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To cite this version:

Isabelle Leblic. What is Naming in Kanak Societies? Naming and personal Identity of the Paicî Kanak People (Ponérihouen, New Caledonia): Paper for ASAO 2013 session: Naming Systems and Naming Relations in Austronesia/ Oceania Organizers: Ku Kun-hui (National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan) and Lamont Lindstrom (University of Tulsa, USA). ASAO 2013 session: Naming Systems and Naming Relations in Austronesia/ Oceania, ASAO, Feb 2013, San Antonio, United States. pp.54-79. hal-02380419

HAL Id: hal-02380419

https://hal.science/hal-02380419

Submitted on 29 Nov 2019

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Paper for ASAO 2013 session: *Naming Systems and Naming Relations in Austronesia/ Oceania*
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What is Naming in Kanak Societies?
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First I'll present briefly the methodology frame of my researches about Naming, in general [see the presentation which Bertrand Masquelier and myself made for our LACITO operation of research "Names, naming and terminology of relationship" (http://lacito.vjf.cnrs.fr/themes/ nomination.htm)] and in particular, about Kanak societies.
Then, from inquiries led in the paicî region of Ponérihouen, I'll show what are the various registers of names, their contexts of use, their transmission, in contact with the terminologies of relationship. We can be indeed named, except for his(her) various names, first names Kanak and Christians and nicknames, by a whole series of elaborate names: according to his(her) place of residence, its situation in its relationship (father of, grandfather of), of nicknames for certain categories of relatives whose names we cannot pronounce (i.e. « pot », « earth », « spirit » for the aunt on father's side for example who, except this very precise custom, are rather of the register of the insults), etc. "Why" and "how" as it is crossed from a register to the other one will be the object of this paper.
From genealogical examples, we shall see how names are passed on as well by the paternal as maternal relatives and how they allow the transmission of the local history of clans and individuals. We shall also see how they are an integral part of the constitution of the persons. And to conclude, I'll highlight the importance of Kanak Naming systems for the social relations and the local history, what we can see above all in the genealogies with the repetition of the names from the ancestors until now, in both patrilineal and matrilineal lines, and in the alliances.

Methodology frame of this research[1]

There are various ways for dealing with naming and several books already gave an account of it[2]. One of them is to see naming of person linked to social domains or contexts: for example,

[1] I resume here partially the presentation which Bertrand Masquelier and myself made for our LACITO operation of research *Names, naming and terminology of relationship* (http://lacito.vjf.cnrs.fr/themes/ nomination.htm).

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those linked to kinship or to the existence of social hierarchy, of systems differentiated from categorization, or with the belonging of people to distinct socio-economic classes.

> «The appropriate vocation of the anthroponymic research should be, in good logic, to kick away, within a society, the rules of allocation of names, the principles according to which we classify, by naming them, similar and different individuals (by their sex, by their membership in a family, in a clan, in a generation, in a village, and so on), the laws which govern the *system* of naming (we know that an individual receives, generally, several names either in the days or the months which follow its birth or during its existence), finally the – phrasal – properties which differentiate, in the statements, the names of persons of the other nominal classes and the – social – standards which prescribe it or forbid it the use in the speeches.» (Bromberger, 1982: 103-104)[3]

The researches presented in the seminar about *Nomination…* in the LACITO (2005-2009) allowed to confirm some general information, in particular with regard to the various categories of names: first names, nicknames, surnames, patronyms, teknonyms, and so on. If the institutional devices framing the naming vary mostly from a society to the other one (presence or absence for example of teknonyms), the variability of the categories also shows itself inside the same society. Finally, in the cultural and linguistic "areas" often correspond close classificatory logics some of the others. The institutional study of the processes of choice of transmission of names (or their absence), that of the linguistic formation of these names or still that of the acts of naming in situation turned out important points and open on that of the local representations of the social organization of the groups and the metaphors which these representations convey. The questioning of the cognitive presuppositions of the social representations connected to the naming allows a critical examination of some of the categories of the ethnological analysis. Our seminar noticed in particular that the ethnographical works gave rise to numerous developments on the definition of the person and on its naming, as on the relation of the representation of the person to the social and symbolic organization appropriate for every society, in contact with the particularly remarkable French scientific tradition since the founding text of Mauss (1973: 333-388). More recently, the contribution of the development of ethnosciences widened to the nature the question of the naming and the classification.

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[2] French-speaking side, diverse works stood out on the naming in several regional areas. In 1980, we have *Formes de nomination en Europe* (*L'Homme* 20, 4); in 1982, the issue of *Langages* 66 about *Le Nom Propre*; in 1999, Josiane Massard-Vincent and Simonne Pauwels coordinated *D'un nom à l'autre en Asie du Sud-Est. Approches ethnologiques*; in 2005, a collective book edided by Agnès Fine and Françoise-Romaine Ouellette about *Le Nom dans les sociétés occidentales* and that one of Florence Weber, *Le Sang, le nom, le quotidien. Une sociologie de la parenté pratique*; in 2006, the last one I know, an issue of *Cahiers de littérature orale* about *Des noms et de personnes*. English-speaking side, we have the book edited by E. Eichler *et al.* in 1996, *Namensforschung. Name Studies, Les Noms Propres*, and the one edited by Gabriele vom Bruck and Barbara Bodenhorn in 2006, *An Anthropology of Names and Naming*. Except these some books, numerous articles speak about naming in diverse societies. [faire la présentation rapide de ces ouvrages pour l'intro générale Nomination]

[3] « La vocation propre de la recherche anthroponymiques devrait être, en bonne logique, de dégager, au sein d'une société, les règles d'attribution des noms, les principes selon lesquels on classe, en les dénommant, des individus similaires et différents (par leur sexe, par leur appartenance à une famille, à un clan, à une génération, à une localité…), les lois qui régissent le *système* des appellations (on sait qu'un individu reçoit, en général, plusieurs noms soir dans les jours ou les mois qui suivent sa naissance soir au cours de son existence), enfin les propriétés – syntagmatiques – qui différencient, dans les énoncés, les noms de personnes des autres classes nominales et les normes – sociales – qui en prescrivent ou en interdisent l'emploi dans les discours. » (Bromberger, 1982: 103-104)

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> «If it was necessary to compare such systems of proper nouns with the other classificatory systems, we would suit gladly, with C. Lévi-Strauss, that they are similar to the "species" occupying a place determined in a "system" containing "several dimensions" (*op. cit.*: 248).» (Bromberger, 1982: 108)[4]

And, as in the systems of classification of the natural elements, there are diverse taxonomies in parallel basing on differentiated criteria (stadium of growth, housing environment, hierarchy, etc.)[5], we shall return there below, and, «as the animal or vegetable taxonomies, many anthroponymic systems are organized according to these two dimensions»[6] (Bromberger, 1982: 109) with names variable according to the stadiums of the life either according to the social positions or the social contexts of use and enunciation.

If, besides, the theoretical orientation of the works is taken into account, it is necessary to notice that the researches already achieved on the namings in the national or international context, join for the greater part projects with character is either structuralist (Lévi-Strauss [1962], than for example Zonabend [1997], Mac Donald [1999]…), either structuro-fonctionnalist or culturalist (Geertz, 1973, 1984)[7].

The first researches, structuralist, emphasized the autonomy and the variety of systems of naming and names within every cultural and social community, as well as on the treatment of the underlying logics. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1962) claim that the names are not just for identify or individualize people; they classify them[8]. From his point of view, the names as all the words in a language form a system of independent elements which act together and, this way, names are a link enters the order inherent to the language and that appropriate for the extralinguistic domains of the nature and the social (*cf.* Arno, 1994: 23-25). Thus, in this frame, the anthroponimic systems allow, on one side, to assign fixed positions to the individuals and, the other one, to report changes of statuses known by the individuals throughout their life, with one multitudes of intermediate situations (*cf.* Bromberger, 1982: 109; Zonabend, 1980: 15). Andrew Strathern insists then on the fact that at the individual level, the naming allows the meeting of the history and the system:

> «Using Lévi-Strauss's two concepts of history and system (1962: 212, 228), one can put this another way. At the level of the individual history and system meet. Every individual is physically and historically unique, yet he is born into a social position and takes his place within a social system. It would be appropriate, then, if personal names were to bridge these two aspects of the individual's situation by classifying him as well as pointing to his unique identity. In practice, we find that in some societies names stress the individual's uniqueness, in others they draw attention to his social position, or explicitly link him or identify him with other individuals; and

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[4] « S'il fallait comparer de tels systèmes de noms propres avec d'autres systèmes classificatoires, on conviendrait volontiers, avec C. Lévi-Strauss, qu'ils s'apparentent aux "espèces" occupant une place déterminée dans un "système" comportant "plusieurs dimensions" (*op. cit.*: 248). »

[5] On this subject, on the systems of classification of fishes in Kanak environment, see Leblic (2002).

[6] « comme les taxinomies animales ou végétales, beaucoup de systèmes anthroponymiques sont organisés selon ces deux dimensions ».

[7] Or still « functionalist or interactionist in the specific emphases they place on the kinds of relations possible between names, words, and stories (e.g., see Goodenough 1965) » (Arno, 1994: 23).

[8] So, the names-numbers of Guidar of the North-Cameroon (Collard, 1973), who are in fact ordinal names, «classy in fact the individuals according to their genealogical position, so that homonyms are the ones which have the same native status» (Bromberger, 1982: 106).

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> functional reasons can be suggested for these variations (*cf.*, e.g., Goodenough 1965: 275).» (Strathern, 1970: 59)

Various presentations of the seminar indeed showed that the structures and the system have to accommodate the history (colonial context, modernity, migratory dynamics and of the interculturality, etc.). We shall return there.

The second resaerches, more fonctionnalist or culturalist, by privileging the situations of statement and interlocution, try to show how the communicational manners generate regularities. We can notice that approaches

We can note that the approaches of contextual type do not mean, contrary to appearances, that only the study of the contingent situations is privileged. They are, just as much as the structuralist approaches, in measure to take into account the cognitive and universal dimension of the act of naming. Nevertheless, the perspectives appropriate for each of these two orientations diverge: when, in the structural approaches, the named person is viewed as a totality, as an abstract representation (Mauss, Geertz), the contextual and pragmatic points of view emphasize the variability of the identities connected to the various fields of the social organization; thus, they oblige the investigator to formulate a problematic which does not presuppose the uniqueness of the person, but which envisages various representations of the one according to the situations of confrontation (face to face).

At the end of 25 sessions of our seminar, the question arose then to know how to reconcile the approach in terms of structures and those said transactional and pragmatic. According to us, one of the means to pass from the ones to the others is to investigate the relationship between meaning (from the point of view of the structure) and sense (from the point of view of the communication). In this perspective, it turned out important to envisage the name, not only from the point of view of its designative function, but also towards its semantic potential, as far as the act of naming plays part in the stakes in the identification, stakes which show themselves in social, political contexts, often linked to the bureaucratic functioning of the State, as it participates cultural, emotional, moral and legal stakes[9].

If for Benveniste (1976: 200), the proper noun can be defined as: «[…] a conventional mark of social identification such as she can indicate constantly and in a unique way a unique individual»[10], Bromberger notices rightly that, in this frame, «the systems of proper nouns been attested in the diverse societies would seem widely dysfunctional» (1982: 105). What brings him to say that;

> «We spot there a common feature to most of the anthroponymic systems: c c better they classify, less indeed they identify; or still, to speak as the logicians, what they are to win in (sociological) extension, they make it lose in understanding and in (individual) identification. Specifically *the distinctive weakness of a system of proper nouns is only to its classificatory wealth*.»[11] (Bromberger, 1982: 106)

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[9] See in particular those who arise in the various stages of the process of the international adoption.

[10] « […] une marque conventionnelle d'identification sociale telle qu'elle puisse désigner constamment et de manière unique un individu unique ».

[11] « On repère là un trait commun à la plupart des systèmes anthroponymiques : mieux ils classent, moins bien ils identifient ; ou encore, pour parler comme les logiciens, ce qu'ils sont gagner en extension (sociologique), ils le font perdre en compréhension et en identification (individuelle). Au vrai, *la faiblesse distinctive d'un système de noms propres n'est que l'envers de sa richesse classificatoire*. » (Bromberger, 1982: 106).

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Today, Bertrand Masquelier and me are preparing the edition of a collective book synthetizing this operation of research, the temporary title of which is *Nommer les relations. Parenté, identité, affiliation* (*Naming the relations. Kinship, identity, membership*). From all the multidisciplinary presentations (on behalf of ethnologists, of sociologists and of linguists) reporting a variety of cultural areas (The Carribbean Islands, Amazonia, Central America, Oceania, Europe), this book will allows to revisit, with the naming, a classic debate: the relationship between structure and history. If there are doubtless several manners to treat it henceforth, the interest of most of the presentations is to have made indeed play this confrontation.

By bringing together the structuralist approaches and those centered on the practices of the naming, the seminar privileged the study of a large variety of case to place at once our reflection at the most general level. So, the study of the terminologies of kinship and their manners constituted only a part of the presented works. One other returned more specifically on the name specific practices which are appropriate for a small number of domains of the social life, in particular those were bound to the kinship domain. Such a investigation could open on the systematic study of the various registers of naming which offer to the actors of the alternatives according to the context and the social met situations (for example, the practices of the address within the family, in the societies of Asia, which make play several symbolic orders). These terminological alternatives are sometimes internal to the local social system. But they are sometimes of external origin and the indication of the local transformations, which often result from the hegemonic extension of the central State, from its bureaucratic devices and also from the scattering of new frames of religious references (the case of New Caledonia for example, as in the Carribbean Islands).

