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Recommended Citation

Azuonye, Chukwuma, "Igbo Names in the Nominal Roll of Amelié, An Early 19th Century Slave Ship from Martinique: Reconstructions, Interpretations and Inferences" (1990). *Africana Studies Faculty Publication Series*. 8.

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Igbo Names in the Nominal Roll of *Amélié*, An Early 19th Century Slave Ship from Martinique: Reconstructions, Interpretations and Inferences¹

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Introduction

The names discussed in the present paper come from the nominal roll of “212 Africans, all Ibos, who constituted the clandestine freight of *Amélié*, a slave-ship commissioned at Saint-Pierre, Martinique, and captured by the royal corvette, *Sapho*, on February 8, 1822, in the Caribbean Sea” (Thesée, 1985). The list was forwarded to me as far back as 1985 through Abiola Irele (then of the University of Ibadan), at the instance of the great Martinique cultural nationalist poet, Aimé Césaire (1913–2008),² by Mme Thesée, a French scholar who was then completing a study of the secret passage of this particular group of slaves. Although the study was published fifteen years ago, under the title *Les Ibos de l'Amélie: Destinée d'une cargaison de traite clandestin B la Martinique, 1822-28* (1986), no detailed reconstruction and interpretation of the meanings and significance of the *Amélié* names has yet been attempted.

According to Thesée (1985), in the original research statement, which she has followed up to a large extent in her book,

These Ibos had been embarked in Bonny; they were led to Fort-Royal (now Fort-de-France) and placed under the care of the State Administration (on March 12, 1822); after having been baptized, they were detailed, according to the law, for works for public purposes. More than a third of them died in the days and weeks following their landing in Martinique. Eighty of them were still alive at the time of their liberation in June 1838, ten years before the abolition of slavery. Registered at the Registry Office under their Christian names with surnames made for the occasion, they were deprived of their African names.

I will return in due course to some of the implications, from the evidence provided by the *Amélie*

¹ Originally presented under the title “The Image of the Igbo in African-American and Caribbean Studies: An Analysis of Igbo Personal Names in an Early 19th Century Slave-Roll from the Martinique Islands” at the *Ninth Ibadan Annual African Literature Conference*, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, March 12-15, 1990.

² Césaire, who apparently considered himself to have an Igbo ancestry and Martinique to be predominantly Igbo in its cultural roots, seems to have considered his first name *Aimé* to be an Igbo anthroponymic retention with a provenance similar to that of the names in the nominal roll of *Amélié*. This is by no means far-fetched. *Aimé* (reconstructed in the present paper as the common Igbo name, *Eme*) is one of the *Amélié* names. In the infamous case of suspected poisoning of the white slave holding elite by vengeful blacks (Savage, 2001: 647), Igbo “immigration” into the islands is singled out for special culpability. In this connection, Savage (2001: 657, n 58) cites the West African origins of Caribbean *obeah* as discussed in Handler’s “Slave Medicine and Obeah” (82). In a later article, Handler and Bilby (2001: 87-100) specifically connects the Igbo word *dibia* with the complex of medical and occult practices known as *obeah* in the Caribbean (Handler, J. S. and Bilby, K. M. (2001) “On the Early Use and Origin of the Term ‘Obeah’ in Barbados and the Anglophone Caribbean,” *Slavery & Abolition*, 22:2, 87-100).

roll, of Thesée's statement that "they were deprived of their African names." In her cover letter, Mme Thesée gives further useful hints about the source and significance of the Igbo names:

I have copied this list from the nominal roll of the Ibos shipped on the *Amélié*; this roll was drawn up by the colonial administration for the Minister for the Navy (Admiralty) in 1826. This is a very valuable document, and it is not usual indeed to find together so many names from the same nation. But I wonder how these names have been understood and spelt. Have they been distorted? Are they truly Ibo names as claimed by this roll or have they come from another nation? (Thesée, 1985).

In a postscript, Thesée draws attention to her colleague, Abbot David's insistence on "the numerical importance of Ibos among the Africans brought clandestinely to Martinique after the abolition of the slave-trade: out of 191 Africana whose origin is known and who became free between 1833 and 1839, 112 are Ibos and this number does not include those of the *Amélié*" (Thesée, 1985). In conclusion, Thesée makes an important observation (specifically addressed to me or any other specialist in Igbo language studies advising on the corpus) which is of particular relevance to this paper and the wider onomastic investigation of the Igbo Diaspora in the Black Atlantic world:

I am not the only one who would be interested in the analysis of this list of Ibo names; if this analysis is done by a specialist like you, it could bring some information on the ethnic names used in the French West Indies. There is still a lot left for discovery in this field (Mme Thesée, 1985).

This emphasis on the involvement of specialists in Nigerian languages in the study of surviving Igbo names in the Black Atlantic has been repeated with slightly different emphasis by the indefatigable historian of African languages, P. E. H. Hair, in his insightful onomastic inquiry into the provenance of "Black African Slaves at Valencia, 1482-1516" (1980: 119-139). Confronted with such ethnonyms as "Ebu" and "Hibo" (1514) for the Igbo and as a host of other anthroponyms that seem to refer to the Efik-Ibibio but could well be interpreted to refer to the Igbo or other southeasters known as Carabalies in the heyday of the slave traffic, he concludes: "All this suggests that this group of about a score of names might be profitably investigated by Nigerian scholars" (Hair, 1980: 126). This is the strategy that informs the first in-depth published analysis of Igbo names in liberated slave registers in Sierra Leone and Havana (Nwokeji and Eltis, 2002):

Our basic strategy is to expose all but the most clearly identifiable of the names to experts in the ethnicities and languages of the regions that supplied the port from which vessels left. Apart from the literature on names and naming practices, there is considerable depth to the expertise available in Nigerian universities, as appendix A suggests, and on which we have begun to draw.

The present study is grounded in the same strategy. I have accordingly benefitted immensely from the groundwork in Igbo onomastics laid by Leonard (1906), Wieschhoff (1941), Madubuike (1974), Anoka (1979), Ubahakwe (1981, 1982), Uwalaka (1993), Mbabuike (1996), Onukawa (1998, 2000), Oha (2009), and Ebeogu (1990, 1993). Afigbo (personal communication, email, 2004) has additionally commented extensively on an earlier draft of this paper, calling my attention to "Dr. Ugo Nwokeji at Berkeley who, with his senior colleague Professor David Eltis at Emory, has handled the decoding and transcription of thousands of names on similar lists," and insisting on fact that "many of the names can bear more than one rendering." My reading of Nwokeji and Eltis (2002) helped to reaffirm my *a priori* realization of the value of mother tongue competence in an analysis of this kind,

a truism evident in the sense of *déjà vu* which in enables the Igbo-speaking co-author to recognize “common Igbo names” as they “leap off the page despite a variety of spelling.” Thus, for example,

For Igbo females “Mgboli” appears as “Imbolee,” “mbolay,” “Imbolee,” “Inbolee” and, given English speakers' discomfort with words beginning with combinations of consonants following on “M” and “N” in “Bolee” and “Boley”, The male name “Okoronkwo” is written as “Okoronko,” “Coronquoh,” “Ochoronko,” “Okoranquah,” “Ocoromco,” “Ocoronquoh.” and several other variations. “Okoroafo” also has many forms “Okraffoe,” “Ocraftfo,” “Okarafo,” “Ocralfhoe,” “Karafoe,” “Okerafoe,” “Okarafoo,” and “Okarafoe”), But for most names) a wider assessment process is required. In the Delta region of the Niger River and the so-called Eiagam region of the old Ogoja province and Middle Belt region, where ethnic diversity is (and was) considerable, We are heavily dependent on others.

It is however not my intention to focus exclusively on these methodological questions in the present paper. What I intend to do, rather, is to place the Igbo names before us under a pragmatic microonomastic analysis with a view to observing in as much detail as possible what we can learn from them, both about the Igbo homeland and the Igbo Diaspora in the first quarter of the 19th century and presumably in the preceding years.

Transcription and Reconstruction Procedure

My first task in the study of the *Amélié* names was to determine which of them was truly an Igbo name and which was not. Since the names were transcribed in French orthography by French naval officers with no previous exposure to Igbo speech and no knowledge of Igbo phonology, the procedure adopted in the first version of the paper (Azuonye, 1989) was to have a French-speaking informant to read out and pronounce each name as determined by the French spelling. My main informant in this regard was Miss A. Chevron who, at the time of the reconstructions (1991), had just joined the Department of Languages at the University of Nigeria. Miss Chevron turned out to be a most suitable choice for reconstructing the names. From her readings from the list, it was clear that what the officers tried to do was to write down the responses they were able to elicit as names from the slaves as best as they could using the principles of French pronunciation and spelling. Being only four months old in Nigeria, with no previous knowledge of Igbo and little or no interaction with Igbo-speakers at the time I presented the list to her, Miss Chevron could be trusted to re-reproduce the sounds presumably heard by the French officers without anticipating the correct forms of any of the names. Her articulations of the names were further verified from various Igbo-speaking specialists in French, especially Professor Aloysius Ohaegbu, Mr. Nwankwo, and the late Dr. Chuma Ijoma, all of the same department as Miss Chevron. Each name was transcribed directly, as pronounced by Miss Chevron, into the Onwu (Official) orthography of Igbo without going through the process of phonetic transcription. As was to be expected, the procedure proved highly rewarding in the reconstruction, classification and interpretation of the names.

For the names in the list which are unmistakably Igbo, Miss Chevron’s pronunciation came surprisingly as close as possible to the standard Igbo forms. Indeed, an outsider to the project listening to her would imagine that she was proficient in Igbo and was simply using her proficiency to read out, with correct tonal articulation, a conventional list of Igbo names. Thus, for example, names written as *Anomoudou*, *Oukan*, and *Anocoulchi*, came alive and were readily recognizable from her pronunciation as the well-known Igbo names: *Anumudu*, LHDHL (*Anum*, heroic + *udu*,

persistent effort = heroic and persistent effort), *Uko*, HD (), and *Anokwuluchi*, HLHHDi (*Ano*, May one stay + *kwulu*, to be together with + *chi*, [one's] personal god). Others not so clearly recognizable have been transcribed as pronounced.

