 190). Even should a person receive a name that does not specifically locate him or her within some existing group structure, that act of naming nonetheless reveals the individual's given social connection with his or her namer.

Names and naming systems continue to tantalize. Dissected properly, they can reveal much about persons, systems, and persons in systems. A stream of naming system analyses continues to flow. Notable recent contributions include Chave-Dartoen, Leguy, and Monnerie (2012); Harrisson (2006); Ku (2006, 2010); Lindstrom (2011); Monnerie (2003, 2012a, 2012b); Moutu (2013); Pina-Cabral (2013); Roth (2006); vom Bruck and Bodenhorn (2006); and Yangwen and Macdonald (2010). This collection, too, offers additional comment on naming systems from several locales in the Pacific, Southeast Asia, and Madagascar, where Austronesian languages dominate.[1] Shared linguistic (and presumably cultural) heritage underlies the diversity of contemporary naming practices in these societies. Attempting to make sense of Austronesian naming systems in Southeast Asia, Macdonald counted at least three basic classes but concluded that this typology was still "very far from being a complete typology" of regional systems (2010, 96). Building on a solid foundation of previous work and remarking continuing interest in names and naming, our own contributions explore ways in which Austronesian naming systems afford broader understanding of that region's cultures, including relationships among names, identity, and personhood; naming and structural reproduction; and how changing naming practices portend reconfigurations of persons and systems in the contemporary world.

"Name" (*ŋajan) is among the 1,400 Proto-Austronesian words reconstructed to date. Ancestral speakers of these languages, like all humans, have been in the naming business since their shared beginnings and, no doubt, considerably before. Linguistically, the second richest in languages and of broadest geographic distribution (at least in the precolonial era), the Austronesian language family covers at lot of ground. We offer a collection of case studies of naming systems from here and there within that range from

communities in Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Chuuk (Federated States of Micronesia), Sarawak (Malaysia), Taiwan, and Madagascar. These reports from the field investigate the tripartite interconnection of name, structure, and person.

Several of our analyses focus on ongoing alterations in naming systems. Names, like coal mine canaries, can signal erosion and transformation of existing social structures and forms of personhood. All communities we describe have been deeply affected over the past several centuries by incorporation into encompassing colonial and global systems. Attention to changing practices of naming (including increasing evidence of "self-naming") helps track renovations in both Austronesian persons and groups.

Given constitutive connections among name, person, and structure, all our cases address aspects pertinent to these three sides of naming systems. To introduce our cases' principle descriptive and analytical objectives, however, we summarize their particular contributions to our main themes of social structure and its reproduction, personhood, names as resources, and historical transformations of these systems.

Structure and Personhood

Names in many Austronesian societies are property possessed by local groups or members thereof. These units, typically, have been taken by anthropologists to be kin-based, descent-reproduced families, lineages, and clans. However, people may conceive of their local groups as "houses" (as Levi-Strauss [1987] recognized) or "canoes" (see Wood). (The canoe, as local group, is metaphorical; the house often takes material form as well.) Persons may join canoes and houses through naming—by receiving a personal name associated with that house or that canoe. Descent relationship may dispose name givers' decisions on whom to bestow a name, but the personal name—not kin relationship—ultimately confers membership in a particular house or canoe.

Lamont Lindstrom summarizes a naming system of this sort from Tanna (Vanuatu), using the term "name-set" in lieu of kin-related alternatives like family or lineage. On Tanna, namers most often name their own children into a name-set, but they have the option to bring anyone into a group with the bestowal of one of the group's names under their control. Lindstrom argues that local groups on Tanna, thus, are not descent groups but rather corporations reproduced from one generation to the next as names flow from current members to new recruits. Names, in these groups, function like corporate shares; the named are owners with rights and property (including rights to name another into the group).

Groups that reproduce through naming and that do not depend on the vicissitudes of childbirth enjoy better stereotypic reproduction insofar as those with more available names than children or more available children than names easily repair demographic circumstance through calculated name bestowals. Lindstrom, comparatively, reviews several similar naming systems from Melanesia and elsewhere and also those where descent does indeed determine group membership but where names make up a significant measure of a local group's corporate endowment, legitimizing its claims to land and place.

Latham Wood describes a largely similar naming system on Aneityum, the island just south of Tanna. Here, too, children join a "canoe" (or totemic group, as Wood also calls this) when they receive one of its ancestral names. In so doing, they "restore" that ancestral personage, as Leenhardt put this, becoming the newest of its "replicas" (1979, 156).[2] Children commonly are named into their father's group, but some get named into their mother's or into other canoes with more names than people. Unlike Tanna, where people associate (when they can) particular land plots with particular personal names, Aneityum names confer collective rights to a group's land and other resources. Wood frames his analysis with discussion of a ritual suicide on the island. Tepahae, a leading elder with nominated rights to a depopulated district, lost a court case when a judge applied prevailing rules of patrilineal descent and not nomination to rule against his land claims. In protest, Tepahae set himself on fire on the disputed land, asserting his nominated rights. Modern courts better understand rights based on "blood" and descent than they do those arising from nomination.

Isabelle Leblic explores personal names among the Paicî (New Caledonia). People, here, may accumulate at least five different sorts of name, traditionally the weightiest of these being names associated with a person's clan, with family or house, and with an ancestor. As in southern Vanuatu, particular names signal rights to live in a place and use family lands. Many of these names are also toponyms; place-names and personal names merge. Strong association between names and places leads people, should they move from here to there, to take up new names associated with that new place. Other names index events and places in a group's past and make up a sort of local historical database. Their transmission from one person to the next keeps alive memory of historic events and personages.

A Paicî person's assorted names recall Leenhardt's comments on aspectual personhood. One assumes a different name in one's various dealings with different sorts of kin, with local group members, with friends, with state authorities, and so on. Namesake relations are notably important here, as elsewhere in Austronesia. A name distinguishes its living bearer but also namesake

ancestors. Namesakes are personally identified, if not identical. One person possesses multiple named identities that come to the fore in different relational contexts, and one name can conjoin and identify two persons. Kanak naming, thus, evokes the sort of "dividual" personhood that anthropologists of Melanesia have struggled to define since Leenhardt and, later, Marilyn Strathern (1988).

Pinyuymayan people of Taiwan, like the Paicî, also collect a portfolio of personal names as they age through life stages, from child to respected elder. As Wen-Te Chen describes, a person's cumulative array of names remarks his or her gender and age status and shifting relational contexts. Youth, for example, trade personal names for generic appellatives for a period of time after moving into boys' and men's houses, in classic Van Gennep *rite de passage* fashion wherein initiands' personal differences and previous identities are ritually muted. Local theories of personhood, here, may presume not the sort of developmental continuity demanded of individuals but rather the multiplicity of dividuality where personhood shifts from context to context and from age to age.

Personal Names as Resources: Naming as Strategic Practice

Doris Bacalzo explores strategic naming among the Wampar, who live in Papua New Guinea's Markham Valley. Interethnic marriages have here become more common since the 1970s as migrants have moved into the valley, some following the highway that links Papua New Guinea's upland valleys with the port of Lae. Parents married to non-Wampar partners strategically name children to situate them more firmly within the community and, notably, to enhance their rights to use valley land in the future. Notably, they name sons after mothers' brothers and daughters after fathers' sisters, figuring that older namesakes will nurture younger, making future access to land more likely. Parents in interethnic marriages may also double name their children and also bestow names from migrant source communities. These names permit children to assert rights to places where their migrant parent originated, to which they themselves may someday return. Fathers from the Sepik region (where, like Tanna, names provide titles to land) are particularly concerned that a child's array of personal names includes at least one Sepik one.

Names and titles merge in many Austronesian systems insofar as the name/title secures rights to land and other resources, situates one within a local group, and sometimes signals aristocratic or likewise high social status. Names as titles plug their bearers into social networks, thus highlighting a person's categorical or structural position more than his personal

distinctiveness or individuality. Monica Janowski describes names as titles among the Kelabit of Sarawak. Here, persons throughout their lifetimes acquire names signaling two sorts of cherished social status. Names mark life's passage and expanding personal eminence as people become parents and then grandparents. When a couple has a child, they cast aside their own child names and take on a shared parental title, one often previously held by new ancestral namesakes. Their own parents may then assume grandparental titles.

Grandparental titles, secondly, fall along a prestige scale. Some are "bigger" than others. People who have proved their generativity by producing and nurturing children competitively demonstrate status by grabbing the most impressive title they can. They celebrate this title taking, with its titular claims, by hosting competitive feasts for friends and neighbors (see Wood for name-taking celebrations on Aneityum, Fang for naming ceremony among the Bunun, and Regnier for the Betsileo).

Kun-hui Ku describes political competition and strategies among Paiwan families for prestigious personal names (titles) associated with noble houses and argues not only that Paiwan names reflect social structure (classification) or personhood (social relations) (Ku 2010) but also that naming serves as a device to change one's position in that structure and/or personage. Even though the political rights of the nobles have diminished under consecutive colonial powers, the symbolic and ceremonial rights of the nobles as embedded in Paiwan names remain to this date. Good names as symbolic resources are thus highly desirable and are the motive for action in social mobility; arguably, material exchange (such as of heirlooms) follows the transactional flow of noble names rather than the other way round.

Transformations

Colonial and contemporary states, over the past several centuries, have incorporated Austronesian societies and local naming systems. Bureaucratic concern to identify, record, and track persons has further increased nomenclatural complexity. Denis Regnier tells the story of a Betsileo (Madagascar) woman who changed her name to avoid police pursuit. French colonial and now independent Malagasy bureaucrats have created civil registries to monitor citizens and laws that permit only a single change of a registered name. Alongside "identity card" names, the Betsileo maintain a more traditional naming system. This, too, permits name changes. People, seeking and demonstrating prestige and success in life, appropriate even better ancestral names to signal their senior status within family and community; see also Ku (2006).

Conversion to Christianity has also transformed local naming systems. Among the Bunun and the Paiwan of Taiwan, as among the Betsileo, people increasingly have taken on Christian names. Before this, many assumed or were given Japanese colonial names and later, after the Japanese quit the island, Chinese ones. Chun-wei Fang notes that, traditionally, heads of family named their children after house ancestors, expecting that the ancestral name was a "good" one and that this ancestor would nurture and look after the new namesake. Should a person fall seriously ill or experience other misfortune, however, families consulted spirit mediums to select a luckier, more salubrious new ancestral name. Following conversion to Presbyterian Christianity, many Bunun instead took on biblical names, figuring that these would induce the Christian god to extend the same sort of spiritual blessings and protection once sought from ancestral namesakes.

Namoluk naming (Federated States of Micronesia), as Mac Marshall describes, has been notably transformed by four colonial administrations and Christian conversion. Naming over the years reflects the presence of successive colonial powers. Ancestral connection and namesaking have withered as parents choose names for children, often playfully, from a panoply of sources, both local and global. Promiscuous naming of this sort suggests transformation of island personhood (and the decay of traditional landowning houses or name-sets) and the emergence of something like Western individuality.

Contemporary renaming practices also reflect emergent political identities within the global system, as notable among Taiwanese Aboriginal communities. A "name rectification" program (see Chen; Ku 2012) has encouraged some young people to replace their Chinese names with ancestral Aboriginal ones. Christianity dogma, too, insofar as this expects "sincerity" (see Fang; Ku 2010), presumes a different sort of personhood: one that is constant, more singular, developmental, and responsible.

Acts of "self-naming" (see Regnier and Bacalzo) also suggest extraordinary transformations of Austronesian personhood that challenge traditional social structures. Here, the named individual escapes altogether Lévi-Strauss's classified structural position. Naming connects one no longer with a namer but only with oneself, although self-names may still index contextual, multiple personalities. Wampar schoolchildren (see Bacalzo), for example, signal new sorts of identity in the names they today are giving each other or choosing: Mix Blood, Peter Pikinini Pukpuk, Sixpacks, and Blacky. On Namuluk, too (Marshall; see also Chen), youth self-name especially to feature themselves on Facebook: Nuff U, Rustie Smile, and Ying Yang.[3]

Such transformations in Austronesian naming systems will continue. And names continue to be a convenient window into local understandings

of personhood and local group structures. It repays anthropological understanding regularly to revisit and to name names.

NOTES

1. Contributors took part in a three-year-long series of sessions focusing on "Naming Systems and Naming Relations in Austronesia/Oceania," held at subsequent annual meetings (2012–2014) of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO). We thank Don Gardner, whose contribution is not included here. A previous ASAO session in 1981 also tackled Pacific "Personal Names and Naming Practices," this organized by Bradd Shore. Participants then analyzed "implications of naming forms and processes for differentiating hierarchical and institutional complex societies found throughout Oceania." Several papers presented in 1981 were subsequently individually published (e.g., Carucci 1984; Feinberg 1983; Grant and Zelenietz 1983; Kuschel 1988; Lindstrom 1985; McCall 1981).

2. Like many later ethnographers of Melanesian, Leenhardt (1979, 157) described Melanesian nonlineal notions of temporality wherein the past is ever present. He thus avoided characterizing this repetition of ancestral personages as a lineal series or a reincarnation.

3. Facebook managers in September 2014 proposed to ban drag and other "unreal" names. Like Christian apologists, perhaps, they favor individual "sincerity," continuity, and responsibility over traditional or playful forms of multiple personhood.

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NOMINATION AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

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Descriptions of Pacific Island social systems typically attend to the function of kinship and descent in the constitution of enduring, corporate groups. Standard overviews of kinship, such as that of Fox (1967), have noted that "no society so far has managed to dispense with an irreducible minimum of kinship-based social relationships" (16) and that "one of the commonest uses of 'kinship' ties is in recruitment. Thus, social groups are recruited on the bases of blood ties (assumed, putative or fictive) or affinal ties" (36). Keesing (1975), drawing on research experience in the Solomon Islands, concluded that "descent corporations, or 'corporate descent groups,' were a crucial development in the evolution of tribal societies. They provided an adaptive solution, in different ecological settings, to the problems of maintaining political order and defining rights over land and other resources across generations" (18).

But descent—understood as filiation and symbolized by shared body substances (see Schneider 1980: 23–25)—is not the only mechanism for corporate group recruitment, even in so-called tribal societies (Monnerie 2012a, 34). Groups acquire members with a variety of strategies, as studies of voluntary and common interest associations, age grades, churches, businesses, clubs, and other organizations have documented. Adoption is one such nondescent recruitment device, although one that serves to repopulate kin-based corporate groups lacking children. Nomination is another strategy that does not necessarily laminate upon descent. Anyone can be called by name into a group (or an office). Nomination can recruit new members into local

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corporations with land and other rights. Such groups resemble joint stock companies wherein people become corporate members through acquisition of shares. Shares, here, are personal names. Current group members recruit new members by naming them. Nomination passes along a limited and fixed set of personal names from generation to generation, as new recruits replace their namesakes.

Nomination does overlap descent where namers bestow available names mostly on their own children. This is the case on Tanna, Vanuatu. Men, however, may choose to name others from outside their own families—sometimes these are infants, sometimes youth or grown men, who then slough off previous names and take up the new one. Although relations between namer and named may be seen as parental, kinship does not limit who can be named into a group. As such, I have referred to Tanna's land-owning corporations as "name-sets," and not lineages or clans, insofar as these latter kin terms presume descent as the dominant corporate group recruitment mechanism. In nomination systems, children (and occasional others) become members of local groups by being named into these. Moreover, each male name entitles a person to plots of land, to other miscellaneous rights including "chiefly," to other political roles, to wear distinctive decorations, to eat turtles, and so forth (see below). Lévi-Strauss (1987) earlier proposed the term "house" to describe non–kinship-based social units "which cannot be defined either as families or as clans or lineages" (151; see Godelier 2011: 92–96). Although house membership trumped kinship connection, according to González-Ruibal (2006), Lévi-Strauss "always considered house societies as another kinship type" (144).

House metaphors, and also models of the canoe and its crew (a vessel of personages), certainly resonate on Tanna as group idioms (see Iati 2012; Wood, this collection). I use the term name-set to describe that island's local corporate groups in that this directs focus to the archives of named personalities that compose such groups, and because, although name-set property is localized, group estates do not center on actual houses, as they sometimes do elsewhere in the Austronesian world and beyond (see Ku, this collection). Pursuing island logic, I suggest that naming can indeed govern local group reproduction and that descent considerations, here, are secondary and ancillary.

For name-sets, naming functions as a corporate group recruitment device; elsewhere, names signal one's membership in local groups, otherwise constituted. In regions where descent determines corporate group recruitment, names may comprise part of the heritage of descent groups, be these personal names of humans and spirits; place names on land, reef, and sea; or even pig names. Personal knowledge of such names, moreover, may demonstrate

legitimate membership in a descent group or, more particularly, rights to specific lands and other entitlements. Names, here, are part of a descent corporation's estate. I offer examples below of both sorts of system—naming as a corporate group recruitment mechanism, and names as group property—and briefly note the implications of these systems for cross-cultural understandings of personhood, descent, and adoption, and also stereotypic social reproduction.

Name-Sets: Tanna

On Tanna, local group recruitment relies on nomination, or the bestowal of one of the group's male personal names on an incoming member (Lindstrom 1985, 2011). Land and other rights follow the name, and thus persons—not groups—control these assets until they pass along to namesakes. Men usually, but not necessarily, bestow names on their own children or on children of other group members. Although men each gain primary rights to land and other entitlements with their name, these names group into larger sets of a dozen or more. Related names anchored in neighboring lands constitute the membership of small, localized groups. Such groups resemble and operate much like typical Pacific lineages. However, because these groups recruit replacement members by means of nomination, not descent, I call these groups name-sets rather than employing a descent-associated term like lineage or clan. Men bearing names from the same set have secondary rights to all related names, and they step in to bestow these in cases where available names are empty and unused if a fellow member has died young, has no children of his own, or has otherwise failed to pass along his name or names to others. If a person has more children than available names, other members of his name-set typically are the most likely to bestow a set name on these excess children. However, many men have received names from name-sets other than their fathers'—perhaps by receiving a name from a mother's father or from someone in another local name-set who finds himself with more unused names than available living children to be named. Nomination, here, resembles adoption insofar as the named child becomes a member of his namer's name-set, although he lives and grows up in the household of his father and mother.

Most Tanna name-sets themselves are named, often taking the form "the grandchildren of X," e.g., *Nɨmipwi Iarasoa* (grandchildren of Iarasoa) or *Nɨmwipwi Noka* (grandchildren of Noka). People also sometimes call them *kwanokus* (rope or vine). Related name-sets join together into larger groupings, also typically named, that comprise the "sides" of a hamlet or a kava-drinking ground. These places commonly split into two sides, although

some have three, four, or more component facets. All name-sets in an area clump together into regional unities, which Guiart (1956, 11) termed *groupes tribaux*. In 1951, Guiart counted 115 of these around the island. Each of these "tribes," or perhaps better termed named territories, centers around one or more focal and secondary kava-drinking grounds, all surrounded by named hamlets that may or may not be currently occupied. These regional groupings are also named after founding ancestors, geographic features, or the like. For example, *Nasipmene* (Nasip + plural-marker [and people]), or alternatively *Imwai Nasipmene* (The place of Nasip and [people]) is a grouping of several name-sets united by ancestral connection to Nasip. *Nɨpikinɨmumene* (Tail of the fish + plural-marker [and people]) is a territorial grouping named after the peninsula east of Port Resolution that resembles a fishtail. Like some name-set names, ancestor-focused group names like Nasipmene suggest people do have in mind notions of shared blood and descent; but they also otherwise refer to local group like Nasipmene as "Imwai (house of/place of) Nasipmene," and these instead highlight conceptions of the shared house, land, and place that people occupy through nomination.

Tanna male names, once, were mononyms. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, however, almost all have become associated with an attached name derived from the Christian Bible, from experience abroad, or from other European sources. Both parts of today's binyms typically pass down together to new namesakes. Female names, without land entailments, are more commonly still mononymic. Nominal relationships can trump genealogy, notably in people's choice of kin term. Rapi, for example, called his son Soarum *kaha* (grandfather) because Soarum was the namesake of Rapi's father's father. Similarly, men use the so-called "heroic I" first-person pronoun when narrating stories of some ancestral namesake. I listened to one in the 1970s who remembered "when I met Captain Cook" in 1774. The heroic I is widespread in Pacific cultures; see Bateson (1936, 35) and Silverman (2001, 28) for similar pronoun use among the Iatmul; and Turner (1991, 21) for Fiji.

Male names give title to land plots (often scattered) and also confer rights to build houses in particular hamlets and to drink kava at particular kava-drinking grounds. Actually, many people garden, establish plantations, and build houses on lands attached to others' names, sometimes invited recently to do so, and sometimes exercising long-standing claims to use although not own these places. Nonetheless, people strictly differentiate name-based tenure and usufruct. Land users are land owners only if they possess pertinent personal names. Name-set members also inherit and recycle archives of names for women and for prized pigs. Names, furthermore, endow a series of other rights, including the entitlement to manage power stones that control

crop fertility, the winds, volcanic activity, earthquakes, and also more nefarious ones that cause disease and death; although few, today, presume to use these latter. Some names endow their bearers with one or the other of two chiefly statuses on the island: *ierumanu* (ruler), or *iani ɨnteta* (spokesman of the canoe). These come with secondary rights to wear two or more feather plumes in one's hair, to sport certain decorations on tapa belts, and so forth. The named also inherit rights to tell publicly various traditional origin myths and narratives of ancestral namesakes.

After a century of epidemics, Tanna's population began to rebound in the 1920s. By the 1980s, some name-sets had run short of male names to bestow upon name-set children. They deployed various strategies, including name splitting and name sharing, to find names for their children (Lindstrom 1985). Adoption—acquiring a name from another set with more empty titles and fewer live humans—was the most common of strategies. This was no new tactic, however. More than 40% of the generation of men who had been born in the 1940s, when many names were "empty" and temporarily unused, had been named into different name-sets than their fathers.

Since Vanuatu's independence in 1980, several thousand Tannese have migrated up to Port Vila and today live in periurban squatter settlements (Lindstrom 2012). Despite in some cases three decades' distance from the island, people remain deeply and politically concerned with naming. Names, after all, provide titles to land and other rights. In July 2012, Joel bestowed his own (and his father's) name Joel Iau on his son's son in Blacksands, a Vila settlement. He prepared a slightly urbanized feast (kava, pig, tuber puddings, and cloth, but fewer of the baskets, mats, and kava roots that mark such exchanges on Tanna) and presented this to one of his wife's brothers. After kava was prepared in a settlement kava clearing, that brother-in-law drank first and introduced the infant's new name to ancestors and guests, despite the fact that island ancestors more properly haunt homelands down on Tanna, not urban settlements. The Tannese strategy is that public pronouncement and acknowledgment of a name (notably by affines) reduces possible future conflict over name and land claims.

Similarly, in 2011, Joel's brother Iapwatu insisted that his new granddaughter (his son's daughter) *not* be named up in Vila but, rather, that her naming should be delayed until she could be brought back down to Tanna where the girl eventually received a European name. Iapwatu argued that her home-based naming would anchor her more firmly to island family and name-set.

Nineteenth century feuding and its refugees, subsequent population rebound, and today's urban migration all have unsettled Tanna's titular links between name and place. A Tannese friend, living in a Port Vila settlement,

in 2013 named his unmarried daughter's son Soma—a creative combination of the names of the boy's uncles Sola and Mark. Ordinarily, Soma's father should have bestowed a traditional title, but the boy, alas, was a *pikinini blong rod* (bastard), as one says in Vanuatu. My guess is that his namer hopes that uncles will look after their seminamesake nephew because his invented name bestows no land rights back home on Tanna (see Bacalzo, this collection). Soma's grandfather's brother added that the "chiefs" (in command of name-set titles themselves) always need landless helpers, guards, and soldiers like the hapless Soma. According to Godelier (2011), children without titles in European feudal houses similarly became "virtual servants to the brother or sister who had inherited the name and the property" (95). Naming systems, however, allow the possibility of eventually redeeming and absorbing extraneous persons like Soma, either by renaming him with some name-set title when one of these comes available (thus incorporating him fully within the name-set, despite particulars of his descent) or by bestowing name-set names on his children to come.

Name-Sets Elsewhere

Name-set systems operate, or once operated, elsewhere in southern Vanuatu, including on Aneityum and Erromango islands, as well as in New Caledonia farther south. On Aneityum, located 55 miles south of Tanna, Wood (this collection) notes that "each totemic group has a finite set of names" and that "all cognatic descendants of a totemic ancestor may potentially receive a totemic name, as totemic names are typically given to blood descendants, but this is not always the case." Further, as on Tanna, Aneityum names give land rights, although collectively: "All members of a totemic group share the ownership of the totemic district and all totemic entitlement." Although Aneityum also suffered massive depopulation beginning in the 1830s, people today are engaged in renewing selected aspects of tradition and—as on Tanna—names, if remembered, are easily revived simply by bestowing these on newborn children.

Further to the South, on New Caledonia, ethnographers have likewise remarked name and land connections. Guiart (2003) described personal Kanak names as land titles bestowed on children at gatherings of paternal and maternal relatives "qui décide, à la naisaance, de l'attribution du nom vernaculaire au nouveau-né" (31). But another "lignée" might instead bestow one of its own names—and that name determines "le status social et le statut foncier de l'enfant devenu adulte" (32). Kanak personal names, thus "détermine le status social de l'individu et ses droits fonciers" (54, see 57–58). Guiart's mentor, Maurice Leenhardt (1979), had also observed that

> In each clan, there are a given number of ancestral or mythic personalities, made present by the use of their names, which serve as essential supports for the social edifice of the clans. The names return periodically, marking a rhythm of original personalities which are the group's strengths, somewhat in the manner of authorized names in our saints' calendar (158).

These ancestral names, according to Leenhardt (1979) "periodically restored over the generations" (156), invest newborn persons with ancestral personalities, the namesakes being "replicas" rather than "reincarnations."

Monnerie (2003, 2012b) provided more detail on New Caledonian naming systems, describing Arama "Great House" collectives within which male personal names recycle across at least three generations. Arama children today receive recycled ancestral along with "fabricated" names, with firstborn sons (or those adopted into these positions) receiving the ancestral titles. These names, owned by local groups, endow their bearers with land rights, with defined social roles including political and ritual leadership positions, and with connections to namesake ancestors, many of which are mythically celebrated (Monnerie 2012b). Each local group, according to Monnerie (2012b) "possesses an ensemble of such names which define it and constitute for it the central dimension of transmission of roles, rights and specializations which are at once personal and social. In effect, in the composition of persons, ancestral names determine personal relations and masculine destinies reflected directly from those of their ancestral namesakes" (163 [my translation]). Monnerie concluded that local groups are "not patrilineal lineages in the strict sense" and, to translate the Arama term for such groups, preferred "the more subtle term 'subclan' which allows not to unduly privilege unifiliation in describing relational groups" (165 [my translation]). Arama subclans in many ways resemble Tannese name-sets insofar as, according to Monnerie (2012b), "the subclans firstly define themselves by *the collection of their ancestral names* and the necessity to ensure these are carried by living persons" (165 [my translation, emphasis in the original]). Finally, Leblic (this collection) reports that Paicî (of Ponérihouen) clan patronyms are also toponyms and thus also connected to land and territory.

Melanesian ethnographers have reported that people elsewhere also constitute local groups through nomination, alongside or in addition to descent. In parts of Fiji, for example, according to Turner (1991), each *mataqali* (patrilineal clan) possesses a pool of names that "represents a set of positions that a succession of individuals occupy" (12). Turner suggested that descent constrains nomination insofar as most men receive names from paternal relatives. Even so, he noted that fathers may name a child with a name belonging

to another clan if they "first approach the would-be namesake or his representative, present *yaqona* [kava] and formally ask permission to use the name" (12–13; see Chave-Dartoen 2006, 208 for similarly restricted name borrowings on Wallis). Although name, here, does not exclusively determine the membership of local descent groups, Turner reported that children do occasionally join nonnatal local groups by receiving names from these.

Nominated local groups exist as well on Wogeo island, north of Papua New Guinea's Sepik River mouth, where a person's membership in a group, according to Anderson (2011) "is partly attained by naming" (186). Urat people, who live in the Torricelli foothills north of the river, also bestow names that determine a person's place of residence (Eyre 1992, 278). These personal names mostly pass from father to son, although people also use "name-bestowal to recruit nondescendants to take up residence in their hamlets" (278). Every name gives rights to live in a hamlet, to name-linked garden plots, rights to hunt on name-set lands, and rights to engage in established exchange relationships with men from other name-sets. Those who do not receive a name from a father's name-set may nonetheless remain living in his village; but they only have rights to use their own name-associated garden plots elsewhere (Eyre 1992, 279). The Urat system differs from that on Tanna insofar as men who receive a name from a group other than their father's name-set may not pass that name along to one of their sons. Instead, they either name children with names from their father's name-set or they request men from their adoptive name-set to name these children. (Eyre does not record whether these second-generation name-set members acquire full rights to pass along set names to their own sons.) Nonetheless, Eyre (1992) concludes that "although conceptualized in an idiom of descent, hamlet affiliations are not based upon descent claims" (288). Although the Urat certainly entertain notions of shared blood and descent, they use personal names to sort children into local groups.

Farther afield, beyond Melanesia, naming reproduces local groups among the Tsimshian of northwest coast America. Local groups possess fixed sets of recycled personal names—available personhood slots they fill by nomination (of newborns or of adults who take on and "wear" the name of someone recently departed). According to Roth (2008):

> Names link members of a Tsimshian lineage to the past and to the territory on which that past unfolded. A Tsimshian name holder shares his or her name with a succession of matrilineally related predecessors stretching back to the ancient historical events that describe the origins of the name, of the house lineage, and of the lineage's rights to territories and resources (30).

Roth reports that personal names belong to Tsimshian "houses," although he also uses descent terms including "lineage" for these local groups. The Tsimshian themselves refer to these houses as "boxes" or "baskets" of names (Roth 2008, 36). Again, although descent limits nomination in that most people receive names from kin, the Tsimshian may also bring nonkin into local groups by naming them (Roth 2008, 58). If a house is out of people to wear its available names, it can name persons from other houses who at least temporarily personify and occupy that named slot (Roth 2008, 60). Moreover, should most persons belonging to a box or basket inopportunely die, related houses (like Tannese name-sets) have the right to repeople the depopulated house by bestowing its empty names on available persons: Roth (2008) records cases "of supposedly genealogically extinct lineages returning from obscurity, either because a forgotten branch of the lineage steps forward to claim the prerogatives or because a member of another lineage turned out to have been quietly holding key names in trust all along" (72).

Nomination substitutes for descent and ensures social reproduction when ordinary genealogical propagation fails. As on Tanna, the Tsimshian restore their house personalities by adopting others (who may be from related or unrelated houses) into the group through name bestowal (Roth 2008, 78). Adoption, according to Roth (2008), "provides a crucial hedge against the vicissitudes of fertility and mortality" (80). In Brazil, Fisher (2003) also borrowed the use of "house" originated by Lévi-Strauss (1987) to label Kayapo local groups which "comprise corporations holding an estate composed of a distinctive stock of names, ornaments, and ritual and non-ritual prerogative" (118). Kayapo house members may name someone from outside their house (house membership rights do not follow name) although, conversely, other adoptees *do* receive a house-owned name that, according to Fisher (2003) "facilitates integration into a network of kin" (119; see Maybury-Lewis 1984 for a brief introduction to name-sets in other Brazilian societies). Here, too, nomination that replaces or overlaps adoptive or fictive descent can serve to reproduce local groups when procreation fails.

Personal Names as Group Property

Other local groups, here and there around Melanesia, which do use ordinary descent rules instead of nomination to recruit their memberships, also possess archives of names for persons, for animals, for spirits, and so forth. Possession of these names often signals title claims to land and other resources. The Iatmul, Chambri, and Manambu of the mid-Sepik river, for example, pass down numerous names from ancestor to descendent. Every Iatmul individual, according to Bateson (1932), "bears names of totemic ancestors—spirits, birds, stars, animals, pots, adzes, etc.—of his or her clan,

and one individual may have thirty or more such names. A man takes his father's names and applies them to his own sons. Similarly he takes his father's sister's names and applies them to his daughters" (409). Also according to Bateson (1936), "Every clan has hundreds of these polysyllabic ancestral names which refer in their etymology to secret myths" (127). Iatmul boys also receive (or at least used to receive) names from their mother's side (Bateson 1936, 42; 1932: 273, 403) that denominate rights and access to maternal as well as paternal estates. Bateson (1936) reports, moreover, that descent alone does not always govern name-giving. If a woman is the only survivor of a (patrilineal) clan, for example, "all the names of that clan become vested in her and her bride price becomes correspondingly great since the right to give the names will fall to her husband or her children" (51).

Iatmul names, as more recent ethnography has clarified, derive from totemic ancestral beings. According to Silverman (2001), descendants who hold these may "weep in public" during their ceremonial recitation (27), and patronyms are the "roots" of each descent group, "its totemic and cosmological foundation" (54), and grandfathers and grandsons should be namesakes. Although particular Iatmul names, unlike Tanna, do not serve as titles to specific water areas or land plots, a person's possession of a given name assemblage asserts his rights in general to occupy territory, narrate associated sacred stories, deploy magical recipes, and so on.

This is the case also among the neighboring Chambri Lake people, where, according to Gewertz (1977), "The ownership of the land and water rights is inextricably bound to the ownership of the names which designate them. When an expanding patrilineage can secure possession of relevant totemic names, its ownership of homonymous land and water is secured as well" (341; see Forge 1972; Allen 2009: 427–428; Bacalzo, this collection). The Manambu of Avatip, too, inherit fixed and finite sets of totemic names (Harrison 1990, 55) with which they also name themselves, although here some such personal names are indeed connected with "bounded tracks of land" (52). Manambu subclans own, on average, between one and two thousand ancestral names (Harrison 1990, 59). These charter their "ritual prerogatives" (56) as well as subclan members' more materialist claims to local territory.

On Normandy Island, off the eastern point of PNG, Auhelawa lineages also possess sets of personal names that recycle among matrikin. According to Schram (unpubl. data):

> Every member of a lineage is named in honor of a deceased matrilineal ancestor . . . This group of names is supposedly unique to the lineage, having been passed on in perpetuity. A mother who wants to give a certain name to her child must ask the "owner of the

> name" to confer the name. The owner and the recipient become related as *'aivelahe* (namesake), which is a lifelong relationship in which the elder gives support to the junior. Such namesake relationships are thought to be part of a cycle of reciprocity in that a mother who names her child after a relative will usually be the namesake for that relative's child (10–11)

Although these names are not explicit titles to land, they do sustain interlineage relations from generation to generation, as namesakes shoulder obligations to support one another.

Nomination and Corporate Groups

Nomination, depending on the details of local systems, functions to (1) recruit new members into local groups; (2) staff ancestral personality slots with fresh players; (3) entitle the named with specific or general estate/house property rights and resources, including land plots, waterways, myth and songs, chiefly or other status positions, magical practices, adornments, styles, emblems, and insignia, and more; and (4) ensure stereotypic reproduction of social structure no matter the vicissitudes of history and demography. Nomination can substitute for descent rules of local group recruitment and also simultaneously for inheritance and succession insofar as a personal name entitles a person to designated lands and other rights and resources, and insofar as a personal name/title may also appoint him to the office of chief, magician, warrior, or otherwise. On Yap, according to Labby (1976),

> People were not only named for their predecessors on the estate, however. More important, they were also seen to represent them socially . . . A man was chief because he spoke for land which had a chief's voice; a magician, because he spoke for land with a magician's voice (18).

Persons inherited land *and* succeeded to office by receiving a personal name.

I discuss, briefly and in conclusion, some of the implications of nomination including its correlation with descent and adoption, implications for personhood, and its capacity for stereotypic reproduction of social structure.

Beyond Blood?

Nomination is one of several nondescent mechanisms that recruit new members into Melanesian local groups and other organizations. Men in cen-

tral and northern Vanuatu, for example, once purchased memberships in grade-societies with pigs and other goods presented to a sitting member—a society sponsor who need not be a close relative. And one thinks of a range of other non–kin-based groups and associations, reported in the ethnographic literature, that people might join if they have the right dream, are successfully cured of a disease, or because of shared residence.

At the local group level, nomination substitutes for descent, although descent ideology nonetheless often persists alongside naming. Argument about the universality of biological or genealogical constructions of human kinship and descent has once again flared. Schneider (1984), drawing on evidence from Yap, questioned whether humans everywhere appreciate their kin (including descent) connections in the same biogenetic manner. Warren Shapiro has pushed an essentialist, "birthist" reading of classificatory kinship systems in a series of articles and comments (e.g., Shapiro 2012, 2014), sparking response from Marshall Sahlins. Sahlins (2012a) defends "nonprocreative" cultural understandings of kinship as a "socially constituted network of relationships between persons and among groups" (673; see 2012b). However, Shapiro and the essentialists and Sahlins and the culturalists both presume that descent works everywhere to constitute local human groups be this by extension of primary and universal natal facts or by some internal cultural logic. Ethnographies of nomination systems, too, have subsumed these within a more general concern with descent practice and its resultant lineages, clans, or other kin-based groups despite contrary evidence that nomination, not descent, may sometimes ultimately constitute local groups.

This is fair enough given that people everywhere do indeed acknowledge kinship even if, sometimes, they turn to nomination instead of or alongside descent to populate their local groups. The Tannese, for example, do entertain ideas of shared substances, notably *neta* (blood). They juggle divergent terms for their name-sets, sometimes speaking of these as *kwanokus* (vine, rope)—a metaphor that may infer descent connection but may also imply any chain of persons who take up name-set membership—and sometimes imagining local groups as "canoes" or "places/houses," less serial tropes. Others in the Pacific also refer to local groups as "houses"—a term that also may or may not evoke descent relationships among group members. In a sample of four Tanna name-sets, 59% of men did indeed receive names from their fathers, and people can find themselves in shared substance vs. nomination quandaries (Lindstrom 1985). Name-set members occasionally have tried, although not succeeded in the cases I have monitored, to "de-name" a fellow with whom they had fallen into dispute, attempting to grab back someone's name on the grounds

that others have better rights to this through closer patrilineal connection to whomever bestowed the name. People's nominated claims, however, generally prevail over such counterarguments that evoke substance and descent connection.

Nomination, not descent, elsewhere staffs and restaffs some local group memberships from one generation to another despite ethnography's language of lineages and clans. Bororo "clans," according to Maybury-Lewis (1984), "are more correctly thought of as name-based corporations than as matrilineal descent groups" (6). Along the Sepik River, people deploy nomination and descent simultaneously. Gewertz (1977), for example, concluded that "it is the inheritance of totemic names, not the transmission of blood, that links together Chambri patriclans" (341), but since descent is supposed to govern naming (children receive names only from father's and mother's people), nomination and descent overlap, and local groups are simultaneously name-sets and clans. Back to Brazil, Maybury-Lewis (1984) argued that

> The transmission of names is used by the Central Brazilians as an independent principle. Sometimes it reinforces descent, so much so that it is unclear whether it is naming or descent that is the constituent principle of certain groups within the society. Sometimes it replaces descent (8).

Some, like Lea (1995), have taken nomination to be "a vast genetic-like thread" (209), but naming is only metaphorically "genetic" in systems where people can name any available person into their local group. As Eyre (1992) observed, "Personhood is detached from substance" (288). Not every local group in the Pacific or beyond comes into and stays in being through "shared blood" descent relationships.

These issues also appear in cases of adoption. In some places, "naming is not adoption" as people distinguish between descent-like relationships and separate name-governed rights to land and house sites (Eyre 1992, 280; see also Anderson 2011, 187). Others have likened name recruitment into local groups as a sort of adoption. Presumption of adoption, however, may confuse descent with nomination, especially where systems overlap. According to Fisher (2003): "Conferral of a great name upon adoption into the group equally facilitates integration into a network of kin" (119; see Roth 2008, 77). Is adoption name conferral, is it integration into an alternative kin network, or both? On Tanna, when a man "adopts" a child by giving him the name of his father or grandfather, he in fact often calls this person "father" (*tata*) or "grandfather" (*kaha*), not "son." Relations of nomination, here, often eclipse those of fictive, adopted paternity.

When necessary, we should discriminate two forms of adoption—adoption into a local group through naming and adoption as fictive descent, although adoption through naming may in fact endow a person with kin-like characteristics. Insofar as adoption ordinarily supposes relations modeled on and substituting for descent, one might avoid the term as overly presumptive of kinship, along with replacing kin group labels like family, lineage, or clan with "house," "canoe," "basket," "box" or "name-set." On the other hand, although the original Latin word *adoptare* meant to "associate with oneself," including "to take a child," it also meant "to give one's name to" and to "name after oneself."

Personhood

Nomination invites questions of personhood. In most Austronesian languages, names are inalienably possessed, as linguists put this. On Tanna, *naghu-k* (my name) is like *regu-k* (my arm) or *nenime-k* (my eye; see Turner 1991, 12 for Fiji). But who am I? Ethnographers of nomination systems have often noted that the newly named assume both title and an ancestral personality—the most recent in a line of persons all of whom have also carried that name. Thus, the common occurrence of the "heroic I" pronoun, where people choose the first-person singular to talk about their historical antecedents, in these societies. The Tsimshian, Roth (2008, 62) reported, believe that a named person is in fact a reincarnation of his namesake ancestor. In the Pacific, however, people usually differentiate between the particular person bearing a name and the ancestral personality he personifies. Leenhardt (1979), for New Caledonia, wrote: "We say 'a replica'. They are socially the one whose name they bear, but they are not his 'reincarnation'" (156). Partly because of local, nonlineal concepts of time, "this moment of mythic communion implies identity and repetition but not succession" (157). According to Maybury-Lewis (1984), "physical" selves differ from "social" selves (5) and names bequeath "social personalities" (8) on humans; particular persons come and go, but their personalities endure. As on Wogeo, according to Anderson (2011), "the history of the person is included in the history of the name and vice versa" (234).

The opportunity for two or more persons to share the same social personality either simultaneously, as sometimes happens on Tanna, or repetitively recalls Marilyn Strathern's now celebrated analysis of Melanesian "dividuals" whose personhood is partible—each self sharing parts of himself with others, incorporating their substances, labor, and essences. Strathern (1988), in a well-known quote, defined the Melanesian dividual:

> Far from being regarded as unique entities, Melanesian persons are as dividually as they are individually conceived. They contain a generalized sociality within. Indeed, persons are frequently constructed as the plural and composite site of the relationships that produced them. The singular person can be imagined as a social microcosm (34).

The difference between Western individuals and Melanesian dividuals can be overdrawn. An American mother, according to Schneider (1980), certainly evokes similar personal partibility when speaking "of a child as a 'part of me'" (25). Shared substance—"blood" in this case—diffuses personality between bodies. The same happens with shared name in nomination systems. Persons here likewise comprise bits and pieces of anyone who has nurtured them, but, more particularly, they share a joint personality with namesakes, dead or alive. If Melanesians are, or were once, "dividuals" who share semen, milk, blood, food, labor, and the like with others, names too are also a sort of shared substance. One can pull "dividualistic" descriptions from the nomination literature. Lea (1995), for example, argued that names and property are parts of the "essence of ancestors" (209). According to Godelier (2011), Baruya also share personhood with an ancestral namesake: "Something like part of this ancestor's spirit (in the sense of soul, *anima*, which is associated with the Sun) is transmitted along with the name" (62).

Named personalities are thus "partible," name and property shared among persons. When one is named, he absorbs bits and pieces of all his preceding (or repeating) namesakes. Contributors to Linnekin and Poyer (1990) similarly described "consocial personhood" (9) in Pacific societies where sharing food and labor makes people into kin just as shared substance (blood, semen, milk, bone) does. Where naming is consocial, names are partible as are personages.

In Melanesia, nomination and descent are thus often homologous. If ancestors and their descendants relate through shared substances of various sorts, consocial namesakes merge through their shared name. Personal name is another substance or an essence, perhaps, like blood, bone, food, sweat, semen, milk, or labor, which constitute dividuals. Names, too, are an aspect of partible personhood that creates consocial identity and structural repetition, as Leenhardt put this.

Structural Reproduction

Finally, nomination systems may be both more and less flexible than descent systems in adjusting population to land and other resources. Unlike descent,

which expands "naturally" given demographic growth, those who deploy nomination to reproduce persons and groups may dogmatically maintain that their existing sets of names/titles are fixed and permanent with no new and additional slots permitted. On the other hand, nomination permits the distribution of (in)dividuals from property-owning group to group more simply and quickly, through adoption/naming, than do kin systems that fix people into descent groups (even where these are cognatic and even where adoption is a common practice). Nomination is, according to Roth (2008), "designed to provide continuity in the face of stress and change—to maintain structure, one might say, in spite of history" (68). This produces, according to Fisher (2003), a "timeless social order" (132); "an eternal continuity of enduring form" (133; see Maybury-Lewis 1984, 8).

Nomination permits people easily to repair rips and gaps in their social fabric. When a name-set loses all living members, its personalities are only temporarily empty. Neighbors from related sets step in and nominate children to repopulate the group. Urat villages that were short of warriors, Eyre suggests (1992, 289), recruited replacement associates by naming men into open local personalities. Turner (1991:21) wondered if Pacific Islanders might first have turned to nomination during the nineteenth century, responding to an overload of deleterious historical events: epidemics, invasions, and massive population decline. Namers with no children might then have looked beyond the ordinary limits of descent. But small groups everywhere regularly encounter historical and demographic variability, even when times are good, and nomination to recruit group members (however names flowed) itself is a long-standing practice. Personal names and personalities that Cook recorded on Tanna in 1774 still circulate on the island today.

In the Pacific, we might instead follow Leenhardt to appreciate nomination as thoroughly embedded in island notions of time and personhood. Persons of the dividual sort, in the right context, inhabit multiple human bodies. We too often approach descent in overly Western cultural terms: We celebrate descent as progress through history, as growth, as development, and as natural. Where people expect identity and repetition and not developmental progress, however, nomination works more efficiently than does descent to ensure stereotypic reproduction of the social order. Accident, misfortune, and catastrophe are all forestalled and history denied. What disappears can always be remade through naming. Shapiro (2012) concluded his encomium to universal kinship with the charge, "We workers of the world are unimpressed by the visions of the anointed . . . We have the truth to win" (193). Sahlins (2012a) riffed on this: "Birth is the metaphor. (Kinship Workers of the World—Only Unite!") (676). I might

follow their lead: Name is the metonym. (Namesakes of the World—Wholly Unite!)

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TOTEMIC NAMES ON ANEITYUM, VANUATU

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Tepahae, an influential Aneityumese elder, once told me, "If the younger generation does something with what I pass on, it will be good and I will be pleased." This simple statement did not strike me as surprising when I first heard it, but today these words provoke inquiry—not only because of the content, but also because of what transpired after Tepahae uttered them.

I met Tepahae in 2005. At that time, he was an Aneityum-based fieldworker for the Vanuatu Cultural Centre (VCC) and an influential Aneityumese elder known for his local Aneityumese knowledge. Over the next four years we would collaborate on a number of projects with Frank Inhatasjinjap, another Aneityum-based VCC fieldworker, and Tepahae's son-in-law. Inhat, Tepahae, and I worked to support the VCC's effort to perpetuate and renew significant cultural practices in Vanuatu and strengthen the transmission of cultural knowledge. With the collaboration of many other Aneityumese, we produced documentaries, recorded Aneityumese music, and transcribed Aneityumese oral history. One such project involved the publication *Inyupal Uja Nisvitai Uhup* (Wood and Inhatasjinjap 2009), a collection of Aneityumese children's stories in *Anejom* (the Aneityumese vernacular) to promote literacy and cultural transmission.

The last time I saw Tepahae I was passing his Anpeke residence during a full-day walk around half of the island, which I undertook because there are no automobile roads on the mountainous island and transportation is

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invariably by foot, canoe, or boat. I can remember the scene vividly. Tepahae and I were sitting on the beach near his house. I was resting after a half-day walk in the sun. We talked about music, storytelling, and our collaborations over the previous four years. I reminded him that our progress was only the beginning and that I would return to Aneityum in the future to continue where we had left off. He looked pleased and reflective, and then he made the statement that begins this account: "If the younger generation does something with what I pass on, it will be good and I will be pleased." It was normal for Tepahae to talk like that, but what happened next was far from normal—a week later Tepahae was dead.

Tepahae performed *uwuñtap* (the Aneityumese customary practice of suicide). He was found on the land of his chiefly totemic district, a place where Tepahae felt he belonged. The night before he was found he told Steve, one of his grandsons, to meet him at that specific place the next day. When Steve arrived, he found his grandfather's dead body, badly burned. Tepahae had heaped dry wild cane over himself and ignited it. His body was in such bad shape that Steve immediately ran for the nearest help. The people who came had long been divided from Tepahae because of a land dispute that had lasted over two decades, which meant they had avoided any kind of contact with each other for the duration of this time. However, when they saw Tepahae's body, all of their quarrels were set aside. His body was so severely burned that he was immediately wrapped in a *napevak* (pandanus mat) and buried near where he was found. Tepahae's wife, children, and all other grandchildren did not see his corpse before he was buried.

Although Tepahae's body was badly burned, many Aneityumese say that the fire did not kill him, but rather the *natmas* (deity or spirit) of the totemic district did, and only after he was burned. They say that the ritual practice of uwuñtap requires one to eat half of a portion of food and leave the other half in the place of residence of the totemic deity. In Tepahae's case, after the deity had consumed the food that Tepahae had given it, Tepahae and the deity became united. The Aneityumese say that his body became a shell or corpse, but his *nesgan*[1] (soul-body) is not dead, since it fused itself with the deity and place. Tepahae's death came as a shock to everyone who knew him, since Tepahae was, like many ni-Vanuatu elders, a walking encyclopedia of Aneityumese oral history in a place where little is written down. His last words were still ringing in my ears, and I was faced with the difficult question: "Why did Tepahae perform uwuñtap?" (Why did Tepahae take his own life?) The answer to this question is complex, and I think the most appropriate starting point in formulating an informed response is the topic of Aneityumese totemic names—because one fact is undeniable: Tepahae's

"totemic name" and the related practice of "nomination" were key factors in his self-inflicted death.

This paper explores the meaning of Aneityumese names and how they relate to and play a significant role in Aneityum socio-political organization. Names are significant because name bestowal is an act of nomination (Lindstrom 1985, 2011, this volume). Nomination is a term that was first used by Lindstrom to discuss recruitment of members into local corporate groups with land and other rights on Tanna, the island directly north of Aneityum (ibid.), and the term is useful for understanding Aneityum social reproduction as well. On Aneityum, totemic names emplace actors in specific locations and initiate relationships between (1) person and place and (2) person and group. Names emplace actors doubly, (1) within the social order and a web of social relationships (the totemic group), and (2) spatially, with respect to a physical location (the totemic district). Hence Aneityum social reproduction is not automatic or rule governed—it is accomplished through acts of nomination. This paper attempts (1) to contribute to our understanding of nomination in social reproduction, namely, that action (not structure) reproduces the Aneityumese social order, and (2) to explore the phenomenological dimension of names, an approach that is important to understanding Tepahae's feeling of belonging to place and group.

Aneityum Colonial History Encapsulated

Aneityum, the southernmost island of the Republic of Vanuatu, is oval in shape and covers about 61 square miles in area. The island stretches 10 miles by 8 miles at its longest and widest points, respectively, and reaches 2,795 feet at its highest peak. The roughly 1,000 Aneityumese speak Anejom, an Austronesian language that is spoken only on Aneityum.[2]

Aneityum has a unique colonial history. European influence on the island began in 1841 with the discovery of sandalwood on the island and the nearby Isle of Pines (Spriggs 1985, 25). In 1844, Captain James Paddon established a sandalwood station and trading depot on adjacent *Iñec* islet (or "Mystery Island," as it is known to the thousands of tourists who call on the islet by cruise ship each year)—and later, Iñec and various stations on the main island of Aneityum were used as whaling depots (ibid.). Aneityum was also the first island to be missionized in Melanesia, an effort that roughly commenced in 1848 with the arrival of Reverend John Geddie, a Presbyterian missionary. Later, near the end of the nineteenth century, both Great Britain and France became interested in colonizing Aneityum and the rest of Vanuatu,[3] and they came to an unusual agreement, according to Miles (1998), "that both nations would exercise custodianship over the archipelago" (18). This

dual custodianship, which is known as the "Anglo-French" or British–French Condominium became official in 1914 and continued until independence in 1980 (ibid.).

This colonial history devastated the Aneityumese people, and it is estimated that 95 percent of the Aneityum population died from postcontact diseases (McArthur 1974, 8). As of 1940, less than 200 of the indigenous Aneityumese remained (ibid.). The Aneityumese retention of their language and many cultural practices in the face of this history and the ongoing globalization that caused it is a phenomenal feat—but this retention is not without struggle. Some Aneityumese have lost interest in their indigenous lifeways and prefer to participate in the global market economy. Some have either migrated to Port Vila (the capital of Vanuatu) or elsewhere, or now depend on market-based income from local tourist or forestry projects on Aneityum. However, most Aneityumese believe that the retention of their indigenous lifeways is essential for their well-being in this modern, global, and capital-driven world. In light of these realities, this paper is not only a contribution to our understanding of names and social reproduction, but also a basic outline of the "structure" of Aneityumese life—with the intent that it may be useful for future generations of Aneityumese as they resist globalization. Totemic names emplace actors within this structure, namely, within a totemic group/district that lies within a larger structure of chiefdoms and moieties. Therefore, before I go into depth about totemic names in particular, it is important to understand the larger structure within which totemic names function.