In this perspective, to envisage the practices of the naming in the moments of crisis and break[12] turns out to be a particularly important approach to reveal the social logics in work in the act of naming, as the multiple senses of which this act can contain at level so social as individual. This orientation allows to put back in the center of our investigation the problem of the link between naming and conception of the person: a theme identified during the first seminars but which remained relatively little investigated. That is why we shall return there specifically in our general presentation of the book which will also approach the problems of the naming centered largely on the changes provoked by situations of break.

After these some general points on the naming and the way we wanted to treat it during our five years of seminars, and before presenting my own materials on the Kanak naming, I am a little going to take back the processes of naming.

«Why to name?»

According to Françoise Zonabend's paper title ("Pourquoi nommer ?", 1997), we are going to return on the reasons of the naming of the persons: we name to identify, distinguish, classify within an existing social order, by assigning a place to every individual or class of individuals[13]. Claude Lévi-Strauss establishes the distinction between naming systems

[12] Naming in the process of the international adoption can illustrate it in an exemplary way.

[13] As I have already written, «The classificatory phenomenon is a complex phenomenon which associates three operations: identify, mention and insert into a reference system. Its role is multiple: - to mention an object, it is to be able to speak about it and communicate with the others about this object; certain types of naming allow in particular to memorize (to preserve a knowledge or to transmit it); - the classification allows, on one hand, the location in the space and in the time and, on the other hand, to report of the order of the world; it is thus a part of

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consisting in "classes of positions" also allowing an opposition between one and\or the others, and those consisting in "classes of relations[14]", with the presence of intermediate types combining on the same foot relations and positions (1962a: 261-262, 265). And the variety of the types of anthroponyms existing through societies, among which we can quote the patronymics, the true names, the diverse registers of first names and nicknames, the teknonyms, the necronymes, the homonyms, etc., justifies that we are interested in the naming systems in a general and comparative way.

The ethnographical works on the various cultural areas of the world frequently gave rise to developments on the definition of the person and on it naming. This scientific tradition is particularly remarkable in France since the founding text of Mauss (1973: 333-364 et 365-388). In the recent decades, ethnosciences widened to the nature the question of the naming and the classification. In numerous societies, the act of naming articulates nature and culture according to various modalities.

In numerous societies, there are diverse registers of names, which can lead sometimes to emphasize the plurality of the identities or the plural identity of the persons and thus on the dynamic character, the bibliographic temporality, the uncertainty in the relationship to oneself and to the other one. Thus, the variability of names for the same person, bound to the various fields of the social organization, obliges the researcher to formulate a problematic which does not presuppose the uniqueness of the person. As well, the whys and wherefores of such or such name and of the passage from a register to the other one, either during the life (a name corresponding to a precise stage), or in different contexts inform us mostly about the social organization of the considered societies and about the notions of individual.

The processes in work in the naming of the persons are multiple (the various categories of names), from a society to the other one, but also in the same society and can depend also on contexts of enunciation. The processes of choice (or of their absence) as of transmission of names are also important to study. The anthropological approach allows to understand the practices bound to the naming and to see how they articulate with the other social practices. If the naming is universal, every society contains her complex set standards, which govern it. To name the new members of a society is indeed one of means to register them in their space-time, which, if it seems sometimes unchanging, is nevertheless an inscription in the history. And, as Lamont Linsdtrom claim (2011) :

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the general phenomenon of socialization of the nature by a system of structuralization. The construction of the categories appeals to several criteria: the identification (How we recognize the object), the resemblance, the differentiation and the definition, this last criterion being of the order of the knowledge (the characteristics of the object). According to the considered criteria, we shall obtain various classifications. Connections between systems of classification and social system allow seizing the all-embracing system of the understanding of the universe in a given society.» (Leblic, 2002c: 115).
(«Le phénomène classificatoire est un phénomène complexe qui associe trois opérations : identifier, dénommer et insérer dans un système de référence. Son rôle est multiple : – dénommer un objet, c'est pouvoir en parler et communiquer avec les autres à propos de cet objet ; certains types de dénomination permettent notamment de mémoriser (conserver un savoir ou le transmettre) ; – la classification permet, d'une part, le repérage dans l'espace et dans le temps et, d'autre part, de rendre compte de l'ordre du monde ; elle fait donc partie du phénomène général de socialisation de la nature par un système de structuration. La construction des catégories fait appel à plusieurs critères : l'identification – comment on reconnaît l'objet –, la ressemblance, la différenciation et la définition, ce dernier critère étant de l'ordre du savoir (les caractéristiques de l'objet). Selon les critères considérés, on obtiendra différentes classifications. Les rapports entre systèmes de classification et système social permettent de saisir le système globalisant de la compréhension de l'univers dans une société donnée.»)

[14] We'll insist on the relationship value of the name, as well as interaction between naming and relation.

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> « 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). »

After these some methodological presuppositions, we go to see what are the various registers of paicî names, their contexts of use, their dation and their transmission, in contact with the terminologies of kinship. For that purpose, we shall say at first some words on the notion of persons to Kanak paicî. Finally, we shall see what names teach us on the relationship.

Context of my studies: the Kanak paicî people of Ponérihouen

I pursue researche on paicî kinship and adoption based on field investigations led to Ponérihouen (East coast of the Main Land of New Caledonia) with collection of the genealogies and all kind of words linked to kinship and relationship since 1989 (about the paicî kinship, see among others, Leblic, 2000, 2005, 2006). A large part of these field studies and analyses were thus focused on naming. Elements so collected allowed me to define the various registers of names, their contexts of use, their dation and their transmission, in contact with the terminologies of relationship and the paicî social organization. In this patrilineal society with two exogamic and named moieties, Dui and Bai, besides the name of lineages, which mostly acts so today as patronymic, there are diverse Kanak names, which go of the true name, formerly hidden, to the diverse nicknames and teknonyms, by way of the first Kanak names and Christians ones, and by a whole series of elaborate names: according to the place of residence, the situation in the kinship group ("father of", ***caa kê***, "grandfather of", ***ao kê***), according to naming for certain categories of parents whose names we cannot pronounce ("pot", ***ilö***, "ground", ***puu***, "spirit", ***duéé*** for the aunt on father's side for example which, except this very precise use, are terms rather of the register of the insults), etc. (see Leblic, 2005). The reasons and the conditions of the passage from a register to the other one were also the object of this research, as well as the link between classification (naming systems are systems of classification) and the pragmatics of the use of the categories and the classifications.

In Kanak paicî country, the constituent elements of the person and its identity are multiple and belong to diverse registers. So, every individual is characterized by his membership in a clan or a lineage which include by the reference to a common ancestor (as in his appearances that are the totemic spirits ***tee***) and to a name of lineage (today a patronymic name) which is in fact a place-name or a term referring to its story. To that are added the other constituent elements of individual identity among which are personal names, in particular the ***duru-nêê***[15], but also, the body, which essentially consists of blood (***domîî***), bones (***duru***) and flesh (***piè***), and what we call the breath or the spirit (***nyûââ***), this element - named "soul" by the missionaries - which arrives in the body of every individual at his birth and which even if it means its death.

Among its constituents of lineage - they are all transmitted by patri or matrilineal lines, when it is not by both at once -, if the blood is often told, in particular in the ceremonial speeches, to

[15] We can translate the paicî word ***duru*** as "skeleton" and ***nêê*** as "name". ***Duru*** is also « mûrier à papier, *Broussonetia papyrifera* L., Moracée, "balassor" ; nom de la coutume de deuil dite "le bouquet" faite par les paternels et les maternels » (Leblic, 2010, à paraître). We shall see below what is the situation regarding the diverse registers of paicî names.

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come from the mother, that is to say from the uterine line, nobody ignores however the role of the paternal blood (see on these questions Christine Salomon, 1998: 81-100 ; 2000 : 36-46). As claimed André Mêcêrè Mwâtéapöö:

> « ”And when I was born, me, it’s the blood: the blood of my mother and the one of ma father. These two bloods formed a single blood. But I pay tribute to my mother’s blood because it’s her who creates me. It’s why we gave priority to my mother’s blood. My mother’s blood is in this clan over there. And we’ll ask to our uterine uncles: ‘Take care of the blood, which arises from yours so that he lives. We are going to find them to ask them for their blessing, the creation of favorable conditions to the normal growth of the child. And then, it is all. The uterine uncles answer: Blessed him! They are then going to pay me tribute, to me their nephew (André Mêcêrè Mwâtéapöö, Cäba, 30/09/1991, translate from paicî). »[16] (Salomon, 2000: 36)

We are not going to explain here the Kanak role of the representations of the conception of the children in the definition of the person. We shall say only some words necessary for the understanding of the link between naming and identity within the Kanak social organization.

Personal identity and conception of children

It is thus the mixture of both bloods via the sexual intercourse which allows the conception of a child.

> « L’enquête sur ce point montre en effet qu’au sang – dans l’aire ajië comme paicî – est assimilé le sperme. Il est entendu que c’est en tant qu’élément traduisant la vitalité de la personne que le concept de sang englobe dans ces langues le sperme (ainsi que l’exsudat des blessures pour lequel existe par ailleurs également un terme spécifique). […] En paicî, on parle du jus de la verge (***nüü-rü éo***) ou encore du jus du phallus (***nüü-rü gö***) ; en ajië […], mais le sperme dans sa fonction noble est qualifié de jus de la vie (***jârâ möru***). C’est à partir du moment où “le sang s’est rassemblé” que la femme est enceinte. Parce que le sang est considéré comme la substance fondamentale de la vie, à mes questions sur la formation de l’embryon, mes interlocuteurs ont répondu que l’organe vital qui se forme en premier est le cœur, produit de cette coagulation des deux sangs. » (Salomon, 1998: 84)[17]

But it does not prevent that one of both bloods predominate the other one, but that it is not moreover still, even within a single siblings, that of the father or that of the mother (see on this subject Leblic, 2010) and it is the reason which makes that every individual of a siblings is slightly different.

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[16] « ”Et quand je suis né, moi, c’est le sang : le sang de ma mère et celui de mon père. Ces deux sangs ont formé un seul sang. Mais je rends hommage au sang de ma mère parce que c’est elle qui m’a fait naître. C’est pour cela que la priorité est donnée au sang de ma mère. Le sang de ma mère se trouve dans ce clan là-bas. Et nous allons demander aux oncles utérins : ‘Prenez bien soi du sang qui est issu du vôtre pour qu’il vive’. Nous allons les trouver pour leur demander leur bénédiction, la création de conditions favorables à la croissance normale de l’enfant. Et puis, c’est tout. Les oncles utérins répondent : béni soit-il ! Ils vont alors me rendre hommage à moi, leur neveu” (André Mêcêrè Mwâtéapöö, Cäba, 30/09/1991, traduit du paicî). »

[17] « L’enfant se forme, de l’avis général, à partir du sang, le sang de sa mère, et aussi du sang de son père. Le sang de la femme ainsi que celui de l’homme sont censés se mêler pour créer l’embryon que des locuteurs paicî ont nommé “semence de vie” et qui, s’il se fortifie dans la matrice (“la maison du sang”), deviendra ensuite un fœtus, “semence [déjà] forte”. » (Salomon, 2000 : 35-36).

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> «[…]That both bloods are compatible does not however exclude that the one outmaches on the other one and Kanak explain that the child will look like more – physically and psychologically – the parent whose blood is dominant. Once again, the complementarity comes along with a certain rivalry of substances. The interpretations of the resemblance thus assert that the person is not thought as the motionless product of the parental duality but the resultant of the connection (of strengths) between two entities.»[18] (Salomon, 1988: 86)

If the role and the contribution of both parents are indisputable in the conception of the child, the fact remains that, as in any human activity, that cannot succeed without the intervention or the benevolence of the ancestors. As claimed Maurice Godelier and Michel Panoff (1998), we shall remind that a man and a woman are not enough to make a child; they are only producing a foetus which, to become a baby, then a child an adult, requires the intervention of ancestors, spirits, gods of all kinds more powerful than the human beings. We must take into account what some anglo-saxon authors called the "nurture kinship", that is to say the importance of the various feeder contributions in the identical construction of the person and the groups. And, when an union does not give birth to children, it is common to call, at the level of the representations, upon the disregard of social rules and prohibitions:

> «It is the gods ***duéé*** of the maternal clan that allow that there is a child or not. If there are no children, we say that it is the clan of the maternal that does not want either that they did not respect anything.» (Extract of interview, D. Görödé, Mwââgu, 22/02/1996)

There is certain number of prohibitions to be respected before and during the pregnancy to lead it to the term. Among them is the necessity of avoiding any sexual intercourse from the conception and until the delivery, as long to protect the foetus that to avoid twins' birth. There is certain number of prohibitions to be respected before and during the pregnancy to lead it to the term. Among them is the necessity of avoiding any sexual intercourse from the conception and until the delivery, as long to protect the foetus that to avoid twins' birth.

