

Appendix: Cross River etymologies

Among Cabrera's list of *Abakuá* expressions, we find nonaccidental resemblances to 218 lexical items existing in four clusters of Benue-Kwa (Niger-Congo) languages of the Cross River region, in the following proportions:¹

	<i>ordinary vocabulary</i>	<i>group/place/personal names</i>
Èfìk-Ìbibìd dialect cluster (Lower Cross)	116 = 53%	30 = 14%
Òrókò and Dùálá (Guthrie A1 and A2, SW Cameroon)		
plus Èfúút of Calabar	37 = 17%	8 = 4%
Ìgbò	8 = 4%	3 = 2%
Èkóí (Crabb 1965) alias <i>Éjághám</i> , plus Kúò of Calabar	3 = 1%	5 = 2%
<i>miscellaneous other</i>	4 = 2%	5 = 2%

Interpreted demographically, this sample of Cuban lexicography fits two historic patterns: (i) traditions of inland, specifically Èkóí origin for some populations of the Èfìk seaport that European slavers named "Old Calabar" (Jones 1965, Ejituwu 1998), confirmed by comparison of basic vocabulary items; (ii) arrival of speakers of "Balundu" (Guthrie A1) and Dùálá in settlements of the Cross River and Rio del Rey estuaries by the end of the 17th century (Ardener 1968, 109f.).

Each etymology below begins with Cabrera's spelling and translated gloss, plus variants italicized in parentheses. Etymologically relevant comments by present *Abakuá* initiates if any are noted in square brackets. Finally, an indented paragraph beneath each item gives proposed West African cognates. Etyma preceded by "?<" are speculative working guesses requiring further study, and have not been counted in the above survey numbers.

We cite sources in official orthography if possible and repair colonial spelling automatically, e.g. "Egbo" > *Ékpè*, "Ibo" > *Ìgbò*, "Quã/Kwa" > *Kúò*. We attempt full tonemarking: each high syllable has an acute accent [´], each low syllable has a grave accent [̀] and a syllable with no mark has unknown pitch. Contour tones are split across identical vowels, as in Èfìk *èttí* 'genuine' or the name *Èfúút*. Raised [!] indicates a downstep between adjacent high tones, as in Èfìk *ò!bòñ* 'paramount chief' (—) versus *òbòñ* 'mosquito' (—).²

Modern spelling differs slightly among the different source languages. The Èfìk alphabet "approved for use in schools by the Ministry of Education, Cross River State as from 1st September 1975" (O. Akpanyun in Adams & al. 1981, xi) includes nine roman vowel symbols, four of which are subdotted:

a, e, e, i, i, o, o, u, u

In Èfìk, the autonomy of dotted *i* and *u* has not always been recognized (Ward 1933, 18, cf. Essien 1983a, 25). *Ìgbò* has the same nine-vowel set, except that dotted *e* is phonetically predictable in 'Central' areas (Williamson 1966; Emenanjo & Ogbalu 1983). Some varieties of *Ìbibìd* also need *ə* and *ʌ* alias 'schwa' and 'wedge' (Essien 1985, 67, 80; 1995, 99, cf. Connell 1994, 9, Utip 1989). Schwa is alternatively written as dotted *a*, as in *Lòkàá* = colonial "Lokurr" or "Lokö" (Iwara 1995). The difference between Èfìk and *Ìbibìd* is linguistically fluid, so the two sources are cited together unless there's a specific reason to exclude one or the other (cf. Utip 1989, 3). *Òrókò* and *Dùálá* use IPA-style nonroman [ɛ, ɔ], whose Nigerian counterparts are [ɛ, ɔ], cf. Ajayi (1960).

Èfìk and *Ìbibìd* distinguish nineteen consonants, five of them written as digraphs and two carrying a tilde:

b, d, f, gh, h, k, kp, kw, m, n, ny, ñ, ñw, p, r, s, t, w, y

Some [ny] and [ñw] strings represent, not a single nasal consonant but a sequence of tonebearing nasal followed by an oral glide starting the next syllable. Such sequences are standardly divided by a hyphen, thus Èfìk *ñ-wat ñ-wat* 'small' has four syllables, whereas *ñwañwa* 'a branching' has only two. The same distinction can be made by tonemarks alone: *ñwát ñwát* (— — —) versus *ñwàñwá* (—). In both Èfìk and *Ìbibìd*, the articulation of *ñ* (with tilde) is velar [ŋ], like the *ng* in English *sing*, and not palatal [ɲ] as in Spanish *mañana* 'morning' or *Abakuá* *iñán* 'four'. Cabrera transcribed the palatal nasal in *Abakuá* variously as either *ñ*, *ny* or *nll*, and we preserve all three alternatives intact, in case her choice may reflect perceived syllable boundaries. In *Ìgbò*, a nonredundantly velar nasal before a vowel is spelled superdotted *ñ*, as in *áñ ú* 'bee' versus *ánú* 'animal, meat' and *ánwú* (automatically pronounced *áñ wú*) 'sunshine'.

The principal references cited below are abbreviated as follows:

1. Excluding speculative matches (flagged here with initial "?") and duplicates (*pace* Cassidy 1966). Èfìk-Ìbibìd's high profile in Cross River scholarship may overstate its share of *Abakuá* vocabulary as compared to less documented clusters like *Òrókò*. The diversity in this table recalls that obtained for 632 lexical items attested in "socabe" texts of the "parler secret arabico-malgache du sud-est de Madagascar" (Beaujard 1998: 9).
2. The syllable after a downstep is sometimes said to carry a "mid tone" (Ward 1933: 35), but these are really "high tones abating by one step or successive steps" (Chrastaller 1875: 15, cf. Stewart 1965, Winston 1960, Urua 2001). The *Ìbibìd* version of 'paramount chief' is cited as *á!bòóñ*, with extra length on the final syllable (Urua 5).

Adams = R. Adams & al., *Èfìk-English Dictionary, 3d edition* (Philip, Liverpool, 1952/Manson, Órón, 1981).
 Connell = Dr. B. Connell (University of Toronto) p.c. to the editors.
 Goldie = H. Goldie, *Dictionary of the Èfìk Language* (Dunn & Wright, Edinburgh, 1874).
 Ígwè = G. Ígwè, *Ìgbò-English Dictionary* (University Press Ltd., Ìbàdàn, 1985/1999).
 Maestro Okobio = anonymous Abakuá initiate p.c. to I. Miller in La Habana, Cuba.
 Ñgòè = B.E. wa Ñgòè (University of Buea) p.c. to the editors.
 Rowan = K. Rowan, "From Èfìk to Abakuá; word-formation and lexical manipulation in a ritual language"
 (*ms.*, S.O.A.S., University of London, consulted courtesy of the author).
 Urua = E. Urua & al., *Ibibio Dictionary* (Andimì ñ Fruities, Úyó, 2012).
 Williamson = K. Williamson, *Ìgbò-English Dictionary based on the Ònìchà dialect* (Ethiope, Benin-City, 1972).

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NOTE TO TYPESETTER

Text is set in Palatino, including seven nonroman symbols:

- [ə] LATIN SMALL LETTER SCHWA (U+0259)
- [ʌ] LATIN SMALL LETTER TURNED V (U+028C)
- [ɛ] LATIN SMALL LETTER OPEN E (U+025B)
- [ɛ̃] LATIN CAPITAL LETTER OPEN E (U+0190)
- [ɔ] LATIN SMALL LETTER OPEN O (U+0254)
- [ɔ̃] LATIN CAPITAL LETTER OPEN O (U+0186)
- [ɨ] LATIN SMALL LETTER ENG (U+014B)

Five combining diacritics—whose alignment in Unicode is unreliable—are set in Lucida Sans:

- COMBINING GRAVE ACCENT (U+0300), not used if an integrated grave accent exists for the letter
- COMBINING ACUTE ACCENT (U+0301), not used if an integrated grave accent exists for the letter
- COMBINING MACRON (U+0304), used only on top of *m* and *n* (upper or lower case)
- COMBINING DOT ABOVE (U+0307), used only on top of *n* (lower case)
- COMBINING VERTICAL LINE BELOW (U+0329; alternatively COMBINING DOT BELOW, U+0323)

abafione ‘switchblade knife’

< Èfìk fiòn ‘graze/ wound the skin’ (Goldie 104, Adams 197, Engr. Bassey *p.c.*). See **bfión néne** below.

Abakuá [group name]

< Èfìk Àbàkpà, referring to the Èkóí-derived Kúò [= colonial “Quä” or “Kwa”] sector of Calabar (Goldie 353, Jeffreys 1935, 10; Jones 1956, 136, Simmons 1956b, 66, cf. Cook 1985, 3, Akak 1982, Akak 1995, 12). The phonetic development *kp > kw (ku)* is regular in Cuba, e.g. *Ékpè > Ekue*. *Àbàkpà* was reportedly a Jukun term for ‘pagan’ (unconverted) Hausa who fled the Fulani *jihād*, thereafter applied more generally to “all ‘foreign’ settlements in Ogoja province on the [Cross] River banks” (Dike & Ekejiuba 1990, 48-49, cf. Jeffreys 1935, 24; Abraham 1962, 2, Webster 1975, 3, Nicklin 1977, 63, 67, Dr. Majuk, University of Calabar *p.c.*). Present examples include: *Àbàkpà Ní!ké*, an Ìgbò-speaking town near Ènú!gú; the “*Abakpa* or foreign quarter” of Kimbo (Nso) in Cameroon (Jeffreys 1962, 102) and the “*Àbàkpà carpenter*” neighborhood of Ìgbò-speaking artisans in Big Kúò Town, Calabar (Dr. Abu Edet *p.c.*). An alternate usage, e.g. in Árù (colonial “Arochukwu”) is *Àkpà* without the plural noun classifier *-ba-* (S.K. Àchìnívú *p.c.*, cf. Alagoa 1980, 59, no diacritics, Ámadí 1989, 77). See **Kua** below.

abanekue (*obonekue*) ‘initiated *Abakuá* member’

< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò and Èkóí òbòñ *Ékpè* ‘junior grade of *Ékpè*’ (spelled “*obhon*” by Röschenhaler 2011). See **obonekue** below.

Abarakó [group name]

< Èfìk Mbàràkòm, an Èfìk lineage known for *Ékpè*, in Creek Town. The expression also appears in *Mbàràkòm-Ákámkpà*, the name of a hinterland community.

abasé kesongo (*abase kenyongo*) ‘consecrated and confirmed’

< Èfìk *k’ísòñ* ‘on the earth’, *k’ényòñ* ‘in the sky’ (Goldie 79, 137). The earth-plus-sky metaphor suggests that initiation is fully recognized; a similar trope occurs in nearby languages, e.g. Ìgbò *n’élú n’àlà* ‘everywhere, *lit.* in the sky and on the ground, up and down’. The metaphysics of sky versus earth were salient in societies of the Niger and Cross River basins in medieval times (cf. Nwàdòga 1984). See **Abasí**, **keñongo**, **kiñón**, **kisón** below.

Abasemene ‘Thanks!’

< Ìgbò *é!méné* ‘has done [well]’—a formula expressing thanks. The phrase *Àbàsì é!méné* (literally, ‘*Àbàsì* has done’) effectively means “Thank God!” (Swift & *al.* 1962, 91, Ntufam ‘Bob’ Oku *p.c.*). See **Abasí** below.

Abasí [*Obasé*] ‘God’

Abasí bomé ‘God almighty’ [individual name]

< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *Àbàsì* ‘a god/God’ (Goldie 2, Urua 2, cf. Amoah 1992, 84, Connell 1997, 26). See **Obasé** below.