Aneityum Social and Political Organization[4]

Moieties and Chiefdoms

Aneityum society has four levels: moiety, chiefdom, totem, and household. Each level is both social and geographic, as the social categories designate geographic divisions of the island. The two moieties are the most comprehensive categories—they roughly divide the island down the center along a north–south axis. The western side of the island is known as the *Nelcau-sokou* or *Nelcau-Inpekeritinpeke* (Sunset Moiety), and the eastern side of the island is conversely the *Nelcau-jekou* or *Nelcau-Anejom* (Sunrise Moiety). The two moieties together are subdivided into seven chiefdoms, and chiefdoms are divided into districts, all of which (moieties, chiefdoms, and districts) are known as *nelcau* (canoes).[5] Six chiefdoms stretch from the coast to the interior and subdivide the island into wedge-shaped dominions like the pieces of a pie. The seventh chiefdom is located in the interior of the island

with no coastal access. The Sunset Moiety contains four chiefdoms—*Nelcau-Anijinwei*, *Anelcauhat*, *Nelcau-Anauonse*, and *Nelcau-Anejo*—and the Sunrise Moiety contains three—*Nelcau-Anijeganwei*, *Nelcau-u-Elpuincei*, and *Nelcau-Anauanjai*.[6]

Aneityum's moieties are similar to the ones recorded on Tanna, Futuna,[7] and Aniwa, as discussed by Lynch and Fakamuria (1994). The Aneityumese say that Aneityum has two "languages"—one for each moiety—by which I understand them to mean dialects, namely, differences in *norantas* (accents) and *icsipeke* (metaphors). Both sides are able to communicate with each other, and the two "languages" are mutually intelligible. These linguistic differences between the two sides of the island still exist, but they were apparently more distinct in the past. There are also personality differences: the people from the Sunset Moiety are known as being reserved and *momo* (quiet and conservative), while the members of the Sunrise Moiety are known as being flamboyant and *auyat* (flashy and liberal).[8]

In Aneityumese oral history there were originally two chiefdoms: the two moieties—one giving rise to the other. Those within the Sunset Moiety called themselves Nelcau-inpekeritinpeke, which Inhat describes as "the chiefdom that started everything [a system of thought, language, and governance]," an idiom that expresses the belief of the members of the Sunset Moiety that their canoe was the original chiefdom. Sunset Moiety people say that their success with a chiefly system influenced the Sunrise Moiety to adopt the same system. However, some members of the Sunrise Moiety reject this claim. For example, Neriam, a member of the *Anauonjai* chiefdom of the Sunrise Moiety, argues that his moiety was the first to adopt the chiefly system, and it was brought to Aneityum by *natimi-yag* (yellow-people), who they now believe to have been Polynesian.[9] Both of these claims, from Inhat and Neriam, respectively, reflect the social revolution that took place when the Aneityumese established the position of *natimared* (chief). Inhat says that as the population grew within the original two chiefdoms, they were subdivided into seven total smaller chiefdoms by the chiefs of the original chiefdoms, who then moved inland to govern the two inland chiefdoms and their respective moieties, and their halves of the island (see Fig. 1).

Natimared (Chiefs)

The leadership within each moiety is centered on the natimared of the inland chiefdom: the *Anijinwei* chief in the case of the Sunset Moiety and the *Anijeganwei* chief in the case of the Sunrise Moiety. Today these two chiefs exist ideologically but not actually, since there are currently no chiefly

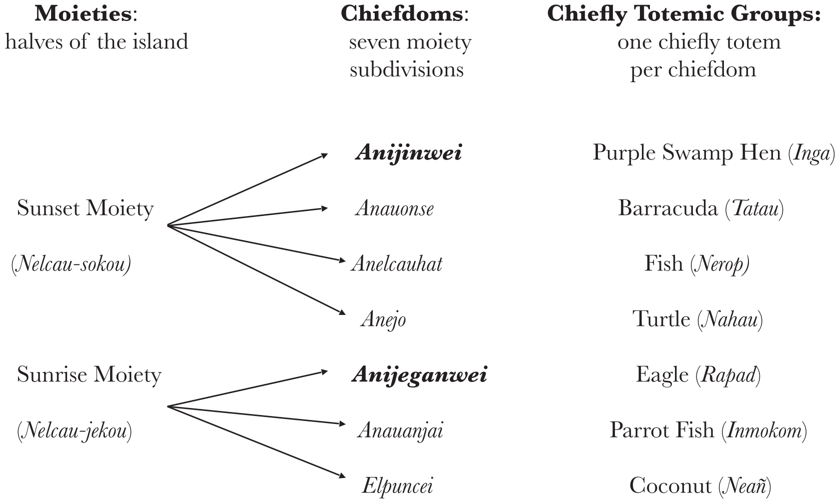

FIGURE 1. **Note that this is schematic. The stronger "inland" chiefdoms are in bold. The *Anijinwei* chiefdom is the only true inland chiefdom because its domain does not reach the coast. The *Anijeganwei* chiefdom—which is mostly inland—does reach the coast, but this is only a sliver of coastal land in relation to the other chiefdoms. Only the chiefly totemic group is mentioned per moiety subdivision (chiefdom), but there are many totemic groups within a chiefdom. As noted earlier, in Aneityum vernacular, the moieties, chiefdoms, and totemic groups are all referred to as *nelcau* (canoes).**

titleholders of the inland chiefdoms. However, these titles can *and will* be bestowed. The Aneityumese say it is just a matter of time.[10] Within this ideological structure—the chiefs of the inland chiefdoms are thought to be the strongest and most powerful of all the chiefs within their moiety, but every chiefdom has one natimared who governs his respective chiefdom within the moiety system.

Lindstrom (1997) argues that unlike other areas of Vanuatu, where the signifier *jif* (chief) has become a popular identity largely shaped by events associated with contact and colonialism, "the Aneityumese chiefly system was most likely something closer to ones found in Polynesia" (212, from Spriggs 1981).[11] The Aneityumese description of their chiefly system supports Lindstrom's claim, as they say this was a multilevel system with centralized leadership at the level of each moiety. In this system,

commands came from the higher-ranking inland chiefdoms of each moiety, and tribute flowed from lower ranking coastal chiefdoms to the inland chiefdoms.

The Aneityumese say that in the past every chiefdom was governed by four levels of leadership:[12] (1) the highest is the natimared, who was the *nijinelcau* (head of the canoe [chiefdom]), the most influential position within a moiety; (2) the second-level is the *nhakli-natimared* (small chief), who was the *nijininareneclau* (head of a large district within the canoe [chiefdom]) and exerted the next level of influence; (3) the third-level was also a nhakli-natimared, who was the *nijininararinelcau* (head of a small district within the canoe [chiefdom]) and had less influence; and (4) the *nijini-netec* (family-head), with the least influence, who looks after a hamlet within a totemic district. Every household had a family-head who was the "head of the household." The family-head was not considered a chief but played a significant role in the political system. First-level, second-level, and third-level chiefs were male titles belonging to different totemic groups within chiefdoms. The first-level chief (natimared) was a title belonging to the chiefly totemic group, of which there was only one per chiefdom (seven total for the whole island). Likewise, second-level and third-level chiefly titles belonged to other totemic groups within the chiefdom. Unlike first-level chiefly titles, there were many second-level and third-level titles within any one chiefdom. No *one* totemic group could have more than one chief (first-, second-, or third-level), and totemic groups took their rank, first, from the rank of the chiefdom of which they were a subdivision (inland, coastal), and second, from the rank of their chief (first-, second-, or third-level).[13]

In sum, the Aneityumese say that in the past their society was stratified into two status levels: those with chiefly titles and those without chiefly titles. Even though chiefly titles had various ranks, they were clearly differentiated from nonchiefly titleholders. Attaining one of these chiefly titles on Aneityum was not inherited automatically, but one was nominated to this title from a pool of possible titleholders by virtue of exemplifying shared Aneityumese values and by exemplifying those values through one's deeds, actions, and virtuous ways.

Nomination to Chiefly Title

In the past, before the demographic disaster, chiefly titleholders typically appointed their successors. Chiefly titles were often awarded patrifilially, as successors were commonly the sons of the incumbents. However, if the previous titleholder had no sons, a daughter's son, brother's son, or sister's son was also eligible for the title. Only males held these leadership positions for

any length of time. In rare cases a female is said to have assumed one of these leadership positions, even the role of chief (Lawrie 1892, 710), but she did so only temporarily, until such time as she was able to appoint a male to assume the title. Although chiefly titleholders typically chose their successors, this appointment had to be accepted by the collective of chiefs, family-heads, and elders of the respective chiefdom, who would collectively *alcause* (nominate or lift-up) a person to this title.

C. B. Humphreys, an anthropologist conducting ethnographic research in the 1920s on Tanna—the island north of Aneityum—learned from a few Aneityumese visiting the island that Aneityum chiefly titles were hereditary (Humphreys 1926, 107). The Aneityumese confirm this, and they say chiefly successors were chosen from a pool of possible titleholders who claimed a genealogical relationship with the chief. This system of nomination was flexible; when there were no available heirs for the title, a person from outside one's descent group could be nominated to the title. This flexibility became clear when the Aneityumese population dipped to its lowest levels during the demographic disaster, and succession took less common routes to reproduce the socio-political order. Patrifilial succession to title was difficult or impossible due to the lack of male heirs. When there were no blood-related heirs available (male or female), titleholders nominated successors from outside their descent group, namely, they adopted a male or female heir to be the steward of their entitlements.

Today, nomination to chiefly title ideally follows patrilineal lines of descent; however, if one is a hereditary descendant but does not exhibit the qualities necessary for the chiefly title, one will not be nominated to that title. Preferably, chiefs are nominated from a pool of candidates who share a common ancestor with the chief, but, as noted above, there is flexibility in nomination. When there are no available heirs, titles can be bestowed upon a person outside one's descent group. One is nominated to chiefly titles when one embodies *nedou u natimared* (the way of the chief). The descendants of previous chiefs are a case in point. A person can be a descendant of a previous chief, for example, the chief's son, but this does not automatically mean that the title will be conferred upon him. Today, descent only creates the potential for nomination because the attainment of chiefly title is based on a moral valuation of those members of the totemic group responsible for nominating a particular chief.

Tepahae emphasized that when nominating a chief in contemporary Aneityum society, the greatest concern is the issue of *ecen* (respect), a characteristic that must be embodied in the chief's *upopo* (low) ways—the actions of a stable, humble noncoercive person—in contrast to *ijiñis* (high) ways, which are divisive and aggressive. Today, a good leader is thought to embody

humility by staying low, and being grounded and respectful regardless of the situation—in contrast to someone who has a short temper, is hasty, and holds his head too high. Tepahae emphasized that a prospective chief must be able to *amenjinañ* (take care of) the members of his canoe and have the personal strength and stamina to lead and represent them in any and all situations. A chief should also be able to share, as exemplified in one's organization of *nakro* (communal feasts), which create the opportunity for sociality and the perpetuation and construction of relationships through "gift-exchange" and feasting.

Nomination to Totemic Group and District

In the past, chiefdoms were divided into a number of districts,[14] and every totemic group owned their respective totemic district. Districts were then divided into *intinei-niom* (hamlets) surrounded by gardening areas. There was a rank order among the chiefdom totemic groups that was structural, and the chiefly totemic group was the most influential of all totemic groups. As noted above, there were also second- and third-level chiefs who were the chiefs of less influential totemic groups within every chiefdom.

Today, even though many Aneityumese do not reside in their totemic districts, the social divisions between totemic groups have been maintained through the practice of name bestowal. These divisions have not been maintained geographically, but they have been maintained socially. Each totemic group has a finite set of names that belong to them. Lindstrom (1985) calls this finite set of names a "name-set" (28). Each name from the name-set is associated with the land of the totemic group's district. Totemic names are gendered, and both male and female names give the named person *intasmu* (totemic rights) of shared ownership over the whole totemic district. Hence, all members of a totemic group share the responsibility of stewardship of the totemic district and all totemic entitlements—ownership is collective, not individual. The totemic name "emplaces" the named person within the totemic group's district in the sense of designating the responsibilities for the stewardship of the land of the district. Bestowing one of these names constitutes nomination to "primary" affiliation with the totemic group.

Everyone has primary and "secondary" affiliation to totemic groups. Primary affiliation and membership in totemic groups is bestowed upon a person through nomination regardless of whether the actor can trace a genealogical relationship with the members of the totemic group with which the name is associated. Primary affiliation means that an actor has been

given a totemic name and the associated intasmu, which designates totemic group membership, and gives the named person rights to land, entitlements, responsibilities of stewardship, and access to chiefly title. In the local idiom, primary totemic affiliation is *opoc* (heavy), meaning the strongest, and most important of a person's affiliations. In contrast to one's primary affiliation, a person's other affiliations are secondary or *ahiecahiec* (light), meaning less important. All cognatic descendants who can trace a genealogical relationship with the totemic ancestor have secondary affiliation. Secondary affiliates are not entitled to proprietary totemic rights, but they are entitled to usufruct rights. Secondary affiliates have no responsibility of stewardship, and they do not have access to chiefly titles. An islander can only have one primary totemic affiliation, which is bestowed upon a person when one receives a totemic name, but one can have many secondary affiliations by virtue of cognatic descent.

A primary totemic affiliation is a male or female person's foremost *nefalañ* (path) in life, and an identity that will slowly become a part of that person as he or she participates as a member of that group. "Affiliation" is thought of as a path because a person's primary affiliation requires action and participation following the bestowal of the responsibilities of stewardship of land. In contrast, a secondary totemic affiliation is lighter and less important; it is a person's peripheral path or paths and does not require the same participation because one is not a member of the totemic group—one is only a secondary affiliate. These secondary paths remain open, regardless of whether a person chooses to follow them. A person's primary affiliation is typically to one's father's totemic group, since there is patrilineal bias in naming. However, one's primary affiliation can be either patrilateral or matrilateral because it is determined by nomination, not descent. In contrast, nomination is not necessary for secondary/light affiliation. Once a person is nominated to a totemic group, he or she will reside with his or her parents until marriage, after which men create a residence near the hamlet of their nominator, who is typically one's father. In contrast to men, a woman follows her husband and resides in a hamlet near her husband's parents. As a person receives primary affiliation in a totemic group, he or she also assumes the identity or *nedou* (ways) of the *inpulidwiñ* (totemic ancestor). The totemic ancestor is an animal from which all members of a totemic group are thought to "descend" or (in the vernacular) to follow the same *aced* (path).[15] People who are genealogically connected with the totem (and members of the totemic group) are the first to be considered for nomination because they have *inja* (totemic blood).

The members of a totemic group do not have a totemic appellative (like a last name in European traditions), but rather, the name they receive from the

name-set associates them with the totemic group that has the right to bestow the name and with its district. A name belongs to only one person at any one time and cannot be used by another person. At any one point in time, not all names in the name-set will be conferred. The unconferred totemic names are retained in a totemic "name-bank," which only totemic group members have access to. When a person dies, if he or she did not appoint a namesake, then the name will be deposited in the name-bank and remain in people's memory until it is bestowed again. The unconferred names in the "name-bank" continue to exist in the common memory of all totemic group members and in the memory of other Aneityumese elders, and it will eventually be bestowed by those who have the right to do so. However, there is often disagreement as to who has the right to bestow unconferred names from the name-bank. Name-sets themselves can be disputed, since totemic groups sometimes claim each other's names.

Unlike on Tanna, where women's names do not entitle a person to any rights in property (Lindstrom 1985, 34), women's totemic names on Aneityum bestow shared rights to all totemic entitlement. Aneityumese names not only entail rights to land or ground (*nopothan*) to men and women, but also accord the named person the social position of the previous holders of the name. This position is social and physical, but it is not fixed and depends on the previous holder of the name because the position changes with the reputations of previous namesakes. This is not only a social position but also a personality and unique skill, namely, how one's namesake acted and talked, and if he or she had an economic specialization (canoe building, fisher, mat weaving, midwifery, kava planting, taro planting, etc.). However, this social positioning does not include chiefly titles. When the name of a chief is bestowed upon a person, this simply confers the social personality of the chief to the named person. In order to attain the title, the named person must be nominated to the chiefly title. Nomination to chiefly name and nomination to chiefly title are two different actions. The name lays a path toward attaining the title, but the named person must actively follow the ways and embody the values of one's namesake to be nominated to the title.

The reputation of a name changes historically in accordance with the reputation incumbents have earned. A person can improve the name's reputation and prestige by using it in a positive way, most easily through sharing, unselfishness, or *nakro* (feasting). However, a name can suffer if its owner uses it negatively, most commonly for personal gain, or *meteg* (selfishness)—characteristics often attributed to *nedou itoga* (the ways of the outsider). The actions of the person nominated to that name will be associated with the name long after the person perishes. If the other members of a person's totemic group think that he or she is using the name

improperly, then the name will be disputed and, eventually, if the person in question does not modify his or her actions, removed. A person who has been stripped of his or her name belongs nowhere and is ejected from the group. One becomes a *netec-alo* (banished family),[16] a person with no land and no membership who must rely on secondary affiliation to find one's way.

One's name designates primary totemic affiliation and thus shared rights of totemic entitlement, because each totemic member is entitled to an equal share of proprietorship. All cognatic descendants of a totemic ancestor may potentially receive a totemic name, since totemic names are typically given to blood descendants, who are all secondary totemic affiliates.[17] A person's primary affiliation is typically to one's father's totemic group because male and female children usually receive names that affiliate them with their father's totem. However, it is not uncommon for a person to be nominated to his or her mother's totem. For example, Kadikau[18] and Numala have ten children. Nine of them have been nominated to their father's (Kadikau's) totemic group, and one has been nominated to their mother's (Numala's) totemic group. Hence, given that primary affiliation in a totemic group is through nomination, sibling sets may well be scattered among totemic groups. Even though there is a paternal bias in naming, anyone—in theory—can be nominated to totemic groups in need of custodians for the land owned by the totemic group.

Aneityum Naming and Marriage Practices

Naming Ceremony

Today, it is common for Aneityumese to bestow totemic names months or even years after the child's birth, but Inhat says this was not the case in the past, when all Aneityumese were named at birth. Today, naming commonly takes place later, as European-derived names are often bestowed first.[19] Today, some infants are bestowed totemic names at birth and others later in life, but in both cases the naming ceremonies are similar. Whether a person receives a name at birth or after birth, the naming ceremony takes place at the *indeptag* (central meeting place) of the totemic district.

Earlier on the naming day, households from within and outside the person's totem congregate to prepare food to be cooked in the ground oven. This includes a meat protein, usually pork (for non–Seventh-day Adventist communities) or beef, and *intal* (taro). Taro is a staple root crop and also an essential food for any Aneityum ceremony because of its cultural significance, since it is Aneityum's most valued item of exchange. Today there are many

other root crops and imported foods, for example, sweet potato, manioc, rice, and flour, but taro is thought to give strength, and as Aneityumese say, *Et ciñ intal elpuejom* (Taro is the food that Aneityumese eat).

The naming ceremony ideally takes place in the afternoon, when the sun is nearing the horizon. The food is then unearthed and set on leaves in bunches, in preparation for the *nakro* (feast), which will take place when the ceremony is complete. When the name is uttered for the first time, the meat and taro are shared equally among all those present. The name conveyer takes center stage among the audience with the receiver at his side. He then says the name for the first time among the constituents, after which, people are given the bundle of food that had been set out for them. A portion is set aside for all allied chiefs and family-heads outside of the totemic district who are not present. Representatives carry the bundles of food whose recipients are absent to all corners of the island. The men and women then congregate to drink *incacen* (kava) long into the night to mark the joyous and celebratory occasion. The nakrou and kava are essential parts of the naming ceremony. If a name is bestowed without the sharing of food or drinking of kava it is thought less significant by the members of the totemic group, chiefdom, and moiety.

Totem Endogamy and Exogamy

The bestowal of a totemic name prepares a person for marriage because the Aneityumese practice both totem endogamy and totem exogamy. In the Aneityum system of kinship, endogamy and exogamy are not mutually exclusive. Endogamy is used to retain the resources of the totemic group, and exogamy is used to acquire resources and create "roads" of exchange with other totemic groups. In totem endogamy, a person's ideal partner belongs to the same totem and resides within the same totemic district. In both endogamy and exogamy, all bilateral cross-cousins are eligible partners, who—in endogamy—belong to the same totemic group/district by virtue of nomination, and—in exogamy—belong to different totemic groups/districts. Today, bilateral cross-cousin marriage (endogamous or exogamous) continues to be the ideal form of partnership, and any form of parallel-cousin marriage is thought incestuous. This is structured linguistically in kinship terms: parallel cousins for males and females are *etwak-atamañ* or *natamañ erak* (brother) and *etwak-atаheñ* or *nataheñ erak* (sister), while cross-cousins for males are *nega uñek* (brother-in-law) and *egak-an-netec* or *incinap* (wife-in-the-family), and cross-cousins for females are *natamñ-uñek-an-netec* or *napap* (husband-in-the-family) and *nohod-uñek* (sister-in-law).

In the past, bilateral cross-cousin marriage within the totemic group (endogamy) was common because both sides of a person's family—maternal

and paternal—belonged to the same totemic group and resided in the same district. That is, with totem endogamy, one's mother and father received names from the same totemic group and resided in the same district. This system was clearly much easier when the Aneityumese population was larger and people resided in their totemic districts, rather than in today's villages, where people regularly come into contact with members of other totemic groups.

Today, many Aneityumese leaders openly prefer totem endogamy to exogamy. In totem endogamy, the resources of the totemic district are not shared and continue to be preserved in the way the ancestors of the totemic group intended. In totem endogamy, both husband and wife are stewards of the land of the totemic district, a responsibility that they both share, since they do not have totemic group responsibilities elsewhere. Totem endogamy is still valued because couples who marry endogamously belong to the same place, rather than two different places, which unifies the couple in a relationship with the place where they both belong.

Totem endogamy continues to be the preferred form of marriage from the perspective of many Aneityumese leaders, but it is not the most common, which is totem exogamy. The system of endogamy became impractical during the demographic disaster, when the population dropped to a level that made totem endogamy possible. However, as noted above, totem endogamy and exogamy are not mutually exclusive. In the past, the Aneityumese used exogamy to create nefalañ (roads) into other districts and chiefdoms to acquire resources. Nefalañ are pathways into areas that were normally insulated from each other by virtue of the practice of endogamy. In short, exogamy created relationships between totemic groups, chiefdoms, and moieties. In the past, exogamy was reportedly common among chiefs, who would marry outside the chiefdom to create routes of exchange and to acquire resources. This solidified alliances between totemic groups, chiefdoms, and moieties. Chiefs aside, in the past, it was common for non–chiefly titled Aneityumese to practice totem endogamy, exclusively marrying within the same totemic group to retain the resources of the group. However, today, given that exogamy has become more common, the Aneityumese have numerous "roads" throughout the island, and resources are shared among the population. Totem endogamy is rarely a rationale for marriage, and today it has become increasingly common to marry for romance, prestige, or money.

When a woman marries outside her totem, she still retains the land rights her totemic name accords her, and these rights could potentially be shared with her spouse's totem in the form of usufructuary rights. This is how totemic groups acquire resources through exogamy. By virtue of her name, the woman continues to be responsible for the land of her totemic district, and she is free to return to her district when she wishes. In this way,

intermarrying groups come to share land and its use. These types of alliances were important in the past and continue to be important today, but if the relationship goes awry, the alliance can easily turn hostile. Exogamy also complicates the couple's relationship because the two spouses are not stewards of the same place. In exogamous marriages, the couple is not grounded in one place but is divided between two places because of the different responsibilities they have received by virtue of nomination.

Today, most marriages are totem exogamous, but the logic of endogamy is often maintained by changing names. When a woman marries outside her totem, her name can be changed to match her husband's—unless the woman is the last member of a totemic group, or her family insists she keep her name to preserve a "road" for her kin to reside in more than one district. Either a woman's name is changed to preserve the rule of endogamy, or exogamy is upheld to ensure an alliance between totemic groups. For example, Inhat's wife, Nauwagi, was previously named Nauyan, a name Tepahae gave her from his totemic group, but her name and totemic membership changed when Inhat returned the name "Nauyan" to Tepahae and then bestowed Nauwagi, a name that emplaced her within his own totemic group—retaining the logic of totem endogamy.

When a female changes her name after a totem-exogamous marriage, most of her children will receive a name from their paternal totem, but typically at least one child, male or female, will receive a name from the child's maternal totemic group as a form of exchange. The child will belong to the maternal totemic group even if the child remains in the parent's household during childhood. The child is thought to replace the mother within her totemic group. "Sister exchange" is not common on Aneityum; instead, the Aneityumese prefer to nominate a female or male child in the next generation to assume the place of the mother in her original totemic group/district. Note that this is not always an "exchange of women" because male children are often part of this exchange. When a female keeps her totemic name after an exogamous marriage, this creates an alliance between totemic groups and a "road" between districts in the sense that the family members can move freely between districts because they have responsibilities in each district. As in the former case, at least one male or female child will receive a maternal totemic name as the general rule of exchange, but if the alliance is strong, the two totems will share totemic rights among all of the couple's children.

Created Vernacular Names

In rare cases persons receive vernacular names that do not have totemic associations. These names are *athai* (created or built).[20] Created vernacular names

do not imply membership in a totemic group and therefore also do not confer entitlements, such as stewardship of land. A person who has one of these names has no primary totemic affiliation and relies instead on his or her secondary totemic affiliation to find his or her way. Persons with created names do not have intasmu (totemic rights), which means they have no chance of attaining any leadership position. Hence, there is a hierarchical relationship between those few bearing created names and those bearing totemic names. However, while persons with created names can be seen as having no place in the social order because of a lack of rights, they are also recognized as having less responsibility and more freedom than a person with a totemic name.

Persons with created names and secondary affiliation are freely given usufruct rights to land, and so they are not landless. In this sense, a created vernacular name allows incorporation within the spatio-social Aneityum order, but without the responsibilities and entitlements that come with a totemic name.[21] Once married, a person with a created name will typically follow the primary affiliation of his or her spouse, and it is typical for the spouse's family to confer a totemic name on the person with a created name once the couple is married, fulfilling the logic of totemic endogamy.

European-Derived Names

It is typical for Aneityumese to have two names: one totemic and one European-derived. Inhat says that European-derived names lack the meaning that totemic names have because they are novel foreign indicators with little significance in Aneityumese social life. However, as noted above, European-derived names are typically bestowed first, before totemic names are bestowed. Inhat attributes this not to the preference for European-derived names, but rather to the Aneityumese preference to wait to see where to emplace the child.

Unlike the neighboring island of Tanna, where indigenous names become associated with European-derived appellatives and are reproduced through nomination (Lindstrom 2011, 149)—the Aneityumese keep European-derived names separate from their vernacular names. European-derived names are nonetheless essential when one ventures beyond the Aneityum social world. The European-derived name is an invitation to participate in the social world beyond Aneityum, and the name itself is associated with this outside world.

To illustrate this point I recall an experience I had a few weeks after my arrival on Aneityum, when an Aneityumese man participated with me in my "outside world" using his European-derived name. His "name" was Georgie, and I met him serendipitously at the indeptag (central meeting place) of

Anelcauhat. He was a friendly man who had spent some of his life living in the capital Port Vila. In Aneityumese fashion we shared a *nupu* (heap of chewed kava) infused with cold water and sieved into two coconut shells. The kava was particularly strong, and I was unable to walk after only one shell.[22] Georgie was also struggling to walk and stayed by my side the whole night. We had a long and complex conversation about life in Vanuatu. With the help of the kava I felt like I knew Georgie inside and out. The next day I told my host-mother that I shared some strong kava with a man name Georgie the night before, but she looked at me with confusion, and she said she did not know who that was. I described him in detail and she soon exclaimed, "Oh, that's my uncle Topam, I didn't know his name was Georgie." I realized that "Georgie" was using his European-derived name intentionally, and I didn't even know his "real" name. Topam, like many Aneityumese, use their European-derived name as a way of acting in accordance with the foreign world with which they come into contact, and their European-derived names allow them to do this. European-derived names do not become associated with a person's totemic name, which is evidenced by the fact that my host-mother had no idea who Georgie was, but rather, European-derived names are used to hide one's totemic name and the totemic group from the uncertainty of the outside world, which, for Topam, was embodied in my presence.

In the past, instead of using a foreign name as Topam did, the Aneityumese would physically hide their face and body from others when they were in the presence of strangers. Aneityumese also practice avoiding eye contact with strangers because they believe such contact is potentially dangerous. In the past, if they did not have a name that gave them access to a particular social world, they avoided visual contact with everyone who belonged there—for example, members of the opposite moiety or opposing chiefdoms. In this way, a name creates a phenomenological presence with those who are familiar to the named person, and likewise, a distance from strangers who are identified as members of the opposite moiety or other chiefdoms. With modernity came innovation. Instead of physically hiding themselves from others, the Aneityumese started using foreign names to mask their totemic identity while participating in foreign social worlds. They continue to be cautious of outsider unpredictability, particularly that of Westerners and other ni-Vanuatu with whom they are unfamiliar. Today, it is common practice to mask one's totemic identity from others, and the Aneityumese are now able to do this by using a European-derived name.

European-derived names are necessary when interacting with the outside world, and the name makes this interaction possible because it belongs there. Aneityumese do not fear that their totemic name will be stolen or ruined if they share it, but rather they mask their identity to maintain a division

between the two worlds, just as they maintained divisions between canoes (moieties, chiefdoms, and totemic districts/groups) in the past. For them, their totemic names have no place in foreign worlds, but their European-derived names do. European-derived names are useful in maintaining this division because when a person uses his or her European-derived name, he or she assumes the role that name evokes—a foreign identity belonging to an outside world. In other words, with any name—totemic, created, or European-derived—one is invited into the social world and physical space that the name belongs to, but without it, one remains outside.

Conclusion

Why Did Tepahae Uwuñtap (Commit Ritual Suicide)?

Let us return to Tepahae's case to understand how the history of land and Aneityum customary land tenure played a role in his conscious choice to uwuñtap. Early in Tepahae's life he created a close and lasting relationship with the place he was nominated[23] to. With the help of his wife, Wanipi, Tepahae actively sustained this relationship for decades, primarily by gardening and dwelling in that place. This relationship between Tepahae and the land was disrupted when Nauni, a mother's brother from the neighboring island of Futuna, disputed Tepahae's right to the land in question. In 1985, the dispute reached the Vanuatu Supreme Court.[24] Nauni was represented by his son, Navalak, who claimed that his father was the "custom owner" of the land in question and that Tepahae had no right to be there. Navalak was representing his father and all patrilineal descendants of Habina—Navalak's great-grandfather—an Aneityumese pastor and chief of Anejo who married a Futunese woman and moved to Futuna. Navalak's great-grandfather, Habina, never returned to Aneityum, but some of his descendants did, such as Navalak's father, Nauni. Tepahae was also related to Habina, but through his mother, Nauni's sister. Hence, Navalak and Tepahae both shared a common ancestor by descent, or inja (blood): Navalak was related to Habina by patrilineal descent and Tepahae by matrilineal descent.

In 1986, the Vanuatu Supreme Court ruled against Tepahae and awarded Navalak and his father proprietary rights by virtue of patrilineal descent. After the ruling, Navalak was declared the "custom owner" of the land. The judge ordered Tepahae to leave for one year, after which time he could return if Navalak granted him a lease. Tepahae lost the rights and access to land that he was nominated to, and for this reason he was de facto alienated from the land. He lost his rights and access on the basis of "custom," but there was a clear misinterpretation of "custom" because, as should now be clear,

Aneityum land is not automatically inherited through patrilineal or matrilineal descent, but is bestowed upon a person through nomination. In sum, Tepahae lost access to his land through a postcolonial system that privileged patrilineal descent over more complex forms of customary land tenure, such as the Aneityumese system of nomination.

Tepahae was not a nominated chief—he was only a nominated steward of the land in question. At the time he lost his rights he was the eldest male steward of the land, and one of the most influential members of the Anejo chiefdom. The Vanuatu Supreme Court awarded land rights to Navalak, who then became the registered owner. Before this time the land had no registered owner. The idea that there can be one individual owner of a parcel of land is a foreign idea, and from the perspective of many Aneityumese leaders, individual ownership is an unwanted colonial artifact that made it easy for foreigners to acquire land. Hence, an individual cannot own land—land can only be collectively owned.

From the perspective of most Aneityumese, the Aneityumese leadership should have resolved this dispute because they are the caretakers of the land of their own island—not the Vanuatu Supreme Court. This dispute was taken out of the hands of the Aneityumese and was resolved by a postcolonial system of law that did not take the practice of nomination into account. After the ruling, Tepahae moved from his totemic district to a neighboring district that was uninhabited and started a new temporary settlement at Anpeke, the place I had last seen him. After Navalak won the case he self-appointed himself as chief but, like Tepahae, he was never nominated to a chiefly position. Tepahae was devastated by the Supreme Court's ruling and clearly did not want to return to live under the self-appointed chief. In response, Tepahae started calling himself chief too, and even published a paper under the name "Chief Philip Tepahae" (1997). In my interpretation, the issues surrounding this land dispute are the principal reasons why Tepahae was never nominated to a chiefly position. This tension continued until 2008, when a *nasiñpa* (peace ceremony) was organized by Inhat and other influential leaders of Aneityum.

The peace ceremony was intended to heal the fractured relationship between Tepahae and Navalak, a dispute that epitomized the Aneityum/Futuna tension on the island that now involved a handful of other totemic groups. The ceremony was first thought to be a success; Navalak, with his lawyer by his side, signed a written agreement to give up his proprietary rights and to let the Aneityumese resolve the dispute. It had become clear to Navalak that the Aneityumese leaders wanted to establish collective ownership over the land in question, and they did not want to alienate him. Navalak agreed that the Aneityumese leadership should have determined

the "owner" before the Vanuatu Supreme Court made any ruling. This was an admirable move, since Navalak was giving up his proprietary rights to the land and allowing the Aneityumese leadership to determine if his right was valid. Tepahae was then allowed to return to the land in question as an equal to Navalak, who was no longer the registered owner. Tepahae wanted to return to his land immediately to renew his relationship by gardening and dwelling in that place. However, there was some resistance from Tepahae's totemic group to return, since they had lived at Anpeke, the temporary settlement, for much of their life. The thought of starting a new settlement again was overwhelming for many of them. Tepahae needed the support of his totemic group to successfully return. This was not something he could do alone, and he felt strongly that they needed to return together.

Tepahae was acting on an intention to pass something on, as his statement that opens this paper indicates. He wanted to make a statement about his life that would be impossible for people to forget. Tepahae was acting not only for himself, but also for the totemic group as a whole. He wanted to end his life in a way that would propel the rest of them into participation with the land. Tepahae wanted his totemic group to return to the place where they belong—to the place where they had been emplaced by virtue of nomination. Tepahae returned to the land of his totemic district and took his life in a way that symbolized what that place meant to him, as a way to ensure that future generations do not lose the vital relationship with the land. This was a contemporary act, but one that drew on empowering historical ancestral traditions and practices. From a national perspective, Tepahae's actions can be understood as a form of extreme activism in response to being alienated from the land for nearly two decades. However, this act was not just political, but also deeply phenomenological. The ritual suicide he performed emplaced his body, ensuring his presence in that district and chiefdom for generations to come. Today, years later, his presence has become an indelible feature of his totemic district, chiefdom, and moiety—and one that urges participation with the land by all those responsible for it. Tepahae's message to his totemic group was clear: follow my lead and return to where you belong.

NOTES

1. *Nesgan* means "soul" and "body."

2. Anejom is also spoken by the few Aneityumese speakers who reside elsewhere in Vanuatu and abroad.

3. At that time the archipelago was named the New Hebrides.

4. The structure that I describe in this paper is more ideological than actual. Given the demographic decline on Aneityum, many Aneityumese do not organize themselves in relation to it in actuality, since it disperses people evenly over the landscape. Today, most Aneityumese live clumped near a village (e.g., Anelcauhat, Umej, Port Patrick), where there are churches, stores, and schools. However, even though most Aneityumese are not organized by this structure in actuality—I have found that it persists in their reality as a phenomenological "phantom limb," since they feel its presence and know it is there. Many Aneityumese from different areas on the island described this structure, but the majority of the information in this paper comes from people like Tepahae and Inhat (Aneityumese VCC fieldworkers), with whom I worked closely during my time on Aneityum from December 2004 to July 2009 as a Peace Corps volunteer.

5. I use the terms moiety, chiefdom, and (totemic) district here, but the Aneityumese call all of these categories *nelcau* (canoes). However, this terminology is confusing because while all of the social categories are canoes, they are different levels of social organization. Hence, I introduce the terms moiety, chiefdom, and (totemic) district to differentiate them, but the reader should keep in mind that these categories are all canoes from the Aneityumese perspective.

6. For example, Tepahae is a member of the Anejo chiefdom and thus a member of the Sunset Moiety, while Inhat is a member of the Anauonse chiefdom and thus also a member of the Sunset Moiety.

7. The Futuna of Vanuatu is called "West Futuna" by Keller (2007) to differentiate it from the Futuna of Wallis and Futuna. However, in this paper for the sake of simplicity I will use the name that is commonly used in Vanuatu, "Futuna." Futuna is a Polynesian outlier, and the island is clearly visible from North Aneityum. There is a long history of interaction between the two islands, which continues today.

8. These characteristics parallel the differences between the endogamous moieties of Futuna (Lynch and Fakamuria 1994, 85).

9. Neriam also claims that there are only six chiefdoms, not seven, but other members of both moieties have not substantiated this claim.

10. The bestowal of chiefly titles will be discussed in depth below.

11. In support of this claim, Matthew Spriggs argues that the Aneityumese chiefly system was most likely the product of a developing economic infrastructure of irrigated taro fields (1981: 57–60). For Spriggs, the Aneityumese economic infrastructure of irrigated taro fields did not lead to an ecological disaster, but rather, to a complex system of social stratification.

12. This information comes from Inhat. He explained that there are three levels of chief and one family-head.

13. First-, second-, and third-level chiefs were all considered natimared in Anejom, but second- and third-level chiefs were referred to as nhakli-natimared (small chief). More research is need to determine the details of this system, for example, which totemic groups, specifically, have second- or third-level chiefs. The chiefly totemic groups (first-level)

are clear, but the details concerning the second and third levels of this system are not clear.

14. Spriggs estimates that there are fifty-one to fifty-five districts on the island and supports this claim with archaeological evidence and early missionary accounts (Spriggs 1985, 27; see fig. 3). However, there is no consensus among the Aneityumese as to the exact number of totemic districts. More research is needed to fill in the details of this system. The problem is that many districts are currently uninhabited and are waiting to be repopulated. Totemic districts are uninhabited for one of two reasons: (1) all of the members of the district have died out, in which case the Aneityumese call the district *nopothan mas* (dead land), or (2) the members of the totemic district live elsewhere on the island, most likely in one of the main villages: Anelcauhat, Umej, Port Patrick, or somewhere else in Vanuatu or beyond.

15. For example, the chiefly totemic group of *Anauonse* chiefdom is *tatau* (barracuda), who is known to have sharp teeth and remains stable even in the roughest weather. Likewise, the members of the barracuda chiefly totemic group have fierce fighting skills if needed, but they are also able to stay strong in times of adversity.

16. Literally, netec-alo means "family that has been vomited," in the sense that one has been ejected from a larger social body.

17. As I have argued, this system is flexible. If there are no blood descendants then anyone, in theory, can be nominated by virtue of name bestowal.

18. Kadikau has recently been nominated to the chiefly title (natimared) of *Anauonse* chiefdom.

19. European-derived names are described in depth below.

20. These names are often metaphorical, such as the name I was given: *Natauanumu* (help of life). The more metaphorical the name, the shorter the history associated with it. In contrast, the most important totemic names are esoteric and they have longer histories and are no longer metaphorical.

21. Created names are the only names given to foreigners who have been "unofficially" adopted into Aneityumese families, for example the name Yayaho gave to me. In bestowing this name, Yayaho was not nominating me to his totemic group, but simple inviting me to participate as a secondary affiliate. In contrast, "official" adoption requires totemic nomination—the conferring of a totemic name and associated responsibilities and entitlements.

22. The strength of the kava was intentional, as Georgie hoped to make me drunk.

23. As I have argued in this paper, nomination and emplacement to totemic groups/districts are accomplished by name bestowal. However, in respect for Tepahae and his family members, I will not discuss any specific details concerning Tepahae's name in particular. However, I will make it clear that he was nominated to the totemic group/district of the land in question. At the time of writing, this land dispute is still ongoing, and any specific claim concerning Tepahae's name should be made by the Aneityumese themselves—not

by a *nupu-toga* (an outsider) such as myself. To be clear, this dispute involves more than just two parties. Tepahae and Navalak are just two of the people involved, and it is the aim of the Aneityumese leadership not to exclude anyone who has been bestowed rights to the land in question. My main points in this paper are (1) that Aneityum customary land tenure is not automatically determined by descent, but rather by nomination, and (2) land on Aneityum is not owned by individuals, but rather, it is owned by groups. Hence, Tepahae is *not* the only nominated person to "look after" this land. Out of respect for all members of his group, I will not discuss any details concerning who the specific members are, or who has the responsibility of stewardship. Again, those details should only be disclosed by the people who have the right to do so, and I am not one of those people.

24. Tebahai v. Habina, Vanuatu Supreme Court 9; Land Appeal Case 007 of 1985.

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NAMING IN KANAK GROUPS: NAMES, RELATIONS, AND PERSONAL IDENTITY AMONG THE PAICÎ KANAK (PONERIHOUEN, NEW CALEDONIA)

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In this text, I discuss the methodological framework of my research on naming in general[1] and naming in Kanak groups in particular. Based on fieldwork in the Ponerihouen area (east coast of Grande Terre, New Caledonia), it shows the various levels of Paicî names, their usage in context, their transmission, and their relation with kin terms. A number of processes are at work in the naming of people (different categories of name, etc.) from one society to the next, as well as within a society, and naming can even depend on the speech context. Likewise, it is important to study the processes (or their absence) by which names are chosen and transmitted. The anthropological approach helps in understanding the practices involved in naming and seeing how they articulate with other social practices. While name giving is universal, each society has its own complex set of norms governing the practice. The "why and how people switch from one level to another" is one of the subjects dealt with here. Using examples from genealogies, I explain how names are transmitted by both paternal and maternal kin, how the transmission of these names enables at the same time the transmission of lineage and individual histories, and why names are an integral part of the constitution of the person. We thus come to understand what the naming system entails in the way of social reproduction and the constitution of groups and individuals, as well as their affinal relations from one generation to the next. In conclusion, I stress the importance of Kanak naming systems for social relations and local

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history through the genealogical repetition of names from earlier ancestors to the present generations, both in the male and female lines and in their alliances. Naming new members of a society is in effect one way of inscribing them in their space-time, which even though it may sometimes seem to be unchanging, is nevertheless an inscription in history. As Lindstrom says:

> On one level, the system pretends to eternal stasis and continual social reproduction—the same places, the same people, endure from century to century. On another level, however, history may rewrite eternity. People reinvent themselves and their island by inscribing new names (on their land and on themselves). (2011, 143)

Methodological Framework

There are different ways of dealing with naming.[2] One is to consider personal name giving with reference to several social domains or contexts: for instance, those having to do with kinship, social rank, different category systems, the person's membership in a distinct socioeconomic class, or more generally, alluding to the latest collective volume, "social organization"[3] (Chave-Dartoen, Leguy, and Monnerie 2012). As Bromberger notes:

> The specific vocation of anthroponymic research should be … to identify … the rules for attributing names, the principles by which similar and different individuals are classified … by the way they are named, the laws governing the naming *system…,* and finally the—syntagmatic—properties that differentiate, in utterances, the names of persons from other name categories and the—social—norms that prescribe or forbid their use in speech. (1982: 103–4; our translation)

Anthropological studies provide numerous discussions of the definition of the person and the way people are called, as well as the relation between the representation of the person and the social and symbolic organization characteristic of each society. This scientific tradition is of particular note in France since the publication of Mauss's founding text (1973: 333–88), in which he speaks of the three levels of names given a Roman citizen: the *nomen* or family or "clan" name, the *praenomen* or personal name, and the *cognomen,* an additional or nickname, all of which constitute the person and that individual's status. Mauss developed the tie between person and name through the example of slaves who, by not possessing their own body, ancestors, names, or personal assets, were not people. In the last few decades, the

ethnosciences have extended the question of naming and classification to the realm of nature (cf. in particular Lévi-Strauss 1962, 248; Bromberger 1982, 108; Leblic 2002a, 115), as I did when I began my work on the Paicî naming system.

If, in addition, we consider the theoretical orientation of these studies, it becomes clear that whether one takes the national or the international context, the work on naming systems fits into three general paradigms: those of a structural character (Lévi-Strauss 1962; Zonabend 1980, 1997; MacDonald 1999), those done by functionalists (structure-functionalists,[4] cf. the Oxford school) and by culturalists (cf. the pre-1970s North American anthropologists; Geertz[5] 1973a, 1973b, 1984), and finally those done by various proponents of the ethnopragmatic approach—enunciative and pragmatic (Benveniste 1976; Zietlyn 1993)—centered on social practices and the language uses with which they are associated. Here, I briefly address the first and last lines of thinking.

The structuralists place emphasis on the autonomy and diversity of naming systems and the names found in each cultural and social community, as well as their underlying logics. For Lévi-Strauss, names, like all words in a language, form a system of independent components that act together, and in this sense, names are a link between the order inherent in language and that characterizing the extralinguistic domains of nature and society (cf. Arno 1994: 23–5). In this framework, anthroponymic systems make it possible, on the one hand, to assign individuals fixed positions and, on the other hand, to account for changes in individuals' status over their lifetime, including a multitude of situations between (cf. Bromberger 1982, 109; Zonabend 1980, 15). To ask "Why give names?" (Zonabend 1997) comes down to saying that the function of names is not limited to identifying and individualizing people; it also classifies them (Lévi-Strauss 1962).[6] In this way, the "three functions of the attribution of a name [can be isolated]: identification, classification, signification" within an existing social structure by assigning a place to each individual or class of individuals, just as "naming founds the identity of the individual, ensures their integration in society, helps determine and define the personality as both a singular and a social individual" (Zonabend 1992, 509). Lévi-Strauss makes a distinction between naming systems made up of "classes of positions," thus enabling an opposition between self and others, and those made up of "classes of relations,"[7] with intermediate types combining relations and positions on an equal footing (1962: 261–62, 265). The diversity of anthroponym types found in different societies, including patronyms, "real names," various levels of first names and nicknames, teknonyms, necronyms, and homonyms (Massard-Vincent and Pauwels 1999), justifies taking a closer look at naming systems in general and comparing them.

Strathern (1970) stresses that, at the individual level, attribution of a name makes it possible to conjoin history and system. Nevertheless, he shows that this intersection is not conceived in the same way depending on the society under study; some naming systems accentuate identification of the members and their singularity, which he terms "individual uniqueness," while others are essentially focused on status positions, which he terms "social position," and their relations.

The approaches of the third set, which are pragmatic in privileging context of utterances and interlocution, attempt to show how communication usages engender regularities. Like structuralist approaches, these aim to account for the cognitive and universal dimension of the act of naming. Nevertheless, the perspectives characterizing the two main types of approach are divergent: While in structural approaches the person named is envisaged as a totality, as an abstract representation (Mauss), the contextual and pragmatic viewpoints place the accent on the variable identities linked with the different areas of social organization; they force the interviewer to formulate a research program that does not assume the unicity of the person but envisages different representations of the self in accordance with the face-to-face situation.

It is important to look at the name not only from the standpoint of its designating function but also with regard to its semantic potential, especially because the act of naming entails identification. The stakes involved in naming can be seen in social and political contexts, often related to the bureaucratic workings of the state, just as they involve cultural, emotional, moral, and legal issues.[8] While for Benveniste (1976, 200) the proper name[9] can be defined as "a conventional mark of social identification such that it can constantly and uniquely designate a unique individual,"[10] Bromberger rightly notes that "a common feature of most anthroponymic systems [is that] the better they classify, the less well they identify; or, as a logician would say, what they gain in (sociological) extension, they lose in comprehension and in (individual) identification. In point of fact, *the distinctive weakness of a proper name system is merely the flip side of its classificatory richness*" (1982, 106; our translation).

After these theoretical remarks, I now turn to the different levels of Paicî names. But first I discuss the notion of person in Paicî Kanak society. Then I show what these names tell us about their social relations.

Identity and Social Relations: Naming and Names in Paicî Society

I have been studying kinship and adoption among the Paicî since 1989, using fieldwork carried out in the Ponerihouen area (on the east coast of the New Caledonian island of Grande Terre) and entailing collection of genealogies,

speeches, and discourse of kinship. A large part of the studies and analyses thus focused on naming.[11] This material enabled me to define the different levels of names, their use context, their bestowal, and their transmission in connection with Paicî kinship terminology and social organization. This patrilineal society names two exogamous matrimonial moieties: Dui and Bai (Leblic 2000). In addition to the lineage name, which most often serves as a patronym, there are various vernacular names, from the "real name" *(durunêê),* formerly hidden, to various nicknames and teknonyms, via Kanak and Christian first names; a whole series of motivated names; and names of certain categories of kin whose name must not be pronounced (*ilö* or "pot," *puu* or "earth," and *duéé* or "spirit" for the paternal aunt, for example, words that, with the exception of this specific usage, are closer to insults). Various nicknames and teknonyms are also often connected with place of residence, with position in the kinship network (*caa kê* or "father of" and *ao kë* or "grandfather of").

The Paicî Notion of Person

For the Paicî Kanak, many elements go into making up people and their identity, and these belong to different registers. Every person is characterized by belonging to a clan or a lineage, which is evinced with reference to a common ancestor and to manifestations of "totemic"[12] spirits, *tee,* and to a lineage name (today a patronym), which is a toponym or a term connected with the group's history. To these must be added other elements that constitute a person's identity, including personal names—especially the *durunêê*[13] but also the body, which is composed essentially of blood *(domîî),* bone *(duru),* and flesh *(pie),* and what is called breath or spirit *(nyûââ),* an element the missionaries call "soul," which enters the body of every individual at birth and leaves at death.

These components are transmitted through the lineage in the paternal line, in the maternal line, or through both, the language of uterine lineage blood being privileged in ceremonial speeches (see also Salomon 1998: 81–100; 2000: 36–46). I will not go over the role of Kanak representations of child conception in the definition of the person. Nevertheless, it is necessary to understand the link between naming and identity in the Paicî social organization.

For the Paicî, the mingling of the two bloods in the sexual act allows a child to be conceived, as is also the case for the neighboring Ajië (Salomon 1998, 84; 2000: 35–6). But that does not keep one of the two from outweighing the other, without it being always the same blood in a sibling group (Leblic 2010a). This makes each sibling slightly different from the others.

If the role and the contribution of the parents are incontestable in the child's conception, then as in any human activity, this cannot come about without the help or goodwill of the ancestors, in this case "the *duéé* divinities of the maternal clan, which permit there to be a child or not" (D. Göröde, interview, Mwââgu, February 22, 1996). With Godelier (2004), I reiterate that a man and a woman are not sufficient to make a child; all they make is a fetus that, to become a baby, a child, and then an adult, requires the intervention of ancestors, spirits, and all sorts of deities that are more powerful than humans. The Kanak consider that, from the first months of the pregnancy, the fetus is a fully fledged person and that the birth is owed to its desire to be born. Likewise, when a union does not result in the birth of children, the barren marriage is often attributed to failure to respect the rules and taboos.

Ozanne-Rivierre (1994, 217) underscores that personal names or "proper nouns" (including kin terms of address) are syntaxically marked in most Oceanic languages, with an opposition between "personal names and pronouns, on the one hand, and non-personal common nouns and pronouns (in particular deictic[14] forms of speech), on the other hand." And, as Tjibaou reminds us, naming is one of the social and cultural dimensions of the expression of personhood with reference to someone else, either human or nonhuman:

> We are not … I am never me. Me is linked to the individual. I am always someone with reference to. With reference to my fathers, with reference to my uncles.… A person exists only with reference to. (1981; our translation; see also the diagram of Leenhardt in *Do kamo…* [1985: 160–1, Figs. 4 and 5])

In saying this, as Ozanne-Rivierre points out,

> [Tjibaou] is referring to a widespread social reality in which the individual, although he/she as such, is bound up in a fabric of complex (family, social and totemic) relations, whose (often difficult) management is the object of constant attention. (1994, 218; our translation)

Later I show, using an example taken from the genealogies I collected, how important and complex this interlacing of relations is and how names are a means of remembering these relations over the succession of generations and of recording those named, in other words, the new members of the society, in their space-time (Leblic 2006).

Anthropology often defines the notion of person with respect to questions of reproduction. But other elements are essential for understanding the importance of this notion, such as the giving of various names. For the Paicî, giving a name places the person in a network of relations, since each person can bear the name of several other people, one name for each name category. Here is what I know about the way the Paicî attribute names.

The Various Name Levels

There are different types of name, from the "biggest" to the "smallest," each of which slots into the next category up. I will use the Mwâtéapöö as an illustration, starting with the name Gabriel Téâ Auru Mwâtéapöö:

1. *Nêê-rê wââo* (clan name), here Wêkumè: According to my informants, it can be broken down into *u* (spirit) and *mé* (face) for the mask called Gömaawé. The Wêkumè "big name"[15] contains seven lineages, of which one is Wêkumè Mwâtéapöö.
2. *Nêê-rê tää* (name of the mound), here Mwâtéapöö: This is the name of the house (often built on a mound), and it is connected with a task or function within the house; today it is also the family name and the patronym of the members of this lineage; it is the name that gives rights in lands.
3. *Duru-nêê*[16] (bone structure or skeleton of the name), which is said to be the real name, the name of an ancestor, here Téâ Auru, which can be translated as "the Téâ[17] who fled before the enemy."
4. *Närî-nê* (little name), the Christian name, here Gabriel.
5. *Nêê pi-tü* (name one rocks), or nickname, here "my old pé" (for when he was little, he would always say that) or Gaby (diminutive of Gabriel).

These different levels of name can be seen in light of the taboos on pronouncing the *duru-nêê*, and in that New Caledonia is no different from Melanesia as a whole, where such prohibitions are often found. In effect, to speak someone's name is directly to call up the ancestor whose name it is. To cure someone, the healer would pronounce the patient's real name. On the contrary, to launch a sorcery attack on someone, the *duru-nêê* would be used. Hence, the necessity of keeping a person's names secret in order to protect their bearer from potential attacks. But the secrecy surrounding names does not apply to everyone; some need to know them in order to choose the names of the ancestors to be transmitted. Certain elders, the pillars of the clans and of their ritual defense, could call the youngest by their names, such as those who held the position of *caa mä ao*[18]; maternal uncles could call their nieces

and nephews by their real name because, being responsible for their successful growth, they were among those who knew each one's real name in order to perform the rites indispensible to ensuring their good health. In addition, they were often the ones who gave the name originally. Often it was only at the time of initiation that one knew the names of a given house where the rite of initiation took place. Those who conducted the initiation were also responsible for waging war and had direct access to ritual knowledge.

Lineage or Clan Names, Patronyms, and Toponyms. Family names, or patronyms, and the various clan names are said to be iconically motivated or have a folk etymology. The examples of patronyms encountered in the genealogies of the Ponerihouen area and their folk meanings show that every patronym refers to a geographical or historical detail specific to the lineage. If we are to believe our informants, certain names refer to the lineage's origin or to an episode in its history and often their arrival at Ponerihouen, as in the case of the Pwârânyîmô, who came from a mound at Göièta that they left to settle at Görördù. But there was no hut there, only an erythrina bush, which they used for shelter while building their house. Hence, the name Pwârânyîmô comes from *pwärä-wâ nyîîmô* (erythrina fruit).

Other names, according to my informants, refer to the lineage's functions in the Paicî social organization, such as Pûrûê *mä* Caabërëpô, which means "head and tail of the path below"—in other words, a dignitary and members of his social group, who act as lookouts and defenders and who are of necessity down below in order to keep a watch for anyone coming.

