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Personal Names, Lexical Replacement, and Language Shift in Eastern Indonesia

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1. Introduction

In Central Maluku, a pronounced association has been noted between patterns of language use and religious affiliation. In Christian villages, a considerable number of indigenous languages have become extinct, and language shift towards the regional lingua franca, Ambonese Malay, is endangering the majority of the remaining languages.¹ Indigenous languages in Muslim villages are also undergoing language shift. Although the process is slower and use of indigenous languages is apparent among all generations of speakers, there is a perceptible narrowing of the functions of the languages. Very few groups in Maluku have resisted conversion from their ancestral religion to Christianity or Islam. However, the villages in which ancestral religious practices have been retained are marked by language maintenance and greater retention of traditional ritual practices.

The vast majority of the Nuaulu of south central Seram in eastern Indonesia have retained their ancestral religion. In contrast, only one of the 26 Alune villages (located in west Seram) has not converted to Christianity.² This study presents a comparative analysis of naming practices between these two Austronesian language groups. The analysis

¹Cf. Collins (1982, 1983), Florey (1990, 1991, 1993), Grimes (1991).

²Collins (pers. comm.) notes that Kawa, located on the north coast of Seram, is an Alune village that has been subject to very intensive in-migration of people from Sulawesi. During fieldwork in this site in 1977, Collins noted that the oldest generation spoke Alune. Today, the village population is largely Muslim.

reveals a continuum from the more traditional system still employed by most Nuaulu to the Alune system, which has been restructured under the influence of conversion to Christianity. The discussion of the contemporary Nuaulu system builds on the earlier work of Ellen (1983) in this region.

We will first describe the three research sites and the research methodology. We will then examine pre-Christian patterns of conferring personal names in each location. The linguistic structure of personal names is analyzed, and the respect systems and associated systems of lexical replacement are described. This analysis includes a discussion of the sources for replacement terms and the extension of the respect systems to Malay homonyms. Shifts in naming practices associated with the introduction of Christianity and Christian names are described. Finally, a comparison is drawn between contemporary Nuaulu and Alune naming practices.

2. Research sites

This study draws on Bolton's research in the Nuaulu village of Rouhua, and Florey's research in the Alune villages of Lohiasapalewa (LS) and Lohiatata (LT). Nuaulu and Alune villages are not contiguous, but are separated by the Wemale-speaking region, involving a distance of several days walk. Although Nuaulu and Alune are genetically related languages,³ there has been little historical contact between the groups.

2.1 Nuaulu

Rouhua is located on the coast of south central Seram, near the larger Muslim village of Sepa, which has administrative authority over it. There are just over 500 speakers of Nuaulu in Rouhua, along with about 150 non-Nuaulu people. These include a number of Butonese families, several people from Sepa, the teachers and pastor along with a few others from other parts of Nuaulu, and a Chinese family. Approximately 85 percent of the Nuaulu speakers still adhere to their traditional religion, while about 12 percent have converted to Protestantism. Naming practices of both these religious groups are described here to provide a basis

³Collins (1983) classified both Alune and Nuaulu as daughter languages of the Nunusaku branch of Proto-East Central Maluku. However, Alune is subclassified within the Three Rivers branch of Nunusaku (which also includes Wemale) while Nuaulu is subclassified within the Patakai-Manusela branch.

of comparison with Alune naming practices. The remaining 3 percent of the population of Rouhua have converted to Roman Catholicism or Islam through marriage to non-Nuaulu people. Because there are no Catholic or Muslim families where both mother and father are Nuaulu, naming practices within these religious groups are not discussed here.

Use of the Nuaulu language is quite strong among the majority who adhere to the traditional religion, with some older people and many young children not knowing much, if any, Ambonese Malay. A few families have now begun to use Ambonese Malay with their children to prepare them for school, although most people do not approve of their doing so. The Christian minority, some of whom are married to outsiders, live in their own separate section of the village almost one kilometer away from the main village. This has provided a less stable linguistic environment and enabled them to use Nuaulu much less than the majority. The first language of their children is Ambonese Malay, although teenagers who have two Nuaulu parents speak Nuaulu quite well.

2.2 Alune

Traditionally, the Alune language was spoken in the mountainous interior of west Seram. During the last one hundred years, but particularly since the 1950s, a number of Alune villages have relocated to coastal regions: six to the north coast and four to the south coast of west Seram. The remaining sixteen Alune-speaking villages are still located in central mountain sites within the three administrative districts of Kairatu, Taniwel, and Seram Barat (Florey 1990).

2.2.1 Lohiasapalewa

LS is located in the central mountain range of west Seram, at an altitude of approximately 650 meters in submontane rainforest. LS is some 30 kilometers (or a one-day walk) from the north coast of Seram and a two-day walk from the south coast. Its nearest neighbors are the Alune villages of Riring, Manusa Manue, and Buria. In 1996, LS had a population of 238 in 32 households. At various times during this century, Alune villages have come under pressure to relocate from the mountains to the coast. The primary purpose of such relocation has been “pacification”—to make the villages more accessible to government authority, first by the Dutch colonial authorities and later by the Indonesian government. While a considerable number of Alune villages succumbed to the pressure and

relocated to either the north or the south coast, the villagers of LS have successfully resisted all attempts to impose relocation upon them. Although forced to abandon their village throughout the guerrilla (RMS⁴) conflict fought in Central Maluku in the 1950s and early 1960s, they lived in the forest within their village territory. Similarly, the villagers overcame another attempt to relocate the village in 1970. The relative isolation of their location has meant that all generations of villagers in LS remain Alune speakers. However, this study will demonstrate that specialized knowledge concerning Alune personal names and the associated respect system of lexical replacement has diminished markedly in this site.

2.2.2 *Lohiatala*

The present-day villages of LT and LS were formerly one village, located on the site of LS. In 1817, conflict within LS led to the departure of a breakaway group who formed the village of LT approximately twenty kilometers to the south.⁵ Unlike LS, the villagers of LT were unable to resist the government's attempt to relocate them during the RMS conflict. In 1952 they were moved en masse to the south coast of Seram, where they dwelt in the non-Alune village of Hatusua for thirteen years. The modern village of LT was established on its present site (approximately four kilometers inland from the south coast) in 1964. Its nearest neighbor is the non-Alune village of Waihatu, comprising a transmigrant population from Lombok and Java. Further south are the non-Alune villages of Waesamu and Hatusua. Bordering its territory to the north are the Alune villages of Rumberu and Rumbatu. In 1992, LT had a population of 728 in 110 households.

Its recent history has meant that, in contrast to LS, LT has undergone dramatic sociocultural and linguistic changes since the 1950s. The period in which the villagers of LT lived in the non-Alune speaking village of Hatusua, and the closer contact with non-Alune peoples that has followed the move to their new village location, have had a great impact on

⁴The Republik Maluku Selatan, a separatist movement that sought independence from the newly formed Indonesian Republic.

⁵For a brief (unpublished) history of the village of LT, see Suilima, "Sejarah Singkat Asal Mula Lahirnya Desa Lohiatala," written in 1988 by a former village headman, Matheus Makerawe, and a former village secretary, Max Nikolebu.

language use in the village. Villagers boarded in the homes of Hatusua people, and were rapidly immersed into a Malay-speaking environment. Ambonese Malay is the first language of all people born in the new village—that is, those of about thirty years of age and younger. People in this age group no longer speak Alune, although most retain some receptive skills. They are rarely addressed in Alune and, if they are, they always respond in Malay (Florey 1991, 1993, 1997).