< Èfìk *ìbúm* ‘big’ (Goldie 114), Ìbibìdò *ìbòòm* ‘big’ (Urua). “*Àbàsì* is the general name for all gods in Ibibioland. ... *Àbàsì Ìbòòm* is [the] Supreme Being” (Odiog 1992, 59 cited by Nwàdòga 1984, 57).

Abasí uná poropó ‘Only God may take our head’

< Òrókò *mòrópò* (and other variants) ‘head’ (Ñgòè). See **Bimba sanga molopó** below.

Abasonga or **Abasongo** ‘ritual title equivalent to *Iyámba*’

?< Èfìk (*à*)*bàsònkò* ‘red feather plume, symbolising *Ékpè* authority’ (Aye 1991, 12, Bassey 1998/2001, 90, Dr. Abu Edet *p.c.*, Chief E.E.E. Imona *p.c.*). Cf. Èkóí *mosongo*, ‘plumed rod’. In Cuban Èfì lore, *Abasóngo* was an Èfì prince captured by the Èfó and initiated in *Ékpè* so as to establish a peace treaty; initiation-by-capture also occurs in Calabar and Ogoja oral tradition (Ñkaña 1933, 57-60, Nicklin & Salmons 1979, 381). See **Iyámba** below.

?< Òrókò *mò-/bà-sóngó* ‘one who understands, is wise/those who understand, are wise’ as a ritual title (Ñgòè).

abereñón (*aberoñón*) ‘plantain’

< Lóndó (Üsàghàdèt, Òrókò) *aberenyon* ‘plantain’ (Chief Asaméyóng *p.c.*), cf. Ìbibìdò *m̀b̀j̀r̀è ù̀nỳó̀ñ* ‘plantain’ (Goldie 174, Urua 181).

Aforó etán ‘Remove your hat’ [Maestro Okobio: said to those entering the *fambá*]

< Èfìk ìtàm ‘hat’ (Goldie 139, Adams 207).

?< Èfìk fòródé ‘peel off [bark]’ (Goldie 109, Adams 197).

Hats are not worn inside Èkpè lodges except by the *Ó!bóñ*, therefore *fòródé ìtàm* may imply that a cap is forcefully stripped off an unauthorized person (Engr. Bassey p.c.). See also **etán**, **itá musón** below.

afotabia ‘dirty’

< Èfìk bìàm ‘dirty’ (Goldie 25, Adams 170).

afotán konomi ‘initiation process’ [Maestro Okobio: *Afotán konomí* ‘You are the same as me’]

?< Èfìk àfò ‘you (sg.)’, *nò* ‘give’, *mî* ‘me’ (Goldie 6, 188, 220, Adams 164, 227, Engr. Bassey p.c.).

aguarapá [= *awarapá*] **ndina** ‘pour’ [Maestro Okobio: *awána pandiná mokoairén*, said during initiation, when pouring animal blood into the *mokúba*]

< Èfìk ñwàñá ‘pour out’ (Goldie 236, Adams 244).

akamán nyene Efor [*akamá yene Efor*] ‘birth of Ekpe’

< Èfìk màn ‘give birth’, *éyén* ‘child’ (Goldie 97, 167).

akamba (*nkamba, akabanba*) ‘elder’ [Maestro Okobio: *Akamba yenirén* ‘female elder, Sikán’s mother, great-granddaughter of the king of Bakoko]

<Èfìk àkámábá ‘big, great’, used in the Cross River zone to denote seniority (Goldie 6, Adams 164, Essien 1986, 15).

The root *-ka* or *-ke* ‘surpass’ is also found in Òrókò (Ñgòè).

Akanabionké [title of Sikán]

?< Èfìk àkàn ‘superiority’, *Àkàn ibìnké* ‘The victorious one moves straight ahead’ (Goldie 7, Engr. Bassey p.c.).

akarina makuá (*Akurina makuá*) ‘insult, misfortune, slanderous allegation’

< Òrókò *A kari na maikua/mauka* ‘S/he is full of abominations’ (Ñgòè). See **Makurina Makuá**, **mbori** below.

akuá [*ákua*] ‘dead’

?< Èfìk kpá ‘die’, *Á kpá* ‘S/he is dead’ (Goldie 155, Prof M. Òkòdò p.c.).

akuara manbión [*nanbión*] ‘great consecration (of dignitaries)’

< Èfìk kwórò ‘proclaim’, *m̀bìò* ‘people’ (Goldie 261, 172, Adams 216, 222).

Akokuá ‘Carabalí Nation’

< Èfìk ákwáá ‘big, great’ (Goldie 13, Adams 165).

< Èfìk Kúò [= colonial “*Quä, Kwa*”] ‘Èkóí lineage in Calabar’ (Goldie 353, Dumont 1876/1922, 8 cited by Ortiz 1924, 8, Cook 1985, 3, Akak 1983, 380, Akak 1995, 12). See **Kua** below.

Akuandikó ‘The drum is resounding’ [Maestro Okobio: *Akuándibo*]

< Èfìk-Ìbìbìò *kúák* ‘beat [drum]’ (Goldie 261, Urua 171), cf. Èfìk-Ìbìbìò *bó* ‘to speak’ (Goldie 29, Urua 63).

Akunakuá (*Kunakua*) [ethnic name. Maestro Okobio: *Akunakuna* ‘to row a canoe’]

< anglicized Èfìk *Akunakuna* < *agune-egune* ‘ferryman’, exonym for speakers of *Ágwágùnè* (Ubi 1985, 2), spoken on the east bank of Cross River north of *Ìmòpòn* (Waddell 1863, 286, Goldie 354, cf. Marwick 1897, Forde 1950, Dike 1957).

amanambá (*anamambé*) ‘unity, initiation family’ [greeting between Abakuá co-initiates]

<Èfìk *Á màrà* ‘He is related by blood’, cf. *ímàn* ‘affinity, kindred, brotherhood’ (Goldie 131, 167, Adams 221).

?< Ìgbò *Ánò m nà mbà*. ‘I’m visiting a foreign place’, cf. *òjé-mbà* ‘traveller abroad’ (Williamson 269, Ígwè 385, 517).

?< Ìgbò *bé* ‘home’, cf. *ídí bé* ‘household, fellow townfolk’ (Williamson 63, 300).

amanisón ‘creole’ [born in Cuba, not in Africa]

< Èfìk *àmàrà ísò ñ* ‘someone born on the land’ (Goldie 137, Goldie 1886, 1, cf. Engr. B.E. Bassey *p.c.*)

amiyikuá ‘gourd’

< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *ìkò* ‘gourd, calabash’ (Goldie 125, Urua 134).

amonachu ‘wealthy’

?< Ìbibìdò *m̀m̀n* ‘those’, *àkák* ‘copper, money’ (Urua 35, 199).

anamabó ‘to purify by sprinkling medicinal water’

< Ìgbò *Ánà m̀ àbú* ‘I am spattering [liquid]’ (cf. Ígwè 102, 826, Manfredi 2004, 258).

Anamanguí (*Anamangí, Amanagui*) [name of funerary body-mask]

< Ìgbò *Ánà m̀ ègbé* ‘I’m crawling’ (Williamson 148, Ígwè 204) with regular phonetic *gu* < *gb* (cf. Lucumí *Elegüa* < Yorùbá *Èlẹ́gbára*). In Abakuá funerals, *Anamanguí* crawls beneath the coffin. Its black-and-white costume resembles an Ékpè funerary mask observed in Ìgbò-speaking Árù [= colonial “Arochukwu”] (Bentor 1994, 329).

anankene ‘to sound’

< Èfìk *Á míá ñ kéné* ‘He is beating a rattle’, cf. *ñ kéné* “[an] instrument made of iron which it is the privilege of a man who has killed a leopard or an enemy in battle to possess and beat publicly. As he does so he proclaims his deeds of prowess. ...It is sometimes beat also to cause silence in a meeting” (Goldie 215*f.*, cf. Adams 241).

Anambori ‘Isunekue’ [Maestro Okobio: ‘the goat sacrificed in the *barokó*’]

< Òrókò *Ná Mbóri* ‘Mr. Goat, in poetic parlance’ (Ìngòè). See **mbori** below.

anameró ‘to pluck feathers’

< Ìgbò *Ánà m̀ éró* ‘I am plucking [feathers]’ (cf. Williamson 451, Ígwè 175, 729, Manfredi 2004, 258).

anarufié ‘left side’

< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *ùfién* ‘left side’ (Goldie 308, Urua 302).

Anasaina (*Anasabiana*) [name, Maestro Okobio: related to those who discovered *Ékue* or the fish *Tánse* in Africa]

< Èfìk *Anansa* ‘[the *Ǹdèm* water deity in Òbútòñ]’ (cf. Goldie 11)

Anatometo ‘The sun burns’

< Ìgbò *Ó nà-àtú !m̀ átú* ‘It [e.g. sunshine] is beating down on me’ (cf. Ígwè 765).

anawe (*anagüe, anagué, enewe, emewe, newe*) ‘who?’

?< Òrókò *ná!áwé* ‘what?/how?’ (Ìngòè).

?< Èfìk *ànìè* ‘who?’, *éwè* ‘which?’ (Goldie 12, 97, Adams 166, 193).

Apapa (*Apapa Efí, Apapa Efó, Apapa Oru, Apapa Umón*) ‘African founders in Cuba’

?< Èfìk *àkpá* ‘first’ (Goldie 8, Engr. Bassey 2005) via coded *Ékpè* terminology *àkpá àkpá* ‘someone who has resurrected’ (Engr. Bassey 2005).

Arakakuba... ‘...[he] has killed the rooster...’

?< Òrókò *Á rákà kúbà* ‘S/he eats fowl(s)’ (Ìngòè).

Asúkuo (*sukúo eriero, asukuo, asúko, asuko*) [personal name]

< Èfìk Àsú!kwó 'male who is born on Ìkwó day' (Essien 1986, 13).

ateriñón in **Sugo ateriñón** 'Name of Nasakó, the diviner who saw the mystery'

?< Èfìk àtá 'expert, initiate', *ídiñ* 'charms or sorcery' (Goldie 15, 118, Adams 167, 201).

awana 'here or there'

?< Òrókò wánè 'there', wáni 'here' (Ǹgòè).

Awana bekura mendó [place name. Maestro Okobio: Usagaré]

< Lóndó (Òrókò) *Bekura / Bekora* is a Barombi settlement to the east of Usaghade, adjacent to Èkòndò Titi (Connell, Chief Nyuja Ndengi *p.c.*).

Awanamokoko 'well-known person and name of an African land'

?< Òrókò *mwaná* 'child', *Mòkòkò* 'person from Bákòkò clan' or *Mókókó* 'person from Bákókó clan' (Ǹgòè). See **Mokoko** below.

...**Aweri**... (*Awerieri*) N.b. not a headword, but occurring in two dozen separate lemmas, all in the context of death.

?< Òrókò *Á wéí* 'S/he has died' (Ǹgòè).

Awó yo yo yo [...] 'Chanted during the funeral rites...'

?< Òrókò *À wó* 'S/he has died' (Ǹgòè).

bachán (*ndochán*) 'peanut' [Maestro Okobio: *mbachán*]

< Èfìk *m̀bàn!sáñ* 'groundnut' (Goldie 170, Adams 221). See **Nkríkamo wandocha** below.

bafión néne 'blood brother' [Maestro Okobio: We are initiated in the same lodge]

< Èfìk *fìn* 'graze / wound the skin' (Goldie 104, Adams 197, Engr. Basse *p.c.*).

< Èfìk *éyén* 'child' (Goldie 97). See **abafione, akamán nyene Efor** above.

bakariongo 'lodge banner made of leopard skin'

?< Dùlálá (Guthrie A24) *njò* 'leopard', *njò* 'Leopard Society' (Ittmann 1976, 433).