The meaning of other lineage names is based on their mound of origin or on the name of the place where they settled, as in the case of the Autâgu (from Göa). Autâgu is actually *autââ-gù,* from *au-tââ* (a place to rest, to stay seated, or to stay) and from *gù* (to get moving to find a hiding place because an enemy is coming to get us).

As is often the case in Melanesia, patronyms[19] are therefore toponyms. As Lindstrom has noted for Tanna (1985, 2011, 2016) and Wood has noted for Aneytum (2016), personal names and proper names are tied to the toponymic systems and to rights in specific pieces of land. Among the Paicî, as in Tanna, care is also taken to see that each name is always transmitted. To avoid leaving a patronym, which is often also a toponym, without a bearer so that it risks disappearing for want of male descendants, some way is found to put someone in place, through adoption in particular. The telescoping of the different levels of names is thus as much an expression of the hierarchical organization of the social space as of the time elapsed over generations:

> When someone utters a *tââ mä wââo* name [clan and lineage name], immediately an origin mound comes to mind, a space; then it is

> the tree, the *duru-nêê;* for the name we bear always locates us in a defined space, a named place. (G. Mwâtéapöö, interview, Baala, December 6, 2004)[20]

Names therefore index not only the history of places but also that of wars or clan feuds: Some groups, pursued because of a specific power they held (making money, magic, etc.) took the name of the family that hid them from their pursuers and thus placed their own name in the background so as to avoid speaking it at the risk of revealing themselves to their enemies. In this sense, patronyms also encapsulated the history of land rights and of social ranks, as Arno underscored for the Lau (1994, 30).

However, in the past, the Kanak were a highly mobile society. People were always on the move, sometimes over a long period. "Our grandparents were nomads," some informants were fond of saying. People migrated for many reasons: to find a new home following a feud, to gain independence and a new territory, to escape from certain death, and so on. Before colonization, wars were fought to acquire power, which is also represented by the name. Whatever the cause, integration in a new space already occupied by other lineages always happened the same way. When people fled clan wars, for instance, and they were received into a new space, a ritual had to be performed at the altar of the masters of the site so that the new arrivals would not be out of phase with the place: The ancestors of the place were invoked, and a new name was given the newcomers.

There were therefore procedures for creating names that were called upon by refugees in times of war: The part of the lineage that traveled over the lands of another to hide sometimes implied the creation of a new name, at the level of the *nêê-rê tää,* by a *jau* (seer). For when the refugees arrived in a new territory, they found an organization already in place. The question is, How does one acquire a place without jeopardizing the existing equilibrium? The seer would therefore contact all lineages[21] and their ancestors to find out what name to give so that the reception of the new arrival or arrivals would not have subsequent repercussions on the social organization and so that the equilibrium would not be upset. He could thus give a name that was in phase with the place. With the new name, the newcomers would adopt a new totem and no longer have anything to do with the old one, for the totem also is linked to the place where one lives. When individuals changed their name in this way, they also had to change their totem and their "medicine," since the power of the latter is linked to the totemic spirits. Likewise, when someone is adopted as an adult into another lineage, they must change their names, their totem, and their medicine—in other words, their whole identity. For this reason, it is said that the name gives the identity.

But new arrivals could also fit into a new territory by buying a plot of land with an *âdi,* traditional Kanak money, which is black and is called *wârî nä puu* (price of the land). In this case, they could install an original totem.

Another, more recent reason for name change is linked to the creation of a civil status called *statut coutumier* and then to the imposition of patronyms in the 1950s in view of creating electoral lists. This created a lot of misinterpretations of Kanak names. For instance, the elder branch of the Nâaucùùwèè was listed simply as Pûrûê (the head), whereas "ideally everyone should have taken the name Nâaucùùwèè followed by the name of their branch: Nâaucùùwèè Pûrûê, Nâaucùùwèè Pwêolaa, Nâaucùùwèè Gorotâdo, etc." (M. Pûrûê, interview, December 30, 2004). This is another example that shows names are also history. For instance, since this date, some clans do not carry their name. Furthermore, people often used to be identified by their first name, with sometimes the addition of a place or a nickname and a teknonym to distinguish them from others who might have the same first name; they could thus be identified as *ari* + X (grandson of X).

But unlike the case of Tanna, here I do not put naming on the same footing as descent[22] when it comes to recruitment to social groups. Lindstrom highlights the question of sharing the name transmitted from one generation to the next and shows that landed groups are sets of names more than lineages or clans. For him, in such name-based systems, everyone becomes a member of a social group by being named by it, and he refers to Lévi-Strauss's concept of "house" (Lévi-Strauss 1987, 151) to describe these nonexclusively kin-based social units, which are therefore neither clans nor lineages. Finally, unlike Tanna, where the newly arrived replace their homonyms, homonymy among the Paicî does not proceed by replacement but institutes a special relationship between the giver and the taker of the name (explained later).

Nicknames. Nicknames are given over the course of a life according to criteria that range from morphology (Madeleine Ticè Poropwä, or "toothless") to personality traits to a childhood behavior:

> I was given the nickname "old pé [*pé* for *père,* father]" because that is what I had called an old man when I was little.… Pwöröuûgé, for mother, is "short fruit" … My grandmother is Pwiia *Mèräpû* "big head" Pwârâpwééaa. (G. Mwâtéapöö, interview, Baala, December 6, 2004)

It is also possible to innovate and have a nickname linked with a physical trait (Göri, "long one") or a behavioral trait. The giving and transmission of nicknames are not always linked with those of the real names. While the

nickname is sometimes passed on with the name, this is not usually the case. One can take someone's *duru-nêê* and someone else's nickname. For example, Joseph Vital Mwâtéapöö took the nickname "Vital," which was that of his grandfather Téâ Auru, whose name was taken by Gaby. He also had the nickname of Görö näcärü (on the cemetery), because grandfather Téâ Auru lived on the site of the cemetery at St. Yves; thus, only one of the grandfather's nicknames was passed on to Joseph Vital.

But nicknames, like real names, often carry a history:

> As marks of social integration in the community, nicknames are an internal code, inaccessible to the outsider but immediately intelligible for members of the group, which thereby creates its own history. (Segalen 1980, 72; our translation)

Göicé P.'s nickname is "burning brand thief," which he got from an old man who, when there were no matches yet, always stole burning twigs to light his cigarettes. *Nä iri pôrôwâ* (in the house's bottom) was the nickname of old Katë Aramôtö; it was also the nickname of *caa* André Mêcêrè Mwâtéapöö, because he grew up there, in the house of old Aramôtö.

In contexts such as these surrounding the transmission of personal names, where homonymy is established as a social rule of relations and a means of constructing the person, individual nicknames appear to play the "role of safety valve" and ensure "identification of the person"[23] by avoiding "confusions due to the same family names and first names" (Bromberger 1982, 105). Among the Paicî Kanak, this practice is completed by the use of teknonyms, as well as by the habit of calling people by the name of their present or past house.

Teknonyms. Teknonyms are composed of a term of address plus a personal name. While a number of kin terms are used as terms of reference (Leblic 2005a), when it comes to terms of address, the system boils down to four terms for men and four for women, as shown in Figure 1. Teknonyms are always composed in the same way: The kin term is placed before the name of the person involved in that relation, such as *nyââ kêê Téâ* (mother of Téâ), instead of the mother's first name.

One of the uses of teknonyms is to stand in for a name that is forbidden to pronounce because of taboos affecting the people concerned. For instance, as one among many signs of respect, paternal aunts cannot pronounce the names of their nephews. They therefore call them *ukai,* which is usually translated as "chief" or "elder" and is a term of high respect: "I will call big brother Göicé Mîî, *Pa ukai Göicé;* his grandsons will say *ao Göicé* directly" (G. Mwâtéapöö, interview, Baala, December 6, 2004).

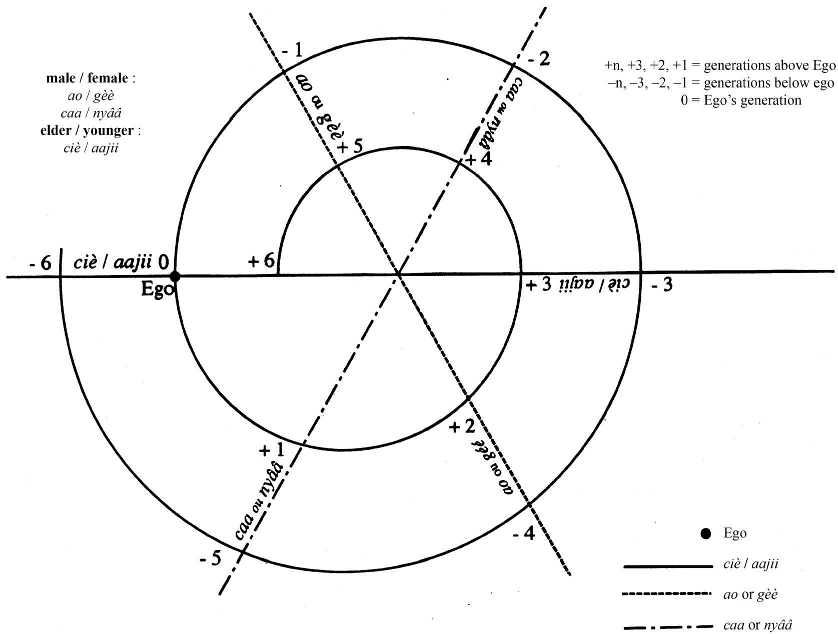

FIGURE 1. **The Spiral of Generations.**

Today, since taboos on pronouncing real names are mostly no longer respected, this practice tends to be less useful. Nevertheless, it is still widely practiced in Ponerihouen, even if one also often hears people called directly by their name.

Finally, another way of naming people is to designate them by their place of residence, in the same spirit as teknonyms and sometimes in connection with a kin term, but always taking into consideration the proper attitude for the kin tie. If the names are related to specific places, they can be taken along when the individual moves, such as *ao bel-air* (grandfather Bel Air) named after the place called Bel Air where he once lived, even if he has not lived there for a long time. If not, people change names when they move.

The "Spirit of the Name" and Naming Procedures: Choice of Names and Taboos

The *duru-nêê* (real name) is transmitted with the spirit of the name, *nyûââ-râ nêê* (soul, ghost/connective/name), which can be said to be assimilated to the power contained in the name, for to have a name is to control a power (Ku 2016, Bacalzo 2016). It is therefore important to not give just any name.

Some are dangerous or stronger than others; some names are so negative that they are no longer transmitted, such as Göödùù, a famous warrior who was so feared that his own maternal uncles struck him a (magical[24]) blow so that he would stop ravaging the area and its inhabitants. All of this contributes to the "sacred"[25] character of the name.

We know of two ways of taking a name, the choice being made by the parents of the child to be born or by other kinsmen on the paternal or maternal side. In the case of a firstborn son, the paternal kin usually ask the maternal kin to give the child a name, which is no doubt in line with the custom of giving the firstborn up for adoption in the birthmother's clan as compensation for having given a woman who enabled the lineage to perpetuate itself. All names are chosen from an earlier generation, with respect to one or several ancestors, taking part or all of his or their names, so that homonymy relation (*devine* in Ajië or *jènôôrî* in Paicî) is preserved. Sometimes the *duru-nêê* is chosen from the child's maternal lineage to honor them or from another lineage with which the patrilineage has contracted alliances in the past. But one does not take the name of one's own father; rather, one takes that of the father's brother. Names can also be given in relation to cross-alliances or by inheritance, for to take someone's name acts as a reminder of past events, for example, the people in question lived for a long time in a shared dwelling or migrated[26] together, or to recall an event connected with wars.

The expression for giving or transmitting someone else's name is *tu-nê* (to give/name) or *pi-tu-nêê* (reciprocal/to give/name). There is also *pijipe nê* (who grasps the name). The expression *tupédu pi-nê* (the two/reciprocal/name) designates the two homonyms that bear the same name. Homonymy (*pi-nnêê-ru,* or "they two have the same name") implies a total identification between the two bearers of the same person's name (the person who has transmitted his name and the one who receives it). For instance, Albert Téâ Nâbénô Pûrûê is named after his great-grandfather Nâaucùùwèè. The latter had been in World War I, and since he was a veteran, people said so often to young Albert that he had fought in the war that, when he was little, he believed it. If both of them had been alive at the same period, they would have spent all their time together, like two brothers. For instance, today when Téâ goes up to see his Pûrûê grandparents, his mother says: "You're going to see your babies, your children," because of the homonymy. It must not be forgotten that each Téâ (or the bearer of any other name) receives this name with respect to a specific ancestor (and not with respect to all Téâ who have gone before, as happens, for example, in Arama; Monnerie, pers. comm.); the homonymy thus always links, two by two, the bearers of the same name in a particular relationship. I therefore went over their lineage genealogy with my informants to find out where the name of each

person came from in an attempt to reconstruct with them the original stock of names.

In the past, the names found in the genealogy (patronyms and real names alike) were said to have come from the place where the lineage altar stands. It was the *jau*[27] who found the names in the steam rising from the sacrificial pot, hence their sacred character. It used to be the clan priest who would give the *duru-nêê* (real name), following the *pamädé* invocations pronounced in the steam of the pot in its sacred site (Leblic 2002b, 2005b). After three invocations, the ancestors would give their answer: "You must give such and such a name." The priest would thank them and give the name to the newborn. This explains the sacred character of the name. The name was then made official in the courtyard of the house concerned during a naming ceremony. The names were usually connected with a specific space. After having looked at the child, the seer would know what name, in relation with the ancestors of his lineage or in remembrance of past alliances, he was going to give. He would then say, "This one here is the one who carries the history, or something else," for the lineage priest was the one who "had the memory," as they say; in other words, he was the repository of the group's history and knew what name to give each child simply by looking at it. One of the considerations is, in effect, the child's morphological features, its eyes, and the way it moves. It is also said that the totem already makes its action felt in the mother's womb,[28] imprinting the child with the character of a given ancestor, and that is what the seer sees in the newborn.

Some names are revealed in dreams. Dreams have an important function in New Caledonia: They are a means of communicating with the ancestors, and they make it possible to transmit knowledge that seemed lost because it had not been transmitted in the parents' lifetime. Not everyone dreams in the same way, and some have a special ability to see important things in their dreams; these people are assimilated to seers (Leblic 2010b).[29]

The various levels of names discussed earlier (teknonymy, nicknames, dual names or toponyms, etc.) make it possible to get around taboos and to respect avoidance behaviors owed to a person's category. But the taboo on pronouncing names also has to do with the spirit of the name and its sacred character, which is connected with names being the bearers of history. Formerly it was not unusual, as I have already said, for certain patronyms to be concealed so that their bearers might avoid the dangers threatening them. To do this, they hid behind another name so as to escape their enemies and thus to survive.

In general, whoever gives his own name to the newborn will be especially important to that person throughout their life. Thus, for ceremonies marking the important stages of life, such as marriage or death, the person who has

given their name will be called to receive a customary prestation because of the total identification between the two individuals: For example, when one of them marries, it is both who marry, and the younger is addressed as "both of you, or you two," referring to the homonym pair.

Today, with the implantation of Christianity, things have changed, and people no longer go to the lineage altar to get the name. Nevertheless, the rules for attributing most of the names given to children are still respected: that is to say, taking the name of a kinsman or an affine, deceased or living, even if the Christian names are added to the different name levels and it is possible to innovate by giving the name of a good friend, which will then enter the stock of names to be transmitted. Likewise, we see the inclusion of "historical" names, such as De Gaulle or Pisani, to recall the importance of these political figures, as much for the baby's parents as for the history of the country.

Paicî Name Stocks

Kanak first names or real names are usually gendered, and a certain number are iconically motivated. Of the 301 names figuring in the genealogies, only 8 are indifferently masculine or feminine, and few have a meaning taken from the natural world (32 in all, but some meanings may well have escaped me). Some are not Paicî names but come from marriages with Kanaks from other linguistic and cultural areas. Finally, some are typically borrowed from the Bible. In Kanak populations, as in many groups, the choice of a first name fluctuates between a finite and culturally marked stock of names and the adoption of names from the outside, especially to mark specific ties with the person whose name has been taken.

If, in the beginning, there was a stock of Dui names and one of Bai names, this is no longer clear today. Is this an outcome of transmission in both patrilineal and uterine lines, or is it due to changes introduced by colonization? I can't say. Certainly being able to take a name from among the affines means that, in the genealogies collected, one can no longer tell the difference between Dui and Bai names. If it seems that certain names, like Téâ, were theoretically reserved for the oldest male but were given for all boys Dui or Bai, like Âdi, a girl's name meaning "shell money" for the oldest girl. However, Bwëé Béalo is typically a Bai name, and Dui Daulo is specifically Dui, as attested by the tales of the origins of the matrimonial moieties presented elsewhere (Leblic 2000, 2010a), even if today we find them given to Bai and to Dui. A few *duru-nêê* also act as markers of birth rank and eldest child status (on this see in particular the Arama Kanak group studied by Monnerie 2012). But in general, as is the case in Tanna, in Aneytum, among the Wampar of Papua New Guinea, or in Madagascar (Lindstrom 2016,

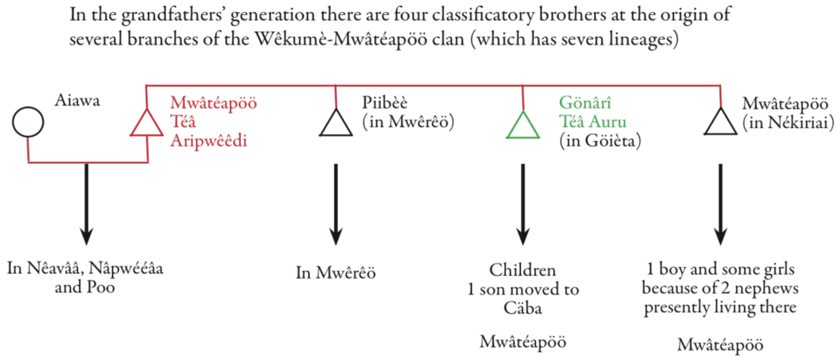

Figure 2. **The Original Vêkumé Siblings in Particular of the Mwâtéapöö, Piibèè, and Gönärî.**

Wood 2016, Bacalzo 2016, and Regnier 2016), there is no strict ordering of names through descent or name sets and group names.

To recapitulate, we have the following:

- 182 masculine names
- 111 feminine names
- 8 neutral names
- 7 place names or toponyms (all masculine)
- 25 iconically motivated names

Finally, if first names are infrequently iconically motivated, this is not true of the other name types.

An Example of Name Transfer

Taking the Mwâtéapöö lineage, I now present an example of how *duru-nêê* ("real names") are transferred, the bonds they reveal, and the elements of history they anchor in memory. In this lineage, one of the real names that is important for more than one reason, as we have seen, is Téâ Auru (Téâ who flees). The name comes from an ancestor who is said to have fled and, by leaving the Mwâtéapöö, to have become the ancestor of the Gönärî lineage, another lineage of the Vêkumé (or Wêkumè) clan. The founders of the Vêkumé clan were several "brothers," four of whom are shown in Figure 2.

In Figure 3, which shows certain name transmissions, I listed only those people involved in the examples chosen, so as not to needlessly burden the demonstration. Working with Gabriel Mwâtéapöö, I started with the

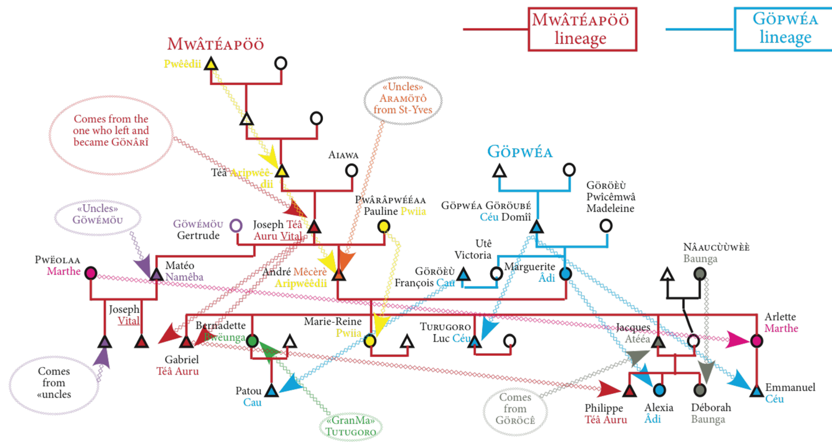

FIGURE 3. **Details of the Transfer of Some Names among the Mwâtéapöö, Taking into Account Affines' Lineages.**

lineage genealogy I had made with his father a few years earlier. Gabriel and I went back over all of the various names and nicknames of several family members to identify whom they had been taken from. We started with one of the clan ancestors who must have been called Pwêêdi, since his grandson is called Téâ Aripwêêdi (grandson of Pwêêdi). In this case, the naming procedures are also a means of discovering a forgotten name: Between Pwêêdi and Aripwêêdi, there are theoretically three generations,[30] since the latter is the grandson of Pwêêdi. At the same time, we talked about the family's history:

> Téâ Aripwêêdi died before Joseph and André were grown. They grew up with their mother because this was wartime: we were attacked because they wanted to eliminate the clan, it happened at Néavê. That made us leave for Ponerihouen; it was at this time too that the Nèjù and the Piibèè disappeared; and then we carried out an adoption in order to continue the Nèjù, because the Nèjù, their role concerns yams and war (that's why they didn't want to be baptized). But the child died after being adopted. The same thing happened to the Gwâ, they are all gone! Téâ Aripwêêdi was the first one who got religion and later initiated his brother; when they did that they let go of a lot of things. But André, here [understood: at Baala, on their ancestral lands to which they have recently returned], was in phase with his ancestors. (G. Mwâtéapöö, interview, Baala, December 6, 2004)

This diagram also shows that the name Téâ Auru has been systematically transferred since the first bearer of the name (not shown in this diagram but shown in Fig. 2) from Joseph Vital Téâ Auru, in the generation of the grandparents of Gaby (Ego), to the following:

- Gaby Téâ Auru, his grandson, to whom he transmitted his name while still alive
- Joseph Vital, another grandson
- Philippe Téâ Auru, a glassificatory son of Gaby and of Vital

Here is how Gaby explains the choice of his name by his grandfather:

> Téâ Auru is my grandfather's name, he was the one who gave me the name. I was born in Näwètaa [the tribe of Gaby's mother, Marguerite Âdi Göpwéa] because there were some difficulties for my birth and my father had taken Mom to a midwife in Näwètaa and I was born while he had gone back to the house. André Mêcêrè did not know his father's name, Téâ Auru. That's the name of the one who left here to create the Gönârî, which means that this name is carried by the Gönârî and by ourselves [Mwâtéapöö]. That means that it's the same history. Mwâtéapöö is the name of the whole group; Gönârî is the same thing as Mwâtéapöö. (G. Mwâtéapöö, interview, Baala, December 6, 2004)

Then he went on to the other names present in the genealogy, some of which are shown in this diagram, which privileges his father's and his mother's lineages, that is, the Mwâtéapöö (shown in red) and the lineage of his maternal uncles, the Göpwéa (shown in turquoise). He begins with his father's *duru-nêê:*

> Mêcêrè, that comes from my uncles, because he [my father] was raised up there, in St. Yves [fosterage]. That's the other name of the thunder *tikakara.* Because sometimes the mother's people give a name. Dad was made sacred by the uncles because they have him the thunder's name Mêcêrè. Once the name has been given by the mother's people, it can be given again and we simply make it known that the name has been given. Names are always a marker to remember the history, of the clan, the alliances. (G. Mwâtéapöö, interview, Baala, December 6, 2004)

That, incidentally, is why I gave my own son the Kanak name Mêcêrè, in memory of my adoption by André Mêcêrè and to pay him respect. It was one

of André's "sisters,"[31] whom I met in Paris when I was pregnant, who told me that was the name I must give my child. Typically, André, to whom I wrote to ask for a name, did not answer; that naturally meant I should take his.

Gaby continued his explanation of his family's names and nicknames, beginning with those of his brothers and sisters:

> Céu, that's the name of Mom's grandfather, Céu Goroûbé. Pwiia, that's the name of grandmother Pwiia Mèräpû Pwârâpwééaa. Bernadette Bwëunga, that's [the name] of a Tùtùgörö grandmother. Jacques Atéa, that comes from the Göröcê because there is a kind of allegiance when we were at Téuti and because the mothers came out of the Göröèu. Marthe, that's the name of the wife of Matéo's dad. (G. Mwâtéapöö, interview, Baala, December 6, 2004)

Next comes the generation of the sons and nephews:

> Cau Patou, that comes from the Göröèu. Deborah Baunga, that's the name of his maternal grandmother, sister of Simon [Nâaucùùwèè]; Âdi is the name of the paternal grandmother; and Téâ the name of the grandfather given by Dad (in my case, it's my own grandfather who directly gave me his name, because the same person cannot give his name twice to two different persons). Dad just told me: "I gave your name," without asking me! and Pwicémwâ [Philippe and Alexia's little sister] taken [adopted] by Apollinaire, that comes from the Aramôtö¨, the maternal grandmother. Baunga, that's the name of an ancestor of the Poomâ.… For Vital, we have Nâôû, which comes from the Nèjù, Kocéca, which comes from the uncles Raphael, Göpwéa, and Téâ Niwa, which comes from Pwéolaa. (G. Mwâtéapöö, interview, Baala, December 6, 2004)

Conclusion

I have not systematically tracked down the origin of all names in the 120 genealogies I collected, which come to more than 6000 people, for lack of time in the field. That is why I worked on only a few genealogies with a few good informants. The example I have just given illustrates the importance of relations in the transmission of names, which thus become part of the history of each lineage or clan. In this sense, to quote Fédry (2009, 78), I would say that "The name is the social self, it is the relational self." This is a statement that one can, without risk, extrapolate to all Paicî material collected in Ponerihouen.

Because names tell, among other things, the history of the lineages and the events that have marked them over the course of time and their moves from their point of origin down to their present-day home (a movement that was stopped by colonization in the midnineteenth century and the reservation policy), people's names are, as Arno says, "good to think and good to make think" (1994, 27). They also mark the interactions with family and lineage history. He further shows the pertinence, depending on the situation, of the tie between memory and certain types of names, a tie that needs to be assessed in the study of naming. The social practices connected with naming provide an ethnographic gateway to memory and local history. Names lead to stories or, to quote a particularly apt way of putting it (Arno 1994: 32–3), to "archives of narratives," which often serve to mediate between the self and the group.

This feature of naming corresponds to what I know about Paicî kinship, with the importance of alliances among lineages that fluctuate between reproducing marriages among the same lineages over generations and opening new alliance roads with new lineages. A trend is found both in the circulation of women in the alliances and in that of children through adoption and fosterage (Leblic 2004, 2014) that works according to the same principles. Paicî kinship relations as a whole, then, show the importance of the individual in relation to others; this is an argument already advanced by Maybury-Lewis for other aspects of society: "The understanding of names and naming [can provide] the most valuable key to the elucidation of … social systems" (1984, 2).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I thank Ponerihouen inhabitants, and I would like to dedicate this paper to my "older brother" Gaby Téâ Auru Mwâtéapöö, deceased in 2013, and his/my family. I thank Bertrand Masquelier, Sophie Chave-Dartoen, and Denis Monnerie for their critical reading of the final version of the article. I thank also Nora Scott for the translation.

NOTES

1. See http://lacito.vjf.cnrs.fr/themes/nomination.htm.

2. See Formes de nomination 1980; Le nom propre 1982; Massard-Vincent and Pauwels, eds., 1999; Fine and Ouellette 2005; *Cahiers de littérature orale* 2006; and Chave-Dartoen, Leguy, and Monnerie 2012 in French and Eichler et al. 1996; vom Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006; Zheng and MacDonald 2010 in English, not to mention the numerous articles on naming in various societies.

3. To my mind, every anthropological study on naming is a study of social organization.

4. Alternatively, they are "functionalist or interactionist in the specific emphases they place on the kind of relations possible between names, words, and stories (e.g., see Goodenough 1965)" (Arno 1994, 23).

5. If Geertz is pivotal in a paradigm change when he suggests a semiotic and interpretive approach to social and cultural phenomena, part of his research nevertheless is in line with cultural anthropology.

6. See, for example, the names of numbers given by the North Cameroon Guidat people (Collard 1973), which are ordinal names: "They classify in reality individuals by their genealogical position, so that those who have the same birth status have the same names" Bromberger 1982, 1006).

7. In this paper I stress the relational value of names, just as I stress the interaction between name and relationship.

8. See in particular those that arise at the different stages of international adoption.

9. I come back to the necessity of discussing the notion of the proper name in another text.

10. This is false for Kanak because it indicates the ancestors and the alive people.

11. If adoption and naming are linked in many societies, in the sense that both represent ways of recruiting someone into a kin group (Lindstrom 2016), that does not mean, to my mind, a strict equivalence between the two institutions.

12. For a discussion of what a totem is in New Caledonia, see Leblic (2008, 199*ff*.; 2002b; 2005b), and on ancestors, see Leblic (2007: 271–82).

13. The Paicî term *duru* can be translated as "bone structure, skeleton" and *nêê* can be translated as "name." *Duru* also means "paper mulberry, *Broussonetia papyrifera* L., Moracée, "balassor." It is the name of a mourning custom also called "the bouquet," performed by the paternal and maternal kin" (Leblic 2010a).

14. In Nyelâyu, "proper names (*Alik, Kaavo, Coocep,* etc.) and kin names of address (*caayo* 'papa,' *nyaajo* 'mama,' etc.) belong to a very specific grammatical category, that of 'person' … [like] personal pronouns.… It is therefore not the semantic feature human or non human that determines the appearance of these markers of agency *an* or *ru* but the 'personal' or 'non personal' grammatical category of the term introduced" (Ozanne-Rivierre 1998: 35–6; our translation).

15. This is the term customarily used for names that group together several other lineage names or patronyms.

16. Since *duru-nêê* is most important for personal identity and interlineage relations, it is dealt with separately later.

17. Téâ is often reserved for the eldest son.

18. Literally "father/and/grandfather" to designate the subjects and supporters of the chiefdom, itself called *näi-rë mä èrù-rë* (son/their/and/grandsons/their).

19. For the Paicî, the patronym also gives rights in the land. I do not deal with this here because the paper focuses on the individual's other names, which are indicative of their bearer's being. Likewise, giving names is not the only way to constitute the local units known to anthropologists as lineages, according to a rule of classificatory kinship that sometimes has the effect of grouping several patronyms.

20. All quotations taken from my field's interviews have been translated from French and Paicî into English.

21. Any newcomer is received by the masters of the land, who discuss them with the other lineages so that they are socially accepted by the entire territorial group. Once they are integrated, the genealogical discourse changes.

22. Is the transmission of names within a landholding group connected with descent? In reality, the social outcome or relevance of Paicî names and their transmission is not the same as in Tanna, where the transmission of names is not of the same order for the society as that of lineage and clan names.

23. Today, young people have adapted the naming system by giving one another nicknames that can be seen in tags, graffiti, and so on, according to their own codes (KnK man, Yeman, etc.).

24. Göödùù's uncles forcibly removed from their sacred place the magic pole that gave him his power and his invincible character. They were the only ones who could strike such a blow.

25. On the Kanak notion of sacred, see Leblic (2005b).

26. To walk together in the sense of migrating together, sharing shelter and the rites of the first yam, implies the creation of kin ties (Leblic 2000, 2010a).

27. *Jau* is a term in Ajië language but which is frequently used in Ponerihouen; the Paicî expression is *côômûû* (literally "to see/things").

28. It is because of the totem acting in the mother's womb that sometimes there are complications at the time of birth: It is said that the totem wants to keep the baby and holds it back in the womb, just as, on the contrary, it is said that the person of the child in the womb wants to be born.

29. On the role of dreams in the transmission of knowledge in general, see Leblic (2010b).

30. This is not always true in practice, as we have seen elsewhere (Leblic 2005a; 2010a, 162).

31. This is someone from a Dui lineage who is called the brother of the Bai Mwâté-apöö because of a partially shared history and who therefore addresses André as *cié* (big brother).

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NAMING AND SOCIAL LIFE: THE CASE OF THE PINUYUMAYAN (PUYUMA) PEOPLE IN EASTERN TAIWAN[1]

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Personal names are a distinctive feature widespread in human societies. Culturally universal as they seem, their constitution and meaning vary ethnographically (cf. Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006; Tooker and Conklin 1984; Wilson 1998; Zheng and Macdonald 2010). For the Inupiaq in Alaska, for example, personal names evoke the sociality of a priori relationships and provide means to explain their behavior, as opposed to nicknames, which are assigned to non-Inupiaqs and have never been used among themselves (Bodenhorn 2006). The Amis in Taiwan, on the other hand, use the personal names of living elder kin to incorporate outsider, while addressing each other by nicknames to differentiate themselves from others and to individualize themselves (cf. Huang 2005).[2] Moreover, the meaning and significance of personal names vary throughout one's life as well. In her study in the New Territories, Rubie S. Watson (1986), for instance, illustrates the connection between name, gender difference, and the constitution of personhood in Chinese society. She mentions that a male throughout the course of his life acquires more names to indicate his social position, while a female gradually becomes nameless, which implies that the latter is not capable of attaining full personhood. In sum, her study suggests that the name constitutes an essential part of a person.

Indeed, people usually think of personal names as being important both in marking one's individuality and in inscribing sociocultural identity, the indigenous "Name Rectification" movement in Taiwan being a well-known case

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(see Ku 2012). However, the avoidance of any personal name for address characteristic of the teknonym naming system obviously contradicts this presupposition (cf. Bloch 2006). In the case of the Pinuyumayan in Taiwan, it is even considered impolite to call or address someone by their personal names; it is said that a person being so addressed must make the other person admit being at fault and promise never to use the personal name as a form of address again (cf. Kōno 2000, 312). The Pinuyumayan think that this mode of address is characteristic of some neighboring aboriginal peoples whom they have looked down on.

Based on the study of the Pinuyumayan in eastern Taiwan and in light of previous documents, I shall argue that the personal name among the Pinuyumayan is related to their notion of personhood and, as a mode of address, is limited in its usage to specific occasions. In other words, they conceive of a person as a kind of "social person" who develops through various stages, associated with which are different norms of address. I also suggest that by looking at modes of naming throughout a person's life, we can illustrate the relationship between name, personhood, and social life, and reveal the interconnectedness of seemingly separate domains, such as kinship (household), community (age organization), and gender.

Who Am I? Fieldwork Experience among the Pinuyumayan

One day in October 1984, I arrived at Pinaski, a Pinuyumayan community (Fig. 1), to undertake a research project on human rights among the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Earlier that summer, I had just finished my MA thesis on an Amis community in eastern coastal Taiwan. Both the Pinuyumayan and the Amis are among the Austronesian-speaking peoples in Taiwan (Fig. 2) and, in contrast with other indigenous peoples, were (and are) renowned for both their age organization and uxorilocal marriage.[3] However, my personal fieldwork experience with these two peoples was so strikingly different that I was keen to find out what the source of that difference was.

Whenever we chatted or met each other, middle-aged and elder Pinaski villagers usually addressed me with very polite and courteous terms, such as "Teacher Chen," "Dr. Chen," "Professor Chen," or "Mr. Chen." Even today, I have never been given any Pinuyumayan personal name except the use of the Japanese pronunciation of my Chinese name by some elders who know me well.[4] Neither am I considered a member of the family where I have lived since the early 1980s. Occasionally, some elders from the neighboring Puyuma village do call me by the name of a men's house. It is worth mentioning that the men's house name is the term that elders use to address their sons-in-law or whoever marries their female kin of

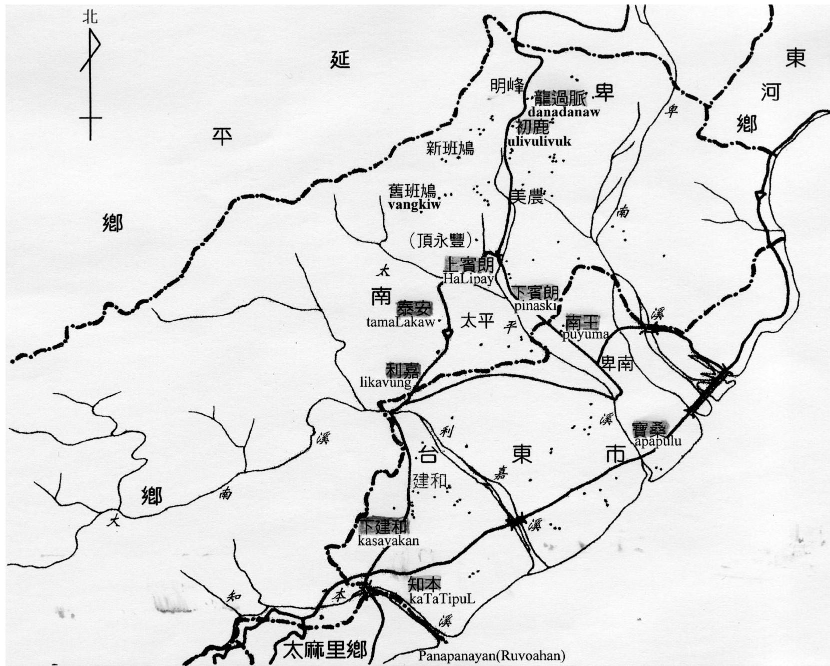

FIGURE 1. **Geographical distribution of Pinuyumayan communities.**

a younger generation, a feature implying that it is a term for an outsider (for the family or the kin group concerned). In this sense, my experience among the Pinuyumayan was in striking contrast with that in the Amis village, in which I not only had a nickname, "Katalingu," literally, "someone who wears glasses," as soon as I arrived there, but had a proper Amis name, "Kulas," after my adopted father's father, by the time I finished my MA thesis and was treated as adopted kin thereafter. Even my wife and two daughters eventually received Amis personal names.

Furthermore, on learning that I had stayed with the Amis before, the Pinuyumayan were not shy in expressing their negative attitudes toward the Amis. They often started with the question "How could you address your seniors with their personal names?" and explained to me, "It is an impolite and shameful demeanor that would never happen among us, the Pinuyumayan."

However, the longer I did my fieldwork among the Pinuyumayan, the more I found that the reasons offered to me were incomplete and unsatisfactory, even though showing respect to one's seniors is indeed a highly

FIGURE 2. **Geographical distribution of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Two new groups, the Kanakanavu and Hlaalua, separated from the Tsou in 2014.**

praised virtue. First, while personal names are seldom mentioned or referred to on most occasions, throughout one's life, other terms of address are used, depending on which stage one has passed as well as on the relationship between the addressor and the addressee. Second, they also address their own fellow Pinuyumayan in polite and courteous terms, such as they used to refer to me. How do we interpret these features?

Indeed, today this sort of traditional naming practice has been severely affected by modern education institutions, and youngsters use Chinese names—the predominant identity marker sanctioned by the state and dis-

tinctively different from the Pinuyumayan names—in school and daily life. But it does not mean the Pinuyumayan mode of address is used no longer. On the contrary, we will see the limitation of the influence from the outside later. Before describing the life course of the Pinuyumayan people in more detail, I would like to present a brief sketch of their geographical location and sociocultural features.

The Pinuyumayan and Their Setting[5]

The Pinuyumayan is one of the sixteen officially recognized indigenous groups in Taiwan, with a population estimated at 13,129 in 2013.[6] They have long been living in the plain areas of eastern Taitung and settled mainly in ten villages, especially, from south to north, Katratripulr, Kasavakan, Likavung, Tamalakaw, Halipay, Ulrivulrivuk, Danadanaw, Pinaski, Puyuma, and Papulu. These ten villages constitute a part of Taitung City and Beinan Township in Taitung County (see Fig. 2). Today, however, approximately 40 percent of the Pinuyumayan have registered their households in other metropolitan cities and counties.

Since the first half of the seventeenth century, the Pinuyumayan, particularly the Puyuma, have actively established relations with outside ruling powers and, as a result, rose up as the most powerful indigenous people in eastern Taiwan. They have had continuous contact with the Han, who gradually migrated to eastern Taiwan beginning in early nineteenth century, and were considered by the Japanese regime to be the most sinicized and the “most civilized” of all indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, they have managed to maintain their cultural identity by conducting annual rites as well as initiation ceremonies for young males. By the late 1980s, under the influence of the indigenous movement to “Rebuild Tribe and Revitalize Culture,” they established their own committees and organizations using their “tribal names” and highlighting the significance of “culture” to differentiate themselves from the Han-Chinese residents.

With regard to their sociocultural features, a Pinuyumayan community was composed of multiple chiefly families of different origins. Each chiefly family was associated with a *palakuwan*, a named men’s house in which tribesmen were initiated and educated, and a *karumaHan*, a ritual house where annual and other important rites were conducted. Traditionally, the chiefly families were in charge of tribal politics. The ancestral houses they guard continue to be centers for annual rites and blessings today.

The Pinuyumayan social order is mainly based on seniority.[7] However, the privileged position of the elders is much more manifest in the case of male elders than their female counterparts due to the age organization system.

The authority of male elders is fully demonstrated in the coming-of-age initiation for young males. Indigenous expressions for the elders illustrate this distinctive feature. For instance, the word *maidrang* (plural, *maidrangan*) means both "the elder" and "seniority." In the case of the Puyuma village, the phrase "*imanay na maramaidrang*" (literally, "which/who is the older?") serves to inquire into who the older sibling is. It also refers to the "hierarchical relationship" between chiefly and other common families as well as that among chiefly families: *maramaidrang* (i.e., the senior/ the upper side) is used to address the greatest chiefly family in the north, whereas *malralralrak* (i.e., the junior/the lower side, *lralrak*, literally, "child") is used to address its southern counterpart.

More significantly, a pair of botanical metaphors, *rami* ("root") and *ludus* ("branch") also expresses the contrast between the senior and the junior, as reflected in phrases such as *maidrangan kyaramian, lralralrakan kyaludusan* ("the elder to the younger is what the root to the branch").[8] Furthermore, the Puyuma express their notion of history in terms of something transmitted from ancestors to descendants, in which the elder performs the role of narrating historical happenings and legends related to customs and rites that were and still are observed (Chen 2001b).

In addition to age, gender also constitutes a crucial component of the Pinuyumayan social life. Throughout their life course, both sexes participate in various social groupings outside the domain of the household. For example, males learn respect through their training in boyhood and in men's houses, whereas females acquire agricultural skills, respect for elders, and other norms in female groups. Gender differences take place in labor divisions and on social occasions and become gradually prominent as the Pinuyumayan age. The transformation is especially pronounced in the case of the male Pinuyumayan due to the activities of the institutionalized age organization. In a nutshell, there is an intimate and inexorable relationship between the individual, the household, and community life.

From Birth to Death: Life Course of a Pinuyumayan[9]

The life of a Pinuyumayan is marked clearly by several phases, with different arrangements for men and women. The course consists of (1) conception and birth, (2) childhood, (3) adolescence, (4) marriage and becoming parents, and (5) elderhood (see Table 1). These phases show both differentiation from and interconnectedness between separate domains, such as kinship (household), social groupings (age organization or women's agricultural team), and others. As a person grows older and moves along the life course, more "power, potency" (*kelan*) is accumulated.

Conception and Birth

To the Pinuyumayan people, *trau*, a human being, is not born with the capacity to bear children. Rather, they attribute that capacity through the work of the spirit, Pagtrau, who gives life and takes it away. Whenever a woman is unable to conceive a child or has difficulties in giving birth, her family will conduct a rite to ask for help from this spirit. The same is true if a person becomes seriously sick.

Once a woman is pregnant, the members of the same household, especially the pregnant woman herself and her husband, should strictly observe prohibitions; otherwise, misfortune would befall. The Puyuma consider it inauspicious if a woman dies in childbirth.

In the past, when a baby was born, particularly the first child regardless of sex, the father would wrap it with a special piece of cloth he had worn during his initiation to be a *miyabetan* ("a novice in the men's house"), through which he had become an adult. A few days later, a female elder of the family would take it out of the house to perform a rite called *puanan*. In the case of a male baby, an elder woman would put a knife in his right hand and help him cut a branch of a tree three times, implying that he would go hunting in the mountains and fetch firewood once he grew up. By contrast, the female baby's right hand would hold a sickle and be waved three times as if she were weeding millet, indicating that she would accompany her family and female peers to participate in agricultural activities when she became a teenager. The Puyuma consider a baby to be a human being only after it has gone through the *puanan* rite; otherwise, "it is rather like water" and would be roughly dealt with had it died. Consequently, a family would not be counted as bereaved during the course of the year if a newborn had died before the rite was performed.

After the rite, near kin visit the family and give blessings to the baby. At that time, an elder of the family gives the child a name, which may refer to an ancestor of the same gender or the characteristics that one expects the child to have or incorporate events or other happenings occurring before or at the time the child was born (cf. Takoshima 1997).[10] Although the name seems to be chosen on the basis of a variety of principles, it is intimately tied up with the child's character or fate. I heard that a three-year-old boy was renamed after his middle-aged father learned that the elder, namely, his maternal grandfather's younger brother, whom the child was originally named after, was doomed. Renaming his son was expected to help him surpass his peers in learning and overall performance when he grew up, as the new name implied.

This naming ceremony indeed shows the significance of one's personal name (given by the parents). As the following discussion will show, however,

Table 1. **The Life Course of the Male and Female Puyuma and Their Addresses.**

<table>
<tr><th>Phases of life course</th><th colspan="2">Male</th><th>Age</th><th colspan="2">Female</th><th>Age</th></tr>
<tr><td>Infancy</td><td colspan="2">manguden</td><td>less than one year old</td><td colspan="2">manguden</td><td>less than one year old</td></tr>
<tr><td>Childhood</td><td rowspan="2">kis</td><td>called by his personal name</td><td>2–12</td><td colspan="2">tiyan</td><td>2–12, 13 (age of puberty)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Teenager</td><td>enters the boys' house and replaces personal name with a new name</td><td>13–18</td><td rowspan="3">tiyan</td><td>this phase is termed meladaladam milrabit, "beginning to practice wearing skirts"</td><td>13–18</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Adulthood</td><td rowspan="2">tan</td><td>initiated as a miyabetan, "a novice of the men's house"</td><td>18–21</td><td>this phase is termed paseket milrabit, "formally wearing skirts"</td><td>18–21 (marriageable)</td></tr>
<tr><td>initiated and upgraded to be a bangsaran, "a young man who is marriageable"</td><td>21–before getting married</td><td>Bulabulayan, "young lady"</td><td>before getting married</td></tr>
<tr><td>Married</td><td colspan="2">alabalabat</td><td>getting married–less than 55 years old</td><td colspan="2">mikatauguin</td><td>getting married–less than 55 years old</td></tr>
<tr><td>Elderhood</td><td colspan="2">maidrang</td><td>55 and up</td><td colspan="2">maidrang</td><td>55 and up</td></tr>
</table>

personal names in Pinuyumayan are seldom used as a mode of address in their social life, nor are they considered prestigious, as is the case among the ranked Paiwan[11]; instead, they are replaced by other kinds of address, depending on the stages of one's life course. To my knowledge, based on my long-term fieldwork in Puyuma since 1984, except for being called by one's elder generation, such as parents or grandparents, personal names were ever mentioned only on occasions such as healing rituals, in which specialists used a name to summon one's soul.

Childhood: Age Less Than Twelve (or Thirteen)

The Pinuyumayan used to have many terms to describe the development of an infant. For instance, a newborn baby was called *manguden*, *kirarami mikakupu* when it could turn its head, *mudradrangi* when toddling, and *lralrak* when capable of walking. While some terms are obsolete today, *lralrak* generically refers to both infants and younger children.

The term *lralrak* does not specify sex, however. There are two other terms for that: *kis* for boys and *tiyan* for girls. The terms reveal the fact that the issue of gender gradually becomes significant as a Pinuyumayan ages. Formerly, this change was associated with the chores they did to help their family. For example, a young boy around nine or ten years old helped his family take care of the cattle; his female counterpart at home tended to household chores and younger siblings. During this phase, they are addressed by their personal names by their parents, family members, and near kin who are senior in age or generation.

Teenagers: Age Between Twelve and Eighteen Years Old

Today, most teenagers enter elementary and high school under the Nationalist government's compulsory education policy to learn knowledge required for citizens regardless of their ethnic background. In former times, however, this period was socially crucial to the Pinuyumayan because both sexes started to participate in activities beyond the confinement of their families. This was particularly noticeable for males.

The case of the male teenager, trakubakuban *(member of boys' house,* trakuban*)*

Among the indigenous peoples in Taiwan, the Pinuyumayan, the Amis, and some other peoples were known for their age organization system. However, only the Pinuyumayan had an age grade exclusively for male teenagers,

accompanied by a series of strict behavior codes, including the cultivation of a courageous spirit, respecting the seniors, and learning good demeanor. To my knowledge, of the ten Pinuyumayan villages, only Katratripulr, Puyuma, and Pinaski had an independent boys' house, *trakuban*, built next to the men's house, *palakuwan*. The boys' house in Pinaski was a one-story building, and those in Katratripulr and Puyuma stood high off the ground, with a ladder that the teenagers could climb up (Fig. 3).

Once becoming a member of the boys' house (i.e., a *maranakan*), the personal name of each teenager would be replaced with a new one. This new name was given by one of the highest-ranked members of the boys' house (i.e., the *maradawan*), according to their character, capability, or other features.[12] For example, an elder born in 1929 said that he had been named "しか" (*sika*, literally, "deer"), in the Japanese pronunciation, by the senior *maradawan* due to his deer-like qualities, such as being clever and agile. It would become his name during his stay in the boys' house. Thereafter, the teenager and his male peers either addressed each other as *ali* (literally, "friend") or by their respective new names. One's personal name was

FIGURE 3. **The boys' house *trakuban* in Puyuma community.**

no longer used, except by one's parents and other senior family members at home.

Formerly, as a *trakubakuban*, a member of the boys' house, the male teenager slept in the boys' house about half the year (between around July and the late December) and in his own home for the rest until he was initiated into the men's house after six years of training in the boys' house. Some boys who were too young or too weak to endure serious training did not enter the boys' house together with their peers. It is said that they would be teased by their peers as if they were staying at home sucking their mothers' breasts. It is significant that whenever the elders praise a young man for his good demeanor, they express their opinion as "Who was his *maradawan* then?" rather than "Who is his father or parents?" All these features reveal the fact that this period of life is a transitional stage between kinship (family) and community (male age organization).

The case of the female teenager

In contrast with the colorful but harsh experience of their male counterparts, girls did not undergo a similar kind of initiation during this period. They were occupied primarily with accompanying their mothers, older sisters, and other senior female kin doing agricultural tasks or taking up a significant share of household work (see Dong 2012).

Although the girls did not have formal training as the boys had, their participation in the agricultural activities did provide a channel through which they learned something beyond agricultural techniques. For instance, they were taught to respect their seniors and elders of both sexes. They also learned how to make flower wreaths or do embroidery and other skills that would make them a good wife, a benevolent sister-in-law, and an exemplary mother.

Some Pinuyumayan communities, such as the Pinaski, had a tradition that elderly women would give a new name to a young girl after her participation in the agricultural team. She would be named after her personal characteristics, habits, or other abilities. For example, a roughly seventy-five-year-old woman once recalled to me that the elders had called her "*lagalaw*" when she was a young girl because she was adept at twining this kind of flower into a garland. Thereafter, village adults and female peers addressed her with this new name as well. Unlike male teenagers, women could continuously address their female peers with the new names even after they were married and gave birth.[13]

Giving new names to girls was not as widespread and institutionalized as males' youth names. The contrast between sexes demonstrates that it is the males rather than the females who were most remarked on when passing

through this striking transformation in their life. The transformation happens again once they become adults.

Adulthood and Marriage

Adulthood is an important stage in many aspects during one's life course. Entering adulthood often involves getting married and establishing one's own family of procreation. For women, the transition from adolescence to adulthood could be smooth and natural, especially when uxorilocal marriage was commonly practiced. The term "*tiyan*" (literally, "younger girl") epitomizes this sense of continuity: it refers to young girls and could also be used by elders to address married women. For men, on the other hand, two phases of initiations awaited them after being detached from their home: the first brings them to adulthood, and the second makes them marriageable.

At the end of his six-year experience in the boys' house, a male teenager is initiated into another stage through rites held by his godfather[14] to become a *miyabetan*,[15] a novice in the men's house. The transformations are remarkable and can be seen in many aspects, including the mode of address. Instead of the name he acquired in the boys' house or the term "*kis*" (literally, "younger boy"),[16] he is now addressed by generic terms, such as "*tan*" (referring to a specific piece of blue cloth used in initiation) or "*ali*" (literally, "friend").[17] In former times, a *miyabetan* lived a rather ascetic life. He was not allowed to sleep at home and had to endure hunger and undergo strenuous physical training. He refrained from sensual pleasures such as dancing, singing, flirting with his female peers, or even dressing up for public celebrations. After three years of harsh training, a *miyabetan* was upgraded to *bangsaran* through a second phase of initiation conducted by his godfather. Only then could he begin to flirt with his female peers and court them for marriage.

Gender differentiations were in full bloom at this stage, and some taboos were strictly observed. As an adult, men could not touch some gendered objects, such as weaving paraphernalia, and women were forbidden from being at or even approaching locations where their male counterparts held rites; otherwise, the menfolk would get hurt while hunting, and misfortunes would occur.

To the Pinuyumayan, the relationship between a young man and his godfather is much more important and intimate than that with his own father. It is from the godfather that he learns knowledge and discipline. A young man follows in his godfather's footsteps and becomes a member of the men's house that his godfather used to belong to. And the name of the men's house stays with him into his marriage as the term that his parents-in-law and affines of elder generations address him by.[18] When he is engaged, his godfather

would be the representative in charge of negotiating matters with the girl's kin and would be seated with the newlyweds during the wedding reception. In return, when the godfather or his wife passed away, all initiates are obliged to be present at the funeral to perform their roles as if they were his sons. Back when agriculture was still the main means of livelihood, helping the godfather with harvesting was morally imperative.[19]

As stated above, a young man seems to be nameless after becoming a member of the men's house. Neither his personal name nor the one acquired during boyhood are in use, just a generic term, such as "*tan*." However, it is noteworthy that a young man follows in his godfather's footsteps to become a member of the men's house that his "godfather" belonged to, as his "godfather" had done previously. The name of the men's house would be how a young man, when married, is addressed by his parents-in-law and affines of the elder generation (see below).