The names as copied by Mme Théseé from the nominal roll of *Amelié* are presented as Appendices, Appendix I comprising “Noms Masculins Ibos” (Igbo Masculine Names) while Appendix II comprises “Noms Feminins Ibos” (Igbo Feminine Names). In the section that follows, I present a classification of the names based on my reconstructions through Chevron’s pronunciation.

In general, the following Igbo phonological equivalences have been derived for certain morphological environments, from Mme Chevron’s pronunciations of well-known Igbo names:

an	=	ɔ as in Oukan (Ukɔ)
b	=	gb as in Abara (Agbara)
c	=	k as in Ocolo (Okolo)
dg	=	j as in Audjy (Oji).
koi	=	kwa
koin	=	kwa
oua	=	nwa as in Ouarie
oue	=	nwe as in Ouequeque (Nwekeke = Nwa Ekeke).
ouo	=	nwo as in
or	=	ɔ as in Acorouda (Akouda)
p	=	kp as in Oupabia (Ukpabia)/
que	=	ke as in Ouequeque (Nwekeke = Nwa Ekeke).
quoin	=	kwo
uo	=	ɥ or u as in Oupabia (Ukpabia) and Oukan (Uko) respectively.
y	=	ɨ as in Audjy (Oji).
tch	=	ch as in <i>Autch</i> rohama (Ochoroohamma). anyi ruo ɥo ubiñÑO!Uxxxxx

In addition to these phonological equivalences, I have in each case taken the rules of vowel harmony in Igbo into full consideration. Of particular importance is the requirement that restricts Igbo words to phonemes in only one of two harmonizing groups (A or B) as follows:

Group A	Group B
a	e
ɨ	i
ɔ	o
ɥ	u

Under this rule, no authentic Igbo word can contain phonemes from the two groups. By rigidly applying this rule, I have been able to detect some significant errors of transcription in the original *Amelié* list, and have been thus empowered to make some necessary changes towards the retrieval of authentic Igbo word forms in my reconstructions. Thus, for example, while one of the transcribed male names, **Ame**, appears coherent at first sight, it violates the vowel harmony rule and has been changed to **Emē**, a form that is immediately recognizable as an Igbo name with a clear meaning.

In addition to vowel harmony, I have also been guided by the accents or tone-marks—acute/high (é), grave/low (è), or macron/down-step (ē)—which have been painstakingly placed on several of the names by the French naval officers. In some instances where a transcription appears ambiguous, I have been able to clear the ambiguity by following the signposts to meaning provided by the tone-mark. But sometimes the transcribers tone-marks seem to run counter to obvious meaning, as in the name, **Anohoké**, which is unmistakable as the common name, **Anòhùòkè** (May we stay or live to see our share), with a low tone on its final vocalic syllable.

No claim to finality is made in the present paper in any of these transcriptions. Hopefully, other interested Igbo onomastic specialists will wade into these names and—for whatever it is worth—attempt to provide alternative or better transcriptions and interpretations. Often, when in severe doubt, I have allowed myself to be guided by the names of family and friends as well as others whose names I have encountered in deciding on possible reconstructions. But these are purely impressionistic and at times conjectural. Possibly, some more scientific methods may lurk somewhere in the future.

As the classification will show, not all the names are Igbo and not all the names listed as masculine are masculine and vice versa. Also significant is that some of the realizations are not even names at all but sentiments or comments, including protest, expressions of anger or impatience, and outright abuse! But I may be wrong on these. These and other facts, such as the frequency of occurrence or non-occurrence of such crucial indicators of traditional beliefs and thought-patterns such as the terms *chi*, *Chukwu*, etc., have important implications for the interpretation of the image of the Igbo which the names embody.

Classification Based on Reconstructions of the Names

By and large, the names in the nominal list of *Amelié*, as presented in the tables that follow, fall into six main categories: unmistakable Igbo names; distorted Igbo names; probable Igbo names; Igbo place-names recorded as personal names; non-Igbo names; and sentiments or comments offered deliberately in protest or as abuse in lieu of names, presumably by slaves with a rebellious spirit.

Unmistakable Igbo Names

The reconstructions show that all names in this group are unmistakably Igbo names most of which are still in common use today and whose meanings are known. Among these are some place-names (*Toponyms*) or ethnic names (*Ethnonyms*) given by the respondents as personal names. It must however be remarked here that occasionally place-names and ethnic names do occur as personal names in Igbo culture. But, in the case of the nominal roll of the *Amelié*, there is also the possibility of the respondents mistaking the demand for their personal names for a demand for their ethnic or local origins. There are also other possibilities which will be taken up elsewhere in this paper. Among these are: deliberate misinformation (which would form part of the protest element in the responses of the slaves), protective cover-up of real personal names, and the use of place-names as surnames by individuals of high-standing in their communities.

Table 1A: Unmistakable Igbo Male Names

Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Abara (81)	A-ba-ra	A-(+)bà-rà > A-(g)bà-rà= <i>Agbàrà</i> : powerful spirit or deity; the divine essence of the supreme deity, Chukwu; an emanation of Chukwu worshipped as a local deity; the Ònìchà-Ògidi dialectal variant, <i>Agbàlà</i> , is represented in Achebe's <i>Things Fall Apart</i> (1958) (Chapters 2 and 10) as the great god of the Oracle of the Hills and Caves; glossed in Williamson (2006: 9) as “the author of fertility, one of the manifestations of Chukwu Òkike, Creator.” At the other extreme, <i>Agbàrà</i> (<i>Agbàlà</i> ,) is a byword for evil spirits or deities).	A common metaphorical name given in the hope that the child would become an awe-inspiring, wonderful person, person imbued with extraordinary power, or a charismatic personality. The form <i>Abara</i> exists in some dialects, e.g. <i>Amaàchàrà</i> , <i>Umùahìà</i> , <i>Abìà</i> State, home of the late Dr. S. N. Nwabàrà (son of <i>Abàrà</i>), formerly Director of the Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, who wrote his last name in the dialectal form <i>Abara</i> instead of the SI <i>Agbàrà</i> .
Agouha (99)	A-gu-ha	A-gu-(v)-ha > A-gu-(ò)-hà = <i>Aguòhà</i> , leopard of the community or people: <i>Agù</i> (leopard, as a metaphor for royalty, heroism, valor and achievement) + <i>òhà</i> (community or people).	A symbolic name given in the hope that the child would become a popular, heroic personality.
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Akoualan (75)	A-ku-a-lò	A-kù-a-lò = Either (1) <i>Akualòò</i> (<i>aku</i> , wealth + <i>aloo</i> , has thickened [like well-made soup]) or (2) <i>Akualò</i> (<i>aku</i> , wealth + <i>aloo</i> , has returned). The former is more conventional, mainly in Anambra State.	A child whose birth comes as a consolation after losses in agricultural or other enterprise.
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Akouré (19)	A-kù-ré	A-kù-r(v)-é = Akurie: <i>Aku</i> (wealth) <i>rúé</i> or <i>rúó</i> in SI (reaches).. This reconstruction is by indicated by the high tone correctly placed by the transcribers on the final syllable (<i>ré</i>) which rules out <i>urè</i> (joyful pride), the second word in the similar female name, <i>Akùurè</i> (wealth of joyful pride).	An elliptical name, usually understood as an abbrev. of <i>Aku rúé</i> (<i>rúó</i>) <i>uno</i> (<i>ulo</i>), wealth reaches the house, thus welcoming the new born babe as the true wealth of the family.

Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Amandé (68)	A-ma- di	A-ma-di = <i>Amadi</i> (freeborn). This high tone on the final syllable <i>di</i> in the original transcription seems correct.	A common abbreviation of one of several names beginning with <i>Amadi</i> , e.g. <i>Amadiume</i> , surname of Dartmouth College (Hanover, NH) professor of Women's Studies and author <i>Male Daughters, Female Husbands</i> (1988)
Amé (31)	A-mé	E-me (since A-mé violates the rules of vowel harmony in Igbo phonology). With a high tone on the second syllable, the closest vowel fit that makes sense in the slot for the initial /a/ is /e/, yielding a the common name, <i>Eme</i> (one who does not do).	Generally understood as an abbrev. for Emenike (One who does not do things forcibly) and Emenanjo (One who does not do things in bad faith). The <i>Eme</i> in names like <i>Emejuaiwe</i> (Let anger be quenched) and Emenyonu (Let mouths be closed) has a different semantic range.
Amouchekoi (41)	A-mụ-che-kwa	(x)-(x)ụ-che-kwa. The apparently distorted phonemes seem to be the initial vowel /o/ and the consonant /nw/ in the common name, <i>Onwuchekwa</i> (let death wait). <i>Amuchekwa</i> (Let laughter wait) is by no means unlikely as a creative name, if it means refers to the mocking laughter of enemies, for the proud parents now have a child of their own.	
Amouneka (87)	A-mụ-ne-ka	A-mụ-n-(v)eka = Amụnneka = amụ (procreative power) + nne (mother) + ka (of supreme).	A proverb name extolling the procreative power of mothers. May be related to Nneka (mother is supreme). Cf. Achebe's <i>Things Fall Apart</i> , Chapter 14. Cp. the more common name of the same ilk, <i>Amugbanite</i> (usu. abbr. <i>Gbanite</i>), may procreative power () rise. <i>Amu</i> (LH), in this usage, should not to be confused