3. Methodology and history of the project

The divergent sociocultural and linguistic situations described above for the three research sites have meant that the researchers have had quite different access to personal names and the lexical replacement system. Hence, dissimilar methodologies have been employed to gather the data analyzed in this work and are thus described separately below for Nuaulu and Alune.

3.1 Nuaulu

Soon after Bolton began linguistic research among the Nuaulu people, she was surprised after a brief trip to town to return to discover that one of the children whom she had come to know by the name of Natusiha was now named Nihua. As Bolton began to learn people's names, she was confused several times when someone started using a different name from the one she had learned. Her initial interest in naming practices was sparked by her finding that a Nuaulu person's name is changed if he or she is often sick. Later she learned that people were prohibited from saying the names of certain affines and, as fluency in Nuaulu improved, she started hearing some people use different lexemes for some items in place of the usual term. For example, one woman came to the house asking for 'hot' instead of 'fire'. One of Bolton's main language helpers could not use the word for gold, so used another term. Bolton began making a list of these replacement terms as she stumbled across them. Her interest greatly increased at the Third Maluku Research Conference (1994) when Florey described her struggles in obtaining Alune "Hindu names."⁶ There is no such difficulty in obtaining traditional names for the Nuaulu, since "Hindu names" are the only names most people have.

⁶In this region "Hindu" is used to describe people who practice an ancestral religion. This does not, however, indicate a confusion with the Hindu religion.

We therefore decided a comparison of naming practices in the two language groups might prove interesting.

Upon her return to Rouhua, Bolton verified existing data on naming, obtained answers to remaining questions, and added to her list of replacement terms. She did this by questioning several Nuaulu informants in the village of Rouhua, both Christian and adherents to the traditional religion. The list of replacement terms was also obtained from only a few informants who told Bolton what many other of the people in the village use as replacement terms.

The primary focus of the Nuaulu discussion here is linguistic, although a brief introduction on naming practices is given for comparative purposes. We do not intend to cover the ground that has been thoroughly reported by Ellen (1983), who discusses Nuaulu naming practices with an emphasis on the meaning of names.

3.2 Alune

In pre-Christian times, a child was given an Alune personal name, known in Alune as *nasusu* ‘breast name’.⁷ All Alune villages began to convert from their ancestral religion to Christianity in the earlier part of the twentieth century, a process which began between about 1900 (in coastal regions of west Seram) and 1930 (in mountain villages). The villagers of LT began to convert in 1925 and the villagers of LS in 1935. As part of the process of conversion, the Alune took Christian names and, to a large degree, ceased overt use of traditional Alune personal names.

In this setting it is very difficult to ascertain who has an Alune personal name. Possession of Alune names is associated strongly with the pre-Christian era, as is indicated by the Malay term *nama Hindu* ‘Hindu name’, which is used by the Alune to describe Alune names. One impact of conversion to Christianity has been the suppression of all things associated with the period referred to in Malay as the *masa gelap* (‘dark era’), the unenlightened, pre-Christian times. The suppression of pre-Christian practices has resulted in very uneven distribution of knowledge about both Alune personal names and the respect (*mosi*) system, and a clear unwillingness to impart such knowledge. The process of collecting names was, therefore, slow, difficult, and seemingly full of contradictions.

⁷*Nasusu* is derived from *nane* ‘name’ and *susu* ‘breast, milk’.

During two lengthy periods of fieldwork in LT, Florey was gradually able to elicit data of increasing depth and became aware that Alune names are sometimes still bestowed upon a newborn child, most commonly alongside a Christian name or through a process of name replacement (similar to that discussed by Bolton for the Nuauulu). Rarely is a child given only an Alune name.

During her first fieldtrip to LS, Florey found an even more cautious response to her questions about Alune names than she had experienced on the coast, despite (or perhaps because of) the fact that the Alune language is much stronger in this site. Florey was unable to elicit any information on the topic of Alune names and was firmly told, “We don’t have those names any more.” In 1994, Florey returned to LS and took with her the complete list of Alune names previously collected in LS and Murnaten (Mrtn), and found she was able to “trade” information. When Florey began working with her principal consultant, a 63-year-old man, he initially reiterated the position that people in the village do not have Alune names. He was, however, willing and interested to read through the names previously recorded to verify their authenticity. The next morning he returned, stating that the Alune names in his village are much more attractive than those Florey had recorded elsewhere, and continued by saying “Let’s start with the men’s names from this end of the village.” That morning’s work elicited thirty men’s names, and the following morning twelve women’s names were recorded. The majority of the names belong to living people, and later work on genealogies elicited the names of deceased ancestors.

The names Florey elicited initially were names of the oldest people in the village, excluding the consultant himself because he continued to assert that he had not been given an Alune name, although his older siblings and several of his children had. While Florey’s consultant also continued to tell her that younger people were no longer given Alune names, this was contradicted by other evidence suggesting that both Alune personal names and the *mosi* system are still of some importance today. The analysis of Alune names contained within this work is drawn from a database of approximately 123 Alune names (73 male and 50 female), primarily from the villages of LS and LT.⁸

⁸A further 51 names were collected in the Alune village of Murnaten (Mrtn), and M. C. Boulan-Smit contributed a list of approximately 300 names for the Alune village of Manusa Manue. Due to subsequent difficulties in checking

4. Patterns of conferring personal names

4.1 Nuaulu

When a child is born to parents who still practice the Nuaulu traditional religion, the midwife attending to the birth sends someone to the leader of the child's father's clan to get a name for the baby before the cord is cut. This name, which is said aloud as the cord is cut, is known as *nanai mamrehi tipuei* 'his/her cord-cutting name'.⁹ Each Nuaulu clan, with the exception of the Matoke clan, is divided into two houses (*numa*), known as the big house (*numa onate*) and warlord's house (*numa kapitane*). The clan leader who is the guardian of the big house is usually the one who gives the name. In the clan leader's absence, the guardian of the warlord's house may give a name to a newborn baby, although often someone will be sent to call the clan leader from wherever he is to get a name. This name is often obtained from an ancestral spirit who has come down to a medium during a seance. The seance may have been held while the mother was in labor with the baby being named if it was a difficult labor, or it may have been held several days or weeks before the birth. The ancestral spirit does not give explicit instructions that a child should receive a certain name; rather, the child will be given the name of a spirit who came down recently. When a spirit first comes down, it tells what its name is.

Since names are obtained from an ancestral spirit in a seance, mediums can also name a baby. Often the clan leader and warlord are mediums but there may also be others. All mediums are seen as being designated by spirits and therefore as having some authority in running the village and being responsible for carrying out some of the rituals required by the Nuaulu religion. Most of them are guardians of a ritual house, which is built on piles, unlike other houses, which are built on the ground. The medium is not aware of what happens in a seance, so does not know the name of the spirit or spirits that came down to him. His wife tells him afterward, and this is how he determines the name for a newborn baby. However, the Nuaulu do not seem to see the child as a

these data, names from Manusa Manue have not been included in this analysis. Limited use is made of the Mrtn data.

⁹If a baby is stillborn, the cord is not cut and no name is given. The placenta is buried with the baby.

reincarnation of this ancestor. It seems more important to keep the names in use so they will not be lost than to remember the dead by using their names. It is said that the living carry the names of those who are dead (*ohaha sio wasoni omataso nanao*).

Names belong to particular clans but a wife-taking clan can gain the right to use a woman's name if the full bridewealth is paid by the wife-taking clan. The wife-giving clan can then no longer use this name. The full brideprice is rarely paid in Rouhua. Instead, people prefer to keep obligations flowing between a couple and each of their clans, as this provides a ready labor force in times of need and a source of food in times of want.