?< Òrókò *ǹgòè* 'leopard' (Ǹgòè). See **ngó** below.

Bakokó [group name. Maestro Okobio: a territory in Usagaré]

< exonym for diverse Èkóí communities near the present Cameroon-Nigeria border (Röschenthaler 2000, 14, 17).

...**Bakueri**... N.b. not a headword, but occurring in a dozen separate lemmas as part of a chieftaincy title.

?< Òrókò *bá-Kwéí* 'Ethnolinguistic group closely related to Òrókò' (Ǹgòè, cf. Eltis & Richardson 2010, 228).

Bari bari bari bari benkamá! 'Attention, I will speak!'

< Èfìk *Bá-rí-bá-rí-bá-rí!*, a call for silence and attention (Goldie 22).

< Èfìk-Ìbìbìdò *kóm* 'thank, greet, pay compliments' (Goldie 154, Urua 156) *via* Ékpè coded terminology *kámá Ékpè* 'greet Ékpè' (Dr. Ako Essien-Eyo *p.c.*, Orok Edem *p.c.*). See **nkame** below.

baroko 'meeting of the chiefs of the lodge'

?< Èfìk (*m̀*)*b̀p̀r̀p̀k̀* 'ceremony to mourn an Ékpè chief' (Engr. Basse *p.c.*).

Barondó [place name]

< Òrókò *bàLóndó*, speakers of Lóndó (Nṅòè, cf. Eltis & Richardson 2010, 228). “Some villages in Calabar... still call the old *bàLóndó* ‘ancestor names’ at the time of sacrifice” (Nebengu 1990, 9). Of all the Òrókò clans, *BàLóndó* is the only one that uses the term *Ékpè* for the leopard society (Nṅòè). See **Efó**, **Ekue** below.

basaikeke ‘a wise man’

< Ìgbò *Bèkèè* ‘European’ (Williamson 1984).

basariri ‘a bird’ [Maestro Okobio: *abasí riri*, the bird that witnessed all the Abakuá rites in Usagaré]

< Èfìk *ùsàrì* ‘kingfisher’ (Goldie 324, Adams 272), cf. Òrókò *isórí* ‘songbird’. In Òrókò, *Ékpè* songs praise *isórí* for fully accomplishing its assigned tasks: *À reri tóndó nà miri m’òsè — Isórí!* ‘He eats *tóndó* (medicinal plant) together with its roots — *Isórí!* (Nṅòè).

Batamú kuré ‘Sanctuary... *kuré* means inside’

?< Òrókò *Kòré* ‘A male secret society operating in Òrókò territory’ (Nṅòè).

Batumo (*Batamú*, *Butame*) ‘Ékpè hall’

< Lóndó (Òrókò) *Bútámò* or *Bùtámè* ‘epithet of *Ékpè*’ (Nṅòè). “In Nṅóló communities..., *Ékpè* singular is *Bútámò*, while the plural is *Mátámò*. If many villages gather to play *Ékpè* it is called *Mátámò*” (Nasako Besingi 2011 *p.c.*). The same usage is found in Ûsàghàdèt (Nicklin 1991, 10). In Èkóí, *bùtámè* refers to the *Ékpè* / *Mgbè* hall and *mùtámè* means ‘the mystic sound of *Mgbè*’.

Batanga ‘Congolese, affiliated to Kongo tradition’

< Lóndó (Òrókò) *bà-Tàngà* (Guthrie A32, Maho 2009, 10) ‘one of the Òrókò clans’ (Nṅòè, cf. Nicklin 1991, 11, Austen & Derrick 1999, 14, Nofuru 2002, 22). Òrókò-speakers consciously trace themselves to Congo origins, pointing to shared proper names such as *bà-Tàngà*, among other details (Nṅòè). *Bà-Tàngà* occurs in historic maps as the name of a river (Zöller 1885, cf. Reid 1989, 17) and in an 1847 treaty as a personal name: “King John Batanga and King Batanga at Banaka make agreement with representatives of Great Britain for suppression of slave trade” (Ardenner 1996, 355).

beroko bekusé (*berusé*) ‘purification done with an egg after a *nyoro* funerary rite’

< Èfìk *úsèn* ‘egg’ (Goldie 224). See **nsenune** below.

beromo ‘procession’

?< Nṅóló (Òrókò) *bèròmò* ‘initiation dance and its characteristic raffia costume’ (Nṅòè, Edmond Nofuru *p.c.*).

Beruma sokawa beruma sokawá ‘Said by Nasako when he practices purification with a sprig of herbs’

< Òrókò *bérumbà* ‘fragrant medicinal herbs’ (Nṅòè).

biá ‘to scream; the voice of Ekue’

biankomo, **biankoméko** ‘sound of the drum ensemble’

< Òrókò cluster *-béá* / *-bíá* ‘to call’, *-béá ñ gòmò* ‘to cause the drum to sound, to beat the drum’ (Nṅòè).

Biabanga (*Ibiabanga*) ‘[lodge name]’

?< Òrókò *Biabanga* ‘[place name]’ (Nṅòè).

Bibi [group name]

Bibiokón (*Bibiokondó*) [personal name] ‘in Bibi, Land of Orú’

< *Ìbibìò* [group name], known in colonial English as *Egbo Sherry* (Goldie 358), perhaps via *Bibi*, the exonym used by the adjacent community of Nṅhàwà Ìgbò (Okuku Ibiono *p.c.*).

< Èfìk and Òrókò *èkòndò* ‘world’ (Goldie 77, Adams 187, Nṅòè). See **Efó kondó** below.

Bimba sanga molopó ‘The liquor has gone to his head’

?< Òrókò *Mímá má sánjí mólópò* ‘Wine has entwined my head’ (Nḡdèè). See **Abasí uná poropó** above.

Binánbelefé ‘Wednesday’

< Òrókò *bínyá/gbínyá/wínyá* ‘day’ (Nḡdèè).

Bisoro Bibi ‘a Bibí hamlet’

?< Òrókò *Bísórò* ‘name of an Òrókò village’, cf. *ísórò* ‘headwaters of a stream’ (Nḡdèè).

bongó (*ebongó*) ‘drum’

?< Òrókò *ébóngó* ‘box, chair, casket’ (Nḡdèè). In Colombian Palenquero, an independent derivation has been proposed for this term based on a *kiKóóngó* source (Schwegler 2002, 180 and *p.c.*, cf. Laman 1936, 55).

Brasi ‘Blacks from the coast of Guinea that lived with the Carabalís’

?< *Brass*, colonial exonym for a section of eastern Iẏon [“Ijaw, Ijo”] (Rowlands 1960, Williamson 1965, 2).

Briche ‘a tribe of Calabar that did not own Ékue’

< Ìgbò *ńdí !gbúró í!chí* ‘people with *íchí* forehead incisions’ as *ózó* initiates of the northern Ìgbò kingdom of Ǹrì (Adams 1823, 134, Ortiz 1924, 66, Jeffreys 1951, Edwards 1962, Ònwuèjìógwù 1981, Shaw 1970 plates 272, 512).

buma (*Bumó, Mbumán*) ‘fire, thunder’

< Èfìk *òbúmà* ‘thunder’ (Goldie 1862, 247)

butindé ‘merit, excellency; a person who speaks well, with correct pronunciation’

?< Òrókò *tíndé* ‘to vomit e.g. proverbs or other forms of eloquence’ (Nḡdèè).

Butón ‘the Voice; first Abakuá lodge in Cuba’

< Èfìk *Òbútòñ, Èfúút* descendants who left Otuñ ward, Creek Town to form an early settlement in Calabar. The founders of Cuban Abakuá named the first creole lodge *Efik Obutón*, possibly recalling the “massacre of 1767” when Duke Town/Àtákpà sold some Òbútòñ persons to British traffickers (Noah 1980, 18f., Engr. Bassey *p.c.*).

Chukuabia erielu ‘the Almighty, in heaven and earth’

< Ìgbò *Chúkú óké àbìàmà* ‘[shrine of the Árù oracle]’ (Ígwè 3, cf. Nwàdòga 1984, 60, 72, Manfredi 2004, 258, 274).

< Ìgbò *dí (n’) élú* ‘be located on top/above’ (Ígwè 126)

Dundú ‘a village of Calabar’

< Èfìk *Irundu*, a village in Ákpábùyò, Calabar.

ebún ‘boat’

< Èfìk *ùbúm* ‘boat’ (Goldie 302).

Edabe ‘a village in Efor’

?< Òrókò *Ìdàbàtò* ‘a town near Isangele/Ìsàgàrè in the Bakasi peninsula; literally ‘place where they eat people’ (Nḡdèè). See **Usagaré** below.

Efiméremo Obón Iyamba (*Efimeremé, Efiméremo etakuá, Afimeremo*) ‘king of the Èfìk’

?< Èfìk *Èfìdòm Édèm*, the name of an Ìyám̀bà (*Ékpè* chief) in Duke Town in the late 18th-early 19th century a.k.a. Duke Ephraim (Crow 1830, 275-76, Holman 1840, 356, 364, 392, Hart 1964, 69§188, 153, Miller 2005, 38-39, Aye *p.c.*, Connell *p.c.*). The name *Èfìdòm* derives from (*ò*)*fìdòm* ‘crocodile’ (Goldie 105, Dr. Ako Essien-Eyo *p.c.*).

Eketé ‘Calabar town’

< *Eket*, a coastal city in present Ákwà Íb̀d̀m State, whose *Ékpè* is said to come from Calabar (cf. Adiakpan 2000).

Efó (*Efor*) [group name. Maestro Okobio: *Efó-Ekoi*]

Efó kondó, Efori kondó (*kondono*) [group name]

< Èfìk Èfúùt, a name applied in Calabar to bàLóndó (Òrókò) migrants from SW Cameroon (Goldie 357, Mosongo 1995, 9), cf. Òrókò *é!fórí* ‘have come’ (Nḡdèè). “Whilst the term Èfúùt still seems to be acceptable among the heavily Èfìk-influenced bàLóndó living on the Nigerian side of the border in the Creek Town area of Calabar, it is considered to be a pejorative term... in Cameroon” (Nicklin 1991, 11).

< Èfìk and Òrókò *èkòndò* ‘world’ (Goldie 77, Adams 187, Nḡdèè), cf. Èfúùt *Èkòndò*, one of seven Èfúùt clans of Calabar, migrated from Èkòndò Titi in Cameroon (Engr. Bassey *p.c.*), cf. Èfìk *òfúrí èkòndò* ‘the whole world’ (Goldie 77, 250, Adams 187, Aye 1991, 30, Engr. Bassey *p.c.*). See **Bibiokón** above, **itia blablaba** below

ekobio₁ ‘yuka [edible root]’

?< Èfìk-Ìbibìd *èkò* ‘type of yam’ (Adams 187, Urua 96), possibly compounded with the ethnonym *Ìbibìd*.

ekobio₂ ‘brother, Abakuá, meeting of Lodge members’ [Maestro Okobio: *okobio*]

See **okobio** below.

...**ekokó**... ‘skin’ N.b. not a headword but occurring patently with this meaning in dozens of separate lemmas.

[Maestro Okobio: *skin*]

< Òrókò *èkòbò* ‘skin’ (Nḡdèè).

Ekón ‘A town near Obane’

?< *Ekong Anaku*, a Korop village near Oban, close to the border of Cameroon.