Marriage and setting up one's family of procreation

Marriage is monumental in one's life course in terms of change in status.[20] *Puaruma*,[21] the Pinuyumayan term for "getting married," means "setting up a family or a house." Once married, a male reaches the status of *alabalabat* and a female that of *mikatauguin* or *mihalin*.[22] Terms of address between in-laws are different as well. For instance, parents-in-law or elderly affines address a male by the name of the men's house into which he was initiated; a married woman is addressed as *imi*. Siblings-in-law use the specific affinal terms to address each other without mentioning one's personal name. While siblings-in-laws of other categories demonstrate the significance of age difference between the addresser and the addressed, brothers-in-law reciprocally address each other as *guravak* or *yanay* regardless of age (Figs. 1–3; Appendix).

Teknonym use is widely practiced in public spheres. Parents are addressed in public by their firstborn child's name, for example, as "*temamadaw* A" (literally, "A's father") and "*tinadaw* A" (literally, "A's mother").[23] The use of teknonym implies a distance between the speaker and the one referred to. I once heard that an elderly woman called her younger cousin's wife, a middle-aged woman, by her teknonym and was rebuked on the grounds that that form of address seemed to be treating her as an "outsider." The woman preferred to be called *umus* (literally, "younger sister-in-law").

Nevertheless, the teknonym system varies in practice. It refers mostly to the oldest child, but it may also refer to another child who stays home with parents when the oldest child died early or had already moved out of the community for a long time. In the case of deuterogamy due to the death of

a spouse or divorce, a person is usually addressed by the name of the eldest child born during the first marriage, while the spouse of the second marriage is referred to by the name of the eldest child born in the current wedlock. Moreover, a stepparent may be called by a teknonym as if he or she were the real parent. What emerges from these derivations is that teknonym as a kind of name is implicated in marriage.

The married couple does not refer to, let alone address, each other by their personal names. If one person wants to call his or her spouse at a gathering, he or she simply calls out "*ei*, *ei*," "*temamadaw* (*tinadaw*) *a*!" (literally, "*ei, ei*," "father/mother" [of someone]) or shouts their oldest child's name to elicit the partner's attention.

Elders and Beyond

The Pinuyumayan people show great respect to the elders, *maidrang*. As I have mentioned above, there is a root-branch metaphor used to describe the relation between elders and youths. The lyrics of ritual songs always depict the elders as "persons of wisdom and knowledge." *Maidrang* invariably refers to both male and female elders; however, some terms discriminate between the sexes. The word *lakanna*, borrowed from the neighboring Amis people, provides a good example: it refers exclusively to male elders. Nevertheless, the fact that a male elder can serve as an initiator and godfather for a young man only when his wife is still alive suggests that the sexes are complementary and united in a couple.

The age qualification for the elder seems clearer today than before, particularly after household registration was introduced at the turn of the twentieth century under the Japanese colonial regime (1895–1945). A male elder's association established in 1986 stipulated that anyone who was at least fifty-five years of age is eligible for membership and that only the association's members are entitled to act as initiators for young men. However, I often heard criticisms over a younger middle-aged male being an initiator, even though his demeanor was such that he was considered a good model for young men. The indigenous notion of being an initiator suggests that one's "energy or power" would be sapped;[24] therefore, for his well-being, it is not ideal for someone who is not senior enough in age to take the position.

Female elders are also well respected by their juniors and young people. A male elder is called *ama* by the younger generation, a term for one's own father or men of his generation, while a female elder is called *ina*, a term for one's mother or women of her generation. In former times, there were no "demarcated" activities to define a female elder. Today, the establishment of a kind of female association solves that issue. Take the case of the Puyuma

as an example: an elderly female organization, founded in 1988, requires its members to be age sixty or older.

As I have described, in indigenous terms, a young man is recognized as an adult and would be entitled to marry only after being initiated as a *miyabetan*. The elder's ability to initiate young persons suggests that they possess the power to regenerate both the age organization and the biological family. That a male elder can serve as an initiator provided that his wife is still alive reveals a complementary relationship between an elderly couple, who represent the apogee of both spheres: the female-focused household and the male-centered "community" represented by the men's age organization.

Whenever a Pinuyumayan reaches the age of around seventy, he or she might be addressed as *mu*, literally "grandparent(s)." In fact, the term for elder, *maidrang*, and that for ancestor, *temuamuan*, are interchangeable in ritual spells. The term *maidrang* signifies the final stage and the completeness of a Pinuyumayan's life course. After they die, their descendants will make offerings to them and ask for their blessings. Associated with the elder's respected position is the common use of teknonyms by elders to address each other or refer to an absent elder, even when the referee was dead.

To sum up, I have described the different stages of development in the life course through which a Pinuyumayan ideally would pass. A remarkable feature is that one's personal name, given by parents at *puanan* rite (i.e., rite for a newborn baby), is not used throughout this life course. Instead, other terms of address replace it. This shows that "life course" is a series of phases marked by various activities and rites. In these processes, there are different paths for the two sexes: the social identity for a male is more pronounced than that of a female.

Naming and Social Life: Change and Continuity

Up to now, based mainly on the cases of Puyuma and Pinaski, I have depicted a holistic though rather idealized picture of how Pinuyumayan people pass through phases of their lives and how naming and modes of address change along the way. Indeed, variations in naming practices exist in reality. For instance, the male teenagers of Puyuma and Pinaski are given new names to replace their personal ones and are later called by a generic term when they are initiated into the men's house. However, their male counterparts from the Likavung, Tamalakaw, and Ulrivulrivuk communities (see Fig. 1) do not acquire new names until initiated into the men's house. I would suggest that the implication of these variations can be illuminated by relating them to other sociocultural features. Both Puyuma and Pinaski used to have

boys' houses where teenagers slept for half the year,[25] while male teenagers in communities such as Likavung, Tamalakaw, and Ulrivulrivuk did not have boys' houses and rather lived with their families, though they received boyhood-stage training like the boys in Puyuma and Pinaski. Despite these differences, the Pinuyumayan acknowledge that the initiator and his initiates should not live in the same house.[26] Such avoidance or forbiddance well illustrates that name changing is associated with the change from familial to communal domains.

The naming practice during the stage of adulthood needs further discussion here too. The fact that only after his godfather's initiation is a young man able to establish his "family of procreation" shows that biological reproduction presupposes and is intimately related to the process of social reproduction, of which the naming practice constitutes an important part. As shown in Likavung and Tamalakaw, the fact that the godfather passes his personal name in the men's house on to his initiate during initiation exemplifies this distinctive relationship.[27] Although the naming practices are different, there is some analogy in Puyuma regarding the process of social reproduction. Not only does a young man join the men's house to which his godfather belongs, whose name is used to address him by his wife's senior affine, but his first child, regardless of sex, will be wrapped with a special piece of cloth that he wore during the time of his initiation as a *miyabetan*.

Moreover, that a male elder is qualified to be an initiator only if his wife is still alive represents the apogee of both social spheres, namely, the female-focused household and the "community" represented by the male-centered age organization. Likewise, that teknonyms are commonly used during the elderly stage exemplifies the fact that naming practices such as the teknonym constitute the "social" and the "reproduction of society" (Bloch 2006; see Fig. 4).

In sum, this research into the changing naming practices throughout one's life course demonstrates that the Pinuyumayan conceive of a person as a kind of "social person" who develops through various stages, associated with which are different norms of address. Also, it illustrates the complicated relationships between seemingly separate domains, such as kinship (household), community (male age organization), and so on. In light of the aforementioned description and analysis, I now come back to an anecdote from my fieldwork experience with the Pinaski and then the Puyuma.

Exonymic Naming Systems

As mentioned at the very beginning of this article, the Pinaski villagers addressed me in generous terms during my stay there. At first, I thought

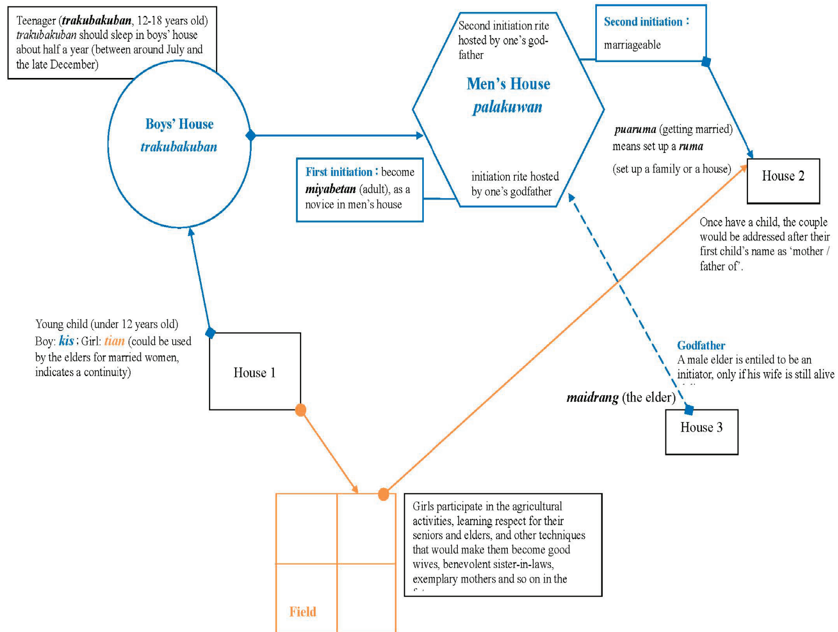

FIGURE 4. **The life course of a Pinuyumayan.**

that this way of address might be particular to the Pinaski and was just a form of politeness, perhaps because they had learned that I came from Academia Sinica, the highest research institution of the country. This opinion seemed to be further corroborated when some elders with whom I became well acquainted after a period of fieldwork began to address me as "ブンド" (Bundou), my personal name in the Japanese pronunciation. Moreover, some called me by the name of a men's house. Addressing someone by their personal name, as stated above, is usually a way that the elderly generation (e.g., parents, grandparents) address their children or someone of a younger generation on occasions involving domestic affairs and implies a kind of intimacy. The longer I stayed with them, however, the more I realized that the situation was not as simple as it appeared. In fact, not only the Pinaski but also other Pinuyumayan villagers use honorific terms such as "Teacher," "Doctor," "Professor," "Mister," or "Principal" to address or refer to their own folk as well. Why were these persons so exceptional? And what are the implications of this form of address?

A closer look at the respectful terms shows that most of them represent official titles and positions issued by the government and are often followed

by surnames. The surname may be in Japanese or in Chinese, depending on the date that it was registered (i.e., under Japanese colonial rule or the Nationalist regime). Note that these terms do not differentiate people on the basis of sex, nor do they reflect the addressee's current position.

Take the late Lu Sen-Bao（陸森寶）as an example. He was born in the Puyuma village and was a well-known ethnomusicologist. He used to be an elementary school teacher and therefore was usually addressed as "モリせえんせい" (Mori *sensei*), literally "Teacher Mori." モリ(Mori), or "森" in Chinese characters, was his Japanese surname. "せえんせい" was a respectful term for teachers, doctors, and other prestigious positions regardless of sex. Another case is an elderly woman, also born in Puyuma, who was trained to be a teacher under Japanese rule and later became a headmaster of the village's elementary school. On many occasions, I heard the villagers address her as "イナアバせえんせい" (Inaba *sensei*, "Teacher Inaba") in Japanese; イナアバ (Inaba, 稲葉 in Chinese characters) was her Japanese surname. As villagers engage more actively in public affairs today, various titles are introduced. For example, a female Puyuma nearly in her sixties who had retired from a local primary school a few years ago is both called and referred to as "Principal Zheng"; a middle-aged researcher who just finished his PhD program in 2012 has been called "Dr. Lin" since the beginning of his studies nearly a decade ago. A male in his seventies is still addressed as "Civil Representative Tien," even though he is no longer a city council representative and now holds a position in a legislator's local service office.

In contrast with terms of address that are closely associated with the phases of one's life course, the aforementioned examples do not concern gender or age, nor do they change corresponding to life course. In this way, the influence from outside seems to function through the creation of a new mode of address or new naming practices. This mode of address contradicts the Pinuyumayan naming practices. However, its usage is confined to public occasions and does not change the ways that the Pinuyumayan and their kin or affines address each other in their daily lives.

The same is true with endonymic names. Take my experience in Puyuma as an example. Some elders use "Kalunung," the name of the well-known men's house of the community, to address me as well as other researchers visiting them as if we were initiated into the men's house as their youth were. It seems that we are considered as their young male folks. But it may also allude to the fact that we are still considered as "outsiders"[28] if the way the name of the men's house is used as described above is taken seriously into account. In this regard, the naming system among the Pinuyumayan does constitute an important role in social interactions and in establishing social relationships

with outsiders. Similar arguments are also put forward by scholars of different Austronesian-speaking groups, such as Fang (2012, 2014) and Huang (2005) on the Bunun and the Amis in Taiwan, respectively, and Marshall (2014) on the Namoluk in Micronesia.

The Personal Name Today

It is widely acknowledged that personal names are considered important both in marking one's individuality and in inscribing sociocultural identity. For instance, since the early 1980s, the indigenous elites in Taiwan have been publicly advocating for the restoration of their native names, and the "Name Rectification" movement was well received by various ethnic groups (Chen 2009; Ku 2012). They claim to restore previous individual, tribal, and ethnic names to replace the Chinese ones adopted in household registrations and other personal documents since the mid-1940s. They believe that this is a significant step toward their cultural revival. However, as evinced earlier, the Pinuyumayan provides a counterexample. They replace personal names with different terms of address throughout one's life course, seldom mention a person's name in public, and even consider it improper and impolite to address and refer to someone in this way.

Nevertheless, personal names are currently in use by the Pinuyumayan, especially among youngsters. Unlike the elder generation, the youth call each other by their Chinese names as they do in school. As I have described and analyzed in this article, modes of address throughout one's life are related to social positions that are village based and not applicable to those coming from different villages. But modern education, among other factors, has extended social and cultural interactions beyond the ambit of village life and has greatly changed the modes of address.[29] Until very recently, however, under the influence of the indigenous movement, restoring one's ethnic names has become a growing trend (cf. Chen 2011). Some youngsters will ask their parents or elders for native personal names, usually names derived from ancestors. Those who had been given ones from birth are beginning to identify themselves with Romanized native names in online social networks (such as Facebook)[30] and electronic communications even though they seldom address each other by their native names in daily life or rectify their names officially. In this sense, issues concerning the development of the idea of personal names as a kind of self-identity, the form and the way personal names are adopted and used, and how these in turn shape the notion of what a Pinuyumayan will be deserve our further attention. Moreover, as described above, the use of personal names is confined largely to the stage of childhood and within the ambit of the domestic domain. After achieving adulthood,

one's personal name is used by only one's elder generation, such as parents or grandparents, except for occasions where specialists conduct healing rites to summon one's soul by name to cure an illness. Therefore, from a comparative perspective, the case of the Pinuyumayan people asks us to inquire more about the meaning of the personal name as an identity symbol, particularly when identity politics are widely advocated today.

Conclusion

I have shown in this article that the Pinuyumayan people are an example of a kind of naming system in which name and mode of address change throughout one's life course, each referring to one's social position and associated social occasions. I also analyzed the distinctive features of the naming system. Based on this study, I suggest that, regarding the studies of names and modes of address, the case has implications for other indigenous peoples in Taiwan and beyond.

Let me begin with the studies of indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Previous studies on names and modes of address focus on the issue of how aboriginal peoples acquire other systems of personal names, such as official or Christian ones. These studies illustrate indigenous notions of name and naming, how names mediate the influence of external forces, and so on (cf. Huang 2005; Ku 2010). However, the contexts in which various modes of address coexist are left unanalyzed. Instead, I have argued in this article that in light of the notion of life course, we can better understand how these peoples mediate external influences through their naming systems.

Moreover, the assumption behind previous studies was that of a fairly static use of personal names—there seems to be no change in modes of address throughout one's life. Here, the case of the Paiwan in southern and southeast Taiwan challenges that assumption with dynamic naming and modes of address. A personal name is used throughout one's life course but is replaced either by a nickname or by some sort of abbreviation of the personal name after one becomes an adult, gets married, and achieves the status of parenthood.[31] In other words, name changing itself reveals something important that has been overlooked.

In this regard, this article makes a contribution to the study of the Pinuyumayan too. Sunao Takoshima is one of a few scholars who have been concerned with the issue of the Pinuyumayan naming system. Based on his long-term fieldwork in Kasavakan village, Takoshima (1997, 1999) gives detailed and interesting data on personal names and name-changing customs. He also notes the custom of avoiding mentioning one's personal name when the person concerned is present. However, because he confines his

study to personal names, he seldom mentions the naming system in the village and leaves unanalyzed the features of the pattern of changing names throughout one's life course and its implications.

For instance, as mentioned above, during the adolescent period, the male teenager did have a personal name, but it was the new one he acquired in the boys' house, not the one given when he was born. During this period, he spent half a year with his peers in the boys' house and the remaining half with his family. Once initiated as a novice in the men's house, he was addressed by a generic term without a personal name and stayed in men's house at night until he married. By looking at the phases of adolescence and adulthood together, we can not only reconsider the avoidance of personal names as not simply showing respect for others but also get a fuller picture of social life.

The significance of changing names throughout one's life is also found in Denis Regnier's (2014) study in Madagascar. She argues that the Malagasy change their names several times in life through rites to demonstrate one's senior status in society. Indeed, there are obvious differences between the Pinuyumayan and the Malagasy; for instance, name changing in the former is regulated by the society in different phases of one's life course, whereas a new name in the latter displays one's agency and social status. But both cases clearly demonstrate the importance of name changing and its relation to the indigenous constitution of the person.

In this respect, this article not only echoes other studies beyond Taiwan in considering the naming system in the context of the life cycle (Bloch 2006; Hugh-Jones 2006; Watson 1986) but also further argues that once names and modes of address are contextualized in a life-course perspective, they can contribute to our understandings of the indigenous notion of person and indigenous social life in a more comprehensive picture through which to conceptualize relationships between the individual and those seemingly separate social domains, such as kinship and community.[32]

NOTES

1. The people are named "Puyuma" in the official classification system of Taiwan indigenous peoples. Because the term "Puyuma" is also the name of a historically well-known village, the people have adopted "Pinuyumayan" as their ethnic name for the sake of not confusing the people and the village. I follow their usage in this article and reserve the term "Puyuma" for the Puyuma village only.

2. The Amis practice a naming system whereby a newborn baby is named after its elder kin, such as grandparent, uncle, or aunt. Therefore, some descendants from a set of siblings usually share the same personal names. It is common for persons in a village to have the same name.

3. Nevertheless, differences exist between these two peoples. For instance, the age system of the Pinuyumayan is an age-grade type, while the Amis an age-set one (see Chen 1990). Regarding the marriage pattern, when the uxorilocal residence was still prevalent in both peoples, the ratio among the Amis was higher than that of the Pinuyumayan.

4. Because Taiwan was ruled by the Japanese regime from 1895 to 1945, most of the elder generation can speak Japanese.

5. For more details about the historical and sociocultural background of the Pinuyumayan people, see Chen (2001a, 2010).

6. In 2014, Kanakanavu and Saalua, both living in southern Taiwan and formerly classified as the Tsou, were recognized by the government as independent ethnic groups. The total population of aboriginal peoples at the end of 2013 was 533,601, approximately 2.23 percent of Taiwan's total population of 23,373,517.

7. The Pinuyumayan also acknowledge the importance of generation and show it in their kin address. However, when someone is older in age but younger in generation than another, the principle of age seniority often dominates, except where the genealogical relationship between them is clearly recognized.

8. Botanical metaphors commonly exist among other Austronesian-speaking peoples outside of Taiwan (see Fox and Sather 1996).

9. The following description is mainly from the case of the Puyuma community and complemented by other Pinuyumayan communities if relevant. I use "present tense" to mean that these rites or customs are still held today, even if not by many people.

10. For example, a baby in Puyuma community was named "Soungtuk" because the governor-general, the highest rank of the Japanese regime in Taiwan, had visited the community that year.

11. The Paiwan are the most highly ranked among the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. The name for a newborn baby has to be seriously considered to ensure that it is appropriate to the ranked position of its parents. Moreover, it is common to give a baby a name that reflects the higher position that the infant's parent holds regardless of whether the parent is on the paternal or maternal side (see Ku in this issue).

12. In the case of the Pinaski, the new name was taken from the name of the land the boy's family had cultivated.

13. These new names, similar to young male teenagers' names given in the boys' house, are like nicknames.

14. The term "godfather" in the article refers to an elder who conducts the initiation rite for a youth. It does not have religious implications such as those found in the case of a Christian godfather.

15. The prefix "*miya*" indicates an ongoing condition, and the root "*betan*" means waistcloth. Unlike the Puyuma, the rest of the Pinuyumayan villagers address this period as

valisen, where "*valis*" means "transformation." Previously, a young man, if necessary, would join in head hunting only after he was initiated as a *miyabetan/valisen* (Shröder and Quack 2009; Wang 2012, 96). Before the Japanese colonization, headhunting used to be widespread among the indigenous peoples in Taiwan except among the Yami (Tao) on Orchid Island off Taiwan (see McGovern 1997).

16. I once heard an elder call his male peer using the name given in the boys' house. But the referee was angry and reprimanded the former for his impoliteness. The former apologized and addressed the latter with his teknonym.

17. Male peers call each other *ali*. However, whereas a man can call someone *ali* who is a few years younger, the latter cannot call the former *ali* but, rather, *ba*, meaning "older sibling."

18. Among other Pinuyumayan villages, such as Likavung and Tamalakaw, a young man instead takes a new name from his "godfather," who is named in the same fashion when being initiated as a novice in the men's house.

19. Beyond the obligation of the initiate to his initiator, there are also intimate interactions between them. But today, there are fewer interactions due to the fact that the men's house no longer performs its function as before.

20. For a Pinuyumayan man, marriage involved a change of residence from the men's house to his spouse's natal household, as uxorilocal marriage was prevalent. In Katratripulr village, the term for married male is "*musavasavak*," meaning "those who 'marry in.'" The prefix "*mu*" means "to enter, move," and the root of the word, *savak*, means "interior." The usage well displays the uxorilocal residence that used to be prevalent.

21. The root of this word is "*ruma*" (house). It is common in the Austronesian world that the house refers not only to a physical building but also to the people living together. Even the name of the house signifies the social position of its inhabitants (cf. Fox 1993).

22. Both "*kataquin*" and "*halin*" mean "spouse": the Puyuma commonly use the former term, whereas the latter is in use among other Pinuyumayan communities.

23. However, they usually use the first child's name only, which makes outsiders mistake it for the elder's personal name. On occasions where persons middle aged and older address each other in this way, younger parents would then be referred to differently, depending on the relations between the addresser and the addressee.

24. I once asked the elders, "Does it mean that energy or power will be diffused to those initiates?," but I could not get any further information. It is interesting to find that similar information is reported in the case of the initiation of a *temaramaw* (literally, shaman): a senior *temaramaw* will lose her energy once she initiates a disciple.

25. Today, a boys' house is still extant in Puyuma but is no longer a place to sleep as before, except on the occasion of the annual rites conducted by the teenagers. In the case of the Pinaksi, the boys' house was abolished in the early 1960s, and the nearby men's house has since then performed the functions of both the boys' and the men's house (cf. Dong 2012). After teenagers have accomplished their annual rites, male adults then use the same building for their own rites.

26. There are some cases in which initiators are uncles and even grandfathers (paternal or maternal) of their initiates, but they do not live together, that is, in the same household.

27. It is noteworthy that young males and their godfathers in these villages reciprocally call each other "*ali*" ("friend"), while their counterparts in Puyuma and the Pinaski, respectively, address their godfathers as "*ama*," meaning "father."

28. For a more detailed discussion of the construction of "the foreign/outsider" and their shifting connotations and relations to "the autochthonous," see Chen (2004, 2007).

29. Maybe another important factor is the "assimilation policy" enacted by the government between the 1950s and 1980s. As a consequence, the indigenous peoples believed it shameful to use native names.

30. The forms are varied. For example, there are indigenous personal names followed by family names, such as Ahung Masikad, Urumakan Tatiyam, Gumalay Balangatu, and Varanuvan Mavaliw; Chinese personal names followed by indigenous ones, such as Weiwen Benaw; and indigenous personal names followed by Chinese surnames, such as Senayan Lai.

31. I personally thank Mr. Tong, himself a Paiwan, for providing this information.

32. Although published near fifty years ago, Goodenough's (1965) study is still relevant for reminding us of the importance of considering the personal naming system as constituting a part of society and avoiding inferring from the personal name that it is individualistic or sociocentric by itself.

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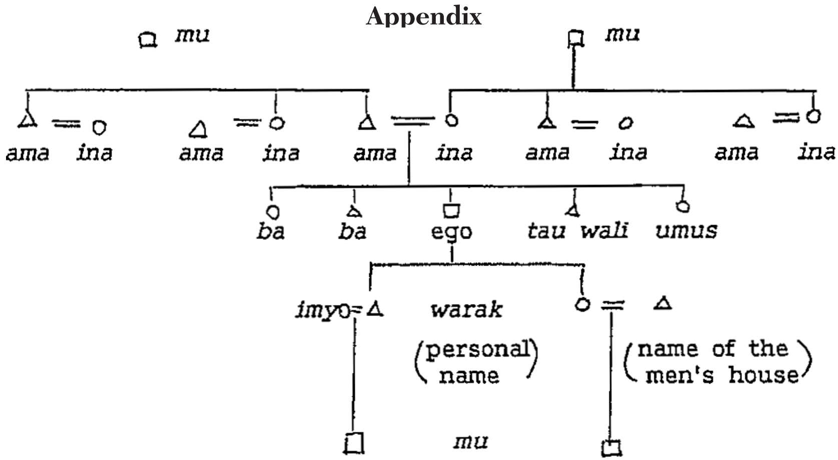
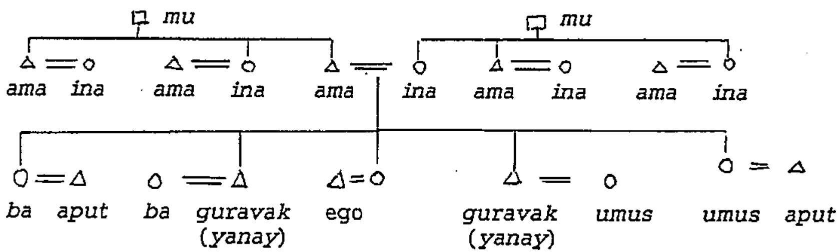
Appendix

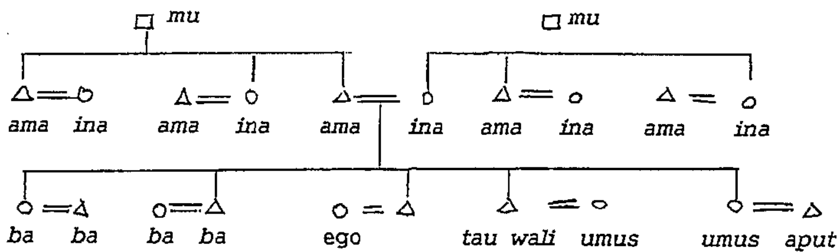


Appendix Figure 1 **The Puyuma Kin and Affinal Terms**

Note: *mu* (grandparents, grandchildren); *ama* (father and males at his generation); *ina* (mother and females at her generation); *ba* (siblings older than ego regardless of sex, *tau wali* (younger brother, including first and second cousins); *umus* (younger sister); *imy* (daughter-in-law). Son-in-law is addressed with the name of men's house into which he is initiated.



Appendix Figure 2 **The Puyuma Affinal Terms (male speaker)**



Appendix Figure 3 **The Puyuma Affinal Terms (female speaker)**

NAMES AS A MEANS OF INCLUSION AND TRANSFORMATION: NAMING AND TRANSCULTURAL KINSHIP AMONG THE WAMPAR, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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This article contributes to the ethnography of personal names and naming practices and their distinctive significance to the study of social processes and relations (Vom Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006). Among the Wampar in the Markham Valley in Papua New Guinea, where I have conducted fieldwork, Fischer (1975, 2000) has already noted the salience of names and naming practices in the village of Gabsongkeg. Based on my fieldwork between 2009 and 2010 in another Wampar village, Dzifasing,[1] I here explore naming in families produced by interethnic marriages from various perspectives but especially those of the offspring of such unions. I do so in the context of an increasingly multiethnic and rapidly transforming socioeconomic environment. Drawing on the concept of political arena (McGlynn and Tuden 1991; Swartz, Turner, and Tuden 1966), I suggest that names (as resources) and the naming of children (as practice) form part of strategic social positionings that are especially important for children of interethnic marriages. Through names and naming practices, I examine the negotiation of kinship, belonging, and identity[2] as they relate to the rights associated with contested affinities, affiliations, and identifications for individuals or for social groups (Ku 2010; Martin 2009).

Dzifasing exhibits a high rate of interethnic marriages between Wampar men and women and non-Wampar migrants from all over Papua New Guinea. These interethnic marriages lead to a configuration of relations that Beer (2010: 146–51) refers to as "transcultural kinship," as it involves

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kin networks that extend across cultures, identities, and group boundaries, sometimes negotiating incommensurable notions of relatedness and social identities. Children born of such marriages, early on in their lives, are confronted with this particular constellation of relationships as they make sense of their belonging, at times amidst competing interests in the cultural politics of identity. Children also take part in the political arena of social differentiations in terms of both structural and everyday relations.

On how children situate themselves in society, through their subjective understanding of social groups, structures, institutions, and processes, recent studies in developmental psychology go beyond the limits of Piaget's theory of cognitive development toward having a more social and cultural perspective (Barrett and Buchanan-Barrow 2005). In this view, children are intersubjective beings whose cognition implies a complex process that is neither biologically given nor universal but rather socioculturally specific. On ethnic identification, Lo Coco, Inguglia, and Pace (2005) emphasize the role of the immediate network of social relationships in their particular sociocultural and historical context that shape children's attitudes. For children with transcultural kindred, while they may share the similarity of growing up with a broader network of social relationships, their differences are articulated in the specificity of their individual situations and experiences.

In a changing multiethnic environment, where kinship and cultural identity continue to be deployed as categories for belonging and the rights that are entailed by those associations and affinities, names and the naming of children come to the fore as sites and venues for negotiations and transformations. In accounting for the particular practices on naming, social action, and discourse, the interplaying local and micropolitics about notions of social boundaries cannot be dismissed. The use of names is informed not only by a shared cultural practice but also by the interplay of specific social, economic, and political conditions that give rise to variations in perspectives.

As in the case of the children born out of interethnic marriages among the Wampar, I maintain that names not merely are social signifiers but also have economic and political consequences for their lives. Children also employ naming and deploy names based on their understandings of relatedness and identity. It is by considering both discourse and practices that I explore the social actors' notions on identity and relatedness and the contexts in which they are emerging or are being generated. I will show in this article how the politics of identities in transcultural kinship are articulated through names and naming practices as they are pertinent in the negotiations of linked structural and everyday life power relations and social processes. Naming is a continuing process that can not only symbolically define but also firm up, create, or transform identities and relationships. Thus,

for multiethnic families and children of interethnic marriages in Dzifasing, names are resources that they can tap and use in negotiating their social position. I will first give an overview of Dzifasing, interethnic marriages, and the changing economy and their implications for social organization, boundaries, and identities. I will then illustrate how negotiations are taking place through names and naming with examples of cases of families and children.

Interethnic Marriages and Categories of Social Boundaries in Dzifasing

The Wampar in Dzifasing are in constant contact with other ethnic groups from many parts of Papua New Guinea. This is especially so since the Highlands Highway was upgraded into an all-weather road beginning in the 1970s. The highway cuts right through the village of Dzifasing. Two busy markets within Dzifasing dot this highway. The city of Lae is just about a one-hour drive away from Dzifasing. Some interethnic marriages began through meetings in the two markets in Dzifasing or in the city of Lae. Migrants find Dzifasing's relative adjacency to Lae and its location right along the national highway attractive, and many settle in after marrying a local.

Interethnic marriages are not a recent phenomenon in Dzifasing, as there had been marriages since precolonial times with women from the adjacent Adzera. However, from the 1960s on, the trend gradually increased that began to involve men from farther coastal and island provinces and the Sepik, and since the 1980s, men and women from the Highlands began marrying in. Today, there is a new category of "mixed" marriages involving children of these interethnic couples.

Among the Wampar, the term *yaner* is used to refer to a "stranger," which connotes fundamental ontological differentiation (Beer 2006a: 109–10). A non-Wampar man is referred to as *ngaeng yaner*, while a non-Wampar woman is an *afi yaner*. Children of interethnic marriages are also socially differentiated. They are generally referred to as *miks pikinini* (mixed children). A girl would be referred to as *miks meri*, while a boy is *miks manki*. However, the gender of the in-marrying partner creates a further differentiation in the way this social category for children is generated. Children with non-Wampar fathers, who are referred to as *ngaeng yaner*, are specifically referred to as *pikinini bilong ngaeng yaner* (child of a non-Wampar father). The use of an ethnonym is also common, stressing the place of origin of the *yaner*, as, for instance, *Buka meri* (a girl/woman from Bougainville) or *man Sepik* (a boy/man from Sepik). The term "highlands" is also used to refer to those coming from that region. However, the

Wampar also commonly use Simbu, a province in the Central Highlands, to refer to any *yaner* from the highlands, regardless of whether one is from Simbu province. These specific identifiers apply to children whose father is a non-Wampar. Children with a non-Wampar mother (and with Wampar father) are not considered children of a *yaner* but are considered Wampar children.

For the Wampar, while incorporation or membership in a social group is not solely determined through patrifiliation, as when affiliation is extended to children of non-Wampar fathers or to the non-Wampar father,[3] inheritance and use rights paradigmatically track chains of such connections. This means that having a non-Wampar father is, by default, a disadvantage for ethnically mixed children compared with those who have non-Wampar mothers. Children with non-Wampar fathers are differentially categorized with the said terms above, and this extends to issues of rights to land, which is a matter of kinship. As Beer notes (2006b, 32), among the Wampar, "the kin group is central because economic activities and decisions take place within it, and it regulates access to land, which is the most important and contested resource." Thus, children of non-Wampar fathers who normatively have no rights to land in Dzifasing are confronted with questions of kinship, belonging, and identity, as these have implications on their rights and consequences for their future. Wampar women enjoy usufruct rights on lineage land, and this allows them to have subsistence gardens even after marrying a *yaner*. However, concerns regarding access to land and the linked issues of belonging intensified in the recent context of a changing socioeconomic environment in Dzifasing. Prior to 2007, the main source of cash income for everyone in Dzifasing was the growing of the betel palm and selling of its nuts (*buai*)[4].This holds true for every family in the village, including those of uxorilocal non-Wampar men. They had the same access to cash income. The growing of betel palms did not require a big land area, as the palms can be planted within the subsistence garden plot for staples like vegetables and bananas. But then an unknown pest attacked the mature betel palms and rendered them unable to bear nuts. After the *buai* economy has crashed, people relied more on cacao growing as an alternative permanent cash crop and in establishing new cattle herds. The shift entails the need for more land area to plant cacao and to fence more grazing area for the cows.[5] The discourse on the *yaner* became more hostile and public because they, including the children with non-Wampar fathers, were cast as competitors and a threat to a perceived mounting scarcity of land. How interethnic families respond to this situation can also be seen in the way names are deployed, as I will show in the next section.

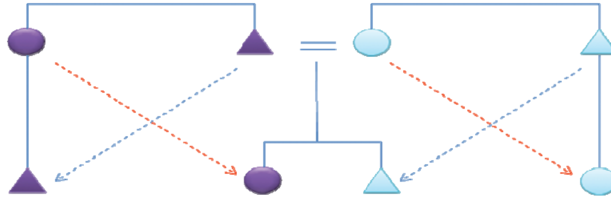

FIGURE. **MB to ZS and FZ to BD Name Exchange.**

Naming and Negotiations[6]

Among the Wampar, a man or a woman would usually have several names that may include old or traditional Wampar names, Christian or biblical names, modern English or European names, and nicknames. A common practice is the transfer of a living person's name(s) to a child. Fischer (2000, 55) observed that there appears to be an ideal form of name transmission of male names from mother's brother to sister's son and of female names from father's sister to brother's daughter (see Fig.). This includes classificatory brothers or sisters. When this ideal is practiced, classificatory siblings of the opposite sex exchange names through their children. The mother is usually approached by the name giver or provider since she, conventionally, makes decisions about her child's name. The child will then receive all the names of the namesake.

The Wampar ideal on naming, however, is not a rule that has to be strictly followed, as naming is also a matter of preference. Children in the end bear names not necessarily from their mother's or father's side. Names can come from or be generated by any name provider or name giver, be they kin, friends, or unrelated people. Names can be shared, acquired from other sources, or simply created. Furthermore, there is also the practice of self-naming and changing of names, which is done not only by grown-ups but also by the children.

In families resulting from interethnic marriages, the reciprocal relations through name exchange or name sharing are extended to a wider network of kin, involving both Wampar and non-Wampar. The naming of children is in most instances carried out by both parents and their respective kin network. The forms and processes of naming and name exchange are also emerging out of specific social, economic, and political conditions and relations that may be held to be important or pursued. Through naming, the structural dimension as well as the politics of social relationships and identities are negotiated. It is a political arena where intentions can be actualized.

As an arena where competing interests are played out, specific goals vary, and outcomes can go in different directions contingent on the overlapping

and interrelated positions of social actors in particular time, relationships, and cultural settings. Ku (in this issue) argues on the symbolic potency of names and how their use among the Paiwan is aimed at gaining status that legitimizes hierarchy. Among the Wampar in Dzifasing, however, inclusion in a social order, like via names, instead implies a move more toward social destratification. This appears to be not a surprising tendency in the absence of a strict hierarchical social organization.[7] Names circulate just as relationships are forged amongst the Wampar or between Wampar and non-Wampar. There is also no strict ordering of names through descent or as name sets and group names (cf. Lindstrom, Wood, Regnier in this issue). Through the use of names, non-Wampar parents and their children are able to rearticulate their identity among the Wampar in reworking their social position amidst the discursive politics of differentiation. In the following section, I will describe this process and show the transformative potential of names as a means of inclusion and what makes this possible.

Accommodations and Strategies

Rufus and Tsongof[8] met in Lae. He is from East Sepik province, and Tsongof is a Wampar woman from Dzifasing. They first resided in Lae, but Tsongof prefers to stay in her village. However, Rufus and Tsongof managed to move back and forth between Dzifasing and the Sepik, particularly in the early years of their marriage, with the second son being born in East Sepik. All sons have Sepik and Wampar names, which were acquired in different ways.

First, on the children's Wampar names. Tsongof observed what appears to be the ideal of naming the children, except for the last born. Her first three sons were named after her classificatory brothers. So far, she has fulfilled an exchange of names with one of them who had a daughter who was named after her. Wampar namesakes are expected to act on the relationship by caring for or nurturing the child who bears their names. At the time of marriage, while a male namesake is expected to help and contribute to the bride-price, the female namesake expects to receive a share of the bride-price. However, if the female namesake is considered neglectful or disinterested with her younger namesake, there is no guarantee that she will receive her share. This norm, accordingly, applies to any namesake, regardless of whether one is genealogically related. These days, the namesake also takes on the role of a Christian godparent during baptism and gives gifts to the child on Christmas or birthdays. In everyday life, the child is treated like he or she is one's own child by giving them food to eat, clothes, or some pocket money and helping out with school fees. An ideal namesake is someone who fulfills this role. A namesake of one of Tsongof's sons, however, has never visited the child.

He happens to be working as a professional in a faraway island province and spends most of his time there. Tsongof nevertheless expects that on her son's marriage, he will contribute to the bride-price. Otherwise, she says, they were not supposed to exchange names. Tsongof—and other parents who think that their children's namesakes are neglectful of their role—take a wait-and-see attitude.

Tsongof's last born, however, was not named according to the Wampar ideal of name exchange. He was named by Tsongof's mother, who gave him a name associated with a national holiday, which was the day he was born. However, not long after, a man of mixed descent, residing outside of Dzifasing but with links through his Wampar mother from a clan different from Tsongof's parents, offered his name to be her son's namesake. His name happens to sound similar to the name that Tsongof's mother has chosen for him. To name one's child after a friend who is not genealogically related is also a possibility in Dzifasing. Another interethnic couple, for example, decided to name their daughter after a woman from the Sepik whom they met at one of the markets in Dzifasing.

Regarding Sepik names, for Rufus, giving his sons Sepik names would connect them to his place of origin. Being a non-Wampar, Rufus has no land of his own in Dzifasing. Tsongof, being a Wampar daughter, does not formally inherit land rights like a son would do. However, like any Wampar daughter, she can enjoy rights to use parts of the land that may be apportioned for her by her (classificatory) father or brother. Tsongof's right of use of the land from her family does not automatically transfer to her sons. Among the Wampar, usually the male lineage leaders decide on the distribution of land. Rufus understands that while his sons are able to enjoy usufruct rights in Dzifasing through their link with their mother, he deems this to be an unstable situation and no guarantee to secure his sons' future. This sense of insecurity became stronger when Dzifasing's *buai* economy crashed, which spurred not only a discursive tightening of social boundaries but also new "rules" on residence and the use of the land. The anti-*yaner* posturing includes the issue of residence of uxorilocal non-Wampar men and their families who are admonished to eventually move out of Dzifasing, especially when the bride-price has already been paid to the Wampar wife's kin. While there appears to be a public consensus on this matter of residence, in reality this is hardly enforced, at least compared to the issue of land use. The planting of cacao, for example, is being restricted unless permitted by the landholding lineage leaders. Tsongof's brothers are allowing their nephews to plant cacao, but Rufus discourages his sons from doing so. He tells them that they also have cacao in his Sepik place of origin. Rufus further insists that it is good he gave his sons Sepik names from his clan that at the same time correspond to names of pieces of land that belong to his

clan. For him, it secures not only his sons' connection to his clan but also the rights of having land in his place of origin.

This sentiment is shared by Alex, another non-Wampar father, also from the Sepik, who asserts that giving all his children Sepik names connects them not only to the place but also with their kindred. Feeling the dominance of Wampar names on his children, he expressed his resistance: "I do not want them [Wampar] to put more namesakes on my children. . . . I must give them names from my place since they are my children. They should know their father's place and origin." Through the naming of children with both Wampar and Sepik names, Rufus and Alex are not only accommodating the practice for the advantage of having social connections for their children in either places but also securing their claims on the land in the Sepik that they intend to pass on to their sons.

For children with Wampar fathers who face no issues of exclusion among the Wampar, having a Wampar name is not as important as it is for children with non-Wampar fathers. Having a Wampar namesake makes the Wampar connections more visible or publicly recognized. It can also be an enabling factor for social mobility. Philip, one of Alex's sons, has a Wampar namesake who is his mother's classificatory brother. This namesake has been supporting his schooling and paying school fees and closely monitors his activities in the village to ensure that he stays in school. The namesake also sometimes employs him as a bus conductor on his own self-operated public minivan. Through the namesake, Philip is able to access not only a meaningful social connection but also an economic advantage that transcends any normative patrilineal rules that may restrict him from acquiring important resources, such as land. Although he is aware of himself having a Sepik name, he continues using his Wampar namesake's name. It is the name that he has gotten used with since childhood and therefore prefers it.

Benny, one of Rufus's sons, also knows that he has several names after having been given Sepik and Wampar names. He bears four names: two are from his Wampar namesake, one is the traditional Sepik name, and one is a modern name from Rufus's sister's husband, also from the Sepik. Benny's traditional Sepik name was given by Rufus's older brother, Dante. He gave Benny the Sepik name that refers to a piece of land in their clan. This, he says, signifies Benny's rights to own this land. Tsongof is aware of this Sepik practice of naming children with names from one's clan. The name is tied to the land, and so one clan is not supposed to use names from another clan; otherwise, it is as good as stealing the land of the other clans.[9] In contrast to the Sepik, personal names among contemporary Wampar are not directly associated with land or specific clans. Fischer (2000: 59–70), in his description of the etymology of personal names in Gabsongkeg, recorded only a

few cases in which the name of a clan is given as a personal name to women. However, I did not find such a case in Dzifasing.

In noting the difference in the naming practices between Wampar and the Sepik, Tsongof opines that it is for this reason that there are many land disputes between families and lineages in Dzifasing. Tsongof's opinion is indicative of her recognition of the significance of names as clear markers of land rights in the Sepik, which she acknowledges is absent among the Wampar. While names may be shared and firm up kin relations, the rights to land are not passed on through names. Except for names from the Sepik that are tied to land or categorizing one's group membership, names circulate among the Wampar and non-Wampar alike.

Since personal names are not tied to land among the Wampar, nomination is not disputed. Lindstrom (in this issue) argues for the importance of the use of names for group incorporation instead of descent typologies and categories, as in the case of the Tanna in Vanuatu. He refers to landowning groups as "name sets." Since the concept of "name sets" does not apply to the Wampar, the naming of the children of interethnic families with Wampar names (mainly through a Wampar namesake) is not an issue in itself, as names have no direct connection to land rights. However, there is a case of a Wampar mother, married to a non-Wampar, that highlights the importance of the name in relation to accessing lineage land rights from her kin. Her son is the namesake of her deceased brother who had no children. She further emphasizes the resemblance between them and how her brother treated her son like his own. The emphasis of the name in this case is related to the fact that she married a man coming from an island province observing a matrilineal system of inheritance and who happens not to be well-liked by her brothers, who are responsible for the distribution of the land within their lineage. She is aware of this strained relationship. The son in this case is still in the primary school. What happens later when he gets older will be of further interest. I have argued elsewhere that the quality of relationships that are forged between the non-Wampar parent or the children with non-Wampar fathers and the lineage leaders is an important dimension toward a possible meaningful incorporation (Bacalzo 2012).

Names, as Ku maintains, have power, but among the Wampar, the material efficacy of their deployment is contingent on other social factors. The Wampar mother uses her brother's/son's name in making a case for land rights (invoking the name like "supporting evidence"), but this does not suffice. Transmission of the name alone, while creating a culturally recognized special bond between namesakes, does not automatically materialize to having the same rights to land. What remains vital in the achievement of goals is the establishment of good relations between the parties concerned (cf. Wood in this issue, where

the enactment of responsibilities associated with a bestowed name, an identity, is a crucial process among the Aneityum). Thus, I am inclined to recognize both the symbolic and the structural dimensions or the cultural and the material contexts of a social arena, such as with names and the naming practices.

Tsongof and Rufus and their respective kin are similarly negotiating structural and social aspects of relationships through the naming of their sons. Through the ideal that allows Tsongof, as a mother, to choose names from her side, she is able to balance out the patrilineal principle of belonging to a clan. In the case of the naming of her sons from her (classificatory) brothers, their names manifest the relations or link from her side. For Rufus and his kin, the giving of Sepik names to his sons also allows them to balance out the Wampar dominance, especially when they, as *yaner*, are considered outsiders in the Wampar society. In making those structural links, through names, it is not only kinship but also the ethnic identifications that are facilitated. This extends to being able to access and negotiate rights to land through the usufruct rights of Tsongof and rights of inheritance through Rufus. These multifaceted aspects of their sons' social relationships and identities become part of their sense of personhood.

Addressing the Relationship and Identity

How children are called by whom is indicative of the relationship. Benny, for example, gets to be called differently by different persons. Tsongof calls him alternately with his modern and his Wampar name. Dante, Rufus's brother who gave Benny a Sepik name, never calls him by his Wampar name. Benny, however, prefers to use his modern name, as he thinks that it is a nice name and he likes it. While Benny has dropped out of school, other kids who knew him in school continue to call him by his modern name. Outside of school, he is called mostly by his Wampar name, especially by his Wampar kin. Being aware of his contested social position in Dzifasing and how he and his other brothers are socially categorized, Benny nevertheless echoes his Sepik connection by acknowledging his Sepik name and his possible eventual move to the Sepik. His awareness of his names' symbolic links and their social, economic, and political implications are shaped through the transcultural socialization experiences he encounters, not only through his parents but also from his Sepik and Wampar kin and the interactions with them and his immediate social milieu in Dzifasing. Besides Rufus's declaration of his sons' Sepik identity, as suggested by the Sepik names they bear, the visits of their Sepik kin to Dzifasing further remind the children of this connection. When Benny was ten years old, he was able to see, for the first time, the piece of land in East Sepik province that bears his name.

Self-Naming

Being aware of the salience of names in their lives, children of interethnic marriages also resort to self-naming and switching of names (cf. Regnier in this issue on the contextual positioning of the Betsileo through name changing). As there are no structured rituals and life stages that govern name changing (cf. Chen and Regnier in this issue), this is often an uncomplicated process. Children in Dzifasing begin to have a registered name once they are baptized or when they start school. From this point on, in public or official situations, their names are written with one personal name followed by another name that is usually (but not exclusively) the name of the child's father. I refer to the latter as the "public name." The basis for preferring the use of this term, as opposed to "family name," is that this latter category implies a certain structured order of names associated with an element of permanency or continuity as it is observed in each succeeding generation. While it is common practice to use the child's father's personal name, it is usually not the case that this name is passed on to the next generation. It is also possible that not every sibling in the same family would necessarily use the same name at the same time. It is far more common that the children of the next generation will again have a registered name derived from their father's name, not their father's father's name. Moreover, the father's name is not always used, as there are other possible name sources from the kin network.[10] This is also why "inherited surnames" or "inherited patronyms are inappropriate for the Wampar."[11] If I use the term "second name," it is with caution since, as has been described above, the Wampar bear several names and the usage of what particular name is contextual.[12] A public name is usually registered either at baptism in a church, on entry to school, or at census taking by the state. Scott (1998) refers to this naming process as making individuals legible to the state. Thus, this "public name" I refer to here may also be qualified as an "official name" in the sense of becoming legible to governing institutions or state agencies and their bureaucracy.

By assigning themselves a public name, children of interethnic marriages are able to express their preferred representation and the linkages that it entails. Thus, a daughter of an interethnic couple decided, while she was in her primary grades, to change her public name from her father's name to that of her paternal grandfather's name. She said that by doing this, it would connect her identity directly to her father's place of origin. She said that people would recognize it as a name from Milne Bay province, unlike her father's name, which is a common modern/biblical name. She sees it as a way that would further facilitate her connections to her father's place through the recognition of the name as being from there. She wants to be able to go

back to her father's place of origin and keep active connections with her relatives from there and explore economic opportunities. She also draws on the strength of the structural link and symbolic power of her (personal) name, on top of changing her public name, in attaining all these possibilities at her father's place. She was named after her father's sister and has maintained good relations with her namesake. Her father comes from a place where the transmission of land rights is normatively through the matriline. How this may be in effect, whether in principle or in practice, was not raised as a problematic issue. She sees the strength of her connections not only by being the namesake of her father's elder sister but also by having good relationships with her and other kin networks in Milne Bay. While her chosen public name is not necessarily traceable in her father's matrilineage or that of her namesake's, it is about her emphasis on her identification to the place that can be further facilitated by the name. She balances out her Wampar cultural biography through names in making recognizable links with her non-Wampar kin. She mobilizes a history of her names by using them (cf. Leblic in this issue).

Another example is a case of three siblings who resorted to switching names and self-naming as they negotiated their growing-up years between their Wampar mother and Mount Hagen father. The father did not take up residence in Dzifasing. The two older siblings adopted their mother's brother's name as their public name because he was the one present during their baptism rites. However, they later changed it to their father's name when both of them moved to Mount Hagen to continue high school and college there. When the youngest sibling began school in Dzifazing, she registered herself with a public name that was neither that of her Mount Hagen father nor that of her mother's brother. It was the name of the son of the woman who took care of them in those difficult times in the absence of their Mount Hagen father and with the lack of support from her mother's brother. However, when she reached third grade, the local teacher insisted that she used the name of her Mount Hagen father. She also later moved to Mount Hagen, where she continues using her Mount Hagen father's name, and has since then taken pride in her Mount Hagen identity.

Many children in Dzifasing prefer to have new names or nicknames. They are creative in coming up with their own terms. In school, as children socialize with their cohorts, they generate nicknames in imaginative ways for themselves or their classmates and friends. Some examples allude to ethnicity, as found written on classroom walls among other graffiti: *mix blood*, *Mixe Blood Mary*, *mangi 128 raun tasol* (literally translates as "boy one-two-eight just going around" whereby the sequence of numbers is an onomatopoetic way of referring to the Wantoat ethnic group), *Bob mangi Gamor* (Bob, a boy

from Gamor hamlet within Dzifasing), *JURJ 217 Crew* (where 217 stands for Dzifasing because the number symbols are associated with letters that closely resemble them, as in 2 is to letter Z, 1 is to letter I, and 7 is to letter F), *Tochii island boy*, or *Peter pikinini pukpuk* ("Peter, the crocodile child," referring to Peter as a child from the Sepik since the Sepik migrants are known to be crocodile hunters).

While nicknaming or "name-calling" may hint at a child's ethnicity, it also offers an opportunity for children of interethnic marriages to represent themselves in a unique way, just like other children in the village. Preference for one's own nickname can be based on how the name sounds and whether it is common or "cool" (with uncommon names preferred) or based on images that they would like to associate themselves with, such as celebrities or characters in the entertainment world. Their notions of modernity are likewise expressed through these borrowing and adaptations of names. They express a sense of their individuality by generating or adapting names from celebrities that they would see in magazines, on television, or in movies or even hear from other people and that they consider unique or fashionable. This is a trend that is not only recent. Fischer (2000, 72) already noted how boys in Gabsongkeg who no longer know their old Wampar names have given themselves nicknames, such as "Sixpacks," referring to beer; "Blacky," for wearing black clothes; "Bruce Lee"; or "Anolt," referring to Arnold Schwarzenegger.

Conclusion

Names are an important dimension of social relations and identity. Names among the Wampar do not have the deep metaphysical significance as in the Sepik. However, it is in the way names are used and deployed through their naming practices that can make them powerful resources. Thus, they would have the transformative potential for inclusion or for balancing out asymmetric relations, as when they are harnessed by the families and children of interethnic marriages. In transcultural kinship, the prominence of names and naming practices play out in the process of asserting identities or relatedness, resisting dominance, or claiming certain rights, particularly the access, use, and inheritance of land. Parents, the children of interethnic marriages, and their transcultural kindred are all drawn into a political arena where names and their use have become important resources in attaining desired relationships or strategic social positions and representations. With the use of names as resources, how a child is named, addressed, or referred to differently according to the context of the relationship facilitates inclusion, as it also allows for porous and fluid identity boundaries that accom-

modate multiplicity and flexibility. The quest for inclusion (whether by the non-Wampar father or his children) not only among the Wampar but also in the non-Wampar father's place of origin implies being able to enjoy rights to reside or use the land in either locations or, in the case of sons, the right to inherit land rights through their non-Wampar father's lineage. These are important goals to attain a more secure future. Names and naming can facilitate such goals. While names are not tied to land among the Wampar, compared to other ethnic groups, such as among the Sepik, they are nevertheless used in either firming up kin relations or affiliations or expressing a modern notion of individuality.

