

Aktuelles und Kommentare

The Surname in Western Europe Liberty, Equality and Paternity in Legal Systems in the Twenty-First Century

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At the beginning of the twenty-first century, most European countries, concerned about equality between men and women, initiated reforms concerning the use of the surname in response to the patrilineal and sometimes sexist traditions for transmitting family names. Yet how can equality be implemented between father and mother, as well as in the process of transmitting a surname to a child, when this equality is technically impossible to formalize beyond the first generation?¹

Abolition of Discrimination in the Legal System

According to my research on this topic conducted in 2002, and also my subsequent observations, not all European countries have achieved the same degree of equality in the transmission of the surname from parents to children.² Though most Northern European countries reconsidered and willingly changed their legal systems, and several Southern European countries had already established bilateral surname systems (Spain and Portugal), the new approach was not obvious for other countries. In several cases (Italy, Switzerland, Belgium), the changes could not be implemented because of the representational power

¹ For example, Spanish and Portuguese systems which are bilateral in the first generation and patrilineal in the second Valérie Feschet, *La transmission du nom de famille en Europe occidentale (fin XX^e-début XXI^e siècles)*, in: *L'Homme. Revue française d'anthropologie*, 169 (2004), 61–88, 74f.

² Cf. Feschet, *Transmission*, see note 1.

associated with the paternal surname. The main impetus for the reforms that took place came from the parliamentary assembly of the European Council which in 1978 requested all member states to 'delete any discrimination between man and woman in the name legal system' (Resolution no. 7837). In 1995, and again in 1998, as some countries had not taken any action, the parliamentary assembly repeated its plea, insisting that 'because it is an element which characterizes the person's identity, the choice of the name has a considerable importance'. The continued discrimination between man and woman in this field was consequently considered unacceptable. According to the European directives, the legislator has 'to establish a strict equality between the father and the mother concerning the transmission of the surname to the child; to ensure a strict equality, in case of marriage, in the eventual choice of a common surname for the spouses; and to abolish every discrimination between a legitimate and natural child' (Recommendation no. 1362).

Variation of Surnames in Northern and Southern Europe

Without taking into account patriarchal pressures which in practice reduce even the most fair legal systems to patrilineal systems after the second generation, European naming systems fall into three major categories, with clear geographical differences in the spread of each system: 1) Northern Europe offers a unilateral transmission, where the choice between a patrilateral or matrilateral transmission is left to the parents (Germany, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Luxembourg). In these countries, then, the parents pass on to the child either the father's surname or the mother's surname. A striking characteristic is that this group almost systematically rejects the double name. 2) Some countries have maintained a patrilineal transmission of the name, regardless of the principles outlined by the European Council (Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland). 3) In the south, on the contrary, bilateral transmission was clearly preferred. This includes the mandatory simultaneous transmission of both the father's and the mother's name(s) in Spain and Portugal as well as the more flexible system found in France and Greece. Another striking point is that, unlike in Northern Europe, the double name is imposed or conceived as an alternative to the transmission of the maternal name.

Why this symbolic battle for the single or double name, and why is it linked to cultural areas? Comparing the maps of different naming systems and religious practices leads to striking results.³ In the countries with a Protestant tendency (Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Germany, Netherlands, Iceland), the legislator chose alternative naming procedures which forcefully reject the double name, pleading administrative needs and practicalities. In predominantly Roman Catholic or Catholic Orthodox countries (Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Greece), the tradition is clearly patrilineal or bilateral and the double name has the status of an ideal formula, preferable to the mother's name (though

it is never explicit). In a mathematical image, one could say that in Europe the couple is sometimes conceived as the fusion between two persons (father + mother = 1), sometimes as an association of two individuals (father + mother = 1 + 1). Which surname is transmitted to the next generation depends on which of the two views of relationships is adopted. In the first case it is composed by only one term since the parts are considered as a whole, in the second case it is often thought as an addition of two entities.