> «But it is necessary to avoid putting in danger this fragile product, provoking a miscarriage, by the continuation of the sexual relations, forbidden next months.»[19] (Salomon, 1998: 84)

From the first months of pregnancy, Kanak consider that the foetus is a full person and that the delivery is due to the will of the child to be born:

> «Becoming a person, the foetus will be - for the most part of the men and the women whom I questioned - endowed with this energy principle which drives the human being (***ko*** in a'jië, ***nyûââ*** in paicî, words translated in french by esprit [spirit] or, under the influence, by âme [soul]) and will urge him to move in the womb of her mother.»[20] (Salomon, 1998: 85)

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[18] « […] Que les deux sangs soient compatibles n'exclut toutefois pas que l'un l'emporte sur l'autre et les Kanak expliquent que l'enfant ressemblera davantage – physiquement et psychologiquement – au parent dont le sang est dominant. Encore une fois, la complémentarité s'accompagne d'une certaine rivalité des substances. Les interprétations de la ressemblance affirment donc que la personne n'est pas pensée comme le produit figé de la dualité parentale mais la résultante du rapport (de forces) entre deux entités. »

[19] « But il faut éviter de mettre en péril ce produit fragile, de provoquer une fausse-couche, par la poursuite des relations sexuelles, interdites les mois suivants. »

[20] « Devenant une personne, le fœtus sera – pour la plupart des hommes et des femmes que j'ai interrogés – doué de ce principe énergétique qui anime l'humain (***ko*** en a'jië, ***nyûââ*** en paicî, mots traduits en français par esprit ou, sous l'influence missionnaire, par âme) et le poussera à bouger dans le ventre de sa mère. »

Working paper

Identity and social relationship: paicî naming and denomination

Naming is one of sociocultural dimension of the expression of person in reference to somebody else, human being or not human being, as reminds it to us Jean-Marie Tjibaou:

> « We are not… I am never me. Me, it's liked to the individual. I am always somebody in reference to [somebody else]. In reference to my fathers, in reference to my uncles… There are persons only in reference to. »[21] (Jean-Marie Tjibaou, 1981: ?)

Saying that, Jean-Marie Tjibaou «sends back to a social reality very pregnant where the individual, if it exists well as such, is registered in a network of complex relations (family, social and totemic), the management of which (sometimes difficult) is the object of constant attention»[22] (Ozanne-Rivierre, 1994: 218). We shall see moreover farther, from both proposed examples extracted from the registered genealogies, how this interweaving of the relations is complex and important and how the names are also a way to keep it in mind through generations and to register the nominees, that is to say the new members of the society, in their space-time[23].

In his report on the forms of sexual socialization to Lifou, Hélène Nicolas (2005) returns, about the various theoretical orientations as for the identity of the persons, on two notions developed by I. Théry and L. Dousset:

> « I. Théry [2005] underlines the importance to consider the notion of person not as a "pre-substance" for the contents of which we would look, but as an eminently relational notion, which would allow to distance from individual's notion consisted of a body and a spirit. In his study on the manufacturing of the human, L. Dousset [2005] asserts that the manufacturing of the persons has to envisage as a continuous process of socialization. The notion of person must be analyzed according to him more as a consequence of this process, and not as a series of principles fixed by a local theology more or less reconstituted by the researcher. »[24] (Nicolas, 2005: 23)

If we are used in anthropology to speak about the notion of person in contact with the reproduction, the other elements indeed intervene to define her as the dation of the diverse names, which places the person in a network of relations. We thus go to see what we know about processes of naming operated by Paicî. But at first, it is necessary to say some words on naming.

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[21] « Nous ne sommes… je ne suis jamais moi. Moi, c'est lié à l'individu. Je suis toujours quelqu'un en référence à. En référence à mes pères, en référence à mes oncles… Il n'y a de personnes qu'en référence à. »

[22] « renvoie à une réalité sociale très prégnante où l'individu, s'il existe bien en tant que tel, est inscrit dans un tissu de relations complexes (familiales, sociales et totémiques), dont la gestion (parfois difficile) est l'objet d'attention constante »

[23] About this notion of kanak space-time, see what I have written besides on the kanak chronotope (Leblic, 2006).

[24] « I. Théry souligne l'importance de considérer la notion de personne non comme une "pré-substance" dont on chercherait le contenu, mais comme une notion éminemment relationnelle, qui permettrait de se distancier de la notion d'individu composé d'un corps et d'un esprit. Dans son étude sur la fabrication des êtres humains chez les Ngaatjatjaara en Australie, L. Dousset[24] affirme que la fabrication des personnes doit s'envisager comme un processus continu de socialisation. La notion de personne doit être analysée selon lui plus comme une conséquence de ce processus, et non comme une série de principes fixés par une théologie locale plus ou moins reconstituée par le chercheur. » (Nicolas, 2005 : 23).

Working paper

The spirit of the name and the naming processes: choosing names

The registered elements by fieldworks allow me to define the various registers of names, their contexts of use, their dation and their transmission, linked to the terminologies of kinship and the social organization. Besides the name of lineage, which today mostly acts as patronymic[25], there is various kanak names, from the "true" name, formerly hidden even taboo, to the various nicknames divers and teknonyms, by way of kanak and Christian first names, and by a whole series of elaborate names: According to his(her) place of residence, his(her) situation in its relationship ("father of", "grandfather of"), appellation (trivial names) for certain categories of parents whose names we cannot pronounce ("pot", "ground", "spirit" for the aunt on father's side for example which, except this very precise usage, are rather of the register of the insults),etc. (see in particular Leblic, 2005 and 2010a).

> « The taboo on "personal" name, very strong indicator of the person, is very general in Melanesia. In New Caledonia, for example, to shout out to somebody by its personal name is one incongruity, even a provocation. To avoid this indiscretion, the custom is to indicate the person by its place of house […] "The one who lives in Pakaawat" (Tjibaou, 1981: 12). Another respectful linguistic bend is to call somebody, if it has children[26], "father (or mother) of so-and-so (name of the first born child)". We can also resort to nicknames (very estimated in this ociety) when the context allows it. But, in the family context, it is a more complex system of location that is set up and which is ordered by the "relation to": the use of dual terms.»[27] (Ozanne-Rivierre, 1994: 218)

The reasons and the conditions of the passage from a register to the other one were also the object of this research[28].

There are thus various levels of names which go of the biggest to the smallest, with a fitting of some in the others and I would take the example of Mwâtéapöö to mean it:

- ***nêê-rê wââo*** or name of the clan, for example Wêkumé which includes, according to my informants, the terms ***u*** («spirit») and ***mé*** («face») for the mask Gömaawé;
- ***nêê-rê tää*** or name of the mound/hillock of residence, for example Mwâtéapöö : it's the name of this house where we are, linked to a task, a function, inside the house;

[25] But not always, because, since the census of the Kanak in 1953 to prepare the access to the universal suffrage, via the definition of the patronymics, some do not carry any more today their name of lineage and clan. It is necessary to remind that the names of clans were established as patronymics with the constitution of the civil status of the autochtons citizens of particular civil status created by the order of June 21st, 1934, consecutive to the abolition of the regime of the Indigenat in April-May, 1946, when Kanak of New Caledonia became citizens of the French Union, what allowed them afterward to reach the right to vote for all in 1957!

[26] But we can claim that everybody have always children because of the classificatory kinship.

[27] « Le tabou sur le nom "personnel", indicateur très fort de la personne, est très général en Mélanésie. En Nouvelle-Calédonie, par exemple, apostropher quelqu'un par son nom personnel est un incongruité, voire une provocation. Pour éviter cet impair, l'usage est de désigner la personne par son lieu d'habitation […] "celui qui habite à Pakaawat" (Tjibaou, 1981: 12). Un autre détour linguistique respectueux est d'appeler quelqu'un, s'il a des enfants, "père (ou mère) d'Untel (nom du premier enfant)". On peut aussi avoir recours à des surnoms (très appréciés dans cette société) quand le contexte le permet. Mais, dans le contexte familial, c'est un système plus complexe de repérage qui se met en place et qui est commandé par la "relation à" : l'emploi de termes duels. »

[28] If I already arrange numerous information on the nicknames, teknonyms and "true names" (object of my last two fieldworks of 2004-2005 and 2007), it is necessary to me to pursue the comparative investigations, in particular to Ouvéa, to refine the analysis.

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- ***duru-nêê***, «skeleton of the name», that we tell to be the true name, which is the name of an ancestor, for example Téâ Auru ;
- ***närî-nê***, «little name», first name or Christian name, for example Gabriel;
- and ***nêê pi-tü***, «name that we throw», or surname, nickname, for example «my old pé» or Gaby.

As it is often the case in Melanesia, patronyms are also toponyms, as Lamont Lindstrom write for Tanna:

> « Tanna's personal and toponym systems are intimately connected. Each personal name cues some particular place, and vice versa. »

With the true name, we take the spirit of the namse, ***nyûââ-râ nêê***, litt. « soul, ghost/nominal joncteur/name»; it is thus necessary to be careful not to give any name. Sometimes, the ***duru-nêê*** will be token, to honor them, in the lineage of the maternals of the child or in another lineage with whom the patrilignage was in alliance in the past. And if, at first, it existed, in the context of this society with two exogamic marital moieties named, Dui and Bai (see Leblic, 2000), a stock of names dui and one of names bai, this is not evident any more today. Is it just an effect of the transmission either patrilineal or uterine, either is it due to the changes introduced by the colonization? I would not affirm it not knowing what took place before the colonization. But it is sure that the fact of being able to take a name in the alliance makes that, in the noted genealogies, we cannot distinguish any more names dui from those bai. If it seems that certain names, as Téâ for example, reserved in theory for the elder son, were for all the boys that they are dui or bai, or Âdi, woman name meaning "money of shells", Bwëé Béalo on the other hand is typically bai and Dui Daulo, specifically dui, as also gives evidence of it the narrative of origin of marital moieties which we saw in another paper (see Leblic, 200 and 2010 in press). Some ***duru-nêê*** also have for function to mark the born rank and the status of primogeniture.

We know two manners to take a name: either it is the parents of the unborn child who decide on such or such name, or it is the paternal or maternal parents who tell to take such or such name. It is especially in case of a first-born boy for whom the paternal are going to ask the maternal to give the name to the child[29]:

> «When a child is born who is my nephew, one suggests me giving him(her) the name. I do that and, by this fact, a name of my lineage leave in the alliance, what makes that names so navigate from a clan to the other one by means of the alliance. My son Lucko is named Céu with regard to a nephew of my mother and today, my grandson Emmanuel Mwâtéapöö is named also Céu.» (Extract of interview, A. M. Mwâtéapöö, Cäba, 21/12/1993)

If we pay attention not to take any name, we make so that, for all the registers of name, there is always somebody under a name, especially for an important name, in the family and in the alliance: if it turns out that nobody in the family carries a given name, we make so that it is carried in the alliance:

> «We say that we take the name in a "field of names", that one direct (of the paternal relationship), or that matrilateral of the uncles or that last of the uncles of the uncles, always in the objective to protect the memory, the history of the relations. And we "pick" names in these fields. It is necessary to pay attention on the way of picking

[29] Also, there is the custom to give in adoption the first-born to the clan of his/her mother, by way of thanking.

> names; the last carrier of the true name, if it refuses, he cannot communicate the story of the name and it is not complete. The field of names concern those of the living persons and those of the dead ones; when the last carrier of a name is dead, either there is someone who know or we find it by dream; there is no break between the land of the living and the world of the spirits. There is always communication with the ancestors because there is always a birth or a death, a visit, something which makes that people permanently address a custom to the spirits, because it is it meaning of gestures of the custom, it is to address the spirits! When we are dead, we stay in the world of the dead people; We restore [the breath] to the uncles because it is them who prevent him from coming back disturbing everybody; when the name is given, there is a complicity which is held: the child is protected in his name by the two "totems" [paternal and maternal], the complicity which attach both clans. The name, it is the individual with his social status; if there was exchange balanced between the paternal clan and the uterine clan, the name marks the relation to the life and to those who died; it places us in the material time and in the time of above [of spirits]. » (Extract of interview, G. Mwâtéapöö, Baala, 10/12/2004)

In the past, it was the priest of the clan so called "a clairvoyant" who gave the true name or ***duru-nêê*** further to invocations ***pamädé*** made in the vapor of the sacrificial pot in its "sacred" site (see above). After three invocations, the ancestors gave the answer: «It is necessary to give such name»; the priest thanks them and gives the name indicated to the newborn child. It is all this which makes the "sacred" character of the name, but not only. It is as well the fact as the name concentrates all the being who carries it and as we can affect him just by pronouncing it. The name was then officialized in the yard of the house concerned during a ceremony of dation of the name. Having looked at the child, the clairvoyant knows which name in touch with the ancestors of his lineage or in reminder of past alliances he is going to give him(her). He says: «That one, it is the one who carries the history, or the other matter because it is the priest of the lineage who «has the memory» as they say, that is who is an agent of the history of the group and who thus knows which name to give to each, just by looking at him… One of the things which is taken into account is indeed the morphological aspect of the child, the eyes, his(her) way to move. It is all this also who allows the clairvoyant to say «well, it is like that» and thus to give him(her) the name according to what he(she) is, in his(her) consistency, his(her) role, following what he perceives.

We also say that the totem already acts in the womb of the mother to print him(her) the character of such or such ancestor and it is it that the clairvoyant looks at at the birth. It is also because of the totem who acts in utero that, sometimes, there are complications at the birth: we say that it is the totem who wants to keep him(her) and who detains him(her) in the womb of her mother.

