

Structure in Ibibio Names

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THIS ARTICLE CONSIDERS THE manner in which personal names, particularly those associated with traditional beliefs and practices, are viewed among the Ibibio of Southeastern Nigeria. (Ibibio country is inhabited by about four million people and is located in what is now known as Cross River State of Nigeria.) Most names that people in this society possess today belong to one of seven types: lineage-names; place-names; events-names; occupational names; stereotype-names; nick-names; and day-names. These are systematically related, as will be shown in this article, and the permutations of this basic system of names form the principal means for the designation of individuals. This is not to say, however, that the employment of the names is always rigorously systematic in practice.

In giving a name, a number of considerations determine the choice of it. When was the child born? Was it at night, in the morning, in the evening or on a rainy day? On what day of the week or on what market day was the child born? What special incidents, circumstances, problems or events relating to the child himself, to his parents, to his extended family, or even to the whole village of which his family is part occurred when he was born? Is this the parents' first male or female child? If the parents had previously lost a child by death, does the newborn resemble in any way the child that was lost by death? The naming system provides an answer to the above questions.

In various ways, names refer to events, experiences and emotions. Some names are believed to have some influence on the characters of their bearers. That is to say, they describe the personalities of their bearers. There is a popular belief which refers to the influence of names on character as the following expression indicates "Enyin osop enye." In a wider sense, this means that a person usually behaves in accordance with the meaning of his name. For instance, if a person named "Isang" (Lit. "Traveler" or "The-one-who-travels") happens to be fond of traveling, it is believed that this is so because of the influence of his name. The following are some of the major procedures of giving names in Ibibio society.

I. Naming a child after its kinsmen

To name a child after its kinsmen, especially after its grandparents or senior relatives, is very important among the Ibibio. It seems to have been the most prevalent practice in the olden days. The Ibibio are a patrilineal society, and, as may be expected, most of the names in this category are drawn from the father's side. The system of naming children after their paternal or maternal relatives seems to follow a recognizable pattern. For instance, in the case of the eldest son the name of the paternal grandfather is preferred to any other names. This practice has several sociological implications or functions. Among others, it links two alternate generations—that of the grandparents and that of the grandchildren. It also serves to perpetuate the names of ancestors and it brings grandparents and grandchildren socially closer to one another, for when a grandparent shares the same name with a grandchild, the relationship between them becomes even closer and more intimate.

Another reason for naming a child after its grandparents stems from the belief that the child so-named will automatically inherit their virtues. Another factor is ancestor worship. In a society where ancestral spirits are not only revered, but are also believed to have influence on the lives of their living descendants, it is obvious that one way of honoring them is by naming children after them. Junior sons and daughters may also be named after some of their kinsmen. When relatives live close to one another, as in the same village, then the practice of naming children after ancestors or senior kinsmen does not cause duplication of the same name in many families. However, when they live far apart from one another, duplication of the same name among close kinsmen becomes commonplace. Nowadays, this is increasing because industrialization has dispersed the population.

II. Naming children after non-relatives

A child may also be named after a prominent or famous person, or a neighbor, or even after a midwife if the child is a girl. Names of kings or chiefs are commonly used to christen children, "Ntuen Ibok" "Umoren," the names of first class chiefs in Opobo, being some such names. Sometimes the Ibibio go outside their own society for names. These are names of important persons or family doctors, and what is more, they are names of persons who are associated with significant events such as

war, visits, death, or religious, and political movements; for example, "George" (King George), "Kaisa" (Kaiser), "Napoleon," "Alexander". It is worth noting that these names of prominent people are also helpful in estimating the ages of their bearers who, in the majority of cases, may be illiterate and thus without birth date records.

The reasons behind the naming of children after people who are believed to have desirable characteristics are obvious. It is assumed that the child will take on the good qualities of that person and that he will behave like him. As a matter of fact, when the person after whom the child is named is living in the same neighborhood as the child, an intimate relationship develops between the two. The child usually receives gifts from its adult namesake, and indeed, they treat each other as equals. The reciprocal term of address is "Koko" "Kpon Kpon" ("namesake").