			with <i>amu</i> (HL), penis, although both words fall within the same reproductive semantic range.
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Anabiqui (107)	A-na-bi-ki	A-na-bi-k(v) > (1) A-na-bi-ke; (2) a-na-bi-ko; (3) a-na-bi-ku. (3) is meaningless; (2) Anabiko (<i>Ana</i> , Earth Goddess + <i>biko</i> , pray) would be a supplication names consistent with Igbo naming; but it is not as conventional and common as Anabike= Anabuike (<i>Ana</i> , the Earth Goddess is strength—an onomastic restatement of the traditional creed that all power derives from the great goddess.	
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Ankolo (72)	Au-kolo = O-ko-lo	Au-kolo > Okolo = Young man; abbr. for okolobia (able-bodied young man)—a common onomastic prefix in such common Igbo day names as <i>Okolonkwo</i> , <i>Okoloafo</i> , <i>Okoloeke</i> and <i>Okolooye</i> , and their many abbreviations: <i>Okonkwo</i> , <i>Okaafo</i> , <i>Okeeke</i> and <i>Okooye</i> ..	
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Annoliben (15)	A-no-li-be	Anolibe = Anolibe: <i>anoo</i> (if one stays or survives) OR <i>anolue</i> (if one stays on or survives to the fullness of time) <i>elibe</i> (one will eat or enjoy the good things of life)	
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Anobi (20)	A-no-bi	Either (1) A-mo-bi = Amobi or (2) A-nu-no-bi = Anunobi. <i>Amobi</i> (<i>Ama</i> , no one knows + <i>obi</i> , the heart) is a common proverb name found in all dialects of Igbo while Anunobi (<i>Anuna</i> , do not gloat + <i>n'obi</i> , in the heart [over other people's	Both names share the same moral philosophical connotations: No one can tell what is in another person's mind, Amobi, seems intended in this context, <i>n</i> being a more likely nasal distortion of <i>m</i> than of two syllables <i>nu n' in</i>

		misfortune]) is more restricted to the Anambra State.	Anunobi.
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Anohoké (79)	A-no-ho-ke	A-no-hu-o-ke = Anohuoke (Abbr. Anohu): anoo (may one stay or survive) hu (to see) oke (share).	A supplication name: May one live to see one's share of the good things of this life. The last name of Dr. Virginia Anohu, formerly assistant professor of English, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, now Chairperson of a the largest private mortgage corporation in Abuja, federal capital city of Nigeria
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Anonime(106)	A-no-ni-me	Anonime (ano n'ime): ano (one is) n'ime (inside). A celebrative name: the bearer's parents have arrived and are in the center of cultural fulfillment with the birth of their child.	
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Aougie (58)	O-ji	Unmistakable as <i>Oji</i> (iroko tree: the hardiest tree in the tropical rain-forest and a source of excellent timber).	A common heroic and symbolic name, anticipating toughness and hardiness in the bearer's physical and psychological mettle.
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Aram (104)	A-ha-m	Unmistakable as <i>Aham</i> (my name): aha (name) + m (my), i.e. my name.	Traditional abbrev. for one or another of several supplication names: e.g. Ahamefula (May my name not be lost)
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Bouchié (76)	Bu-chi-e	Bu-chi-(x) = Bu-chi (<i>bu</i> , is + <i>chi</i> , personal deity), an abbrev. for (1) common rhetorical question names as <i>Onyebuchi</i> (<i>Onye</i> , who + <i>bu</i> , is + <i>chi</i>), who is another person's <i>chi</i> ? or (2) affirmative proverb names such as <i>Iroabuchi</i> (<i>Iro</i> , enemy + <i>abu</i> , is not + <i>chi</i>),	

		the enemy is not <i>chi</i> .	
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Eglémadé (18)	E-ñ(v)-lé-ma-dé = E-ñe-li-ma-di	E-ñe-li-m-(m)a-di > Eñelimadi (dial. for SI Eñeremadu: Eñere, was passed over + mmadu, person), lit. was anyone passed over in any person's favor.	A rhetorical onomastic apologia, asserting the justice of divine providence in the distribution of the blessing of childbirth.
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Egoudin (22)	E-gu-di	E-gu-d(v) = Egudu	Name of Professor Romanus Egudu, of Ebe, Enugu State, between Nsukka and the capital city of Enugu.
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Emédikué (27)	E-mé-di-k(x)é	E-mé-di-ké > E-me-(x)i-ke = E-me-ni-ke (Eme n'ike): <i>Eme</i> (one does not or should not do things + <i>n'ike</i> , by force). Note: Emedike (eme, one cannot do in = dike, a strong man or hero) is a possible reconstruction; but it is an unusual name.	A cautionary name, urging moderation and caution in the conduct of one's life.
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Eméqueke (34)	E-me-ke-ke or E-me-kwe-ke	Either (1) Emeke Eke or (2) Eme Ekeke, the former if the bearer is from Omambala (Anambra) river basis of Anambra State; the later if from Akwete, in the Ndoki Local Government Area of Abia State. Neither Eme Ekweke nor Emekwe Eke is meaningful. No single name with this string of phonemes has been found in any dialect.	
Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Ezé (16)	E-ze	E-ze = Ezè (king, high priest, or leader in any field of human affairs). The meaningfulness of this transcription is suggested by the low tone on the second	Abbrev. for one or another of several eulogistic names, e.g.: Ezekwesili (Kingship or leadership befits...), Ezeogu (War chief or leader), and

Names in the <i>Amelié</i> Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
Hiamanneké (94)	Hi-a-ma-n-ne-ké	Hiannenekē > Hiomannekē, something truly authentic = Dial (Isuikwuato, Abia State): hie (something) + oma (good) + nneke (truly authentic).	Ezeoha (Leader of the people). Ortiz (1916) notes the strong presence of the Isuikwuato sub-group of the Igbo in Havana, Cuba, where the Cabildo Carabali Sicuato (Isuikwuato) flourished in the 19 th century into the 20 th century.
Hioman (101)	Hi-o-ma	Hi-o-ma > Hi-(x)-ma > Hieoma = Hie oma, good thing = Dial. (Isuikwuato, Abia State) for ihe oma: <i>hie</i> (something) + oma (good). See notes on Hiamannekē, above.	A celebrative name: the newborn eulogized as something good or beautiful.
Igou (90)	I-gu	Igū = <i>Igū</i> : bullet (a common name with the implied meaning that the bearer’s personality is in itself a bullet in the battle of life).	The name of a well-known Onitsha Market popular writer, Thomas Igu (the surname spelt with a final /h/, as Iguh, following the second new orthography of Igbo before the Onwu (Official) Orthography of 1961.
Issou (32)	I-su	Isu = <i>Ìsu</i> : An ethnic prefix, possibly derived from <i>Ìsusu</i> (mutual benefit association) found in the names of such Central Igbo sub-ethnic groups as <i>Ìsuama</i> (<i>Ìsusu</i> of the road [members of the <i>Ìsu</i> community who have settled outside the ancestral homeland in present day Orlu local government area of Imo State]), <i>Ìsuochi</i> (<i>Ìsusu</i> of people descended from an ancestral figure known as Ochi), and <i>Ìsuikwuato</i> (<i>Ìsusu</i> of three matrilineages—Imenyi, Amaawo and Oguduasaa).	Before British colonialism introduced the European form of surname, prominent members of any community or sub-ethnic group such as the <i>Ìsu</i> were identified by the names of such groups, as e.g. Ejiofo nwa Isu, Ejiofo of Isu. Various Isu groups have a strong presence in the Black Atlantic through their ethnic organizations in, for example, Cuba: Cabildo Carabali Isuama (Carabalian Organization of Isuama), Cabildo Carabali Issueche (Carabalian Organization of Isuochi), and Cabildo Carabali Sicuato (Carabalian Organization of Isuikwuato).
Izou (53)	Ì-zù	Ì-zù = <i>Ìzù</i> (wisdom; wit; discretion; strategy; common consent; consensus). A common	Names containing the word are essentially guiding maxims or mottos for the journey of life

		<p>abbreviation for any of several names beginning with Ì- Ìzù, e.g. Ìzùchukwu (wit and wisdom from Chukwu; native intelligence; wit), Ìzùogu (strategy of war [for the battle of life]), Ìzùndù (philosophy of life), Ìzùora (communal consensus), etc. Not to be confused with Izù (the four-day market week) which in itself does not feature as a personal name, although names referring to Izù or the four market days (<i>Eke, Orié</i> or <i>Oyé, afo</i> and <i>Nkwo</i>) are predominant in Igbo naming practices across the board.</p>	<p>which keep in the bearer's view all through his life some of the key communalistic and survivalist values of his culture.</p>
Kouqué (109)	Ku-kwe	<p>(+)kù-kwe > À-kù-kwe = Àkùkwe: If wealth or riches (Àkù) permit (<i>kwe</i>). This an ambiguous name, which can mean: (1) I will survive if wealth comes my way, or (2) if am not encumbered by wealth or riches.</p>	
Madabou (46)	Ma-da-bu	<p>The <i>a</i> in <i>da</i> is possibly an erratic rendering of <i>u</i>), the suggested reconstruction of Madabu as Madubu (mmadu (people) bu (are), is however an untraditional ellipses. The name, as recorded, therefore seems incomplete. Intended may be a name such as Madubuike (people [offspring] are [the source of] power).</p>	
Madaka (66)	Ma-da-ka	<p>As in Madabou, above, <i>a</i> in <i>da</i> is possibly an erratic rendering of <i>u</i>), hence the suggested reconstruction of Madaka as Maduka (a common Igbo name = mmadu (people) ka (are) supreme).</p>	<p>An affirmative proverb name stating the high cultural value placed on raising a large family, for the more persons there are in the family, the stronger and more prosperous it will be.</p>
Madé (25 and 98).	Ma-di	<p><i>Madì</i> (or <i>Mmadì</i>, Achi dial. for SI <i>Madù</i> or <i>Mmadù</i>, persons or people). A common abbrev. of any of several names beginning with <i>Madì</i>, <i>Madù</i>, <i>Mmadì</i>, <i>Madì</i> or <i>Mmadù</i>, e.g. <i>Madìkwe</i>, <i>Madìkwe</i> ([I will survive] if the people [around me] agree), <i>Mmadìbuike</i>, <i>Mmadùbuike</i> ([One's own] people are a</p>	<p><i>Madì</i> features in the last names of the last Chief of General Staff of the Biafran Armed Forces, General Alexander Madiebo, author of <i>The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafran War</i>, 1966-70. Madiebo hails from Achi, Enugu State, an Igbo sub-group with a Cuban Diaspora organization known as</p>