Certain names are also revealed by the dream[30]. The dreams have a very important function in New Caledonia: they are a means to communicate with the ancestors and they allow to pass on knowledge which seemed lost because not transmitted by the living of the parents. Everybody does not dream in the same way and certain persons have a particular capacity to see in dream the important things; they are moreover likened to the clairvoyants.

When a child is born, the person who will give him(her) his(her) name will make him(her) with regard to one or several ancestors, by taking back a part or the set of their or of its

[30] On the role of dreams in the transmission of the knowledges generally, see Leblic (2010b).

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names. To give a name, to transmit the name of somebody else is sayd ***tu-nê*** litt. «to give/name» or ***pi-tu-nêê*** «mutual/ to give/name». When there is homonymy (***pi-nêê-ru***, «they both have the same name»), it implies a total identification between both carriers of the name (the one who passed on his name and the one who receives it). So, for example, the son of Déwé is called Albert Téâ Nâbénô, with regard to his great-grandfather Nâaucùùwèè who was so called. This last one having participated in the First World War and being thus a war veteran, it is common that we say to Albert that he waged war, etc., so much that when he was small, he really believed in it. If they had been both alive at the same time, they would have been all the time together, as two brothers. So, when Téâ today horsemanship to see his grandfathers Pûrûê, her mother says to him: «You visit your babies, your children» because of this homonymy. This particular relation is indicated by the ***jènôôrî*** term which means «homonym» » (*cf. Utê Mûrûnû*, the short story of Déwé Görödé). And the girl of Annie Pûrûê who is called Dulcie Déwéinô, that is Déwé with regard to the aunt of her mother, is often called ***nyââ kë Téâ***, mother of Téâ, in reference to her ***jènôôrî***.

> « Utê Mûrûnû, à la fois sœur de lait et fille coutumière de Téâ et de Dui Nâtêî, passait beaucoup de son temps avec l'une des vieilles grands-mères des deux frères, sœur de leurs grands-pères paternels, dont elle avait hérité les prénoms[31], pour l'aider dans ses tâches traditionnelles à cause de son âge avancé. Dans la parenté traditionnelle, elles étaient donc sœurs. […] la note plaintive d'une tourterelle rappelèrent à Dui Nâtêî la tâche dont l'avait chargé son frère coutumier. Il se détourna presque avec regret et se dirigea tranquillement vers l'aïeule […] – ***Auu !*** Voilà notre petit père Nâtêî ! Viens petit père, assieds-toi là, à côté de ta grand-mère. […] Sœurette ! Apporte le thé et le manioc râpé pour notre petit père ! – ***Auu ! Gèè !*** Tu es encore si forte n'est-ce pas ? – ***Öö !*** Petit père ! Ne te moque pas ainsi de tes grands-mères, sale garnement ! […] – Grand-mère, je suppose qu'on vous a informées toutes les deux de ce qui m'amène aujourd'hui ici chez vous. Vous n'ignorez pas que nous deux à Nâtêî, nous avons accepté la proposition d'alliance matrimoniale venue de l'autre côté. Il ne nous restera plus qu'à fixer tous ensemble les dates pour rassembler nos nattes au sein du clan, puis avec la tribu, et pour nous accompagner là-bas. Mais ce serait encore mieux si, dans la mesure du possible, nous pouvions également avoir votre réponse à vous deux au sujet de l'autre proposition émanant de nos oncles là-haut. Nous pourrions ainsi faire d'une pierre deux coups et alléger le travail. Je suis donc ici pour vous écouter à ce propos afin de transmettre votre décision à nos aînés, frères, pères et grands-pères. Voilà donc pourquoi je suis là à m'asseoir avec vous aujourd'hui. – Oui, petit père, il est bien vrai que nous attendions ta visite et que nous en connaissions parfaitement le motif. Nous en avions d'ailleurs un peu discuté entre nous. Disons que j'ai essayé de savoir de qu'en pensait ma petite sœur, de sonder son cœur, comme il se doit. Et elle m'a donné sa réponse. ***Jènôôrî !*** Livre le fond de ta pensée à notre père, dis-lui ce qu'il doit rapporter aux anciens. – Je ne veux pas. […] – Vous y avez bien réfléchi, toutes les deux ? Vous en avez bien pesé le pour et le contre ? Vous savez qu'un tel refus nous mettrait dans une situation délicate sinon embarrassante vis-à-vis de nos oncles là-haut. ***Gèè***, tu connais aussi bien que moi les bases des alliances avec les utérins, notamment celles-là, celles de là-haut et celles de l'autre côté. Tu es donc en mesure d'imaginer les conséquences de ta décision, si toutefois elle est définitive, en ce qui nous concerne tous, toi et nous. – Oui, c'est vrai. On nous a assez appris tout cela depuis notre petite enfance, pour que je puisse prétendre l'ignorer aujourd'hui.

[31] This one took her first names of her paternal grandmother.

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> Cependant, ma décision est irrévocable. Je ne marierai pas là-haut. […] Donc voilà, je n'irai pas là-haut pour au moins trois raisons, ce qui est déjà beaucoup trop, puisque aucune d'elles n'est avouable ou ne peut être dite, vu qu'il est de bon ton de ne rien exprimer ou faire qui puisse froisser les maternels, et à plus forte raison, quand on est une femme. Tout d'abord, je ne veux pas que l'on décide de mon sort dans une alliance qui continuera à nous engager à vie, les miens et moi, ainsi que toute notre descendance, jusqu'au dernier. Le mariage coutumier, ses rites et ses discours, renforcent les liens contractés par nos ancêtres par le passé et leur assurent un avenir tout tracé imposé à toute notre future descendance. Comme toutes nos traditions, il implique les morts, les vivants et ceux qui viendront. […] – ***Auu* ! *Jènôôrî* !** Petite sœur, dans ce cas, tu auras besoin de beaucoup de courage […] – Oui, grande sœur, et […] la dernière raison pour laquelle je refuse la proposition de nos utérins de là-haut, est que j'ai rencontré quelqu'un d'autre et que je m'y suis attachée. – Dans ce cas, ***Gèè***, je pourrais intervenir dans ce sens auprès de nos anciens pour proposer cette alternative-là, ce qui allégerait éventuellement le poids de ton refus quant à l'offre de nos maternels là-haut. – Non, c'est impossible ! […] – Si je te suis bien, ***Gèè***, tu veux dire que cette alternative aurait pu être proposée à un moment donné, mais que, entre temps, elle est devenue caduque. Depuis quand est-elle devenue parole taboue ? – Depuis que vous deux, à Nâtêî, avez donné la vôtre à nos utérins[32] de l'autre côté. – Mais, pourquoi, ***Gèè***, pourquoi ? – Parce que celui à qui vous allez donner ma petite sœur est le père de l'enfant que je porte. » (Görödé, 1994 : 13-17)

But you should forget only every Téâ (or quite other carrier of name) is so appointed with regard to a very precise ancestor (and not in relationship in all Téâ which preceded him; the link of homonymy thus connects always two-two of the carriers of the same name in a particular relation. I thus took back with diverse informants the genealogy of their lineage to know where from comes the name of every person present to try to reconstitute with them these initial stocks of names and all the relations memorized by the names.

In a general way, the one who gives the name to the newborn child will have an particular importance its lasting life. So, for the ceremonies which will mark the important stages of his(her) life such as the marriage or the death, the one who will have named him(her) will be called to take the custom. The one of which we are the homonym also plays a role because of this total identification between both individuals. For example, when the one gets married, they are in fact, as it is said, both who get married.

Today, of course, with the presence of the Christian religion, things modified and we do not find any more the name in the altar of the lineage. But we respect all the same the rules of attribution of most of the names given to the children: take the name of a parent or of a affine (allied), dead or alive one, even if it are added to the diverse registers of names the given names and if we can innovate by giving the name of a friend which will then be joined into the stock of names to be passed on. Also, we see "historic" names as so-and-so who was named «De Gaulle» or such the other one nicknamed «Pisani» during the Events.

It is always the name of somebody of a previous generation who is taken back and we are always in relation of homonymy, of ***devine*** in ajië or of ***jènôôrî*** in paicî; we say ***pijipe nê***, litt.

[32] Because of the exchange of the sisters, the uterine about which we speak here are also in situation of paternal group going to ask for the girl of the uterine uncles.

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«who seizes the name». The expression ***tupédu pi-nê***, litt. «both/mutual/name» indicate both homonyms, carriers of the same name. But we do not take the name of his own father, rather that of his uncle, brother of father who is also a father. Sometimes, the old men say:

> « ”When you will have a child, you will call him like that”, it is generally the grandfather, paternal or maternal, who says it. We always give the name of somebody of the clan, the ancestor, either in the affinity. » (Extract of interview, M. Pûrûê, town hall, 30/12/2004)

So, names can be also given with regard to the crossed alliances or by inheritance because take back the name of somebody so allows to call back past events, for example, because we lived for a long time together by the sharing of a common housing environment or by the fact of having walked together[33], or still to call back an event connected to the wars…

Lineages' names and clans' names

To avoid that a patronymic, which often is a place-name, stays without anybody and risk of disappearing for lack of male descendants, we make in kind place somebody there, in particular by adoption. The fitting of the various registers of names thus expresses as much the hierarchical organization of the social space as the time through the generations:

> « When we say a name of ***tââ mä wââo*** [clan and lineage], at once, we think in a hillock of origin, a space; then, it is the tree, the ***duru-nêê*** ; because the name we carry always places us in a definite space, a locality. » (Extract of interview, G. Mwâtéapöö, Baala, 6/12/2004)

Names are of this fact the story of places [34], but also that of the wars or the conflicts: some, who were pursued because of a definite power that they held (to make shells'money, magic, etc.), put set back their name because to say it means then coming to light to those who pursue them… They are also the story of the rights on lands and the social hierarchy, as underlines it Andrew Arno for Lau:

> « Aside from the strong affective motives for naming, there are political motives related to the distribution of wealth and power within the larger community. Anthropological reports of other kinship-based societies throughout Oceania and the world have amply demonstrated that genealogies are statements of group rights, and Lauan names reflect that fact. On Moce, rights to use land for gardening, collecting, and house sites, and rights to use fishing and underwater collecting areas within the reef, belong to patrilineal extended families. Group political rights and duties, in decision making and ritual performances, signified by traditional titles, belong to descent groups. These groups are defined by genealogical recitation, and repeating

[33] Walking together during migrations or sharing of a common housing environment implies too creation of kinship links (see Leblic, 2000).

[34] The North Province of New Caledonia realized a program of toponymy to restore their "true" names in the various places of the province with the implementation of bilingual panels in the concerned places. To do it, numerous discussions took place with the councils of the ancient and the "customaries" to know what it was necessary to say, which were the meanings of the place-names held to elaborate documents on which everybody could come to an agreement. It is a first step towards the elaboration of a common history, beyond the particular stories and selves centered. But, being there at the time of the installation of certain panels, I was able to notice that the chosen names do not make the unanimity and are the object of stakes exceeding widely the initial project. And a little time after their installation, numerous panels had been damaged!

Working paper

> earlier names in current generations emphasizes continuity and legitimacy in relationships of power and influence in the island polity. » (Arno, 1994 : 30)

Formerly, the names of the genealogies went out, as it is said, of the place where is the altar of the lineage. It is the ***jau***[35], «the clairvoyants», that found names in the vapors of the sacrificial pot; it's why the names have a sacred character. Then, the name was officialized in the yard of the house with a ceremony. Names were thus connected to a given space. As to Lau studied by Arno (1994: 27), « Naming is one of several areas in which spirit helpers participate in human social life».

But the former Kanak society was a very mobile one. People moved permanently, sometimes at the long time. «Our grandfathers were nomadic people», like saying some informants. The causes of migrations were numerous: we look for another housing environment further to a quarrel, to take its independence and establish a new country, or to escape a sure death… The wars before the colonization aimed at the acquisition of a power, which is also represented by the name. That she(it) that is the cause, the integration on a new space, already occupied by the other chalk-linings, was always made in the same way. Whatever cause it is, the integration on a new territory, already occupied by the others lineages, was always made in the same way. When people ran away with the wars, for example, when they were introduced into a welcoming space, a rite must be made at the altar of masters of the place so that the newcomer is not in phase shift with the place: we call upon the ancestors of the place and a new name is attributed to the newcomers!

There were thus processes of creation of names, which were implemented in case of war for the refugees: the part of the lineage which moves on the grounds of another one to hide sometimes implies that a new name is created, at the level of the ***nêê-rê tää*** by the clairvoyant ***jau***. Because when the refugees arrive on another territory, they find an organization, which is there in position. And how take his place inside without threatening the balance with it? The clairvoyant thus gets in touch all the lineages[36] and their ancestors to know which name to give so that the welcome of newcomer(s) has afterward no consequences on the social organization and so that the balance is not broken. Thus he can give a name in line with the place. With the new name, welcomed people adopt a new totem and do not touch any more the former one, because the totem is also connected to the place where we live. But the newcomer can also become integrated into a new territory by buying there a land with a ***âdi*** which is said ***wârî nä puu***, «prize of the land», a black shells' money. In these conditions, he can put his totem on it.

