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

Isabelle Leblic
CNRS-LACITO

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

Pacific Studies, Vol. 39, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2016

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 *nyâậ 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).

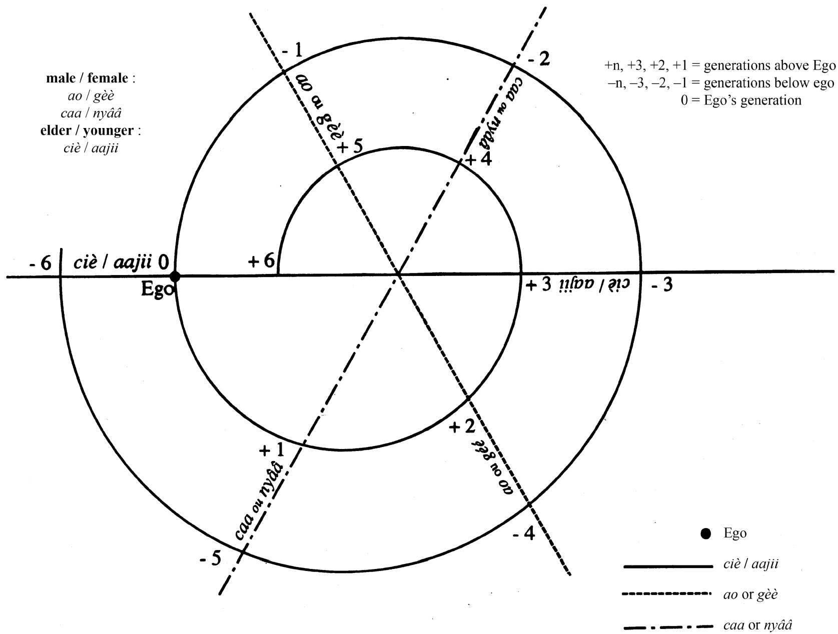

FIGURE 1. **The Spiral of Generations.**

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,

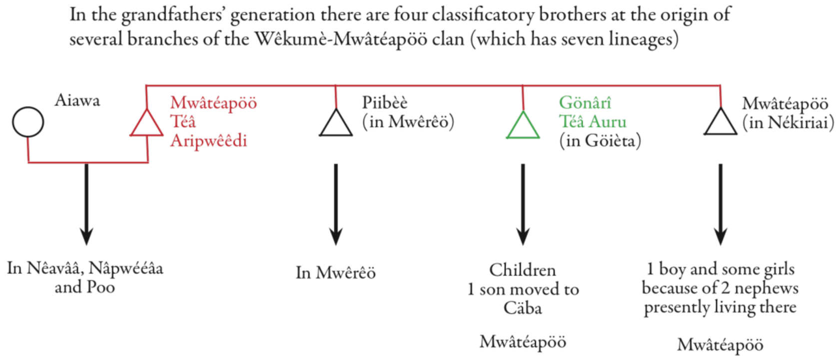

FIGURE 2. **The Original Vêkumé Siblings in Particular of the Mwâté-apöö, Piibèè, and Gönärî.**

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

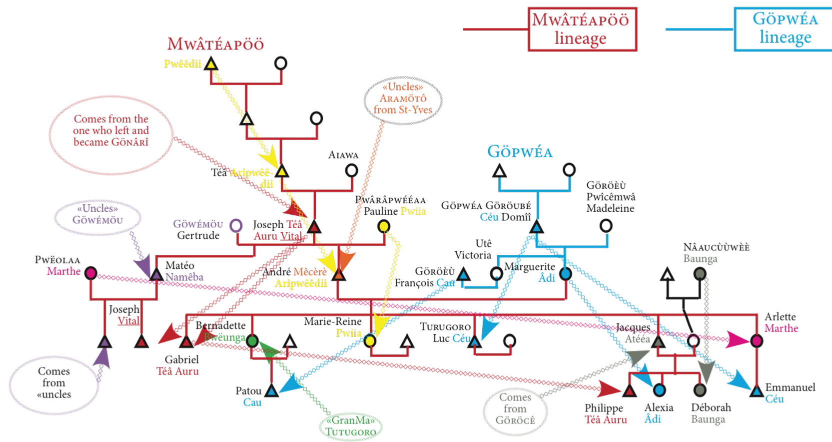

Figure 3. **Details of the Transfer of Some Names among the Mwâtéapöö, Taking into Account Affines' Lineages.**

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. Gööduù'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).

REFERENCES

Arno, Andrew
1994 Personal names as narrative in Fiji: Politics of the Lauan onomasticon. *Ethnology* 33 (1): 21–34.