The Child Facing its Name

In any case, whether a single or double name, the general tendency is towards a freedom of uses, not only for parents but also for children who can ask for a new name when they reach an age of maturity or at their marriage, notably in the Scandinavian countries, but elsewhere too. For instance, since 1991, in Finland adults are able to change their name if the circumstances can justify it (e. g., if they have a very common name or one with a foreign connotation), if the proposed name was their initial name (their name before getting married) or if the newly proposed name once belonged to an ancestor. The Norwegians and the Swedes can also change their surnames to re-assume a name once held, to adopt an ancestral name, or a new one (invented) on the condition that it is neither ridiculous nor scandalous and that it respects the language of the country. The new name must not be mistaken for a company's name or for a name of an institution; first names are refused, as well as double names. This re-naming process is found elsewhere. In Spain, for example, an adult can invert the order of his or her names before his/her marriage and then transmit to the child his/her mother's name (and not the father's name) since only the first name is given to the child.

This 'reverse transmission' process is the real revolutionary difference to the laws which govern the surname in most of the European countries with alternative or composite systems. This transmission is usually defined vertically, or more precisely top-down, because the father, the mother or both of them give their names to the children. With the recent reforms, gradually, all over Europe, the naming process allows people to go back, to move from the bottom to the top and then, to go down again. Onomastic identity is discussed and shaped according to the wishes of those who create it and have a larger room for manoeuvre, but also according to the will of those who bear it. This identity is no longer assigned, as suggested by the words 'patronymic' and 'surname'. The child can now change the surname and thus the identity previously assigned to him or her. Thus, the name to larger degree than before represents the individual and his or her entire social and affective dimension which characterizes the person. The trend is clearly towards 'identification' instead of 'classification' by name.⁴

4 Cf. Christian Bromberger, Pour une analyse anthropologique des noms de personne, in: *Langages*, 16, 66 (1982), 103–124.

In these cases of name change, only the next of kin would know about the change and the redesign of a name. For others, the new name is simply the only name they know about and in this sense opaque. How would one know that a given surname was transmitted by a woman or a man, that is was taken from an ancestor or acquired by adoption? Contrary to first names, surnames are gender-neutral. They do not reflect the sex of their holders. The only exception is Iceland, where parental first names are part of the surnames⁵. Even if name changes as described above may only be known by a few close relatives, the act remains symbolically and psychologically very powerful for those who do it. The future will tell us whether these ‘reverse transmissions’ will produce new naming systems, perhaps lineages of merit.

The Freedom of Use of one’s Names

What are the consequences of the increased freedom of the use of one’s names? The French, since 1 January 2005, can transmit the father’s name (one term or two), the mother’s name (one term or two), or any combination of paternal and maternal names in any order, as long as both parents transmit only one name. As a result, there are now several name types: simple names (i. e. consisting of only one term, like Dupont); compound names, existing prior to the new law, which constitute an indivisible entity⁶ (e. g. Claude Lévi-Strauss or Conte de Villeneuve-Bargemont);⁷ the new double names including several terms stemming from the father’s or/and mother’s side, separated by a double hyphen (Mauric-Feschet). These double names can be split up when transmitted in combination with other single names or parts of another double name; it is, however, not possible to transmit an inverted form of a double name (e. g. the children of a Mr. or Ms. Mauric-Feschet cannot be called Feschet-Mauric). When, in the next twenty years or so, children with a new double name will be able to have children themselves, they will have to choose between fourteen possibilities when transmitting their surnames. The examples given in the document which illustrates the law, sent to the prefects in 2004, illustrate the range of choices:

5 There might be one quarter of existing societies (according to the Alford’s sample extract from “Human Relations Area Files”) where the first name is never or rarely linked to the sex of the name-bearer; cf. Louis Duchesne, *Les prénoms mixtes au XIX^e et XX^e siècle au Canada, en France et aux Etats-Unis*, in: Agnès Fine and Françoise-Romaine Ouellette eds., *Le nom dans les sociétés occidentales contemporaines*, Toulouse 2005, 143–161.

6 Foreign parents who wish to transmit only a part of their compound name to their children (for example Ait El Madini) will have to give a custom certificate, establishing that the name is indivisible according to the law of their country of origin.

7 Not to be confused with the *nom d’usage* sometime used by wives or children. These double names are not transferable (e. g. Françoise Héritier-Augé).