When the individuals so changed names, they also had to change totem and «medicines» because the power of these last ones is bound to the totemic spirits. Also, a person adopted in the adulthood in another lineage has to change at the same time names, totem, and medicines, in other words complete identity! This is also why we say that the name gives the identity.

Another more recent cause of change of name is linked to the creation of the civil status then to the imposition of the patronymics in the 1950s to establish electoral rolls. So, there are clans today which do not carry their name. Former, the persons were often identified only under their first name with sometimes the precision of a place or a nickname to distinguish

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[35] ***Jau*** is a word in ajië but commonly used at Ponérihouen; in paicî, we say ***côômûû***, litt. « to see/things».

[36] Masters of the land who speak about him with the others lineages so that there is a social acceptance of the whole territorial group welcome all newcomers. Once made the integration, the genealogical speech changes according to the presence of the newcomers.

Working paper

the possible carriers of the same first name; we could also identify them as ***ari***+X, «grandson of X».

> « Pûrûê, it's since the civil status; my father was known only with his first name. The big name for us, the Pûrûê, is Nâaucuuwèè, but we are the elder branch, the Pûrûê «the head». Our land, it is at the very top, over everybody. The ideal would be that everybody takes the name Nâaucuuwèè followed by its name of branch: Nâaucuuwèè Pûrûê, Nâaucuuwèè Pwêolaa, Nâaucuuwèè Gorotâdo, etc. Because the names, it's also the story; all those who carry Nâaucuuwèè are not it. They are, but only branch of it. When they put the names, they have gone to see Néi in order to put every body under the name Nâaucuuwèè. And there, he said: "us, we keep Pûrûê". » (Extract of interview, M. Pûrûê, cityhall, 30/12/2004)

Onomastic stocks

The "first names" or true paicî names are altogether motivated and sexual. On 301 first names noted in the genealogies (see boards below), only 8 are indifferently male or female and little have a meaning in the natural world (I noted 32 all in all, but certain meanings were able to escape me). Some are not paicî and result via the alliances of other Kanak linguistic and cultural areas or are typically of biblical inspiration. Because to Paicî as in numerous societies, the dation of a "first name" oscillates between the choice in a definite stock and culturally marked and that of the name coming moreover for mark particular links with the person whose name we take:

> « Huli names conform pretty much to Levi-Strauss's generalization. Personal names are ordinarily chosen from a pre-existing stock, although sometimes a new name is coined to commemorate an occasion or to emphasize some perceived characteristic of the new-born. Stock names group individuals into classes, while special names of various kinds emphasize the closeness of the individuals who employ them. These special names are rather like kin terms; they are nearly always reciprocal. They differ from kin terms, however, in that they are appropriately used on private, rather than public, occasions. » (Glasse, 1987: 206)

It is not rare so to find in New Caledonia the named children "De Gaulle", "Pisani", etc., to mean the importance of the politician for the parents of the child and the history of the country. If we recapitulate, we thus notice:

- 182 male « names»
- 111 female « names»
- 8 neutral « names»
- 7 names of place or toponyms (all male)
- 25 motivated names

Working paper

Adërë	M	
Âdi	F	monnaie kanak
Aièl	M	
Aira	M	
Alé	M	
Amel	M	
Amosa	M	
Apooronû	M	maître du cocotier
Apoto	F	
Arëu	F	« chouette »
Aroba	M	
Arona	M	
Atééa	M	
Au	M	
Aunôôu	M	
Auru	M	se sauver
Baao	M	« dieu »
Bami	M	
Baunô	F	
Béalo	M	
Bèèbwa	M	
Béla	F	
Bërëda	F	flèche, trident
Boro	M	
Böti	F	
Buké	F	canne à sucre, igname
Buulaa	M	
Bulé	M	
Bwäi	F	
Bwëé	M/F	aigle pêcheur
Bwëinô	F	
Bwèji	M	
Bwëëngâ	M/F	
Bwëténôô	M	
Cagapé	M	
Caiba	M	
Caie	F	
Calé	M	
Cau	M	
Cautu	M	
Cêga	F	
Cèi	F	
Céu	M	
Cianô	F	
Ciapi	M	
Cibëu	M	
Cöökèi	F	
Cooti	F	
Cötiri	M	
Cuuké	F	
Cuunâ	F	
Cupwa	F	
Dabwé	M/F	
Danès	M	
Daulo	M	
Davita	M	
Dayan	M	
Dèinô	F	

Déis	F	
Démô	F	
Dému	F	
Déngên	M	
Diatia	F	
Dinâ	F	
Dogo	M	
Döi	F	
Döina	F	
Dui	M	
Duinô	M	
Ebéra	F	
Eida	F	
Ekuézé	M	
Elaisha	M	
Elama	M	
Enôka	M	
Epë	M	mauvais
Epi	M	
Eséta	F	
Esétéra	F	
Gainô	F	
Galé	M	
Gérigu	F	
Göi	M	
Gonyâ	M	
Göpwâ	M	
Göröaupâda	M	(lieu)
Göröbaduru	M	(lieu)
Görömêê	M	(lieu)
Göröpècidaa	M	(lieu)
Göröpwârâpwé	M	(lieu)
Göröwâ	M	(lieu)
Göru	M	
Göti	M	
Gunââ	F	
Gwaré	F	
Ia	F	arbre forêt, symbole dui
Iké	F	
Isaia	M	
Jarimwâ	M	
Jèèé	M	
Jékémwâ	M	
Jémès	M	
Jeemwâ	M	
Jiirua	F	
Jöökа	M	
Jöpo	F	
Jubéli	M	
Juérémwâ	M	brouillard autour maison
Juumwâ	M	
Kâbwa	M	
Kâbya	M	
Kaacöö	M	
Kaacué	M	
Kaé	M	
Kaépa	M	
Kamina	F	

Kanîga	F	
Kaapo	F	
Kapwé	F	grosse cigale
Kavonione	F	
Kayel	M	
Kèji	M	
Kéla	F	
Kélibo	F	
Kiloo	F	
Kipwa	M	
Koéca	F/M	
Koi	F	
Kolori	M	
Koro	M	
Köu	M	
Kowi	M/F	
Kué	M	
Kurugiavi	F	
Lâba	F	
Laik	M	
Lalié	M	
Léda	F	
Lié	F	
Lopé	M	
Loris	M	
Lota	F	
Malaki	M	
Manasé	F	
Maori	M	
Mâpui	M	
Mârâpô	M	
Marki	M	
Mââtaio	M	
Mayé	F	
Mêcèrè	M	nom du tonnerre dui
Mêdai	M	
Méu	F	
Mikwa	F	
Mînié	F	
Mônî	M	
Môôî	M	
Mûû	F	Perroquet gros.lèvres
Muli	M	
Mwâciri	M	pays, chefferie
Mwânaawa	M	
Mwânî	M	monnaie
Mwâârainô	M	
Mwêêmûrû	M	
Mwîînô	F	
Nâbé	F	
Nâbèènô	M	
Nâbwiadéé	M	
Nâdupwa	M	
Nâgöröco	M	
Nâgu	M	
Nâjèû	M	
Nâkâdé	M	
Nâkapita	M	

Working paper

Nâmwîî	M		Puuli	M		**Tëuri**	F	
Nâômî	F		**Puuroa**	M		Tianô	F	
Nâotëpwe	M		**Pwârâkârâji**	M		**Tiapi**	M	
Nâpwiinô	M		**Pwârânâpia**	M		**Tiba**	M	
(Nâmwîînô	M)		**Pwârânâwé**	M		**Ticèporopwä**	F	sans dents
Nâara	F		**Pwaré**	M		**Tigane**	F	
Nââsaié	F		**Pwââro**	F		**Timwâ**	M	
Naumi	M/F		Pwaruta	M		Tivolié	M	
Nâûnââ	M		Pwati	M		Toku	M	
Nâwëwé	M	(lieu)	Pwawa	M		Töpo	M	
Néa	M		**Pwawiibu**	M		Torou	M	
Nêrinê	F		**Pwëciri**	M		**Töötù**	F	jour, soleil
Niméra	F		**Pwëdé**	M		**Tuu**	F	conque marine
Nôâ	M		**Pwêêdi**	M	benjamin	Tupwako	F	
Nôôwê	M		**Pwënyî**	M		**Tuaii**	M/F	
Nuga	F		**Pwëpi**	F		**Tuga**	F	
Nûka	F		Pwérêgé	M		Tula	F	
Nyâloo	F		**Pwëwé**	F		Udimia	M	
Öi	M		**Pwëwiibu**	M		**Uéé**	M	sergent tache
Oséa	M		**Pwiia**	F				noire
Papié	F		Pwicé	M		Uja	F	
Parui	F	lune	**Pwicèmwâ**	F		Ujê	M	
Péai	M		Pwijamè	F		Upinu	M	
Pèèba	M		**Pwiridë**	M		**Uria**	F	
Péko	M		Pworuné	F		Uro	M	
Pèruanô	M		**Saia**	M		**Urûmêê**	M	
Pétéru	M		**Saipo**	M		**Utê**	F/M	obscur, sombre
Péwaré	M		Sakaio	F		**Vaya**	M	
Piibèè	M		**Sara**	F		Wââbé	F	arbre de forêt
Picé	M		Saulo	M		Wabèt	M	
Pié	M		**Sémâ**	M		Waêgo	F	
Pikéla	F		**Serai**	F		**Waia**	M	
Pinâko	F		Sial	M		**Wakolo**	M	
Pini	F		**Sikal**	M		**Walé**	F	
Pita	M		**Simêi**	F		**Waalèa**	M	
Poâ	M		Sioréran	M		**Wamo**	M	
Polé	F		Soi	F		Waré	F	
Pomèrâ	F		**Tââdi**	M		Warii	F	
Ponécö	M		**Tauel**	M		**Wasai**	F	
Porajènô	M		Téa	F		**Waseli**	F	
Posé	M		**Téâ**	M		**Wasémoné**	F	
Proféta	M		Téâuru	M		Wawa		
Progina	F		Tërëbuké	M		Wééjè		
Puu	F	terre	Teune	F		**Wénéilo**	F	

Surname or patronyms

If the first names are very few to be motivated, it's not the same for the other types of names. Thus, as we'll see beside, the nicknames have generally all a meaning because they are given according to a physical characteristic or to a character trait, either with regard to a mania or a memorable action, etc. And it's the same for the Surname or patronyms and numerous names of clans are said motivated or at least have a popular etymology. Certain names, through the explanations given by the advisers, send back at the origin of the lineage or to a part of its history, in particular its arrival to Ponérihouen, as for example

> « Pwârânyîmô est originaire d'un tertre par ici de Göièta. Cela signifie le "fruit de l'érythrine". Quand ils ont quitté le lieu de leur tertre [d'origine], les membres de ce clan se sont installés ; mais il n'y avait pas de case, seulement un pied d'érythrine qu'ils ont pris comme abri en attendant de faire une maison. Quelqu'un qui passait leur demande : "pourquoi vous restez là ?". D'où le nom Pwârânyîmô, fruit de l'érythrine. » (Étienne et Boniface Apiâcari Pwârânyîmô et André Mwâtéapöö, 20/01/94)

Working paper

> « Pwârânyîmô c'est en fait ***pwärä-wâ nyîîmô***, ***pôrô-wâ nyîîmô*** ; ***pôrô-wâ*** : ensemble des cases dans l'allée, habitation, demeure" ; ***nyîîmô*** : "*Erythrina sp.*". » (Piibèè Henri Gönârî et André Mwâtéapöö, 17/12/93)

> « Aramôtö Paijècaa. Le nom vient de cela : quand on quitte un lieu, on part ensemble, par groupe, ou un par un. Là, c'est plutôt un par un ; c'est la signification du nom : ***pä*** = aller et ***jècaa*** = un par un. » (Jean Atééa Aramôtö Paijècaa, André Mwâtéapöö, Sophie Tutugörö-Aramôtö Paijècaa et Jocelyne Nâaucùùwèè-Aramôtö Paijècaa, St-Yves, 24/01/94)

> « Tutugörö est la contraction de ***Tùtôô-rî ba tägörö***, ce qui veut dire "cacher / creux profond". C'est ainsi qu'on dit dans les discours. Ce qui signifie qu'on les a cachés parce qu'ils avaient fait quelque chose de mal, une bétise à un moment donné, d'où la naissance de leur nom. » (Camille et Athanase Nâaucùùwèè, 26/01/95)

> « Tutugörö signifie "le tutu sur le pic Görö-ö" ; on avait déjà ce nom là-haut. Car c'étaient les Tutugörö qui soufflaient le tutute pour avertir les familles en haut qu'on avait trouvé une place en bas, notamment les Göröwirijaa, ***iri-jaa*** étant la ligne de crête, et qui vivaient en haut avec les Tutugörö. […] Aujourd'hui, ce qui est embêtant, c'est que les familles ont changé de nom ; mais quand ils ont pris un nom qui n'est pas le leur, ils ne peuvent pas raconter leur jèmââ, dire d'où ils viennent. Car où tu habites, tu as tes cocotiers, tes sapins, tes bananiers, tout… tu te reposes sur ta Pierre. » (Eugénie Bwëëngâ Tutugörö-Thonon, Maria Pworuné Tutugörö-Aramôtö et Victorin Téâ et Victoire Döi Tutugörö, Nâpwéépaa, 2/12/93)

And there, we specify that the ancestor who settled down to Ponérihouen was alone to make his hut:

> « Apiâcari, ça signifie "couvre tout seul", c'est vrai. ***Api*** = couvrir ; ***caari*** = un seul ; ***a-*** préfixe nominalisant. » (Francis Apiâcari et André Mwâtéapöö, 14/01/94)

Certain names, through the explanations given by the informants, send back to the function of the lineage in the social paicî organization, as for example:

> « Pûrûê ***mä*** Caabërëpô, cela signifie la "tête" – celui qui est là-haut sur la butte – et le "bout de l'allée en bas"[37], c'est-à-dire les serviteurs, celui qui détient tout, qui commande même celui qui est là-haut. C'est ausi la sentinelle, le défenseur ; il est donc forcément en bas pour surveiller ceux qui arrivent. » (Denis Tuaii Apiâcari Caabërëpô et André Mwâtéapöö, 21/01/94)

> « On dit Pûrûê mä Caabërëpô, c'est-à-dire la "tête et le bout de l'allée". » (Philippe Apiâcari Pûrûê et André Mwâtéapöö, 20/01/94)

> « Le vrai nom quand on a quitté Wailu, c'était Göwé Möu, "milieu igname". » (Élizabeth, Louise, Pascal et Abel Nâwa, Mwââgu, 27/02/95)

> « Les Aupagöida [***au***, "lieu", ***pa*** "prendre", ***gö*** "casse-tête", da "sagaie"] qui sont les guerriers. C'est aussi la nom d'un tertre. […] ***tééa*** signifie "habiter là où on s'assoie". C'est Bwëé son nom ; Atééa c'est parce que c'est le premier à s'être installé là. » (Camille et Athanase Nâaucùùwèè, et Jérôme Näbai, 26/01/95)

[37] Rivierre (1983) dit le "haut de l'allée" pour Caabërëpô (*idem* pour Boulay), mais ce serait faux selon André et Denis.