The Wampar practice of having several names provides a normative backdrop also for children of interethnic marriages to be able to switch and change names, allowing them to stress a chosen affiliation or an important social relationship. It also allows the transcultural kindred to address the child by the name that they choose to identify or relate the child with. Naming practices become part of the process of negotiating multiple ethnicities, rights or obligations, and kinship relations. Names can signify land rights, clan affiliation, kin, or personal connections. They are significant identifiers and resources both for the formation of the children's multiple identities and for the rights that are entailed by them.

Namesakes firm up kin relations just as they facilitate relatedness with nonkin. Namesake relations entail a reciprocity that goes beyond the exchanging of names, with the attached expectations of nurturance and care for the well-being of the child who receives one's name(s). It is a connection that may serve as a marker of genealogical link but, more important, as a connotation of social rights, interests, and obligations. The practice of sharing one's name extends the network of people who would have rights over the bride-price just as the obligations in providing for it. Namesakes come with gendered social obligations. While a namesake is expected to care for the child who receives one's name, which is the same for either a girl or a boy, it is at the time of marriage that the obligation and rights are differentiated.

The naming process is intensified when practices from different ethnic groups are inserted or asserted either as a form of resistance against the dominance of the Wampar or as an insistence for recognition of their own norms and values, while at the same time they are accommodated, blended, or adapted toward bridging kinship or creating meaningful connections. The naming of children from interethnic marriages can be a site of competing interests that are accommodated, such as children bearing names or having namesakes from both sides of their parents' kindred, and asserted, such as when non-Wampar fathers in particular give their sons names that are symbolic of land rights and connections to their place of origin.

The use of names allows for a continuing process of self-construction and representation. It allows flexibility in the process of self-identifications. Adults and children in transcultural kinship adapt names according to social situations, their own interests or aspirations, and the relations that they build around them. Their notions of identity and relatedness are situated in the naming practices that are part of the socialization process in their specific sociocultural contexts within their transcultural kinship and immediate social environment. It allows the child to transcend limitations that may be dictated by enforced lineage norms of inheritance and kinship. The adoption of a public name, when based on a patrilineal norm, might reinforce a son's lineage and clan membership. A similar strategy can also be used by a daughter, even when her father's place of origin has a normative matrilineal system of inheritance, to exhibit strength of connection and identification that may transcend formal rules toward a possible meaningful incorporation.

Ethnic identifications among children of interethnic marriages are facilitated by names that are given to them or used by specific kin or those that they choose to use or represent themselves with. The use of names for and by the children who are socially differentiated is part of the negotiations in challenging any strict setting of ethnic boundaries and other structural constraints. Thus, names as a resource and naming as practice are integral in the process of social positioning, which has become more important for children born out of interethnic marriages.

NOTES

1. The other Wampar villages besides Dzifasing and Gabsongkeg are Munum, Ngasawapum, Tararan, Gabantsidz, Mare, and Wamped.

2. These are processes that are integral in the constitution of a person. LiPuma's (1998) proposition on the study of personhood in Melanesia, a region that is transforming through processes of encompassment by Western culture, the nation-state, and capitalism, reveals both the dividual and the individual aspects of the person, which he maintains are also present in the West. More recent studies are going beyond the binary opposition, or dualism, in the conceptualization of the person and seek concurrence and collaboration with other disciplinal concepts and approaches, with models such as the "dialogical self" (van Meijl 2008), the "porous subject" (Smith 2012), and the seemingly simple but complex word "blob," to bring together the related multiple terms and processes to "describe what it is to be oneself or somebody else, in this or that place" (Bloch 2011).

3. See Bacalzo, Beer, and Schwörer (2014) on inducement of clan group formation with emphasis on inclusive sociality in the context of early engagements with a large international capital project in the form of mining.

4. Areca, or betel nuts (*buai* in Tok Pisin), are a mild stimulant that are chewed together with betel pepper and slaked lime.

5. For elaboration on this shifting economy and politics of ethnicity among the Wampar in Dzifasing, see Bacalzo (2012).

6. Parts and versions of the following section appeared in *Tsantsa* (Bacalzo 2011), and in a paper in the panel Current Anthropological Research in and about Oceania, Schweizerische Ethnologische Gesellschaft (SEG) Annual Meeting, Bern, November 12–13, 2010.

7. The restrictions on *yaner* use of land with the shift to permanent cash crops and establishment of new cattle herds leads to an indication of an emerging economic and moral order but does not necessarily render other cultural channels inutile, such as names, for negotiating inclusion in keeping with a social process of relations that is characteristically fluid.

8. Names in the case studies are pseudonyms.

9. On the significance of totemic names in the Sepik and their symbolic power extending to the economic and political realm, see, for example, Harrison's (1990) elaboration of this on the Avatip and Silverman's (1996, 1997) study with the Iatmul.

10. Fischer (2000, 86) observed cases when the name is taken from paternal or maternal grandparents.

11. Reid (2010, 22) refers to the "inherited family names on the male side" as the entrenchment of a patriarchal pattern of naming in Southeast Asian countries linked with the global processes of capitalism. Scott (2010: vii–ix) qualifies the difference between "vernacular" and "official" state-created names with the latter type turned into "permanent patronyms" as "a reliable proxy for the degree of state presence" (Scott, Tehranian, and Mathias 2002, 14).

12. I thank Bettina Beer for an exchange of insights on naming practices among the Wampar that put into perspective my use of certain categories, such as name types, that may not apply or be universally reflective across cultures considering the particularities of practices in certain sociohistorical and cultural contexts, such as those that we observe among the Wampar. I am also grateful for Don Gardner's judicious comments on earlier drafts of this article.

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"I AM A GRANDPARENT AND MY NAME IS GOOD": STATUS, FOOD, AND GENDER AMONG THE KELABIT OF SARAWAK

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In this article, I will explore the way in which the system of address and reference of the Kelabit people of Central Borneo highlights the importance of the role of parent and grandparent and indeed the nature of Kelabit kinship and its relationship to gender differentiation and status. I have explored these topics more fully in other publications (e.g., Janowski 1995, 2003a, 2007).

I have been researching in the small community of Pa‘ Dalih in the southern part of the Kelabit Highlands since 1986. The Kelabit Highlands lies on the island of Borneo, at the headwaters of the Baram River, close to the international border between Sarawak, which is part of Malaysia, and the Indonesian province of East Kalimantan. The Kelabit belong to a larger linguistic group, sometimes called the Apo Duat group (see Hudson 1977),[1] which includes the Lun Dayeh, who live in other highland areas in East Kalimantan and in Sarawak; the Lun Bawang, who are essentially the same people as the Lun Dayeh but live downriver in the Fifth or Limbang Division of Sarawak, with a small number in Sabah; the Sa‘aban living in the Fourth or Baram Division of Sarawak and across the border in East Kalimantan; the Libun, the Potok and the Milau or Berau, living on the Bahau River in East Kalimantan; and smaller groups living further down the Baram River, in rivers draining into the Baram and in the rivers draining to Brunei Bay, including the Treng or Tring, the Adang, and the Belait (see Janowski 1991, chapter 1).

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The data on names presented here (and also discussed in Janowski 2005) was mainly gathered in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It reflects a way of life grounded in a close relationship with the natural environment. While much of what is presented here remains very relevant in the highlands a large proportion of the Kelabit now live outside the Highlands, mainly in the city of Miri near the mouth of the Baram River. Some data on the way in which the Kelabit naming system was used in town in the 1990s has been presented by Matthew Amster (Amster 1999).

The Kelabit system of address and reference is rather elaborate, and much of it seems to be, and to have been in the past, absent among other "Apo Duat" peoples. The only details available on other Apo Duat systems are provided by Crain (Crain 1970, chapter 3). From data that I have collected in Pa' Dalih among people visiting from Long Layu in the Kerayan area across the border in Kalimantan, Indonesia, who belong to the Apo Duat language group and with whom with the people of Pa' Dalih have close kin links, a system similar to the Sipitang system seems to be the basic system of address and reference in the Kerayan. Sipitang and the Kerayan are at the extreme geographical limits of the present Apo Duat area, and it seems probable that the system in these two places is the usual Apo Duat one. The Kelabit system has developed in a different direction.

Naming among Apo Duat peoples

In Sipitang and in the Kerayan area, a name is given to a child when he or she is a few weeks old, and this is the only name the child ever receives. For both address and reference, either this name or a kin term is used. In the Kerayan, teknonyms are also used once an individual is a parent, although the precise contexts in which they are used is not clear. In the Kelabit Highlands, too, a name is given to each baby shortly after birth. This is termed a *ngadan i'it* (literally, a small name). Certain ngadan i'it are said to have been reserved for the children of aristocrats in the past, although now this is said by informants not to be the case. Many ngadan i'it in recent years have been borrowed from other peoples, beginning in the 1960s when the names of British soldiers stationed in the highlands during the "Confrontation" between Indonesia and Malaysia were given to children born at that time.

In address, and often in reference too, it is not only the ngadan i'it that is used to refer to and to address children. Very often a term meaning female child/childless female (*mo'*) or male child/childless male (*ta'i* in the southern Kelabit area, *bo'* in the northern Kelabit area) is used by those of ascending generations (see Fig. 1). Adults often do not remember a child's ngadan i'it, especially if the child is still quite young. Crain reports

FIGURE 1. **A young *ta'i*: Morgan with a large rice basket (*bu'an*) (Photo Kaz Janowski 1987).**

terms that appear to be cognate and to have similar meanings to the Kelabit ta'i/bo' and mo' among the people of Sipitang—*asi'*' and *amu*. However whereas among the Kelabit ta'i, mo' and bo' cease to be used once an individual has a child himself/herself, in Sipitang asi' and amu continue to be used throughout life to address a person of a descending generation from ego. It is not clear whether these are the terms used in reference as well, but this may well be the case. There are also, in Sipitang, terms for elder male and younger male of the same generation as the person speaking (*ale* and asi'), the latter also being used to address boys of the first descending generation. The sole term for sister, elder as well as younger, is used for girls and women of the first descending generation as well as for women of the same generation as ego. Crain seems to imply that this term is not, however, used to address individuals of the second, third, etc., descending generations. It would seem, then, that the Sipitang terms are rather different from the Kelabit ta'i/bo' and mo', since these are not used by siblings but by individuals of all ascending generations from the individual addressed or referred to.

Ta'i/bo' and mo' are, as mentioned above, used in reference as well as in address, although not so frequently. If used in reference they will refer to the ta'i/ bo' or mo' regarded as most closely related to ego. This normally means a child or young person without children residing in the same agricultural, residential, and commensal unit, which I term the hearth group (see Janowski 1995, 2003a, 2007). Thus, a Pa' Dalih grandmother will refer to her coresident grandson as *ta'i ueh* (my ta'i). Crain does not tell us whether or how asi', ale', or amu are used in reference.

Naming among the Kelabit: Marking the Status of Parent and Grandparent

It is at the birth of one's first child that the Kelabit system of address and reference departs significantly from that practiced by other Apo Duat peoples. Among other Apo Duat peoples, it would appear that adults are very often, if not normally, addressed and referred to by kin terms, both lineal and affinal. The Kelabit, however, use kin terms in address and reference very infrequently. Instead, the emphasis is placed on using terms that emphasize a person's status as parent and grandparent, through the use of what I term parental and grandparental names and titles.

Among the Kelabit, once a child is born to an individual, whether or not that individual is married to the other parent, he or she is normally never again addressed by the terms ta'i/ bo' or mo', or by the small name on its own. This is a great point of transition in life, primarily because a person is

not seen as taking responsibility for anyone else (even if he or she is married). Taking responsibility for others is the foundation of social status.

There are two ways of addressing and referring to parents or grandparents among the Kelabit. One is by using names with meanings, which are adopted at feasts called *irau*. This has some echoes in the Kerayan where some past leaders are said to have had names with meanings. The other is through the use of parental and grandparental titles. These are related to, although much simpler than, what Needham terms death names and teknonyms among neighboring peoples, including the Penan whom he studied (Needham 1954 and Elshout 1926 as referred to therein; Urquhart 1958b,a; Chin 1985). I am not using the term teknonym in the same way as does Needham; I reserve this term for the calling of a parent after a child using that child's given name (as in "father of Mary"). Parental and grandparental titles do not refer to the child by name but use a general term for either female child or male child, as discussed above. Needham includes both what I call teknonyms and what I call parental titles under the heading of teknonyms (Needham 1954). I have felt it necessary to distinguish between these because they appear to me to fulfil, among the Kelabit, very different functions. Nowadays, at any rate, the Kelabit system of titles lacks any death names, although Urquhart recorded in 1958 that it possessed some traces of these (Urquhart 1958b). It has been suggested that the Kelabit borrowed these terms from the Kenyah (Pollard 1935, 226; Pollard and Banks 1937, 398), although this contention has been questioned (Urquhart 1958a, 736).

Among the Kelabit living in the highlands, an individual's standing in the community depends very largely on their relationship to the status of parent or grandparent, what can be termed their child-related status. This is described in terms of how big (*merar*) a person is; a full *lun merar* (big person) is recognized as a grandparent, and is, with his/her spouse, the head of a hearth-group (*tetel*), the basic economic and social unit in Kelabit society. Being lun merar is fundamental to status and prestige in the Kelabit Highlands. It is grounded on the one hand in the production of children and grandchildren and on the other hand in the provision of the rice meal for children and grandchildren (Janowski 1995, 2007). In a traditional context within the highlands, founded in a way of life involving growing rice and using forest resources, it meant being able to care for as many people as possible, all conceived of as kin, and considered to be equivalent to dependent children and grandchildren.

The status of lun merar did not refer only to the head of a hearth-group. The term was also used to refer to the leaders of longhouses. In the highland area, small longhouse-based communities were, until the middle of the twentieth century, seen as extended nuclear families, centered on one

conjugal couple who led the longhouse. This couple was viewed as the genealogical source of that longhouse (see Janowski 2007). Through the skills of the female member of the couple, rice could be successfully grown to feed the whole longhouse, and through the forest skills and leadership of the male member of the couple, meat and other resources were brought in from the forest. The longhouse was also kept safe from attack, and the status and life-force (*lalud*) of the community was maintained through head-hunting expeditions; the importance of this was stated through the telling of stories about super-expeditions, attacking powerful longhouses inhabited by spirits and semi-spirits, launched by culture heroes like Tuked Rini (Janowski 2014c; also see Fig. 8). Both male and female members of the lun merar couple needed to have good relations with the creative force or spirit or the cosmos, known as Derayeh or Ada‘ Rayeh (Great Spirit), enabling them to be good leaders and provide for others. If their ability to lead waned, they would lose this position, and people would leave and set up new longhouses under more vibrant and successful leading couples.

In this system, status was rooted in this care for others. Effective leading couples would gather followers around them to form a longhouse. Their own hearth-group, located in the center of the longhouse, would contain large numbers of dependents, war captives and debtors who would be regarded as their grandchildren; and members of the other hearth-groups of the longhouse would regard them as parents and would depend on them to resolve disputes, organize the regular rebuilding of the longhouse every few years, lead the men in defending the settlement against attack and in attacks on other longhouse, and lead everyone in rice-growing. The importance of the status of lun merar went beyond simple progression through life. The leaders of longhouses and of groups of longhouses are also described as lun merar, and in the past this was the usual term used to describe them, although the terms *paran*, *maren*, and *aren*, meaning aristocrat and probably borrowed from the more clearly stratified Kayan/Kenyah groups, were also used, according to Kelabit informants.

As I have discussed elsewhere (e.g., Janowski 1995, 2007), lun merar of larger social groups than the basic hearth-group—the longhouse, and groups of longhouses—can be said to be heading wider, symbolic hearth-groups. There is an equivalence between the hearth-group and higher levels of social organization. Both the hearth-group and the longhouse may be termed *ruma*‘, which may be translated as house, although the hearth-group may also be referred to as tetel, literally hearth, which is why I refer to it as hearth-group. It is the commensal daily consumption of the rice meal that generates and identifies membership of the basic hearth-group. On certain occasions, the members of a group of longhouses eat a rice meal together

and on others—irau feasts—the entire Kelabit population resident in the highlands and a proportion of those resident in towns on the coast joins together to eat a commensal rice meal together, marking both levels as symbolic hearth-groups.

It is, then, being at the center, and being the grandparents, of a group of dependents focused on a hearth-group, that is at the basis of prestige. The equivalence of the different levels of hearth-group is expressed in the terminology used within the hearth-group: the big people of each level are, terminologically, the parents/grandparents of their dependants within the hearth-group. Lower status members of a longhouse, for example, would address the big people of the longhouse as grandparent (*tepo*ʿ, using the vocative form of *tepoh*).

Thus, marking the status of lun merar is of fundamental importance not only to being recognized as an adult, but to one's relative prestige within the community, which is imaged in terms of parenthood and grandparenthood, the status of lun merar. As we shall see, Kelabit names with meanings constantly refer to the ability to provide not only for those within the same hearth-group but for those outside it as well, within wider symbolic-level hearth-groups.

The Transition to Parenthood and Grandparenthood

Among the Kelabit, the transition from being a person without children, an *anak adi*ʿ or small child, to parenthood—making the first step on the path toward becoming a lun merar—is based on the simple fact of the birth of a first child to a couple, or the adoption of a child; the Kelabit do not appear to distinguish between social and biological father, as Needham reports that the Penan do (Needham 1954) by using different terms for father (see Fig. 2).

Becoming a grandparent, on the other hand, does not occur at a clear point in time. This is because the link to the biological child of one's biological child, although somewhat stronger than that to other close classificatory grandchildren (such as biological children of one's siblings or first cousins), is not considered in the same definitive light in the establishment of grandparental status as is the birth or adoption of a child to the establishment of parental status. In other words, it is not clear which of an individual's classificatory grandchildren is his or her first, and so the point at which he or she becomes a grandparent is moot. In fact, a person's transition to grandparenthood means much more than that to parenthood because it implies having taken responsibility for a hearth-group—being its lun merar, in fact—thus, it is not surprising that this is a more difficult transition.

FIGURE 2. **Achieving the status of parents, in charge of a cooking hearth: Batang Kelapang and Sinah Batang Kelapang (Kelapang River and Mother Kelapang River) aka Kaz and Monica Janowski (Photo Sally Greenhill 1987).**

Despite the differences between the two statuses, the distinction between grandparent and parent is one of degree and not of kind. A grandparent is simply more of a lun merar than a parent. A parent has just embarked upon a road that culminates logically in the production of a tutul or descent line, if an individual's achievements prove great enough for him or her to be remembered down the generations. The taking of parental and grandparental names mark an individual's reaching a certain point on that road.

It is, nowadays, through the holding of an irau (known in the past as *tser-aad*), that the transition between the status of anak adi' and that of parent and between the status of parent and that of grandparent are marked formally. An *irau mekaa ngadaan* is held after the birth of a child to a couple, at which time a parental name is given to the young couple, and the grandparents of the child take new names. With a young couple living in the highlands, the name is chosen by the lun merar of the hearth-group to which they belong (their parents and parents-in-law), who themselves take grandparental names. The child or children born to the young couple is/are displayed, and his/her/their names are stated (see Fig. 3).

FIGURE 3. **Grandparents, new parents, and children display themselves at an *irau* feast at Bario Asal longhouse. The young couple lives in town and already has three children (one, a small baby, remained in town during the irau). The young mother, Dayang, is Kelabit, whereas her husband, Raymond, is Eurasian. They took the name of Balang Ngeluun—Spirit Tiger Above all Others (Photo Kaz Janowski 1987).**

In pre-Christian times, the naming of children, known as *ngelua anak*, was accompanied by drinking of rice beer (*borak*), and there was much elaboration of the transition undergone by the child. It would appear that only rarely was a full-blown irau held at which a name with a meaning was taken. The function of ngelua anak was primarily to effect a ritual transition, that of the child from the spirit world to the world of living humans, and this was underlined by the slaughter of pigs and the use of pig's blood and pig's fat (see Janowski 2003b, 2014a). *Irau/tseraad* were usually held at the secondary funerals of important individuals (*irau até*, death irau), which were the major means of advertising and generating status for the living holder, normally the coresident child and child of the law of the deceased. Sometimes such irau were held while the person or couple whose achievements were being celebrated was still alive.

Secondary disposal of the dead is no longer practiced among the Kelabit now that they have become Christian. Irau are now held only at namings, which have risen in prominence to become the major means of generating and displaying status. Certain characteristics of irau até have been introduced to naming irau, which seem to transfer the prestige-generating function to the naming irau. Nowadays, at naming irau, both pigs and buffaloes are slaughtered. Buffaloes, which were killed in the past at irau até, are associated with prestige. Pigs remain the *sine qua non* of the feast, however; I do not know of an irau mekaa ngadan at which no pigs were slaughtered.

I was told that, in the past when individuals did adopt names with meanings, this was always at irau até /tseraad. It seems likely that all names with meanings in the past were equivalent to grandparental names nowadays: that they marked an individual's achievements. It does not appear that names with meanings were taken by young couples who had just had children, as is usual now. In the past, it seems that women and men took different parental names, as is the case nowadays with grandparental names; therefore, the names appear to have been more like grandparental than parental names.

The Taking of Names with Meanings among the Kelabit

The fact that names with meanings are present in Kelabit legends such as that of Tuked Rini (see Janowski 2014c) recited until the middle of twentieth century, which are likely to be very old, suggests a long history for such names. However, it seems that the system of names with meanings adopted at irau was used in a much more restricted way before the middle of the twentieth century, being limited to those of high status. Teknonyms were common and perhaps usual. Thus, ancestors even three generations back are frequently referred to by parental teknonyms. These teknonyms may have been the usual names of individuals, taking the place now taken by parental and grandparental names.

Nowadays, names with meanings and the irau at which they are taken are not restricted to a small number of high-status couples; unless one individual dies first, practically all couples eventually hold an irau together, as a couple, and each takes a grandparental name with a meaning at the irau. Such an irau is held by the couple for their own biological child plus spouse either living in the same hearth group or conceived of as belonging to the same hearth-group, although actually residing in town.[2] At the irau the host couple take grandparental names, parental names are given to the young couple, and their child or children receive name(s). The fact that all couples hold irau nowadays is related to a heightened level of

competition for status and greater access to resources from the outside world (Janowski 2003a).

Couples often hold irau quite some time after one or both of the individuals in the couple has already begun to be considered by others and to consider themselves grandparents. Once an individual reaches his or her midforties, he or she appears to feel like a grandparent. There will have been a number of irau held for children who are the biological grandchildren of their close relatives and whom they consider in some sense their grandchildren, too. At irau, only one young couple normally takes parental names. However, not only the host (grandparental) couple, but any person who considers themselves related to the child in question, can take a grandparental name; indeed this is welcomed by the hosts because this emphasizes their centrality in the kinship system. Many individuals take this opportunity before they hold irau for their own first coresident grandchild.

An individual is considered to be in a grandparental relationship with all related children of the appropriate generation and, therefore, can take a grandparental name, or renew (*ngebru*) the one he or she already has, at any irau held after the birth of such a child, whoever hosts it. It is considered unprestigious to keep changing one's grandparental name, because it denotes weakness of purpose, but it is an important statement of kinship to renew one's name at any irau held within the same longhouse community for a child of the appropriate generation, for children of close (*moneng*) relatives living in other longhouses—this category varies according to personal situations but tends to always include at least the biological grandchildren of siblings and first cousins. Also, it is common for names to be renewed at irau held for children of the appropriate generation whose biological grandparents are of high status. To take or renew a grandparental name at an irau hosted by another couple not only underlines and boosts their status; if they are already of high status, it also boosts the status of the person who takes the name. Close relatives—those categorized as *lun royong moneng*—who take a grandparental name at an irau are given gifts by those hosting it, and there is often a gradation of gifts with the largest going to those most closely related and/or those of highest status (to emphasize this kin connection).

Names with meanings consist of two chosen words, which I call name elements. A parental name is taken together by the couple, with the word *sinah* (mother) at the beginning of the name, for the wife. Parental names are usually selected by the grandparental generation, or the young couple chooses from a selection suggested to them. They are often names said to have been held in the past by prominent ancestors. Grandparental names are different for the husband and the wife and are chosen to reflect the character of the person and his/her achievements. Although it is likely that at the irau which

they hold jointly for their first coresident grandchild they will both take new names, and sometimes the two names are planned together and have one name element in common (they may also share an element with the name taken by the young couple), it is very likely that the first grandparental name they take, and any others taken after their own irau, will be taken separately and will be quite different. This is because each of them has different kin networks and is in classificatory kin relations to different grandchildren.

Irau as Competition

Although all parents and grandparents take names at irau nowadays, not all irau are equal. Irau are essentially competitive events. All couples hosting irau have as their aim not only the confirmation of their status of lun merar within the hearth-group and the launching of their young couple, their child and child-in-law, on the road to becoming lun merar, but also the generation of prestige and the status of lun merar within the wider community for themselves. However, not all succeed equally. The point of an irau held in the Kelabit Highlands is to attract as many guests as possible and to provide for them as lavishly as possible.[3] A huge rice meal is provided, at which rice and meat from valuable domestic animals rather than wild animals (which provide everyday meat) is provided. Town-bought snacks and drinks made with tea, coffee, milk powder, and sugar are provided. The more people attend, the greater the name (*rayeh ngadan*) of the hosts.

A major point of highlands irau is to emphasize wide kin links, which are prestigious. The more people take new grandparental names or renew (ngebru) their grandparental names at the irau the better, because this implies many kin; the more people declare themselves as the host couple's kin—which they do because of the prestige that couple has already accumulated—the more prestigious for the host couple, thus further strengthening their position. The giving of gifts at irau by the hosts underlines these kin links.

Parental and Grandparental Titles

Although a parental name is not taken until the irau, the birth of a child to a couple is marked immediately by the adoption of parental titles to address and refer to them by everyone else in the community and by their beginning to address each other by these. These are: *tamabo'*(father whose first child is a boy), tamamo' (father whose first child is a girl'), *sinabo'*(mother whose first child is a boy) or sinamo'. *Tamah* means person who is a father, and sinah means person who is a mother; bo' and mo' mean, as pointed out above, male child and female child, respectively.

Grandparental titles are tepabo‘ and *tepamo*‘, deriving from the term for grandparent, tepoh (vocative tepo‘), and the terms bo‘ and mo‘. Which is adopted depends on the sex of an individual's first grandchild, although it would appear that the title may change later if an individual changes his or her name again and the link with the child concerned is considered very close, for example if the child is one's own grandchild, within the same hearth-group.

Unlike parental titles, grandparental titles are not adopted immediately but gradually, with the parental title slowly falling into disuse as the person's grandparental status becomes accepted within the community. It is likely that grandparental titles have a much longer tradition as a widespread, common practice in the Kelabit Highlands. They are a fundamental mark of the biological and social transition to parenthood and then to grandparenthood, rather than being grounded in competition for relative status as are parental and grandparental names with meanings. However, this is complex as parental and grandparental titles can be used in combination with parental and grandparental names with meanings.

The Choice of Name or Title

Parental and grandparental names and titles are both used on a daily basis, and individuals have quite a bit of choice and latitude available to them to use one or the other system or a mixture of the two, and are able to convey complex messages through their choice. Table 1 sets out the choices which are normally followed. As is apparent from the table, an individual's choices are constrained somewhat by the relationship between him or her and the person being addressed or referred to.

Parental and grandparental titles can only be used on their own in contexts (especially in address) where it is clear who is being addressed or referred to. The context in which this is particularly likely is among members of the same hearth-group. There is a certain intimacy, and an assumption of equality, associated with the use of these titles on their own. Husband and wife always use them to address and refer to each other; I have been told by Kelabit that these titles are the equivalent of the English darling.

The title can also be used together with the individual's name, preceding it. This can be the small name (ngadan i‘it); for a short while after the holding of irau, parents may continue to be addressed and referred to by their small name, although only together with the title. The parental name is only used with the parental title and the grandparental name with the grandparental title. The combination of title and name may be resorted to where confusion would arise as to who is being addressed or referred to if the title were used

TABLE 1. **Terms of address.**

	Person without children (addressed)	Person of parental status (addressed)	Person of grandparental status (addressed)
Person without children (speaking)	*ngadan i‘it* or contraction	*tama‘/sina‘*[9]	**1. *tepo*‘**2. *tepo*‘ + most recent grandparental name or contraction 3. *tepo*‘+ name of first grandchild
Person of parental status (speaking)	1. *ngadan i‘it* or contraction 2. *ta‘i/bo‘* (boy) or *mo‘* (girl)	1. parental title 2. parental title + *ngadan i‘it* or contraction 3. parental name or contraction 4. *tama‘/sina‘* + name of first child 5. *aja‘/lango‘/ngeruai* (rare)	1. *tama‘/sina‘/tepo‘* (last if person is at least two generations up from speaker) 2. *tama‘/sina‘/tepo‘* (last used as above) + most recent grandparental name, previous grandparental name, parental name or contraction of one of these, according to current usage in community vis-à-vis this person
Person of grandparental status (speaking)	1. *ngadan i‘it* or contraction 2. *ta‘i/bo‘* (boy) or *mo‘* (girl)	1. parental itle’ 2. parental title + *ngadan i‘it* or contraction 3. parental name or contraction 4. *tama‘/sina‘* + name of first child	1. most recent grandparental name or contraction 2. previous grandparental name, parental name or contraction of one of these according to current usage in community vis-à-vis this person 3. *aja‘/lango‘/ngeruai* (rare)

Table 1. **Continued.**

Terms of reference			
	Person without children (referred to)	Person of parental status (referred to)	Person of grandparental status (referred to)
Person without children (speaking)	*ngadan i'it* (small name) or contraction	1. *tamah/sinah* (for own parents) 2. *tamah/sinah* + name of first child (especially when speaking to a child) parental name or contraction	1. *tepoh* + most recent grandparental name 2. most recent or previous grandparental name, parental name, *ngadan i'it* or contraction of one of these, depending on the usual way of referring to the individual within the community 3. *tepoh* + name of first grandchild
Person of Parental status (speaking)	1. *ngadan i'it* or contraction 2. *ta'i/bo'* (boy) or *mo'* (girl) (if clear who is being referred to) 3. *ta'i/bo' ueh* (my *ta'i/bo'*) (boy) or *mo' ueh* ('my *mo*') (girl) (referring to most closely related unmarried person, normally coresident with speaker)	1. parental name or contraction 2. parental title + *ngadan i'it* 3. parental title + full parental name (formal) 4. parental title (if clear who is being referred to) 5. *tamah/sinah* + name of first child (especially when speaking to a child) 6. *aja'/lango'/ngeruai* (rare)	1. *tamah/sinah* (for own parents) 2. *tamah/sinah/tepoh* (latter if person is at least 2 generations traceable up from speaker) + most recent grandparental name or contraction (formal) 3. most recent grandparental or previous grandparental name, parental name or *ngadan i'it* or contraction of one of these, depending on the usual way of referring to the individual within the community 4. parental or grandparental title (if clear who is being referred to) 5. *tepoh* + name of first grandchild

Table 1. **Continued.**

	Person without children (referred to)	Person of parental status (referred to)	Person of grandparental status (referred to)
Person of grandparental status (speaking)	1. *ngadan i'it* or contraction 2. *ta'i/bo'* (boy) or *mo'* (girl) (if clear who is being referred to)	1. parental name or contraction 2. parental title + *ngadan i'it* 3. parental title + full parental name (formal) 4. parental title (if clear who is being referred to) 5. *tamah/sinah* + name of first child (especially when speaking to children)	1. most recent grandparental name or contraction (polite) 2. previous grandparental name, parental name, *ngadan i'it* or contraction of one of these, depending on the usual way of referring to the individual within the community 3. parental or grandparental title (if clear who is being referred to) 4. grandparental title + full, most recent grandparental name (formal) 5. *tepoh* + name of first grandchild (especially when speaking to a child) 6. *aja'/lango'/ngeruai* (rare)

N.B. First grandchild means the child for whom the person being named, together with his or her spouse, held *irau*. This child is the first coresident grandchild. It is likely that the person concerned became a grandparent before this in the sense that he or she took a grandparental name, for a related child for whom another couple held *irau*.

alone. However, because names consist of two elements, preceded by sinah for a woman, this means that the full name and title are very long and awkward. In fact it is only in formal contexts that the full name and title is used.

While there appears to be a preference for using titles on their own in address, names on their own are very often used in reference. Although it is not polite to use a small name on its own to refer to someone who is a parent, it is quite proper to use a parental or grandparental name on its own.

Relative child-related status, as I am terming it, (childless, parent, or grandparent), relative generation and relative age affect the choices available to an individual. Table 1 is arranged on the basis of relative child-related status, which appears to be the most important of the three factors, but relative generation and relative age qualify an individual's potential choices. Of these two, relative age appears in practice to be a more potent factor than relative generation if the relationship is fairly distant (second cousin or beyond), except where there is a desire to emphasize the relationship, for reasons of actual personal closeness or of status. A Kelabit is almost always related through a number of kin links to another Kelabit and has therefore a choice of which to emphasize.

The choices set out in Table 1 will usually be followed assuming that there is enough difference in age between the person speaking and the person addressed or referred to for it to be feasible for the difference in status between the two individuals to accord with a parallel difference in generation. Thus, a person without children will follow the choices set out on the table as available to him or her in addressing or referring to a person of parent status if it is feasible that that person is his parent (i.e., if the age difference is great enough).

If the difference in status between two people does not accord with this sort of feasible generation difference based on age difference, one of these two people, in choosing how to address or refer to the other, will tend to consider that the choices available to someone in the child-related status relationship with the other person, which the first person should be in with him or her—going by age difference—are also available to him or her (e.g., a twenty-year-old girl without children, in addressing or referring to a twenty-one-year-old mother who is her father's cousin, will use the options that should be available to another person of parent status, addressing the mother as Sinabo'). This is paralleled by what Needham says about Penan usage of terms of address: "Although death-names are commonly used as terms of address it is improper and disrespectful to address an older man by one. The actual kinship category to which he belongs is of no importance, and a man who is of the same age as oneself but in the category of 'grandparent' may properly and normally be addressed by his death-name" (Needham 1954, 425).

The only category of terms upon which traceable generation difference does have an effect, regardless of relative age, is kin terms. These are: tamah, sinah, tepoh, and the affinal terms *lango'*, *aja'*, *iban*, and *ngeruai* or *ruai*.

However, the Kelabit are rather lax about the use of kin terms, particularly in reference. Although it is said to be polite always to address an individual of an ascending generation by a lineal kin term, this is by no means always followed, except in formal contexts such as at irau, when names of people changing or renewing their names are read out. Affinal kin terms are practically never used. In fact, most Kelabit are rather unsure about the exact meanings of the affinal terms aja' and ngeruai.

The choice of terms of address and reference is, within the scope of the choices available based on relative child-related status, age, and generation, based on how polite an individual wants to be. The fuller the form of addressing or referring to a person, the more polite. The most formal and most polite is the full name preceded by either the appropriate title (grandparental rather than parental if the person concerned has adopted a grandparental name) or tamah, sinah, or tepoh, as appropriate to relative generation.

Where a name on its own is used, it is most polite to use the most recent that an individual has adopted. However, this is by no means always followed. I have already pointed out that small names may still be used even after an individual has a new, parental name. Likewise grandparental names are not adopted immediately, and sometimes they are never adopted. The speed of adoption of parental names seems to depend on how quickly the young couple take on the responsibilities of parenthood (taking a responsible role in the hearth-group, going to work in the fields), in a context where, because they invariably live with either his or her parents at least initially, they can—especially the young husband—get away with doing very little. The speed of adoption of grandparental names depends on various factors: how respected a person is in the community, how old he or she is when the name is taken, how often the individual concerned has changed his or her grandparental name (changing one's name too often is not well regarded, because it demonstrates lack of stability of identity), and how suitable the name is considered to be. The suitability of parental names is not really an issue; parental names are always big (rayeh or merar) and do not relate to the character or qualities of those holding them. Grandparental names, on the other hand, are supposed to reflect the achievements of the individual.

It is usual for a given person to generally be known within the community by only one name, often an abbreviated form of it, at a particular moment in time. This may be the most recent or not, and this reflects the regard in which the person is held. He or she is usually both referred to and addressed by this name. In formal contexts, though, the most recent name will be used.

In informal contexts, the choice between parental/grandparental title and name is not one between a more and less polite option. It is perfectly polite to use the title rather than the name; the choice appears to depend on the need for clarity. In formal contexts, however, it is important to use the full, most recent name together with the title.

The use of a person's title rather than their name is restricted to those of the same child-related status or higher, except where relative age or generation does not tally with relative child-related status (see the example of the twenty-year-old childless girl addressing her father's cousin as Sinabo', given above). A woman of parental status does not address someone of grandparental status as Tepabo', although the latter will address the former as Sinabo'. Rather, the younger woman will tend to use the older person's name, although if she wishes to be more polite she will address him or her using *sina*' or tepo' (vocative), whichever is appropriate to the kin relationship between the two of them which is usually emphasized. This restriction of the use of titles appears to derive from the intimacy and implication of equality that the use of titles involves.

Individual Kelabit vary in how formal or polite they tend to be in address and reference, and this, as would be expected, reflects an individual's character. In particular, some individuals are very particular in using the kin terms tamah, sinah, and tepoh even in fairly informal contexts. Individuals who are particular in this way tend to be those who are generally held in high esteem by others. However, there is no censorship of those who are rather slapdash in their modes of address and reference.

People tend, for obvious reasons, to be less polite in reference than in address. They are freer in reference with terms which are more likely in address to be restricted to those of a higher child-related status, an ascending generation and/or a greater age. Thus, in the one case that I know of where a small name is actually used for someone who should be considered of grandparent status—the first individual in Hearth no: 2, long longhouse—this is only ever used in reference.

What I am referring to as teknonyms are, as has been pointed out, not widely used. However, occasionally a tekonym is the usual way of referring to a person. Grandparental teknonyms, but not parental teknonyms, may be taken as grandparental names at irau. Grandparental names in general often refer directly to grandchildren or the relationship with grandchildren, and the adoption of a grandparental teknonym as a grandparental name would appear to fit in with this trend. Teknonyms are the usual way of referring to someone when speaking to small children.

The use of a teknonym instead of the proper name or a title is not impolite. It appears to reflect a special attachment that certain people have with the

first child or a certain grandchild. Teknonyms are also a means of referring politely to an individual who is a parent but who has not yet adopted a parental name at an irau; this occurs in the case of women who have illegitimate children, for example. Eventually, such individuals may adopt a parental name at someone else's irau; having to resort to this is not prestigious, however.

The Nature of Kelabit Names

The majority of the names in use in the longhouse community of Pa' Dalih when I lived there between 1986 and 1988 are laid out in the Appendix at the end of this article. The reader may wish to look through these before reading this section, to get an idea of the nature of Kelabit names.

Kelabit names usually consist of two words, occasionally three words, which I call name elements. The name elements in use in the late 1980s appear, in fact, to be very similar to those in use in 2015, despite changes that have taken place in the way of life of the Kelabit and in particular an increasing orientation toward town; the fact that names have not changed significantly is explicable in the context of the fact that names are a powerful means of stating ethnic identity and there is a desire to maintain continuity with the past.

The combination of name elements in a name adds up to more than the sum of the parts; together they imply something deeper and more subtle. As discussed further below, names are regarded as *dalim*, a word that means deep but conveys a sense of mystery. The aim of a name is to convey a meaning in a way which is not linear but somehow sensory; the understanding of a name must, as it were, be discerned, rather than understood in a logical manner.

Advertising Parental Ambition and Grandparental Achievement

Both Kelabit parental and grandparental names have meanings that are meant to relate to their holders; but whereas grandparental names are meant to refer to the actual achievements and character of the individual holder (because grandparental names are taken individually by the two members of a married couple), parental names are meant to refer to the potential of the couple holding the name. Related to this is the fact that, while grandparental names are chosen by the individual concerned, parental names are chosen by lun merar (full adults, heads of hearth-groups) related to the young couple, primarily the lun merar of the hearth-group to which they belong. The couple may be given a selection of two or three from which to choose.

Criteria used to select names are very different for parents and grandparents. For young parents, the name is usually one said to have belonged to an ancestor (tetepoh). It is usually a very big (rayeh, merar) name, and many young couples express their embarassment at the name they are given. Grandparents, on the other hand, select a name for themselves that they consider to be appropriate to their own personal characteristics and achievements. Of course, others may not agree with their estimation, and this leads to the name not sticking, as it was once described to me (in English). When this occurs, the person concerned may attempt to establish the name a few times at successive irau, but he or she will eventually give up and try another name.

Boasting is not uncommon among the Kelabit. The Kelabit term for this is *balih*, which means to lie, show off, to make yourself big without justification. Balih is considered by the Kelabit to be a vice, but it is nevertheless very widespread. Big names fall into the category of balih if they are not appropriate to the holder. The fact that so many names "balih" is often discussed by the Kelabit and regretted—but the practice continues. It should be noted that simply selecting a big name will not lead to its not being used just because the person concerned is not of high status, however, because it has over the last couple of decades become commonplace to use such names, and they have ceased to have much impact. The fact that this has happened has led to bigger and bigger names being used—Paran Raja (King among Aristocrats), Pu'un Maren (The Origin of all Aristocrats) were two of the names in use in Pa' Dalih in the late 1980s.

Although in the past this undoubtedly took place to some extent, there has been an extremely widespread adoption of names which are considered by others to be too big since the Second World War and particularly since the 1970s. This seems to be related to the rapid change, which some Kelabit certainly see as a disruption, in the prestige generation system, which has derived from greater exposure to the outside world consequent mainly upon the introduction of a regular air service to Bario in 1962. Before this, the Kelabit had a hierarchy of status and believed that position on this hierarchy was inherited. Although it was possible to move upward and downward on the hierarchy, this was not openly recognized, and it only occurred slowly over the generations. Position on the hierarchy was described in terms of goodness (good = *doo'*). The leaders of communities and especially of groups of communities—their lun merar—were known as *lun doo' to'oh* (very good people). Being good depended primarily on the ability to provide for others, particularly in terms of rice both in the form of the rice meal and in the form of rice wine. A couple would be considered basically good if they could, as its lun merar (big people), maintain a separate hearth-group and provide for its members. A couple who were leaders of a longhouse and really good people

were such because they were seen as providing, ultimately, for the whole longhouse. Provision for others, and status, was expressed most clearly in the ability to hold irau. Only really good couples appear to have held irau in the past, because it was difficult to accumulate enough rice (rice wine had to be provided in large quantities as well as rice for consumption as food) and domestic animals for meat. Nowadays, greater access to cash, attributable to the sale of rice by air to the coast and to work in town on the part of at least one member of most hearth-groups, has made it possible for all heads (lun merar) of hearth-groups to hold irau, give a name to their young couple, and take grandparental names themselves.

In the past, it was fairly clear who was considered to belong where in the hierarchy of status, at least at any given point in time. Nowadays, the confusion caused by greater exposure to the outside world (which has introduced different measures of prestige as well as access to cash) has meant that who is good and really good is no longer clearly based upon the old standards. While in the past it was based on success in rice growing, now success in town has confused matters. However, the idea that it matters whether you are good or not is as important as ever. There is very fierce competition for social status. Almost everyone makes claims to good ancestry, using the endless potential kin links inherent in the cognatic kinship system. Although it is theoretically ancestry that determines social status, the kinship system of the Kelabit makes it possible to trace kin links with anyone—indeed the Kelabit make it very clear that, if they are all Kelabit, they must be related. Bids for upward mobility can, then, be fairly easily validated; indeed, this was true in the past. In the past, though, the wherewithal for making bids was less easily available. The holding of irau forms part of such bids. Everyone holds irau, each more lavishly than the last, and big names are so common that they have lost any meaning. Constant creativity is exerted in trying to think of new ways of putting together names which are big but original.

The Choice of Names and Meanings

I discussed the meanings of the names in use in Pa‘ Dalih in the late 1980s with two good friends: Bayeh Ribuh (One Thousand Crocodiles), the headmaster of the primary school in the community at that time, and his wife Sinah Bayeh Ribuh (Mother One Thousand Crocodiles). The conclusions of our conversations as to appropriate glosses for the names are laid out in the Appendix at the end of the article. In some cases, I was also able to discuss the meanings with the holders of the names, and where I did do this, these discussions are taken into account in the glosses in the Appendix; however, it proved difficult to discuss meanings of names with many of their holders

because there is a reluctance to be too explicit about the meanings of names. This is because the meanings of names are subtle and many layered—indeed, it appears to be considered admirable to have a subtle name, which can be understood in a number of different ways—and only some, if any, of the implications intended by the holder or whoever gave him or her the name may be accepted by others. The holder may be unwilling to admit to the meaning intended or may have changed his or her mind about the desirability of that meaning. Even Bayeh Ribuh and Sinah Bayeh Ribuh were reluctant to get too involved in interpreting meanings in any detail. The extreme sensitivity of the subject of the meaning of names indicates how important the topic is. Names are also often boastful and self-praising, and this made it difficult to discuss them with their holders.

It can be said, in general terms, that Kelabit names try to achieve two things: to imply high status and, in the case of grandparental names, to reflect the true character and achievements of the holder. Many words used in names are complex in meaning and can be understood at different levels. This is related to the fact that words taken together mean more than the sum of their parts. The combination of the two name elements very often produces a meaning that is not simply the meanings of the two words added together in a straightforward way. Examples are: Sewa Mangang, literally "exchanges barks" but actually implies that he has many grandchildren or followers and that he is in constant contact with them; Nekap Bala, literally "searching for news" but implies that the holder (a Kelabit woman married to a Malay; although technically it is both her name and his, the name refers primarily to her) is good, i.e., respectable, prestigious, in a different way from other Kelabit (an assertion of something not necessarily believed by Kelabit, who do not like Kelabit marrying Malays), and that she wants others to know this; Matala Ulun, literally "set aside human life" but implies that the couple concerned (this is a parental name) brought the same life together through their marriage, i.e., that they were related (bringing related people together through marriage is desirable for the Kelabit); Ru'ib Tekapun, literally "sought after waterfall" but implies that all the holder's grandchildren will hear the sound he makes, as though he were a waterfall, and will come and visit him; Inan Tauh, literally "we (inclusive of listener) have", but implying that the holder (a female grandparent) has accommodation for visitors, that she is at the focal center of the community, that she is capable of looking after others.

Complex words, often used in names as name elements, are described as deep (dalim). These are words also used in old myths and legends like that of Tuked Rini (see Janowski 2014c). A number of these words are archaic and their meaning is not properly understood by younger people; sometimes even

older people are not entirely sure of their meaning. They are used because they are said to have been used by ancestors (*tetepoh*). In theory, names are supposed to be passed down the generations and people often advertise the fact that they have used the name of an ancestor. In these cases, though, the name is not considered to be particularly appropriate to the character of the holder. Such names tend to be used for parental names and probably imply a hope that the holders will turn out like their ancestor, in a context of a strong belief that personal qualities are inherited.

Advertising the Ability to Manage the Transmission of Power and Life Force

Two deep words that are particularly important in names are ulun (human life) and lalud (raw potency or life force). The possession or control of ulun and lalud are implied either in the use of these terms as name elements or through their being implied, for example through the use of the names of powerful animals. Both concepts are central to the construction of the status of lun merar, because they imply potency and centrality and being at the pivot of others' existence. It is very common for names to express an assertion of being able to look after others. Examples from Pa‘ Dalih are: Akan Lemulun (A Place Where All Can Stay); No‘o Aio‘ (Always Looks after Others); Tolong Ribuh (Helping Thousands). The occurrence of the term ulun in names for lun merar is not surprising; I have heard grown men and women referred to in terms of the strength of their ulun. However, I have never heard a living individual referred to as possessing lalud. The term lalud is most often used, nowadays, in the context of Christianity; God (Tuhan Allah) is referred to as possessing great lalud (when Malay is used, the term *kuasa* is used). It is also used extremely often in the stories about heroes like Tuked Rini. In everyday life, the word is rarely used. However, the fact that lalud is implied in names for lun merar, and that it tends to be used in male grandparental names and is never used in female grandparental names, is significant, because this underlines the importance of lalud in making human life possible. The fact that name elements implying lalud are usually used for men is also significant, because this underlines the association of lalud with maleness (Janowski 2003b, Janowski 2014a,c). The powerful male culture hero Tuked Rini is believed to have shimmered with lalud (see Fig. 8).

Ulun is probably the most important deep (dalim) name element. This word refers to human life, to what humans have that makes them able to live as humans. Now that the Kelabit are Christian, the word is used in that context. Christianity is believed to confer new life, *ulun bru*, both in this world and in the next. When the Kelabit converted to Christianity, many people

FIGURE 4. **Ngimat Ulun (Holding on to [Christian] life) praying in the church in Pa' Dalih (Photo Monica Janowski 2007).**

took names with ulun in them to indicate that they hoped for a new life—e.g., Makio' Ulun (changed life) and Ngimat Ulun (holding on to [Christian] life) (pictured in Fig. 4). However, the word is used also to refer to human life in a way that does not directly refer to Christian ulun—e.g., Malamud Ulun, literally "mixed life", taken, the holder told me, because her children all married people from different races (*bangsa* Malay), and Ngemong Ulun, literally "gathering life together", taken because the person concerned had many grandchildren.

Introducing the names of certain animals into names implies strength and lalud. Lalud, which can be glossed as raw potency or life force, is profoundly important as a concept. It has its source in the Creator Deity. It may be considered equivalent to the Javanese *kasekten* (Anderson 1972), the Balinese *sekti* (Geertz 1980), and the Polynesian concept of *mana* (Geertz 1980, 106). It is the precondition for the generation of human life (ulun). Lalud is present in all living things and is particularly strongly present outside the areas controlled by humans, which includes the forest, mountains, and mythical realms where culture heroes like Tuked Rini are said to venture (see Janowski

2014c). It is believed to flow through the cosmos and to cohere in certain powerful places, animals, and people (Amster 2009; Janowski and Langub 2011; Janowski 2012). Nowadays, it is associated with the Christian God and with Jesus Christ. It is present in large quantities in powerful animals and especially those that are present in spirit form. It is also present in stone (Janowski and Barton 2012). Animals that are associated with lalud include the (spirit) tiger (*balang*), which no longer exists in Borneo but is important in myth (Sellato 1983), the leopard (*kuer*), and the crocodile (*bayeh*). The leopard is rare and the crocodile does not exist in the highlands areas of Borneo. Both the balang and the bayeh are said to exist in the Kelabit Highlands as spirits (*ada*ʻ); spirits are considered to be full of lalud. All three of these animals occur regularly in Kelabit names, balang in parental names and kuer and bayeh in male grandparental names. Names including these animals include: Balang Paran (Spirit Tiger Aristocrat); Kuer Mangang (Barking Leopard); Baye Ribuh (One Thousand Crocodiles); and Balang Pelaba (Forever/Very Much a Spirit Tiger) (pictured in Fig. 5). Elsewhere I have discussed Kelabit pre-Christian animistic beliefs in more detail (Janowski 2012, 2015).

Advertising Kin/Social Centrality

Many names assert high social status. This may be through the use of the word doo, good, in the name, for example in Dooʻ Puʻun (Good from the Beginning)—as discussed above, goodness is associated with high status among the Kelabit. Status is also expressed through the use of the words paran, maren, and aren; paran is used among the Kenyah and maren among the Kayan to describe those who among the Kelabit are usually known as *lun doo*ʻ *to*ʻ*oh*, "really good people". Although the Kelabit do not usually use these three terms, which are clearly cognate, in everyday speech (at least not nowadays), they are used in names, as is *raja*, a term borrowed from the Malay. Thus, we find, for example: Puʻun Maren (Origin of all Aristocrats); Rabruh Aren (Deep Pool of Aren) (pictured in Fig. 6); and Paran Gerauʻ (Wealthy Aristocrat).

Many grandparental names refer to having lots of grandchildren or to the relationship with them, and this also implies high social status, given the fact that those regarded as grandchildren are not necessarily biological grandchildren but are those who more distantly related and who are regarded as dependants. Examples of names that emphasize many grandchildren are Belan Mupun (Reveals [lots of] Grandchildren or Revealed to Grandchildren), Siren Tauh (Visible to Us, i.e., to grandchildren), Balang Darin (Spirit Tiger Sought after by Grandchildren) (pictured in Fig. 7), and Belalong Tepun[4] (Grandfather of a Basketful of Grandchildren). In fact, names that imply centrality and gathering people together also imply having

FIGURE 5. **Balang Pelaba (Very Much/Forever a Spirit Tiger), our next door neighbor in Pa' Dalih longhouse in the late 1980s. In his youth, Balang Pelaba was a shaman and a friend of the Great Spirit, Ada' Rayeh, also known as Puntumid (see Janowski 2014b). In 1986, he recited to me the legend of Tuked Rini, telling of a powerful culture hero who traveled the cosmos (see Janowski 2014c) (Photo Monica Janowski 2007).**

FIGURE 6: **Rabruh Aren (Deep Pool of *Aren*) (Photo Monica Janowski 2007).**

FIGURE 7. **Balang Darin (Spirit Tiger Sought after by Grandchildren) (Photo Monica Janowski 2007).**

grandchildren, because grandchildren/descendants and followers cannot be separated conceptually.

Since the 1980s and 1990s, many young people have gone to live on the coast, mainly in the town of Miri. This has meant that many grandparents do

FIGURE 8. **Culture hero Tuked Rini Luun Atar (Rini, Prop for All, Living on the Flat Land), showing him shimmering with *lalud* (cosmic power). Painting by Stephen Baya, 2009.**

not have their grandchildren around them. Although there is pride in success in town, the absence of grandchildren has clearly caused a lot of pain, too, and the fact that names often imply scattered grandchildren—calling out to them, gathering them together—reflects this. This trend may be said to underline the importance of emphasizing centrality.

It is seen as admirable to be clear in purpose, steadfast, and unchanging, to have others follow your lead rather than following theirs, and to be still—to remain in one place. A number of names reflect this: Raja Siren (King who can be clearly seen, i.e., reveals all about himself); Balang Tapan (Spirit Tiger copied by others); Raja Todo (Sitting King, i.e., King who stays in one place); Balang Muned (Spirit Tiger who is in the middle, i.e., who can be trusted). These characteristics emphasize the association of status with stillness in the geographical area.

Names in the Legend of the Hero Tuked Rini

The legend of Tuked Rini, a version of which I collected from Balang Pelaba (Forever/Very Much a Spirit Tiger) of Pa' Dalih in 1986 (see Janowski 2014c; Rubenstein 1973 also includes a version), is one of at least three stories about heroes of ancient times that were told traditionally in the Kelabit Highlands and in the Kerayan area across the border about culture heroes. The legend relates the exploits of the male leaders of Luun Atar (literally on the flat land; human settlements are associated with flat areas, whereas areas inhabited by spirits are craggy and mountainous) in their battles with groups of people—or are they spirits?—living in such places as the surface of the moon and inside huge rocks. The time during which Tuked Rini and other heroes lived is described as *getoman lalud*, or linking with lalud. At that time, people were giants and had more power than anyone has nowadays.