Ekoi [group name]

< Èkói, ethnonym for populations also known as Éjághám, from a word denoting ‘forest/hinterland’ with many local variants including Èfìk *Kúù* = colonial “Quä” or “Kwa” (Talbot 1912, 153, Dike 1956, 49, Ardener et al. 1960, 230, Crabb 1965, 11, 69, Jones 1984, 191, Cook 1985, 3, Manfredi 2004, 256, Dr. Sandy Onor *p.c.*).

ekón ‘metal gong’

< Èfìk *nèkón* ‘iron gong’ (Goldie 217, cf. Hutchinson 1858/1970, 133)

Ekón Abasí ‘God, Nature’

< Ìbibìd *Ékón* ‘war society’ (Urua 97). “It was virtually the highest cult into which an Ìbibìd could be initiated... [as] a member [of] the Ekong deity’s shrine *Iso Abasi Ekoñ*” (Ekong 1983/2001, 155f.), cf. Òrókò *èkóŋ* ‘the occult’ (Nḡdèè). See **Abasí** above.

ekoriabakuá ‘birth of Abakuá

ekorié (*ekorio*) ‘day of the mystic birth’

< Òrókò *èkàrí* ‘the mystery of childbirth; ritual euphemism for the womb’ (Nḡdèè).

Ekue [proper name]

< Èfìk *Ékpè* ‘leopard, leopard society’ (Goldie 74, Adams 188). The phonetic treatment *kp>kw* is regular in Cuba (e.g. *Àbàkpà>Abakuá*) and sporadic in West Africa (e.g. *Ékpè>Ékwè* in Ekong Anaku village of Akamkpa). See **Barondó** above.

Ekue brusón amanakuá erubé aborí mapao nkopo eriero ‘The goat that breaks the drum will pay with its skin’

[Maestro Okobio: The curse of Mosóngo: *Ékue brusón amana ákua rubé, mbóri sánka mapá.*]

< Òrókò *nègòbò* ‘skin’ (Nḡdèè), cf. Èfìk paraphrase, *Ébót óbòm èkòmò, áná èdà íkpá ébòt éfùk èkòmò* ‘The goat has broken the drum, it must pay with its skin’ (Etim Ika *p.c.*).

< Òrókò *m̀bóri* ‘goat’ (Nḡdèè), cf. Èkói-Kúù *mboi* ‘goat’ (Miller 2009, 54). See **mbori** below.

Ekueñón [name and epithet]

< Èfìk Èkpényóñ ? < Èkpè ènyóñ 'Ékpè of the sky / horizon' (Willie 2008, 49, Chief Okuku I. Inyang, Ìbìdò-Ìbòm *p.c.*, cf. Adams 190) or ? < Èkpè ènyóñ 'judgement from / pleading to the sky [god]' (Jeffries 1935, 28, cf. Adams 217).

1. Male *ídèm* 'water deity' (Waddell 1863, 329, 397, Burton 1865, Goldie 73*f.*, 200, Adams 231, Simmons 1956, 67, Hackett 1989, 180, Etim Ika *p.c.*). Related deities include Èkói Èkpé(n)yóñ *Dibo* (Patrick Òkòdò *p.c.*, Dr. Abu Edet *p.c.*) and the Ìgbò "Long Juju" *Ekpenyón Ibiirtam* in Àrù ("Arochukwu"), said to derive from Calabar via Ìbìbìdò (Burton 1865/1969, 339, Goldie 74, Jeffreys 1935, 26*f.*; 1956, 16, Ekong 1983/2001, 183). 2. Elongated upright stone planted in an Èkpè hall, e.g. in Etara, Etung district (Ntufam Patrick Okang, Ntui-Ribo of Etara Mgbè *p.c.*). "Èkpényóñ wears a [red] cap with an *itùèn* 'fish eagle' feather because he is a male, and only male initiates can wear a cap in the Èkpè hall" (Etim Ika *p.c.*). 3. Èkpè title in Órón (Uya 1984, 44, Iyanam 1998, 47, Eskor Toyo *p.c.*, 'Etinyin' F.O. Eyo *p.c.*). See **itia** below. 4. Personal name occurring throughout the Cross River region (Talbot 1912, 137, Oku 1989, 36-37).

Ekueritongó [place name]

< Òrókò Èkúéritóngó 'dwelling place, homeland' (Ǹgòè), cf. Èfìk Èkórétònkó, anglicized as *Cobham Town*, a settlement of probable Èfúùt origin (Simmons 1956/1968, 72)

ekún 'gunpowder'

< Èfìk èkím ikàñ 'gunpowder' (Goldie 72, 113, Adams 212).

Emomí (*Momi*) 'Here I am!'

< Èfìk 'See me (here)!' cf. *mòno* 'see', *mî* 'me' (Goldie 188, 194, Adams 227, 229).

enán 'fresh meat' [Maestro Okobio: *enén*, skin]

< Èfìk ènàñ 'cow' (Goldie 78, Rowan 6).

eneme 'word, speech-act' [Maestro Okobio: forehead]

< Èfìk ònèmé 'conversation' (Goldie 210, Adams 233)

Eneyó (*Eneyopá*) [personal name]

< Èfìk *Ene Eyo*, a clan in Ákpábùyò and Calabar, including a branch of Duke House in Àtákpà, the major 19th century trading beach (Imona 1957, 19, Aye 1994, 53).

Eñón [place name]

? < Ìgbò "Enyong Creek, a tributary of the Cross River to the north-west of the estuary near the [Árù] area" (Connell 2001a, 54).

? < Lóndó (Òrókò) *Enyong* [place name].

erenobón 'black prince'

< Èfìk èdèèn ówó 'male / masculine person' (Goldie 80).

? < Èfìk ó!bòñ 'paramount chief' (Goldie 3, Adams 249).

Eribangandó (*Eribangando*) 'a spirit that purifies the road in every ceremony' [Maestro Okobio: Related to Tánse, because it defended Sikán from the crocodile and snake that tried to stop her as she left the river with Tánse]

? < Èfìk *Eri ban kando*, a rhetorical boast by an Èkpè ritual specialist, cf. *Ndi ban kando* 'Stop, carry on', a nickname for an Èkpè ritual specialist" (Engr. Basse *p.c.*).

? < Dùálá (Guthrie A24) *ngàndò* 'ritual dance' (Ittmann 1976, 447)

? < Dùálá (Guthrie A24) *ngàndó* 'crocodile' (Ittmann 1976, 447, cf. Ortiz 1954, vol. 4, 35-37)

eriofón 'the moon'

< Èfìk ófíóñ 'moon' (Goldie 249).

Erokomboko (*Eroko mboko, Eromboko, Aroko mboko, Ereko mboko*) 'Fundament' [Maestro Okobio: *Eróko bóko*]
< Èfìk Mbòkòmbòkò 'one of the principal classes of *Ékpè*' (Goldie 174). In present-day Calabar *Ékpè*, *Mbòkò* is a title related to the Voice, while *Mbòkòmbòkò* is a title related to divination (Chief Eyo *p.c.*).

erón (*aitierón, akaitierón, kaitierón*) 'ram'
< Èfìk *érò ñ/édò ñ* 'sheep' (Goldie 89, Adams 185).

erorí (*elorí, lorí*) 'good, great'
< Òròkò *lòrí, ròrí* 'good' (Ǹngòè). *Erori Ekue* 'Ékue is good/great' (Nasako Besinigi *p.c.*).

erumé 'the voice of Ekue'
< Òròkò *èrùmè* 'noise, overexcitement, altercation' (Ǹngòè).

etá (*itá*) 'first'
< Èkóí-Kúò *eta* 'first' (Dr. Abu Edet *p.c.*), cf. Kényáng *étá* 'first, supreme' addressing certain deities like *Etá Mandem anebo tease* 'Supreme God of our ancestors' (Eta Nyoh *p.c.*, Ayuk Raphael Ayuk *p.c.*).

etán ['hat']
< Èfìk *itám* 'hat' (Goldie 139, Adams 207). See **Aforó etán** above.

...**etete**... N.b. not a headword, but occurring in several independent lemmas, all in the context of archaism or ancestry.

< Èfìk *èté ètè* 'father of father, grandfather' (Goldie 93).

etombre (*ekombre, onbré*) 'cannon' [Maestro Okobio: *entómbre*, cannon]
< Úwét *etombe* 'cannon' (Goldie *xlvi*), cf. Èfìk *òtòmbè* 'cannon' (Goldie 17, Adams 252).
Úwét is an upstream Calabar River community. Many village squares and *Ékpè* halls conserve cannons from precolonial times.

Etún (*Ekoi Efor nameretún, Ekoi na meretún*) [group name. Maestro Okobio: *Ekoi efó anámerutón*, a title given to the African sponsors of Efik Ebutón lodge in Cuba]
< Èkóí *Etung*, the name of Èkóí-speaking communities on the Cross River near the Cameroon border. See **Ekoi** above.

eyenisón (*ñenisón, eñenisón, añenisón, yenisón*) 'indigenous African'
< Èfìk *éyén isò ñ* 'child of the soil' (Goldie 97, Adams 193, Ekpo 1986, 75, Orok Edem *p.c.*). See **abasé kesongo**, **akamán nyene Efor** above, **yereka** below.

fambá, 'temple'
< Òròkò *èfámhá* 'reserved or preserved place' (Ǹngòè), cf. *Ékpè* coded terminology *èfámhá* "a secret display of *Ékpè* artifacts" (Bassey 2001, 22, cf. Goldie 68, Adams 186, Ortíz 1924, 201, Aye 1991, 27).

foekue (*efe ékue, kefe*) 'ritual chamber' [Maestro Okobio: *erí-fé Ékue*, curtain covering the *irióngo*. Efí lodges say *erí-fé Ékue*, Efó lodges say *fo Ékue*.]
< Èfìk *èfé* 'shed' (Goldie 68), *èfé Ékpè* 'Ékpè hall' (Aye 1991, 27). See **afé** above and **irióngo** below.

iba (*taibá*) 'two'
< Èfìk *ibà* 'two, both, double, twice' (Goldie 110, Engr. Bassey *p.c.*), cf. Òròkò *ibàá* 'two' (Ǹngòè).

ibana 'woman'
< Èfìk *ibàn*, *ìbìbìò ibààn* 'women' (Goldie 110, Urua 125).

ibó 'bread'

< Èfìk ìbòkpòt 'corn, maize' (Goldie 114, Rowan 7).

Iboku-boku [group name]

< Èfìk Ìbókù 'Creek Town and Duke Town' (Goldie 358), 'the first settlement of Úrúán' (Engr. Bassey p.c.).

Ibondá (*Ibondó*) [place name]

< Lóndó (Òrókò) *Íbòndá*, an Èfúút settlement on the Calabar River originating from Dìbòndá-Bàlónzó on the Moko River, Ndian Division, SW Cameroon (Becroft & King 1844, 261, Waddell 1863, 444, Goldie 358, Goldie 1890/1901, 146, Cotton 1905, 303, Nair 1972, 3, 106, Nicklin & Salmons 1988, 129, Reid 1989, 19 fig. 3, Nebengu 1990, 7, H.H. Mesembe 11th p.c.). Most Òrókò clans include a village called *Dìbòndá*, literally a gathering point of habitation, so called because it is held to be the primary settlement location (Nḡdèè).

ifán 'broom'

< Èfìk í[!]fíét 'broom' (Goldie 121, Rowan 7).

ifionké (*afoniké, Ifonkoró, efiónkeno*) 'not good'

< Èfìk Ífóñ ké 'It is not good' (Goldie 106, 552, Aye p.c., Dr. Ako Essien-Eyo p.c.).

ikán, 'fire'

ikán kanfioró (*okanfioró*) 'volcano'

< Èfìk íkán 'fire, gun, cauterization/branding of the skin' (Goldie 124).

ikó (*ikó mawán*) 'money, cowries'

< Òrókò ikò 'cowries, money' (Nḡdèè).

ikuá 'knife'

< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *íkúà, íkwáà* 'knife' (Goldie 134, Adams 204, Urua 138, Rowan 2013).

indisime (*ndisime, indísime úmparawao*) 'neophyte'

< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *ndísímé* 'ignorance, foolishness' (Goldie 203, Urua 208), cf. Èfìk song *Indísime Emparawao Kendé, o! We are ignorant youths!* i.e. we humbly need to learn! (Engr. Bassey p.c.).

< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *àkpàráwà* 'young man' (Goldie 9, 191, Adams 165, Urua 26, 192).

inuá, to speak'

< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *ínúà* 'mouth' (Goldie 133, Urua 140).

inán 'four'

< Èfìk *inàn, Ìbibìdò inàn* 'four' (Goldie 132, Urua 139, Rowan 6).

ireme 'body-mask costume'

< Èfìk *ídèm 'Ékpè* ancestral mask costume' (Goldie 117, Adams 201, cf. Holman 1840, 394, Essien 1986, 9, 1990, 13, 2005, 344, Bassey 2001, 157, Etubom Bassey p.c., Etim Ika p.c.). Cf. proverb *Idem Efìk Keshihede k'efak, Ekpep Unek Efìk Etim Ido* 'Èfìk masks parade in the streets, he who learns Èfìk dance knows Èfìk culture' (Oku 1990, 28-30, Engr. Bassey p.c., Prof. E. Urua p.c.)

Iria tete akamañene Efìk 'ritual phrase'

< Èfìk proverb *Udia Tete akama Efìk* 'Tete's food (sc. the sacred fish, symbolising tradition) is what sustains the Èfìks' (Engr. Bassey p.c.).

iriongo ‘sacred corner’ [in the *fambá*, representing a place in the river where Tánse sounded]
?< Òrókò *iróngò* ‘elected / set aside group’ (N̄gòè)
?< Èfìk *idiɔ̄ɔ̄* ‘any rite appropriated to any class of men; a mark of any kind’ (Goldie 119, no tones)

isan Ekue (*sanekue, saékue*) ‘cane reed’
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *ésáñ* ‘cane, walking stick’ (Goldie 90, Adams 191, Urua 102), *ésáñ Ékpè* ‘staff held by Ékpè masquerade’ (Aye 1991, 35).

isu (*isún, insún*) ‘face’
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *ísó* ‘face, front, exterior’ (Goldie 137, Urua 141).

Isue (*isunekue, isun Ekue*) ‘lodge leader, Ekue custodian, owner of the consecration... Abakuás call him the Bishop’
< Èfìk (Èfúùt) *Isuo* ‘an officer in Ékpè’ (Goldie 138). “*Isu Ekpe*, the Ékpè custodian, could direct any ritual and summon any member in his *èfé Ékpè*. The late *ò¹bóñ* Ededem Archibong IV held this title.” (Chief Eyo *p.c.*).

itá (*etá*) ‘third’
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *ita* ‘three, third’ (Goldie 138, Urua 142).

itá musón ‘hat’ [Maestro Okobio: the small round hat on the back of the Íreme’s head]
< Èfìk *itàm úsòñ* ‘old man’s hat’ (Engr. Bassey *p.c.*, cf. Goldie 139, 326, Urua 142, 271f.). See **ireme** above.

itia ‘land’ [‘community’]

itiá muñanga Efor ‘in the land of Munyanga’
?< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *itiát* ‘stone’ (Goldie 139, Urua 61) in the sense that “all the [deceased] members of the Ékpè Society... [are] generally represented among Eastern Ìbibìdò [i.e. Èfìk] by the tall, cut phallic stone *itiát Ékpè*, embedded in a small clay mound and often surmounted by a cap” (Talbot 1923, 128). Cf. Òrókò *itiá* ‘stone for cracking nuts, place in the forest where nuts are cracked’ (N̄gòè), cf. *Munjange* stream adjoining survey point XX (Danckelman 1890). See **Ekueñón [3]** above, **Muñanga Efor karibé Abasí** below.

itón ‘scepter’
< Ìbibìdò *oton inam* ‘staff of office for a traditional priest’ (Ukpong 1982, 172), cf. Bakasi *ntong* ‘walking stick’ (Ejedepang-Koge 1971 / 1986, 205-206), Lóndó (Òrókò) *ntúm* ‘cane, walking stick’ (Struck 1909, 127).

iyá ‘fish’
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *iyák* ‘fish’ (Goldie 142).

Iyamba ‘presiding head of an Abakuá lodge’
< Èfìk *Íyám̀bà* ‘Ékpè title’ (Goldie 142), cf. Èkóí *Ayamba* ‘open-the-way’ used as an epithet (Holman 1840, 392, Talbot 1912, 192, Bassey 1999, 15, Miller 2009, 212, Victorine Ayamba Ayuk *p.c.*, Ntoe C. Effiom *p.c.*, Ntufam ‘Bob’ Oku *p.c.*). *Èyám̀bà* was the ruling lineage of Àtákpà in Calabar, who held the *Íyám̀bà Ékpè* title (Aye 1991, 39, 60) and who may have Èfúùt origins (Hart 1964, 67 §185). Cf. Òrókò *Íyám̀bà*, head of *Béyám̀bè*, an initiation society whose individual member is called *éyám̀bè* (N̄gòè). See **Mosongo** below.

Kande (*Ikande, Itiakandé, Okandé*) [the town of Regla on Havana Bay, where the first *Abakuá* lodge was founded in the early 1800s]
?< Bakweri *Ekande*, a village in SW Cameroon (Matute 1988, 11).

kaniká (*akaniká, nkaniká*) ‘bell’
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *̀káníká* ‘bell’ (Goldie 213, Urua 235), cf. Òrókò *̀gáníká* ‘bell’ (N̄gòè).

Kende mariba... ‘The waves of the sea come and go’ [Maestro Okobio: *Maribá kendé, kendé maribá.*]

< Òrókò *kèndé* ‘go, walk’ (N̄gòè).

< Òrókò *màribá* ‘water’ (N̄gòè).

keñongo (*nteñón, ntiñón, kiñón*) ‘in the sky’

< Èfìk *k’ényòñ* ‘in the sky’ (Goldie 79). See **abasé kesongo** above.

Kerómbia [a Kongo king]

?< Lóndó (Òrókò) *baRombi*, an ethnicity of Ndian division, SW Cameroon (Buthrie A41, cf. Clarke 1848/1972, 26).

Keserendá! (*Aserendá, Iserendao, Maserendá*) ‘Good evening!’

< Èfìk *Ésíèrè n’!dé* ‘Good night to you, too!’ (Goldie 200, 270, Adams 231, 255). See **Afomasere** above.

kiko uné (*nkiko une*) ‘rooster’

< Èfìk *èkíkò únèn* ‘rooster’ (Goldie 72, 319). See **nkiko une** below.

kiñón ‘an initiate’

< Èfìk *k’ényòñ* ‘in the sky’ (Goldie 79). See **abasé kesongo** above.

kisón (*ekisón, kesongo*) ‘an initiate’

< Èfìk *k’ísòñ* ‘on the earth’ (Goldie 137). Calabar *Ékpè* chants proclaim *Ékpè k’ísòñ!* ‘Ékpè is on ground / in action!’
See **abasé kesongo** above.

koropó (*moropó, molopó*) ‘cranium’

< Èfìk *Ìbibìdò m̀kp̀kp̀r̀r̀* ‘skull’ (Goldie 598, Urua 200).

[krikola] anaririampo ‘cooking pot’

< Èfìk *Ánà àdídíá ñ̀kp̀* ‘You should come and eat’ (Dr. Abu Edet *p.c.*). See **Mo mi diampo, udia, uriampo** below.

Kritón (*Greed Town*) [place name]

< English *Creek Town* = Èfìk *Óbìòkò*, the center of Èfìk Kingdom before its transfer to Àtákpà in present day Calabar. See **Ubioko** below.

krúkoro (*nkrúkoro, ekúkoro, okrúkoro*) ‘group’

< Èfìk *kp̀kp̀p̀r̀r̀* ‘all’ (Goldie 162, Miller 2005, 46, Connell *p.c.*). See **ndié krúkoro** below.

Kua [group name]

< *Kúò* = colonial “*Quá*” or “*Kwa*”, an Èkóí-derived section of Calabar (Cook 1985, 3, cf. Goldie 355). See **Abakuá** above.

kufón (*ekufon*) ‘house’

< Èfìk *ké úfòk* ‘in the house’ (Goldie 148, cf. Waddell 1863, 675, Akpanim 1998, 26).

kurikó (*ekurikó*) ‘owl’

< Èfìk *ik̀r̀r̀k̀t̀* ‘owl’ (Goldie 130).

kuso, kuso (*kusón, subusu, susuná*) ‘quiet, gently’ [Maestro Okobio: said to the deceased in funerary rites]

< Èfìk *sún-sún* ‘gentle, soft, easy, quiet’ (Goldie 281, Etubom B. E. Bassey *p.c.*).

kutón ‘ear’

< Èfìk *útòñ* ‘ear’ (Goldie 1862, 331).

lorí ‘good, a good man’

< Òrókò *lòrí* ‘good’ (Ǹgòè). See **erorí** above.

makarará (*mukarará, nbakará*) ‘European person’

< Èfìk *màkàrá* ‘controller, master, European, whiteman’ < *kàrá* ‘encircle, control’ (Waddell 1863, 253, Goldie 146f., 167, Engr. Bassey *p.c.*, Connell). See **afeñipá mukarará** above and **makararikambira, Mbákara, mukará** below.

makararikambira [Maestro Okobio: the top—i.e. the skin—of the Fundamento]

< Èfìk *makararika ama* ‘person who controls *ika*’ (Engr. Bassey *p.c.*), cf. Èfìk *màkàrá* ‘controller, master, European, whiteman’ (Goldie 147, 167). See **makarará** above, **Mbákara** below.

< Èfìk *ika* “scepter... regarded as the source of divine power for Èfìk kings” (*Souvenir Programme of the Coronation Service of His Royal Highness Edidem Otu Ekpenyofñ-Effa IX*, 1987, 23).

Makurina Makuá ‘priestess... who predicted wars and epidemics’

< Òrókò *màukà/màikùà* ‘misfortune, abomination, bad luck’ (Ǹgòè). See **akarina makuá** above.

mánai ‘affection’

< Èfìk *má náináí* ‘love intensely’ (Goldie 166, 197, Rowan).

mañongo (*ñongo*) ‘magic, forest’ [Maestro Okobio: *nyongo* ‘forest herbs’, *mañongo pábio* ‘magical powers of *Nasako*, shaman of an *Abakuá* lodge’]

?< Londo and Mòkpwè (Guthrie A11, A22) *nyòngò* ‘witchcraft’ (Ǹgòè, Ardener & al. 1960, 339, 122, Matute 1988, 30, Connell 1997, 70).

?< Dùlálá (Guthrie A24) *njòngò* ‘primary forest’ (Ittmann 1976, 432).

maribá ‘water’

< Lóndó (Òrókò) or Dùlálá (Guthrie A24) *màribá/màdibá* ‘water’ (Nebengu 1990, 36, 42, Mosongo 1995, 29, Ardener 1996, 19, 37-38, Hair et al. 1992, vol. 2, 678, Ittmann 1976, 306), Èfúút *madiba* ‘water’ (‘Sesekou’ J. Mbu *p.c.*). In Èkóí-Kúè ritual speech, *mariba* denotes the water source for *Mgbè* ceremonies (Chief Hayford Solomon Edet *p.c.*). See **nandiba, nyuao** below.

maya (*mayé, mañón*) ‘river’ [Maestro Okobio: *mayé*, bank of the river, *mañón*, river]

< Òlúlùmó-Íkóm *màyà* ‘river’, cf. Èkóí *àyà* (Okongor 1982, 5, 75, Roseline Égbè *p.c.*) See **nandibá** below.