Working paper

The meaning of other names of lineage is bound to their hillock of origin or to the place where they settled down:

> « Les Göpwéa viennent de Cäba, du pic au-dessus. Quand ils étaient à Cäba, ils s'appelaient Göpia. ***Pia***, c'est le tamanou de montagne (*Calophyllum montanum* Vieill. (ex. Planch. et Triana) ; guttifère) et ***gö*** le bâton [ou plutôt, selon Rivierre (1983), ***gö*** = massue, casse-tête, hache]. Le nom Göpia, cela vient du fait qu'ils ont fait un bâton dans le bois du tamanou de montagne pour partir de Cäba. Ils ont débrousser avec en arrivant à Näwètaa, ici. Cela a donné alors le nom Göpwéa, ***gö*** étant le bâton et pwéa étant débrousser. […]On dit Göpia mä Pûrûmäräwâ. Pûrûmäräwâ, c'est le nom d'un creek qui descend sur la route de Cäba, en montant à gauche, avant d'arriver chez André. Ça veut dire "la tête de la maison" [selon Rivierre (1983), ***pia*** = terrain ; ***pûrû*** = tête ; ***ma ra*** = de la ; ***wâ*** = maison). Le nom du tertre à Cäba, c'est Näbwùùcùrù, ce qui signifie le "lieu vert/bleu". » (Raphaël Göpwéa et André Mwâtéapöö, 20/12/93)
>
> « L'étymologie du nom Göröèù : ***èù*** est un roseau [selon Rivierre (1983), ***èù*** = Graminée ; torche ; ***jö-èù*** = Roseau]. » (Jean-Marie, Manuel et Charlot Göröèù, Göröcê, 29/01/94)
>
> « Une partie de ces Aramôtö est partie dans la forêt pour chercher un coin pour dormir. Ils sont rentrés sous des roseaux ***èù*** — *Miscanthus japonicus* Anders., graminée, = ***watü***. Quand ils se réveillent, Cau Piibèè voit qu'ils avaient dormi sous les roseaux ***èù***. Aussi il les a appelés Göröèù. […]Du pic Aramôtö, il y a un caillou qui a roulé pour venir atterrir sur une plate forme en bas de chez Waia Wétaa (ancienne propriété Dubois). Ce caillou s'appelle ***atü pwùrù-dë***. ***Pwùrù***, ça veut dire soulever et ***dë*** la cendre, parce que le caillou, quand il s'est soulevé pour essayer de rouler, il est resté accroché quand il a roulé et il a fait beaucoup de poussière comme de la cendre […] nous les Pwiridë. […] les Nâtéaawé sortent du bois ***tééa***[38]. » (Jean-Baptiste François Bwëé et Céu Jonas Pèè, l'Embouchure, 02/03/95)
>
> « Quand on est parti de là-haut, on arrive ici et on prend le nom de l'endroit où on arrive, Görödé. » (Baptiste Görödé, l'Embouchure, 28/02/95)
>
> « Les Autâgu (de Göa), c'est en fait ***autââ-gù***, de ***au-tââ*** qui signifie un "endroit où se reposer, rester assis" [selon Rivierre (1983), "là où on demeure, cour, lieu pour s'asseoir, endroit préparé pour y reter discuter ; famille"] et de ***gù*** qui veut dire bouger pour aller se cacher parce qu'un ennemi va venir nous chercher (c'est comme ***pigo***). » (André Mwâtéapöö, 31/01/94)
>
> « Näpwémwiri, c'est "creek sec". » (Camille et Athanase Nâaucùùwèè, 8-10/02/95)
>
> « Aramôtö Näpwémwîrî (du nom du creek Mwîrî à Cäba). » (Camille Nâaucùùwèè et le pasteur Nâaucùùwèè, 1/02/94)
>
> « Nâaucuuwèè, "in the bend of the river" (***nâ*** «préfixe: collection, étendue, ensemble de», ***au*** «trace de, lieu»)

[38] ***Tééa*** est un arbre à grande feuille, à jus blanc dans les branches ; c'est de cet arbre qu'est sorti Téâ Kanaké quand Dui Pwiridua a voulu le couper… Nom français de ce bois ? Selon André, « c'est bien l'histoire des Nâtéaawé. Ils sortent du bois ***tééa*** et ils restent là, ils ne se déplacent pas, » d'où le nom ***Nâ-téa-awé***, ***téa*** = "s'installer dans un endroit" et ***awé*** = "tout à fait, définitivement" […] « C'est bien ce qu'on dit dans les discours, que les Nâtéaawé sont sortis du bois ***tééa*** et qu'ils sont restés là sans se déplacer. Par rapport à Téâ Kanaké qui est sorti de l'arbre ***tééa*** avec Dui Pwiridua, c'est la même histoire, maias cela se passait avant ».

Working paper

> « Görötâdo, c'est un nom donné en fonction d'un arbre, le faux cerisier, qui est un arbre qui fait comme un parapluie et qui donne des fruits comme des graines de chapelet, qu'on appelle ***tädo*** (non identifié). […] Pigo [autrement dit "ils se sont sauvés" pour éviter la guerre]. » (Dominique Pwëolaa et André Mwâtéapöö, Göröcê, 20/03/95)

> Certain etymologys make reference simply in a natural element of the environment of the concerned lineages:

> « Kwérô, cela signifie "racines de l'arbre faux manguier", de ***kwé*** = racine en ajië et de ***rô*** ajië = ***aru*** en paicî. » (Claude Kwérô Mîî, St-Yves, 17/01/94)

I cannot resume here all the patronymics met during the collection of the genealogies of the lineages of Ponérihouen, this will be too boring. But all these examples show that every name sends back to something particular, either geographical, or historic, appropriate for every lineage.

Nicknames

Nicknames are given according to various criteria which go from the morphology (Madeleine ***Ticè Poropwä***, litt. «without teeth») to the character, by way of the behavior during the childhood:

> « I, we had nicknamed me "my old ***pé***" [***pé*** for father] because I had said it to an old man when I was young. […] ***Pwöröûgé*** for Mom, it's "fruit/short". […] My Grandmother is Pwiia ***Mèräpû*** "big head" Pwârâpwééaa. »[39] (Extract of interview, G. Mwâtéapöö, Baala, 6/12/2004)

We can also innovate and have a specific nickname bound to a physical characteristic (for exemple ***Mèräpû*** «grosse tête» or ***Göri***, «the length») or behavioral appropriate. The dation and the transmission of the nicknames[40] are not always linked to that of the "true" names. If, from time, the nickname passes with the name, it is not general. We can take the ***duru-nêê*** of somebody and the nickname of somebody else… For example, Joseph Vital Mwâtéapôö took «Vital» from his grandfather Téâ Auru Vital and it's the 'brother" of Joseph, Gaby, who took this true name Téâ Auru. Téâ Auru means «Téâ who run away». Téâ Auru Vital had also as nickname ***Görö näcärü***, litt. «on the cemetery» because at St-Yves, Téâ Auru lived where there was the cemetery; it is thus another nickname for grandfather Téâ Auru who was also transmitted to Joseph Vital.

But nicknames as "true" names are often carrier of a (hi)story and, this way, we can say that «[…] the nicknames, […] constitute an inaccessible internal code abroad but at once understandable by the members of the group which so forges its own history» (Segalen, 1980 : 72). Göicé P. has for nickname « thief of brands» which comes to him from an old man who, in the old days, when there were still no matches, always stole brands to light his cigarettes. ***Nä iri pôrôwâ***, litt. «in the foot of the house» was the surname of the old Katë Aramôtö ; ans it was too the nickname of ***caa*** André Mêcêrè Mwâtéapöö because he grew

[39] « Moi, on m'avait surnommé "mon vieux ***pé***" [***pé*** pour père] car je l'avais dit à un vieux quand j'étais petit. […] ***Pwöröûgé*** pour maman, c'est "fruit court". […] Ma grand-mère c'est Pwiia ***Mèräpû*** "grosse tête" Pwârâpwééaa. » (Extract of interview, G. Mwâtéapöö, Baala, 6/12/2004).

[40] Because to Kanak people, nicknames cans be transmitted as all other personal names.

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over there, at the old man Aramôtö, according to the process of fosterage usually applied to strengthen the links with the lineage of the maternal uncle or their lineages brothers.

Today, let us note that the young kanak people adapted the system of naming by giving themselves nicknames, that we see on tags, graffiti according to codes which are appropriate for them (KnK man, Yeman, etc.).

In such contexts of transmission of names where the homonymy is thus established as social rule, here as in other numerous societies, the individual nickname can play «a role "safety valve"» and guarantee «the personal identification» by avoiding «the confusions due to the identity of both family names and the first names» (Bromberger, 1982: 105). To Kanak paicî, this practice is also completed by teknonymes and naming of the persons by the name of their housing environment, present or past.

Teknonyms

I displayed somewhere else, with the presentation of the terminologies of kinship (Leblic, 2005), on the detailed use of teknonyms. I mention them here only for the record. One of the manners of teknonyms is for example to compensate for a name which we cannot pronounce because of prohibitions which touch the concerned persons. So, the aunts on father's side cannot, in sign of respect, pronounce the name of their nephews; so they call them ***ukai*** that we usually translate by "head", "chief" or "elder" that are term of very strong respect:

> «I say ***Pa ukai Goicé*** for elder brother Goicé Mîî ; his grandsons will say ***ao Goicé*** directly» (Extract of interview, G. Mwâtéapöö, Baala, 6/12/2004)

Certain of these names, given to individuals with regard to precise places, can be transported with the person who moves from a place to another one, as for example ***ao bel-air***, litt. «Grandfather Bel Air», so named with regard to the locality Bel air where he lived in a certain period, even if hedoes not live there any more for a long time. But, in other cases, we can change name at the same time as of place.

The composition of teknonyms is always the same: the term of relationship is placed in front of the name of the person who is placed in appropriate relationship: ***nyââ kêê Téâ***, «mother of Téâ» Today, prohibitions on the enunciation of the true names being hardly respected, this practice tends to get lost and we often intend to call a person directly by its name.

Finally, another way of naming people is to indicate them with regard to their place of residence, sometimes in connection also in a term of relationship, but always by taking into account attitudes of relationship to be respected as we shall see it below (see terminologies of kinship and attitudes bound to the relationship).

Prohibitions linked to duru-nêê

In the old days, because of the sacred character of names (see above), it was forbidden to pronounce the true names of the persons, the ***duru-nêê***, which were taboo: to say a name, it is to call directly the ancestor of whom it is the name; it is also the means to affect, by practices of witchcraft, the person who carries him, so many reasons to keep the ***duru-nêê*** hidden from the largest number of people. This prohibition is to be put in relationship also with the spirit of the name, which represents to any point of view the identity of the person. To look after somebody, the quack had to pronounce the true name of the patient and, on the contrary, to

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launch an attack of witchcraft on somebody, we had to make it by the ***duru-nêê***. That is the reason of the necessity of the secret on names, to protect the one who carries it of possible attacks. But the secret on names is not for everybody, a certain knowledge by someone is necessary, otherwise we could not choose the name of the ancestors and often, it is that at the time of the initiation that we have knowledge of the proper names in such or such house because the initiations are made inside a house! Those who manage the initiation are also the ones who are in charge of the war and who thus have access directly to the power. Certain old men, who are the based of clans and their ritual defense, could indeed call the youngest by their names, as for example those who were in position of ***caa mä ao***[41]; the maternal uncles could also call their nephews by their true name because, as responsible for the good growth of their nephews, they were among those who knew the real names of each of them, to be able to make the rites indispensable to their good health. Over and above the fact that often, they could be at the origin of the dation of the name.