First generation	Father: Dupont Mother: Martin
The children can be called	Dupont Martin Dupont-Martin Martin-Dupont
Second generation	Father: Martin-Dupont Mother: Dubois de Lacime des Noës-Beauregard de Saint-Haon
The children can be called	Dupont Martin Martin-Dupont Martin-Dubois de Lacime des Noës Martin-Beauregard de Saint-Haon Dupont-Dubois de Lacime des Noës Dupont-Beauregard de Saint-Haon Dubois de Lacime des Noës-Beauregard de Saint-Haon Dubois de Lacime des Noës Beauregard de Saint-Haon Dubois de Lacime des Noës-Martin Dubois de Lacime des Noës-Dupont Beauregard de Saint-Haon-Martin Beauregard de Saint-Haon-Dupont

Table 1: Fourteen possibilities of composite names in France

Determination Processes

Which different logics will be the basis for decisions in flexible systems or in systems allowing re-naming? To make a choice is never simple, particularly not in such an affective and symbolic field. Some motivations will of course be of an ideological nature (to transmit the mother's name, in the name of sex parity, independently of any other reason), but other mechanisms are easily conceivable.

Parents will be able to follow purely aesthetic considerations, so that the new name sounds as pleasing as possible. It is interesting to note that the poetic and creative dimension of naming may lead to legal disputes. As a side note, the poetic dimension is an opportunity to look at another facet of the legal name. Among the 7729 birth certificates delivered in Bordeaux's City Council in 2007 (France), nine were signalled to the public prosecutor. Most of the disputes concerned first names and, considering the possibility of inventing surnames in some countries, one can suppose that this trend will become widespread. In Bordeaux, after significant consideration, *Brésil* (Brazil) and *Plume* (Feather) were accepted, as well as *Infinie* (Infinite) and *Précieuse* (Precious; a first name given to a little girl, already in use by members of her 'Tsigane' community). *Iñaki* was also accepted due to cultural particularities in the French Basque Country, despite the tilde placed over the 'n' and despite the fact that legal identities in France must be spelt in French. After discussion, *Colline* (Hill) as

a boy's name was accepted in the altered form of *Colin*. On the other hand, *Lapin* (Rabbit) was rejected by the judge, as well as *Ayatollah* and *Quietstorm*. The proposed names *Fleur de Coran* (Koran Flower) and *Parfum de Bible* (Bible Perfume), for twins, were also refused.⁸

These examples show that the name is a way to express community or identity claims. To transmit an initial name is a way to assert one's existence, especially as a dominated group.⁹ Once again, following an identity-logic, the opportunity of transmitting a bilateral name can confer a dual cultural membership to a child, in the context of mixed unions.¹⁰ The name will also be chosen regarding the economical or political context, in order to meet the requirements for a successful integration.¹¹

In the case of the hereditary transmission of names, sometimes a name that disappears has to be rescued. As in every genetic drift process, the evolution of surnames implies a constant diminution of the total number of patronymics.¹² The disappearance of surnames was also one of the arguments of the French reform.¹³ But what lies behind this patrimonial notion? As for monuments, names carry their history; they are symbols loaded with meaning. Notably, the patrimonial model has an 'eponymous' aspect, that is to say, the hereditary transmission of names reflects a more or less conscious desire to reintroduce into the living community the names of the dead who are thus memorized, as in Inuit and Icelandic societies.¹⁴ Like the first name, the surname, more personalized than in the past, will be then a vector for a 'soul' (or for a group of souls), that the community will welcome again in its midst.

As noted above, the choice may be affective. One will observe the same logic as in the re-naming process, when the failing parent is punished (e. g. for absence or ill-treatment). In this connection, the name change will be the occasion to adopt the surname of a non-biological parent or an ancestor. Laurent writes:

Born in 1974, I bear my father's name. Now, I accidentally heard which is very common, that my maternal grandfather was not actually my "biological" grand-

8 Cf. Christine Morice, *Les nouvelles Identités*, in: *Sud-Ouest*, avril 3, 2008.

9 E. g. the Romanians in Serbia: Dejan Dimitrijevic, *The Multiple Identity of Romanians in Melnica (Homolja, Serbia)*, in: Paul H. Stahl ed., *Name and Social Structure. Examples from Southeast Europe*, Boulder/New York 1998, 89–94.

10 Josiane le Gall and Deirdre Meintel, *Pratiques de nomination des enfants et projets identitaires dans les unions mixtes à Montréal*, in: *Fine/Ouellette, Nom*, see note 5, 211–234, 189–210.

11 Nicole Lapierre, *L'emprise du national sur le nominal*, in: Guy Brunet, Pierre Darlu and Gianna Zei eds., *Le patronyme. Histoire, anthropologie, société*, Paris 2001, 115–132.