Mbákara (*Nbakara*) [epithet or group name]

< Èfìk *m̀bàkàrá* ‘controller, master, European, whiteman’ (Goldie 169) via *Ékpè* coded terminology *M̀bàkàrà*, name of an *Ékpè* grade. “In Calabar, the *M̀bàkàrà* is a clean *Ékpè* that does not want to see blood; that’s why it goes to the goat to clean the mess after the executioners have killed it. He consecrates the goat skin, to be used for drums, and shares out the pieces of the goat in silence” (Chief Eyo *p.c.*). Related forms in Lóndó (Òrókò), Dùlálá (Guthrie A24) and elsewhere in SW Cameroon (Koelle 1854, Williamson 1984, 102, Chief E. Itoh *p.c.*). See **makarará, makararikambira** above.

mbara ‘hand [of the leopard]’

< Èfìk *m̀bàrá* ‘talon’ (Goldie 170, Adams 222, Rowan).

mbáta ‘mud’

< Èfìk *m̀bát* ‘mud, dirt’ (Goldie 170).

Mbembe [group name]

< *Mbembe*, exonym for language cluster of Obubra district in the mid-upper Cross River basin (Harris 1965, 1984, Dr. Otu Abam Ubi *p.c.*).

Mbemoró [group name]. [Maestro Okobio: Mbemoró is a road, as well as a river, in Obáne territory.]
< Èfìk *Mbemòñ*, the name of various Èfìk settlements e.g. on the Great Kwa, Akwayafe and Akpa-Korup rivers, as well as in Bakasi (map of “Buea-Douala” 1987, Reid 1989, 19 fig. 3, Mosongo 1995, 10, 23, Engr. Bassey p.c.), cf. *m̀bèn m̀m̀òñ* ‘margin, side of the river’ (Goldie 171, 193, Miller 2009, 94)

mbia ‘yam’
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *b̀u* ‘yam’ (Goldie 25, Urua 58).

mbiamé (*mbia*, *mbianye*, *nbiamé*) ‘poison oath’
< Èfìk *m̀biàm* ‘poison oath’ (Goldie 25, 345). “Like the ‘bitter waters’ of the Hebrews, it would destroy, they thought, all false swearers” (Waddell 1863, 379 *fn*).

mboko ‘sugarcane’
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *m̀bòkòk* ‘sugarcane’ (Goldie 174, Urua 182).
< Òròkò *m̀bòkò* ‘sugar’ (Ǹg̀d̀è).

Mboko (*Boko*) ‘Ekue, speaking’
< Èkpè coded terminology *M̀bòkò*, a title grade representing the mystic ‘Voice’ heard during initiation and funerary ceremonies. Used with similar meaning from the Cross River region to West Central Africa (Swartenbroeckx 1973, 322, Matute 1988, 37, Fehderau 1992, 139, Bassey 2001, 109, Tangban 2008, 35-36).

Mbóngue [group name] ‘Congos whose territory bordered the land of the Bríkamos’
< *M̀bongé*, a community in Meme Division, SW Cameroon. See **Batanga** above.

mbori (*kamborí*) ‘goat’
< Òròkò *m̀bòrí* ‘goat’ (Ǹg̀d̀è), cf. Èkóí-Kúò *m̀boi* ‘goat’ (Miller 2009, 54). See **abisumbi mbori**, **Anambori** and **Ekue brusón amanakuá erubé aborí mapao nkopo eriero** above.

mbumba ‘carrion, something that infects’
< Èfìk *m̀bùmbù* ‘rotten’ (Goldie 180, Adams 173, Rowan).

mefón ‘good, beneficent’
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *m̀fòn* ‘favor’ (Goldie 187, Urua 78).

mene ‘woman’ [Maestro Okobio: *nyéne*, woman]
< Ìgbò *ònyènyè*, *ònyèènyè* ‘woman’ (Williamson 383, Ígwè 611).

meneke ‘dance’
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *nék* ‘to dance’, cf. *M̀m̀ò enek unek* (Goldie 210, Urua 217).

mimba ‘palmwine from the Bríkamos’
< Òròkò and M̀òkpwè (Guthrie A1, A22) *mím!bá* ‘wine’ (Ǹg̀d̀è).

Mokó [group name]. [Maestro Okobio: Mókò, a warrior prince from Obáne territory, was consecrated as Ekuenyón]
< *Moko*, an undefined slavetraders’ label applied variously to Ìgbò, Ìbibìdò, Èfìk, Èkóí, Ogoni and other populations in different circumstances (Dapper 1686, Oldendorp 1770/1987, 203-06, Goldie 360, Jeffreys 1935, 7ff., Jones 1958, 47; Hair 1967a, 263, 1967b, 72, Údò 1983, 2 *fn*. 5, Ejituwu 1990, 36f., Northrup 2000, 10-13, Behrendt et al. 2010, 116).

Mokoko [place name]

? < Lóndó (Òrókò) *Mokoko*, a river in SW Cameroon (Goodliffe 1940, map, Sharpe 2005, 163).

Mokongo [epithet]. [Maestro Okobio: The Mokóngo title includes an Íreme (body mask) that dances at the end of ceremonies accompanied by the chant *Iton biereke Akanawan*, with the glosses *iton* 'staff', *akanawán* 'Íreme']
< Bálóndó and Bakossi (Òrókò) *Mukongo*, an *Ékpè* body-mask and title (Struck 1909, Bassossi 1923, 36, Nebengu 1990, 69, 106, Ngando Olubi 2015). Also described in Èkóí as *Okongo-Niamkpe* (File 27/1921. Buea National Archives).

Mokongo Ma Uyo [epithet. Maestro Okobio: *Mokóngo ma úyo úyo*, when the *Fundamento* is sounded on Mokóngo's head during his consecration.]

?< Èfìk mà 'accomplish', *úyò* 'voice' (Goldie 166, 335f., Adams 220, 274).

mokumbán 'soldier'

?< Òrókò *mòkùmbá* 'gun' (Ǹgòè).

Mo mi diampo (*waririampo*) 'I will eat'

< Èfìk *Mòṅ dí díá ñkpó* 'I'm coming to eat something' (Goldie 40, 194, 218, Engr. Bassey p.c.)

moruá 'crier' [Maestro Okobio: *Moruá Yuánsa*, the Abakuá chanter]

< Èfìk *m̀mùrúà*, mourner at an *Ékpè* funeral, who sings with an *ékpút* wooden rattle (Goldie 76, 196, Jeffreys 1964, 155).

Mosongo 'epithet of a ritual title-holder'

?< Òrókò *Mosongo* 'ritual title denoting wisdom' (Ǹgòè).

?< Èkóí *Mosongo* '*Ékpè* title equivalent to *Ìyám̀bà*' (Talbot 1912, 43), cf. Kùḍ *basonko* 'the plumed rod' (Dr. Abu Edet p.c., Chief E.E.E. Imona p.c.). See **Iyamba** above.

mpará 'prostitute'

< Èfìk-Ìbibìḍ *àkpàrà* 'unmarried woman, widow, prostitute' (Goldie 9, Urua 25).

mukará 'albino'

mukarará 'white, European'

< Òrókò *mòkàrà* 'white, albino' (Ǹgòè). See **makarará** above.

Mukundié Efor 'title of an important person from Efor'

< Òrókò *mókóndì* 'king, ruler' (Ǹgòè).

Muni Bonkó [epithet]

?< Èfìk *Mùrí*, titular head of an Èfúùt clan in Calabar (Chief Eyo p.c.. Engr. Bassey p.c., *Mùrí* Antigha Edet IV p.c., *Mùrí* Mesembe XI p.c.).

?< Èfìk *Èbònkó*, title and mask of an *Ékpè* lodge custodian (Goldie 58), pronounced *Èbòngó* in Èkóí-Kùḍ lineages (Etubom Bassey p.c.).

Muñanga Efor karibé Abasí 'tribe of Efor land, Usagaré'

< Òrókò *Munyanje* '[place name]' (Ǹgòè), cf. *Munyanje* ("*Munjange*") stream adjoining survey point XX (Danckelman 1890), see **itiá Muñanga Efor** above.

muñón 'staff of office'

< Èfìk *m̀m̀ḍnyò* 'plumed scepter of *Ékpè*' (Goldie 194, Adams 229). In the upper Cross River (e.g., Íkóm, Banyang, Fontem), the *m̀m̀ḍnyò* has a spearhead at the bottom so it can be planted in the ground (Etim Ika p.c.). See **afia muñón mbara mugo** above.

Mutanga (*Mutanga Efor*) a Havana lodge [of Usagaré lineage, founded in 1868]
< Lóndó (Òrókò), *mú-Tàngà* ‘member of one of the ten Òrókò clans’ (Nḡdèè). See **Batanga** above.

mutiki (motiki) ‘small, little’ [Maestro Okobio: *ntiki, ntikití*]
< Òrókò *mòtítí* ‘little one’ (Nḡdèè). Cf. Órò (“Órón”) *ntiti* ‘small, the smallest child in the family’ (Dr. Abu Edet *p.c.*), Ìgbò *ńtí-ńtí* ‘small quantity’ (Williamson 322, 328, Ígwè 530, 533).

nandibá ‘shore, riverbank’
< Òrókò *ná ò dibà* ‘from the river’ (Nḡdèè). See **maribá** above.

nandiwara ‘the morning star’
?< Èfìk *anasua* ‘the morning star’ (Goldie 11).

...**nangansene**... (*nangansene, yangansene*) ‘be silent or motionless’ N.b. not a headword but occurring patently with this meaning in a dozen separate lemmas.

?< Òrókò *nàngá* ‘sleep’ (Nḡdèè).

?< Òrókò *sáì* ‘motionless’ (Nḡdèè).

nankuko ‘warrior’ [Maestro Okobio: name of a warrior from Ekerewá]
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *ùkó* ‘courage, a brave person’ (Goldie 313, Urua 304).

Nasakó [group name]
< Nḡóló (Òrókò) *boNásàkò*, a family descended from an *Ékpè* founder, also present in Abasi Ekei, Akpabuyo district of Cross River State (Nasako Besingi *p.c.*, Chief E. Imona *p.c.*, Chief Archibong Éšò *p.c.*).

Natacho (*Tacho, Naberetacho, Obón Tacho*) [deity of Calabar]
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *Àtáàkpò*, a water deity of the lower Cross River whose seat is in Esuk Odu port also known as *Úrúáan-Iboku* (Ekong 1983/2001, 178, Essien 1986, 13, Essien 1993, 82, Miller 2009, 258, Engr. Bassey *p.c.*).

Natakua (*Atákua, Etakuá*) [group name]
< Èfìk *Àtákpà* alias “Duke Town”, the main community of Èfìk merchants in the 19th century, located on the Calabar River near *Àtákpà*, the ‘real river’ i.e. the Cross River, cf. *àtá* ‘real’ *ákpá* ‘river’ (Goldie 8, 15, 355, Holman 1840, 404, Waddell 1863, 309, Talbot 1926/1969 vol. 1, 185, 190, Nair 1972, 5). Around 1902-04, the original *èfé Ékpè* of *Àtákpà*, called *èfé Ékpè Ìyámbà*, was displaced by construction of the Magistrate courthouse, but still today lodge members return to the site to pour libation at the *ítíát* ‘stone’ buried under the *oboti* and *usieré* trees (Engr. Bassey *p.c.*).