The sacred character of both true names and patronyms being linked also to the fact that they convey history, it was not rare, as we have already indicated, that certain patronymics are hidden to allow their carriers to escape the dangers, which threatened them. For that purpose, they hid under another name to escape their enemies and thus survive.

A ***duru-nêê*** is thus sacred and it might be also dangerous, because having a name it is to master a power. Certain names are so more powerful than the others; some names are so negative that they are no more transmitted, like for example Göödùù, a famous warrior of whom we are so afraid that it is his own maternal uncles who struck a blow at him (magically[42]) to prevent him from continuing to destroy the country and his inhabitants.

Some examples of transfers of names

We'll see now, from two genealogies, examples of transfers of names, relatedness that they express and the part of history that they allow to keep in memory.

The first example of transmission of ***duru-nêê*** or true names is part of the lineage Mwâtéapöö whose genealogy is presented beside (figure 2). In this lineage, one of the more important true name is Téâ Auru, litt. «Téâ who runs away», name of an ancestor who would have left and become, by leaving Mwâtéapöö, ancestor of the Gönärî, the other lineage of the clan named Vêkumé (or Wêkumè). Because at the origin of the big clan Vêkumé were several "brothers", among whom four are presented here in the figure 1.

[41] ***Caa mä ao***, litt. «father/and/grandfather», «subjects», « supports» of the « chieftainship»

[42] His uncles tore away, in their sacred place, the magic perch that conferred him its strength and its invincible character. They were moreover the only ones to be so able to affect him.

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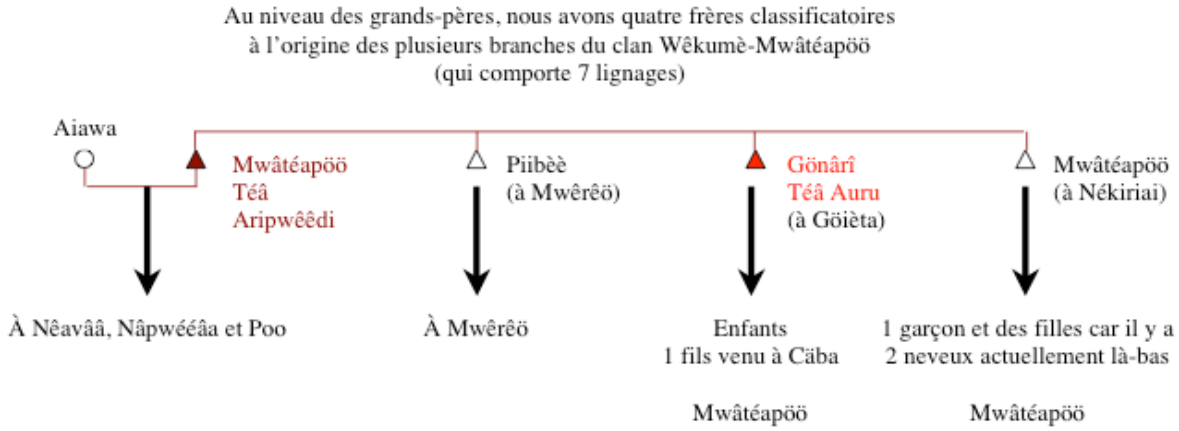
Figure 1. – Initial sibship of Vêkumé Originally in particular of Mwâtéapöö, Piibèè and Gönârî



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Lignage MWÅTÉAPÖÖ

.MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Pwëëdi = ?
MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Y (3412) = ? (3416)
.I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Téâ Aripwëëdi (64) = AIAWA A (145)
.I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Joseph Téâ Auru (65) = GOWÉMÖU Gertrude (146)
.I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Matéo Namêba Mathieu (70) = PWEOLAA Léonie Marthe (149)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Clémence (85)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Agnès (86) = 0 (1249)
. | . . | . . | . . | . . | . GÖPWÉA Gérard (1205) = PWAPWÉDAA Bwëëngâ Michèle (1260)
. | . . | . . | . . | . . | . . | . GÖPWÉA Téâ (1218)
. | . . | . . | . . | . . | . . | . GÖPWÉA Céu (1551)
. | . . | . . | . . | . . | . . | . GÖPWÉA Odile (1552)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Yvette (3399)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Agnès (86) = GIAKO Simon (161)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Célestin (87)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Marie-Odile (88) = GÖPWÉA Félix Pwëdé (1193)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Tarcisse Bwëë (89) = WANGI Pélagie (167)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Jean-Paul (120) = VÅDEGU Marie-Jo (1246)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Michèle (121) = 0 (3413)
. | . . | . . | . . | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Théodore (3394)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Michèle (121) = PWÂRÂNYIIMO Louis Éric (3391)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Théophila (122)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Lili (123) = MÊÊDU PWÂRÂMOO Clarck (3392)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Célestin (124)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Georges (125)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Pascal (126)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Angèle Tipwa (127)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Théodore (3394)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Claudia (90) = NÂMÂBERE Narcisse (162)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Bernard (91) = PWIIÉ GÖÖRA Salomée (168)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Jean (128)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Annie (129)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Léna (130)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Ipi (131)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Didime (132)

.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Narcisse (133)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Mathieu (134)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Tarcisse (135)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Ga (3395)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Chantale (92) = APIÂCARI CAABEREPO Jean (163)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Joseph Vital (93) = GÖPWÉA Bernadette Pwëpi (169)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Koéca Célestine (136)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Agnès (137)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Jean Emmanuel Nâou (138)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Téâ Miwa (3396)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Gb (3397)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Benoite (94) = BOUTEILLER Jean-Jacques (164)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Yacinthe (95) = POOMÂ Barthélémy (3752)
.I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Alexandre (71)
.I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ C (72)
.I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Joseph Téâ Auru (65) = PWÂRÂPWÉÉAA Pauline Pwiia (147)
.I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Théodore (73)
.I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Angèle Tipwa (74) = NÂAUCUUWEE Victorin Téa (154)
. | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ André Mêêère Aripwëëdi (75) =GÖPWÉA Marguerite Âdi Pworupwé (170
. | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Gabriel Téâ Auru (96)
. | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Bernadette Bweuga (97) = 0 (3414)
. | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Patou Cau (3401)
. | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Bernadette Bweuga (97) = WEBE Ambroie (165)
. | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Marie-Reine Pwiya (98) = 0 (3415)
. | . . | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ x (3403)
. | . . | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Jean-Marc (3402)
. | . . | . . | . TUTUGÖRÖ Luc Benjamin Céu Luco (99) = F Gossanah Charline (200)
. | . . | . . | . TUTUGÖRÖ Luc Benjamin Céu Luco (99) = F Maré Cécile (201)
. | . . | . . | . TUTUGÖRÖ Luc Benjamin Céu Luco (99) = F NZ ? (1075)
. | . . | . . | . . | . TUTUGÖRÖ Cécile (1426)
. | . . | . . | . . | . TUTUGÖRÖ Ga
. | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Jacques Atééa (100) = ARAMOTÖ PAIJECAA Vivianne Utê (178)
. | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Philippe Téâ Auru (139)
. | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Alexia Âdi (140)
. | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Déborah Bauga

Ancêtre des Gönâri, celui qui est parti
Vient de ses tontons Gowémou
A donné son nom à Marthe Mwâtéa pöö
Vient de chez les Göröèù
Surnon de Téâ Auru
Vient des tontons Gönwéa
Vient des Nèjù
Vient des Pwëolaa
Vient des tontons de St-Yves
Grand-mère Tùtùgoro
Vient des Göröèù
Grand-mère Pwiya Mèrâpu Pwârâpwééa (147)
Céu Domii Göpwéa, grand-père de Âdi
Vient des Göröcê
Grand-mère maternelle Nâaucùùwèè
Vient de Léonie Marthe Pweolaa

(Continuation on the other column)

(Continuation of the first column)

. | . . | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Marthe Arlette (101) = 0 (962)
. | . . | . . | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Emmanuel Céu (141)
. | . . | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Élizabeth (102) = NÂBAI Pierre (250)
.I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Appolonie (76) = APIÂCARI PWÂRÂNYIMO Téâ Benjamin (155)
.I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Louise (77) = TUTUGÔRÔ Auguste (156)
.I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Noël (78) = GÖPWÉA Lidie (172)
.I . . I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Henriette (103) = WANDÉ Pétro (3404)
.I . . I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Thérèse (104) = 0 (2247)
. | . . | . . | . . | . . | . GÖPWÉA Göru Théodore (2217)
. | . . | . . | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Yvanna (2248)
. | . . | . . | . . | . . | . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Sylvanna (2249)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Yvanna (2248)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Sylvanna (2249)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Thérèse (104) = MEURET Raymond (286)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Appolinaire (105) = ARAMOTÖ PWARAUTE Raymonde Caanô (2419)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Fa
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Béatrice (106) = APIÂCARI CAABEREPO Clément (174)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Alphonse (107) = 0 (964)
.I . . I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Véronique (3405)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Marceline (108)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Alexandre (109) = PWIRIDE Odile (1462)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Thomas (3406)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Pauline (3407)
.I . . I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Kévin (3408)
.I . . I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Marie-Rosaire (110) = GÔRÔJAA Ludovic Tuaii (175)
. | . . | . . | . GÖRÖWIRIJAA Antoine Göru (111) = PWIRIDE Nathalie Salomée (176)
. | . . | . . | . . | . GÖRÖWIRIJAA Marie-Louise Pwëwé (142)
. | . . | . . | . . | . GÖRÖWIRIJAA Dui Yves (1370)
. | . . | . . | . . | . GÖRÖWIRIJAA Catherine Tuga (1371)
.I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Lyna (112) = 0 (3411)
.I . . I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Véronique (3405)
.I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Geneviève (79) = NÂAUCUUWEE Camille Bwëé Atéaa (157)
.I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Didime (80) = AIAWA Simone (173)
.I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Fabien (113)
.I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Yolande (114)
.I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Michel (115) = XUvéa X (177)
.I . . I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Sandra (144)
.I . . I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Fb (143)
.I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Jeanne d'Arc (116)
.I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Zacharie (117)
.I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Bertrand (118)
.I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Simon (119)
.I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Gertrude (66) = ERUKAKÉ A (150)
.I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ André (67) = KEREJI A (148)
.I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Dorothée (51) = PWEOLAA Jean Uéé (16)
.I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Marie-Reine (82) = AIAWA Jean Jules (158)
.I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Rose (83) = YMONT-FAOUÉ ? (3410)
.I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Rose (83) = 0 (963)
.I . . I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Blandine (197)
.I . . I . MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Yvonne (84) = TAGLIAFERO X (159)
.I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ A (68) = X MONT-FAOUÉ ? (3409)
.I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ B (69)
.I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Z (1149) = ? (1150)
.I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Madeleine Ticè Poropwä (41) = PWEOLAA Céu Auru (5)
.I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ ? (1124) =PURUE Cau (1111)
.I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ ? (1151) = PWIRIDE ? (3417)
.I . . I MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Pierre (4935) = PWÂRÂIRIWÅ TÖWAATATAA Fa (4938)
.I . . I . . I PWÂRÂIRIWÅ MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Léonard Nâmötö Pwëdé (4936) = WIIMIIÅ Maria (5027)
.I . . I . . I . . I PWÂRÂIRIWÅ MWÅTÉAPÖÖ Céu (4937)

Vient de Céu Goroubé, grand-père de la mère de sa mère Âdi

Transmission dans le lignage
Transmission par l'alliance
Transmission par un lignage frère

Figure 2. –Mwâtéapöö Genealogy

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Then, on the figure 3 which presents certain transmissions of names, I indicated only the persons to consider in the chosen examples, not so as to weigh down pointlessly this demonstration. I follow with Gabriel Mwâtéapöö the genealogy of his lineage which I had made a few years ago with his father (figure 2) and we took back together the diverse names and nicknames of several members of the family to specify of whom they had taken them, by leaving from one of the ancestors of the clan, which had to be called Pwêêdi because his grandson names is Téâ Aripwêêdi, Téâ «grandson of Pwêêdi». Let us note on this matter that the processes of naming are also a means to find the name forgotten by somebody: between Pwêêdi and Aripwêêdi, there are in theory three generations because it is the grandson of Pwêêdi. At the same time, we also spoke about the history of the family:

> « Téâ Aripwêêdi died before Joseph and André were adult; they grew up with their mother because it was time of war: We were attacked to make disappear the clan, it wa at Néavê. That why we leaved to Ponérihouen village; it is in this tie also that Nèju and Piibèè clans disappeared; and the reason we made an adoption to go on with the Nèju because of their role for the yam and the war (it'a also why they didn't want Baptism). But the chid died after his adoption. It was the same thing for the Gwâ, there is not any more! It's Téâ Aripwêêdi who is the first one to take the religion and he introduced his brother afterward; By making it, they dropped many things. But André, here [understood at Baala on their ancestral lands where they can return recently], he was in sync with his ancestors. » (Extract of interview, G. Mwâtéapöö, Baala, 6/12/2004)

We see on the figure 3 below that the name of Téâ Auru was systematically transmitted since the first carrier of the name (which is not present on this plan but on the figure):

- from Joseph Vital Téâ Auru, of the generation of the grandfathers of Gaby (ego) ;
- to Gaby Téâ Auru, his grandson, to whom he transmitted in his lifetime;
- to Joseph Vital, another grandson;
- to Philippe Téâ Auru, a classificatory son of Gaby and Vital.