		person's strength), etc.	the Cabildo Carabali Elogo (the Carabalian organization of Elugu).
Obou (113)	O-bu	O-(g)bu > Ògbu = Ògbuù (killer or conqueror). Note: without the emendation, O-bu (Obu) would mean bushfowl (Òbù) or carrier (Òbu), neither of which is unlikely as a personal name.	A common heroic name among the warlike Cross River of Eastern Igbo of Abia State. First name of the late Professor Ogbu Kalu [Ogbuu Kaalu] of Ohafia. Cf Onicha name, Ògbuāgu, glossed in Williamson (2006: 8) as "title; holder of Ògbuāgu title; name (lit. leopard-killer)."
Oclo (85, see Ocolo, 103)	O-k(v)-lo	Okolo (young male), dial. variant of the SI Okoro.	An exclamative name implying "at last a male child" (after several females) or an abbreviation for one of several names beginning with <i>Oko</i> or <i>okolo</i> , e.g. <i>Okonkwo</i> , <i>Okolonkwo</i> , <i>Okafo</i> , <i>Okoloafo</i> , etc.
Ocolo (103, see Oclo, 85)		Ditto	Ditto.
Ocoloucoan (102)	O-ko-lu-kwo	O-ko-lu-kwo = Okolonkwo: Okolo (male) + Nkwo). Male child born on an <i>Nkwo</i> market day and dedicated to the goddess for whom the day is named.	In its common abbreviated form <i>Okonkwo</i> , the name of the tragic hero of Chinua Achebe's classic novel, <i>Things Fall Apart</i> (1958).
Ogon (26)	O-go	O-go = Depending on the inherent tone-marks, either (a) Ogo (LL), charity, or (2) Ogo (HL), In-law.	Abbrv. for e.g. Ogoegbulam; Ogochukwu; Ogonna; etc
Okoli (65)	O-ko-li	Okoli > Oko Olie = Okolo (male) + Olie, dial. variant for Orie, second day of the four-day Igbo market week: <i>Eke</i> , <i>Orie</i> , <i>Afo</i> , <i>Nkwo</i>).	Male child born on an <i>Olie</i> or <i>Orie</i> market day and dedicated to the goddess for whom the day is named.

Onou (61)	O-nu	Onu (mouth; a synecdoche for the beneficent as well as the maleficent power of the spoken word or the mouth that speaks)	A common abbreviation for any of several names beginning with <i>Onu</i> , e.g. <i>Onuchukwu</i> (Mouth of Chukwu, the supreme <i>Chi</i>), <i>Onujiogu</i> (Mouth holds the arsenal of war), <i>Onuegbu</i> (Mouth cannot kill [I am now so secure that nothing from any mouth can harm me]), etc.
Opran (60)	O-p(v)a-ra	Opara (Owerri dial. variant of SI Okpara): first born male of a family; chief priest of family shrines ⁷	Name usually reserved for first born males but sometimes an abbreviation for one of several names beginning with <i>Opara</i> , e.g. <i>Oparaanozie</i> (he first born is now well situated), etc.
Ora (14)	O-ha	Oha = Oha OR Ora (community or people).	A common abbreviation of any of several names beginning with <i>Oha</i> , e.g. <i>Ohaegbulam</i> (May the community not kill me), <i>Ohakwe</i> ([I will survive] If the community agrees), etc.
Ouangnon (73)	Nwa-n-nyo	Nwa-(v)-nyo > Nwaanyo, Nnewi dial. for SI Nwaalo (Nwa, child + alo, return), the child has returned (to the world); the child has been reborn; metaphorically, the beloved one has been born again.	A philosophical spirit name referring to the cyclical world view of the Igbo in which every birth is seen as <i>ilo uwa</i> , or in the present dialect, <i>inyo uwa</i> (returning to the human world, <i>uwa</i> , from the spirit world, <i>ani mmuo</i> (Ala mmuo in SI).
Ouarie (70)		Nwahie, Nwarie>Nworie?	
Oubrequé (49)	U-b(v)-re-ke	U-be-re-k(p)e > (X)-be-re-kpe > = Oberekpe	An Oguta Igbo name, the middle name of poet and artist of the Nsukka group (class of 1972), Bons Oberekpe Nwabiani
Oucandou (116)	U-ka-n-du	Ukandu (uka, talk, or more generally, the question or matter most important to talk about) + ndu, life).	This philosophical name means that survival is most the important thing worth talking about in life. This name is generally given in situations in which the family has suffered a high toll of infant mortality
Oucaordon (5)	U-ka-o-do	Ukaodo (uka, see <i>Oucandou</i>	The transformational impact of

		above, + odo, another), lit. another important matter is now within our view: we are now face to face with new realities.	the birth of a child, no matter the circumstances, is the subject of this philosophical name. Every birth opens up new vistas of life beyond the basic physiological needs of satisfy hunger, thirst, and reproductive drives, as in Abraham H. Maslow’s ‘hierarchy of needs, as outlined in his <i>Personality and Motivation</i> (New York: Harper, 1954).
Ouda (89)	U-da	U-d(v) > <i>Ude</i> (under <i>Oudé</i> , below). The alternative <i>uda</i> (a type of spice) is of no significance as an onomastic code.	
Oudé (45, 47, and 100)	U-dé	<i>Udé</i> (the sound or vibrancy of majestic power). The French transcription has a correct high tone mark on the <i>e</i> of the second syllable—a perfect guide to the present reconstruction.	A common abbreviation for any of several names beginning with <i>Udé</i> , e.g. <i>Udéchukwu</i> (the <i>udé</i> of Chukwu, the supreme <i>chi</i>), <i>Udéala</i> (the <i>udé</i> of Ala, the earth goddess), or <i>Udéagu</i> (the <i>udé</i> of the leopard), etc.
Oudoubichi (110)		Udubichi > Udubuichi = udu (productive effort) + bu (is) + ichi, dial. for isi (head or the primary thing).	Proverb name given as a life motto: the primary thing in life is productive effort (udu). The name should not be confused with the like-sounding name <i>Ndubuichi</i> , dial for <i>Ndubuisi</i> (Life is the primary thing).
Oudoubuhou (115)	U-du-bu-u-hu	U-du-bu-u-h(w)u > Udubuhwu (udu, perseverance + bu, is + uhwu, Isuikwuato dial. for SI ulo, home), lit. perseverance is home—the common wisdom that only through perservance can a person build a successful home.	
Oudouga (57)	U-du-ga	U-d(v)-ga > U-do-gu? > U-do-ogu = ude (fame or reputation) + ogu (war).	
Ouedgihoua (105)	Hwe-ji-wa	Hwe-ji-wa > Oue (hwe) + dgih (ji) + oua (wa) > Hwe-ji-(v)-wa = Hwe-ji-u-wa = Hwejiuwa, Mbaise dial. for SI Ihejiuwa or	In the Igbo value system, having children is the key to human biological, social and cultural fulfillment and the assurance of

		Anambra dial. Ifejiuwa: ihe (thing) ji (that holds) uwa (the world)	the continuity of the human family through the eternal cycle of returning to the human world (ilo-uwa) and returning to the spirit world (ila mmuo) in a pattern of returns that go on forever. The philosophical name, <i>Hwejiuwa</i> , is thus a summation of the essence of the Igbo cyclical world view.
Oueké (24)	We-ké	We-ké > We-(v)-ke = Weeke (Waeke), Etiti dial. for SI Nweeke (Nwa eke): child, usu. male) of Eke (first day of the four-day Igbo market week: <i>Eke, Orié, Afo, Nkwo</i>). See also <i>Ouenquoin</i> below.	Male child born on the first of the four-day Igbo market week, <i>Eke</i> , and dedicated to the goddess Eke, for whom the day is named
Ouenquoin (11 and 17)	We-n-ku-o	We-n-ku-o > We-n-k(w)u-o > W(v)-n-kwu-(x) > Wankwo; Etiti dial. for SI Nwankwo: child (<i>Nwa</i>), usu. male) , of <i>Nkwo</i> , fourth day of the four-day Igbo market week: <i>Eke, Orié, Afo, Nkwo</i>). See also <i>Oueké</i> .	Male child born on the last of the four-day Igbo market week, <i>Nkwo</i> , and dedicated to the goddess Nkwo, for whom the day is named
Ouequeque (95)	We-ke-ke	We-ke-ke > W(a)-(e)-ke-(v)-ke > Wa-e-ke-e-ke > Waekeke Asa dial. for SI Nwa EkeekeNweekeke = Nwa (child, usu. male) of Ekeke = Eke Eke: Eke (personal creation or life plan) + Eke (first day of the of the four-day Igbo market week: <i>Eke, Orié, Afo, Nkwo</i>).	The name Ekeeke is common among the riverian Akweete Igbo of Asa near Aba in Abia State. The name Nweekeke should therefore not be confused with the like-sounding common name, Nwokeke – Nwa okeke (male child of Okeke)
Ougeroi (50)	U-ge-hu-a	U-ge-hu-a > U-ge-rhu-a = Ugerua = <i>Uge</i> , Isuikwuato dial. for SI <i>Ugo</i> (eagle or eagle feather, as symbol of achievement) + <i>rhu</i> a Isuikwuato dial. for SI <i>ruo</i> (reaches). See under Ugeromba below.	Abbrev. for Ugerhuamba = Ugeruomba. See under Ugeromba below.
Ougeromba (1)	U-ge-ro-m-ba	U-ge-ro-m-ba > U-ge-r(v)-o-m-ba > U-ge-ruo-m-ba = Ugerua = <i>Uge</i> , Isuikwuato-related dial. for SI <i>Ugo</i> (eagle or eagle feather, as symbol of achievement) + <i>ruo</i>	Lit. the accolade of success or achievement has reached home at last with the birth of a baby. The father of the child has achieved success crowned with