III. Naming children after events

This is the most important source of *Ibibio* names. Many names refer to or are derived from events that coincide with the birth of children. Since the *Ibibio* were a nonliterate people without a recording system, it is obvious that event-names served as a kind of a "recording" system. Indeed, it is common among the *Ibibio* to refer to an event whenever one asks for dates of birth. Event-names are thus very much like "birth certificates." One other function of event-names seems to be to take care of what may be called the psychological needs of the people. In a society where technological development is backward, and where the lives of the people are directly affected by changes in nature, particular significance is attached to events.

Thus, names based on events reflect, as it were, these psychological and emotional states. When the birth of a boy coincides with the occurrence of an accident which affects the family in one way or another, he is almost invariably christened "Ukut" ("sorrow" "accident" "danger"). A boy born on the day that an important person in the family dies may be named "Mkpa," which is the noun form of "akpa" "to die." The following are specific instances in which event names are commonly chosen.

A. Names referring to pleasant happenings

As mentioned earlier, the traditional *Ibibio* are dependent on agriculture and animal husbandry for their livelihood, and sunshine is,

accordingly, one of the most pleasant events since farming is done in sunny or dry season. Thus, children born on a sunny day are often named after the sun, “Ndaeyo” “Utin.” It is important to note the linguistic or grammatical device which is used in the formation of names in this category. Most of the personal names derived from inanimate or non-human objects undergo slight phonological and morphological changes. For instance, in the case of “eyo” (“sun”) the word is preceded by “nda” to form personal names for males. “Ndaeyo” is believed to represent a masculine gender and is not given to a girl. Note the following-

eyo (“sunlight, sun”) > Ndaeyo (boy’s name)
 utin (“sun”) > Utin (girl’s name)

Other pleasant events in Ibibio society, and surely in all human societies, are the prevalence of peace and good social relations with kinsmen, neighbours or villagers. Thus, “Emem” (“peace”) is a very common name for boys, and what is more, the word is also used as a form of greeting and an expression of wish or compliment “emem odu ye afo,” “peace be with you.” Names falling under this category are formed in various ways.

B. *Names expressing social harmony*

Most of these names are nouns derived from verb stems, e.g.

ama (“to love”) > Ima (“Love”); girl’s name
 okpon (“to become fat or prosperous”) > Ubom (“fatness”); boy’s name
 etop (“to become famous”) > Etop (“fame”); boy’s or girl’s name
 idaresit (“to be happy”) > Idara (“Joy”); boy’s or girl’s name

C. *Names expressing gratitude, especially for the birth of a child*

idaraesit (“to be happy, to rejoice”) > Idara (“joy”); boy’s or girl’s name
 ndikom (“to thank”) > Ekom (gratitude); boy’s or girl’s name
 nditoro (“to praise, to compliment”) > Itoro (“Praise-worthy”); boy’s or girl’s name

D. *Recompensory names*

These are names given to children who are born following the death of a preceding child. Such children are regarded as repayment or compensation for the dead ones. Note the following:

ndino (“to give”) > Eno (“gift”); boy’s or girl’s name
 ndidonesit (“to console”) > Idonesit (“consolation”); boy’s or girl’s name
 ndifiok (“to know”) > Aniefiok (“who knows”); boy’s or girl’s name

E. *Names expressing a wish, hope, or request*

In this type of event-name, we are dealing with what may be called “invocative” names. These names express both harmony and disharmony in society, for example, joy or gossip.

ndibana (“to discuss”) > “Ibanga” or “Iko Edem” (one who is discussed);
boy’s name or girl’s name
ndibo (to accept) > No Nkama (give me to keep); boy’s name
Eno (“gift”); boy’s or girl’s name

F. *Names denoting repeated death in the same family*

A name of this type is given to a child which is born after the stillbirth or death of an immediately preceding sibling or siblings. The interesting thing in these circumstances is the concern or anxiety of the parents regarding the survival chances of the infant. There is always the fear that it, too, may not survive. Extraordinary rituals are therefore performed with meticulous care to ensure the survival chances of the baby, and, as may be expected, special taboos are observed. Apart from the rituals and taboos, a special name is given to the child, and this is usually a derogatory or nonhuman name. Its intended implication is to produce the opposite effect of its meaning:

Mbeke Enyin (“I have no hope”); girl’s name
Mkpa (“death”); boy’s name
Nsese (“I am watching”)

G. *Names expressing sex and birth order*

Sometimes the child is given a generic name which indicates only that it is a boy or a girl, or the first, second, third, or seventh child.

