Dynamics of Onomastics in Afikpo Igbo Society

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Abstract
Afikpo is one of the societies in Igbo land with unique names and naming conventions, which predisposes a child to have had a name before he is born. Naming systems reflect the complicated systems of ascribing identities based on certain cultures, conventions and worldviews of the people. The paper examines the totality of Afikpo names from traditional to contemporary trends. It explores the naming convention of Afikpo Igbo, the similarities and differences with other Igbo cultural areas, and the present trend in the face of globalization and urbanization. It critically examines the namesake 'ogbo' phenomenon in Ehugbo cultural area. This discussion on names, meaning and convention in traditional Afikpo society reveal that names are not mere appellation or tag but intrinsically tied to primogenitors (progenitor / antecedents). Due to the influence of religion, westernization and urbanization people now bear or give additional names to reflect their religious leaning, philosophical or ideological view, and to display their knowledge and contact with the western culture.
Keywords: Onomastics, Anthroponyms, Personal names, Afikpo Igbo

1. Introduction

The history, philosophy, and ideology of the Igbo people are encapsulated in the name they bear. Name is as important as a people's history and Igbo people take pride in their culture and ancestry. Child naming is one of the most important rites of passage in most societies in Africa and across the world. Personal names in indigenous African societies are laden with meaning and may well identify the socio-cultural, political, professional and religious background of the person bearing the name and the person giving the name. Names are not just arbitrary labels but are socio-cultural tags that function as communicative tools. They carry a variety of semantic, pragmatic and socio-cultural information, and mete out the ethos of the people. Personal names are not just empty labels but are associated with certain interpretations that parents, the extended family and society at large give.

The literature is replete on the study of names, and most of these work have studied personal people (anthroponyms), places names (toponyms), domestic animals, ethnic and religious groups (ethnonyms) and beer halls (Makondo 2011) etc.

Anthroponym is a branch of onomastics that deals with the study of personal names including their forms and uses. A name identifies, specifies and differentiates between members of a group of individual. It is a word (s) by which an entity is identified, designated and distinguished form others. (Agyekum K. (2006). According to Ubahakwe (1982:27) "an indigenous African name on the whole personifies the individual, tells some story about the parents and/or the family of the bearer; and in a more general sense, points to the values of the society into which the individual is born."

This aligns with Mphande (2006:109) opinion that African names as "statements about religion and beliefs of the speakers and their relationship with the supernatural." They function as mini-narratives about the past or future (Duranti, 1997:19).Based on the available literature, a number of studies have been conducted on Igbo anthroponyms. Such works include Ubahakwe's (1981) study of the structure and meanings of Igbo names. His subsequent study (1982) is on the culture content of Igbo personal names. Also, Onukawa (1998) conducted an anthropolinguistic study of the Igbo market-day names. He further worked on the significance of the verb kwe (agree, consent) in Igbo names (Onukawa, 1999(a)) and the anthropolinguistic evidence of chi names in Igbo (Onukawa, 1999(b)).

Maxwell Kadenge, Patricia Ruramisai Mabugu, Ester Chivero, Rejoice Chiwara (*2014*) delved further to focus on the naming of albinos in African societies. They argue that derisive personal names of albinos are best understood in the socio-cultural and religious context of the society in which they are born.
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2. The Afikpo-Igbo People

The Afikpo-Igbo is a group of people that cover an area of sixty four square mile on and near the west bank of the Cross River about ninety miles north of the Atlantic coast in a transitional region between tropical rain forest and savannah. It is a hilly region, with sand stone ridges. The altitude is about five hundred feet above sea level (Forde and Jones (1950:51-56). Afikpo consists of twenty two villages bound together by a common speech form, government, numerous social, ritual and economic trees.