Bacalzo, Doris
2016 Names as a means of inclusion and transformation: naming and transcultural kinship among the Wampar, Papua New Guinea. *Pacific Studies* 39 (1–2):108–25.

Benveniste, Émile
1976 *Problèmes de linguistique générale.* Vol. II. Paris: Tel Gallimard.

Bromberger, Christian
1982 Pour une analyse anthropologique des noms de personnes. *Langages* 16 (66): 103–24.

Chave-Dartoen, Sophie, Cécile Leguy, and Denis Monnerie, eds.
2012 *Nomination et organisation sociale.* Paris: Armand Colin, 382p.

Collard, Chantal
1973 Les "noms-numéros" chez les Guidar. *L'Homme* 13 (3): 45–59.

Eichler, Ernest, Hilty Gerold, and Löffler Heinrich, eds.
1996 *Namensforschung, name studies, les noms propres.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Fédry, Jacques
2009 "Le nom, c'est l'homme." Données Africaines d'anthroponymie. *L'Homme* 191:77–106.

Fine, Agnès, and Françoise-Romaine Ouellette, eds.
2005 *Le nom dans les sociétés occidentales contemporaines.* Toulouse, France: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 252p.

L'Homme
1980 *L'Homme* 20 (4): Formes de nomination en Europe: 7–118.

Geertz, Clifford
1973a *Person, time and conduct in Bali: An essay in cultural analysis.* Cultural Report Series, 14. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ., Southeast Asia Program.
1973b *The interpretation of cultures.* New York: Basic Books.
1984 *Personne, temps et comportement à Bali.* Trans. D. Paulme. Bali: Gallimard.

Godelier, Maurice
2004 *Métamorphoses de la parenté.* Paris: Fayard, 679p.

Goodenough, Ward H.
1965 Personal names and modes of address in two Oceanic societies. In *Context and meaning in cultural anthropology,* ed. M. Spiro, 265–76. New York: Free Press.

Le nom prop
1982 *Langages* 16, 66:5–124.

Ku, Kun-hui
2016 Naming relationship and constructing hierarchy: Names, value, and hierarchy among the Austronesian Paiwan, Taiwan. *Pacific Studies* 39 (1–2): 174–200.

Leblic, Isabelle
2000 Le dualisme matrimonial Paicî en question (Ponérihouen, Nouvelle-Calédonie). *L'Homme*: Questions de parenté 154–55:183–204. http://lhomme.revues.org/29?file=1.
2002a Classification des poissons et motivation des termes dans quelques langues de Nouvelle-Calédonie. In *Lexique et motivation. Perspectives ethnolinguistiques,* ed. V. de Colombel and N. Tersis, 115–41. Numéros spéciaux 28. Paris: Peeters-SELAF.
2002b Ignames, interdits et ancêtres en Nouvelle-Calédonie. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 114–5:115–27. http://jso.revues.org/1439.
2004 Circulation des enfants et parenté classificatoire Paicî (Ponérihouen, Nouvelle-Calédonie. In *De l'adoption: Des pratiques de filiation différentes,* ed. Isabelle Leblic, 81–136. Clermont Ferrand, France: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal.
2005a "Paroles" de parenté Paicî (Ponérihouen, Nouvelle-Calédonie). In *Du terrain au cognitif. Linguistique, ethnolinguistique, ethnosciences. À Jacqueline M.C. Thomas,* ed. É. Motte-Florac and G. Guarisma, 319–50. Numéros spéciaux 30. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters-SELAF.
2005b Pays, "surnature" et sites "sacrés" Paicî à Ponérihouen (Nouvelle-Calédonie). *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 120–1:95–111. http://jso.revues.org/6146.
2006 Le chronotope kanak. Parenté, espace et temps en Nouvelle-Calédonie. In *La rencontre du temps et de l'espace. Approches linguistique et anthropologique,* ed. S. Naïm, 63–80. Numéros spéciaux 32. Paris: Peeters-SELAF.
2007 Kanak identity, new citizenship building and reconciliation. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 125:271–82. http://jso.revues.org/1004.
2008 *Vivre de la mer, vivre avec la terre … en pays kanak. Savoirs et techniques des pêcheurs Kanak du sud de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.* Travaux et documents océanistes 1. Paris: Société des Océanistes, 288p.
2010a "Échanger dans la route." Parenté, alliances, rituels et territoires Paicî à Ponérihouen (Nouvelle-Calédonie). HDR thesis, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 326p.
2010b Les Kanak et les rêves ou comment redécouvrir ce que les ancêtres n'ont pas transmis. In *Hommage à Bernard Juillerat,* ed. P. Lemonnier and D. Monnerie, *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 130–1:105–18. http://jso.revues.org/6146.
2014 From French Polynesia to France: The legacy of *fa'a'amu* traditional adoption in "international" adoption. *Anthropologica* 56:451–64.