		(reaches). See under Ougeroi above.	eagle feathers, but ultimate fulfillment comes only when he is blessed with a child
Oukan (38)	U-ka	Uka: lit. talk, or more generally, the question or matter most important to talk about. See Oucandou above.	A common abbreviation for one of several names beginning with <i>Uka</i> , e.g. <i>Ukandu</i> , <i>Ukachukwu</i> , <i>Ukama</i> , <i>Ukaejiofo</i> , etc. See notes under Oucandou (<i>Ukandu</i>).
Oukoibi (37)	U-ko-bi	(x)-ko-bi > O-ko-bi (okoobi): young man (okolobia) of the compound (obi).	Name celebrating the birth of a baby boy, especially after an initial series of baby girls.
Oukoukoin (78)	U-ku-ku-o	(U-ku-k(w)o > U-ku-kwo > (x)-k(x)-kwo = O-ko-kwo = Okonkwo (Okolobia, young man = Nkwo, fourth day of the four-day market week)	
Ounehoude (47)	U-ne-hu-d é	U-ne-(x)u-d é > U-ne-u-de = Uneude (une, lyric or sweetness of ude, fame, reputation or majestic power).	Name anticipating the growth of the bearer into a great achiever relishing and inspired by the sweetness of the achievements of his forbears.
Ounoquia (59)	U-no-ki-a	U-no-k(x)-a > Unoka: uno, dial. for ulo (home) + ka (is supreme).	A proverb-name: The home is supreme; ironical name of Okonkwo's father in Achebe's <i>Things Fall Apart</i> , where the meaning is negated by the bearer's failure to live up to his expectations as a responsible householder: husband and father.
Ouoli (82)	Wo-li	Woli(e) or Nwoli(e) = Nwa (child, usu. male) born on Olie, dial. variant for Orie, second day of the four-day Igbo market week: <i>Eke</i> , <i>Orie</i> , <i>Afo</i> , <i>Nkwo</i>).	Male child born on an <i>Olie</i> or <i>Orie</i> , and dedicated to the goddess for whom the day is named.
Oupabia (42)	U-pa-bi-a	U-pa-(v)bi-a > Ukpaabia (dial. variant of Ukpaabi, a name of Arochukwu origins referring to the Aro oracle of Chukwu, best known as Obiniukpaabi.) The etymology of Ukpaabi is obscure, but given Aro propagation of Obiniukpaabi as the great panacea against poverty and misfortune, the name probably means "the end of poverty": ukpa (poverty) + bi (ends).	Like the personal name, <i>Chukwu</i> (supreme <i>chi</i> or God) <i>Ukpabia/Ukpabi</i> may be an elliptical name extolling one of several alleged attributes of Obiniukpaabi for which people all over Igboland undertook pilgrimages to its oracle at Arochukwu.

Oupagne (4)	U-pa-nyi	U-(k)pa-(a)nyi = Ukpaanyi: poverty (<i>ukpa</i>) cannot weigh down (anyi).	An affirmation of the achievement orientation of the Igbo: My present poverty cannot deter me or the bearer from striving to succeed to become one of the leaders of the land. This affirmation is reminiscent of the work ethic and determination that enables Okonkwo, the hero of Achebe's <i>Things Fall Apart</i> , to override the abject poverty of his ne'erdo-well father, Unoka, to become one of the lords of the clan.
Ouqué (28)	U-ke	Uke = Uke (age-grade, age-group, or peer group)	A common abbreviation of one of several names beginning with <i>Uke</i> , e.g. <i>Ukeejiofo</i> , <i>Ukeachu</i> , or <i>Ukeegbu</i> ,
Ouquédi (6 and 7)	U-ke-di	U-ke-di > (W)u-ke-di = Wo-ke-di or Nwokedi: a man or a male (woke or nwoke) exist (di)	We now have a male offspring in the family to continue the line..
Théoucou (91)	Thi-u-ku	(x)hi-u-ku > Shi-u-ku or Chi-u-ku = Chukwu: chi (cosmic light as the divine power of life) + ukwu (great or supreme) .	A common elliptical name inchoate with all the traditional associations of Chukwu with the power of creation, protection and omnipotence. Usually the key word of such names as Chukwuma (God knows), Chukwudi (God exists), Chukwuemeka (God has done well), etc
Vaniclei (2)	Va-ni-kle	(x)a-ni-k(x)e (del. initial /v/ and penultimate /l/ as inconsistent with Igbo phonology) > A-ni-kpe or A-ni-kwe. Most likely Anikwe, a common Anambra Igbo name: Ani (Earth Goddess) + kwe (agrees) = if the Earth Goddess agrees or permits.	

Table 1B: Unmistakable Igbo Female Names

Names in the Amelié Roll	Syllabic Transcription	Reconstruction and Annotation	Commentary and Cross-References
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Abaccovan (74)	A-ba-kọ-vọ	A-(g)ba-kọ-v(x) > A-(g)ba-kọ-va = <i>Agbakọva</i> (Ọmama or Anambara dial. for <i>Agbakọba</i>): lit. Let us quickly begin to gather together : <i>agba</i> (let us run) + <i>kọ</i> (together) + <i>va</i> (begin).	Agbakọva (<i>Agbakọba</i>) is commonly today used as a male name.
Aboida (5)	A-bọ-ị-dọ	A-(g)bọ-ị-d(?) > A-gbọ-ị-du(v) = A-gbọ-ị-du-u = <i>Agbọiduu</i> (<i>Agbọghọiduu</i>): young female (<i>Agbọghọ</i> , abbrev. as <i>Agbọ</i>) of <i>Iduu</i> (Kingdom of <i>Iduu</i> or Benin; or the mythical neverland of romance and fantasy in the Igbo folktale).	An encomiastic name, idealizing the newborn baby girl as out of this world in beauty and promise.
Aboman (72, 77)	A-bọ-ma	A-(x)ọ-(x)ma > A-gbọ-mma = <i>Agbomma</i> : beauty (<i>mma</i>) inherited from forbears (<i>agbọ</i>).	An encomiastic name celebrating the beauty of womanhood, as in <i>Aboida</i> , above. Cited as in Williamson (2006: 10) and glossed as a “female name” with reference to <i>Àgbò</i> as “descent; family; lineage; inheritable characteristic of a family.”
Acomelie (55)	A-kọ-me-li	A-k(v)-me-li > A-kụ-me-li = A-kụ-(m)-m(v)-e-li = <i>Akummeeli</i> (<i>Akụ m ma-eli</i>): Wealth or riches (<i>akụ</i>) all mine (<i>m</i>) that I will enjoy (<i>ma-eli</i>).	An online source (chiamaka.com/IgboNames) offers a contemporary dialectal parallel, <i>Akumjeli</i> (<i>Akụ m ja-eli</i>), compared to <i>Akụabia</i> (“Wealth, riches, treasure has arrived”) and glossed as “This is my wealth, treasure. A treasure that I will enjoy.”
Acorouda (29)	A-kọ-u-dọ	A-k(v)-u-dọ > A-kụ-u-d(x) > A-kụ-u-do = <i>Akụudo</i> : wealth or boon (<i>Akụ</i>) that comes with peace (<i>udo</i>).	A consolatory encomiastic name celebrating the newborn baby girl as a boon that binds husband and wife in peaceful co-existence (despite the traditional Igbo overrating of the need for male offspring).
Acouuan (58)	A-kụ-a	A-kụ-(+)a > A-kụ-(w)a > A-kụ-ụ-wa = <i>Akụụwa</i> : wealth (<i>Akụ</i>) of the world (<i>ụwa</i>).	A consolatory encomiastic name celebrating in hyperbolic imagery, as above.
Ada (20, 30, 32, 44, 80, 96)	A-da	Ada (firstborn female).	A common name usually reserved for first born females but sometimes used an abbreviation for one of several names beginning with <i>Ada</i> , e.g. <i>Adamma</i> (<i>Ada</i>

			of exquisite beauty). <i>Adaoha</i> (<i>Ada</i> of the people), etc. See also Adorgui below
Adorgui <i>dite</i> Ada (28)	A-dọ-gụ-ị <i>dite</i> A-da	A-dọ-gụ-(x) > A-dọ-gụ = A-da(v)gụ = <i>Adaogụ</i> also called <i>Ada</i> : first born female (<i>Ada</i>) that stands in the forefront of the battle (ogụ).	An only daughter is eulogized at birth a warrior of destiny that would be a son in the absence of a male offspring and lead the family to success in the battle of life (see Ifi Amadiume, <i>Male Daughters, Female Husbands</i> : Gender and Sex in an African Society (1988).
Agouhan (17)	A-gụ-a	A-gụ-a	
Aguinyan (52)	A-gị-nyọ	A-gị-nyọ	Reconstructed as a possible distortion of the abbreviated form (<i>Agūnye</i>) of the Onicha name, <i>Agūnyego</i> , glossed in Williamson (2006: xx) as a “name for a child believed an <i>ogbanje</i> (lit. Are we to count you among our family circle [or are you going to leave us again?]).
Anocolchi (90)	A-nọ-ku-l(v)-chi	A-nọ-ku-l(v)-chi > A-nọ-k(w)u-lu-chi = Anọkwuluchi: May we stay on (Anọ) and thrive together to meet (<i>kwulu</i> , dial. variant of SI <i>kwuru</i>) our <i>chi</i> (personal god).	A supplicative name: May I live long enough to tag on with my chi or personal god to the end; in other words, may I live to a ripe old age and be blessed with a good death, <i>onwu chi</i> , i.e. death witnessed by my personal god as satisfying the terms of my pre-incarnational life plan (<i>ekè</i>).
Anomoudou (37)	A-nụ-mụ-dụ	A-nụ-mụ-dụ > A-nụ-m-ụdụ = <i>Anumudu</i> : lit. bravery (<i>anum</i>) in persistent hard word (<i>udu</i>).	A unisex anthroponym, there a Facebook entries for both males and females: first name for females and surname for males. For the meaning of <i>Anum</i> (brave), see the online source: www.onlinenigeria.com/nigeriannames/Igbo
Anoumen (51)	A-nụ-mọ	A-nụ-m(v) > A-nụ-m = <i>Anum</i> (bravery with passionate intensity), as in Anomoudou (<i>Anumudu</i>) above.	See the online source: www.onlinenigeria.com/nigeriannames/Igbo .