Akpan: first-born son
Udo: second-born son
Ufot: third-born son
Adiaha: first-born daughter
Unwa/Udonwan: second-born daughter
Unwa Unwa: third-born daughter

H. *Names denoting time, day, and an unusual place*

Traditionally, the proper place for an *Ibibio* woman to deliver her baby is at her own house or parental home; however, the use of modern facilities has undermined this custom seriously. Nowadays, especially where medical facilities are easily accessible, the common practice is to

send expectant mothers to maternity houses. Yet, it does happen that a woman delivers a baby at an unexpected time and place, e.g., along the road, at a stranger's home, or while on a journey. Usually children born under these circumstances bear names reflecting the circumstances.

Monday, Sunday, Friday, Saturday (boy's names)

Usun ("in or on the road"); boy's or girl's name

Inwang ("in or at the farm"); boy's or girl's name

Esen ("in or at a stranger's home"); boy's name

Okon ("born at night"); boy's name

Akon ("born at night"); girl's name

Urua ("born in or at the market place"); boy's or girl's name

I. *Names denoting patience, endurance, or perseverance*

Usually these names refer to a very trying time through which one or both parents lived, implying perhaps that success comes after numerous failures or long waiting; they can also be given to a first-born child whose father struggled hard to win over the love of the mother:

ndibo ufen ("to endure") > Ufen ("endurance"); boy's or girl's name

ndime ime ("to persevere") > Ime ("perseverance")

ndituk ("to cheat, to ignore") > Utuk ("the cheated, the ignored"); boy's name

ndisuene ("to disgrace") > Esuene ("disgrace")

J. *Names denoting a delayed birth*

Usually, when the pregnancy period is unduly long and the birth date long overdue, the Ibibio husband, as may be expected, becomes anxious. In the traditional setting, rituals are performed to precipitate birth and usually the name of the child resulting from such a birth reflects the circumstances. Note the following:

Uwa ("sacrifice"); boy's name

Ibok ("juju"); boy's name

Odung ("herb"); girl's name

Akam ("prayer"); boy's or girl's name

K. *Names referring to social disharmony*

Ibibio naming is also marked by a proliferation of names denoting social discord. These are names which, among other things, reflect the people's concern about gossip, hatred, petty jealousies, quarrels, poverty, or lack of cooperation. Note the following:

Iko Edem (“gossiped one”); girl’s name
 Ukut (“sorrow, poverty”); girl’s name
 Ibuk (“discussed one”); girl’s name
 Usua (“hated one”); male or female
 Isin Enyin (“jealousy”); male/female
 Iko (“quarrel”); male
 Ibanga (“one that is discussed”); male

L. *Names of illegitimate children and those of uncertain paternity*

Children born out of wedlock or born of infidel mothers (wives) usually bear names implying these circumstances, for example

ndisuene (“to disgrace”) > Esuene (“disgrace”); boy’s name
 ndiworo essien (“to roam about”) > Essien (deriving from the public);
 boy’s name
 nyong (“wanderer”); boy’s name
 ndima (“to love”) > Ema (“who loves”); boy’s name, girl’s name

M. *Names referring to personal qualities*

An interesting feature of the Ibibio naming system is its richness in names that refer to a person’s features or qualities. Personal features of a child are traditionally expressed in the form of personal praise, poems or nicknames. Here are some of the names denoting personal qualities, usually given to children

Uyai (“the handsome one”); boy’s name
 Offiong (“as radiant as the light of the moon”); male/female
 Utin (“as bright as sun’s rays”); girl’s name
 Ifiok (“wisdom”); boy’s name
 Uko (“powerful, or proud one”); male
 Affiong (“as beautiful as the moon”); female

N. *The naming of twins*

In contemporary Ibibio society, the birth of twins is always a cause of anxiety. In the past, such birth was usually viewed as a calamity and the attitude of the society toward the twins was always hostile. The children were killed and mother ostracized. Nowadays this belief in twin birth as ominous is rapidly dying out. We have no information regarding names for identical twins, or the name of the twin delivered first or last, though the twins are given names to imply their circumstances of birth.