In the case of the 12 percent of the Nuaulu population of Rouhua who have converted to Christianity and become members of the Protestant Church of Maluku, the pastor is the one who gives each newborn child its name. Thus, the religious leader still plays the key role in naming. A child may also be named by its parents, although the pastor seems to be the preferred name-bestower. Although among Christians, too, the name is pronounced when the cord is cut, it is not a traditional Nuaulu name, but rather a name from the Bible or a Western name. Most Nuaulu children born to Christian parents do not receive traditional names; they are only given in unusual circumstances. One person whose parents were Christians when she was born was given a Nuaulu name by the midwife who delivered her. At the time of her birth, her father was away in another village and her quite old mother was unconscious, having almost died along with her baby while giving birth. There was no pastor at that time. The midwife who delivered her is a Christian but also delivers babies born to adherents of the traditional religion. She follows the ritual and prayers of the mother's religion, although it appears from this case that if she has to give a name it will be a Nuaulu one rather than a Christian one. This child was later given the Christian name by which she is now known.

4.2 Alune

Discussions with older midwives in LS and LT indicate that, in the pre-Christian era, name-bestowing practices paralleled those described for the Nuaulu. In the contemporary setting, marked by extensive sociocultural and linguistic changes, these practices have been modified yet indicate a substratum of adherence to traditional practices.

Women are usually attended at birth by a *biane*, an Alune woman with the inherited right to practice midwifery. At birth, the midwife holds a coin against the umbilical cord and asks the father for the child's name. The name is uttered as the cord is severed.¹⁰ The coin is later given to the church, and a prayer is offered for the child's health. The placenta is wrapped in a length of white cloth and placed inside the two halves of the endocarp of the fruit of the coconut (*ni'wel esi alati*).¹¹ The 'female' half of the shell (the section in which the embryo developed) forms the base, and the 'male' portion forms the lid.¹² The midwife buries the placenta alongside a wall in the birthing room or in the kitchen. In the contemporary era, no attention is given to the location of the buried placenta relative to the direction of sunrise or sunset. A stone is laid to mark the location of the placenta, and it is prohibited for several years to throw water on the site, or to light fire near it.¹³

After the birth, the father in LT or LS walks through the village to answer the question, *mitale pi marele?*, literally 'shrimp or cuscus [*Phalanger* spp.]?'.¹⁴ In the coastal village of Mrtn, the comparable question is, '*wele aiya pi pia marela?* 'water and wood or sago and cuscus?'. In both sites the question asks the gender of the baby by focusing on gender-assigned tasks. While Alune men are responsible for hunting and for processing sago, women fetch water and firewood and may trap shrimp or eels in streams.

The sources for Alune names are complex, as one might expect. The common present-day practice is for the village minister to provide a

¹⁰As with the Nuauulu, an Alune stillborn child is not named; the umbilical cord remains uncut and the child is buried with the placenta, his or her *kaka* 'older sibling'.

¹¹The orthographic convention employed for Alune utilizes an apostrophe to represent a glottal stop [ʔ].

¹²The hole in the endocarp through which the embryo has emerged allows the fluids from the decaying placenta to escape.

¹³See section 8 for more details about Nuauulu traditional and Christian treatment of the placenta or *kakai* 'his older same-sex sibling'.

¹⁴Although these metaphors are not used upon birth among the Nuauulu, the Nuauulu cognate term *mitane* 'shrimp' is used as a euphemism for vulva and *marane* 'cuscus' is used as a euphemism for penis.

Christian name for the child.¹⁵ Again, this parallels Nuaulu and pre-Christian Alune practices in that the religious leader confers the baby's name. Many modern names in Alune villages are therefore biblical, for example, Timoti, Mateus, Moses, Yusup, Markus, Magdalena, Maria, and Ruth. It is now also common to choose typical Ambonese names such as Oktofina, Fransina, Juliana, Adolpentji, Kostansa, Welem, Fredinant, Leunard, Stenly and Alprets. Several of these names clearly reflect the influence of the Dutch colonial era.

The minister may follow pre-Christian practice in bestowing the name of a living relative or deceased ancestor from the paternal line, usually from two generations prior: that is, males are named after their paternal grandfather or one of his brothers (a classificatory grandfather), and females after their paternal grandmother or one of her sisters (a classificatory grandmother). In these cases, the minister will ask the father's descent group for a suitable name. For example, one man in LS (born in 1972) was given his (deceased) paternal grandfather's Christian name, Hanok. The grandfather's Alune name, Lesau, has not yet been bestowed upon a child. Similarly, a woman in LS (born in 1975) was given her (deceased) paternal grandmother's Christian name, Martina. A child may be named for a chronologically closer relative who died prematurely of accident or disease. For example, in late 1993 a female baby was given the Christian name of her father's elder sister, Magdalena, who had died of cancer shortly before the baby was born.

The above pattern of naming indicates that it is important to the Alune to keep alive the memory of ancestors through the 'reawakening' of names. The Alune assert that ancestors may transmit through a young child their unhappiness that a name has not been perpetuated. This becomes apparent to the parents if a child fails to thrive or cries continuously. Under such circumstances a child's name will be changed to that of an ancestor. For example, one child's name was changed to Yusup when he failed to thrive and continuously cried. The name of another child, who was illegitimate and living with his maternal grandparents, was changed to Barnabus when he too failed to thrive.

In other cases, a name may be changed to appease the spirit of someone who has died in unusual circumstances, especially a death purport-

¹⁵Other visitors to the village (including linguists, anthropologists, and Indonesian government officials) occasionally may be asked to choose a name for a newborn or expected child.

edly involving the use of sorcery. For example, in 1995 a baby was born in LS following a prolonged and difficult labor and was named Deviana. Several hours after giving birth the mother died, and her death was attributed to sorcery. The baby's name was then changed to that of her mother—Amelia. The baby later died (at six months) and, at burial, her name reverted to her original birth name, Deviana.

However, these patterns of conferring Christian names may be disrupted by particular circumstances that can lead to the bestowing of an Alune ancestral name in conjunction with the Christian name. In LS in 1994, a woman with three daughters learned that she was pregnant with her fourth child shortly before undergoing surgery for an abdominal tumor. When she gave birth to a son, he was given a Christian name (Falens) and also the Alune name of his paternal great-grandfather (Kamenia). In such cases the Alune name is usually concealed from the minister.

Sources for Alune personal names are various:

Names may relate to events occurring around the time of the child's birth, or during gestation of the fetus. For example, the name Lisai (from *lisa* 'war') was given to a male child born during a time of warfare.

Names frequently relate to aspects of the physical environment. For example, the female name Piai derives from *pia* 'sago, sago palm', the male name Ni'wela derives from *ni'wele* 'coconut', the female name Amuloia is a compound derived from '*amu* 'betel vine' and *loini* 'leaf', and the female name Buamoni is a compound derived from *buai* 'fruit' and *moni* 'fragrant'.

A further source of names is that of deities from the Alune ancestral religion. For example, Tuale is the (male) anthropomorphized sun, a deity in the Alune ancestral religion, and Dabike is the (female) anthropomorphized moon.

Names may commemorate historical figures from a *luma* 'house' or 'descent group'. For example, in one *luma* the male name Dobola must be perpetuated in memory of an ancestor who was said to have been transformed into a dog. This *luma* also has a prohibition on the eating of dog meat.