Aouhan (12)	Ṱ-hwa	Ṱ-hwa = <i>Ṱhwa</i> , in the Mbaïse dialect (Imo State), joy. Also a male name.	Further reconstruction and validation are needed for this largely unusual name (if it is indeed a name).
Autchrohaman (79)	Q-ch(v)-rọ-ha-mọ	Q-chọ-rọ-ha-mọ > Q-chọ-rọ-(v)-ha-(+)ma > Q-chọ-rọ-ọ-ha-m-ma = <i>Qchọrọphamma</i>	A name that validates the traditional cultural values of selfless service to society, a personal ideal for public leadership of expected to be cultivated by the womenfolk
Bahoudi (26)	Ba-hwu-di	(+)gba-hw(v)-di > M-gba-hwọ-di = <i>Mgbahwọdi</i> (dial. for <i>Mgbaafọdi</i>): woman (<i>mgbogbọ</i> , here abbrev. as <i>mgbọo</i>) born on the third day of the four day Igbo market week (<i>Afọ</i>) with a natural disposition to be a good wife to her husband (di).	Further reconstruction and validation seem needed for this largely uncommon name.
Bakoi (18, 57, 63)	Ba-kụ-a	Ba-kụ-a > (+)-(g)ba-k(w)(v) > M-gba-kwọ = <i>Mgbakwọ</i> (or <i>Mgbankwo</i>): young female (<i>mgboghọ</i>) born on the fourth day of the four-day Igbo market week, <i>Nkwo</i> .	This dialectal variant of the present Igbo female day name is common in the idemili area of Anambra State (see Achebe, 2007), in the song the pre-Okigbo modernist oral poet, Anụebunwa of Okigbo's hometown, Ojooto, discussed below.
Béké (2, 23, 70, 71, 76, 97)	Be-ke	(+)-(g)be-ke > M-gbe-ke = <i>Mgbeeke</i> : young female (<i>mgboghọ</i>) born on the first day of the four-day Igbo market week, <i>Eke</i> .	See above comment on Baboi (<i>Mgbakwọ</i>).
Bokoi (45, 63)	Bọ-kwọ	(+)-(g)bọ-kwọ > M-gbọ-kwọ = <i>Mgbọkwọ</i> : young female (<i>mgboghọ</i>) born on the fourth day of the four-day Igbo market week, <i>Nkwo</i> .	Another variant of this day name common in Arọ-Ndị-Izuọgụ and Isuama Igbo areas of Central Igboland.
Bokoi dite Isourdou (63)	Bo-kwo dite I-so-du	<i>Mgbọkwọ</i> also called <i>Isiọdu</i> . See <i>Mgbọkwọ</i> under Bokoi above and <i>Isiọdu</i> under Isourdou below.	
Boli? (81 and 87)	Bo-li	(+)-(g)bo-l(v) > M-gbo-li = <i>Mgboli</i> : young female (<i>mgboghọ</i>) born on the third day of the four-day Igbo market week, <i>Olie</i> .	
Echaudo (56)	E-ku-do	(x)-ku-do > A-kụ-(v)-do = A-kụ-u-do = <i>Akụudo</i> : wealth or boon (<i>Akụ</i>) that comes with peace (<i>udo</i>).	See comment under <i>Acoroudo</i> (<i>Akụudo</i>) above.
Eguambala (15)	E-gwa-m-ba-la	E-gw(v)-m-ba-la E-gwu-m-ba-la =	A celebrative name

		<i>Egwumbala</i> : dance (<i>egwu</i>) of the communal festival arena (<i>mbala</i>).	referencing the traditional dance of welcome (nativity dance) for the newborn, <i>egwu-nwa</i> , as discussed in Nwoga (1973) under the title from a phrase taken from one of the songs, <i>mma nwanyị wụ nwa</i> (the beauty of womanhood is child-bearing).
Eguélé (22)	E-ge-le	Egèle: in Mbaïse Igbo dialect, an ideophonic expression with connotations of beauty combined with agility and gracefulness (personal communication, Mrs Chioma Azuonye)	Another encomiastic name celebrating the beauty of womanhood.
Eguimā (76)	E-gu-i-ma	E-g(w)u-i-m(v) > E-g(w)u-i-m(e) > E-gwu-i-mē > Egwuimē: the awesomeness (<i>egwu</i>) of pregnancy (<i>ime</i>) as the portal to the wonders of creation. Note: Because <i>imā</i> is in breach of Igbo vowel harmony rules, <i>imē</i> seems to be a logical alternative, esp. since the final output is a well-known Igbo female name, in fact the middle name of the present writer's mother, Mrs Hannah Egwuime Azuonye (nee Igbo). The validity of the transcription and reconstruction is further confirmed by the presence of a macron (indicating a tonal downstep) on the final syllable, <i>mā</i> (transcribed as <i>mē</i>).	An elliptical celebrative name, honing the centrality of reproduction and childbirth in the maintenance of the continuity of the human family and the wonders of creation.
Eliman (50)	E-li-ma	E-li-(m)-ma > E-li-m-ma = Elimma: Thread (<i>Eli</i> , Anambra dial. for SI eri) of beauty (<i>mma</i>).	A name celebrating the newborn female as part of the fascinating large fabric of the universe.
Houanizeï (1)	Hu-a-ni-ze-i	Uanizeï, Aniezi	
Isicouché (54)	I-si-ku-che	Isikuche>Isikiiche	ìyòuòñÑÒÌÛìròuòquìñÑÒÌÛ
Isourdou (63)	I-so-du	Isoodu > Isiodu = isi (head) + odu (pestle).	An interesting name referencing primogeniture and order of things in the family: the first daughter is here described by dint of synecdoche as the “head pestle” of the house because she will grow up to lead other females in carrying on the duties of nurturing the family.
Lolo (5)	Lo-lo	Lolo > Loolo (In parts of Abia and Imo States, lady of the clan,	A celebrative and heroic name, praising the bearer as

		the feminine counterpart to nze, lord of the clan).	returning to the world (reincarnating) with the mien of a <i>Loolo</i> .
Mahoba (83)	Ma-ho-ba	Manuba	
Nedora (35)	Ne-do-ha	Nedora or Nedoha	
Nonom (14)]	No-no-m	Nono or Noono. Dialectal variant of Loolo in parts of Anambra, Imo, Enugu and Delta States. See under Lolo, above.	See notes under Lolo above.
Obadgy (36)	O-ba-ji	Obaji	
Oca (93)	O-ca; O-ka	Oka	
Odaman (39)	O-da-ma	Uduma>Udumma	
Odouta (34)	O-du-ta	Oduta	
Oennen (19)	We-ne	Wenne>Nwenne	
Ogli (33)	O-g(v)-li	Ogili	
Ogohougué (53)	O-go-u-gu-e	Ogugue, Ogugua	
Ouamotcha (21)	Wa-mo-cha	Nwa(m)ocha > Nwaocha	
Ouankan (62)	Wo-ko	Wako>Nwako	
Ouannen (25)	Wa-ne	Nwannem	
Oudaman (3)	U-da-ma	Uduma>Udumma	
Oudo (46)	U-do	Udo	
Oudouman (65)	U-du-ma	Uduma>Udumma	
Ouesalé (76)	We-sa-le	Nwesale	
Ouganougo (78)	U-ga-nu-go	Ugeanugo	
Ougueulon (38)	U-ge-u-lo	Ugelo>Ugeulo or Ugoulo	
Ouichandou (43)	Wi-che-n-du	Uchendu	
Ouzamba (49)	U-za-m-ba	Uzomba	
Ozou (11)	O-zu	Ozu> “Corpse” (a common metaphor of abuse)	
Tehoucou (84)	Te-u-ku	Tchoucou>Chukwu	
Waguezuou <i>dite</i> Béké (70)	Wa-gu-zo <i>dite</i> Bé-ké	Wagezu>Wa ga-ezu? “Will they be enough?” also called Mgbeke	
Walchoucou (69)	Wa-l(v)-chu-ku	Walchuku>Wachukwu>Wachuk>Nwachukwu, Nwachuku	
Wawoul (85)	Wa-wu-l(v)	Wawulu>Nwaowulu>Nwanwuulu	

Distorted Igbo Names

These are also unmistakably Igbo names, but they have been distorted in such a way as to leave us in doubt as to their proper forms. One cannot rule out the possibility of these being older forms of

the common names which they suggest. Some of them may well be dialect-bound names which may be easily recognized in the dialect areas where they may be more common. In presenting these names, I have, where possible, indicated by the use of an arrow (>) the probable common name which they suggest.

Distorted

Anou (108)	A-nu	Añu (wasp)	
Auguanou (39)	Oguanu		
Equiben (23)	Ekwibe (Ekwe ibe)		
Omokou (35)			

TABLE 2A: DISTORTED IGBO MALE NAMES

<i>Amélié</i> Roll Transcription	Reconstruction Based on Chevron's Pronunciation	Meaning
Ouanahan (10)	Nwanaho	
Aujauké (12)	Ojoke	
Ouacoutihi (92)	Wakutihi	

TABLE 2B: DISTORTED IGBO FEMALE NAMES

<i>Amélié</i> Roll Transcription	Reconstruction Based on Chevron's Pronunciation	Meaning
Ouesalé (76)	Nwesalé	

Probable Igbo Names

The third category of names are those which are probably Igbo, by reason of their phonological features, but which, by the same token, can also belong to any of the other language groups in south-eastern, central and south-central Nigeria which share identical features. A large inventory of names from various Igbo dialects and localities is needed to be able to sift the real Igbo names from this list of probables. Again, as in the distorted forms, some of these may well be older forms of some common names.