O. *Names denoting natural calamities*

Natural catastrophes such as famine, death, thunderstorm, tornado, and so on are usually reflected in the naming system of the Ibibio. The following names are examples of such:

Ofim (“tornado, thunderstorm”); boy’s name

Akang (“famine”); boy’s name

Mkpa (“death”); boy’s name

Ukut (“sorrow”); boy’s name, girl’s name

Unana (“scarcity”); boy’s name, girl’s name

P. *Stereotype names*

Certain names tend to be stereotyped in Ibibio society. These are names given to children who are born under what may also be called “stereotyped” circumstances, that is, when a child is born into a family which, until the birth of the child in question, had only children of one sex. This state of affairs causes a great deal of concern among the Ibibio, more especially since inheritance and descent are based on the male line. Daughters are also wanted, though for the sake of wealth, usually in the form of money, that will accrue from their marriage, which, in turn, can be used in procuring wives or education for the sons. Thus, an ideal family in Ibibio society is the one in which the ratio of boys to girls is equal.

Names of this type are not many, but they are common because families with one boy and several girls, or vice versa, are also common. As may be expected the meanings of these names are related to the circumstances:

ndideme (“to share”) > Udeme (“that which is shared”); male

Ita (“the third one”); male

Theoretically these names are not suitable for a first or second-born child, for they will then be inappropriate except for “Udeme” which is appropriate for the eldest son irrespective of whether he is a first-born or not. This is so because in this society inheritance is based on the principle of primogeniture.

Q. *Teknonymous names*

One of the commonest features of the Ibibio naming system is the fact that the prefixes “ete” (father of) and “eka” (mother of) are used in forming girl’s or boy’s names. They serve two functions when used

with or prefixed to names: to address or to refer to a person by using the name of his or her child, for example, father or mother of "so-and-so," and to form names. The former is prevalent in many societies, especially where in-law avoidance rules are customary. In fact, this is one of its uses in Ibibio society. A woman is not supposed to address or refer to her son-in-law by his name, and vice versa. Before a man begets a child, his mother-in-law addresses him by the kin term "ebe eyen" or "ukot" (son-in-law), while she is addressed and referred to as "mma" or "eka" (mother by him). By the time he has a child, she will address him or refer to him, by teknonymy, "father of so-and-so"; for example, "ete Inyang" "ete Nse" "Ete Okon." A daughter-in-law also does not address or refer to her father or mother-in-law by name, but calls them "father" and "mother" respectively. The kin terms "ete ee" (father-in-law) and "eka ebe" (mother-in-law) are also commonly used by daughters-in-law to refer to their in-laws. Sons-in-law too, address their in-laws as "father" and "mother" respectively, and refer to them by using the kin terms "ete anwan" (father-in-law) and "eka anwan" (mother-in-law). According to custom, a man is supposed to address or refer to his son-in-law by the kin terms "ebe eyen" (son-in-law) or by teknonymy "father of so-and-so."

Sometimes the names become permanent as a result of giving her first-born a name that will match with her teknonymous name; for example, if she is named "Mayen," her child, if he is a boy, may be named "Akpan Mayen." To recapitulate, it has been stated that one of the uses of the prefixes "ete" (father of) and "mma, eka" (mother of) is to address or refer to a person by using the name of his or her child. In Ibibio language two structural or syntactical forms are used. One is the equivalent of the English possessive construction "father of" or "mother of"; for example, 'Ete Inyang" and "Eka Inyang" literally, "father of Inyang" and "mother of Inyang." The use of "ete" and "eka" is one of the most productive devices of naming in Ibibio. In fact these prefixes can be affixed to most, if not all, of the names that are listed in this article. The "eka" prefix is very common in the names of girls.

R. *Initiates' names*

Finally, let us consider the naming of "society" initiates in Ibibio society. The commonest "societies" in the land are "ekpe," "ekpo," "idiong," "ebre," "abang," "ekong," and "atat." For all practical purposes, initiate names are temporary. Their use and social significance last as long as the initiation period itself, and, furthermore,

the names are used mainly by those who are involved in the initiation rites.

- “Ekpe”: male (an initiate of Ekpe society)
- “Ekpo”: male (an initiate of Ekpo society)
- “Ebre”: female (an initiate of Ebre society)
- “Ekong”: male (an initiate of Ekong society)
- “Atat”: male (an initiate of Atat society)

The above names are also event-names which serve as a reminder that the birth of the bearers of the names must be associated with the societies.