Most of the names in the story are made up of a greater number of name elements than is usual in names nowadays. Leaders in the story include Tamah Baru' Lanawa Balang Tolang Kayuh Ngelungung (Father Creator Shadow-Making Spirit Tiger with Bones of Wood, Descendant of Great People); Séwan Balang Ian Apui Nalan (Séwan the Spirit Tiger with Breath of Walking Fire); and Siok Balang Tetem Depun (Siok the Spirit Tiger Who Distributes Powerful Smoke with His Fingers); Obé Balang Mopo Lemulun (Obé the Spirit Tiger Who Watches People). All of these names include the name element balang, spirit tiger. The balang is, as already noted, considered to have great power or lalud.

Tuked Rini and his fellow heroes have enormous amounts of lalud, and they are able to do things impossible for normal people (even others living at that time), such as leaping to faraway mountains, on to the sky (imaged as a dome over the earth) and beyond, and even to the moon, and fighting for aeons until their enemies are beaten. Not only the male heroes who travel around the cosmos but high status women too, in particular Tuked Rini's wife, Aruring Menepo Boong (Aruring Who Gathers Lots of Huge Beads) may, like the male heroes, be seen to literally glow and shine with lalud.

While male lalud is associated with war and headhunting (and success in hunting animals for meat), female lalud is associated with rice-growing success. The two are complementary and together mean that a couple is able to provide the rice meal for dependants and display their status and power (Janowski 1995, 2007). The heroes are, of course, lun doo' to'oh, really good people, people of very high status; lalud, like ulun is closely associated with being leaders of communities and of high inherited social status.

The story of Tuked Rini is told over the border in the Kerayan as well as in the Kelabit Highlands and, indeed, is said to come from there, as I have been told in Pa' Dalih that the Kelabit themselves did originally. This story, then, implies that the use of names with meanings, at least for a limited number of leaders, may be an ancient Apo Duat custom.

Gender, Individuality, and the Couple as Reflected in Names

A young married couple who have just become parents take the same name, with the prefix Sinah for the woman. This seems to underline an emphasis on the importance of solidarity and one-ness within the couple at this point in their lives, when they are being joined. At weddings, this closeness is very much emphasized; at one that I attended for a close friend in Pa' Dalih, a banner with "Two Become One" on it was displayed at the church. Once the couple has grown together and it is clear will stay together, and the two individuals have become more mature and their individual characters and achievements have developed, it is perhaps more appropriate to emphasize these through separate names.

As has been noted, the parental name is taken together by a couple, but in the case of the woman, the parental name is preceded by Sinah. Does this mean that the name is really the man's? I have sometimes been given this interpretation, but most people were reluctant to say that this was the case. In fact, some informants have told me that the woman has the prefix sinah to emphasize the closer tie she has with the children, to give her special respect. If the name is really the man's, does this have its roots in the fact that names were originally mainly taken by men following exploits in war?

It is interesting to note that male and female are differentiated more at the grandparental level than at the parental one. The fact that a married couple, when they become grandparents, take different names at different irau reflects the actual character and achievements of individuals. Also, each individual has a different network of classificatory grandchildren and, therefore, takes and renews names at slightly different irau. Each man and woman has his or her own life history, and his or her name reflects this history, much of which is not related to gender. Both men and women take names that

imply high status and centrality and that focus on grandchildren. Men often include the names of spirit animals—balang and bayeh—that imply lalud. This is tied to the fact that men are more closely associated with the forest in which these spirit animals dwell, which was the pre-Christian source of lalud (Janowski 2003b).

Conclusion

Other Apo Duat peoples in Borneo use kin terms to address and refer to each other; I have discussed in this article how by contrast the Kelabit use parental and grandparental names and titles. In recent years this has become highly competitive, with ever more elaborate irau feasts held, not only by leading couples but by all couples, to advertise their grandparenthood, their child-related status (as I have described it) through the taking of big (merar), good (doo) names. This status is equivalent, I have argued, to social status, to leadership not only of the hearth-group but of the longhouse community.

Parental and grandparental titles, which are used by the Kelabit in place of kin terms in address, might appear to substitute the importance of child-related status for that of kin relations. However the use of parental and grandparental names with meanings, used in both address and reference, actually underlines the importance of kin relations. This is true not only through the emphasis on both on breadth of kin and on specific kin relations at irau but also through the actual meanings of names taken at irau. Some names directly imply that other people are dependent on the holder; this includes names emphasizing ties with grandchildren. In other names, the use of words implying leadership or high status or of terms for aristocrat—paran, maren, and aren imply that the holder of the name is at the center of a large group of dependents. This is the same as being at the center of a kin network—among the Kelabit, if people depend on someone, they are by definition related to them, as anak to lun merar, children to big people. Thus, the emphasis on child-related status, and particularly on grandparenthood, can be seen as placing emphasis on kinship, both on particular kinship links and also on the wide net of kinship in descending generations; the more people choose to emphasize that such-and-such is their tepoh (grandparent), the greater is not only his or her child-related status but the wider is his or her de facto kin network in descending generations—the two are, in fact, the same thing. In the Kelabit context, then, being more of a parent/grandparent, more of a lun merar, means having more kin. Lineal kin relations are inextricably entangled with lateral relations.

I have argued elsewhere that the status of parent and grandparent—child-related status—is at the basis of the Kelabit notion of human society and of

what it means to be human and to have human life, ulun (e.g., see Janowski 1995, 2007). Briefly, it is what lun merar (big people), also described as lun doo or good people, provide for their dependants in the hearth-group, at the rice meal, that makes ulun possible. The rice meal is made up of rice plus side dishes presented as made up of wild foods that are either actually wild or are cultivated plants treated as though they were wild. I have argued that it is this combination of rice and wild foods that makes ulun possible. The possibility of generating ulun depends on having lalud, which is associated with wild foods, the forest, and the male, and this, I would suggest, is behind the use of name elements implying lalud in grandparental names adopted by men. The prestige associated with establishing child-related status, the status of lun merar and lun doo, derives from the fact that through being lun merar and lun doo one becomes the source of human life. This cannot be disassociated from being at the center of a kin network and being ultimately at the source of *tutul*, descent lines.

Thus, I would suggest that it is not accurate to say that kinship has been displaced as focus in the Kelabit system of address and reference, when it is compared to the more usual system among other Apo Duat people, speaking related languages, although there is perhaps more emphasis in the Kelabit system on the general existence of lots of kinship than on specific kin relations, and there is certainly less emphasis on affinal links. In fact, though, it should be noted that it could be argued that the *purut/sulang* system of marriage exchanges, which exists among some Apo Duat peoples, also fulfils the function of focusing in on the developing child-related status of both the couple whose marriage generates the affinal link and of other members of their close families in ascending generations, who are in grandparental relationships with the young couple's children. It is not possible to make any definitive comparative statement about the differences between the Kelabit system and those of peoples speaking related languages because very little information is available on the latter. However it seems quite likely that there may be a less radical split than might appear at first glance.

I would suggest that all Apo Duat kinship, including that of the Kelabit, has to be understood as having both a lineal and a lateral aspect. In my own work, I have explored how it is important to approach an understanding of kinship by beginning at the center—the hearth, its lun merar, the rice meal provided by lun merar for descendants—and to then look outward from this center. Kelabit society and Kelabit kinship are simply larger versions of the microcosm centered at the cooking hearth. Kinship within the hearth-group, between providers and those provided for, lun merar and *anak adik*, is simply a microcosm of kinship within the longhouse, the group of longhouses that makes up a community and wider Kelabit society. The system of names and

titles reflects the importance of this relationship between lun merar and anak adik and also the fact that it applies both within the basic hearth-group and wider symbolic-level hearth-groups, at various levels.

The significance and function of the Kelabit naming system is changing with the opening up of direct communication with the outside world between the highlands and the coast, beginning in the early 1960s with the establishment of the air service to Bario, with education, and with the migration of large numbers of people to the coast and the building up of personal achievement and possessions. I would argue that the naming system does function still as a means of underlining the nature of status as something derived from caring for others, and founded in kin ties. However, there is no doubt that the naming system is increasingly used—especially in town but also to some extent in the highlands—as a means of advertising status deriving from success in employment or initiative in town, rather than status derived from caring for others. Irau feasts, which in the highlands are open to all and indeed welcome large numbers of guests to advertise the ability of the hosts to feed as many kinspeople (real and fictive) as possible, are, in town, restricted to a guest list; in other words, it seems to be not the absolute number of people fed but who those people are that matters. Also, names are taken now in a context where Kelabit are interacting regularly with non-Kelabit, meaning that they are used as a means of projecting ethnic identity, both within the Kelabit community and outside it. But these changes can only be properly explored in the context of further, comprehensive research on the taking of names and the use of names in town.

NOTES

1. The Lun Dayeh/Murut peoples of the highland areas and the Lun Bawang have been described by Hudson as Apo Duat, after the name of the mountain range running down the border (Hudson 1977). By rights, this should be Apad Uat—literally, in Kelabit or Lun Dayeh, Root Mountain/Mountain Range.

2. Only one couple with children can, in theory, reside in one hearth-group in each generation. However, where some of a couple's children live in town, it would appear that they are in some sense conceived of as still belonging to their hearth-group. Rice is sent down to them; they are still being fed that all-important nutrient by the hearth-group in the highlands.

3. In recent years, irau have begun to be held in town, and here they are often invitation-only; this marks a different and less inclusive dynamic to the generation of prestige.

4. Tama‘, sina‘, and tepo‘ are what we would in English term the vocative forms of the words tamah, sinah, and tepoh.

5. See note 4.

6. See note 4.

7. See note 4.

8. See note 4.

10. Tamah, sinah, and tepoh are used in reference, whereas tama‘, sina‘, and tepo‘ are used in address.

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Appendix: PA' DALIH NAMES 1986–1988

With Glosses as Discussed With Holders of Names and With Baye Ribuh, Headmaster of Pa' Dalih School.

Not all names were current when collected, and some were names held sequentially by the same person.

Parental names of nonresident children of *lun merar* who are heads of Pa' Dalih hearth-groups are included if they are not resident in another hearth-group in Pa‘ Dalih but in town or in another Kelabit community.

Glossary of borrowed-in terms for high-status person:
Raja = Malay term for leader or king.
Aren, paran, maren = Term used for high-status person among Kayan and Kenyah tribal groups, sometimes glossed as aristocrat or ruling estate (see Rousseau 1990).
Tuan = Malay term used in colonial times to refer to British administrative officers.

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Hearth no. 1 (long longhouse)		
Makio‘ Ulun	Changed Human Life (*ulun*) (Christian sense of *ulun*)	Male grandparental
Pian Aio‘	That's Just What She Wants (*ngan nok doo*‘—what is *doo*‘ (good) or *modeng ngan mupun*—to live with her grandchildren	Female grandparental Holder originates from Kerayan area in East Kalimantan
Bala Paran	News of a *Paran* or Well-known *Paran*	Parental

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Mawan Aren	Clearly Visible *Aren*	Parental
Hearth no. 2 (long longhouse)		
Mada' Ulun	Shows Others How to Live (as a Christian)	Male grandparental Only used in formal contexts; Holder normally referred to by *ngadan i'it*
Batang Kelapang	Kelapang River	Male grandparental (previous grandparental name of above; tried it, but it did not stick, so he abandoned it). Taken as parental name by Monica and Kaz Janowski in 1986
Mariar Aren	Revolving *Aren*, i.e., turning over a new leaf because most children married and many grandchildren	Female grandparental
Mada' Tauh	Shows Us All How to Live (because male of couple is a teacher)	Parental
Raja Bala	Well-known *Raja* or Well Thought of *Raja*	Parental
Paran Galih	Polite *Paran*	Parental
Hearth no. 3 (long longhouse)		
Balang Muned	Tiger in the Middle, i.e., whose words can be taken as appropriate, who can be trusted	Male grandparental
Doo' Ngadan	Good Name (because she was from the Kerayan area in East Kalimantan and took a Kelabit-style name)	Female grandparental

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Raja Belan	Talked of *Raja*	Parental
Hearth No. 4 (long longhouse)		
Baye Ripug	Crocodile who Splashes the Water (the ripples and noise spread out to all his grandchildren)	Male grandparental
Balang Patala	All Tigers or Tiger of Tigers	Male grandparental (previous name of above)
Maren Doo‘	Good *Maren*	Parental
Doo’ Bala	Good News or Well Spoken of	Parental
Maren Ribuh	One Thousand *Maren* or *Maren* of *Maren*(s)	Parental
Maren Belan	Talked of *Maren*	Parental
Balang Paran	Tiger *Paran*	Parental
Hearth no. 5 (long longhouse)		
Luun Aio‘	Above all Others	Parental
Bued Kelapang	Source of the Kelapang River	Female grandparental
Bekun Aren	A Different (special ?) Kind of *Aren*	Female grandparental (previous grandparental name of above; this did not stick and was abandoned)
Hearth no. 6 (long longhouse)		
Melamud Ulun	Mixed Human Life (because children all married non-Kelabit)	Female grandparental
Ra‘an Kerayan	Mountain Pass to the Kerayan or Linked to the Kerayan (because one parent from Kerayan and many relatives there)	Male grandparental

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Pasen Raja	*Raja* ? (meaning of *pasen* unknown to informants; said to be the name of an ancestor)	Parental
Lutu Ayu‘	Doesn’t Follow Other People’s Ways (wife of couple is a Kelabit, married a Malay)	Parental
Hearth no. 7 (long longhouse)		
Lawe Padan	Insists on Living his Life in His Own Way	Male grandparental
Balang Tapan	Tiger Copied by Others	Parental (previous name of above)
Sewa Mangang	Exchanges Barks (with followers/grandchildren, i.e., reacts to their needs)	Male grandparental (most recent grandparental name of above, but in late ’80s/ early ’90s didn’t seem to be sticking)
Maren Telona	*Maren* Available to All	Parental
Nekap Bala	Searching for News (said to be nice and unusual by informants; taken by Kelabit woman married to Malay man, and she says she wants people to give her news—of what they think of her marriage)	Parental
Aren Tuan	*Aren Tuan*	Parental
Telona Bala	Reveals News	Parental
Tagong Aren	? *Aren* (meaning of *tagong* unknown to informants; an old word)	Parental
Hearth no. 8 (long longhouse)		

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Balang Pelaba	Always a Tiger or More than a Tiger	Male grandparental
Belan Mupun	Talked of by Grandchildren	Male grandparental (new name of above)
Maren Belan	Talked of *Maren*	Parental (taken by young, second wife of above on her own)
Siren Aren	Clearly Visible *Aren*	Female grandparental (new name of above)
Hearth no. 9 (long longhouse)		
Na'am Tepin	Nobody to Compare her With	Female grandparental
Kuer Mangang	Barking Leopard	Male grandparental
Matala Ulun	Set Aside (Human) Life (i.e., bringing the same together, because the couple were close relatives)	Parental
Doo' Paran	Good *Paran*	Female grandparental
Hearth no. 10 (long longhouse)		
Adun Rewat	Exceeds all Others	Parental
Siren Tauh	Visible to Us (i.e., to grandchildren; she has no biological grandchildren and wants, according to Baye Ripug with whom this was discussed, to be sure that her close classificatory grandchildren and her one adopted grandchild pay attention to her)	Female grandparental (grandparental name of above)

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Hearth no. 11 (long longhouse)		
Akan Lemulun	A Place Where All Can Stay	Parental
Hearth no. 12 (long longhouse)		
Raja Umong	*Raja* who Gathers People Together	Male grandparental
Na'an Raja	The Best Kind of *Raja*	Parental (previous name of above)
Hearth no. 13 (long longhouse)		
Balang Telian	Scrutinized Tiger	Male grandparental
Borong Le'o	Transparent and Well-Known	Male grandparental (new name of above)
Doo' Belan	Well Spoken Of	Female grandparental
Beken Aren	A Different (Good) Kind of *Aren*	Female grandparental
Ngelawan Aren	*Aren* who Challenges Others	Parental
Paran Belan	Talked of *Paran*	Parental
Belan Paran	Talked of *Paran*	Parental Wife of couple is sister of wife in above couple ; therefore, they took what is basically the same name
Hearth no. 14 (long longhouse)		
Ribuh Paran	One Thousand *Paran*(s)	Parental Husband from Kerayan area in East Kalimantan
Hearth no. 15 (long longhouse)		

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Balang Darin	Sought-After/Called-For Tiger (by grandchildren)	Male grandparental
Tse Aren	Bringing All the *Aren* Together Under Her or the only *Aren* (this is said to have been her great grandmother's name)	Female grandparental
No'oh Aio'	Always Looking After Others (because husband of couple was a medical assistant as a young father)	Parental (previous name of the two above people, who are a couple)
Hearth no. 16 (short longhouse)		
Belalong Tepun[5]	Grandfather of A Basketful of Grandchildren	Male grandparental Holder is from the Kerayan area in East Kalimantan
Pun Ngelipo[6]	Jumping Grandmother (because she is from the Kerayan; she jumped over the mountains to reach Pa' Dalih)	Female grandparental Holder is from the Kerayan area in East Kalimantan
Balang Pelewan	Tiger of the Pelewan River (because husband is from Pa' Bengar in Kelabit Highlands, near the Indonesian border ; now abandoned, and the Pelewan River is near there)	Parental Wife from Kerayan area in East Kalimantan
Hearth no. 17 (short longhouse)		
Maren Aio'	Naturally a *Maren*	Parental Holders from Kerayan area in East Kalimantan

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Hearth no. 18 (short longhouse)		
Muned Aren	*Aren* in the Middle, i.e., appropriately an *Aren* or trustworthy *Aren*	Female grandparental
Aren Raja	*Aren Raja*	Male grandparental
Terawe Ulun	Thinking about Human Life (*ulun*) (this refers to the Christian way of life or *ulun*)	Parental Previous name of two people above
Paren Raja	*Paran* among *Raja*(s)	Parental Name of child + spouse of Muned Aren and Aren Raja
Paran Aio‘	Always a *Paran* or Simply a *Paran*	Parental Name of child + spouse of Muned Aren and Aren Raja
Adun Aren	Very Much an *Aren*	Parental Name of child + spouse of Muned Aren and Aren Raja
Hearth no. 19 (short longhouse)		
Bala Ukong	Gathering News Together	Male grandparental
Na‘em Tenan	Don’t Talk About Me	Female grandparental
Pu‘un Maren	Origin of All *Maren*	Female grandparental
Ngimat Ulun	Holding on to Human Life (*ulun*) (refers to Christian *ulun*)	Parental
Rabruh Aren	Deep Pool of *Aren*	Female grandparental (new name of wife in above parental couple)

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Balang Tekapan	Sought after Tiger (by his grandchildren)	Male grandparental (new name of husband in above parental couple)
Ngeluun Aren	*Aren* Above All Others	Parental
Hearth no. 22 (short longhouse)		
Ribuh Ulun	One Thousand Human Lives or Human Life One Thousand Times Strong	Male grandparental
Ribuh Aio'	Always One Thousand	Female grandparental
Bala Aran	News of *Aren*	Parental (previous name of above couple)
Maren Deta'	High *Maren*	Parental
Ribuh Paran	One Thousand *Paran(s)* *or* One Thousand Times a *Paran*	Parental
Hearth no. 23 (school buildings)		
Menge Aren	*Aren* Who is Fully a Grandmother (because she has great-grandchildren)	Female grandparental
Ngemong Ulun	Gathering Human Life	Female grandparental (previous name of above)
Pun Punang Kelapang[7]	Grandfather Kelapang River	Male grandparental
Tolong Ribuh	Helping Thousands	Parental (previous name of two above individuals)
Bayeh Ribuh	One Thousand Crocodiles	Parental
Hearth no. 24 (school buildings)		
Inan Tauh	All of Us (all Kelabit) have somewhere to stay (i.e., with holder of name)	Female grandparental

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Pian Tauh	We Like Her or She Likes to Please All of Us	Female grandparental (previous name of above)
Raja Mawan	*Raja* who Stands Out	Parental
Paran Gerau‘	Wealthy *Paran*	Parental
Raja Siren	*Raja* who can be Clearly Seen *or Raja* who Reveals All About Himself (no secrets)	Parental
Hearth no. 25 (school buildings)		
Paran Bala	News of *Paran*	Parental
Hearth no. 26 (school buildings)		
Bala Lemulun	Greater News than Other People	Parental
Hearth no. 27 (separate house)		
Doo Pu‘un	Good from the Beginning	Parental
Raja Todo	*Raja* who Stays in One Place (i.e., is reliable)	Male grandparental (new name of husband of above couple)
Pu‘un Aren	The Original *Aren*	Female grandparental (new name of wife of above couple)
Pun Balang Tepun[8]	Grandmother of Tigers or Grandmother Tigress	Female grandparental
Batu Patong names	«	
Riwed Bala	News That Is Passed Around and Around	Male grandparental

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Ru'ib Tekapan	Sought-After Waterfall ("all my grandchildren will hear the noise I make and they will come and visit me," as the holder put it)	Male grandparental (new name of above)
Balang Maren	Tiger *Maren*	Parental
Bala Lutu	Different Kind of News of News That Is Hard to Handle	Parental
Ngeluun Paran	*Paran* Above All Others	Parental
Rang Bala	News in Between (i.e., between Batu Patong and Long Peluan, the Kelabit settlement where the husband of the couple came from)	Parental
Paran Lemulun	*Paran* Leading Other People	Parental
Paran Aio'	Simply a *Paran*	Parental

NAMING RELATIONSHIP AND CONSTRUCTING HIERARCHY: NAMES, VALUE, AND HIERARCHY AMONG THE AUSTRONESIAN PAIWAN, TAIWAN

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My first contact with the Paiwan people was in mid-1980s when I started a six-month teaching post at *Makazayazaya*. I came into contact with my students' families and neighbors through regular visits. After a couple of months, one of my students' elder brother suggested giving me the Paiwanese name "*Muni*." He explained to me that to give me this name, he had to ask permission from one of his father's relatives who could provide this name. Muni is a name belonging to certain noble families. The reason why he chose a noble name was partly related to his own status. He was called *Tanupak*, also a name of nobility, although he was peripheral to the house of origin of this name. Even with his noble name, he could not assign names to people other than those belonging to his own family. The privilege of naming is often reserved for the *vusam* (firstborn), the heir of the house where the name originated.

There was no public event organized for this naming occasion and the name Muni was only used in certain private settings. This relative of Tanupak's originally came from *Piuma*, which happened to be my fieldsite later in the mid-1990s. This coincidence, however, has some bearing on my understanding of the naming relationship and politics; namely, the legitimacy of the name given is related to the status of the name giver and that of the name giver's house. The genealogical seniority of both is important.

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The other name that I had was *Paules*, given by my neighbor, *Cankim*, whose age is about my mother's and, thus, is addressed as mother (*kina* in the Paiwan). One day kina invited me over and asked me whether I had a Paiwanese name. I replied, "Muni." She hesitated and asked who gave me the name. I replied, "Tanupak a *Tanulivak*." She said that it was a name of *mamazangilan* (nobility) and confessed that she did not belong to that category. "We *adidan* (commoner) have our own names. I will give you the name of my mother, Paules." It is a common practice to give one's child your parent's or grandparent's name. Again, it was a private naming event, only between kina's family and me. It is possible for a person to have two names, or more, with different "weight" or values when this person's parents come from families with different ranks. However, it is common today for people to drop the name of lower rank altogether. As in my case, naming an outsider represents establishing a closer relationship, and the name given is dependent on the status of the name giver.

Disputes surrounding naming became obvious when I arrived in *Piuma*. A township delegate, who was also a noble, made the following remark, "You'd better associate yourself with a mamazangilan so you have a chance to get a noble name. A name that deserves attention and respect." He was making a comment on the aesthetic and politics of naming which prevail among the Piuma inhabitants; distinctive sets of names are endowed with differential values and the alliance relationships are formed through the act of name giving. I was, however, reminded by others that in Piuma they did not give out "good names" easily to outsiders with the exception of those who married people of Piuma origin.

Not long after I arrived in Piuma, I was asked by *Aselep* the same question: "Have you had a Paiwanese name?" I naively mentioned the first name I was given at Makazayazaya. "Muni? Who gave you the name?" she asked, "You have to understand that we do not necessarily accept the names given by other villages." It is true that each name has differential currency in different regions, but in this case the statement was a question as to why I deserved this name.[1] The speaker's subject position is important here; Aselep is a commoner herself. Realizing the sensitive nature of naming, I promptly replied that I had another name, Paules. Aselep then said, "Paules is used in the north, here we say *Pailis*. They are the same name but with different accent. This name is okay, but you'd better have your mother give you a name. The student who stayed here last time was named *Akai* (shorthand of *Muakai*) by the pastor. It is the most ordinary name." The pastor's name was *Lamayav*, a commoner's name. Aselep was aware where I lived and the status of the family that had direct impact on the kind of names they could provide. The varying values attached to different names became

clear. Among both the nobles and the commoners, competition for "better names" among peers is severe.

I later brought up the subject with kina "*Kereker a Pacikel*" with whom I lived and asked her to give me a name. She paused and then said there were several names that I could choose from: *Tuku*, *Paqesan*, Pailis, Kereker, etc. "We are not mamazangilan, but nor are we the lowest," she said. She did not mention her daughter's name *Remereman*, which belonged to a slightly higher rank, because she had to ask permission from her affine who could bestow the name. I then said I did have names given at Makazayazaya. "What are they?" "Muni," I said. Kina said nothing. "And Paules." "Oh, Pailis," she replied, "my mother was called Pailis, you can use that name, it is a name for the vusam" (meaning first-born in this case). She then asked who gave me the names. She listened carefully to the personal names, and the house names, of these people to verify their legitimacy. Once she realized one of the name givers was a remote relative of her husband's, the legitimacy of the name was established. This relative of her husband's, who belonged to *La Mavaliu* house, had the right to give both the name Muni and Paules. Paules was a marginal noble name but was later more adopted by commoners. Afterward, kina Kereker became my spokeswoman regarding how and where I got my names. She would recount the relationship to the audience to establish the validity of the name, Pailis.

Later, I was known as *Ilis* (shorthand for Pailis) at Piuma. (Although some Muni(s) privately mentioned to me that I could still use the name Muni. "If anyone challenges you, just say that I agree to you using the name," they said.) I was aware then that a name was socially defined and it was not good to go against that, although I did respect the person who gave me the name, Muni. I replied, "I am *masia* (embarrassed) to use the name Muni here." This statement was well received and said to show that I was respectful and humble, not taking on something that did not belong to me. Several months later, *Ciuciul a Gaguligul* (current ka-mamazangilan) offered to give me a name if I wished. By then I was aware of the internal struggle between members of *La Kazangilan* and La Gaguligul over the titlement of the leadership. My acceptance of a new name would be interpreted as affiliation with a particular side, even if she did not necessarily mean it that way, and this would make things complicated for me then. I declined her suggestion.

Paiwan is one of the sixteen officially recognized indigenous groups in Taiwan, the second largest in number. The sixteen officially recognized groups are as follows: Amis, Paiwan, Atayal, Bunun, Truku, Puyuma, Rukai, Sediq, Tsou, Saisyiat, Yami (Tao), Kavalan, Sakizaya, Thao, Hlaalua, and Kanakanavu (the last two were recognized in June 2014) (Fig. 1). The indigenous population was estimated at 545,000 in mid–2015 , which constituted

FIGURE 1. **Distribution of Austronesian Taiwan (Photo Credit: Presbyterian Church of Taiwan).**

2.3% of the total population in Taiwan. However, a historical linguist map of Austronesian Taiwan indicates a different story (Fig. 2). More than twenty languages were identified, even though some are extinct and others endangered, but some of these linguist groups are not officially recognized under the current regime due to complex historical reasons.

Even though the indigenous settlements are largely located at the edge of the mountainous central ridge and east coast, a significant number (estimated to be around 50%) of indigenous peoples have migrated to live in the urban areas. Christianity of various denominations has been a dominant religion among the indigenes since mass conversion occurred

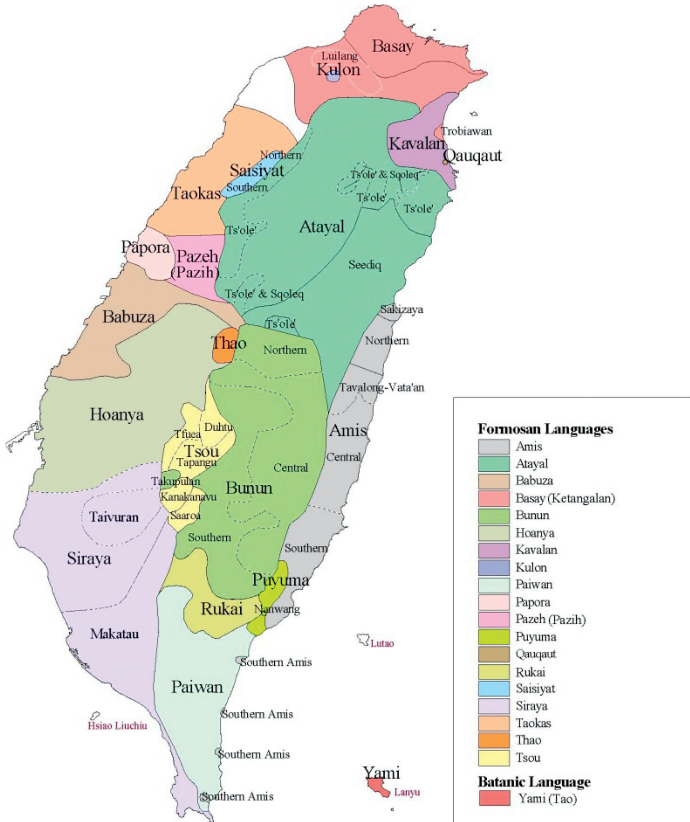

FIGURE 2. **Map of Austronesian Formosan and Yami Languages (1983). Adapted from Tsuchida (2009).**

after World War II, but with migration to the cities, there have been signs of decline in recent years, even though church organizations (especially the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan and, to a lesser degree, the Catholic Church) remain important in local communities. Recent cultural revival, coupled with tourism, has again prompted concerns over social, economic, and politic rights as embedded in the Indigenous Basic Law (2005). The Executive Yuan passed the Indigenous Self-Determination Temporary Ordinance in February 2015 in response to the critique of slow progress on self-governance after the passing of the Indigenous Basic Law even though this version was heavily resisted by indigenous activists because of its restricted nature and scope.

Names and Naming in Piuma

Personal names are not only individual possessions but also social ones in that individuals are defined and classified according to certain sociocultural parameters (e.g., kin relations, hierarchical ranking, and political alliance). Naming also pushes the envelope of these parameters in times of change. Thus, the act of naming not only serves instrumental purposes in identifying individuals and classificatory purposes in grouping them, but it is also a social praxis for renegotiating relationships. Naming in Piuma defines social relationships with varying value, and it links people in the past and present. In other words, the diachronic dimension of naming is as important as the synchronic aspect, and a successive naming history often constitutes the source of a strong claim to authority. I take Keane's (1997) approach to look at the representational practices (verbal and material) in Piuma public life and in how they are both implicated in social arrangements.

There are six types of appellations used among people in Piuma: personal name plus house name, kinship terms, status title, nickname, Chinese and/or Japanese name (given by the state), and Christian name (baptismal name) (Ku 2010, 201). Here, I focus on the first category. Of what is a Paiwan name constituted? A Paiwan name includes a personal name and a house name, for example, "*Lavaus* (personal name) a *Paqalius* (house name)," where the house name normally refers to the name of the house into which one is born. This can be changed when people marry into another house, in which case they could adopt the house name of their spouse. This can be applied to either sex.

The reason that I combine personal name and house name for discussion is twofold. First, a house name alone cannot be used to identify an individual, but it can be used by an individual for self-identification with a group of people related to the same house. The interconnection among the houses resulting from generations of intermarriage makes it difficult to disassociate one from the other entirely. It is more an issue of identification. People with more ancestors from or identifying with La Mavaliu (house name) would claim to be a member of La Mavaliu. If a genealogy of houses can be established, people would claim to belong to the ultimate house of origin. Second, a house name is often added to a personal name to identify an individual among a group of people who share the same name attributable to the repetitive use of same names in the community. That is, both personal names and house names represent individual identity in different contexts.

House Names

A house name refers to the name given to the physical structure of a particular house.[2] A house name, however, can outlive the physical structure of a house, and it can be appropriated by different residential groups. Thus, analytically, house as name and house as physical structure should be distinguished. Do house names have different values like personal names? I was constantly told in Piuma that house names did not carry any value, although some houses were considered to be "from the beginning of time" (*vinqacan*), which justified their chiefly status. The language of history is used to express hierarchy, and the indigenous conception of the past continues to play an important role in a contemporary status competition. Contrary to some early reports on this issue, which place strong emphasis on noble houses (Shih [1956] 1971; Chiang 1993), the rhetoric adopted by people in Piuma relates to the particularity of their history regarding the respective status of La Kazangilan and La Gaguligul houses in relation to La Mavaliu (the vinqacan house). It suggests that the value of a house name can be changed for historical reasons. There are two houses named Mavalu with different ranking status, for example, and I was told that commoners occasionally seek advice for getting house name from their affiliated noble. Levi-Strauss's emphasis on the material (e.g., house as physical structure) or immaterial (e.g., house as name) nature of house wealth is important here when considering the relation of house both to hierarchies of status or ritual power and to economic stratification (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995, 51).

Because the firstborn inherit house property, and thus house names, a nonfirstborn who marries another nonfirstborn has to establish a new house and create a new house name.[3] There is a cultural emphasis on the house of origin having higher status than the derived houses, which often have to rely on the house of origin for financial and other support. This branching off of new households from established ones is a constant process among the Paiwan, and the recognition of interrelatedness between natal and derived houses is frequently emphasized. People might not be able to detail the exact genealogical juncture of the branching off, but they all recognize the derivative relation among houses (Chiang 1993, 185). The same analogy (original vs. derivative) also applies to the relationship between the nobility and the commoners, although in a symbolic sense. In practice, name bestowing (an act indicating that the social status of the name giver is higher than that of the named) also allows the nobility to extend influence over the commoners. The same applies to name giving, an act through which the relationships between the firstborn and the rest of the siblings are bound, recognized, and valued.

Strategic use of house names demonstrates an act of identification in a particular context. For a politics of naming, we need to decide which names have value and significance for whom and in which situation. People often use the expression "I am also from that house" as a qualifier to legitimate their position when expressing opinions. Theoretically, one can claim to belong to the houses where all of one's ancestors came from—that is, if these ties are traceable and well maintained. When an exact link between two houses is untraceable, people express the link through the memory of objects transmitted between the houses at marriage (e.g., cooking utensils or ploughs).[4] Marriage payment only flows from the groom's natal house to the bride's house; thus, the objects represent an affinal kin tie through a male ancestor from other houses.

Personal Names

The social order defined by personal names is complicated. What I mean by a Paiwan personal name is the answer that people often give to the following question: *Tima su ngadan?* (Who is your name?). Bodenhorn (2006) points out that in Inupiaq one must ask "Who is your name?" and never use "What is your name?" It is the same among the Paiwan (Ku 2010). This personified form indicates a strong personal connection between the name bearers and the name providers whose identity and status they come to assume. This is also why they keep referring back to ancestors in naming. Names are not impersonal objects detached from the bodily self. Name giving in a sense is giving away part of a personal quality or personality. The word *ngadan* is also the term for "reputation" in Paiwan language. Thus, *nanguaq a ngadan* (good name) thus refers to either the nobility or a person of good reputation (see also Janowski on Kelabit in this volume).

Personal names are drawn from an established pool of names, although there is the possibility of creating new ones. One is usually named after one's ancestors—a practice that results in the frequent duplication of names within any given group, particularly among first cousins. More important, names indicate familial connections and affiliation of a sort, which in turn reveal the status of the named. Why does a name matter? A name represents who you are, your status, how you will be treated, and the rights to which you might be entitled. In Piuma today, these include the rights of decoration[5] and marriage payment.[6] A name is not just an individual marker but is also embedded in complex social networks and carries significant symbolic meanings. Thus, personal names are not just personal; they also reveal social relations and the cultural value attached to these relations.

Most Paiwan personal names are gendered, and the name pool in a small community can be beyond a hundred (not all currently in use). In Piuma, I was told that all names are gendered. Most of the Paiwan names currently in use are inherited rather than created. In all the naming events I witnessed in Piuma, newborn babies were named after someone else, although I know of only several cases outside Piuma where newborns are given new names that have never before been used (e.g., *Leledan,* meaning "pottery," given to the son by a young artisan because he is famous for recreating ancient Paiwan pottery).

Social Life of Names and Politics of Naming

Names among the Paiwan have the quality of "symbolic capital" as formulated by Bourdieu (1977). Therefore, the question of how to characterize the shifting value of names is important: The symbolic capital of names is not fixed, and the social life of names can reveal the larger processes involved in the transaction of value in both social and political fields. "From a theoretical point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context" (Appadurai 1986, 5). The symbolic value of names is never an inherent property but is a judgment made about them by subjects, although the subjectivity is always circumscribed by previous transactions and politics (see also Keane 1997).

The instability of the name pool and name values may be used to question the cultural importance of names and naming in Paiwan society, but I argue that names are important because of the differences they create and the social contexts they illuminate. In adopting this processual view, I demonstrate that the social life of a name is culturally regulated and its interpretation is subject, to a certain degree, to individual manipulation.

The process of circulation of names not only signifies relations of privilege and social control but also contains the possibility of changing these relations. The politics of naming exists for the parties involved in the exchange not necessarily sharing the same interest. For example, the nobility often try to freeze the flow of prestigious names by endogamous practices among their own ranking circles and rigid regulation of the movement of noble names. Some commoners who aspire to greater prestige invite a loosening of these rules and an expansion of their own pool of names. The flow of names in any given situation is a shifting compromise between socially regulated paths and competitively inspired diversions (Appadurai 1986, 17). As Thomas (1992) mentions, the meanings of valuables cannot

be specified in the absence of local information about the ways that things were received.

I chart a process whereby names are given meanings as a significant element in ongoing social and political relations among people in Piuma. I contextualize the discussion in the following two ways. First, I describe specific procedures by which names are acquired and changed in daily social processes. Second, I examine how the processes involved are a part of other areas of social life, especially indigenous political dynamics. That is, the seemingly private and personal act of naming is intertwined with political strategies, and in the public display of words in matrimonial negotiation and the struggle for political legitimacy, participants risk the loss of personal status.

Pu-Ngadan **(Acquiring a Name)**

A Paiwan name is generally given, not long after a baby is born, by a family member or member of higher rank if a "better name" is sought. Most naming occasions occur privately within a family, unless one asks for a name that is beyond the control of one's family. Normally, when both parents come from the same rank, the firstborn child is named after an ancestor of the vusam; the next child is named after an ancestor of the in-marrying spouse; and the remaining children alternate between the two. The sequence is not often followed exactly and can be discussed if special conditions occur, for example, to memorialize a newly deceased relative. If neither parent is vusam, then a negotiation can be made between these two houses, and permission may be sought from the firstborn regarding the names of the next generation. If the rank of the parents differs, children are often named after the higher-ranking ancestors. Instead, some might carry names from both sides, although the latter is seldom practiced in Piuma.

Specific personal names are often retained within particular ranking groups, and the right to give names is reserved for the vusam of the house from which the name originated. Usually, a name giver would be one's parents or grandparents if the names are common within the family. When one would like to name a child after an in-marrying ancestor whose name is "better" than the rest of the names in the family, then one has to ask permission from the current firstborn of the house from which this in-marrying ancestor originally came. In other cases where names can be asked for from a higher-ranking member, this signifies an act of identification. It is said that high-ranking noble families that "married down" for more than three generations would lose their noble status and thus their access to "good names" would gradually decline. However, if one person

married down, it does not affect their family's ability to marry at the same level or up again.

Basically, the principle of seniority (precedence[7]) governs the relationships between the name giver and the named, linking the firstborn with the rest of the siblings through the act of name giving and linking the nobility with the commoners through the act of name bestowing. Again, the analogy between the firstborn and the nobility is enacted in the naming.[8]

The relationship between the named and the person one is named after (the name provider—in most cases, a deceased person[9]) is that of commemoration and emulation. When people come to choose names, they often discuss the personality and reputation of the people with the same name, and more often they name a child after an ancestor or a person they admire. In other cases, more than one name is given to a child, and it is only later, by common agreement, that one is selected that is thought to best suit the character of the child.[10] Names thus represent a partible self and carry the name provider's personality.

The relationship among the living people who share the same name (name sharers) varies greatly, but common names often signify common ancestry, and kin ties can be reproduced through name sharing. People identify with those sharing the same ancestral names, and this is sometimes used to declare a closer bond between two houses. One can have several choices of names from different ancestral lines. By choosing one particular line of ancestry (from different regions), those ties are retained, as are the exchange relations that come with the tie on various ritual occasions (e.g., marriage feasts). This is particularly important for regional alliances made by the nobility. When an intervillage marriage takes place, the groom's house members would stop by either the house of the local nobility or that of a traceable relative in the bride's village before the formal ceremony takes place. There was the case in 1995 in which members of *Dalimalau* (a noble house) in Sandimen Township came to Piuma and chose to sojourn at La Kazangilan house rather than La Gaguligul house before the ceremony took place. This event was criticized by La Gaguligul's supporters as violating custom, and they suspected it was an attempt to reestablish the authority of the descendants of La Mavaliu who now resided in La Kazangilan. Members of La Dalimalau have distant kin ties with both La Gaguligul and La Mavaliu members. When I asked the members of La Dalimalau how they came to the decision, I was told, "*Elaiyung* is an ancestral name of La Dalimalau." It can be said that kinship, to a certain degree, is articulated through names. Thus, to widen the range of noble names from different regions is to sustain kin ties widely,[11] as well as to increase prestige.

From Personal to Political

Here, I analyze the strategies individuals adopt to secure prestigious names and accumulate symbolic capital, as well as how this series of strategies is linked to the struggle for leadership in Piuma.

Names at Marriage Negotiations

Paiwan names are constantly in the state of being renegotiated in each matrimonial bargain. When the endogamous rule was more strictly observed, names were compared and set the terms for the materials exchanged between those parties involved. Recently, marriage union between female nobility and male commoners was made possible by reference to the concept of "buying names." Despite of the change in marriage practices, Paiwan names as symbolic capital remain the reference for which material wealth is exchanged.

The endogamous marriage rule (among the same ranking group) is often used to control the flow of names within the circles of the nobility. However, even among the nobility, long-term endogamy within the same circle causes a stagnation (or even a fall) in status. Regional alliance among the nobility is thus preferred. The category of "*sangasangasan*" (the second cousins) was the ideal criterion for choosing a mate in the past, but as in the case of La Mavaliu, attributable to constant endogamous practices, the status of La Mavaliu members stagnated compared to that of La Gaguligul members, whose marriage strategy proved to be successful in linking the highest nobles from different regions. Constant flow of new names from the nobility of other regions is shown in La Gaguligul's genealogy. This contrasts with that of La Mavaliu, where similar names repeated themselves over a couple of generations and were used by more people.[12]

Like the tournaments of value described by Appadurai, marriage negotiations are events that are removed in some culturally well-defined way from the routines of economic life, yet the forms and outcomes of the tournaments are consequential for the more mundane realities of power and value in ordinary life (1986, 21). Matrimonial negotiations among the high-ranking nobility constitute the special events where the participants gather to contest their respective status, and only these types of marriage are likely to be set apart through a culturally marked mechanism. These tournaments are publicly witnessed, and knowledge about the paths of names in turn increases one's capacity to win the negotiation. Like ritual knowledge, knowledge about names is an asset for the orator, and the better orator, the greater the chance of striking a better bargain at such an occasion.

Marriage negotiation often takes place in two steps. First, the male's relatives, particularly the vusam, visit the female's house to see whether the female's immediate relatives are willing to enter further negotiation. If they agree to pursue the matter, a date is set so that all parties concerned can gather at the female's house to discuss in detail the marriage ceremony and bride price. Second, before the details of the marriage ceremony and bride price can be decided, a status competition between the bride's and the groom's houses takes place.

In this competition, both sides first have to identify the sources of their names: Where did they acquire their names? The gathering from all branches of relatives serves the purpose of witnessing, and the bigger the crowd one can mobilize, the greater the chance of proving one's status (see also Roth 2002). Often both sides name the noble houses to which they are connected; the more prestigious the houses to which one is connected by blood or marriage, the higher one's status. If both sides have a similar ancestry, the question is then asked, which house is closer to the vusam line? (Birth order matters.) Having commoner ancestry may be used by the opponent to pull down one's status in the negotiation. The kind of marriage ceremony and bride price one is entitled to is determined by the result of the status competition. Only when the female's status is agreed to be higher than the male's status can the bride enjoy the honor of a *diuma* (nuptial swing) being erected on her behalf (Fig. 3). Marriage negotiation often fails when both sides cannot come to agreement on the respective ranks or when one side refuses to comply with what is required of it. However, contemporary compromises sometimes occur when the rhetoric of (Christian) faith is asserted. Also, female commoners with higher education achievement or desired occupations (such as teacher, pastor, or government employee) can often bargain for a better deal. That is, the supposedly inherited ascribed status can be renegotiated side by side with the achieved status in certain domain of life.

Buying Names

As mentioned earlier, Paiwan names are often circulated among people of similar rank, but the cultural desire for a better name can also lead people to breach the existing framework and create exchange relations between groups of different rank. The endogamous marriage practice in turn feeds the cultural desire for a "better name" among the lower-ranking groups. Several cultural mechanisms can be followed to breach the rule. Bourdieu (1977) adopts the term "matrimonial strategies" and refers to the "social use of kinship" to treat kin relationships as something people make through individual strategy. Thus, a marriage or kinship rule is followed if it fulfills or satisfies the desire.

FIGURE 3. **Nuptial Swing Being Erected With the Decoration of Bird's-Nest Fern on the Top. Photo Taken by Kun-hui Ku.**

The transactional maneuvering involved in marriage can only be understood in the context of a family strategy aimed at an ongoing series of material and symbolic exchanges between houses.

"Buying names" refers particularly to marriages between female nobles and male commoners, unusual unions in the past. *Vuquvu's* marriage is such a case. Vuquvu's desire for a better name for his next generation is fulfilled by the sacrifice of traditional valuables, which is the focus of the desire of the bride's natal house. The traditional valuables are in turn used in the next

marriage negotiation by the bride's natal house for an equivalent—or higher-status bride to increase the symbolic capital of the house and the chance to get even better names. Those whose marriage is characterized as buying names for their next generation still need to go through the proper procedure for acquiring names. Because few firstborn female nobles would take the option of marrying down (with male commoners), the house of origin would retain the power of name giving and thus preserve the "best" names intact.

Vuquvu (in his early forties in 1998) was born in *La Pacikel* but later was adopted, when he was twenty years old, by his father's sister, who did not have children of her own. Vuquvu said that he had different standards in seeking his prospective spouse before and after his adoption: before the adoption, he was looking for a vusam; after the adoption, he was looking for a noble mate. The difference was that being a second child in Pacikel, he was encouraged to marry someone with established house property. Yet after the adoption, being the first and only child of the new house, *La Leleman*, he was encouraged to marry someone with a good name. Vuquvu paid a great deal more for the marriage because of the difference in rank between his bride and himself, but he said that it was worthwhile because his next generation could now have a better name. The marriage negotiation then focused on the bride price that Vuquvu needed to prepare. Because of his athletic talents and service to the church, he was later in life bestowed a noble name by his higher ranking affine who held a ceremony to recognize their bond as fictive brothers. So he himself can wear the prestigious feather in public along with his children who received their noble names from their mother side.

Adoption and Names

Adoption is one such cultural mechanism today that allows for the flow of names between houses of different ranks. This following case, however, also indicates the decline of chiefly authority as the center of the community because the nobility used to provide shelter for orphans, the elderly, and the homeless. This case of adoption from a high-ranking house was thus portrayed as an attempt to gain access to good names and to consolidate the relationship between the two houses involved. After eight years of waiting for pregnancy, Aselep adopted a son from *La Vavulelen* named *Basulan*. La Vavulelen had close kin tie with both La Mavaliu and La Gaguligul and was a high-ranking house. Aselep, a commoner, identified herself with La Mavaliu, as a subordinate to the noble house. The adoption specified that Basulan would have to be the sole beneficiary of the adopting house's property as a vusam. Not long after the adoption, Aselep gave birth to a boy named *Baru* whose name was given by Basulan's natal house. In principle, the younger

boy was not supposed to have a name that was as high ranking as that of his adopted brother, but Aselep resorted to Basulan's natal family on the ground that the huge difference in rank, as presented in names, between the brothers might cause some difficulty for the little boy when he was growing up. Thus, the name Baru was given, but without the associated rights that Basulan would have. The interaction between the brothers might later change the relation and the rights that Baru could have if Basulan bestows the rights upon his younger brother, which remains to be seen. (After the national law was established after World War II and exerted increased power on the communities, it is common for the parents to distribute the property beforehand with larger share to the vusam and small portion to the younger siblings to avoid a possible legal battle after they pass away.) For Aselep, this adoption brings good names into the house, and for the members of La Vavulelen, the same act extends control over the property of another house. The bond between these two houses is further strengthened by this adoption.

Rights Associated with Names

People often use the Japanese term *kin-li* (rights) or simply use the possessive form *niaken aitsu* (this is mine) to refer to certain rights (material or symbolic) associated with names.[13] In contemporary Piuma, the rights of the nobility mainly refer to marriage payments and decorative rights, as mentioned earlier. The nobility used to claim all decorative items that were considered special before the political status of the nobility declined because of external (Japanese and Chinese) states' intervention. The importance of a market economy in Paiwan regions is also reflected in the change of naming practices (buying names) and the use of decoration rights. As a market economy was introduced in the late 1960s, some of the decorative rights were "sold" on the market by the nobility in exchange for either material or political capital (Ku 1989; Guo 2006). The rise of a market economy contributed to social mobility in the Paiwan region partly because the commoners tended to work on the land and were able to sell produce for profit. The nobility were no longer in the position of collecting tributes for redistribution in the community, and their lack of experience in labor work impeded them from participating in the new forms of the economy in its early stage. The nobility lost their monopoly over most decorative rights by selling them in the market; yet eagle feathers remain the privilege of the nobility today (Fig. 4). Some nobility participate in the trade of eagle feathers, and they only sell the feathers to the customers according to their ranks (i.e., names). In Piuma, three eagle feathers represent the highest status, and few firstborns can have this honor. The branching-off siblings from these high-ranking houses can

FIGURE 4. **An Example of Feather Decoration of a Bride and Groom in a Marriage Dancing Occasion. Photo Taken by Kun-hui Ku.**

only wear two eagle feathers, and marginal nobles and publicly recognized heroes can wear one feather.

According to elderly hunters, the use of feathers by the nobility is a rather recent phenomenon. New technologies adopted in hunting, which increased the catch of eagle, indirectly promoted the use of feathers as a sign of status. In the mid-1990s, Taiwu Township attempted to regulate the use of eagle feathers, but the proposal was postponed. In this revived ethnic adornment industry, the producers were not necessarily the Paiwan themselves, and the trade routes of these items, such as old glass beads and decorative shell coins, can be as far as inland China, Southeast Asia, Americas, and Europe. Some also sell plastic feathers for cheaper price.

As I mentioned earlier, there is no inherent right to a particular name, not only because the rank of names fluctuates over time but also because the processes of naming and the people involved affect the value of names in a particular context. Some people take advantage of names given from other regions to claim certain rights. If a person has no right in the village to wear a particular kind of feather, when challenged, questions are often

FIGURE 5. **The Elder in the Middle Served in the Church but Also as a Mediator to Adjudicate the Conflict Over Decorative Rights Before His Passing. Photo Taken by Kun-hui Ku.**

asked whether this personal adornment is given by the associated nobles from other villages. Even so, the rights given from the outside can never overshadow the rights of the nobility in the home village. People openly display their rights in public, and the legitimacy is to be confirmed or contested by people with *djemdjem* authority (Fig. 5).[14] In each ritualistic display, people assert claims to higher status, and if they are able to use certain symbols without being challenged, new status may be secured (see also Gibson 1995).

This happens in both marriage negotiations and public decorations. As Howe (2000) argues, the risk involved in public rituals is comparable to political contest, and the outcome has direct implications for daily routine life.

The same personal names from other villages, or within the village in some cases, do not necessarily carry the same rank or value. Names also can be given without associated rights and status. This mostly happens when commoners ask their associated nobles to bestow a "better" name for a member of a new generation. Some marginal nobles who marry down for a couple of generations may retain marginal noble names but without associated rights. Thus, names are the contested site for status and rights associated with that status. People who share the same names would still rank themselves higher or lower than others with the same names on the grounds of the process of gaining the name and different sources of names. However, names acquired without the proper procedure are seen to be a sign of transgression—a desire for greater status and power.

Inflation of a Name's Value

Although the same names do not necessarily carry the same rank, personal names are still the most important media through which people talk about differential status. Despite the stress on the legitimacy of the name, there has been a lot of discussion about the inflation of names and illegitimate use of names. Here, I use the economic analogy that the inflation results in the devaluation of names. The more people adopted good names, the less precious these names became and the more frequently new names had to be introduced to mark the distinction. Naming, nonetheless, continues to function in creating status differences among people.

Whenever a baby is born, the discussion of names abounds. The act of acquiring names from remote relatives whose relationship could barely be established is interpreted in different ways: Only those acknowledging the higher status of the name giver receive names from them; to ask a favor is to acknowledge the relatively low status of self (patronage relationship). However, to name is to recognize the relationship, to form an alliance and, even in some cases, to elevate one's status. The alliance aspect of name exchange is particularly clear in the way the nobility in different regions use it to achieve even higher status through marriage unions.

The scarcity of certain names is sometimes used to claim a better value for these names. The less often a name is used, the more valuable it becomes, especially a name given by high-ranking people. *Laucu* a Kazangilan, a descendant of La Mavaliu, gave *Djepelang's* family a name that was not used at the time. Djepelang refused to reveal this name to others after Laucu died,

not even to Laucu's daughter, because she wanted to keep this name in the family and retain the currency of the name by preventing others from having the same name before it was used in the family. "It does not 'sound' prestigious if everybody has the same name," she said.

The name system, nonetheless, has been inflated recently because more people adopt higher-status names; thus, the name itself is depreciated. Recent increase of intermarriage between nobility and commoners contributes to this phenomenon, and status competition intensifies among lesser nobles as a result of it.