TABLE 3A: PROBABLE IGBO MALE NAMES

<i>Amélié</i> Roll Transcription	Reconstruction Based on Chevron's Pronunciation	Meaning
Adou (71 and 114)	Adu	
Aglebou (43)	Agulubu	
Alamouhi (40)	Alamuhi	
Aoulourou (48)	Auluru	
Aouboulindaca (67)	Abulindaka, Abulindacha	

Bibi (9)	Bibi	
Dgiadgisey (93)	Jiajise	
Egabou (84)	Igebu	
Irouen (52, 74)	Ihua	
Ouhan (77)	Uho	
Ra (55)	Ha	
Youdolo (111)	Udolo	

TABLE 3B: PROBABLE IGBO FEMALE NAMES

Amélié Roll Transcription	Reconstruction Based on Chevron's Pronunciation	Meaning
Bacoya (86)	Bakoya	
Ebouaquia (24)	Ebuakia	
Eligoula (6)	Eligula	
Essounan (64)	Esuno, Esonam	
Hebreleke (95)	Ebreleke	
Iguannan (67)	Igeno	
Illegué (88)	Ilege	
Makoi (7)	Makua	
Médégo dite Ouédégo(13)	Medego/Wedego	
Ouagoza (48)	Wagoza	
Ouameno (91)	Wameno	
Ouazouki (31)	Wazuki	
Oudougui (27)	Udugi	
Ouensalé (16)	Wensale	

Non-Igbo Names

These names are unmistakably non-Igbo and easily recognizable in many cases as belonging to such neighboring nations as the Efik-Ibibio, Ijo, Idoma, Igala, Edo, etc as indicated under the rubric of “meaning and remarks”. Those for whom there is not easily recognizable ethnic identity are checked with an “X”.

TABLE 4A: NON-IGBO MALE NAMES

Amélié Roll Transcription	Reconstruction Based on Chevron's Pronunciation	Meaning
Inouebong (3)	Enebong Efik/Ibibio	
Inkésé (13)	Nkese Efik/Ibibio	
Ankézoné (21)	Onkezzone X (Urhobo?)	
Ogon (26)	Ogon/Ogo Ekoi/Igbo	

Eken (30)	Ekeng/Ekong/Eke Efik/Ibibio or Igbo/Edo	
Oukoi (36)	Okoi/Okoye Ekoi/Igbo?	
Kikou (44)	Kiku X	
Chactcha (54)	Chakcha X	
Makiku (83)	Makiku X	

TABLE 4B: NON-IGBO FEMALE NAMES

Amelié Roll Transcription	Reconstruction Based on Chevron's Pronunciation	Meaning
Ouenniké (9)	Wenike Izon (Ijo)	
Escranon (10)	Eskrano X	
Overcamer (47)	Ovakamu X (Ishan?)	
Ebriki (60)	Ebiriki X	
Obe_a (73)	Obeya Igala/Idoma?	

Sentiments and Protest Offered In Lieu of Names

These items are by far the most interesting of the data contained in the *Amelié* roll. They are not names at all but statement and comments in which the respondents, capitalizing on the slave-masters' lack of knowledge of their Language, appear to be expressing various sentiments, giving vent to pent-up feelings regarding their debased condition. Not surprisingly, many of these responses are in the form of metaphors of abuse.

TABLE 5A: PROTEST OR ABUSE AS MALE NAMES

Emeboulaman (61)	E-me-bu-la-mo	E megbula m "Do not oppress me" (a cynical plea for mercy)	
Hegoulaman (66)	He-gu-la-ma	"E gbula m"> "Do not kill me".(a cynical plea for mercy)	
Hiédéné (82)	Hi-e-de-ne	Hiedene>Hie edene "Whatever you write" (in other words, "write whatever you like, my name is not important")	

Amelié Roll Transcription	Reconstruction Based on Chevron's Pronunciation	Meaning
Yalaramen (8)	Yalahamo>Yalu aha m o!"Leave my name alone o!" (a cry of defiance)	
Apa (29, 69)	Apa>"Wine beetle" (a possible metaphor of abuse).	
Atolo (62)	Atulu >"Sheep" (a common metaphor of abuse)	
Ebou (63)	Ebu>"Wasp" (a common metaphor of abuse)	
Echiaou (86)	Eshiau>Eshia o'u nu "What are you talking about" (Owerri dial.)	
Ebehouzi (88)	Ebeuzi>Ebewozi "Cry no more" (a cry of self-consolation)	
Alou (96)	Alu!> "Abomination" (a common cry of outrage)	

Eguimohouin(97)	Egimunwa X	
Obou (113)	Obu>“Bush-fowl” (a possible metaphor of abuse).	

TABLE 5B: PROTEST OR ABUSE AS FEMALE NAMES

<i>Amelié</i> Roll Transcription	Reconstruction Based on Chevron’s Pronunciation	Meaning
Ozou (11)	Ozu> “Corpse” (a common metaphor of abuse)	
Aouhan (12)	Awo>Toad (a common metaphor of abuse)	
Anoumen (51)	A nu m>“I hear you!” (a cynical cry of defiance)	
Acomelie (55)	Aku meli> “Undone by wealth”	
Emeboulaman (61)	E megbula m “Do not oppress me” (a cynical plea for mercy)	
Hegoulaman (66)	E gbula m’> “Do not kill me”.(a cynical plea for mercy)	
Waguezuou <i>dite</i> Béké(70)	Wagezu>Wa ga-ezu? “Will they be enough?”also called Mgbeke	
Hiédéné (82)	Hiedene>Hie edene “Whatever you write” (in other words, “write whatever you like, my name is not important”)	

We shall return to these interesting responses presently in the course of the following discussion.

Discussion and Conclusions

Although the great majority of the names in the *Amelié* roll are unmistakably or in all probability Igbo names, the fact that they also include a number of names which belong to the immediate neighbors of the Igbo is a significant comment on the range of precolonial usage of the term, *Igbo* and its various early forms and variants (“Hickbow”, “Heebo”, “Iboe”, “Eboe”, “Ibo”, etc). Clearly, the term was not specific to the Igbo nation as it is today known, i.e. the inhabitants of the Igbo-speaking areas of Nigeria (Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo, and parts of Akwa-Ibom, Benue, Delta and Rivers states). It seems to have served as a generic name for peoples of all ethnic nations in parts of south-eastern, south-central and the Benue basin area of central Nigeria. Significantly, this broad usage of the term has persisted till the present time despite the effort of the south-eastern minorities (Efik-Ibibio, Anang, Oron, Izo or Ijo) to assert their distinctive ethnolinguistic image. In using slave records and other literature from about the year of the capture of the *Amelié* and even before for any kind of historical or socio-cultural reconstruction, it is therefore vital to ascertain the precise boundary of the name, *Ibo*, in each case. But it is equally possible that non-Igbo respondents may have identified themselves as Igbo, reflecting what appears to have been a strong supralinguistic cultural nexus which, it has been suggested, bound the peoples of south-eastern and south-central Nigeria together in precolonial times. Southern Igala and Idoma elements, for example, have been known to claim Igbo roots, and records from the period of the plantation of Christianity in Igboland suggest that the early missionaries saw the Niger delta as an Igbo cultural and linguistic domain and operated throughout in that domain on that assumption. Clearly, the complexities of Igbo relations with their neighbors in pre-colonial times need to be further investigated and better understood.

With regard to the Igbo heartland itself, the broad range of the use of the name *Ibo*, as revealed by the *Amelié* roll, seems to belie the hypothesis that there was no pan-Igbo or unified Igbo consciousness before the imposition of British colonial rule on Igboland. Some Eurocentric pundits have gone so far as to suggest that *Ibo* is a name used by Igbo-speaking peoples when speaking to Europeans. It is not surprising, in the face of claims of this kind, that *Times Literary Supplement* (in 1974-75) should devote so many valuable columns to a sustained debate over the distinction between *Ibo* and *Igbo*, and never throughout the long debate receiving any clarification of the fact that *Ibo* is simply a corruption of the indigenous name, *Igbo*, through the European inability to pronounce the implosive /gb/. Furthermore, no clarification came as to the fact that, despite the small scale and centrifugal tendencies in Igbo social organization, a pan-Igbo consciousness did exist in precolonial times as the *Amelié* roll confirms. This is notwithstanding the distinction between *Oru* and *Igbo* (non-Igbo peoples living far beyond Igbo land and the Igbo peoples themselves) and the tendency for the Igbo of the borderland areas—especially in the riverain areas—to identify themselves as *Oru*, hence the frequent gloss of *Oru* as riverain peoples.

Beyond the question of Igbo identity, the Igbo names in the *Amelié* roll are, in themselves, a very valuable resource for a whole range of inferences and deductions about Igbo life, culture, society and history in precolonial times.