12 Luca L. Cavalli-Sforza, *Pourquoi les patronymes?*, in: Brunet/Darlu/Zei, *Patronyme*, see note 11, 407–418, 409.

13 Cf. Sylvie Sagnes, *Les patronymes, patrimoine national*, in: *Fine/Ouellette, Nom*, see note 5, 235–252.

14 Cf. Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, *L'élection parentale chez les Inuit: Fiction empirique ou réalité virtuelle*, in: Agnès Fine ed., *Adoptions: Ethnologie des parentés choisies*, Paris 1998, 121–149; Christophe Pons, *Le spectre et le voyant. Les échanges entre morts et vivants en Islande*, Paris 2002.

father and that this had been hidden from me for a long time, because my father learned the name of his real father ten years ago. This situation is a real problem to my identity, especially as I have always felt close to my maternal grandparents. I would like to know if, in my specific case, I can add my mother's maiden name to my present name.

However, in many cases, nobody can be blamed for anything at all. So, how to choose a name? The child can only have two names in the (French-style) flexible systems, or only one of two in the (Northern-European) alternative systems, so parents transmitting their name(s) may have to renounce one or more names. One can easily imagine the tensions in the families, the pressure from the maternal and paternal lines, the doubts and the guilt.

Patronymic, Matronymic and Double Names

Without a doubt, recourse to tradition, sometimes strengthened like in France,¹⁵ will be the best solution for many people given the number of possibilities. Such a choice is driven by two kinds of motives: the strength of custom (Beck, Bourin, Chareille 2002)¹⁶ and the symbolic representation of paternity. Actually, the patronymic has no longer the same status as in the past. If the father's name has until recently embodied the unity of the family and the authority of the husband over his wife and children, for several decades the patronymic has also become the symbol of fatherhood, which transcends the question of domination of women by men. That is why the European societies greatly value it. In this view, a woman becomes a mother when she gives birth to her child, but a man becomes a father when he transmits his name.

However, the introduction of the mother's name as a proper surname is a real revolution. Actually, the transmission of the maternal name, except some very rare cases,¹⁷ until very recently has marked a defect of some sort in the line of paternal descent. The mother's surname was in the main attributed to children born out of wedlock, who were not legally recognized by their fathers. These illegitimate or 'natural' children were socially weakened and were led to feel uncomfortable. With the new laws,

15 Certainly, the law allows choice, but all the alternative options to the patronymic are dependent on the father's approval, since without a joint declaration, the patronymic prevails.

16 Monique Bourin, Pascal Chareille and Patrice Beck eds., *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne*, Tours 2002.

17 Like in Sardinia for example, where since the twelfth century several naming systems existed, balancing patrilineal and matrilineal descent, sometimes linked to the sex, i.e. surname transmission from father to son and from mother to daughter; cf. Giannetta Murru Corrigan, *Patronyme et matronyme en Sardaigne. Une compétition entre systèmes complexes du XII^e au XVIII^e siècles*, in: Brunet/Darlu/Zeï, *Patronyme*, see note 11, 39–60.

the mother's name becomes a real surname. This is a considerable change to the European tradition, where the father's name for centuries has been a synonym for the unity of the family. Despite some reactionary resistances, today the law provides that a mother can transmit her name, even if the father is truly present. Furthermore, more and more families are organized around mothers (matrilocal descent), be it that they are single-parent, same sexed or reconstructed families. One can imagine that the mother's name will be in these cases practical and symbolic and that the transmission of the mother's name will thus become much more common.¹⁸

Another significant change likely to have consequences on the practices and the symbolic meanings of names is the introduction of the double name (generally bilateral). The double name refines the classification process of individuals. The patronymic surname was neither able to distinguish children born from successive unions, nor did it differentiate the sub-groups of brothers and sisters. The new double names allow identifying the children of each new conjugal union. This symbolic property which characterizes each group of siblings (the children having the same name have the same father and mother) is likely to become common given the increasing number of reconstructed families. As I researched this issue and communicated with people, I was sent many e-mails that show that this situation is a new experience for the French, and there are numerous questions. They concern the symbolic significance of the order of names, about the number of terms allowed and the status of the compound names existing prior the reform, about the relevance of the double name for future genealogical researches. Some of them relate to the possibility of the deletion or addition of a term, about double hyphens, about the difference between the marital name (for example Dupont-Gire) and the children's double name (Dupont-Gire). In France, the name of the wife may be a composite name (name of husband-name of wife) but this name is not transferable to the children. That is what is referred to as a *nom d'usage*.