Names may be taken from Alune songs commemorating important people or events. For example, the name Akalai perpetuates in song the memory of a man killed by headhunters.

Names may be taken from spirits invoked in incantations. For example, the female spirits Ima, Putia, and Putilaha are called upon to increase a rice crop.

Names may be dreamt. For example, one man dreamt that a procession of ancestors came to visit him, all wearing their black church robes. Taipela, his mother's father, spoke and told him to give his son the name Lesia. When the man awoke he asked his family if they had any ancestors named Lesia, because the name was unfamiliar to him. Eventually one recalled that the name derived from that of the founder of their *luma*.

In exceptional circumstances, a child is given only an Alune name and no Christian name. For example, in one family in LT, four children had not lived beyond their first birthday. When a male child was subsequently born, his parents tried to ensure his survival by giving him only the Alune name of his paternal great-grandfather, Loline.

5. Structure of names

Similarities have been identified in the linguistic structure of Alune and Nuauulu personal names. Both language groups have segmentable names, constructed through compounding or by a process of affixation, and names which cannot be segmented but for which meanings can often be identified. Meanings, where available, are given for the Alune names. For meanings of Nuauulu names, see Ellen (1983).

5.1 Structure of Nuauulu names

Nuauulu names consist of two to five syllables, but names of three and four syllables are most common. A number of female names are prefaced by *Pina*, the Nuauulu word for female, followed by a two- or three-syllable word.

5.1.1 Unsegmentable names

Unsegmentable names consist of two or three syllables. A few are ordinary words, although the majority are not and have no apparent meaning.

Two-syllable names include Hatu, Poki, Waka, Wanto, and Wata.

Three-syllable names ending with noun-class markers *-e*, *-ne*, or *-te* include Rahie, Sahune, Saite, Soine, Touna,¹⁶ and Tuane.

¹⁶This is the formal variant of the *-ne* noun-class marker.

Another pattern is three-syllable names consisting of bisyllabic roots ending in a high vowel /i/ or /u/, to which /a/ is appended, as in Honia, Houa, Katua, Nihua, and Ratia.

Yet another is three-syllable names consisting of bisyllabic roots ending with a high vowel /i/, to which *-sa* is appended, as in Aisa, Tuisa.

Three-syllable names consisting of trisyllabic roots include Alewa, Maloi, Maloku, Manesi, and Suasa.

Finally, there are four-syllable names consisting of a trisyllabic root augmented by one of the noun class markers *-e*, *-ne*, or *-te*, as in Siahue.

5.1.2 Segmentable names

Although meanings for both parts of most of the following segmentable names cannot be identified, stress identifies them as segmentable, with primary stress on the penultimate syllable of the root, and secondary stress on the first syllable.

Four-syllable names include Anarima, Atanepu, Huanatu, Maimuna, Nauhana, Nisasou, Numapena, Sahukone, Samanai, Sanehini, Sirusou, and Tukanesi.

There are five-syllable names consisting of bisyllabic roots ending in a high vowel /i/ or /u/, to which /a/ is appended, as in Ananikua, Suka-maua.

There are also five-syllable names with one of the noun-class markers *-e*, *-ne*, or *-te* on the second segment, as in Henaiane, Nakanoene, Nasiomina,¹⁷ Paraitana, Sekeneane.

Pina ‘female’ may be followed by a two-syllable name, as in Pina Hai, Pina One, and Pina Roi.

Pina may also be followed by a three-syllable name, as in Pina Huanane, Pina Irae, Pina Putie.

5.2 Alune names

Structurally, Alune names parallel Nuauulu names in that they consist of two to five syllables with a clear preference for trisyllabic names.

5.2.1 Unsegmentable names

Unsegmentable roots often consist of ordinary Alune words. There is a strong preference for trisyllabic names, and two rules may apply to achieve this structure.

¹⁷The suffix *-na* here is the plural form of the noun-class marker *-ne*.

First, a final /a/ may be added to bisyllabic roots that end in a high vowel /i/ or /u/. For example:

Dulua	<i>dulu</i>	‘to descend’
Lesia	<i>lesi</i>	‘more’
Mabua	<i>mabu</i>	‘affine’
Patia	<i>pati</i>	‘assistant to the village head’
Putia	<i>puti</i>	‘white’

Second, a final /i/ may be added to bisyllabic roots that end in a nonhigh vowel /e/ or /a/. For example:

Bolei	<i>bole</i>	‘rope trap’
Lisai	<i>lisa</i>	‘war’
Pelai	<i>pela</i>	‘intervillage alliance’

The preference for trisyllabic names blocks the application of the second rule to trisyllabic roots, because it would produce four-syllable names such as *Bulane-i. At the same time, a strong preference for names that end in /a/ often causes names from trisyllabic roots to show /a/ in place of the final vowel of the original root. For example:

Bulana	<i>bulane</i>	‘moon’ ¹⁸
Ni’wela	<i>ni’wele</i>	‘coconut’
Utuna	<i>utune</i>	‘one hundred’

Note that these rules indicate a preference but do not apply in all circumstances. For instance, they do not apply to the names of deities, nor to names of spirits invoked in incantations. For example:

Dabike	moon deity
Ima	name of spirit invoked in rice harvest incantations
Tuale	sun deity

5.2.2 Segmentable names

Four-syllable and five-syllable names are usually morphologically segmentable;¹⁹ they may be compounds or formed through affixation. Examples of compounds include the following male names:

¹⁸The fact that this name triggers lexical replacement of *bulane* ‘moon’ with *moule* ‘phase of the moon’ indicates that name derives from *bulane* rather than *bula* ‘to come’ with the *-na* ‘name’ affix.

¹⁹It should be noted that the latter are quite uncommon.

Batulia *batu* 'stone' + *lia* 'to pass by'
 Tatihenai *tati* 'wait' + *hena* 'village'

Female names include:

Amuloia *'amu* 'betel vine' + *loini* 'leaf'
 Buamoni *buai* 'fruit' + *moni* 'fragrant'
 Manulua *manu* 'bird' + *lua* 'two'

Male names may be compounded with the suffix *-ela* (lit. 'big'), a respect term for men distinguished by age, status, or power. For example:

Abunela Abune (*abune* 'Pied Imperial Pigeon') + *ela*
 Laluela Lalua (*lalu* 'to carry, lead') + *ela*
 Lumutela Lumuta (*lumute* 'moss') + *ela*
 Ni'welela Ni'wela (*ni'wele* 'coconut') + *ela*
 Tualela Tuale (sun deity) + *ela*

Male names may also be compounded with other terms indicating a position of authority or power, such as *latu* 'the highest level of government official within the system of village government introduced by the Dutch' and *pati* 'assistant to the village head; the third level of government official within the system of village government introduced by the Dutch'. For example:

Bailatu *bai* 'to circle around' + *latu*
 Latuanai *latu* + *anai* 'diminutive'
 Latuela *latu* + *ela* 'big'
 Latuesa *latu* + *esa* 'one'
 Samlatu Samai + *latu*
 Patia *pati*
 Patilesi *pati* + *lesi* 'more'
 Patinama *pati* + *nama* 'to wait'
 Sulipati *suli* 'to be initiated' + *pati*

The male name Samai is significant in Alune history, occurring both alone and, more frequently, in compounds. For example:

Samala Samai + *ela* 'big'
 Samana'wa Samai + *na'wa* 'arenga palm'
 Samlatu Samai + *latu* 'government official'

A considerable number of segmentable names contain a *na* affix, derived from *na-ne* 'name (+ *-ne* noun-class marker)'. For example:

FEMALE NAMES

Balana	<i>bala</i> ‘to run’ + <i>-na</i>
Nabuna	<i>na-</i> + <i>buna</i> ‘flower’
Nalatu	<i>na-</i> + <i>latu</i> ‘ruler’
Nameli	<i>na-</i> + <i>mele</i> ‘dark, black’
Naole	<i>na-</i> + <i>ole</i> ‘bamboo’
Nautuna	<i>na-</i> + <i>utune</i> ‘hundred’

MALE NAMES

Alana	<i>ala</i> ‘rice’ + <i>-na</i>
Nanata	<i>na-</i> + <i>nata</i> ‘use of cunning, deceit, witchcraft to injure s.o.’
Tenina	<i>teni</i> ‘bamboo’ + <i>-na</i>

Some Alune names consist of a *ni-* prefix that marks feminine gender.²⁰ Ellen (1983:27) and Bolton (above) report the marking of gender on some Nuaulu female names with the prefix *pina-*. Examples of Alune names marked for gender include:

Nibulana	<i>ni-</i> feminine prefix + <i>bulane</i> ‘moon, month’
Nimaita	<i>ni-</i> + Maita ‘male personal name’
Nipi’ane	<i>ni-</i> + <i>pi’ane</i> ‘plate’

A very few Alune names may take more than one affix. For example:

Nipiana	<i>ni-</i> feminine prefix + <i>pia</i> ‘sago’ + <i>-na</i>
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6. Respect systems

One of the most interesting aspects of the traditional Alune and Nuaulu naming systems is the associated respect systems.²¹ Respect relationships among the Nuaulu apply to children-in-law. Married persons should show respect by not saying the name of either of their spouse’s parents. An even stricter respect relationship exists between wife’s brother (WB) and husband’s sister (HZ), and husband’s brother (HB) and wife’s sister (WZ). These apply whether or not both parties are present, and, in fact, even apply after one party has died. Respect relationships among the

²⁰Note that the male name Ni’wela is not morphologically segmentable. It derives from *ni’wele* ‘coconut’ and is not therefore prefixed with *ni-*.

²¹Collins (1989) observes that his earlier fieldnotes record the presence of taboos on uttering the names of one’s affines in Alune, Nuaulu, and other languages of Central Maluku.

Alune are no longer recognized. Previously, they existed between WB and HZ, HB and WZ, and with one's parents-in-law, particularly between a husband and his mother-in-law. Among the Nuaulu, as they were previously with the Alune, respect relationships are marked by behavioral restrictions.

6.1 Nuaulu

The Nuaulu consider it disrespectful to say any married person's name except to outsiders who are not familiar with the Nuaulu tekonym system and do not know the Nuaulu language. When a woman is married she is addressed as and referred to as Pina X, where X is the name of her husband's clan. *Pina* means 'female'. When a man marries, he is addressed and referred to as Saa X, where X is the name of his wife's clan. *Saa* is an elision of *msaha* 'married into'. Once they have a child, they will be referred to as their oldest child's father or mother. Later they will be referred to as one of their grandchildren's grandfather or grandmother. It is particularly disrespectful to say the name of the guardian of one of the clan's ritual houses.

Along with this system of respect, there is a much stricter system of prohibition that applies to ego's spouse and ego's opposite-sex sibling's spouse (*sau monne*), that is, WB and HZ as well as HB and WZ. These people cannot say each other's names or even words that are partial or complete homonyms of their names. There are also behavioral restrictions that include not eating from a plate that the other has used, not eating the other's leftover food or chewing their leftover areca nut, and not talking loudly, joking, or cursing in their presence. Two people who are *sau monne* to each other are permitted to talk as long as they are not near each other. They should be across the room from each other but talk softly. However, in one case when Bolton was about to go into a village store with a friend and the friend saw that her *sau monne* was in the store, she decided to buy what she needed somewhere else. These restrictions are still adhered to by both Nuaulu Christians and adherents of the traditional religion. Formerly, it also was prohibited for one's shadow to fall on his or her *sau monne* but since this created such difficulty a fine was paid to reverse it so that it no longer applies. The prohibition on saying homonyms of the name of one's *sau monne* applies even after their death. In fact, when a woman dies in childbirth, one of her *sau monne* will be a member of the group of men who goes to bury her

corpse. After burial he will be the one to draw the line across the path near the grave to prevent her from returning to the village, since she will be more likely to honor the restriction if it is made by her *sau monne*.

There are a few cases of sister exchange, where two men have married each other's sisters. In this case, although brother and sister are in the *sau monne* relationship, the avoidance aspects do not apply. They are permitted to say each other's names.

Avoidance relationships are also not as strict if a person is related to his *sau monne* in some other way. In one case, a person's *sau monne* is also his sister's daughter, and he is her mother's brother. Since a mother's brother plays an important role at various times in his sister's daughter's life, the avoidance is not so strict in this case. However, name avoidance does apply, along with restrictions on uttering homonyms.

There are no sanctions for a lack of respect in saying the name of one's parent-in-law, but the Nuaulu believe that if they say the name of their *sau monne* their knees will become weak. However, this effect can be counteracted if one spits on one's hand and immediately touches one or both knees. No compensation is given to the *sau monne* and no fine is paid. Spouse will also be angry at such displays of disrespect. If one eats the leftovers of one's *sau monne* or uses his or her plate, one's children will become ill.

An interesting aspect of the respect relationship with a parent-in-law occurs when a child is given the name of a deceased grandparent. In one case in Rouhua a child has his father's father's name, Yako. His mother shows respect for her father-in-law by not calling her son by his name, instead calling him Tete, the Ambonese Malay term for grandfather, since he has his grandfather's name. However, in another case where a child has his father's father's name, his mother calls him by name. Others fault the mother for showing too little respect for her father-in-law.

People devise replacement terms for homonyms of the names of their *sau monne*, although in most cases a replacement will already be in use because there is often more than one person with a particular name. Not everyone uses the same term. For example, there are a number of men in Rouhua who cannot say the personal name by which Bolton is known there (Rosi) because they have to avoid the names Rosi and Rosina. Both Rosi and Rosina married after Bolton began working in Rouhua, and she has recently noticed a greater tendency to call her either *ia pina putie* 'the white female' or *ia pina onate* 'the important female'. One man calls

Bolton Ro, another nickname she is known by, or he may say Romary. Another calls her Pina Temun. *Pina* ‘female’ is used in conjunction with a number of female names. *Temun* means ‘having the same name’. For example, there are two men in Rouhua with the name Saite. They call the other their *temun*.

As can be seen from Table 1, a number of mechanisms are used for devising a replacement term for homonyms of one’s *sau monne*. Usually when three consecutive letters of two words are the same, these words are considered homonyms. However, this is not always the case. *Pina* ‘female’ can be replaced by *tahina*, while *seite* is considered a homonym of Seleputi, even though there are only two consecutive letters in common. Furthermore, one person who cannot say *hunane* ‘moon’ does say *hunahane* ‘gold’, even though the first four letters are the same.

Other devices for deriving replacement terms include other onomatopoeic names for animals. The name Kaune is homonymous with the onomatopoeic word for goat, *une-une*. Someone who has a *sau monne* named Kaune says *mee* instead of *une-une*.

Often people have more than one name as a result of name changes when they were sick, if it was determined that the sickness came from their names. One’s *sau monne* cannot say any of these names. However, previous names can be used by one who cannot say a person’s current name because it is the same as that of one’s *sau monne*. For example, one person with a *sau monne* named Wanto cannot say the name of his brother’s daughter who is also named Wanto, so he calls her Kupako, a name by which she was previously known.

