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

Doris Bacalzo
University of Lucerne

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.

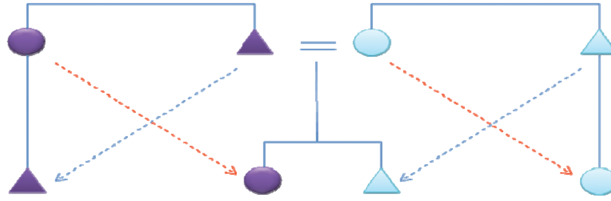

FIGURE. **MB to ZS and FZ to BD Name Exchange.**

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 wellbeing 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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