The Christian discourse of equality is sometimes deployed to demand a better name among lower-ranking commoners, although this appeal to equality serves in reality to reproduce social distinction through customary practices. "We all deserve a 'good' name as long as we follow the proper procedure," the Christian commoners often said. The statement is not really egalitarian because the underlying assumption is to maintain the status quo of the nobility yet to advance the commoners' own position. The naming system cannot be said to be under the control of the nobility only; commoners are also the major players in the game. Often, it is said that commoners are the gatekeepers of the system once they acquire better names. Names and naming functions reproduce this ideology of Paiwan hierarchy. Christianity becomes an indigenized source of politics and religious principles and values; Christian idioms are deployed to sustain the legitimacy of the hierarchy in naming practices.

The fate of a name can be changed over generations. The devaluation of a name resulting in the inflationary process can best be shown by the discussion of names in the local mythical stories (*mirimiringan*[15]). Personal names used in local mythical stories about the nobility are *Kulililili*, *Muakaikai*, *Kalarularu*, *Pularuyanruyan*, and so on. These are names still in use today in Piuma; the difference is that Kulili, Muakai, Kalaru, and Pularuyan are the names of commoners. One possible explanation would be that these were noble names that are now adopted by commoners following their loss of currency as more people adopted them. (However, this explanation does not apply to southern Paiwan, where the currency of these names remains.) A closer examination of the recent genealogy of La Mavaliu supports this explanation.[12]

The same phenomenon applies to the commoners' name pool. Because of the cultural desire for noble names, I asked how many people in the community still held the most ordinary commoner's name. Those mentioned are all in their sixties (as of the late 1990s), and all have grandchildren. It is interesting to find a three-stage mobility in the names of different generations, which means that each generation seeks to step up in the hierarchy of names

through various means. There is no one named *Udalan* or *Lamawan* in the newborn generation. However, this does not mean that the difference in status and ranking has been eliminated. Those who disagreed with a particular naming often said that when the named person reached the age for marriage, everyone would know exactly how much they were "worth." Marriage negotiation is an occasion when people of concerned groups come to contest their status, and this is usually out of the control of the marrying couple. Despite Paiwan Presbytery's attempt to promote Christian marriage ceremonies, status competition remains an important part of the process when two parties have relatively close rank. When the differential status of two parties is clear, people of lower status often expect to hear the sources of names from the higher-status partners, a legacy that would become part of their own. There would not be any argument in these cases. Church marriage ceremonies do take place, but they are used more often by people who cannot have an elaborate "traditional" ceremony, such as low-ranking commoners, or by people who use the ceremony to highlight their Christian identity, along with their traditional title.

This common complaint about the deflation of name value was leveled at the nobility, who were blamed for giving away names for their own benefit, as I described earlier. This also caused a devaluation of names that originated in the community (e.g., *Tjemeresai* and *Ligiai*, names of La Mavaliu). This situation accelerated after the status of the nobility was shaken not only by external political institutions but also by economic, religious, and social factors. The status of nobility was partly supported by their ritual efficacy, which justified their collection of tribute during harvest seasons from commoners whose livelihood depended on it. The introduction of new crops, political intervention of Japanese police, and later introduction of Christianity all contributed to the decline of their status. After they lost their previous rights to gather tributes from the commoners, symbolic capital of noble names was used to exchange for other forms of capital—material or political. This situation, however, has been reversed in recent years as the concern for cultural revival has grown.[16] There was a case in which the name given by one noble to a commoner was challenged by another noble, who resorted to the civil court. The court decision was made to respect local customary practices, and the name was dropped. The impact of the decision of the civil court remains to be seen in future developments (see also Tsai 2015).

Appropriation of Names: Name, Blood and Traditional Title

As Bourdieu (1977, 36) witnessed in the Kabyle region of Algeria, the competition and conflicts incurred by the transmission of personal names provide

an opportunity to observe the practical and political functions of these genealogical markers: To appropriate these markers is in a sense to take control of a title, giving special rights to a particular group through the symbolic capital accumulated by the house. The current struggle for traditional leadership in Piuma between members of La Mavaliu and those of La Gaguligul also takes the form of appropriation of prestigious names.

Names and blood *(djamuq)* are concepts often associated in discussing title in Piuma. La Mavaliu members often complained that their names were appropriated by La Gaguligul members, such as the name Ligiai. Normally, only those who share blood share names, especially in the community, except for special ritual occasions. Appropriation of names other than those of one's own ancestors is often explained as a transgression of the norm, which implies an appropriation of the status associated with the name, if the proper procedure is not followed.[17] The question arose as to who has the right to bestow the ancestral names of La Mavaliu.

Current debates surrounding the leadership in the community also center on the issue of how to settle the legitimate heir of La Mavaliu. In other words, who has the right to act on behalf of the name of La Mavaliu? Elaiyung a Kazangilan, a distant descendant of La Mavaliu whose ancestors left Piuma and, thus, lost the status of heading the community, claimed that La Gaguligul members (whose ancestors took the place of leadership after the fall of La Mavaliu) can take her ancestors' names but cannot change the blood. The notion of blood as a quantitative substance is clear from the marriage negotiation, where status competition is calculated in terms of blood passing from generation to generation. This appeal to the principle of blood is used to claim her noble status even though she resides in a commoner's house. La Gaguligul members' attempt to expand their name pool shows that the right to bestow names is a sign of legitimating authority. Kin groups and political groups intersect in this case, and the claims for familial names become a political claim.

The followers of La Mavaliu claim that they need to go to their vusam for their names, and Elaiyung is the biological vusam of La Mavaliu, although she is no longer considered a representative of Piuma because of the historical events. The right to bestow ancestral names is used in appeals to recover her claim to leadership over issues related to La Mavaliu in the community. The supporters of La Kazangilan insist that her status should be revived because the principle of blood cannot simply be overridden by historical events. The legitimacy of their names can only come from the firstborn of La Mavaliu. She might have overemphasized the importance of blood, because we see cases in which ritual recognition is more important than biological factors, yet the right of bestowing ancestral names is

hard to alienate. Members of La Gaguligul, however, fear that this would in turn increase her authority to reclaim the rights over the house (and house name) of La Mavaliu, which Elaiyung was rebuilding, a sign for reclaiming the leadership of the community.

The house was eventually rebuilt partly with the fund from the project for reviving traditional dwelling form provided by the township. It took a long time to complete because furnishing a proper noble slate house required a lot of labor and money, however, the house completion ceremony was not well attended as I was told, a sign of lack of consensus in the community. Yet, since the completion, Elaiyung has managed to hold annual kin group gathering(s) to show her ambition to rebuild the fame and power of La Mavaliu.

The hierarchical nature of names in Piuma is tied into the local political dynamics, which revolves around the struggle between members of La Gaguligul and those of La Kazangilan over the leadership of the community. Elaiyung appeals to the principle of blood and the right to bestow ancestral names, whereas Tsiutsiul (a Gaguligul) appeals to the historical legitimacy of her status.

Conclusion

The nature of the Paiwan hierarchy has been a subject of interest and debates ever since the Japanese era. Studies have pointed to the control of property (either immovable kinds such as land or movable ones such as heirlooms) as an explanation. This paper argues that in Piuma naming and names play a significant role in reproducing social relationships, especially those of a hierarchical nature, no less than do Paiwan heirlooms that are traditionally inherited by firstborns. The dynamic interplay between symbolic dimensions of names and naming and material objects is key to understanding the nature of Paiwan hierarchy and its fluidity. Furthermore, the movement of valuables mainly follows the path of names, and these valuables are often used to objectify social relationships among individuals or groups as represented by names. The authority constructed in ritual speech, the legitimacy founded in exchange relationships, and the power of valuables (material and nonmaterial) are in play in understanding Paiwan hierarchy, which is irreducible to any single dimension.

People in Piuma do not consider holding something material (valuables) to be the only factor central to the recognition of one's status. Instead, they treat names as the most important indicator of their status (with some qualifications, as mentioned earlier). I have shown that it is not a specific name that matters, because the value of a name can fluctuate over time. Rather, it is the act of naming and the system of names that make differences visible in everyday life. I have used cases from matrimonial negotiation,

adoption between different ranking houses, same-sex fictive kin recognition ceremony, buying names, struggle for local leadership, and inflation of a name to examine the relationships among name, valuables, and hierarchy in Piuma. Verbal representation (reciting names in public) and material representation (exchanged objects) are both linked to the expression of hierarchy, yet there are "tensions inherent to representations in their roles as media of action and in their relationship to everyday activities," as Keane pointed out (1997, xiv).

Names represent not only identity and subjectivity but also ranking difference and political relations. Names are signs of potency (see also Errington 1989, 191) and are contested sites for hierarchy. Because noble names are the object of desire, the process of name acquisition becomes highly politicized and the paths taken by these names are thus both "reflective" and "constitutive" of social alliance and struggle for preeminence. Thus, the strategic use of Paiwan names and naming is a social praxis in renegotiating social relations in daily interaction, which can also have an impact on long-term historical trajectories.

NOTES

1. A name can have different currency in different regions. For example, the name Tuku is a commoner's name in the northern Paiwan area but it is a noble's name in the southern area.

2. For example, house names are most often used in the daily context of being asked, *Mainu sun?* (Where are you going?), to which one might reply, *Ma* Pacikel (To the house of Pacikel).

3. It is also possible to create more than one house in a lifetime. Often, once a firstborn has grown to maturity, the parents can leave the house to that offspring and create another house (and house name) with a new partner, regardless of whether they are a firstborn, an in-marrying spouse, or a founder of the house.

4. As *Djeperang* a Paqaljius told me, "I know that La Paqaljius is related to La Pacikel because my grandmother told me that our cooking utensils came from that house."

5. The decoration rights include personal adornment and house decoration. In contemporary Piuma, an eagle feather remains the privilege of the nobility and traditional carvings *(sasuayan)* and a stone tablet *(saulai)* can only be installed for noble houses. For details on personal adornment (such as embroidered cloth with the images of sun, human heads, snake, precious pottery, butterfly, and other hunting scenes), see Ku (1989) and Guo (2006).

6. This statement needs further qualification. Although marriage payment is often paid to the bride's family, the actual amount depends upon the relative status of bride's and

groom's houses. In the case of a high-ranking man with a low-ranking woman, nothing was required in the past. Tanupak married a firstborn commoner, Pailis, and did not pay any bride price because of the differential status between Tanupak and Pailis. But this case was criticized for being inconsiderate to the bride in a contemporary situation. According to Paiwan Presbytery regulation, although a bride's status is lower than that of the groom, her family should still receive part of the payment.

7. See also Fox 1994.

8. A child is often given a second personal name if the parents come from different regions. If a person is called by his first personal name by his paternal kinsmen in the village where he resides, he can be called by his second personal name in his maternal kinsmen's district. This is particularly common among the nobility, among whom regional intermarriage is often practiced. Following this logic, a person can have third or fourth names if his maternal grandparents and paternal grandparents also come from different regions with their own distinct name stock. Once ties are weakened, a name is not often used and will eventually be dropped. A name that is not used in daily life is considered nonexistent, although the name remains a possibility for a subsequent naming occasion.

9. In referring to a recent deceased relative, kin term and personal name with a past tense signifier *(anga)* are used. For example, *vuvu* Pailis-*anga.* Otherwise, personal names are not applied to the deceased. In the ancestral rite or five-year rite *(Maleveq),* the collective term *vuvu* is used to refer to all ancestors.

10. It was said of the name *Kui* (a high-ranking name) that several of its name bearers showed the characteristics of drunken men. The name Kui was quite popular at one time but is not anymore. A name can be "too good" for a person (in terms of ranking differences), and it can also be spoiled by a person (in terms of personal reputation and quality).

11. This was also a defense device in the past when raiding between villages was prevalent.

12. Firstborns were named, in turn, *Puraluyan*, *Tjemeresai*, *Gilegilav*, *Lavuqas*, *Gilegilav*, *Lavuqas*, *Laucu*, and *Elaiyung*.

13. Although there is no equivalent indigenous (single) vocabulary for the concept of rights, a similar concept is expressed in indigenous phrases using a possessive form.

14. *Djemdjem* refers to the power of policing and gatekeeping to uphold social norms, particularly regarding issues related to status and rights associated with status.

15. There are two categories of Paiwan narratives that should not be confused. *Tautsikel* means historical happenings, or happenings of personal experience. *Mirimiringan* refers to stories that cannot be proved to be true (Ku 2004). See also Harrison (1990).

16. The cultural revival started in the 1970s by local governments to facilitate cultural tourism, but it has gradually taken root in local communities to promote cultural awareness. This trend was enhanced by the rise of the indigenous rights movement to demand cultural rights from the government (see also Ku 2012).

17. This case was often used to explain to me that the status of La Mavaliu is higher than that of La Gaguligul. However, the individuals within these two houses occupy different positions in the ranking according to their genealogical positions within each house.

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NAMING AND NAME CHANGING IN POSTCOLONIAL MADAGASCAR

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When I first met Sahondry, she was a primary school teacher at the Catholic school of a small village in the southern Betsileo highlands of Madagascar, where I was conducting fieldwork.[1] As I expressed my surprise that an urban, educated woman lived in a such a rural place, I was told that she had taken up this job to hide from the police. A few years before, Sahondry had been accused of stealing a large sum of money while working for a nongovernmental organization in Ambovombe, in the south of Madagascar. She proclaimed her innocence but nevertheless chose to escape out of fear of being jailed. She first fled to the town of Betroka, a few hundred kilometers north, where she hid for some time at her grandparents' home. But the police tracked her down and came to arrest her in Betroka. She managed again to escape. Before leaving the town, however, she went to the city council *(mairie)* of Betroka and, with the help of a diligent civil servant who was a friend of her grandfather, she changed her name and her filiation in the civil registry. From one day to another, she officially became, under a new name, the natural daughter of her mother's sister (who had died prematurely some time before) and of an unknown father. With this new civil identity she felt a bit safer but decided nonetheless to stay away from the town and police. So when her mother and stepfather suggested a teaching job in a remote village, she took it up.

Unlike me, most people who knew about Sahondry's story were unimpressed by her change of name and filiation. They seemed to find this

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change to be common sense, even though they were aware that it had been made somewhat illegally. Why, I wondered, was Sahondry's change so easily accepted, in particular by her close relatives, who helped her to make this change at the *mairie*? In order to fully understand Sahondry's story and the reason it looked so commonsensical to my Betsileo friends, it is necessary to situate it in the wider context of Malagasy and Betsileo naming practices.[2] This is precisely what I intend to do in this paper. My second goal is to further explore the significance of name changing, not only in Sahondry's arguably special case but also for the Betsileo in general.

In the first pages of his ethnography of the Betsileo (Kottak 1980), Conrad Kottak explains that he has changed personal and village names to preserve anonymity. This practice of name changing, he writes, "would no doubt be acceptable to the Betsileo themselves, since most change their names two or three times during their lives" (Kottak 1980, xi). But why do most Betsileo feel the need to change their name, and what consequences or implications does this practice have? Anthropologists have increasingly paid attention to naming systems and practices, as well as their relationship to social organization (Maillard-Vincent and Pauwels 2000; vom Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006; Zheng and Macdonald 2010; Chave-Dartoen, Leguy, and Monnerie 2012). They have emphasized that naming practices are far from anecdotal but rather have deep, sometimes unexpected meanings and effects and that personal names are often used to "do" a variety of things. As I show, name changing among the Betsileo is an important part of the process, well described in particular by Astuti (1995) and Bloch (1993) for Madagascar, through which an individual with no social role at birth slowly becomes an active adult and then a respected elder.

Naming Issues and State Control

Before addressing this issue, a few words need to be said about traditional Malagasy naming practices and their translation into Malagasy civil law after the 1960 independence.[3] In 1880, the British missionary Sibree noted that in traditional Madagascar there were no family names but only personal names that were attributed at birth and could be changed in the course of one's life (Sibree 1880, chapter 8; Gueunier 2012, 185). This situation is still the case today, even when we look at the issue in legal terms, because Malagasy law does not oblige people to bear a family name and it allows individuals to change their name, though with some restrictions. Although French colonial rule lasted more than 60 years, the postcolonial Malagasy state did not follow European rules on matters of naming. Whereas the French colonial administration had relied on a sort of regionalism where local *coutumes indigènes*

(indigenous customs) were maintained—a deliberate colonial policy known as *diviser pour régner* (divide and rule)—after independence, the new Malagasy Republic went the opposite way and sought to replace the colonial system by a civil law that would be applicable to the whole island.

Malagasy legislators addressed issues of naming in a decree published in the *Journal Officiel* on August 4, 1962. This decree is worth looking at, especially the part in which the legislators explain why the Malagasy law on naming had to differ from other legal systems:

> In numerous countries, the name marks the attachment of individuals to a family or a person from whom they take the name, so measures have been taken to render the use of a family name or patronymic name obligatory. Moreover, it is in principle forbidden to change this name.
>
> The national inquiry that has been made to collect the various Malagasy customs allows us to see that it is not possible to impose the patronymic name or to retain the principle of immutability of a name. The family name cannot be imposed because it is taboo *(fady)* to pronounce the name of a defunct. Moreover, there exists in Madagascar names that are typically masculine or feminine. It would be difficult to give to a girl her father's name, Rakoto, for example, or to give to a natural son his mother's name, Raketaka or Rasoa. Finally, almost all our customs have it that the name is the exterior reflection of someone's personality. It serves to identify the soul, the *fanahy maha-olona.*
>
> It is therefore normal that members of the same family all have different names.
>
> To respect these customs, it is decided that the adoption of a patronymic name will be facultative (article 2).
>
> Name changing is also maintained. However it has seemed necessary to … limit its number after majority. Misuse can effectively happen with deceptive goals, notably on the part of delinquents who want to hide their identity. (quoted in Gueunier 2012, 196, my translation)

The national inquiry mentioned in the text was conducted after independence by lawyers and social scientists who collected data on the customs existing in different parts of the island. The goal was to make sure that in the process of creating, almost from scratch, a new civil law, the young Malagasy Republic was not alienating itself too much from the traditional institutions of the country (Gueunier 2012, 195).

The last sequence of the quote shows that people like Sahondry, who changed their name in order to escape the police, caused some anxieties to the legislators of the new republic. This is why they set a limit of only one change of name after the age of majority (21). Such anxieties were previously shared by French colonial officers, who regarded the Malagasy habit of name changing as "deplorable." Gueunier cites in this respect the administrator Julien, who wrote the following shortly after the French takeover of the island:

> Because adults do not conserve the name under which they have been registered at birth, they can easily escape all the searches made to discover their trace. There is, moreover, a deplorable habit rooted among the Malagasy that consists of introducing oneself, when traveling, under a different name according to where one finds oneself; even more so do they change names when there is a capital interest, for example, when it is a question of shirking or even cleansing oneself from a defilement received under a previous name. The most "black" indigenous can therefore change his image *(faire peau neuve)* and change, so to speak, his individuality through his own action. A police record is impossible to establish; it is a true danger for society in general, as well as for the interests of Malagasy families in particular. (quoted in Gueunier 2012, 196, my translation)

Thus, from the point of view of colonial administrators or legislators of the new Malagasy Republic—or, to employ a useful shortcut, from the point of view of the colonial and postcolonial state—what we could call the "naming freedom" of the Malagasy constituted either a "true danger for society" (Julien) or at least was identified as a custom threatening the authority of state because of the risk of misuse. But why would the Malagasy change their name if they did not have to dissimulate their identity like Sahondry? Gueunier seems to suggest that the practice of name changing exists because people are sometimes given a "bad name" at birth (e.g., because they are born on an inauspicious day) and they want to change it when they grow up (Gueunier 2012, 195). The necessity of changing a bad name is well attested in the island, but it cannot account for the existence of Betsileo name changing because in the case of a bad name received at birth, one change would suffice. As we have seen, changing a birth name at majority is allowed by the Malagasy civil law today. In the decree I already referred to, the legislators explained that they left this possibility open (for one change only) precisely because they found it important that people could change a bad name at maturity.

"Positive" Reasons for Name Changing

In this paper, I am interested in more than the "negative" aspects of name changing, when it is used either to dissimulate an identity (as in Sahondry's case) or to remove a bad name given at birth. My initial assumption is, on the contrary, that the Betsileo practice must also have "positive" aspects that are not just concerned with remediating an unfortunate situation. The Betsileo I know who have changed their name several times were apparently never in need of dissimulating their identity or getting rid of a bad name. So why did they change their name?

Before answering this question, let us take a brief look at the structure of Malagasy names, drawing again from Gueunier's account. Nowadays, most names borne by individuals in Madagascar are a particular mix of foreign names (mainly Christian, French, or British but sometimes Muslim) and Malagasy names. This is because the spread of the Christian faith in the nineteenth century resulted in people increasingly giving names from the Bible to their children. These biblical names were often modified to follow the phonological and morphological rules of the Malagasy language (e.g., John becomes Jaonina or Jaona), and often the honorific particle *Ra-*, the word *andriana* (lord), or both were added to them (e.g., Rajaonina and Randrianarijaona). While at the beginning of Christian evangelization most people still had, in traditional Malagasy fashion, only one name, progressively the most common structure of names became "binomial," as Gueunier calls it (Gueunier 2012, 197). In this case, a Christian name (or other foreign name) is often juxtaposed to a Malagasy name, although sometimes both names are of Malagasy origin or, more rarely, both names are foreign.

Today the binomial name is probably the most widespread name structure in Madagascar, even though there still are people who have only one name (e.g., Ratsoja) or others who have more than two names. This binomial structure, however, significantly differs from that of European names because none of the two names is a patronymic or family name that is transmitted to children. As explained earlier, the legislators decided in 1962 that European-like patronymic names would be facultative. This decision held even though some people adopted the practice of transmitting a name with the binomial name. But even in these cases, and at any generation, the chain of name transmission can be broken since people are not bound by law to follow it. Another frequent habit, which in practice represents some middle way between totally unconstrained naming and European-like transmission of a family name, is that a particular name is transmitted to children as a root, although through different forms. Sahondry, when she changed her name, did precisely that: She chose a name with the root *Jaona*, a root found in the

names of her grandfather and many of her uncles, aunts, and cousins. I come back to the reasons this is so later, but for now it suffices to say that a kind of transmission of a name may exist, though it is always optative and takes a flexible form.

The flexibility in choosing personal names resonates with another kind of flexibility found in the organization of Betsileo society. The Betsileo belong to descent groups (called *karazana* or *foko*) that are corporate in several respects, though only at the local level. This means that a local branch of a supralocal descent group is headed by its most senior member, who exerts his authority (at least formally) over the group's land, cattle, and tomb. By contrast, the supralocal descent group is not corporate in this sense and does not have a head, strictly speaking. Yet only Betsileo supralocal descent groups have names (e.g., Zazamena, Otaray, and Maroafo). Descent is cognatic, meaning that individuals automatically belong to the groups of their two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, and so on. In practice, however, local descent groups tend to be patrilineally organized and post-marital residence is viripatrilocal. Most commonly, therefore, the children of a married couple live in the village of their father's local descent group, say a branch of the group known as Zazamena. Yet children are free, when they grow up, to choose to be affiliated with another group they belong to—for example, they may want to establish themselves in the village of the group of their maternal grandfather, known as the Maroafo, because they have the opportunity to cultivate some land there. Such a circulation of individuals among local descent groups is further facilitated by practices of fosterage and adoption, which are common between Betsileo kinsmen (Kottak 1986). A man's child, for example, may well be fostered until adulthood by the man's sister, who had married in another village and thus lives with another descent group. As a result, the child first has a main affiliation—the group of her father's sister's husband—that differs from the affiliation of her two parents, though this may change if the child decides later to come back to her father's village or to live in the village of origin of her mother.

What all this means is that there is a high degree of flexibility in group affiliation in Betsileo society, and this flexibility in turn has implications for the way people use descent group names to introduce themselves. For example, a woman who has established residence in the village of the Maroafo, the group of her maternal grandfather, will introduce herself locally as a Maroafo, whereas if she goes back to her paternal village, she will introduce herself as a Zazamena. This habit of presenting oneself contextually, the one the French administrator Julien found "deplorable," owes much to the Betsileo, in some contexts, being more readily identified by their belonging to a descent group rather than by their personal name, their function, or their village of origin.

People always introduce themselves with the descent group name that seems to be the most relevant in a given context, especially at rituals and in political meetings (e.g., in practice at funerals, where a party of men will say they are representing the Zazamena from Tanambao).

Thus even though Betsileo descent group names may appear, roughly, the equivalent of European-like family names, there is an essential difference. Because the descent group name is not part of someone's personal name, it never fixes or definitely categorizes a person into a particular group. On the contrary, as I have just explained, individuals can always choose the descent group name they want to use. In some, situations they may be asked to demonstrate, by providing some genealogical information, that they truly belong to the Maroafo, Zazamena, or Otaray, but once they have done so, nobody will dispute their belonging to the group and their right to use the descent group name for themselves. A great deal of flexibility is thus at work in the use of descent group names. As shown, the use of personal names is even more flexible. In this case, individuals are not limited to choosing among a number of names at their disposal: At a certain point in their life, they can decide how they want to be named.

The Betsileo Name-Changing Ritual

During fieldwork I was told by the oldest of my Betsileo friends that they had changed their personal name several times, but unlike Sahondry they had never done it officially; that is, they had never modified their name in the state's civil registry. In other words, they had not taken advantage of the possibility of one change offered by Malagasy law. In practice, these elders had borne, in the course of their life, different names that I call here usage names because they were different from their birth name, which remained their official name. Someone that everyone knew as Randriambelo, for example, was officially named Rajaonina Justin. His change to Randriambelo was never recorded at the *mairie* but only in the memory of his relatives, neighbors, and friends. How do people manage, one could ask, to have all their acquaintances call them by a new name when they suddenly decide that it would be better so? The answer is that name changing among the Betsileo is done publicly through a ritual performed at large family gatherings. Kottak reports that name-changing rituals are witnessed rarely among contemporary Betsileo (Kottak 1980, 218). Perhaps because the place where I conducted my research is more isolated than Kottak's field site, I had the opportunity to attend a few of these rituals, which are still commonly performed in this region.

It is a sunny morning in the southern Betsileo highlands and a *kiridy* (an ancestor-thanking ceremony) is going on in a village. A large number of humans and cattle are standing in a pen—the humans are grouped in the western part while the cattle are maintained in the eastern one—and outside the pen an even larger crowd is waiting. In the corral, the elders address the group's ancestors, sprinkle water from a large cup, and give their blessings to the group's members and zebus. After these blessings, the *lahy mahery* (strong men, i.e., young men in charge of the tasks requiring strength) of the group show their prowess during a *tolon'omby* (a kind of bullfight). When the *tolon'omby* comes to an end, the *lahy mahery* catch the animal that will be used to feed the guests of the *kiridy* and kill it. After the slaughtering, the *lahy mahery* leave the corral and join the audience around the wooden fence circling the pen. Then a man steps into the corral and approaches the dead zebu. He is the oldest son of the organizer of the *kiridy* and wears the formal dress of Betsileo men—a hat, a *lamba* (a large piece of cloth used to wrap oneself), and a walking stick. He is also carrying a baby wrapped in a *lamba hoana* (a printed cloth only used by women) on his back. He starts walking slowly around the zebu and, at regular occasions, violently strikes the animal's flank with his stick. While doing so, he shouts a litany of names: "Randrianarijaona Daniel's name is now Zaindrano; Rasoa is now Renibao…."

The man is announcing to the guests of the *kiridy* that a number of people are changing their name. The place and moment—in the center of the corral immediately after the elders' blessings, the *tolon'omby*, and the slaughtering of the zebu—make sure that the attention of the hundreds of guests is at its maximum, in a setting where the crowd will quickly disperse as soon as people want to eat, drink, talk, and dance in various parts of the village. Importantly, the ritual is also directed at another kind of audience: the man announces the new names to the *fahasivy* or *razana* (the ancestors). This is why he keeps on hitting the dead animal with his stick: He wants to attract and keep the ancestors' attention. The moment is well suited to making such an announcement to the ancestors too, since during their blessings the elders have already addressed them. Moreover, the slaughtered zebu is viewed as a kind of medium ensuring a privileged means of communication with them. But why does the man carry a baby on his back? During the blessings in the corral, all the group's babies were carried by women in such a fashion, behind the elders and in front of the zebus. The gathering of humans and animals in the pen stressed the fundamental continuity existing between the fertility of the descent group and the fertility of the herd of zebus, and humans and zebus were blessed together in the speeches of the group's elders. In the name-changing ritual, the man carrying a baby on his back and shouting new

names stresses another, though equally fundamental, kind of continuity: that existing among ancestors, living adults, and young children.

After a name-changing ritual, the social memorization of someone's new name is facilitated by the use of this name in a number of other ritual and social contexts. This happens at funerals, for example, where gifts offered by the guests are written down in notebooks. These notebooks are kept carefully because the members of the deceased's group want to keep track of the gifts they will have to reciprocate. In such a context, the names written down in notebooks are the usage names of the heads of families or local descent groups rather than their *anarana amin'ny karatra* ("names on the card"), that is, their official names. Moreover, at funerals the names of the members of the main descent groups to which the deceased belongs (i.e., usually the names of the members of the patrilineal descent groups of the deceased's parents) are recalled. In these genealogical speeches (*tetihara*), the names that are pronounced are again usage names rather than birth names.[4] In such contexts, as in many other situations that would be too long to list here, it is always people's usage name that matters.

The use of these names in rituals and customary contexts offers a stark contrast with other situations in which the southern Betsileo must provide the name that they received at birth and that has remained their official name. The most frequent situation when they have to do so is when they have to interact with the Malagasy state in one way or another. When, for example, they have to fill in administrative forms or sign a contract, they are well aware that they have to use the name that figures on their identity card. This may seem an obvious point, but I am highlighting it because, in practice, such a double naming leads to much confusion. Usage names can never completely replace one's birth name, even when the usage name has become so popular that most people do not recall what someone's birth name was, because there are always situations when the official name is needed. Conversely, knowing someone's birth name is never enough to navigate smoothly through local society. I found it a bit difficult to adapt to this double-naming practice when I was conducting fieldwork. But on several occasions I could see that it was not just me, a foreigner, who was struggling with personal names. In conversations people frequently had to make sure that their interlocutors knew who they were talking about. They often did so either by using both usage name and birth name, if they knew them, or more commonly by adding the name of the village of residence (e.g., "Razafipanjato from Tanambao") or some kinship links (e.g., "Ralay, the child of Razambelo"). I would suggest that this kind of confusion was perhaps less likely in the past, before the apparition of civil registries and the systematic use of identity cards in Madagascar, since presumably once someone had changed name the former name must have

been soon forgotten, because it was of no use anymore. In the contemporary situation, on the contrary, people must constantly switch between usage name and official name ("the name on the card"), because they need both of them.

After the naming ritual described earlier, it is not always the case that a new name sticks and easily replaces a former usage name (Kottak 1980, 218). My friend Franklin, for example, told me that he had already tried to bear the name of Randriatsoa but his attempt had somehow failed. Yet he had scrupulously followed the customs. At a *kiridy,* he had asked a man carrying a child on his back to shout his new name while hitting the dead zebu's flank with a stick. To his despair, however, people did not retain his new name and continued to call him Ramose Franklin ("Mister Franklin"). There might be several reasons for this relative failure. First, since Franklin is a primary school teacher, people kept on calling him Ramose ("Mister" from the French *Monsieur*), a common "function name" for a teacher, instead of calling him Randriatsoa. It is a specific and common feature of Malagasy naming practices that someone's function is used as a personal name (other examples include Rapasy, "Mister pastor," and Rapresy, "Mister president"). Second, and more importantly, Franklin had tried to bear the name of Randriatsoa when he was only in his midthirties. My guess is that he might have been a bit too junior for that, given that the name Randritsoa is that of his father and his father's brother (named Randriatsoa and Randriatsoa Michel, respectively). Since both men are still alive and are the most senior members of Franklin's local descent group, it may be that his choice of name was somewhat premature. Franklin told me that it was only a question of time and was confident that someday he too will bear the name of Randriatsoa that he had chosen for himself.

Franklin's difficulties in attributing himself a new name illustrate the difference between the various usage names under which the Betsileo can be known throughout their life and the conditions in which these names are acquired. To begin with, in daily life children are not often called under the name they received from their parents at birth, especially if the name they received was a non-Malagasy name, for example, a French or Christian name. Most children are called by a nickname as soon as they leave the cradle and start walking and playing around. Sometimes the nickname is simply an altered form of the birth name, sometimes it relates to a particular trait of the child (e.g., Pepela, "little girl"), or sometimes, as stressed by Kottak (1980, 218), a depreciative nickname is chosen because of its protective function against malevolent spirits (e.g., Rajako, "Mister monkey"). Let us call these affective or protective nicknames a child name. Needless to say, just like they cannot choose their birth name, children do not choose their child

name—the choice is made by adults in their surroundings. Child names are often used for quite a long time, often until a person's late teens or early twenties. They tend to be used until the children marry and have children themselves. Then as soon as they become parents, a significant change occurs in the naming practice: they are now called by a teknonym. Because as parents they often take part to the choice of their child's name, for the first time in their life they are partly responsible for the way people will call them.[5] Thus, for example, if the boy nicknamed Rajako (Mister monkey) became the father of a son named Baholo, after his child's birth he will be increasingly called, in his family and in his neighborhood and village, by the more respectful teknonyms Baban'i Baholo or Rain'i Baholo (father of Baholo). The same holds for Baholo's mother, who will be called Ren'i Baholo or Maman'i Baholo (mother of Baholo).

After becoming parents and receiving a teknonym, and aside from the case of function names that I have already mentioned, a further step into adulthood and seniority is to choose a new name for oneself, and it is here that we find the names that are publicly announced at the naming ritual. In this case, names are fully chosen by those who want to bear them, and I suggest that this is precisely the point: It is a name that individuals freely choose, as opposed to the names that were imposed upon them by others. If I am right, then the increasing freedom in self-naming is closely correlated to the achievement of senior status. Birth names, child names, function names, and even teknonyms are not freely chosen. But as people grow up, beget children, and are increasingly considered as *raiamandreny* (father and mother),[6] they also become more likely to participate to important decisions in the local community. In this context, attributing oneself a new name is a way of both demonstrating and enacting senior status. Of course this new name will have to stick and as we have seen in Franklin's case it is not always the case that it does. My understanding is that the new names shouted at the ritual are more easily retained when local people tend to judge that the person has reached the senior status allowing her to bear this name. Choosing one's name is thus a meaningful action in life principally because, provided the intended change is successful, it demonstrates one's seniority and agency—or, to put it differently, one's *raiamandreny* status. The practice of name changing is therefore an important aspect of the Betsileo construction of the person. By choosing a new name, individuals indicate their belief that they have reached the status allowing them to do so, and by proposing their name through the naming ritual they make this claim known to a wide audience. The audience, in turn, somehow evaluates this claim by starting to use the new name or by continuing to use the former one. In other words, if a majority of people tend to

think that the person is senior enough then the new name will stick and the former one will tend to be forgotten.

In this self-naming practice the names chosen are not just names that people have heard somewhere and found so nice that they wanted to bear them. In most cases, they are meaningful because they connect people, in one way or another, to other people in their descent group and family history. We have seen in Franklin's case that he wanted to bear the name of Randriatsoa. Randriatsoa is not only a name borne by his father and paternal uncle but is also that of several of his ancestors, and most importantly that of the ancestor who first migrated to the region and founded the village where Franklin still lives. Randriatsoa is therefore the apical ancestor of the local descent group, and as such he is the most important figure in Franklin's genealogy. Interestingly, Franklin, despite his young age (forty-one), is already acting as the head of his local descent group, since his father and paternal uncles are too old to deal with all the duties that their position implies (although they still have to give their blessings for whatever is decided by more junior members like Franklin) and his older brothers have migrated to another region of Madagascar. It therefore makes much sense that Franklin is claiming the name of Randriatsoa for himself.

Let us call a name that someone's ancestor has borne in the past an ancestral name. Choosing an ancestral name is one of the favorite options for enacting *raiamandreny* status. Sometimes ancestral names are simply reused as such, like in Franklin's case, but often they are modified, for example, by adding the root *zafy* ("grandchildren," but also, by extension, "descendant") or another word in the construction of the new name. Thus, a name like Razafimahasely may be chosen to stress that the person is a descendant of the man called Ramahasely. Or remember the case of Sahondry, who reused Jaona, a root she had found in her mother's group, to construct her new name. What I previously called the root is nothing other than the name (or part of the name) of an important ancestor on the maternal side of Sahondry. This emphasis through naming of a special connection between oneself and a particular person among one's ancestors is often motivated by prestige, like in the case of Franklin, but it can also be motivated by other reasons such as affection—a person may want to bear the name of a cherished grandparent—or a particular episode or character in the family history.

Besides ancestral names, the other popular option for *raiamandreny* is to choose a teknonym. When a man asks to be named Raiboba or a woman asks to be named Renivao, they want people to remember that they are the father of Boba (*ray,* "father," plus Boba) or the mother of Vao (*reny,* "mother," plus Vao). At first, the choice of a teknonym may seem to contradict my interpretation of name changing as a way of demonstrating and enacting *raiamandreny*

agency since, as I have already stressed, teknonyms are usually names that are only partly chosen by oneself. But there is no contradiction: the choice of a teknonym still makes sense for a *raiamandreny* if we remember that most Betsileo have a relatively large number of children and that the custom is to use the teknonym referring to their first (or, sometimes, last) child. In these conditions, the choice of a particular teknonym means, in practice, stating one's preference for being called in reference to one child rather than to another. As with ancestral names, the motives for such a preference may be affection but also prestige, for example, when children have, as adults, achieved a high status in society and their proud parents want their name to show their parental link to them.

I have highlighted so far the significance of Betsileo name changing at the individual level by stressing its importance in the construction of the person and the achievement of *raiamandreny* status. But the practice of name changing also has meaningful consequences if we consider it at the level of the group. Because the new names chosen by adult members of the group are, in majority, either ancestral names or teknonyms, the outcome is that the group as a whole is always simultaneously looking backward and forward, so to speak. What I mean is that the coexistence of ancestral names and teknonyms among the group's *raiamandreny* evoke both the past (i.e., the group's ancestors, its dead, and its family history) and the future (i.e., its children and its descendants). Thus, even though the group's personal names always keep changing through time, in a kind of permanent back-and-forth movement between past and future as people change an ancestral name for a teknonym, or vice versa, taken together these names remain the expression of a strikingly visible continuity among the ancestors, the living senior members, and the children of the group. As Kottak rightly stresses, the name-changing ceremony "can be viewed as a ritual statement of the individual's incorporation within a descent group consisting of dead and living representatives" (1980, 218). The practice of name changing, therefore, not only participates in the construction of the person but also in the dynamic perpetuation of the group's identity through time.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, let me briefly go back to the case of Sahondry in the light of what I have explained about Betsileo name changing. It should be clear by now that Sahondry's decision to change her name to escape the police took place in a cultural context where changes of name and group affiliation are frequent and important for the construction of a person. Sahondry became officially the natural daughter of her deceased mother's sister and of an unknown father, but this did not pose a problem to her

relatives, not only because fosterage and adoption between close kinsmen are common practices among the Betsileo—and Sahondry's change of filiation can be seen as a kind of adoption—but more importantly because she managed to blur her legal identity while remaining legally affiliated with her maternal descent group because of this stratagem. Despite being different from the customary practice, Sahondry's change of name was also easily accepted, not only because she used the ancestral name Jaona, found in her maternal descent group, to construct her new name but also because people seemed to consider Sahondry's success in name changing more as evidence of her agency than as a morally or legally wrong action. After all, in a way she made use of the possibility offered by Malagasy law to change a bad name—in the sense that her birth name had become bad because it could bring her serious trouble—even though she had to do this change illegally because she could not take the risk of leaving an administrative trace of her change. She also needed to modify her filiation, in addition to her change of name, to make sure that the police could not identify her through her parents' names, which appear on Malagasy identity cards. Unlike what happens in the traditional practice of Betsileo name changing, however, the agency that Sahondry showed through her acquisition of a new official name did not correlate with any achievement of senior status. Most people continued to call her by her child name.

NOTES

1. The fieldwork upon which this paper is based was conducted in the southern Betsileo region of Madagascar, first from 2008 to 2010 for my PhD degree at the London School of Economics (LSE) and then in September–October 2012 for postdoctoral research at the Institut Jean Nicod. I am grateful to the LSE, the University of London, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Institut Jean Nicod, the Ecole Normale Supérieure, and the European Research Council for their support. I also thank Rita Astuti, Maurice Bloch, Michael Scott, and the participants to the Austronesia seminar at LSE for providing comments on an earlier draft.

2. In this paper, "naming" mostly refers to personal names, although at some point I also say something about descent group names.

3. In what follows, I build on a study by Gueunier (2012), who gives an interesting account of the evolution of Malagasy personal names.

4. See Regnier (2012; 2014) on the importance of *tetihara* among the Betsileo.

5. For comparative material on teknonymy in another group of Madagascar—the Zafimaniry—see Bloch (2006).

6. Being considered a *raiamandreny* is important in Betsileo society, since the word not only means "parents" but also "elders" and "notables" in a given community.

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ENTERING GOD'S FAMILY: THE ADOPTION OF CHRISTIAN NAMES IN THE EARLY BUNUN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, EASTERN TAIWAN

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Previous studies of the Bunun naming system always treated it as a rigid entity with a timeless essence (cf. Chiu 1966, 1976; Islituan 2009; Tu 2004). Although many researchers have discovered the exogenous names in the Bunun naming pool and considered them the consequence of the Bunun's interaction with outside world, they failed to explore the intricate relationship between naming practices and social change. For example, in Chiu's paper, after examining 409 names collected from the Tannan Bunun, he discovered 9 Japanese names and 4 Christian names among them. Instead of investigating the motives and processes of the incorporation of foreign names, he concluded the adoption of foreign names illustrates the influences of external cultures on Bunun society (Chiu 1976, 161). It seems to me that the adoption of foreign names is the adjunct of social change and treating it as in need of no explanation. Previous studies also obscured the agency of the Bunun people in adopting exogenous names. In this paper, I suggest replacing the static and passive models with a more inclusive and dynamic framework of name change that would allow us to consider the Bunun as active constructors in the changing world.

This paper describes the adoption of Christian names among the Bunun of eastern Taiwan as an example of cultural accommodation within the context of social change triggered by Christian evangelization. The argument I propose is that the adoption of Christian names occasioned in the early

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Bunun Presbyterian Church is a particularly effective mechanism through which the Bunun have managed to accommodate the cosmological framework of Christianity introduced into their society. A broader purpose of this paper is to shed some new light on how the Bunun people reorganized their ancestral religious ideas to accommodate a new Christian affiliation.

My starting point is the finding that the naming practice is a vital means for the storage and transmission of fundamental social, moral, and cosmological values of a society (Reid and Macdonald 2010; vom Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006). This does not suggest that the naming system is a static or bounded entity and that the naming system of a specific group is relative stable. As Khatihb (1995, 349) has illustrated, the name that a group of people relates to serves as a conceptual label for cultural consistency, and changes in names often reflect major changes in society. The significance of a naming system depends on its adaptability in the constantly changing world. In order for the naming system to remain responsive to cultural change, it must be in constant adjustment. The prominence of a naming practice in this respect is not merely that it alters itself to accommodate the changing situations. In their introductory paper on personal names in Asia, Reid and Macdonald proposed "changes in name systems are not only the consequence of great social shifts in history, but also influence those shifts" (2010, 2). Their remarks remind us to focus on the elaborated interactions between name changes and social shifts.

This paper is based largely on my doctoral fieldwork in the villages of Luntien and Hsiuluan. My fieldwork took place over 12 months from February 2010 to January 2011 and has since been supplemented by occasional visits of between three days and a week from 2011 to 2013. During my fieldwork, I stayed with a three-generation family whose members are members of the Luntien Presbyterian Church. Participant observation and interview are my principal methods of collecting data. I attended as many congregations and activities as I could, including church services, marriage, and naming. In the first stage of my fieldwork, I collected the genealogy of every household and their migration history by means of interview. To protect the privacy of the people I worked with, I have changed the names and details cited in the following section.

The adoption of Christian names has always been an epiphenomenon observed in the process of missionization throughout the world and history (Aragon 2000; Chitando 2001; Thornton 1993). Among Taiwan indigenous peoples, conversion to Christianity has been accompanied by an adoption of Christian names (cf. Chiu 1976; Huang 1999; Islituan 2009; Ku 2010; Tu 2004). In the encounter between Christianity and the Bunun people, the

cultural significance of indigenous names confronted the Christian tradition of what was appropriate.

In the early period of evangelization, the Bunun ancestral names, with their abundant sociocultural meanings, were abandoned in favor of biblical or Christian names. In this case study, I attempt to challenge the old idea that the newly converted Bunun were the passive recipients of exogenous names assigned by Christian ministers or they just imitated Christian ways superficially. Instead, I consider them active constructors of their own religion and society. This is similar to what Barker suggests in seeing Melanesians people as "the primary architects of their religions" (1992, 166). To understand why a Christian name was accepted and was given to a person, I therefore have to take the local community's social structure and cultural values into consideration. Through the adoption of Christian names in early evangelization, the local Bunun Presbyterians have intensively engaged with foreign religious beliefs and practices in many creative ways and made them their own by accommodating them in terms of their ancestral cosmology and cultural values. During the ongoing process of indigenization, the Bunun ancestral religious beliefs and practices were inevitably changed by Christianity, but they also deeply impacted the Christian ideas and practices.

Background

The Bunun are one of the Austronesian-speaking indigenous groups in Taiwan with a population estimated at 55,618 in June 2014, according to official census.[1] *Lumah* (house or family) is the basic unit and prototype of Bunun social structure and the origin of group or individual identity. The Bunun people are divided into five ethnolinguistic subgroups: Taki-tudu, Taki-bakha, Tak-banuaz, Taki-vatan, and Is-bukun (or Bubukun). All subgroups claim to be related by common derivation from ancestral male siblings. All of them find their origin in the Asang Daingad (the large settlement) or Lamungan in which they belonged to the same *lumah.* This suggests that the concept of *lumah* is closely associated with the idea of origin and thus has been given great prominence. The membership of a family was regularly maintained through the sharing of food, especially the sacred millet in annual calendrical rituals. In addition, new members, including brides and newborn or adopted children, could be transformed in status from strangers into family in relation to food sharing (cf. Chiu 1966). The relation of a family can be traced in terms of names, as explained in the following section.

Originally dwelled in the highlands around the Central Mountain Range, the Bunun people were forced to resettle in the lowlands to be closer to colonial control by the Japanese authority in the mid-1930s. My major field

sites, Luntien and Hsiuluan, are two Bunun settlements of around 143 households in total located on the intersection of a gentle east-slope area of Taiwan's Central Mountain Range and the western edge of the southern Huatung Rift Valley. Administratively, Luntien and Hsiuluan belong to Kufeng Village of Chohsi Township in Hualien County, eastern Taiwan (Map). It is estimated that more than 98% of the total population of Luntien and Hsiuluan are Bunun. Living in the lowlands posed great challenges for the Bunun people. They, especially children and infants, were exposed to the deadly threats by a range of diseases, including malaria, influenza, and diarrhea. Besides, the resettled Bunun communities are surrounded by various ethnic groups, including Austronesian-speaking peoples such as Amis, Truku, and Makatao, as well as Han Chinese.

Constructing Relationship through Naming

The significance of personal names does not lie in its lexical features. Rather, the Bunun place much emphasis the name recognizing those who share a same house. When the Bunun ask for the personal name of a person, they ask *kasimaan isuu ngaan?* (Whose name your name comes from?) or *sima suu ngaan?* (Who is your name?). Bunun ask "Who is your name?" instead of "What is your name?" A phrase commonly used to explain actual or expected kinship relations and behavior is *dais'aan* (sibling). To determine their relationship, two people consider their close common elder relatives or ancestors who were siblings of a house and then trace down the generational links from that starting point. The narrative proceeds: My grandfather and his grandmother were siblings of a family. This statement is often used to demonstrate two people's kin relation. Their name also provides a significant clue in tracing people's relationships as it is passed down within a family.

In most cases, the bride left her natal family after marriage and the newlyweds first lived in the house of the groom's parents. The extended family was the ideal model of Bunun society (Chen 1955; Mabuchi 1960; Okada 1988 [1938]). The names of these family members who once lived jointly within the same house become the potential candidates for the name of a newborn. The new mother and baby entered a period of segregation before the baby's umbilical cord stump fell off. During this period, they were not allowed to go out of the house, because they were most vulnerable from the attack of malicious spirits. After the baby's umbilical cord stump fell off, the restriction on the new mother was lifted and she returned to her daily life. The baby was then allowed out of the house, although the elders needed to smear over the baby a special plant called *ngaan*[2] to protect the infant from disturbance by

Map. **Distribution of Bunun Settlements in Chohsi Township.**

malevolent spirits (Islituan 2009, 140). Until the naming ceremony, the newborn was just addressed with the impersonal label *ubuhan* (baby or infant).

Children are named in accordance with the Bunun naming rule, which is based on sex and generation. Formerly, about a week after a baby was born, the family head would gather family members to discuss whom to name the newborn after. This is called *pacinadaan*. *Pacinadaan* is derived from the root noun *daan* (path); thus, *pacinadaan* means "to follow a certain path."

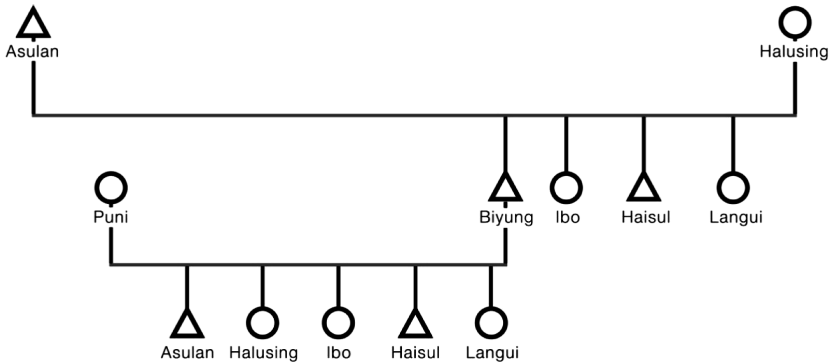

FIGURE. **The Bunun Naming Rule. Δ = man, ○ = woman.**

The firstborn son is named after his father's father, and the firstborn daughter is named after her father's mother. The successive children are named after the father's male or female siblings, respectively, in order.

In a figurative genealogy of the Figure, the couple of Biyung and Puni has five children. Their eldest son is named after Biyung's father: Asulan. Their eldest daughter is named after Biyung's mother: Halusing. As a result, the eldest grandson is the namesake of his grandfather, and the eldest granddaughter is the namesake of her grandmother. The couple's second daughter is named after Biyung's eldest sister: Ibu. The second son is named after Biyung's eldest brother: Haisul. The third daughter is named after Biyung's youngest sister: Langui. This example shows the dominance of the patriline in the naming rule: all the couple's children have names that are taken from the father's side. When the names have been used up from father's side, the Bunun can "borrow" a name from the mother's side after a request is granted by the mother's natal family.

A personal name presents not only who you are, your familial connections, but also your affiliation with past ancestors and future offspring. Following the naming rule, male personal names can be handed down within the family. The Bunun believe that although humans come and go, the names remain the same, passed down from generation to generation, and thus immortal. "We do not need to have a physical genealogy like the Han Chinese people, the name is indeed our living genealogy," one of my interviewees suggested.

In pre-Christian times, once a name had been chosen, the naming ceremony *(pacingaan)* was held either in the individual family by the family head or in a ceremony called *masulaulus,* which was held by the ritual leader in the settlement (Fang 2012). The term *pacingaan* derived from the root noun

ngaan (name); *pacingaan* means "to name someone or something." According to Islituan's study (2009, 141), the naming ritual was held a month after the baby was born. It was held within the family, with all family members present except the children, because they might violate taboos unintentionally. An elder member or the head of the family dipped his finger into the wine, smeared it onto the baby, and said: "I name you X." He blessed the baby by reciting words of protection to bring fortune to the infant. Kising Tanapima, a member of the Tak-banuaz subgroup, described the ceremony as follows:

> The naming ritual was held after the baby's umbilical cord stump fell off. Before the ritual, the elder takes the *ngaan,* chops them into little pieces, and strings them to make a necklace for the baby. Once the necklace has been worn, it is believed the malicious spirits *(hanitu)* and a variety of diseases are afraid of approaching. At the beginning of the naming ritual, children's clothes were taken off completely making them naked. This is because we human beings come to this world naked. Next, he takes the tip of miscanthus grass with a small piece of *ngaan* into his mouth, chews it and then smears the central part of the infant's head *(tungkul)* with the mixture. When anointing the child's head, he should say: "I name you Haisul.[3] Bless you growing up quickly, may bad things not happen to you forever and ever." After the ritual, the child gets clothed again. (Tian 1999: 33–34)

In other cases, the newborn babies were introduced publicly to the whole community in a ceremony called *masuhaulus* held once a year in a settlement. The term *masulaulus* literally means "to make the baby wear a necklace." During the *masuhaulus* ceremony, a necklace was given to the baby by his or her father. Then the ritual leader prayed for the babies to grow up healthily and to be luminous like the necklace. Some elders noted that the necklace is the metaphor for a star. The ritual leader not only prayed for the well-being of the individual baby but also the prosperity of the whole Bunun that their offspring would be as numerous as the stars in the sky.

Personhood was created through cosmological connection rather than biological reproduction. The essence of what it means to be human is to be a social person constructed through the name, not through the blood. One gains not only social connections but a distinct social identity through the name. The Bunun believe, by practicing naming ritual of some kinds, children transform their status from natural beings into social people. If children died with no name, they would not be considered people and would be buried roughly like animals. Once named, they would be buried under the

bedroom inside the house. The physical birth did not create children as "real people"; rather, naming gives them a complete Bunun identity.

Naming affirmed not only the original social or kin relationship between the child and the person for whom he or she was named but also their spiritual implications. The name-giver and name-receiver are connected socially and spiritually. In the process of collecting genealogies, I tried to write down every Bunun personal name accurately, but my informants often made comments like this: "All names are good names" and "Only good names can be passed down from generation to generation." They explained that some names appear more frequently because they are thought of as more protective. Despite the narratives, the Bunun do not seem to think that all names are equally good. In reality, they prefer the names of outstanding figures. In Sayama's research (2008 [1919]), he indicated the Bunun of the Taki-vatan subgroup desire to name their children after successful people.