TABLE 1. NUAULU REPLACEMENT TERMS

Synonym		
NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT TERM
Sakasou	<i>sou</i> ‘word’	<i>anamanae</i> ‘word’
Tukanesi	<i>tuka</i> ‘make’	<i>mananeki</i> ‘make’
Tukanesi, Hitinesi	<i>nesie</i> ‘left’	<i>rahane</i> ‘left’
Near Synonym		
NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT TERM
Saite	<i>sai</i> ‘to sharpen’	<i>anipi</i> ‘to sharpen with a rock held in hand’
Aharena	<i>arena</i> ‘path’	<i>parisi</i> ‘main road’
Huawaena	<i>waene</i> ‘water source’	<i>tihu</i> ‘water taken from source’

Retanusa	<i>reta</i> 'to split lengthwise'	<i>haka</i> 'to split from top'
Wenuē	<i>wenuē</i> 'bead necklace'	<i>rante</i> 'chain', ²²
Retaone	<i>kareta</i> 'bicycle'	<i>oto</i> 'car'

Instrument Nominalization

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT TERM
Saniau	<i>sani</i> 'sago paste stirrer'	<i>mamnehue</i> 'mixer'
Wata	<i>atane</i> 'sago paste server'	<i>mamnahue</i> 'twirler'
Aharena	<i>aha</i> 'sago trough'	<i>mainaie</i> 'container'

Specific Term for Generic

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT TERM
Huawaena	<i>hua</i> 'fruit'	<i>kanai</i> 'areca nut'
Unuanaka	<i>unu-</i> 'head'	<i>huhu-</i> 'top of head'
Wanaesa	<i>wanate</i> 'bamboo'	<i>kahaute</i> 'bamboo container'

Generic Term for Specific

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT TERM
Hahulesin	<i>hahu</i> 'pig'	<i>peni</i> 'game meat'
Sukue	<i>sukue</i> 'k.o. ginger'	<i>hau rihue</i> 'good smell'
Nepenama	<i>nama</i> 'squeeze sago'	<i>ahusie</i> 'touch'

Descriptive Phrase

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT TERM
Seleputi	<i>seite</i> 'knife'	<i>tunu ikine</i> 'small machete'
Retanusa	<i>nusa</i> 'island'	<i>tuniai otoe</i> 'area of world'
Pina Tou	<i>toune</i> 'egg'	<i>manu anae</i> 'baby chicken'
Retaone	<i>one</i> 'star'	<i>nante utue</i> 'sky's louse'
Sekenima, Onima	<i>nima</i> 'five'	<i>nome nohue</i> 'below six', ²³

Archaic Term²⁴

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT TERM
Metēi	<i>metene</i> 'black'	<i>okone</i> 'black'

²²This and the following replacement term are borrowed from Malay but are well assimilated into the Nuauulu language and are thus listed here as near synonyms rather than Malay replacement terms.

²³This is an interesting contrast to the Alune procedure for devising replacement terms for numbers. Alune uses the number before that being replaced and adds suffixes giving it the meaning 'to be more than X', whereas Nuauulu uses the next highest number and modifies it with the noun *nohue* 'below'.

²⁴Replacement terms in Nuauulu and Alune have been categorized as "archaic" on the basis of consultants' attitudes toward the terms.

Sahiane	<i>iane</i> 'canarium'	<i>kahiaue</i> 'canarium'
Pekahatu	<i>hatu</i> 'rock'	<i>nipie</i> 'rock'
Tukanesi	<i>nesi-</i> 'tooth'	<i>kahake-</i> 'tooth'

Malay Language

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT TERM
Tanane	<i>naitanane</i> 'horse'	<i>kuda</i> 'horse'
	<i>tanana</i> 'termite'	<i>sorok</i> 'termite'
Urimahu	<i>uri</i> 'banana'	<i>pisang</i> 'banana'
Pina Tou	<i>tou-</i> 'heel'	<i>tumit</i> 'heel'
Kasinue	<i>kasi</i> 'cupboard'	<i>lemari</i> 'cupboard'

Sepa Language

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT TERM
Pina Tou	<i>pina</i> 'female'	<i>tahina</i> 'female'

Attribute

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT TERM
Retanusa	<i>usa</i> 'fire'	<i>titie</i> 'hot'
Soine	<i>soi</i> 'k.o. ginger'	<i>pasate</i> 'spicy hot'

A classifier may be used in place of the noun it is used with. For example, someone with a *sau monne* named Nauhana says *atuku* instead of *hanaku atue* for 'hand'.

Some words that are homonyms of people's *sau monne* are in very common use and are thus hard to avoid saying. Therefore most people say them. One person with a *sau monne* named Nasiomina says *nasi* 'blood' although she should not. Directionals are extremely productive in Nuauulu and the directionals *nau* 'seaward' and *mai* 'here' are included in names such as Nauhana and Kemai. In this case people say the directionals because it is too hard to avoid saying them with a suitable substitute. Many female names begin with *Pina* 'female', so a number of men cannot say *pina*. Most say it anyway, although some use *tahina*, the word for 'female' in the language of the nearby village of Sepa.

Another device used to avoid saying words that are homonyms of one's *sau monne* is by pointing. Persons speaking will also sometimes call on others to say a word for them. Occasionally they will whisper the name, particularly to outsiders like Bolton.

6.2 Alune

There is little evidence that the respect system is still in use in present-day Alune villages. This information is therefore presented from an his-

torical perspective. Respect relationships (*mosi*) existed between WB and HZ, HB and WZ, and with one's parents-in-law, particularly between a husband and his mother-in-law. Alune people could not utter the name of an in-law, resorting instead to kinship terms such as *sau* 'reciprocal term of address for same generation affine', *amate* 'father', *inate* 'mother', or *anai* 'child'. A respect relationship was marked by behavioral restrictions. For example, a woman could not eat in the same room as her in-laws, and she could not directly pass her brother-in-law any sharp object, such as a machete or knife. The same would apply to a man with respect to his sisters-in-law. Breaches of these restrictions led to the payment of a fine, usually in the form of a plate of Chinese, Portuguese, or Dutch origin.

The *mosi* system also involved the use of lexical replacement terms (*ma'mosi*) for words forming partial or complete homonyms with the name of an in-law. For example, a man whose WZ was named Alaya could not use the word *ala* in its everyday sense 'rice'. Instead, he always had to use the replacement term *ume* 'sand'. Mechanisms similar to those discussed above for the Nuauulu are used for devising replacement terms for Alune homonyms. These mechanisms are listed in Table 2.

As the data illustrate, certain generalizations can be drawn about the replacement system. First, more than one name can trigger the use of a replacement term. For example, Nibulana and Bulana both trigger replacement of *bulane* 'moon, month'. Second, there may be more than one homonym to replace. For example, *bala* 'to run' and *bala* 'hand, arm' must both be replaced by those in a *mosi* relationship with someone named Balana or Balai. Third, there may be more than one possible replacement term for a particular homonym. For example, *tuae* 'palm wine' can be replaced by either *na'wa* 'arenga palm' (from which the wine is tapped) or *labue* 'inflorescence of plant' (the base of which is the source of the wine sap) by someone in a *mosi* relationship with a man named Tuale. Fourth, a replacement term may in turn trigger the creation of another replacement term. For example, the female name Labana leads to the replacement of *uri lababa* 'k. o. banana' with *uri mapake* 'k. o. banana'; the name Sapake in turn leads to the replacement of *uri mapake* 'k. o. banana' with *uri malaite* 'green, unripe banana'. It is also worth noting that the replacement system leads to a loss of semantic differentiation for some speakers. For example, a person in a *mosi* relationship with a man named Ni'wela is unable to express the lexical

distinction between *ni'wele* 'coconut' and '*wa'ile* 'dried remnant of coconut' because '*wa'ile* must be used in both senses.