Nchui (*Ntui, Nchuí, Obón Nchuí*) [group name]
< Èkóí-Kúò family name < *ntui* ‘head, chief’, corresponding to Èfìk *ò¹bóñ* (‘Obol’ Asuquo Akom Ónwon, village head of Òjò-Ákámkpà *p.c.*, Chief E.E.E. Imona *p.c.*).

ndabo (*ndáo, ndaba*) ‘brother’
?< Nḡóló (Òrókò) *ndabo* ‘house’ (Nasako Besingi *p.c.*).
?< Dùlálá (Guthrie A24) *ndábò* ‘house’ (Ittmann 1976, 415).

ndayo (*ntayo*) ‘sunshine’
< Èfìk *ò dà éyò* ‘sunshine, dry season’ (Goldie 98, 198, Dr. Ako Essien-Eyo *p.c.*). See **Asere ebión ndayo** in the text.

Ndeme (*Ndém*) ‘water spirit’

< Èfìk *Ñdèm* ‘river deity, source of *Ékpè* (Bassey 2001, 41) < Èfìk *údèm* = plural of *ídèm* ‘water spirit’ (Goldie 117, 200, Essien 1986, 91), cf. Èkóí *nimm*. When *Ñdèm* captures a human in the river or forest, *ebonko* rhythm is played for the *Ídèm* Ikwo masks to dance, sounding the bell at their waists. When *Ñdèm* hears this, she will release the person (*ó!bòñ* Obio Uwet, *Ìyám̀bà* of *Úwét p.c.*). This parallels the Abakuá myth of Abasongo, who was ‘lost’ in the forest for seven days and brought back by sounding a reed flute or a rattle.

ndié krúkoro ‘a collective greeting’ [Maestro Okobio: *Etié krúkoro*, All brothers should join us]

< Èfìk *tìené* ‘follow, accompany’, *kpúk̀p̀ur̀ù* ‘all’ (Goldie 162, 290, Miller 2005, 46, Connell *p.c.*). See **krúkoro** above.

ndimawó ‘useless’

< Òr̀ók̀ Ñdí! *má, o!* ‘It’s no good at all!’, cf. *dímá* ‘blind, unfortunate’ (Ñg̀d̀è).

ngó ‘leopard’ [Maestro Okobio: *yebengó*, the spots of the leopard]

?< Dùálá (Guthrie A24) *nj̀ò̀ó* ‘leopard’, *nj̀ò* ‘Leopard Society’ (Ittmann 1976, 433).

?< Òr̀ók̀ ñg̀d̀è ‘leopard’ (Ñg̀d̀è). See **bakariongo** above.

Ngolo ‘Congo people neighboring the Carabali’

< Ñg̀óló, a community in the Òr̀ók̀ cluster (Kuperus 1985, 19, Maho 2009). See **Batanga** above.

ngomo ‘chalk’

ngomo mbákara ‘white chalk’

< Èfìk-Ìbìbìd̀ *íd̀d̀m* ‘white kaolin clay’ (Goldie 207, Urua 210) “rubbed on the face or body to signify a happy event” (Ekong 1983/2001, 188). See **mbákara** above.

nkame (*nkamar*) ‘to speak’

< Èfìk-Ìbìbìd̀ *kóm* ‘thank, greet, pay compliments’ (Goldie 154, Urua 156) *via* *Ékpè* coded terminology *kámá Ékpè* ‘greet *Ékpè*’ (Dr. Ako Essien-Eyo *p.c.*, Orok Edem *p.c.*). “When a member enters an *Ékpè* lodge and does not introduce themselves with a chant, another member will instruct *Kámá Ékpè fò!* ‘Chant your *Ékpè!*’ so that we know your status” (Etim Ika *p.c.*, cf. Aye 1991, 61). See **Bari bari bari bari benkamá** above.

nkandémo (*Nkandámo, Nkandémbo*) [ceremonial officer who shares out food to members]

?< Èfìk *ùk̀k̀ñ* ‘drinking horn’ (Goldie 312, Adams 270) *via* *Ékpè* coded terminology *ùk̀k̀ñ* ‘fellowship initiation meal’ (Bassey 2001, 85, cf. Behrendt & al. 2010, 162).

nkiko una ‘rooster born from the first egg laid by a hen’

< Èfìk *èk̀k̀ò* *únèn* ‘rooster’ (Goldie 72, 319). In Calabar, traditional midwives use the ‘first-born egg’ of a hen in rituals to induce fertility. See **kiko uné** above.

Nkóboro [name of a mask]

< Èfìk *M̀kp̀ók̀p̀ór̀ó*, a body-mask with a human skull on its head, belonging to the *Úkwà* ‘war-dance society’ (Dr. Ako Essien-Eyo *p.c.*, Nicklin & Salmons 1988, 131f., Jones and Salmons 2011, 42-43, cf. Urua 307), cf. Èfìk-Ìbìbìd̀ *m̀kp̀ók̀p̀ór̀ó* ‘skull’ (Goldie 598, Urua 200).

nkomo ‘drum’

< Èfìk-Ìbìbìd̀ *èk̀m̀ò* ‘short drum, *Ékpè* drum’ (Goldie 73, Urua 96, Nebengu 1990, 81, 101, Kuperus 1985, 287).

nkrikamo [performer who plays the drum with a piece of sugarcane to impose sanctions]

nkrikamo wandocha 'nkrikamo offering peanuts to Ekue'

?< Kenyang *ekrika mmo* 'leopard child' (Ntufam 'Bob' Oku *p.c.*). Kenyang is the language of the Banyangi people of Mamfé, SW Cameroon. In Ugep and Agoi-Ibami towns on the upper Cross River, town criers play their drums with a piece of sugarcane.

< Èfìk *m̀bàń!sáń* 'groundnut' (Goldie 170, Adams 221). See **bachán** above.

nonkiré (*nyonkiré, notarenke, apotarenkén, wapoterenke, wapoténrenké, erenkén*) 'vulture' [Maestro Okobio: *apótarénke*]

< Èfìk *l̀bìbìdò ùtèrè* 'vulture' (Goldie 329f., Urua 311).

nsenune (*seune, senune, senone, nseniné*) 'egg' [Maestro Okobio: *nsenúne*]

< Èfìk *ńsèn* 'egg', *únèn* 'hen' (Goldie 224, 319). See **beroko bekusé** above.

Nteñenebón (*Nteñene Obón, Nteñeneobón*) [group name. Maestro Okobio: *Nteñen obón* is the title of *Isunékue*]

?< Èfìk *l̀bìbìdò ètè ònyìn* 'our father' (Goldie 93, 242, Urua 103, 220, Etubom Bassey *p.c.*).

?< Èfìk *ètínyìn* 'patriarch' (Hart 1964, 24§62, Aye 1991, 37). See **obón** below.

ntiero (*mtiero*) 'disgrace' [Maestro Okobio: *ntiero* 'great' e.g. *ntiero aramó minyán* 'something great', *Abasí Ntiero* 'Great God', *ntiero kóndo kaníma* 'a great forest']

?< Èfìk *ńtîrò*, nickname for a trading household of Àtákpà/Duke Town (Adédìran 1996, 23-24, Engr. Bassey 2014 *p.c.*). *Ntiero Edem Efiom* (ca. 1730-1809) became famous as the diarist *Antera Duke* (Behrendt & al. 2010, 2, 15). The interpretation 'disgrace' could reflect *Abakuá* criticism of the Ntiero family's history of human trafficking.

< Èfìk *ètíńé* 'apex, lofty' (Goldie 95, Adams 192), for the independent gloss supplied by Maestro Okobio.

ntí ntí 'abundance, much'

< Èfìk *ètí òtí* 'very much' (Goldie 94, Adams 192).

ntiyá 'crown' [Maestro Okobio: *ntińá* 'the crown of the Eribó', *ntińá Obón Bibí* 'crown of the king of Bibí']

< Èfìk *l̀bìbìdò òtínyá* 'crown of woven cord' (Adams 237, Urua 229, cf. Hart 1964, 30§81, Miller 2009, 184).

ntogó 'neck' [Maestro Okobio: *ntún*, 'head of an animal', *mántogoyó/ntogoyó* 'to remove the head']

< Kúò *ntóń*, cf. Èkóí *ntúń* 'neck' (Dr. Abu Edet *p.c.*).

ntre 'good, correct'

< Èfìk *ńtré* 'thus, truly' (Goldie 232, Adams 238).

nuene (*orune*) 'finger(s)'

< Èfìk *nnúèn* 'digit of the hand or foot' (Goldie 234, Adams 235, Engr. Bassey 2004 *p.c.*).

nyuaó 'drunk, inebriated'

< Òrókò *nyúá (m̀aribá)* 'drink (water)' (Ǹgòè). See **maribá** above.

Ñankue (*Ñampe, Ǹangué*) [group name]

< Èfìk *Nyàm̀kpè*, a principal grade of Èkpè (Goldie 239). In parts of Cameroon, the name of the Èkpè society itself (Struck 1909, 125, Bassossi 1923, 36).

ñanya ['body mask']

< Èfìk *nyànyá*, the raffia chest-piece of the *ídèm* body mask in Èkpè (Aye 1991, 102, Hackett 1996, 96, Bassey 2001, 71, 174), cf. *nyàn* 'raphia fiber' (Adams 234).

ñangasibó (*Asibo*)

?< Èfìk Àsìbòñ (anglicized as *Archibong*). Àsìbòñ Ekondo founded the Calabar Òbùtòñ lodge, called *èfé Ékpè Àsìbòñ Ekondo*. See **sibón** below.

ñoé 'to have'

< Ìgbò *nwé* 'have, exist' (Williamson 340*f.*, Ígwè 548*f.*).

nlloro (*munanyoro, angoró, anyoró*) 'funeral rite/lament' [Maestro Okobio: the second funeral, held after burial]

< Èfìk *nyóró*, a mask that performs in funerary rites for an Ékpè title-holder (Engr. Bassey *p.c.*, Dr. Abu Edet *p.c.*, Dr. Ako Essien Eyo *p.c.*).

Obasé (*Abasí*) 'God'

< Èkóí Òbàsì 'God' (Ntufam 'Bob' Oku *p.c.*).

< Òrúkò *Obase* 'God' (Koloss 1985, Röschenhaler 2004).

< Ìgbò Òbàsì 'God' (Ígwè 631, Nwáðga 1984, 57). See **Abasí** above.

Obane [place name]

< *Oban*, an Èkóí settlement with a strong Ékpè tradition and a history of trade with Calabar (Talbot 1912, 41*f.*, Talbot 1926, vol. 3, 786, Jones 1988, vol. 3, 504, 541*f.*, P.O.E. Bassey 1999, 81).

obia (*eforí obia*) [Maestro Okobio: *eforí* 'witchcraft', *obia* 'transmission of the Voice']

?< Èfìk-Ìbìbìdò *ábìà* 'adept, expert' cf. *ábìà ídìdòñ* 'practitioner of charms or sorcery' (Goldie 2, Adams 163, Urua 2). An 18th-century British colonist of Barbados described "obeah" practitioners as "chiefly the Calamale Negroes" (Handler & Bilby 2001, 90).

obón 'paramount chief'

obón Iyamba (*oboniyamba*) 'lodge leader'

< Èfìk *ò!bòñ* 'paramount chief' (Goldie 3, Adams 249).

< Èfìk *ò!bòñ-Ìyámà*, the title of the head of an Ékpè lodge.

obonekue (*abanekue*) 'soldier'

< Èfìk-Ìbìbìdò and Èkóí *òbòñ Ékpè* 'junior grade of Ékpè' (spelled "*obhon*" by Röschenhaler 2011). See **abanekue** above.

okani 'old'

< Èfìk *ákàni* 'old' (Goldie 3, Adams 249).

okobio (*ekobio*) 'initiated person; land, party, lodge, self-governing nation'

?< Èfìk *ókù* 'follower/leader of any special cult' (Adams 247, Dr. Abu Edet, *p.c.*)

?< Èfìk *óbìdò* 'town, territory' (Goldie 245, Adams 244).