The Afikpo are classified as belonging to waawa Igbo (Ikekeonwu 1986) .The twenty two villages are grouped into five subdivisions or communities: Ozizza, Mkpogoro, Ugwuegu, Ohaisu and Itim. Linguistically, Afikpo is a cultural Igbo group of the Kwa subfamily of the Niger Congo family. The variety is similar to other

varieties of Igbo language especially at the phonological level but exhibit some lexical variations when compared to other Igbo linguistic group. This could be attributed to socio-cultural factors. The Afikpo-Igbo extend southward to the Guinea coast, but are separated from the Atlantic Ocean by a number of groups of people who speak different languages like the Ijaw, Efik Okrika, Yako and Erei of the Cross River societies

3. Theoretical Framework

The notion of proper names is usually associated with John Stuart Mill's distinction between denotation and connotation (Mill 1964). This distinction was endorsed by mostly Western onomasticians who have endorsed Mill's terminology by shifting from the connotation vs. denotation distinction to an opposition between two categories of meaning: the lexical meaning, i.e. the meaning of words, and the onomastic meaning, i.e. the meaning of names. This opposition is in turn contingent upon the divide between two dimensions of language: the onomasticon or the body of proper names, and the lexicon or the body of words that constitutes the rest of the language. This classification is of the view that , proper names are typically devoid of any lexical meaning. Even when a lexical meaning of a proper name is acknowledged, it is acknowledged as the onomastician's construct rather than the actual property of the name.

Batoma (2006) has observed that the meaning of African names is summed up in a cluster of three layers of meaning. These are ; the lexical meaning, the onomastic meaning which is based on each tradition of naming practices, and the socio-pragmatic meaning- this centers on the cultural knowledge of the onomastic code of conduct, the interpersonal relationships of the partners of the onomastic communication, and the situational contexts that engender that communication. Proper names are not just mere lexical labels but of utmost importance is the use of their meaning in day to day discursive practices. He further noted African names can be divided into two morpho-syntactical categories: (they are either nominal, that is, they are constituted of single words), or syntagmatic (they are made up of sentences or parts thereof)

Maurice Houis (1983:8) in his definition of African onomasticians' perspective of personal names notes that "it is necessary that names be first identified as signs of the language. They are practically not distinct from other linguistic signs at the level of form, signifiers and morphology. It is generally easy to explain their literal meaning.".

The study of personal names have over the years attracted attentions of linguists, philosophers, anthropologists, sociologist, language analysts and even ordinary people; this is largely because every human being and creature; living and non living. A person's name is part of the referent, with which he/she is addressed or referred to. Name draws affinity between the signifier and the signified. The essence of the thing it represents or identifies lies on the name that it bears. Not to have a have a name is not to exist. Agyekum K. (2006:207) notes that names are purely referential and are only considered as arbitrary labels that refer to certain signified entries. Therefore the signifier and the signified may not share certain intrinsic qualities, and this accounts to why two people bearing same name may behave differently. This stance aligns with de Saussure's characterization of linguistic signs as arbitrarily connected to their referent and Rymes (1996)'s assertion that names have no functional correlation with culture. While it may to be said that there is no functional relationship between names as arbitrary label and the behaviour of the bearer, it is pertinent to note that proper names in Afikpo Igbo has a generational storied past. McPherron (2009:532) notes that "In Book 13 of The Analects of Confucius, Confucius responds to the question about how to govern appropriately by commenting on the importance of using names properly. He notes, 'When names are not used properly, language will not be used effectively; when language is not used effectively, matters will not be taken care of . . . Thus, when the exemplary person puts a name to something, it can certainly be spoken, and when spoken it can certainly be acted upon'" (Ames & Rosemont, 1998:162). This shows a stiff connection between names, language and the people's culture. Names carry the meaningful language of the people.

4. Onomastics in Linguistics

The issue of name leaves some Western scholars baffled on the much fuss by African scholars. For them a name is not part of person, or a personality. It is just a mere label, a tag, something to be used in reference to a person, but no more than that. According to Searte (1971:134) "proper names do not have a sense, they are meaningless marks, they have denotation but not connotation". Scholars like Ziff (1960), Mill (1949) and Kripled (1977) share the same view. Todd (2004:307) quoting Andrews (1993:616) said that the 36th American vice president, Humphrey disagreed with Juliet, when she said;

"What's in a name? That which we shall call a rose by any

other name would smell as sweet"

(Romeo and Juliet by Shakespeare).