Examination of the data reveals that the means by which a lexical replacement term is selected is most often on the basis of a transparent semantic relationship between the homonym that must be replaced and the term used to replace it. In other cases, the means by which a replacement is formed is readily analyzable and may be quite productive. For example, *lima* 'five' is replaceable by *ata-bei-ke*, literally 'four-from-transitivizer', in other words, 'to be more than four'. The same system is used to derive the replacement term for 'seven'. The nominalizing prefix *ma-* (*ma'a-*) is used productively to derive replacement terms for 'winnow' and 'cup'.

However, the etymology of some replacement terms remains unclear. At present, there is no known source for those replacement terms which, according to Alune speakers, are synonyms with no apparent semantic differentiation. Some of the terms occur more widely in one Alune dialect or region. For example, *uri* is the unmarked term for 'banana' in the north Alune dialect (and *tema* is the replacement term in the respect language of the northern villages). *Lina* is the unmarked term for 'hand, arm' in the more eastern Alune villages (for example, Manusa, Huku, Rumbatu, Rumberu). It is possible that this word entered Alune through contact with the eastern neighboring language, Wemale. Other words may also have been borrowed from neighboring languages such as Lisabata to the north, or Hatusua or Waesamu to the south. Finally, there is limited evidence for a word-creation process in Alune that could explain the origin of some replacement terms. For example, in the north coastal village of Murnaten, *masamulu* means 'bat'. In other Alune villages, the word for 'bat' is *salu-ne*.²⁵ I suggest that *masamulu* was created from *salu-ne* by the insertion of a syllable *mV₁* before each syllable where *V₁* matches the *V* of the following syllable.

TABLE 2. ALUNE REPLACEMENT TERMS

Synonym	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT
NAME/S		
Balana	<i>bala</i> 'hand, arm'	<i>lina</i> 'hand, arm'
Loia	<i>loini</i> 'leaf'	<i>tetui</i> 'leaf; something fallen'

²⁵The suffix *-ne* is a noun class marker.

Samai	<i>sama'e</i> 'to divide'	<i>lara'e</i> 'to divide'
Uria	<i>uri</i> 'banana'	<i>tema</i> 'banana'

Near Synonym

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT
Balana	<i>bala</i> 'to run'	<i>naia</i> 'to flee'
Malai	<i>mala</i> 'dry, thirsty'	<i>se'ile</i> 'dry'
Sulia, Sulua	<i>suli</i> 'to fasten'	<i>sipa</i> 'to poke, stab; insert a needle'
Titai	<i>tita</i> 'to cross over; visit'	<i>hole</i> 'to wander around'
Titai	<i>tita</i> 'to cross over; visit'	<i>lehi</i> 'to cross from one branch to another'

Instrument Nominalization

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT
Koba, 'oba	<i>obainai</i> 'coconut shell; glass'	<i>ma'a'inu</i> 'drink container' (NOM-to drink)
Lilina	<i>'liline</i> 'winnow'	<i>ma'sidue</i> 'winnow' (NOM-to winnow)

Specific Term for Generic

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT
Bulana, Nibulana	<i>bulane</i> 'moon, month'	<i>tnoule</i> 'phase of the moon'
Nipi'ane, Pikane	<i>pi'ane</i> 'plate'	<i>meitinai</i> 'soup bowl'

Descriptive Phrase

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT
Hitula	<i>itu</i> 'seven'	<i>nebeike</i> 'from six'
Latuesa	<i>latu</i> 'ruler, village head'	<i>mo'wai esane</i> 'unique man'
Lima	<i>lima</i> 'five'	<i>atabeike</i> 'from four'
Nihulana	<i>ulane</i> 'rain'	<i>ekwate</i> 'rain' (3sgNonHum-much)
Ni'ima	<i>ai</i> 'ima 'k.o. tree'	<i>ai nanu'e</i> 'tall tree'
Sapake	<i>uri mapake</i> 'k.o. banana'	<i>uri malaite</i> 'green, unripe banana'

Archaic Terms

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT
Moala	<i>moa</i> 'to cook'	<i>nali</i> 'to cook'

Attribute

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT
Tebua	<i>tebu</i> 'sugarcane'	<i>susute</i> 'sweet'

Different Member of Set

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT
Lumai	<i>luma</i> 'house'	<i>lubune</i> 'storage hut'
Elia	<i>eli</i> 'long grass'	<i>putune</i> 'tall, coarse grass'
Labana	<i>uri lababa</i> 'k.o. banana'	<i>uri mapake</i> 'k.o. banana'
Malasa	<i>uri mala</i> 'k.o. banana'	<i>uri se'ile</i> 'k.o. banana'
Lopia, Piai	<i>pia</i> 'sago, sago palm'	<i>na'wa</i> 'arenga palm'
Lopia, Piai	<i>pia</i> 'food, staple'	<i>manane</i> 'food'
Puane, Puana	<i>tapuane</i> 'long grass'	<i>melate</i> 'area overgrown with grass & weeds'
Soia, Soita	<i>soi</i> 'areca palm'	<i>pene</i> 'wild areca palm'

Concrete Object for Anthropomorphized One

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT
Tuale	Tuale 'sun deity'	<i>lematai</i> 'sun'

One Part Replacing Another

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT
Buata	<i>buai</i> 'fruit'	<i>labue</i> 'inflorescence of plant'
Ni'wela	<i>ni'wele</i> 'coconut'	' <i>wa'ile</i> 'dried remnant of coconut'
Tuale	<i>tuae</i> 'palm wine'	<i>labue</i> 'inflorescence of plant'

Result

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT
Selike	<i>nsele</i> 'to be drunk'	<i>nina</i> 'to walk cautiously'

Similarity in Size

NAME/S	HOMONYM	REPLACEMENT
Alaya	<i>ala</i> 'rice'	<i>ume</i> 'sand'

7. Extension of the respect system to Malay homonyms

In both the Nuaulu and Alune sites, the researchers have noted some extension of the respect system to Malay homonyms.

7.1. Nuaulu

Most Nuaulu people only speak Ambonese Malay with non-Nuaulu people. Since outsiders do not know about the prohibition on saying the name of one's *sau monne*, they will often say Malay words that are homonyms. However, they will try to avoid doing this and, if they

cannot, might whisper the word, particularly if it is the same name or a complete homonym with the name of their *sau monne*. One person who cannot say Bolton's name tries to avoid it if an outsider asks about her, but will whisper her name if forced to say it.

The avoidance of homonyms also applies when speaking Nuauulu mixed with Malay loanwords. For example, the Malay *minyak tanah* is used for 'kerosene', but someone with a *sau monne* named Tanane will avoid saying *tanah* and just use *minyak* 'oil' to mean 'kerosene' as well. If pushed to be more specific, he may translate *tanah* into its Nuauulu equivalent, saying *tuamane*. Thus, as in Alune, the avoidance of name homonyms extends to Malay, or at least to Malay loanwords.