?< Èfìk *òduk óbìdò* 'free of the town, having its Ékpè privileges' (Goldie 245).

Oron (*Orón Orón*) [group name]

?< *Órón*, the Èfìk name of *Óró*, a subgroup of Lower Cross (Uya 1984, 44, Iyanam 1998, 47).

?< Lónódó (Òrúkò) *Oron*, one of three major villages of Usak-Ade (cf. Connell 2001a, 54).

Otí kosi 'There's no *aguardiente*' [Maestro Okobio: a Lukumí expression, not Abakuá]

< Yorùbá *Otí kò sí* 'There's no alcoholic drink' (Abraham 1958, 530, 587*f.*).

otón 'the sun'

< Èfìk-Ìbìbìdò *útfn* 'the sun' (Goldie 330, Adams 273, Urua 311).

Ribó (*Isué ribó, Eribó, Dibó*) ‘the Voice’

< Ékpè coded terminology *Dibó / Ribó*, a reference to the *Nyàm̀kpè* grade standing for Ékpè as a whole (Hart 1964, 59§167, Sosa 1984, 97, Engr. Bassey *p.c.*). ?Cf. Òrókò *Sese Dibo*, title for the head of the Ékpè house (Nanji Cyprian, *p.c.*). ?Cf. Òrókò *dibó* ‘goitre, large collar worn by the Mokongo mask (Ǹgòè).

sanga₁ ‘walk’ [Maestro Okobio: ‘advance’]

< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *sàñá* ‘move, travel’ (Goldie 264, Adams 253, Urua 262).

sanga₂ ‘friend’ [Maestro Okobio: *sángabia*]

< Èfìk *ńsàñà* ‘companion, fellow traveler’ (Goldie 222*f.*, Adams 253). See **sanga₁** above.

sankobio [item with no separate gloss in Cabrera, but collocated multiply with **baroko**, a ritual procession]

?< Èfìk *ísàñ k’òbìdò* ‘walking/journey to/in the town’ (Goldie 135, 148, 245 Adams 244, 253, Dr. Abu Edet *p.c.*).

sibón ‘voice’ [Maestro Okobio: *asibón*]

?< Èfìk *Àsìbòñ* (anglicized as *Archibong*). Àsìbòñ Ekondo founded Calabar Òbútòñ lodge, called *èfè Ékpè Àsìbòñ Ekondo*. See **ñangasibó** above.

Sikán [personal name]

< Ìbibìdò *Ñsìkàn*, personal name, truncated from *Ñsé ikáàn Àbàsi?* ‘What surpasses God?’ (Essien 1986, 60, 72, cf. Willie 2008, 104, Connell *p.c.*).

Suama (*Isuama*) [group name]

< Ìgbò *Ìsú á-má*, ‘Ìsú of the road / open space’ (cf. Williamson 37, Ígwè 60), naming an internal diaspora in the SE Ìgbò zone (Crowther 1860, Ánòkà 1979, Áfngbò 1981, 12*f.*, Ottenberg & Knudsen 1985, 42, Miller 2009, 261 *fn.* 138, Nwokeji 1998, 323 *fn.* 9, 2010, 85 *fn.* 4). The term *Ìsú* may pluralize *òsú* ‘endogamous outcaste’ (Williamson 386, Ígwè 618), parallel a handful of plural *i-* versus singular *o-* pairs of archaic [+human] nouns, e.g. *íkènyè* ‘men’ versus *òkènyè* ‘man’ (Williamson 177, 368, cf. Manfredi 2014, 14).

Tanse ‘divine fish’ [individual name]

< Èkóí *tata nsí* ‘big/lordly fish’ (P. Bassey *p.c.*, cf. Talbot 1912, 428, Thompson 1983, 242).

...**tata**... N.b. not a headword, but occurring in a dozen separate lemmas in the context of father, elder, master.

< Òrókò *tàátà* ‘father’ (Ǹgòè). *Kindersprache* found many Benue-Kwa languages.

tébere (*teberé*) ‘gently’

< Èfìk *tèbèdè*, Òrókò *tèbèlè* ‘gently, calmly’ (Aye 1991, 128, Abraham *p.c.*, Nasako Besingi *p.c.*, Dr. Ako Essien Eyo *p.c.*).

tifia (*ntifia*) ‘firewood’

< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *ifíá* ‘firewood’ (Goldie 121, Urua 130).

tubikán ‘animal horn’ [Maestro Okobio: *ntubikán* ‘the horn of a bull’]

< Èfìk *òbùkpòñ* ‘antelope horn used as a trumpet’ (Goldie 247, Adams 245, cf. Rowan).

Ubioko (*ibioko, Ebioko Efik*) ‘natural pool’ [place name]

?< Èfìk *Óbìòkò*, literally ‘that town there’ (Aye 1991, 13 and *p.c.*), the indigenous name for Creek Town, a place with many springs and natural pools, inhabited by both Èfúút and Èfìk populations. *Óbìòkò* is also the name of three patrilineal clans in Ugep and Mkpani districts, due to their historical trade with the Èfìk (cf. Enang 2009, 123).

udia (*uria*) ‘to eat’

< Ìbibìdò *ùdíá* ‘yams i.e. food’ (Goldie 304, Adams 268, Urua 297). See **uriampo** below.

ukano ‘tree’ (*ukano bekonsí* ‘ceiba tree’, *ukano mambré* ‘palm tree’)
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *ùkánà* ‘oilbean tree’ (Goldie 312, Adams 269, Urua 303).

umón ‘water’
< Èfìk *ímóṅṅ*, Ìbibìdò *ímóṅṅ* ‘water’ (Goldie 193, Adams 229, Urua 199). See **abiaga umón** above, **yeremón** below.

Umón [group name]
< *Umóṅṅ*, Èfìk name for the Àmón kingdom of the middle Cross River (Goldie 361, Aribiah 2010) whose first language is assumed to be Korɔp/Ododop (Connell 1994, Mr. Sunday Adaka *p.c.*).

Umorisé [group name]
< Lòkáká *Umor*, indigenous name of the community known to the British as “Ugep” and located upstream from *Umóṅṅ* (Enang 2009, 158, Obol Okuna *p.c.*, Dr. Otu Abam Ubi *p.c.*).

upón ‘jungle spirit’
< Èfìk *úkpòṅṅ*, Ìbibìdò *úkpòṅṅ* ‘soul’ (Goldie 315, Urua 306).

Uriabón Efik (*Uriabón*) ‘a town of aristocrats’ [group name]
< *Údìó!bòṅṅ*, a royal family in Afagha Clan, Ikot Mbong Íkòndò village (‘Etubom’ Edet *p.c.*). This name may refer literally to the *údì* (either ‘grave’ or ‘trouble’) of a paramount ruler.

uriampo (*iriampo*) ‘food’
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *Idiá ñkpó!*, an invitation to eat (Engr. Bassey 2004, cf. Goldie 218, Urua 195). See **udia** above.

Urua apapa (*Apapa Oru, Uruana, Uruápaoa, Orú, Oruapapá, Orú ápapa, Uru ápapa*) [group name].
< *Úrúán*, an Ìbibìdò-speaking population of the lower Cross River, believed to have migrated from the Èfúút region in “Usagaré” (*Ùsàghàdèt*) of SW Cameroon, and linked with fishing, canoe-building and Ékpè (Engr. Bassey *p.c.*, cf. Goldie 361, Ekong 1983/2001, 213). Èfìks claim to have migrated from *Úrúán* to Creek Town centuries ago (Engr. Bassey *p.c.*, cf. Hart 1964). In Èfìk Ékpè lodges of Calabar, the presiding chief can say *Ika Úrúán!* ‘Go to *Úrúán!*’ in order to accelerate the ritual for the *Nyàmèkpè* Grade to dance (Engr. Bassey *p.c.*). See **Usagaré** below.

Usagaré (*Usaguaré Efó*) [place name]
< Lòndó (*Òrókò*) *Ùsàghàdèt*, a community in the Bakasi peninsula, SW Cameroon, known in Cameroon as *Isangele* and in Calabar as *Usak-Edet*, but locally called either *Ùsàgàrè* or *Èfíúút Ùsàkèdèt* (cf. Connell 2001a, 54, Chief Archibong Ésò *p.c.*). See **Edabe** above.

Uyanga (*Ayanga*) [place name].
< *Ùyàngà*, the Èfìk name for *Dùsàngà*, a non-Èkóí community of *Ákámkpà* district of Cross River State (cf. Orok 1954/1965, 18).

uyo ‘voice’
< Èfìk-Ìbibìdò *úyò* ‘voice, command’ (Goldie 335f., Adams 274, Urua 314).

wembán ‘magic’
< *Òrókò bwèmbà, bòrèmbà* ‘witchcraft, magic’ (Ǹgòdè).

Wete [group name]
?< *Úwét*, a community on the Calabar river to the north of Calabar and Creek Town (Waddell 1863, 459, cf. Goldie 356).

Yayó! ‘exclamation’

< Òrókò *Yàyó!* ‘Correct!’ (Ẹ̀ṅḡḡ), cf. Èfìk *Ìyàìyó!* ‘exclamation recognizing an accomplishment’ (Aye 1991, 60).

Yebengó ‘leopard’.

< Òrókò *Yé bẹ́ nígò* ‘Let it be the leopard!’ (Ẹ̀ṅḡḡ, cf. Kuperus 1985, 265).

yereka (*ayeriká, yeneka, eyeneka, ñeneká*) ‘sibling, friend’

< Èfìk *éyén èkà* ‘full sibling’ literally ‘child of mother’ (Goldie 70, 97, Engr. Bassey *p.c.*).

yeremón ‘said when washing the sacred pieces’

< Èfìk *yéré mómò* ‘bathe’ (Goldie 346, Adams 277, Dr. Abu Edet *p.c.*). See **abiaga umón** and **umón** above.

yúyu ‘religion’

?< Haitian *djoudjou* ‘talismán, fetish’—phonetically and semantically unrelated to Haitian *joujou* ‘toy, doll, puppet’, the babytalk version of *jouet* ‘toy’ (Valdman & al. 2007, 181, 308, M. DeGraff *p.c.*, *pace* Oxford English Dictionary 1933 v. 8 p. 625 = 1979 v. 8 p. 303, “generally thought to be a[do]pted from] F[rench] *joujou* ‘toy, plaything’ ”). In West Africa, Hausa *jùùjúú* ‘fetish, spirit’ (Abraham 1962, 434) probably reflects West African English *jùjú* (Fyle & Jones 1980, 159), whether the latter was originally a diminutive or plural reduplication of Portuguese *deus* ‘god’ (Holm & Shilling 1982, 116) or the Portuguese modification of a yet unknown indigenous term (S. Baldi *p.c.*), perhaps Èvè *dù dzò àmè* ‘cast a spell on someone’ (Westermann 1905, 84, cf. Spieth 1911, 264, Capo 1991, 103). In 1920’s Lagos, the pidgin term *jùjú* became the genre tag for Tundé King’s ‘palmwine’ guitar combo incorporating the single-membrane tambourine, locally nicknamed *jùjú* for its trancelike performance in Salvation Army bands and recalling the surrogate speech ritually coded by Yorùbá *gán-gan* and *dùn-dún* drums. The latter percussion gradually supplemented and replaced the tambourine in successor *jùjú* bands such as those led by Délé Òjó, I.K. Dáíró and Sunny Adé (Thieme 1969, 268-72, Alájá-Browne 1985, 29-35).