After all she was trying to justify her love for Romeo. Humphrey declares in a speech made on 26th March 1966 that in real life, unlike in Shakespeare's the sweetness of the rose depends upon the name it bears".

The study of names has a complex position in the field of linguistics. Clearly, words vary between

languages. The *dog* in English is a *perro* in Spanish and *Hund* in German. Such variations in lexemes are part of the definition of linguistic variation. However, John Smith is still John Smith when travelling in Spain or Germany, even if he might have been Juan Herrero or Johann Schmidt had he been born and raised in those countries. With a few exceptions, we do not attempt a translation of names. We call Vladimir Putin by that name, though his title and speech are translated into English. Many American family names are kept in their original forms as the Obamas, Boehners, and Cuomos of the country attest. Even among first names, there are names that have English language equivalents. Of the 40 most popular names in the United States for 2014 (Baby Center), Spanish *Isabella* is more popular than the traditionally English *Elizabeth*. Names then seem to operate in a different sphere from other lexical entries.

Sometimes the linguistic meaning of a name may be obscure especially if the name a loan-word, that is, a word borrowed from a foreign language; or if the name stem from a secret language, derive from a dialectal origin, or result from linguistic change . These account for the morpho-syntactic explanations; they are equally some traditionally based explanations. For instance most African names are usually brief and figurative.

Mamusse Diagne (2005, 2006) observes that figuration and brevity, are used in the verbalact of naming, the former to stimulate and attract the attention of the audience and the latter to assist the audience in memorising the names which otherwise would have been encumbering for him.

5. Naming Ceremony and Convention

Child naming in most parts of Igbo land is usually marked by a naming ceremony which is done on the eighth day of birth, immediately after the circumcision. It is typically marked by pomp and pageantry. The act of naming a male child is called "**okwukwo eka**" , that of the female child is called " **ataye ose**" This conforms to the biblical / Judeo culture (Jesus and John the Baptist were likewise named after eight days of birth). The child is placed at the edge of a thatched roof and water poured on the roof which runs unto the child. This is a kind of baptism and preparation of the child to adulthood. It is a rite of passage to prepare the child for the good and the ugly side of life. During this ceremony, the eldest man in the kindred will invokes blessing on the child while calling out his name. This ceremony is also a time for the mother of the baby to undergo purification. The woman is regarded as unclean as a result of the flowing of the post partum locia. This ceremony is usually celebrated with lots of food, foofoo, meat (duck meat), yam, fish and palm wine.

Names are not randomly given through some guess work; neither are researches being conducted before a child is given a name, rather names are given through laid down procedures which are religiously followed.

Polygamy is common in traditional Afikpo society, as such, it is common to get in a family two or more people who bear the same first name and surname- this is applicable to both male and female sexes. To differentiate between such people who bear same name, matronym is practiced. The people who share the same name will be further addressed using their mothers' first name. This is illustrated below;

Female

First Name	Surname	Mother Name
Eke	*Okoche*	*Elum*
Eke	*Okoche*	*Ugwome*

Male

First Name	Surname	Mother Name
Oko	*Abagha*	*Chi*
Ike	*Abagha*	*Etuu*

It is also a common occurrence to hear people being addressed by their mothers' first name even when they are no such identity clashes. Repetitions and reoccurrence of names are quite common in Afikpo. This is because of the peculiarity of their naming convention. Names are almost always predictable in Afikpo. This is because every first male is expected to answer the paternal grand-father first name (**Nnannia** + *the real name).* [1]The second male child goes by the maternal grand-father's name (**Ogonnia**+ real name). The first female also answers the paternal grand-mothers' name (**Nennia** + *the real name)* and the second female goes by the maternal grand-mother's name (**Nenne + the real name**). Where the grandparents, or either is/are still alive, they may request for their father's's/mother's name to be named before theirs, that is, the child will then be named after his/her great grand-father or great grand-mother's name. In a polygamous family context, the same names keep recurring especially the paternal names; every child is further identified by his/her mothers' first name or matrilineal family name.
This is illustrated below;