7.2. Alune

In all Alune villages, language shift from Alune to Malay (Ambonese Malay and, to a lesser degree, Indonesian) is occurring at different rates. In the more remote mountain villages, the pace of shift is slow and use of Alune remains strong. However, all villagers are bilingual in Alune and Malay. In coastal villages in which contact with non-Alune people is more frequent, the pace of shift is much more rapid. In Mrtn, for example, only villagers about forty-five and older retain any fluency in Alune; younger people have only passive knowledge of it. The situation in LT lies somewhere between these two extremes: older people are bilingual in Alune and Malay, those between about twenty and forty are first-language speakers of Malay but can converse in Alune, and those younger than about twenty have only passive knowledge of Alune (see Florey in press).

While the evidence is limited, Florey has recorded instances in which replacement terms are used in Malay-language verbal interaction. In these cases, a man or woman in a *mosi* relationship with someone whose Alune personal name forms a partial or complete homonym with a Malay word will replace the Malay word with its Alune equivalent while speaking Malay. For example:

Malay NAME/S	MALAY HOMONYM	ALUNE REPLACEMENT
Kakia	<i>kaki</i> 'leg'	<i>lelale</i> 'leg'
Lilina	<i>lilin</i> 'candle'	<i>hitate</i> 'clear, light'
Malasa	<i>malas</i> 'lazy'	<i>mnosone</i> 'lazy'
Malasa	<i>pemalas</i> 'lazy person'	<i>mnosone</i> 'lazy'
Nisuka	<i>cuka</i> 'vinegar'	<i>ma'linute</i> 'sour' (NOM-to be)

sour-tasting')

This process also extends to the use of Malay loanwords that have been incorporated into Alune. For example:

NAME/S	MALAY HOMONYM	ALUNE REPLACEMENT
Nisulata	<i>sulate</i> 'letter, paper' ²⁶	<i>tarkase</i> 'paper' ²⁷
Lemone	<i>lemone</i> 'citrus fruit' ²⁸	<i>musi</i> 'citrus fruit'

This apparent extension of some parts of the Alune respect system into Malay-language verbal interactions provides an interesting means by which some portion of the Alune language is being maintained—in the form of a respect level within the Malay used in Alune villages undergoing rapid language shift.

8. The effect of conversion on Nuaulu naming practices

Ellen (1983:24) observes that conversion to Christianity or Islam is viewed as “the social equivalent of death” because the convert’s former name is given to another child when the convert takes on his new Christian or Muslim name. There is a tendency to give his Nuaulu name to a baby born after he converts, but this practice seems to be have begun fading since the time of Ellen’s fieldwork. Ellen (1983:24) mentions the case of a man who changed his Nuaulu name, Pisara, to Buce when he converted to Christianity, then later named his son Pisara. This child was to be raised in the traditional Nuaulu religion rather than as a Christian in order to replace his father, but he died when he was only a year or two old. Later, another child born to another family in Buce’s clan had a son who was named Pisara. He died of cerebral malaria when he was about eight or nine years old. Both deaths are seen by some as an indication that, when a person becomes a Christian or Muslim, his name should not be reused as if he were dead. Some people believe that, if the Nuaulu name of a person who has converted is given to a baby, the baby will die young, since the name is already “holding” the person who originally received the name. Recently when a woman whose Nuaulu name was Marae heard that a baby had just been born to someone in her clan and

²⁶A loanword into Alune deriving from Malay *surat*.

²⁷A metathesized form of the Ambonese Malay word *kartas*.

²⁸A loanword derived from Ambonese Malay [λεμο].

was to be given the name Marae, she cried and convinced them not to use her name. She was upset because she and her husband still help her family and clan. One informant said that the names of people who have recently converted may be given to babies while people are still angry with the converts for abandoning the traditional religion. Once they are reconciled to their families and if they continue to live close by and help with ceremonies, their names will not be used because they still help their families and clan. If they move far away, their name may be given to another baby.

It is interesting to note that the giving of traditional names was apparently abandoned as soon as the Nuaulu began to convert to Christianity. However, several probable carryovers from the traditional religion persist among Nuaulu Christians—such as having the pastor name the baby, rather than the baby's parents. There are other Christianized means of carrying on traditional birth practices. In the case of both Christians and adherents of the traditional religion among the Nuaulu, the placenta is buried after it is cut. Babies born to those adhering to the traditional religion are born in menstruation/birth huts located on the edge of the village. The mother buries the placenta on the sunrise edge of the hut after washing it and wrapping it in a plastic sack. The place where it is buried is marked by a circle of pieces of cut bamboo stuck in the ground against the wall of the hut (*puku*). Christians in Rouhua live in a different section of the village and have their babies at home. The placenta is buried at the edge of the house and its place is marked by a rock rather than pieces of bamboo. Flowers are put on it before it is buried, as is the practice among Protestant Christians in the area when they bury a corpse. This practice in some elements resembles that described above for the Alune.

Both Christians and adherents of the traditional religion in Nuaulu cut the umbilical cord with bamboo. However, the Christian midwife who delivers Christian babies said that she would use scissors if available. When she delivered non-Christian babies she would have to use the bamboo. In both cases the midwife cuts the cord five hand lengths from the baby and says the name of the baby when cutting it.

Not all traditional practices are carried over. For example, after the cord is cut for a baby whose parents who adhere to the traditional religion, the midwife takes hold of the cord, runs her hand up the baby's right arm five times, and then puts the cord on top of the head while praying.

This is in order to ‘raise his breath’ (*apusaa nahai*), ensuring that the baby will breathe well and live a long life. The midwife does not do this for Christian babies.

9. Conclusion

A noteworthy contrast that arises in this study is the difference between Alune and Nuauulu practices with regard to traditional names. The Alune still occasionally give a baby a traditional name, despite the conversion to Christianity of even the mountain villages more than sixty years ago. The Nuauulu, however, seem to have already abandoned this practice, even though most Nuauulu Christians in Rouhua have converted only within the last twenty or thirty years. Because of the number of traditional Alune names still in use, it appears that the Alune practice of conferring traditional names persisted more generally for some time following conversion.

Because of several apparent carryovers of traditional birth practices, it is worthwhile to ask why Nuauulu Christians do not give their babies traditional Nuauulu names as the Alune do, particularly in light of their much more recent conversion to Christianity. One explanation might be that Nuauulu Christians do not feel the need to keep traditional names in circulation—as the Alune do in order to keep the memory of the ancestors alive—because there are still so many Nuauulu adherents to the traditional religion. Conversion to Christianity was accomplished more on a villagewide basis among the Alune, whereas conversion in Rouhua is currently on a family-by-family basis, often with several years between conversions.

One might suggest that the Alune converted to a nominal, syncretistic form of Christianity and thus continue to give traditional names to babies, whereas Nuauulu Christians are less syncretistic. However, an inspection of other practices of Nuauulu Christians, such as their adherence to prohibitions and contacting ancestral spirits, indicates that Nuauulu Christians are quite syncretistic. Thus, an appeal to syncretism is not a valid explanation. The comment of the Nuauulu Christian midwife on the naming of babies may shed some light in answering this question. She said, “The pastor tells the name. Only a Christian name. Because here it is Christianity now.” Perhaps the giving of only a Christian name is a way that Nuauulu Christians affirm their Christianity and their differences from their Nuauulu kin who still hold to their traditional beliefs. Their

ability to use personal naming practices to this end may be helped by their lack of need to keep the names of Nuauulu ancestors in circulation, as noted above, because this is still done by other members of the community. In contrast, we suggest that the Alune utilize personal naming practices as a means of adhering to the Alune language and to ancestral practices in an era of rapid social and cultural change.

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