S. *Biblical names*

Most Ibibio names are associated with prominent or famous persons in the Bible. These persons may be kings, prophets, deacons, prophetesses and so on. Biblical names, often imposed on the people by European missionaries, have frequently been a corollary with religious imperialism. The spread of Biblical names among the Ibibio provides an obvious example of the effort of the European missionaries to perpetuate the Christian religion in the society. For one thing, such names were often considered as a symbol of holiness, sacredness, and perfection insofar as they were associated with names of prophets, angels, and apostles.

Although this tendency is rapidly dying out following the reinstatement of nativistic religions, especially among the Protestants, it is still an integral part of the doctrine of Roman Catholics. The reasons behind the naming of children after Biblical names is that children will take on the good qualities of those persons and they will behave like them. Note the following:

| <i>Old Testament Names.</i> | <i>New Testament Names.</i> | <i>Special Names (typical of Roman Catholics)</i> |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Abraham (male) | John (male) | Pius (male) |
| Isaac (male) | James (male) | Ignatius (male) |
| Jacob (male) | Mark (male) | Basil (male) |
| Joseph (male) | Paul (male) | Gregory (male) |
| Michael (male) | Simon (male) | Angelica (female) |
| Jezebel (female) | Thomas (male) | Francisca (female) |
| Naomi (female) | Mary (female) | Augusta (female) |
| Ruth (female) | Elizabeth (female) | Monica (female) |

IV. Summary

The study of names bears on every aspect of human activity. For historical inquiry, the name given a child, an event, or an object can, and often does, tell much about contemporary attitudes. A person's name emphasizes his uniqueness as a person, and whenever anyone addresses him, his individuality is acknowledged.

Name giving among the Ibibio is a matter of great rejoicing. The joy and hope, and even the anxious fears of the parents for the child's well-being, can be expressed and made memorable through the name given to the child. Ceremonies associated with the naming differ from place to place in Ibibio, but there are certain features which appear rather consistently in one form or another throughout the society. Particularly is this true of the purpose of the formal bestowing of the name, for in the society generally, the name conferred on the newborn is not merely to distinguish the individual child, but more importantly to acknowledge and welcome the newcomer as a member of the community, to congratulate the parents and to make auspicious predictions for the child's future.

It is not until a child has been named that it is considered a person, and a name is not given until it has been agreed that the child has come to stay. The ceremonies and customs associated with naming lead the child normally to find its personal fulfillment in adulthood through its active functioning in the total society. The naming ceremony with feasting, dancing, sacrificing and praying brings the eldest and the youngest together, and in these encounters across the years, the continuity of a people's life is ritually reaffirmed, and witnessed in actuality.

This presentation is somewhat sketchy, but it has indicated the interplay of social and linguistic factors and how naming in Ibibio is determined and influenced by sociocultural factors. It is also obvious that in the presentation many other types of names have been excluded. For instance, surnames or family names, friendship, and occupational names did not receive attention. Moreover, I have avoided detailed grammatical or morphological explanations of the changes that occur in some words when used as personal names. I regard this as a task far beyond the scope of an introductory study such as this. If this article is useful, perhaps its usefulness lies in the fact that it has pointed areas that require research, and that it also offers raw data which can be useful to both anthropologists and linguists who are interested in cross-cultural studies. Since among the Ibibio, the name defines the

quality of the person, to some extent it can get up something of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Are there, then, noticeable affects on the self-identity and, as a result, the social behavior, of individuals who are given names which imply some degree of discreditability? For example, the name indicating doubt concerning paternity: do those who bear it tend to accept the stigma of irresponsibility and thereby tend to become irresponsible persons? This would be an interesting test of the labelling theory so dear to many social psychologists and students of deviance.

APPENDIX

SOME COMMON IBIBIO NAMES ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY BY SEX AND MEANING

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Sex</i> | <i>Meaning</i> |
|-------------|------------|---|
| Akpan | m | First born of parents. |
| Adiaha | f | First born of parents. |
| Abia | m | Born during father's initiation into Idiong society. Child is supposed to be a fortune teller. |
| Akai | m/f | Forest. The child was dead and believed to have been born again. The child is born in the forest. |
| Atat | m | An initiate name. The child is born when the father is initiated into Atat society. |
| Akwa | m | A very strong Ibibio tree. Name given to a child that is very strong at birth. |
| Asian | m/f | Name referring to personal qualities; the child is very handsome and beautiful at birth. |
| Akon | f | She is born at night. |
| Akan | m/f | An Ibibio traditional play. The child is born when this play is being performed. |
| Akang | m/f | Name denotes natural calamity, e.g. famine. The child is born when there is famine in the family. |
| Arit | f | Born on Sunday. |
| Affiong | f | Born during moonlight. |
| Anietie | m/f | Name denotes a delayed birth. Answers the question, "Who is like God?" The child is born after a strenuous and difficult labor. |
| Aniefiok | m/f | Stereotyped name. Answers the question, "Who knows as much as God?" Parents were expecting a different sex. |
| Akam | m/f | Stereotyped name. The child is born into a family which, until the birth, had children of one sex. God Answers Prayer. |