First Name	Surname

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[1] Names like Nnannia, Nennia, Ogonnia, Nenne are not real names in Afikpo, they are honourific. Bearers of such names still have their original names. This accounts to the prevalent of names like Enyum Ogbonnia Enyum, Oko Ogbonnia Oko etc

Oko	-		Otu	(paternal great grand father)
Unya	-		Oko	(grand father)
Ukpabi	-		unya	(father)
Unya	-	or	Oko	(child)

The child will either be named 'Unya 1 or Oko'. If the great grand-father is still alive, the child will be named 'Oko'. If he is dead, he will consequently be named after the grand-fathers' name 'Unya'.

Having named the grandparents, the next set of names goes to the father and mother (If the next child is male – he is named after the father- **Ogbonnia,** and if female he is named after the mother- **Ogbonnie**). In cases where the parents are highly prolic, they can go further to name the child after the father's friend- **Enyinnia** or after an uncle or aunty. The person whom the child is named after becomes the namesake- Ogbo and certain cultural expectations are expected of the duo.

6.   Sociocultural Analysis Of The Typology of Afikpo-Igbo Names
Typology of Igbo Personal Names
Ubahakwe (1982:30) categorized Igbo personal names into the following categories:-
- God and Deities such as: *Chukwu* (God), *Ofo* (ritual object).
- The good and virtuous such as: *Ike (*strength), *Ngozi* (Blessing).
- Kinship such as: *Nne* (mother).
- Natural processes/phenomena such as: *Ndu* (life), *Onwu* (death).
- Social entities/concepts such as: *Ibe* (social group), *Mba* (people/town)
- Calendar such as: *Eke, Orie, Oge* (period/time)
- Titles such as: *Eze* (King).
- Evil and non virtuous such as: *Agha* (war).
- Natural physical objects such as: *Ugwu* (hill), *Osimiri* (stream).
- Parts of the body such as: *Isi* (head), *Ukwu* (leg).
- Material assets such as: *Ego* (money)
- Occupation such as: *Uzu* (smith), *Nta* (hunt).

Oluikpe (2004:388) and Kammelu N.C (2008) lending credence to Iwundu (1994)'s work observe his broad based categorization: of Igbo personal names to include:
Theophoric, Ideational, Monumental and Testimonial names.
Afikpo-Igbo names are unique and peculiar in their sound, structure, forms and meaning.
This section is an empirical and sociocultural analysis of the typology of her names. The names described in this section are traditional and contemporary Afikpo-Igbo personal names. The following categorization will be used in this analysis;
> Birthday name
> Physical appearance
> Circumstantial names
> Theophoric names
> Flora and fauna names
> Nicknames

Birthday Names: this is supposed to be an automatic name a child bears based on the particular day he or she is born. Such names include;

Female	**Male**
Eke	*Okoroeke*
Orie	*Okorie*
Nkwo	*Okorafor*

The above are Igbo market days and people bear names associated with the market days. Due to the uniqueness of Afikpo-Igbo naming convention, it is possible to see a child born on 'Nkwo' market day bearing the name Eke' or one born on Nkwo day answering 'Orie'. This is because even before a child is born he or she already has a name, irrespective of the day he is born. Names are not arbitrary label but socio-cultural context of the bearer, thus the uniqueness of Afikpo-Igbo names and their naming convention.

Physical Appearance: This is another classification of name which may reflect complexion, size and values.