The Tension between Masculine and Feminine

Some concerns have been raised regarding the consequences of calling into question the symbolic order of the patronymic and the matronymic. The end of the patronymic system, it has been claimed, would announce a society where the mothers would have total power. The French state would thus become a 'gentle and infantilizing mother', listening to the 'do-gooders', deleting every jealous feeling or rivalry between children

¹⁸ In Quebec, where the transmission system of the name has been liberalized since the 1970s, as in other Canadian States, the choice of the mother's name or of a name beginning by the mother's name is a perfect illustration of the increasing importance of the matrilineal link. In past years, one child among four is first identified to the mother's line; cf. Louis Duchesne, *Vers un système matrilinéaire? Le choix du nom de famille au Québec*, in: Brunet/Darlu/Zei, *Patronyme*, see note 11, 133–151, 150.

(establishing equal rights for both sexes, especially in the naming of the child).¹⁹ In an article written by Gérard Pommier, published in the newspaper “Libération” (January 24, 2004), the paternal surname was described as the symbol of exogamy and descent. According to Pommier, it might be the basis of the oedipal confrontation. Assuming his father’s name, the male child would be animated by a sort of vital energy. He would be driven to assert his own autonomy. “Why would the boy fight to be worthy of his name, if it is his mother’s one?” [!] As for the women, the patronymic would be for them an exogamy agent. With the help of their name change, they would symbolically leave the father for the husband.²⁰

Be this as it may, we can only stress that the recent reforms did not turn upside down the tension between masculine and feminine in the naming process. They only reinforced a general trend leading to rebalance the maternal and paternal rights in the transmission of the surname. Actually, the valence of sexes²¹ is a principle traditionally found in onomastic processes. In France, for example, the child used to have three given names. The first one obeyed a generational logic. For the second and third ones, the eldest boy received his paternal grandfather’s first name and his maternal grandfather’s, respectively. As a second given name the eldest daughter received her maternal grandmother’s first name, and as a third name she got her paternal grandmother’s first name. All subsequent children inherit their first name from their respective godfather or godmother (often their uncle and aunt) in a feminized or masculinized form where necessary, or their great-uncle’s or great-aunt’s first name. This attribution balanced the patrilineal nature of the transmission of the surname by a bilateral transmission of first names.²²

When we imagine the attribution of a bilateral double name, we realize that the surname and the first name lead to two terms, for boys and girls, inherited from the maternal lineage, and two from the paternal one. Before the reform, the child (male or female) normally had two terms inherited from the paternal lineage and only one from the maternal one. A complete personal name – consisting of two given names and a double surname – offers an astonishing symmetry with regard to the two collateral branches of the family. The small asymmetry there was prior to the reform was sometimes corrected by the *nom d’usage*,²³ pseudonyms or assumed names (which are

19 Cf. Michel Schneider, *Big Mother. Psychopathologie de la vie politique*, Paris 2002.

20 And, is it not even more difficult to ‘leave’ his mother who, however, does not transmit her name?

21 In order to clear up a frequent misunderstanding concerning the use of this term, I make it clear that the valence of an element does not mean its possible identical nature but its combination ability (attraction or repulsion) with other objects. The valence is not a question of complementarity but of equality.

22 Cf. Françoise Zonabend, *La parenté baptismale and Jeux de nom*, in: Tina Jolas et al. eds., *Une campagne voisine. Minot, un village bourguignon*, Paris 1990, 215–281; Agnès Fine, *Parrains, marraines. La parenté spirituelle en Europe*, Paris 1994.

23 A common phenomenon in France, the *nom d’usage* is a surname that is used in everyday life but that can not be transmitted to children.

often matronymics)²⁴ or by nicknames. All these additional names, which complete the person, often correct a lack of bilateralism. In brief, the 'surname' is only a part of a far more extended naming system, which has to be understood completely in order to comprehend the ins and outs of the European naming reforms.