First of all, it is possible to use the key philosophical references in the names to attempt a diamorphosis of the state of the Igbo world view in the first of quarter of the 19th century. In its basic outlines, it seems to be much the same as what we know it today. It is a cyclical world view with no eschatology or doctrine of the end of things. The human soul (*mmuo*) is immortal and is engaged in an eternal cycle of movement of returns to and from two domains of existence—the human world (*uwa*) and the spirit world (*ala mmuo* or *ani mmuo*). Birth, as we on the human domain know it, is returning to the human world (*ilo-uwa*) from a sojourn in the spirit world to which we must return again at the end of life in the present domain. That departure, mundanely called death, is in metaphysical terms *ila mmuo*. But what is the purpose of this eternal journey. In his 1984 Ahiajoku lecture, “Nka-na-Nzere: The Focus of the Igbo World View,” Nwoga identifies that purpose as the quest for fulfillment through personal achievements recognized by the community through its system of titles that insures that in ripe old age (*nka*) the individual is accorded deference and veneration (*nzere*) by all in recognition of his achievements in promoting the stability of the society and contributing to the happiness of all. The attainment of *nka-na-nzere* (old age with veneration) is a guarantee that in departing to the spirit world at the end of the present incarnation, the individual’s death would be celebrated as a good death (*onwu chi*)—the kind of celebration of life we see in Chapter 13 of Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart*, for the oldest man in the clan, Ogbuefi Ezeudu. Most other death, except heroic death in defense of the honor of the community, are considered bad deaths (*onwu ike* or *onwu ojoo*) which for the most part are considered to be so abominable that the individual is not buried but thrown away into the evil forest. *Things Fall Apart* offers lurid descriptions of such abominable deaths, including those of the tragic hero, Okonkwo and his father, Unoka.

To begin with, there is a preponderance of names based on the four day Igbo market week: *Eke*, *Orie* (*Olie/Oye*), *Afo* (*Aho/Ahwo*), and *Nkwo*. These include such female names as *Mgbeke*, *Mgbakwo* or *Mgbokwo*, *Mgbahodi*, and *Mgboli* or *Mgbolie*, and such male names as *Nwankwo*, *Okonkwo* or *Okolonkwo*, *Nweke*, *Nwokeke*, *Nwolie*, and *Okoli*. In these names, the words *nwa* (child

or offspring of), *mgbo* for *mgbogho* or *agbogobia* (young female) and *oko* for *okolo* or its full form *okolobia* (young male) are combined with the name of one market day or the other to indicate the day in which the person so named was born. Such names are not merely commemorative but also imply dedication to the goddess for which the particular market day is named, for as Igbo mythology tells us, each market day is named for an *alusi*, or deity. [Cite Myth] The predominance of market day names in the *Amelié* roll evokes the picture of a time when the market was the center of traditional Igbo life outside the agricultural cycles and numerous customary rites.

Another significant feature of the names in the *Amelié* roll is the primacy accorded to the earth goddess (*Ani*, *Ala*, *Ana*) as affirmed in names such as *Anabuike*, “the earth goddess, *Ana*, is the source of strength” (I, 107) and *Anikwe*, “If the earth goddess, *Ani*, agrees” (I, 2) There are also many possible references to the goddess in the distorted and potential Igbo names. This is clearly in accord with the growing understanding of the dominant role of the goddess in Igbo affairs. One respondent, *Ukpabia* (I, 42) is named for the well-known Ibibio-derived oracle of *Obiniukpaabi*, otherwise known as the *Long Juju* or *Chukwu-Ukpaabi*, the dominant force behind the slaving oligarchy of the Aro Igbo of Arochukwu. But, surprisingly, only one name—a female name (*Anokwuluchi*, II, 90)—refers to the concept of *chi* (personal god), a concept which dominates contemporary Igbo thought and literature and which Echeruo (1979) describes as one of the most complex idea ever devised by humankind to explain the universe. A comparable sample of 212 names from anywhere in Igboland today will no doubt evince a much higher proportion of names referring to this concept. Such a list would also present a large number of names referring to *Chukwu*, formerly a local or hegemonic supreme deity who in the post-Christian era assumed a position—not challenged until very recently (Arazu, Echeruo, 1979; Nwoga; 1984; and Azuonye, 1987)—of the supreme God of Igbo religion. In the *Amelié* roll, however, there is only one reference to *Chukwu*, in the name *Wachuwu* or *Nwachukwu* (II, 69). But this is rather dubious since it occurs under the rubric of female names. Two other possible references are in the form, *Teuku* (I, 91 and II, 84), which I have reconstructed as *Chukwu*, on the assumption that *Teuku* is a transcriptional error for *Tsuku* or *Tcuku*. But again, these references are dubious since one occurs under the rubric of male names (I, 91) while the other occurs under the rubric of female names (II, 84). Was there a time when the name, *Chukwu*, served as a unisex name? Today, it is an extremely common name but almost invariably used as a male name. Data related to *chi* and, especially *Chukwu*, in the *Amelié* roll need to be examined more closely, particularly in view of recent reconsideration of the place of *Chukwu* in Igbo religious thought. Was the concept of *Chukwu* as widespread throughout Igboland before 1822 as it today or was it more localized? The same question may be asked about the concept of *chi* and the related concept of *eke* (life plan) which does not feature in the roll.

APPENDIX I: NOMS MASCULINE IBOS

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Ougeromba | 8. Yaleramen | 15. Annoliben |
| 2. Vaniclei | 9. Bibi | 16. Ezé |
| 3. Inouebon | 10. Ouanahan | 17. Ouenquoin |
| 4. Oupagne | 11. Ouenquoin | 18. Eglémadé |
| 5. Oucaordon | 12. Aujauké | 19. Akouré |
| 6. Ouquédi | 13. Inkésé | 20. Anobi |
| 6. Ouquédi | 14. Ora | 21. Ankézoné |

- | | | |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 22. Egoudin | 54. Chactcha | 86. Echiaou |
| 23. Equiben | 55. Ra | 87. Amouneka |
| 24. Oueké | 56. Ounobi | 88. Ebehouzi |
| 25. Madé | 57. Oudouga | 89. Ouda |
| 26. Ogon | 58. Aougie | 90. Igou |
| 27. Emédikué | 59. Ounoquia | 91. Théoucou |
| 28. Ouqué | 60. Opran | 92. Ouacoutihi |
| 29. Apa | 61. Onou | 93. Dgiadgisey |
| 30. Eken | 62. Atolo | 94. Hiamanneké |
| 31. Amé | 63. Ebou | 95. Ouequeque |
| 32. Issou | 64. Echauwale | 96. Alou |
| 33. Oéraro | 65. Okoli | 97. guimohouin |
| 34. Eméqueke | 66. Madaka | 98. adé |
| 35. Omokou | 67. Auboulindaca | 99. Agouha |
| 36. Oukoi | 68. Amandé | 100. Houde |
| 37. Oukoibi | 69. Apa | 101. Hioman |
| 38. Oukan | 70. Ouarie | 102. Ocoloucoan |
| 39. Auguanou | 71. Adou | 103. Ocolo |
| 40. Alamouhi | 72. Ankolo | 104. Aram |
| 41. Amouchekoi | 73. Ouangnon | 105. Ouedgihoua |
| 42. Oupabia | 74. Irouen | 106. Anonime |
| 43. Aglebou | 75. Akoualan | 107. Anabiqui |
| 44. Kikou | 76. Bouchié | 108. Anou |
| 45. Oudé | 77. Ouhan | 109. Kouqué |
| 46. Madabou | 78. Oukoukoin | 110. Oudoubichi |
| 47. Ounehoude | 79. Anohoké | 111. Youdolo |
| 48. Aoulourou | 80. Igidam | 112. Oquoi |
| 49. Oubreque | 81. Abara | 113. Obou |
| 50. Ougeroi | 82. Ouoli | 114. Ado |
| 51. Guélé | 83. Makiku | 115. Oudoubuhou |
| 52. Irouen | 84. Egabou | 117. Oucandou |
| 53. Izou | 85. Oclo | |

APPENDIX II: NOMS FÉMININS IBOS

- | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Houanizeï | 9. Ouenniké | 17. Agouhan |
| 2. Béké | 10. Escranon | 18. Bakoi |
| 3. Oudaman | 11. Ozou | 19. Oennen |
| 4. Aboida | 12. Aouhan | 20. Ada |
| 5. Lolo | 13. Médégo <i>dite</i> Ouédégo | 21. Ouamotcha |
| 6. Eligoula | 14. Nonom | 22. Eguélé |
| 7. Makoi | 15. Eguambala | 23. Béké |
| 8. Amaouika | 16. Ouensalé | 24. Ebouaquia |

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| 25. Ouannen | 49. Ouzamba | 74. Abaccovan |
| 26. Bahoudi | 50. Eliman | 75. Autchrohaman |
| 27. Oudougui | 51. Anoumen | 76. Ada |
| 28. Adorgui <i>dite</i> Ada | 52. Aguinyan | 77. Boli? |
| 29. Acorouda | 53. Ogohougué | 78. Béké Ouesalé Eguima_ |
| 30. Ada | 54. Isicouché | 79. Eké |
| 31. Ouazouki | 55. Acomelie | 80. Aboman |
| 32. Ada | 56. Echaudo | 81. Ouganougo |
| 33. Ogli | 57. Adougas <i>dite</i> Bakoi | 82. Hiédéné |
| 34. Odouta | 58. Acouan | 83. Mahoba |
| 35. Nedora | 59. Gouaman | 84. Tehoucou |
| 36. Obadgy | 60. Ebriki | 85. Wawoul |
| 37. Anomoudou | 61. Emeboulaman | 86. Bacoya |
| 38. Ougueulon | 62. Ouankan | 87. Bolié |
| 39. Odaman | 63. Bokoi <i>dite</i> Isourdou | 88. Illegué |
| 40. Adam | 64. Essounan | 89. Oza |
| 41. Ebotochia | 65. Oudouman | 90. Anocolchi |
| 42. Atchiran | 66. Hegoulaman | 91. Ouameno |
| 43. Ouichandou | 67. Iguannan | 92. Hallord |
| 44. Ada | 68. Ouaoualcha | 93. Oca |
| 45. Bokoi | 69. Walchoucou | 94. Oudoman |
| 46. Oudo | 70. Waguezuou <i>dite</i> Béké | 95. Hebreleke |
| 47. Overcamer | 71. Béké | 96. Ada |
| 48. Ouagoza | 72. Aboman | 97. Béké |
| | 73. Obe_a | |

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