Okorocha	-	*fair boy (male)*
Ojii	-	*dark complexioned (female)*
Ụcha	-	*fair complexioned (female)*
Ugo	-	*eagle (a beautify bird)*
Ọla	-	*gold (a valuable jewel)*
Mma	-	*beauty*

Awo   -   *elegant in beauty*

Circumstantial Names: this is another class of name based on circumstances surrounding the birth of the child. These names are given as second names in Afikpo-Igbo after giving the inherited name. Circumstantial names will be further analyzed under the following subheadings;

(a) Anthro-toponyms
(b) Temporonym
(c) Fate
(d) Social circumstances e.g. achievement and personality.

Anthro-toponyms: These are personal names that pertain to place name.
Examples are:

Names		Meaning
Ehugbo	-	*(The original names of Afikpo)*
Ugwu	-	*mountain (male)*
Ubi	-	*farm land (male)*
Ama	-	*compound (male*
Iyi	-	*stream (female)*
Enyum	-	*river (male)*
Ohia	-	*forest (male)*

The names may probably be place names, rivers, mountain, lake, forest or any geographical area.

Temporonym: This term could be used to refer to names that relate to the period of birth, or an event of community or clan, important festival etc. (Agyekum K. (2006). Examples; *Agha* - war.

There could be periodic names that relate to periodic, social, economic or political atmosphere or the time or the status of the parents at the time of birth.

For instance a child born during the period of economic boom could be called;

Obiarii- Obiarimgbe eku- she come at the period of wealth

Uzo - uzoma- good road (smooth sail- she came at a time of goodness)

Olua – he conquered in diverse victory over an enemy.

These are names given according to the child's position in the family that is, the hierarchy of children in the family e.g.

Names		Meaning
Okpara	-	*first son*
Ada	-	*first daughter*
Nnanna	-	*first son (i.e. father's father)*
Nennia	-	*first daughter (i.e. fathers mother*
Ulu	-	*second son/daughter*

Fate Names: These are names which could also be given according to the fate of the parents probably to indicate a long period of childlessness e.g.

Ogeri – oge erigi nwa (time does not eat a child)

Mgbechi – mgbe chi kweri (when my God permits)

Alazu – one who goes back and comes back again.

Ọgbaulu – repletion, reincarnation

These are names that act as consolation to the parents, after a long period of wait and distress.

Social Circumstance: Social circumstances such as one's achievement and personality could be showcase via the name he or she bears. For instance,

Names		Meaning
Abagha	-	*a great worrier*
Ogbuenyi	-	*a great hunter (buffalo or elephant hunter)*
Otumgba	-	*a great wrestler*
Oledimma	-	*which is good?*
Oleforu	-	*what is left?*

Theophoric Names: Such names as *Chukwu, Erusi, Nkama, Nwachukwu,* etc are given to children to reflect the religious belief of the parents. Jacob (1974) observed that the faith of a people is enshrined in the name they give their children. It may be faith in God, an oracle or deity, they ran to the during their period of distress.

Flora And Fauna; Object And Animal Names: Certain names are given from flora and fauna, animal names or object names. Afikpo-Igbo people, name their children after animal, moon, sun or attributes of such. Some of such names include:

Names		Meaning
Enwo	-	*monkey*
Agwo	-	*snake*
Ele	-	*antelope*
Enyi	-	*elephant (buffalo)*
Onwa	-	*moon*
Amigo	-	*giraffe*
Ugo	-	*eagle*
Ugbala	-	*duck*
Oji	-	*iroko tree*
Enyum	-	*river*
Igwe	-	*iron (njagirigwe)*

Nick Names: Some have been adopted and used as personal names. These names portray a display of affluence, brevity or some aspects of life and conflicts that ensued in human relations. Examples are:

Igariwey	*-I gari wee (bia) – where did you come from*
Agboso	*- a gbasi oso – don't run again*
Njagirigwe	*- none useful object*
Okwotoba	*-rich and affluent man*

7.   Changing World And Changing Names

Change as Heraclitus is reputed to have said, is the only constant in life. Language is in a constant state of flux and does not remain static but dynamic (e.g. Yule, 2010).

a.   **Cultural Change:** As a result of education, religion, urbanization, westernization and globalization, the aura and distinction which use to accompany Afikpo-Igbo names are fast disappearing. Some aspects of Afikpo names have been affected structurally and systematically. It is a common trend that apart from a child's first name and surname, he acquires a Christian or Islamic name during baptism or while registering in school. Apart from Christian and Islamic names, many would anglicize, shorten or even drop it entirely in preference for their neighbouring community names, or worse still in preference for some strange and foreign names which they sometimes, may not vividly say their meanings.