The Paradox of Equality

This analysis has enabled us to see that none of the reforms started in the name of 'gender equality' has really led to a system where the roles of the father and the mother in the child naming process are strictly balanced. The 'sex non-discrimination' was above all translated by in terms of 'freedom of use'.²⁵ In the name of this freedom, equality was thought possible, and thus good enough. However, in practice, this equality has some limits.

In most European countries, equality of the parents in child naming does not apply to homosexual couples. When there are two fathers or two mothers, the double name is not allowed because it is held that homosexual unions do not give the right to a joint lineage. The couple is considered as conjugal, but not as parental. This situation is disconcerting for the individuals concerned, who try to create some link by other ways, for example by becoming godfather or godmother, transmitting their first names or, if possible, a surname instead of a first name, which will give the illusion of a double name. In Bordeaux, the family judge recently refused the second mother's surname to be transmitted as a second first name to her child (born by artificial insemination).²⁶ The two mothers had thought about this solution to establish a symbolic link between the child and his second mother. In Nantes and Lille, the register offices accepted similar cases (the recording of a surname as a first name) but the Bordeaux case was the first lawsuit of its kind to be judged in France, and the court did not want to create a precedent. 'The surname is only transmitted by descent, and this is protected by the law', said the judge. The proposed first name was cancelled and replaced by Jean.

Another paradox of equality, despite the possibility of certain renaming, lies in the principle of immutability of the surname, established during the French Revolution by the law of the 6 fructidor an II [August 23, 1794], which was maintained in France in the twelfth legislature period (2002–2007) in order to control the potential drifts of a law, likely to weaken the father's position. Certainly, the renaming procedure by decree

24 I often saw during oral enquiries that assumed names are a part of the rebalancing process between paternal and maternal branches, between masculine and feminine elements in the personal name. The assumed name is often taken from the maternal lineage, either the mother's name (i.e. the mother's father's one) or the mother's mother's one or even the father's mother's one.

25 Behind the name reform may be hidden other purposes, more nationalist; cf. Sagnes, *Patronymes*, see note 13.

26 Christine Morice, *Vadim ne portera pas le nom de sa seconde mère*, in: *Sud-Ouest*, mars 21, 2008.

(as circumscribed by the “Code civil”, articles 60 and 61) allows the deletion or the modification of a name, but the procedure is very complex, uncertain, and discretionary.²⁷ Notably, renaming requests which are motivated by the re-use of the other parent’s name seriously increased (almost 30 % in 1991 and 1995),²⁸ but these demands are almost systematically rejected. Websites concerned with this topic are filled with complaints. The emails I received on this subject are also very numerous and speak for themselves:

I was born 27 December 1957 in Lille, of a French mother Mrs. Duponcet who abandoned us early after she recognized me. My father, Mr. Derkaoui was in Algeria, and recognized me in 1958. He died five years ago. I was taken in by an adoptive mother at 27 months under the name of Derkaoui. When I was 14 years old, the DASS informed my [adoptive] mother that, because my mother had recognized me before my father, I must have the name of François Duponcet. This name Duponcet does not meet my face, which is strongly distinctive, and I have today François Duponcet-Derkaoui as a *nom d’usage*. I would like to have my father’s name, and also my first name, Mohamed.

The freedom of choice left to the French people is therefore very paradoxical. The new law has an illogicality which will create new disparities, notably between children having a double name, who have a wide range of choices, and those who have a simple name, who will not have the same possibilities. These differences will raise feelings of injustice and inequality. Even though parents are allowed to choose the names of their children, ultimately, their children should be able to rename themselves. Without this freedom of choosing one’s name, individuals remain hostages to an arbitrary, subjective or cyclical choice.

27 In order to modify a ridiculous name, a foreign sounding name, a name causing a loss or in order to turn one’s name into a famous and notorious national name, one will have to notify the „Bulletin official“ the proposed modification, publish a legal announcement in a newspaper of the living place and send a file to the *Garde des Sceaux* at the Ministry of Justice in order to explain the reasons of this demand. If nobody disagrees after the publication in the local newspaper, and if the reasons meet the criteria of the Ministry of Justice, then the name change will be publicly announced by a legal notice in the “Bulletin official”.

28 Henri de Richemont, Rapport du Sénat relatif à la dévolution du nom de famille [Report of the Senate relative to the surname devolution], no 231, ordinary session of 2002–2003, April 2, 2002, 49.