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|--------|-----|--|
| Bassey | m/f | Born on Sunday. |
| Ekpo | m/f | Name indicating a natural calamity. The child is born after several children have died in the family. It is used also to indicate that the child is born when the traditional Ibibio play "Ekpo" is being performed. |
| Eno | m/f | Stereotyped name. The child is born into a family which, until the child's birth, had children of one sex. God's Gift. |
| Edem | m | Name indicating uncertain paternity. Mother is suspected to have got the child from "outside." |
| Esen | m | Name indicating uncertain paternity. Mother is suspected to have gotten the child from a man other than her husband. The child which is born when the mother is visiting a friend's or relative's house. |
| Essien | | Name indicating uncertain paternity. Mother is suspected to have gotten the child from a man other than her husband. Deriving from the public. |
| Edo | m/f | Stereotyped name. Who is like God? Parents were not expecting the child to live. The child is born into the family which, until the child's birth, had children of one sex. |
| Ekaete | f | A tekonymous name. The child is named after its grandfather's mother. |
| Eka | f | A tekonymous name. The child is named after its father's mother. |
| Etop | m/f | A name denoting endurance or perseverance. The child is born when the parents are passing through a trying time. Also indicates that the mother or father was trying to win the love of the other when the child was in the womb. The despised one; the hated one. |
| Emem | m/f | A name indicating social harmony. "May peace be with you." |
| Ima | m/f | A name indicating appreciation. The child is a symbol of God's love for the parents. Is also a stereotyped name in the sense that it indicates that the child is born into the family which, until its birth, had children of one sex. |
| Ifiok | m | Name indicating personal quality. He is wise. See names referring to personal qualities. |
| Inyang | m/f | Name indicating an unusual birth place. The child is born in the river. May also indicate a name of a child born into a family with so many children that the parents decide to call the child "river." |
| Inwang | m/f | Born in the farm or on the road to farm. |
| Isang | m/f | Name indicating an unusual birth place. The child is |

| | | |
|---------|-----|---|
| | | born when the mother is visiting or may refer to a child of uncertain paternity. Wanderer. |
| Ime | m/f | Name indicating endurance or perseverance. I am bearing it patiently. |
| Ikpong | m/f | I am lonely. The child's name indicates that the parents are without relations or friends. |
| Iquoho | f | Iquoho Name indicating personal quality. The child unable to walk despite that it has crawled for a significant period. |
| Okon | m | Born at night. |
| Obong | m | Name referring to personal characteristics. The child is named after a chief whose good qualities the child is supposed to acquire. |
| Owoidem | m | Name denoting delayed birth. The child is born after an unusual labor and after sacrifices are made to impersonal forces to assist the mother in the delivery. Man-of-juju. |
| Obot | m | Name denoting social harmony. The child has a good nature. |
| Una | m | Born when parents are poor or during famine season. |
| Uko | m | Name indicating personal quality. The child is born after some achievement by one or all of the parents. The brave one. |
| Ukpong | m/f | Name referring to a child who was believed to die at first and was reincarnated. |
| Udeme | m/f | Referring to a child born after the funeral rites of the father are completed. |
| Utuk | m | Name indicating child of uncertain paternity. The cheater. Mother was suspected of getting the child from a man other than her husband. |
| Udo | m | Second-born of the parents. |
| Udofot | m | Third-born of the parents. |
| Usoro | m | Born during a religious festival. Social harmony. |
| Ufen | m/f | Name denoting endurance or perseverance. One who endures. |
| Usua | m/f | Name denoting endurance or perseverance. One who is hated. May also denote a child of uncertain paternity. The hated one. |
| Nna | m | First born with special privileges. The loved one. |
| Nene | f | First-born daughter. Female of Nna. The loved one. |