This trend is more rampant among our youth and the younger ones, especially those below forty years. The current spate of globalization has left our youth in preference of foreign culture, language, dressing, food, all aspect of their culture even names at the distinct of our original names (our life, essence and identity).

This ideology is quite rampant in our churches, for instance; George, Charles, Faustina, Evaristus, Dorathy, Derby, Collins, Jackline, Quinsy, Philomena, Theresa, Ritzy, Rapture, Testimony and Hallelujah It is common to now hear people answer names like:

Praise instead of Toochukwu,
Thank God instead of Kelechukwu
Promise instead of Nkwachukwu
Mercy instead of Eberechukwu
Miracle instead of Oluebube
Die wait instead of Onwuchekwa
Gospel instead of Ozioma

The worst is that some have even dropped their surname (their genealogy and ethnological identity) and replaced them with the "new name". Now you see people answering:

Excellent	Hebron
John	Paul
Lisa	Johnson
Jennifer	Benson
Breakthrough	Wonder
David	Praise
Emmanuel	Wonderful etc.

One is thrown aback to begin to wonder what is happening to our root, out tongue, identity and value system. This ugly phenomenon of coveting the white man's way of life have left the youths hollow. Obuasi (2007) lamented against this ugly trend because it has left the youths like mediocre, being neither here nor there, most of them are neither competent in their mother tongue nor in the coveted alien language. They are now like the proverbial bat "usu" which is neither a bird nor a mammal. Some Afikpo-Igbo name are becoming Anglicized such names are spelt with English orthography and sounds. Example:

Ewah instead of Ewa
Orji instead of Oji

Ugoh / Yougo instead of Ugo
Ortah instead of Ota

It should be noted that Igbo language is a tonal language and any alteration of the tonal pattern affect the meaning of the lexical item. Moreover, in Igbo language phonology, they are no consonant clusters not to talk of (rj or rt etc). This has further satirized the situation. This is opaque to Igbo language phonology.

Coinage: This entails the invention of totally new term from its original form. Due to the preference for western culture people tend to coin their original Afikpo names to match up with the trend. This phenomenon due to its adverse effect has led to the loss of originality and identity of such names. Examples of Afikpo-Igbo name that have turned to its trendy forms are;

Ogbeyialu	-	*Alu*	-	*Lully*
Ogeri	-	*Ogechi*	-	*Gerry*
Oko	-	*K.K*	-	*Kay*
Ewa	-	*Ewans*	-	*Waly*
Uche	-	*UC*	-	*Urtch*

Shortening of Igbo names is becoming trendy and some of these names are loosing their meaning. They have metamorphosed into a structure that one can hardly recognize them as Igbo name, especially with the ridiculous and distorted forms which leaves an eroded particle left.

Conclusion

The language of the people is conveyed or enshrined in the names they bear. Anthroponym often preserves lexical elements that might have dropped out of the standard lexicon of a given language. The belief system, philosophy, thought, religions, language and culture of the people; and their interaction with foreign cultures are all enshrined in the names they bear. Names are the epitome of the bearer or family's history and genealogy. It mirrors the values of the society and the attachment with the born child. That is why the Igbo people attach so much importance to child naming. The Afikpo-Igbo though share some similarities with the other Igbo linguistic groups in terms of their name and naming convention, there are still some distinctive features and phenomenon in them, thus the relevance of this paper.