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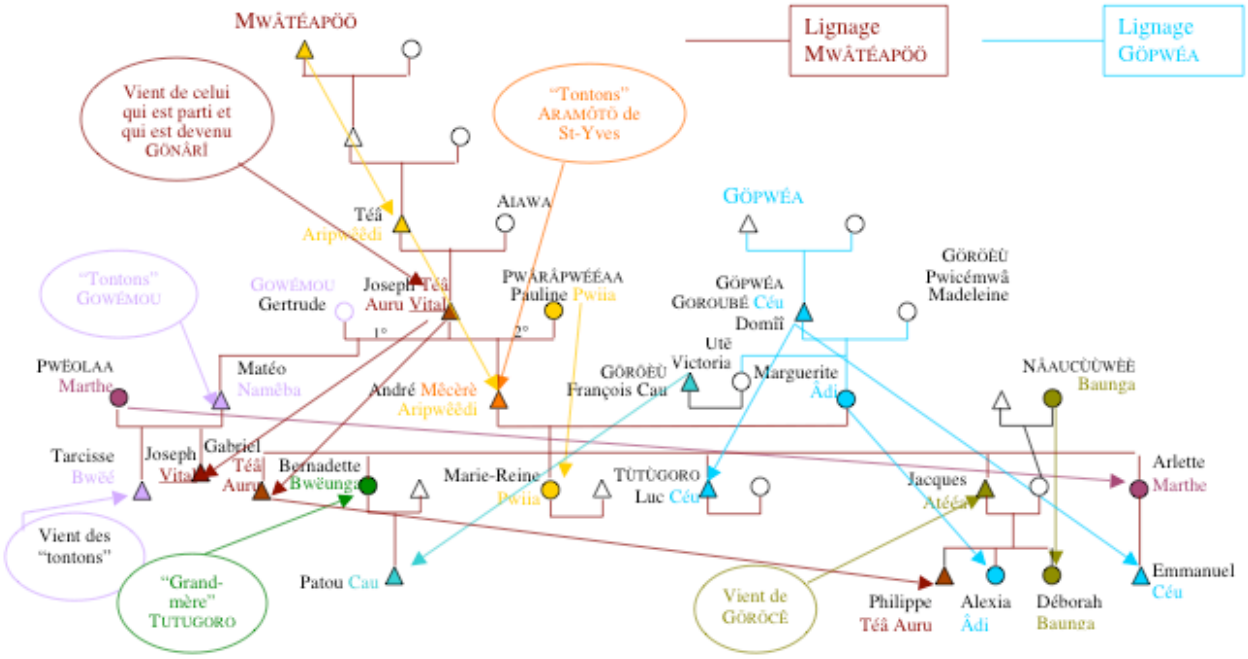
Figure 3. – Details of transfer of some names Mwâtéapöö by taking into account the allied lineages



Gaby so explains me the choice of its name by his grandfather whose transmission aims, as underlines it Andrew Arno to call back the story contained in the name of the person whose name[43] we took, here the first ancestor named Téâ Auru:

> « Téâ Auru, it's the name of grandad, he gave me his name himself. I'm born at Näwètaa [tribe of his mother, Marguerite Âdi Göpwéa] because there were difficulties for my birth and my father had brought mom at a midwife of Näwètaa. I was born while he had left home. André Mêcêrè didn't kwow the name of his father, Téâ Auru. It's the name of the one who run away from here to create the Gönârî, that's why this name is carried both by Gönârî and by us [Mwâtéapöö]. To say it's the same story. Mwâtéapöö, it's the name of the whole; Gönäri, it's Mwâtéapöö. » (Extract of interview, G. Mwâtéapöö, Baala, 6/12/2004)

Then he continues on the other present names in the genealogy among which some are resumed on this figure which takes into account in a preferential way the lineages of his father and his mother, Mwâtéapöö (in red) and lineage of the maternal uncles, Göpwéa (in turquoise). He begins with the ***duru-nêê*** of his father:

> « Mêcêrè, it's come from my uncles, because he [my father] grew up up there, at St-Yves. It's the other name of the thunder ***tikakara***. Because, sometimes, the uterines give a name. Daddy vas sacrilized by the uncles because he gave him the name of the thunder, Mêcêrè. Once a name given by the uterines, we can give it again and we have just to inform that we gave it. The name, it's always a marck to memorize the history, the story of the clan, of the alliances… » (Extract of interview, G. Mwâtéapöö, Baala, 6/12/2004)

[43] « An important point here is that the story embedded in the name is not intended to refer to the person named but to the person named for. » (Arno, 1984 : 29).

And so Mêcêrè is the name which I gave to my son Romain, in memory of my adoption by André Mêcêrè and to pay him tribute. It is a "sister[44]" of André, met in Paris while I was pregnant who said to me that it was this name which I had to give to my child. André, to whom I had written to ask him for a name, not answering me, it was quite naturally so that I take his.

Gaby goes on the explanation of the names and nicknames of his family, beginning with those of his brocthers and sisters:

> «Céu, it is the name of the grandson of mommy, Céu Goroûbé. Pwiia, it's the name of grandmother Pwiia Mèräpû Pwârâpwééaa. Bernadette Bwëunga, it's the one of a grandmother Tùtùgörö. Jacques Atéa, it comes from Göröcê because there is a sort of allegiance when we were at Téuti and because the moms went out of Göröèu. Marthe, it's the name of the wife of the dad of Matéo.» (Extract of interview, G. Mwâtéapöö, Baala, 6/12/2004))

Then, is coming the generation of the sons and nephews:

> «Cau Patou, it's come from Göröèu. Déborah Bauga, it's the name of her maternal grandmother, sister of Simon [Nâaucùùwèè] ; Âdi is the name of the paternal grandmother; and Téâ the name of grandfather given by Daddy (for me, it's my grandfather who gave his name to me directly, because a same individual can't give his name several times to various people). Daddy have just said to me: "I give your name", without me to ask! And Pwicémwâ [little sister of and Alexia] taken [adopted] by Apollinaire, it's come from Aramôtö, the maternal grandmother. Baunga, it's the name of an ancestor of the Poomâ. […] At Vital, we have Nâôû which comes from Nèjù, Koéca which comes from the uncles, Raphael Göpwéa, and Téâ Niwa which comes from Pwéolaa…» (Extract of interview, G. Mwâtéapöö, Baala, 6/12/2004))

At comparative ends, see in the figure 4 another example of transfer of names from the Pûrûê's genealogy.

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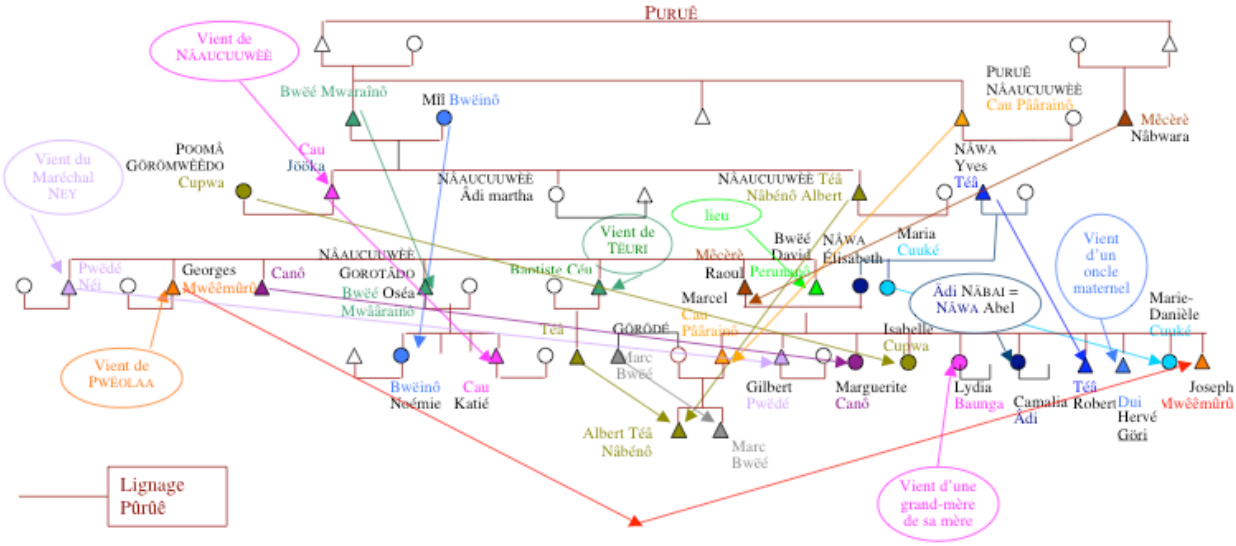
[44] It's somebody of a dui lineagewhich is said brother of the Mwâtéapöö bai according to a part of common history and who address thus to André saying to him ***cié*** « elder brother».

Figure 4. – Transfer of some names at the Pûrûê taking into account the linked lineages



Conclusion

I did not make precise countings on the origin of the name inside each lineage because with over more than 6 000 persons in my genealogical base, the systematization of such inquiries, about some 120 genealogies registered on the paicî field, will be an extremely long and tiresome work. C'est pour cela que je ne l'ai fait que sur quelques généalogies avec quelques « bons » informateurs. Whatever it is, these two examples show perfectly our speach: the importance of relationship for the transmission of names as the one of the history of each clan or lineage, and with Jacques Fédry, we claim that « the name, it's the I social, it's the the I relational »[45] (2009: 78). I can say without risk of being mistaken that it is the case for all the enregistered genealogies.

Telling also the story of the lineages, and of the events that marked them all along their trips walks to their inhabitance places (moving stopped and net fixed by the colonization during the XIXth siecle), these names are as Arno claim beside «good to think and good to make think»[46] and are the markers od the interactions between history of famillies and lineages[47] :

[45] « Le nom, c'est le moi social, c'est le moi relationnel ».

[46] « bons à penser et à faire penser ».

[47] « Lauan names, in short, are often narratives nippets that commemorate not only people but events and social relationships. When names are words, a speech community provides an interface between onomasticon and lexicon that emphasizes metaphorical interaction between them. When names are stories, the interface is between onomasticon and the body of narrative identified as history and politics in the community. In virtually all communities names have narrative dimensions, but Lauans seem to have placed unusual emphasis on it. As Howard (in press) observes, societies differ in the ways they "do history," and much Lauan history is done through the medium of personal names. And as Lindstrom (1985) observes about naming practices on Tanna, Lauan names reflect personal, everyday family history, not just the doings of heroes and elites. […] If naming practices illustrate and offer specific insight into various theoretical approaches in social theory, the Fijians of the Southern Lau Group are practical exponents of the emerging focus on narrative in social psychology. The idea of a name as narrative seems peculiarly emblematic of the movement in social psychology, described by Bruner (1990), from a model of the human mind as a computer dealing with information to an emphasis on the mind as an archive of narratives that enable the individual to make sense of experience. Anthropologists working in the Pacific have contributed to the development of this perspective through ethnography-based analysis (e.g.,

> «The value to people, and presumably to spirits, of being able to name evidently represents an important link to the prevalent system of motivations and values in the community. The exact nature of that motivation was not, as far as I could discover, entirely clear even to participants in the naming practices on the island. Undoubtedly the desire to name is culturally overdetermined, drawing from several motivational sources. The general point made by informants, however, involved the idea of *vakananumi* (remembrance). Names are a device to make people think about or remember certain events or people. Both aspects are relevant to the analysis of naming as a culturally specific speech act (Akinnaso 1983).» (Arno, 1984: 27)

These facts are also completely corresponding with what I know of the paicî kinship, with the importance of alliances between lineages, which balance between the reproduction of marriages enter the same lineages from generation to generation and the opening of new "ways/roads" of alliance. This tendancy is also in the paicî child circulation which, comme nous l'avons montré, fonctionnent selon les mêmes principes que la circulation des femmes dans le mariage (Leblic, 2004). Ainsi, toute la parenté paicî nous montre l'importance de l'individu en relation avec les autres et, comme l'avait écrit en son temps David Maybury-Lewis « the understanding of names and naming [can provide] the most valuable key to the elucidation of … social systems » (1984: 2).

> « In the central Brazilian societies described by Maybury-Lewis (1984:8), for example, "names link individuals to society, just as society is linked to the cosmos." In these societies names "constitute a crucial aspect of the ideal social form. People enter them and are cycled through them. Names do not thereby function primarily to identify individuals. Their purpose is rather to transform individuals into persons" (Maybury-Lewis 1984:7). Along with their structuralist function in constituting and maintaining social and ideological categories at the societal level, names also provide a medium of expression at the level of interpersonal interaction. Rosaldo (1984: 22) observes, for example, that among the Ilongot of the Philippines, "naming people not only designates unique individuals and discriminate social categories, but it also shapes the quality of social interactions and reflects the dynamics of interpersonal histories." » (Arno, 1994: 23-25)

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Rosaldo 1980; Myers 1986; White 1991; Brison 1992), and the Fijian case further illuminates the role of narrative in mediating between self and group in the specific context of naming systems. » (Arno, 1984 : 32-33).

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