Leenhardt, Maurice
1985 [1947] *Do Kamo: La personne et le mythe dans le monde mélanésien*, Paris, Tel Gallimard.

Leguy, Cécile, and Micheline Lebarbier, eds.
2006 *Cahiers de Littérature Orale: Des Noms et de Personnes* 59–60.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude
1962 *La pensée sauvage.* Paris: Plon, 395p.
1987 *Anthropology and myth: Lectures 1951–1982.* Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Lindstrom, Lamont
1985 Personal names and social reproduction on Tanna, Vanuatu. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 95:341–56.
2011 Naming and memory on Tanna, Vanuatu. In *Changing contexts, shifting meanings: Transformations of cultural traditions in Oceania,* ed. E. Hermann, 141–56. Honolulu: Univ. Hawaii Press.
2016 Nomination and social reproduction. *Pacific Studies* 39 (1–2): 11–29.

MacDonald, Charles
1999 De l'anonymat au renom. Système du nom personnel dans quelques sociétés d'Asie du Sud-Est (notes comparatives). In *D'un nom à l'autre en Asie du Sud-Est. Approches ethnologiques,* ed. Josiane Massard-Vincent and Simonne Pauwels, 105–28. Paris: Karthala.

Massard-Vincent, Josiane, and Simonne Pauwels, eds.
1999 *D'un nom à l'autre en Asie du Sud-Est. Approches ethnologiques.* Paris: Karthala, 320p.

Mauss, Marcel
1973 *Sociologie et anthropologie.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/mauss_marcel/socio_et_anthropo/5_Une_categorie/Une_categorie.html and http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/mauss_marcel/socio_et_anthropo/6_Techniques_corps/Techniques_corps.html.

Maybury-Lewis, David
1984 Name, person, and ideology in central Brazil. In *Naming systems: 1980 proceedings of the American Ethnological Association,* ed. E. Tooker, 1–10. Washington, DC: American Ethnological Association.

Monnerie, Denis
2012 Significations, valorisation et performativité de la nomination dans l'organisation sociale à Arama (Nouvelle-Calédonie). In *Nomination et organisation sociale,* ed. Chave-Dartoen Sophie, Cécile Leguy, and Denis Monnerie, 129–66. Paris: Armand Colin.

Ozanne-Rivierre, Françoise
1998 *Le nyelâyu de balade (Nouvelle-Calédonie).* Vol. 2. Paris: Peeters-SELAF, 276p.

Ozanne-Rivierre, Françoise
1994 L'expression de la personne: Quelques exemples océaniens. *Faits de langues* 3:211–19.

Regnier, Denis
2016 The significance of Betsileo name changing. *Pacific Studies* 39 (1–2): 201–215.

Salomon, Christine
1998 La personne et le genre dans le centre-nord de la Grande Terre (Nouvelle-Calédonie). *Gradhiva* 23:81–100.
2000 *Savoirs et pouvoirs thérapeutiques Kanak.* Paris: Ethnologies, 159p.

Segalen, Martine
1980 Le nom caché. La dénomination dans le pays bigouden sud. *L'Homme* 20 (4): 63–76.

Strathern, Andrew
1970 Wiru penthonyms. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 126 (1): 59–74.

Tjibaou, Jean-Marie
1981 Être Mélanésien aujourd'hui. *Esprit* 57:81–93.

vom Bruck, Gabriele, and Barbara Bodenhorn, eds.
2006 *An anthropology of names and naming.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 302p.

Wood, Latham T.
2016 Totemic names on Aneityum, Vanuatu. *Pacific Studies* 39 (1–2): 30–53.

Zheng, Yangwen, and Charles MacDonald
2010 *Personal names in Asia: History, culture and identity.* Singapore: NUS Press.

Zietlyn, David
1993 Reconstructing kinship or the pragmatics of kin talk. *Man* 28 (2): 199–224.

Zonabend, Françoise
1980 Le nom de personne. *L'Homme* 20 (4): 7–23.
1992 Nom. In *Dictionnaire de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie,* ed. Pierre Bonte, Michel Izard, and Marion Abélès, et al., 508–9. Paris: PUF.
1997 Pourquoi nommer? In *L'identité: Séminaire interdisciplinaire dirigé par Claude Lévi-Strauss, professeur au Collège de France, 1974–1975,* 257–79. Paris: Bernard Grasset.