It suggests what has been transferred through the naming practice is not only the physical name but also the name-giver's personal characteristics, capability, achievement, and reputation. Through life, the child was believed to exhibit certain characteristics of the name-giver. Since this was so, at the time of *pacinadaan,* it was not only the birth order, generation, and gender but also the name-giver's "path of life" that had to be taken into account. The prospective name-giver's health, personality, and even family life had to be reviewed and assessed. Hence, a name that failed to protect its namesake was destined to be discarded subsequently, as shown in the following instance, which is cited with modification from my field notes:

> In the evening, I talked with Tama Pima in regard to his family. Tama Pima is the eldest son of his family. He is in his sixties. He told me that his eldest sister was named after his grandmother in accordance with the Bunun naming rule. However, she died soon in infancy. After his second elder sister was born, she should be named after her father's eldest sister according to the rule. However, in fear of losing her personal name in this family, Tama Pima's grandmother strongly insisted the baby girl should still be named after her. This insistence was finally accepted by his father after a long negotiation. Unfortunately, his second elder sister died young as well. Since then, his grandmother gave up the hope completely to name her successive granddaughters after her name.

Tama Pima's case is not unique. According to the genealogies collected in the field, I observed that a lot of naming cases did not follow the rule

the Bunun asserted. More importantly, against my expectation, they did not consider those cases to be wrong because they contradicted the naming rule described earlier. On the contrary, people suggested that getting a proper name is essential because it relates to a person's fortune and well-being. It can be said, in the real social context, the naming rule is not always followed strictly and can be negotiated if a variety of considerations are taken into account. The process of negotiation becomes an inevitable part of naming practice. The Bunun are convinced this is the real meaning of *pacinadaan:* to bestow a good path.

The destinies of *ala* are entangled throughout life and death. People of the same name fondly call each other *ala* regardless of age and generation. The *ala* hold an intimate relationship. To this day, the elder *ala* give a gift or money to their young namesakes who perpetuate their names in society. Their close relationship not only reveals their familial ties built in terms of naming but also the spiritual relatedness. The Bunun believe that *ala* share sameness not only in name but also in character, achievement, fortune, fate, and so on. Once an elder *ala* has passed away, his or her spirit remains and gives necessary assistance for the young *ala.* For example, if a young *ala* is about to fall over, the spiritual namesake would give him or her a hand. When I conducted fieldwork in this settlement, a young man of a nearby settlement committed suicide by drinking poisonous herbicide. Villagers discussed the cause of his death and concluded the action of this young man mirrored the fate of his grandfather who was his namesake and committed suicide by drinking poison many years before. In this case, the living namesake reincarnated the route of the deceased. The negative connection between name-giver and namesake could be further confirmed in the following story told to me by a middle-aged female villager.

> There was a man called Aliav. He was my husband's uncle. There was a Taiwanese who lived in a nearby village. This man often went to the hunting grounds of my husband's family in the mountain to collect rattan without permission. Every time after his visit, the hunting grounds would always be disturbed greatly. This made my husband's uncle Aliav hold a strong antagonism towards him. One day, on his way home after hunting, Aliav met this man on the hunting trail about to go up to the mountain. Aliav pretended to be friendly to him by passing him a cigarette. However, after the man had his back turned toward him, Aliav raised his rifle, targeted at him, and shot this person from behind. After killing him, Aliav pushed the deceased down the mountain.

> Aliav told no one about what he had done in the mountain trail when he returned home. However, he became insane gradually and made weird actions such as climbing the wall like a gecko. His family resorted to a Bunun spirit medium. The spirit medium said Aliav had been cursed by another spirit medium because he had done something unforgivable. Aliav's family also went to see a Taiwanese spirit medium and got the same answer. Both Bunun and Han Chinese spirit mediums saw a *jitong*[4] curse Aliav by stinging a toad with needles. The toad was the substitute of Aliav.
>
> Because he was cursed very strongly, Aliav didn't live long and died soon after the accident. Subsequently, people with the same name as Aliav do not live over forty years of age within the family. My husband's name is Aliav and he died in his early forties. My grandson, my eldest son's first child, was Aliav named after my husband. He died in childhood. My second son's first son was named Aliav at the beginning. He became unhealthy and was always sick after his naming. Fearful of losing him, we changed his name.

The pre-Christian Bunun concept of person was complex and did not correspond to a binary distinction between body and soul. A human is made up of three parts: body, soul, and spirits. Humans were thought to have two spirits, an amicable one (*masial hanitu,* or good spirit) in the right shoulder and an irritable one (*makuang hanitu,* or bad spirit) in the left shoulder (Huang 1993: 57–58). Both the *masial hanitu* and the *makuang hanitu* would vanish after a person's death, but the soul transformed to spirit and left the human body (Huang 1992, 198). A peaceful death (called a good death) would make a person's soul a benevolent spirit and go to Mai-asang to be reunited with deceased family members. A violent death (called a bad death), such as being killed by an animal in hunting, falling from the hunting trail, being killed by other people, or committing suicide, would make a person's soul become a malevolent spirit, which would wander in this world. The spirit of bad death was considered the main cause of sickness or misfortune. In pre-Christian times, the corpse from a bad death was strictly forbidden from returning to the settlement. The Bunun feared the malicious spirit hovering near the body would be brought back to the settlement. Instead, the corpse was buried instantly or soil was just dumped on it at the site of accident. The fear of connection with the malicious spirit of a bad death can be observed in terms of naming. The Bunun assert that the names of those who had a bad death are not allowed as names for a child and should be abandoned forever within the family.

Changing Names: The Process of Relation Severing and Reconstructing

Name-changing *(pacislushuan)* was a part of healing practice performed by spirit mediums in time of sickness. Changing names would stop the malevolent spirits, which attempted to steal the child's life. This frequently occurred during childhood. The Bunun perceive sickness as a result of the attack of evil spirits and see the children as the most vulnerable. The Bunun resorted to spirit mediums whenever they got sick, seeking a diagnosis of the causes of the sickness and correct remedies. The spirit mediums took several stalks of miscanthus grass, waved them around the child's body, prayed, and summoned spirits who imparted them with power in curing. The causes of sickness were revealed on the leaf of miscanthus grass, which could only be observed by spirit mediums. Other spirit mediums requested a magic stone *(paciaul)* or leaves of citrus for answers. Most frequently, the spirit mediums attributed the illness of children to the unsuitability of names. The illness suffered by the child was evidence of the failure of the name-giver's spirit in protecting the child. Children's names would be changed, and then they would recover. A new name would be bestowed by spirit mediums through consulting either the magic stone or the spirits through dreams.[5]

Name-changing means to cut off the spiritual relationship between the name-giver and the namesake. Giving a new name was part of a healing process in which strength and protection from an active network in a new spiritual relationship were acquired as well. In recounting genealogies, such name-changing situations are rarely mentioned by villagers. I gradually discovered that to point them out would imply a breach of indigenous religious beliefs. The Bunun are convinced that a person can only have one name at any given time. Accepting one name precludes accepting another. After a name-changing, the obsolete name became a taboo name and the child had to be addressed with the new name. If a child was persistently unhealthy, his or her name might be changed repeatedly to eschew the tracing of malicious spirits and to alter the fortune of the child and thus enable complete recovery.

Exogenous or novel personal names were especially welcome by the Bunun. They perceive the malicious spirits to be most ignorant with the exogenous names. In pre-Christian times, these exogenous names might derive from neighboring ethnic groups (e.g., the name Amui was borrowed from the Hakka people) or just be invented by spirit mediums (e.g., the names Kia and Uvau, which could be used both for man and woman). As I mentioned in an earlier section, Luntien and Hsiuluan are situated in a multiethnic environment. Some famous Bunun spirit mediums not only serve their

people but also practice their techniques for other ethnic groups. By means of cross-ethnic contacts, the spirit mediums were enriched in their name pool.

The shift of name may have always prevailed in the past, given the high rates of mortality induced mainly by the contraction of the diseases, malaria and diarrhea, occasioned by the Mass Resettlement policy. The number of name shifts reached its height between the late 1930s and the mid-1950s in Luntien and Hsiuluan, according to my research. During this period, more than half of the children had their names changed at least once.

The Adoption of Exogenous Names

Just as the namesakes' relationship is central to the fabric of Bunun social life and what it means to be real people, so it is central in relations with outsiders. The process of turning strangers into relatives in terms of the adoption of foreign names has been going on a long time in Bunun society. As explained previously, a foreigner transformed his or her status from an outsider into a family member through living and sharing food in a house. The exogenous names brought by the new family members enrich the name pool of the family and are adopted as the names of the next generation. Take the Bunun women. Because they have to leave the natal family after marriage, their incorporation with their husband's family is manifested through the adoption of their names. In their grandchildren's generation, their names, initially exogenous, turn into the names of siblings.

Beyond women's names, the adoption of foreign names of other ethnic groups also illustrates the incorporation or domestication of foreign essences into the native framework. What makes this phenomenon all the more intriguing is that the adoption of foreign names is not just a distant event (cf. Sayama 2008 [1919]; Utsushikawa et al. 2011 [1935]) but also a process that continues in contemporary Bunun society (cf. Islituan 2009). I suggest the adoption of foreign names is a crucial mechanism in transforming exogenous into indigenous.

The Bunun naming system was in gradual transformation from the Japanese colonization period (1895–1945). Japanese colonial administrators aiming to cultivate the national identity introduced the Japanese given name and family name in Kanji to the Bunun people in the 1930s. The names given by Japanese colonialists had nothing to do with the indigenous naming system. Instead, the concept of family names inherited through the father was introduced. Since then, every person had two names and each name was used in specific domains. The Japanese name was used only in official contexts, such as household registration. The Japanese names written down in administrative documents represented the Bunun's new identity as Japanese citizens.

The Bunun name was not shown in official documents but was used in daily life. The Japanese names became a new address of a person with no relationship with his or her personal name. Due to the close association between the local official leaders and the Japanese officers, these Japanese names were most often assumed by local official leaders, and they carried the prestige associated with that status. Their Japanese names were widely used in official and local circumstances and persisted long after the retreat of Japan after the Second World War. However, at the moment of naming, the Bunun name instead of the Japanese name was passed down to the next generation. The coexistence of two distinct naming systems suggests that the Japanese names alone did not transform the Bunun. They were only a product of foreign military encroachment from the Bunun point of view.

A similar scenario happened after the Chinese Nationalist government took over Taiwan from 1945. In 1947, an official policy made by the Executive Yuan was implemented to change the Japanese names of indigenous peoples into Han Chinese names. According to Tu's research (2004: 80–81), Chinese names in characters were given randomly and rapidly by the Han Chinese local officers, regardless of Bunun social structure. The Chinese name, which is the product of domination, is used in dealing with the outside world, such as schools, and is registered in official documents, such as the identity card. In general, each Bunun person has at least two distinct names, the Bunun name and the Chinese name, and elders born in the Japanese period may have a third name, the Japanese name. These different names are used in different social contexts.

Christian names, the names of the figures in Old and New Testaments, were used as personal names by the Bunun Presbyterians in the early missionization. The Bunun people saw names that came from the Christian God as more powerful and protective. This also suggests that in the process of adopting Christian names, the Bunun people were not passive but active. The major difference between the names given by the state and the Christian names, as discussed in the following section, is that the latter displaced the Bunun names with all its cultural value. A few Christian names have found their way into the name pools of Bunun families. These names are passed down to the younger generation and are regulated by Bunun naming practices. How and why did these changes come about? Furthermore, the Christian names were adopted by the Bunun Presbyterians between the mid-1950s and the early 1960s, which corresponded to the peak of Christian conversion, according to my finding. What is the correlation between adoption of Christian names and Christian conversion? Before discussing these issues, I sketch a short history of Christianity among the Bunun of eastern Taiwan.

The Arrival of Presbyterians

The Bunun did not come into contact with Christianity until the early 1940s, after resettlement. In 1942, the Japanese government held a short-term training session in Luntien on malaria prevention and treatment and sent trainees to pay home visits in the evening to promote hygiene. Two Truku trainees, Yamata and Okuyama, were Presbyterians. They strategically took advantage of the opportunity to share Bible stories with the villagers during their home visits (Hu 1965). The spread of Christianity was prohibited by Japanese colonialists as it was the religion of their enemy, the Americans. Christianity was also rejected by the Bunun as it contradicted their ancestral rituals and injunctions.

Soon after the end of the Second World War, the Bunun began to experience evangelistic work by neighboring Han Chinese Presbyterian churches. But they failed to make conspicuous headway. Pastor Wen-tsi Hu, a Han Chinese missionary, was sent by the Mountain Work Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan to work among the Bunun people of eastern Taiwan. Having settled himself in Kuanshan, a Han Chinese town adjacent to the Bunun settlements, in September 1947, he began to learn local vernacular and conducted mission outreaches with a Bunun assistant. Hu recognized the need for the Bunun's participation in mission works by recruiting and training the natives to become his mission coworkers early on his work (Hu 1965; 1997 [1984]). The Yuli Bible Training Session held between January 29 and February 4, 1949, was a turning point in Bunun evangelistic history. Almost overnight, most trainees began to be involved in mission works spontaneously after their training session (Hu 1965).

While Truku Christians and Han Chinese missionaries were at the forefront of bringing Christianity to the Bunun people, it was the Bunun who established Christianity among their people. The early Bunun evangelists returned home and emerged as disseminators of the new religious knowledge and the accompanying literacy. Christianity continued to spread, in Pastor Taupas Tanapima's words, "from relative to relative, from friend to friend, and from house to house." Highly inspired by the success of Yuli Bible Training Session and the emerging need for more evangelists as their Christian communities expanded, Hu held another short-term training session for the Bunun in June 1949. He selected eight outstanding trainees and commissioned them to propagate Christian messages throughout all Bunun territories.

The participation of the Bunun in evangelism was a powerful demonstration that Christianity was not just a foreign religion but also a valid option for the Bunun. The widespread use of the Bunun evangelists was a distinctive

feature of Bunun missionization. This had the unintended consequence of allowing the early Bunun evangelists to reinterpret and accommodate their ancestral religious practices and beliefs to fit the Christian counterparts. They took the parallels between the ancestral stories and the biblical stories as evidence and demonstrated that they already had Christianity and a Bunun Romanized script of the Bible (i.e., the Bunun written words) in the ancient past that had been washed away by flood. This convinced the Bunun people that Christianity was not foreign borrowings but came from their own cultural heritage. This understanding further facilitated the pervasive acceptance of Christianity among the Bunun communities. According to the census provided by Hu (1965, 424), by 1964, there were 56 local churches with a collective membership of 11,630 people, which was more than half of the total Bunun population.

The Adoption of Christian Names

I did not recognize the existence of Christian names in local genealogies in the early stage of my fieldwork, because the villagers always insisted that "all names derive from the ancestors" and especially because few Christian names are inherited by younger generations. It does not mean that villagers attempt to hide the adoption of Christian names. Rather, it suggests that Christian names have been incorporated actively into their naming system and have turned from exogenous to indigenous. Christian names only came out when the namesakes' early life histories were reviewed.

Unlike their Catholic neighbors, who obtain a Christian name from a priest in baptism, the local Presbyterians chose Christian names intentionally for their children. The adoption of Christian names displaced the Bunun name. But the acquisition of a Christian name was not a pervasive phenomenon. Based on the genealogies collected in Luntien and Hsiuluan, I discovered at least nine Presbyterians were named after Bible figures. This happened approximately between the mid-1950s and the early 1960s (Table).

When asked about the reasons for their adoption of Christian names, most people told me something like this: "At the beginning, when Bunun began to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, their hearts were very hot. They intended to follow the teachings of Bible to devote their children to God and the church." This observation clearly indicates the adoption of Christian names only happened in the early stage of evangelization.

Moreover, naming their children after Bible figures became a new way people managed to show their trust in the Christian God and establish a relationship with Him. People remembered that, in the early stage of their acceptance of Jesus Christ, whenever a child was born, the local church

Table. **The Adoption of Christian Names in the Luntien Presbyterian Church.**

No.	Christian Name (Bunun/English Spelling)[7]	Sex	Year of Naming (Approximate)	Motives
1	Istilu/Esther	Female	1954	Protection and blessing
2	Yakuvu/Jacob	Male	1956	Protection and blessing
3	Matai/Matthew	Male	1957	Unknown
4	Iuhani/John	Male	1957	Protection, blessing, and expectation
5	Sala/Sarah	Female	1960	Sickness
6	Malia/Mary	Female	1960	Protection and blessing
7	Malia/Mary	Female	1960	Unknown
8	Naumi/Naomi	Female	1962	Protection and blessing
9	Isaku/Isaac	Male	1962	Sickness

pastor would visit the family to express his congratulation and concerns in person. Realizing the venerable tradition of naming that already existed in Bunun society, the local pastor persuaded the adherents to give their newborns Christian names. If his suggestion was accepted, a proper Christian name would be proposed by the pastor and a subsequent discussion with the family would be commenced in order to make a final decision. Once a Christian name had been chosen, at the moment of infant baptism held soon after the birth, the name was given openly in the church congregation.

Although the motives for adopting Christian names as personal names may be varied and complicated for each individual, in general Presbyterians hold positive attitudes toward Christian names. They perceive Christian names are all good names. Only those who made great achievements or contributions to the whole community could have their names written down in the Bible. Some Christian name-receivers recollected that the adoption of Christian names showed their parents' expectations for them. Parents wished children to imitate the behaviors, personality, and achievements of the Bible

figures after whom they were named. For example, Esther in the Bible was a woman who loved prayer, and Mary was a woman who loved the Lord.

As shown in the Table, the two major reasons for adopting Christian names were sickness and looking for the protection and blessing of God. These two reasons are related with the Bunun concepts of illness and its cure. In the following section, cases concerning naming after Bible figures in order to receive protection and blessing are discussed first (cases 1, 2, 4, 6, and 8 from Table), after which cases in which the adoption of Christian names was considered a healing ritual for sickness are investigated (cases 5 and 9 from Table).

The first case of the adoption of a Christian name occurred in 1954. In this case, the reason for the adoption was to receive protection and blessing of God. There are five cases, shown in the Table, of adopting Christian names for this motive. Among them, cases 1, 2, and 8 are siblings of a family. The adoption of Christian names for cases 2 and 8 was associated with the story of the eldest sister (case 1), which has been recorded in the local church history:

> There is a woman in our village whose name is Yu-chu Chin. She did not yet believe in the Lord Jesus Christ at the beginning. For the safety of her baby in the belly, she asked the spirit medium to perform techniques to drive out prospected misfortune ahead. However, the spirit medium told her that her upcoming baby was destined to die with no hope. This was fate. Her heart was very anxious. She could not sleep nor eat. One night, she had a vision in a dream. There was an extremely shining light illuminating her way while she was walking. An old man in white apparel appeared. His hair and beard were all in white. He took out a present, gave it to her and said: "Never lose this present." She woke up at the time she accepted the gift. Next morning, she ask Paki (from Jenlun village) to explain the dream. She was satisfied with the explanation. The Bunun people believe dreams are the revelation of the Sky.... Under the protection of the Lord Jesus, she delivered a baby on 25th of February of that year. The baby's name is Jui-mei Chen who is now the mother of three children. The Lord is the only refuge. (Luntien Presbyterian Church 1989, 27)

Dream, as a channel between humans and spirits, is meaningful to the Bunun people. The figure and apparel of the old man in the dream gave them some clues to recognize him as the Jesus Christ seen in the illustrations brought by evangelists. They came to conclude that it was Jesus Christ who saved their upcoming child. Besides, they recognized the power of the Chris-

tian God over other spirits who failed to save their daughter through the spirit medium. In order to construct a new relationship with God, the couple decided to enter God's family by naming this girl after a Bible figure—Istilu. By doing so, they perceived the child would receive the protection and blessing of God.

The active adoption of Christian names became a clear manifestation of the Bunun's commitment in the Christian God. What Istilu's (her Chinese name is Jui-mei Chen, as mentioned in previous quotation) parents did was the actual practice taught by local evangelists: "There is none other God but one. God is different and the distinctive difference is that God is the most powerful being in the world. God will be on your side if you develop the right relationship with Him." Presbyterian missionaries often proclaim the importance of "sincerity" as a bridge between the human and the Christian God, demonstrating the commitment of the adherents. However, it is difficult for the Bunun people to realize such an abstract requirement in their daily religious practices. In pre-Christian times, material substances or sacrifice were offered to express their commitment to the spiritual world instead of the abstract idea of sincerity. However, material sacrifice to God was prohibited by Presbyterian ministers. They proclaimed that there was no need to make sacrifices as Christ's crucifixion was the final sacrifice. How did they construct or maintain the relationship between the humans and the new spiritual beings if material exchange through sacrifice was forbidden? Entering God's family through the adoption of Christian names became an efficient answer to this quandary.

Istilu's example had some consequences among the local Presbyterian community. Case 4, case 6, and cases 3 and 7 belong to three distinct families.[6] The couple of each family was the first to convert in the Luntien Presbyterian Church as early as 1949. It is believed they named their children with Christian names, despite the importance they attached to the heritage of Bunun names, in order to enter God's family and construct or maintain direct relationships with the new Christian spiritual beings.

Another outstanding motive for adopting Christian names was associated with disease and curing, as shown in cases 5 and 9. In both cases, people adopted Christian names after suffering from illness. In case 9, Isaku's mother was an inhabitant of Luntien. She left her natal family and lived with her husband's family in a nearby settlement after marriage. Unfortunately, her first two children died soon after birth. Moreover, her husband's family members died successively. The successive deaths implied the place where the family lived was an inauspicious site. Her husband's family decided to move to another location and left the house. Isaku's parents returned to Luntien. Isaku's mother became pregnant soon after they came back. In fear

of misfortune happening among them again, the couple asked the spirit medium to perform techniques to drive evil spirits out after the birth of the baby. Unfortunately, they failed to keep the child. The child died around two years of age. They had another girl in 1952. She was attended by a community midwife, Mulas Binkinuan. After delivery, the midwife prayed for the baby in the name of Jesus Christ. Later, she introduced the Christian God to the couple and named the baby girl Akimi, from the Japanese that means "misfortunes have been eliminated."

From then on, the couple attended the Presbyterian Church to demonstrate their new religious affiliation. Three years later, they had the boy they had always longed for. However, the couple was shrouded in misfortune once more. The boy suffered from a serious ailment when he was about six years old. The midwife again stepped in. She was the church elder of the local Presbyterian Church. She recommended changing the boy's name to Isaku, for the Bible figure Isaac, to enable his cure.

Isaac was the only son of Abraham and Sarah in the Old Testament. Abraham was already a hundred years old when Isaac was born, and Sarah was ninety years old, beyond childbearing years. Isaac died when he was 180 years old, making him the longest-lived patriarch. For local Bunun Presbyterians, the story of Isaac's birth and death is a miracle. There are three main themes in Isaac's story, according to the local viewpoint. First, Isaac was the son of the promise given by God. Second, his father, Abraham, was father of the faithful. The last theme was the longevity of Isaac.

These points were exactly the expectations of Isaku's parents. Isaku told me his parents desired him to be the son of promise and prayed for his longevity by means of changing his name. More importantly, the entreaty could only be answered by God if his parents were faithful to Him.

Case 5 demonstrates a slightly different picture. It happened in the early 1960s. The girl's family had come to the local Presbyterian Church. However, when she got a serious disease, the family could do nothing but take her to see the famous spirit medium. After examining the causes of illness, the female spirit medium suggested she shift her name. The Christian name Sala, or Sarah in English, was proposed by the spirit medium. The female spirit medium had recently converted to Catholicism. With the consent of priests, the spirit mediums were allowed to practice their techniques as long as the techniques benefited people. In addition, this case illustrates the endeavors made by the spirit mediums to adapt their healing practices to the evangelization of the Bunun.

According to a Bunun pastor who majors in Bunun language and participated in Bunun Bible translation in the early period, the Bunun term *sinlatuza* (belief) was created in the process of Bible translation in the early

1950s. The term *sinlatuza* derives from the noun root *tuza* (truth). *Latuza* is a verb that means to believe something is true because it can be observed by human eyes; the prefix *sin-* in *sinlatuza* indicates that "we believe it is truth because it has already been revealed and observed by our eyes." For the Bunun, seeing is believing. Belief is not for intellectual discussion but should be demonstrated in actual practices. The Bunun people's belief in God and their sincerity toward Him can only be observed through practical actions. Therefore, the children's recovery after adopting Christian names is obvious evidence that Christian names have potency associated with God.

These cases suggest that the Bunun constructed their new Christian affiliation through the adoption of Christian names. The pre-Christian ideas, such as the concept of spirit, still played a role in the process. However, their beliefs had been changed fundamentally. In the Luntien Presbyterian Church, the naming practice was carried out at the time of infant baptism whether the name came from the Bible or an ancestor. Most local Presbyterians were eager to take their newborns to church to be named and baptized as soon as possible after birth. At the ceremony, the pastor dipped his finger in water and touched the baby's head just as the Bunun did in pre-Christian times. Then he announced the baby's name and prayed for God's blessing and protection. People were convinced that the baby's name would be written down in a book in Heaven after the ceremony.

The baby's name was given by the pastor, not the father or the ritual leader of the family group. This should be regarded as a kind of dispossession or deprivation of the family's agency to the benefit of the pastor's and the church's power. In addition, the local Presbyterian pastor insisted that baptism must be conducted as a prerequisite of becoming a Christian, thus pushing ancestral spiritual engagement and the associated concept of spirit into the background. This is especially conspicuous in the adoption of Christian names. In such cases, God's power was elevated and He became the most powerful being in the world. Hence, God disempowered both spirits and humans. People's ability in negotiating with spiritual beings through the naming practice was curbed. The Christian belief challenged the linkage between humans and spirits, which was the main theme of the pre-Christian naming practices.

Concluding Remarks

Bodenhorn and vom Bruck (2006, 3) have pointed out that "names carry with them the capacity, not only to delineate the boundaries of social status, but also to bridge them." For the Bunun of eastern Taiwan, the introduction

of Christian names was of great significance in their early encounter with Christianity. I have proposed elsewhere that previous studies on the Bunun naming system often viewed it as a static entity independent of social and historical processes and contexts (Fang 2012). This paper shows the active borrowing and appropriation of Christian names in the early stage of Bunun evangelization as pivotal dynamics in embracing Christianity.

First, by examining the process of the adoption of Christian names, I intend to point out that the new Christian traditions, including Christian names, were perceived and interpreted in term of the Bunun's ancestral religious traditions. The active adoption of Christian names shows Christian names are good names from the Bunun point of view. Thus, Christian names are names with potency to protect or bless the namesakes. This also suggests that the Bunun people confirmed the positive character of the spiritual beings behind Christian names. People believe the Christian God to be beneficial and benevolent. The adoption of Christian names instead of ancestral names intentionally by Bunun Presbyterians demonstrates their acknowledgement of God's superior power.

The local people use the phrase "entering God's family" to describe the new relationship constructed through the adoption of Christian names. People enter church, call one another *dais'an* (brothers and sisters), and consider Jesus Christ to be the family head. Church as an imagined extended family is further constructed through the adoption of Christian names. The new and fictive relationship created between believers' children and God through naming is seen by the Bunun as a way of entering God family and demonstrating their commitment to the Christian God. The inheritance of Christian names by younger generations also shows the accommodation of Christianity within the local Bunun community. Christianity transformed itself from exogenous into indigenous in terms of naming. This is how Christianity is indigenized.

I argue that religious change induced by Christianity among the Bunun involves severing ties with the old spirits and reconnecting with the Christian spirits. The abandonment of ancestral names and the displacement of Christian names mean the Bunun attempted to sever their relations with ancestral spirits in favor of Christian spiritual beings. The explanation also helps to answer the time coincidence between the adoption of Christian names and the height of Christian conversion. Among the Bunun, name changing was considered a healing ritual for sickness that occurred frequently during childhood in the past. This was seen as a way to cut off the spiritual relationship with the name-giver who was thought to have brought the illness on the child or was seen as unable to protect the namesake. On such an occasion, the spirit of the name-giver was represented as a source of affliction instead of well-being. Renaming with Christian names cut the

bond with previous name-givers, just as Bunun spirit mediums tried to do in pre-Christian times.

Frequent name changing among the Bunun decreased rapidly and disappeared completely after their mass acceptance of Christianity. Some villagers suggest the practical measures taken by missions, such as introducing medicine as relief goods, conducting mobile medical services among indigenous villages, and establishing hospitals or clinics in nearby cities, greatly improved the health of local people. As a result, the spirit mediums lost their market in the curing of sickness. However, as demonstrated by Strathern and Stewart (1999), medicine and the curing of disease do not equate with the healing of sickness. Healing is complex and involves the whole person. In Yang's paper (2006), she shows that Bunun cultural notions associated with illness and health are related to Bunun concepts of personhood. According to Bunun perceptions, healing can be performed by driving out the evil spirits *(hanitu)* and restoring balance to a person. The adoption of Christian names in renaming a child in time of sickness involves severing the relationship and warding off the evil spirit through the power of Christian God. Alternatively, it dismantled the link between humans and spirits, which was the main theme of pre-Christian naming practices. The baptismal naming ceremony carried out in church also undermined the legitimization of ancestral naming practices based on the traditional concept of spirit. And yet as I show the pre-Christian religious traditions remain extremely entangled with the adopted Christian practices and beliefs.

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NOTES

1. Council of Indigenous Peoples, http://www.apc.gov.tw, accessed July 28, 2014.

2. *Ngaan* is made from the dried rhizome of *Acorus calamus* (also called sweet flag). The strongly scented rhizomes have traditionally been used medicinally and spiritually by the Bunun. They believe the evil spirits are extremely scared of its flavor.

3. Haisul is a man's name.

4. *Jitong* is the Chinese spirit medium who is possessed by a deity when performing ritual.

5. The magic stone is a black, oval-shaped stone with two pointed ends. The spirit medium says a name and asks the magic stone. If this is an appropriate name, the magic stone will stand vertically on the ground with the pointed end for approval. Otherwise, it will fall down. For some spirit mediums, a new name was given by spirits in dreams. I heard from the villagers that there was a famous female spirit medium in Luntien. She practiced the techniques to decide whether a child's name should be changed. However, it was her father who provided new names for children. People said her father got the messages from the spirits in dreams.

6. In the early stage of Christianization, it was common for a whole family to go to church collectively once the decision had been made by the family head.

7. The pronunciation of Christian names is highly influenced by Japanese, as is the spelling. This is because in the early stage of evangelization, the Japanese Bible was widely used by both Taiwanese and Bunun clergymen.

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NAMOLUK ONOMATOLOGY: TWO CENTURIES OF PERSONAL NAMING PRACTICES

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My concern in this article is with personal names and related naming practices as they are found on Namoluk Atoll, located in the Mortlock Islands southeast of Chuuk Lagoon in the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM). Nearly fifty years ago, Ward Goodenough published a chapter titled "Personal Names and Modes of Address in Two Oceanic Societies" (1965), wherein he compared the naming practices of Romónum, Chuuk, FSM, with those of the Lakalai of New Britain, Papua New Guinea. Goodenough argued that every Chuukese individual was distinguished by a unique personal name, that these names were used in address, and that this convention compensated "for the suppression of individuality in Truk's [Chuuk's] social system. A person's name emphasizes his uniqueness as a person, and whenever anyone addresses him, his individuality is acknowledged" (1965, 273). Goodenough's observation about the singularity of Chuukese personal names receives general support from the Namoluk data, and the evidence for this will be provided below. The singularity of personal names in Chuuk and on Namoluk contrasts with the Vanuatu cases described in this set of papers by Lindstrom (2013) for Tanna and by Wood (2013) for Aneityum. In those places, "name sets" comprised of a fixed, limited set of names are "recycled" and passed on from one generation to the next such that the same names recur for different persons through time.

Drawing on kinship genealogies I collected during field research on Namoluk, on subsequent censuses I have conducted of the atoll's population,

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and on recent Internet communications with Namoluk people, I examine below the different patterns of personal names that have been used as these have altered over time.[1] In the process, I will comment on other aspects of naming, such as the bestowal of nicknames and baptismal names, the creation of surnames at the insistence of the colonial powers, and the recent use of unique self-ascribed monikers in social media, such as Facebook.

Naming and Identity

Following Feinberg (1983), I begin by exploring how a Namoluk person would answer the question "Who am I?" To begin with their response would be *ngang emen aramas*, "I am a person" and, more specifically, *emen mwáán*, "a man," or *emen chopwut*, "a woman." Our respondent would go on to indicate that he or she was a *chon Morshulok*, "Mortlockese"[2] and then more particularly a *chon Namoluk*, "citizen of Namoluk Atoll." As this person reflected on his or her identity, he or she likely would mention the village in which he or she resides (Pukos, Lukelap, or Sópwonewel); his or her *ainang*, "named matriclan";[3] and possibly the particular *faal*, "canoe house," owned by his or her kinship group. Finally, he or she would provide the unique personal name that distinguishes him or her from all others in the Namoluk community. For example, a woman might be known as a *finen Pukos* (female resident of Pukos village), *finen Wáánikar* (of *Wáánikar* clan), from *faalen Falukupat* (attached to the canoe house named Falukupat), and have the personal name of Natiliren.

Names of all sorts (for persons, places, things, and so on) are called *iit* in the Chuukese language. To ask, "What is your name?," one inquires, "*Ifa iitom*?" Typically today, people's personal names are chosen by their parents or grandparents, although occasionally a name may be bestowed by someone else. To give a name to—*itenngeni*—is an honor although sometimes an undeserved one. For example, I inadvertently named a newborn girl on the atoll during a visit there in 1995. My son's name is Kelsey, and in discussing his name with this girl's parents just after their daughter was born, I mentioned that Chelsea often was a comparable name given to females (although more recently Kelsey has become as common a girl's name as a boy's in the United States). I learned later that the couple chose the name Chelsea for their daughter.

The personal (or given) names used on Namoluk have undergone substantial change over the past 150 to 200 years (for more details concerning Namoluk ethnography, see Marshall 2004). These shifts in naming practices reflect larger events in the community's history, notably, four successive colonial governments and the late nineteenth century introduction of Protestant

Christianity (for a cogent discussion of the interplay in any society among three basic elements of discourse—onomasticon, lexicon, and history—see Arno [1994] and Waterson [2012], who comments on "the political shifts that have transformed naming practices over the *longue durée*" for Asian societies). Spain was the initial colonial power in Micronesia (officially from 1886 to 1899), although that country had almost no direct influence on Namoluk. But when Germany supplanted Spain at the end of the nineteenth century, the outside world began to intrude on Namoluk in several ways: a German copra trader resided on the atoll for several years, a number of Namoluk men signed on as contract laborers to mine phosphate for German companies on Nauru and Angaur, German Capuchin priests brought Catholicism to the Mortlocks (but not to Namoluk, which remained a Protestant stronghold until 1949), and the first ethnographic research was carried out on the island by German scholars (see, e.g., Girschner [1912] and Kramer [1935]). The increased visibility of and contact with the German colonial enterprise was echoed in the adoption of German personal names for some community members born between 1899 and 1914. In the present set of papers, both Lindstrom (2013) and Wood (2013) comment on the introduction of biblical and European names on Tanna and Aneityum beginning with Christian missionization in the mid-nineteenth century, so this process of incorporating new names may be widespread in Oceania.

At the outbreak of World War I, Japan moved swiftly into the political vacuum created when Germany recalled its colonial officers to help defend the fatherland in Europe. At the war's end, Japan was given a League of Nations mandate over former German Micronesia, and by then Japan's influence in the islands already was profound. Japan sent numerous settlers to the main islands of Micronesia (e.g., Palau, Pohnpei, and Chuuk Lagoon), established primary schools throughout the region to teach the Japanese language, and bolstered the economy, among many other things. Shipping contacts with Namoluk grew substantially, and visits by Namoluk people to the administrative center in Chuuk became more common. More men than in German times signed labor contracts to work for the Japanese on Angaur, Pohnpei, and Satawan. Three employees of Nanyō Bōeki Kaisha (South Seas Trading Company) married Namoluk women and fathered children. One consequence of Japan's prominent presence was a substantial adoption of Japanese personal names by members of the Namoluk community, a practice that continues to a modest degree even today.

Following Japan's defeat in 1945, the United States became the fourth and final colonial power in Micronesia, first under a postwar military government and then with a UN Trusteeship. After the FSM achieved independence in 1986, the new country remained in Free Association with the United States.

The strong influences of an American-style educational system, television and videotapes, the Peace Corps, and the freedom to travel, live, and work in Guam, Hawaiʻi, and the U.S. mainland have been mirrored in an ever-greater use of English-language personal names.

The Precolonial, Pre-Christian Period

This period preceded the establishment of Spanish hegemony over Micronesia in 1886, which is a year that approximates the early presence of Protestantism on Namoluk. In those days, Namoluk people had only a single name, usually one bestowed by a community member with a reputation for creativity in inventing new names. Ideally, each name was unique, although occasionally when a named child died young, its name might be recycled to a later sibling. Unlike on Anuta (Feinberg 1983, 30), Namoluk personal names are always gendered, and this was true even in the period before extensive contact with foreigners. These gendered names varied widely, and only occasionally could names be translated into other words (e.g., Langimaram, "heavenly moon"). Many female names began with Li- or Ine- or Na-/Ne- prefixes, all of which are gender markers.[4] A few examples of these from the genealogies are Liairam, Likapin, Limich, Lirakum, Inechiu, Inefiol, Inemaleta, Inetaureng, Naiselia, and Necheng. Examples of other female names from that period that did not employ the above-mentioned prefixes include Chipenia, Elieisa, and Meira. Male names lacked gender marking prefixes, and some examples of these from the time before colonial control and the introduction of Christianity are Achutip, Emelios, Itamin, Mwachitem, Seladier, Soram, and Tok. Both Seladier and Soram are now used as surnames by people from the community (see below).

The Arrival of Christianity and the German Colonial Period (ca. 1880–1914)

During this period in the community's history, preexisting naming practices continued, but outside influences began to appear in the choices of some people's names. A few women acquired "foreign" names, such as Piula (Beulah), Mipil (Mabel), Toris (Doris), Nansi (Nancy), Roberta, Litia (Lydia), and Lois, and even more men did so. Among the "foreign" male names from this period are Agrippa (from the Bible), Ruben (Reuben), Thomas, Sam, Nason, Stan, Chochi (Georgy), and Kotlip, although my favorite is Sepelin from the German word *zeppelin*. While such names as these began to creep into everyday discourse, most people from this era continued to have names comparable to those from times that preceded much outside intrusion. For

example, women born in this period had such names as Inesukureng, Inouel, Limumwi, Naiforou, and Naile, and their male age-mates carried names like Aitofel, Pwochuk, Siwi, and Tiliol.

The Japanese Period from 1914 to 1945

During the Japanese colonial administration, a significant alteration occurred in Namoluk naming practices via an increased use of Japanese personal names for males and females alike. For Namoluk males born during this time, we have Fukumichi, Iachime, Ichiro, Iokichi, Isauo, Istaro, Kachuo, Kasio, Kichi, Kimuo, Kiyosi, Koichi, Kokoichi, Kotaro, Maketo, Mangkichi, Moteichi, Sachuo, Sapuro, Teruo, Tokoichi, and Tosio. Female names were equally influenced by Japanese examples, and on Namoluk they included Arieko, Arisako, Asako, Chieko, Echiko, Haruko, Harusang, Hasie, Iko, Insako, Isko, Kachuko, Kenako, Kiko, Kimiko, Kumie, Maruko, Misiko, Namiko, Nasiko, Natisiko, Nauko, Neruko, Rieko, Sichie, Simako, Simiko, Tamiko, Teruko, and Tesiko. The Japanese era in Micronesia also saw a continuation of use of indigenous names along with a smattering of biblical and German names intermixed with the Japanese-derived personal names just listed. So, for females from this time period, we find Pileter, Erewinta, Marisina, Liwik, and Ketterina but also Reikina (Regina), Mata (Martha), Erta, Marie, Ana, Kuechen (Gretchen), and Monika (Monica).[5] Similarly, for Namoluk males, such indigenous names as Lipwei, Fitierung, Alingar, Aun, and Ienis occurred alongside biblical and German names, such as Joseph, Daniel, Esekiel, Rainer, Timoti (Timothy), Ifraim (Ephraim), Keor (George), Apiner (Abner), and Roy.

Post–World War II: American Colonialism and National Independence in 1986

World War II was a highly traumatic event for the people of Chuuk State. With one small exception that did no serious damage, Namoluk was not directly affected by the bombing and shelling that occurred elsewhere in Chuuk, but because of conscript labor in the run-up to war and to hardships endured as supplies became ever more scarce as the war dragged on, the community certainly was affected. With the Allied victory in 1945, the U.S. presence quickly began to influence Micronesia's people, with naming practices among those influences. But while American English personal names have now become common, Japanese names and even a few older indigenous names continue to be given to children, and some inventive new fashions have taken root as well.

Those members of the Namoluk community born after 1945 have acquired a wide variety of American English names. Female names of this sort include Alisha (Alicia; named after my mother, Alice), Angkela (Angela), Anita, Arlin (Arleen), Betty, Chelsea, Cindy, Dandy, Dorothy, Easter (who was born on Easter Sunday), Erika (Erica), Erna, Hana (Anna), Jina (Gina), Josfin (Josephine), Joslin (Jocelyn), Joyce, Julia, Julie, Katrina (Katarina), Keretsel (Gretel), Leslie (my former wife's namesake), Lillian, Linda, Lisa, Loreta, Makarita (Margaret), Maryjane, Matlita (Matilda), Mercy, Mona Lisa, Naomi, Perenta (Brenda), Rejoice, Rose, Rosie, Ruth, Sohana, Sosana, Susan, Susiana, Teiena (Diana), Teresita, and Urisila (Ursula). Male names from American English are also many and diverse: Andrew, Antonio, Apollo, Barry, Benjamin, Brown, Brusly (Bruce Lee; named after the kung-fu hero), Charles, Charlie, Chester, David, Elston (named after the best man in my first wedding), Emanuel (Immanuel), Enjoy, Erpet (Herbert), Fraity (Freddy), Francis, Francisco, Gabriel, George, Georgy, Henry, Jackson (after the rock star Michael Jackson), James, Jano, Jason, Jeff (Geoff), Jefferson, Jerry, Jimmy, John, Johnny, Johnson (after President Lyndon Johnson), Jolius (Julius), Joseph, Josua (Joshua), Judah, Junior, Kasnofa (Cassanova), Kasper (Casper), Larry, Lucky, Mac (my namesake), Mario, Max, Memory, Michael, Nelson, Noha (Noah), Patrick, Paulino, Peter, Pressly (after Elvis), Repeat, Rigen (Reagan; after President Reagan), Robert, Robinson, Smith, Stephen, Tobias, Walter, Wesley, Whiskey, Willy, and Xavier.

Several of these names require some comment to understand how they came about. Apollo was born on the day that the Apollo 12 moon rocket was launched. Lucky had a twin brother who died shortly after birth, and so he—the survivor—was the lucky one. Memory's father perished at sea before the boy was born when a canoe lost its course and drifted for many days. Repeat was born on the same day exactly twelve months after a previous sibling who died at birth, and so, naturally, he was a repeat! Robinson's father had just finished reading a classic comic book about Robinson Crusoe the day before this boy was born, hence the name. Whiskey's father had an affinity for drink and was often inebriated. And Xavier's name was taken from that of the Jesuit-run high school located on Wééné Island, Chuuk.

I mentioned above that Japanese personal names continued to be given quite frequently in the post–World War II years, and there are many examples of these. For girls, some are Aiko, Akieko, Akiko, Chimie, Eruko, Fichiko, Fisako, Fumie, Fumiko, Ikiko, Itiniko, Karumi, Kieko, Kikiko, Kosie, Maiyumi, Miako, Misiko, Nachiko, Naiako, Nasako, Risae, Risako, Sachiko, Sasako, Siako, and Simiko. For boys, some are Aichi, Aisauo, Akino, Eichi, Ioichi, Iosi, Iosta, Iotaka, Itoshi, Keichi, Kenchi, Kino, Kisauo, Koachi, Kokichi, Kokiu (Japanese for the number 6—he was the sixth child in his

family), Koshi (Japanese for the number 5—he was the fifth child in his family and the older brother of Kokiu), Masaichi, Masasuo, Michuo, Misae, Reichi, Reisi, Resauo, Risauo, Simauo, Seichi, Soichi, Taichi, Taikichi, Tatasi, and Techuo.

Although fewer in number than either American English or Japanese personal names, certain indigenous names also continued to be bestowed on some post–World War II children. Here are a few examples of such names for females: Aita, Aketa, Andelin, Indaless, Leisita, Luretis, Machipen, Pilanis, Retein, Sterna, and Termotis. For males in relatively recent times, some are Akapito, Alaster, Amelong, Chechemeni,[6] Kerat, Kilaiser, Sikiler, Swaiter, and Theophil.

The Past Quarter Century

Over the past quarter century since the FSM achieved independence and began a new political status of free association with the United States, patterns of personal names given to members of the Namoluk community have changed yet again.[7] Japanese personal names have all but disappeared in this cohort of the community's population, and while numerous recognizable American English personal names have been chosen, many newly minted names have appeared that follow certain designs of their own. This is especially so for female names, as can be seen from the following examples: Kaikai, Nainai, Taitai; Erleen, Gladleen, Jaereen, Jefferleen, Joyleen, Kayreen, Marleen, Marleena, Mickleen, Redeena, Sheena, and Sueleen. (Both Gladleen and Jefferleen seem to be feminized versions of male names found in the Namoluk genealogies: Gladwin and Jefferson.) Other unusual recent female names include Abo, Aslin, Coolsy, Danty, Didy, Ilu, Jare, Jercy, Kesa, Ketary, Kayris, Kiara, Korea, Krishly, Lobo, Lovah, Mairenda, Melda, Mian, NiiAnne, Patsipa, Rensina, Rilanna, Savelyn, Siesta, Skani, Slova, and Teylyn.

This most recent cohort of Namoluk female names contains some that are familiar American English ones: Andrea, Audrey, Brianne, Carlina, Carly, Christine, Danielle, Genalyn (Jenna Lynn), Helen, Ivone (Yvonne), Jane, Jenna, Jessica, JoAnne, Joy, Joyce, Kayann, Kimberly, Laurie, Leah Ann (Leanne), Lulu, Madlyn (Madeleine), Makenzie (McKenzie), Merlyn (Marilyn), Myah (Maia), Renae (Renée), Roxy, Sasha, Serina, Siralyn (Sara Lynn), Sophia, and Victoria. Other recent female names are less familiar from the perspective of American English but still seem to have been influenced by connections to the United States. These include Diamond, Honesty, Kiana (Hawaiian influence?), Maja (her mother's name is Mary Jane), Melinani (Hawaiian influence?), and Tender. A couple of names appear to have simply been made up anew: Chitana and Nahvaihope. Three religious/biblical

names are to be found—Lourdes, Maria Mari, and Salome—and while not biblical in the strict sense, the name Faith carries a religious message as well. Remarkably, only a single Japanese personal name is represented: Norie. Finally, a handful of what we might call "old-timey" Namoluk names also appear: Fenitom Chok (literally, "just under your name"), Ina, Jepetiom (literally, "your kick"), Leina, Lipi, Maramar (a woven flower garland similar to a Hawaiian lei), Mwele, and Weipas.

Male names selected in recent years include Adam, Alvin, Brendan, Bruce, Byron, Ceasar (Caesar), Clark, Daniel, Darwin, Ely (Eli), Erson,[8] Glenn, Grant, Gregorio, Jake, Jason, Jude, Katson (his mother is named Katlita), Kayson, Kipson (Gibson), Randy, Ricky, Scott, Thomas, and Zachary, all of which are recognizable American English given names. Along with them come Keanu (after Keanu Reeves), Maverick and Texan (a bit of a Wild West theme?), Rocky (from the Sylvester Stallone movie), Xerxes (after the Persian king), and Greck (from the *Star Wars* movie). Twelve names seem to have been invented anew: Acetery, Ambely, Bayrus, Brokey, Dureng, JayRay, Jopete, Jumong, M-Chuo, Rino, Theno, and Tiwait. The lone Japanese personal name that occurs (Amansio) has been altered by the person who carries that name to Manxz. Elijah is the lone biblical name bestowed on a male youngster.

Other Aspects of Namoluk Names

A pattern that has emerged with considerable frequency after World War II is to give several members of a sibling set names that either begin with the same letter or have a similar sound. For instance, several siblings in one family are named Mike, Maikawa, Mac, Max, and Moria. In another family, the father's name is Anter, and the mother's is Kerna; one son is named AK (for Anter + Kerna), and some of the daughters are named Berna, Merna, and Terna. A brother and sister are named Daniel and Danielle. A man named Alexander named one of his sons Lexan, and a woman named Tomrissa named her son Thomas. Still other examples of this kind of name play are a foursome named Perenta, Peresenta, Perekita, and Pressly and the children of a man named Koichi who are called Keichi, Reichi, Kokichi, and Ioichi. The suffix -ita (which today indicates a female name) appears in the names of four full sisters: Konsita, Leisita, Telesita, and Ursita.

Those who are Catholic have a baptismal name given them by a priest, and in some cases, people go by both their given personal name and their baptismal name. To illustrate, a man named Pinno also was called Marino, a man named Mokita also answered to Markus, and another named Ienis was baptized as Simon.

Nicknames are attached to people often as a consequence of a particular trait or occurrence. One little boy was called Rokom ("land crab"; *Cardisoma* sp.) because when he began to crawl, he always moved sideways like a crab. Another unfortunate was nicknamed Monki ("monkey") because it was felt that his face resembled one. I acquired the nickname Likeriker ("long-nosed butterfly fish") after spearing one of those on a spearfishing expedition with some teenage boys (the joke was on me, as no one in his or her right mind would spear such a fish, as they are merely skin stretched over bone and have no meat on them). One boy who was born mentally slow was nicknamed Sardine after the canned fish that have no head (the same name is applied to drunks who are said to act as if they had no head/mind/conscience).

Names can be a source of humor, as when something that sounds like a person's name is mentioned. My then wife was teaching eighth-grade science when we lived on Namoluk, and one day she mentioned asteroids. The class erupted in laughter because two of the students therein had a relative whose name was Aster. Names can also be "laden," especially so in earlier times and perhaps somewhat less so today. For instance, it is considered extremely inappropriate to utter the name of a deceased person in the presence of her or his relatives. It is also very bad form to use the personal name of someone's opposite-sex parent in their presence. In fact, doing so can quickly lead to a fight, whether between two boys or two girls.

Beginning with the German administration, people were urged (and sometimes required) to have a surname following their personal name. Since in times past Namoluk people had no surnames, a pattern developed in which either one's father's name or one's father's father's name was taken as a surname. Until after World War II, such names shifted with each generation, but by the 1980s and perhaps a bit earlier, some of these became fixed as family surnames. Some examples of contemporary Namoluk surnames are Elieisar, Elymore, Lippwe, Reuney, Ruben, Samuel, Seladier, Setile, Soram, and Yechem. Note that all of these originated as personal names.

Internet Names

Finally, the Internet—and especially social media, such as Facebook—has provided an arena in which a new kind of personal name has blossomed. As with the Wampar practice of self-naming described by Bacalzo (2013), many Namoluk participants on Facebook have invented unique new names for themselves, and these online monikers may involve considerable creativity. A number of these self-attributions mix English and Chuukese. Here are a few examples: Wadkouz Araun Kamzaround Pwal, "what goes

around also comes around"; Lien Stay-Look Chok, "girl who just stays and looks"; Nuff U, "enough of you"; and Loilam Kapu Chariot (Loilam—from Namoilam—is an alternate name for Namoluk; this seems to be joined with the Hawaiian word *kapu*, "keep out," and the English word *chariot*; the overall meaning is opaque). A young woman who resides in California goes by ChuuCali Eka (Chuuk + California). A young man masquerades as Rustie Smile. Along with a smile, another young man breathes: J-Ngasangas (*ngasangas* is the Chuukese word for "draw or emit breath"). One enterprising person has taken the name Ying Yang from the Chinese yin-yang, "the interdependence or interconnection of seeming opposites." Still other online names derive solely from Chuukese words, and these include Mesemesepat Felux Mesepat, Lienlerong, Lipepennumong, Relukeisanop, Kon, Ina Remw Ngawan, Slyz Zoj, and JayJays JayJong. Each of these unique online names emphasizes individuality and distinctiveness in relation to others.

Conclusion

Namoluk personal names have never been fixed and have changed over time in response to outside influences and to people's own inventiveness. Now in the twenty-first century, Namoluk personal names remain in flux with new ones being adopted by the new generation. It is difficult to predict the future of personal names in the community except to be sure that they will continue to evolve, perhaps eventually in ways now found in Brazil, where names like Batman, Chiang Kai Xeque (Chiang Kai-shek), James Bond, Jimmi Carter, John Kennedy, Ladi Gaga, MacGyver, and Obama are among names of political candidates (*New York Times* 2012). Indeed, with some of the names noted above (e.g., Johnson, Keanu, Maverick, Reagan, Robinson, and Rocky), Namoluk people may already be moving in this direction. For the immediate future, however, we may expect to see an ever-greater adoption of American English personal names accompanied by a playful inventiveness that draws on creativity and a desire to bestow—as Goodenough put it nearly fifty years ago—personal uniqueness and individuality.

NOTES

1. I have carried out research with Namoluk people off and on since 1969 with support from various sources, including the U.S. National Institute of Mental Health, the U.S. National Science Foundation, the American Philosophical Society, the University of Washington (Department of Anthropology), and the University of Iowa (Faculty Developmental Assignment, Center for International Rural and Environmental Health, Arts and Humanities Initiative Grant, and Career Development Award).

2. This cover term refers to people from the set of communities who inhabit a string of islands to the southeast of Chuuk Lagoon: Nama, Losap, Piis Emwar, Namoluk, Ettal, Oneop, Lukunoch, Moch, Kuttu, Ta, and Satowan.

3. There were seven matriclans represented on Namoluk. Subsequent to my initial fieldwork there from 1969 to 1971, the last two members of one of these clans (Inemarau) died, so the atoll now has only six clans (Wáánikar, Katamak, Sór, Fáánimey, Souwon, and Sópwunupi).

4. Goodenough and Sugita (1990, 248) list a variety of feminine prefixes in traditional personal names, including Ina-, Na-, Ná-, Ne-, Né-, No, Nó-, and Neyi-. In the Mortlockese language spoken on Namoluk, the letter L is an allophone for N.

5. Both the -ina and the -ita suffixes indicate a female name.

6. This word means "remember" in Mortlockese, and the name was bestowed by his mother after his father died shortly before he was born.

7. I have obtained many of these names from a closed Facebook listserv of which I am a member called Falen Chon Namoilam.

8. The -son suffix appears to be a male name marker. With one exception (Lobo), American English names that end in -o also are exclusively male (e.g., Antonio, Gregorio, Jano, Mario, and Paulino).

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