Glossary of some Afikpo Names

This section is pertinent in order to archive and preserve the debris of Afikpo-Igbo names.Most names in Afikpo are sex specific while some are unisex. Common among the unisex names are; *Agbii, Akpu, Elem, Chukwu, Igu, Ikpo, Imo, Mbazu, Ole, Obila, Obele, Obia, Omiko, Ude, Uche, Uka, Uzor* etc.

Below are some names peculiar to Afikpo-Igbo cultural group, their meaning and gender.

	NAME	**GENDER**	**MEANING**
1	Abagha	M	Warrior, war boaster, war contender
2	Abani	M	One who boasts and gives; a proud and generous person.
3	Abo (Aboma)	M	Abo was previously associated with it loss in child bearing, it is now replaced with Aboma which means good.
4	Ada (usually the first daughter)	F	Wooden basket that brings good luck.
5	Agada (oche)	M	Seat/stool.
6	Agbo	M	Hook sinker, difficulty to sink or suppressed.
7	Agha	F	Warrior
8	Agwo	M	Snake, intelligent, cunning.
9	Aja	M	Praise
10	Ajuka (Ajukaginwa)	M	A child is never refused.
11	Aka (Akanele)	F	Let's watch and see
12	Akama	F	Symbol of beauty
13	Akani	M	One who promise
14	Akpu (Akpunwoke) (Akpunwanyi) Akpu ogidi	M/F	Mighty iroko tree. Depicts huge, and intimidating personality.
15	Alazu	M	Reincarnation. One who dies and reincarnate several times.
16	Ali (Alieze, Aliobu)	M/F	Mother earth, farm land, backyard.
17	Alu (Ogbeyialu)	F	A poor man cannot marry me
18	Alum	M	I have fought and conquered
19	Arua	M	Spear, war weapon (Arrow/Archie)

20	Agbam	M	Climbing rope (my aid support)
21	Awo (Awomma)	F	Beautiful woman; graceful
22	Awoke	M	Undisputed boundary
23	Anigo	M	Giraffe. Quiet and unharmful personality.
24	Awam	M	I have arrived, I have survived
25	Chi	F	Personal god; shrine; creature god
26	Chebem	F	God protect me
27	Dibie	M	Medicine man, doctor; herbalist, diviner
28	Echem	M	Thoughtfulness
29	Echete (nhete)	F	Remembrance
30	Efo	M	Stomach
31	Egele (Ege-Isu)	M	Quick witted; sharp in thought and action
32	Egele (Egeleonu uwa)	F	High sounding musical instrument Do not listen to people's ranting
33	Ego (Egonnia)	F	Money/wealth
34	Egwu	M/F	Fearful and unpredictable character. Traditional god of agility and madness.
35	Ehi	M/F	Cow. A huge person.
36	Ejor	M	Tough, strong and daring usually attached to Nnali-Ejor
37	Eja	M	Sand, Sacrifice
38	Eja	M	Sand
39	Ejim(Ejimole)(Ejimugwo)	F	I have, am not indebted
40	Eke (Ekemma)	M/F	First market day. A good day
41	Eko	M	Affluent and arrogant personality.
42	Egbara	M	Untouchable plant whose fruit & leaf causes itching to any part of the body touched.
43	Ekuma/ Ekumaonye nwue	M	Wealth knows the owner.
44	Eleje (chi)	M/F	Look unto God.
45	Elem/Elemchi	M/F	Deep looking unto God
46	Ejitu	F	Hold on and be hopeful
47	Eluu,.Eluwa	M	This uncertain world
48	Elum	F	My expectation, my hope
49	Ehihia	F	Weed
50	Eni	M	A great wrestler
51	Enwo	M	Monkey family. Agile, brave
52	Esom	M	I belong
53	Ewa	M	Brave warrior
54	Evo/Evoeme	M	Usual occurrence
55	Enya	MF	Eye
56	Eze		king/leader
57	Eze ogo		Community leader
58	Ezeali		Leader of the land; having good possession.
59	Ezi ulo	M	Good home that lacks nothing
60	Enyoto	F	Upright eye, honest person
61	Eleri	M	Spectacular sight to behold

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