Personal names in language contact situations: A case of Cross River State, South-eastern Nigeria

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In Cross River State, South-eastern Nigeria, languages incorporate a number of loanwords as personal names as a result of increasing contact with other languages and cultures. Such words are, therefore, borrowed wholesale or adapted phonologically into the onomasticon of the recipient languages, thus gaining wide-ranging acceptance, currency and usage. This paper examines the phenomenon of language contact and naming in three linguistic communities along the Cross River Basin – Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa – in relation to Efik, a dominant language and culture, which itself is in constant contact with English. The paper seeks to show the intricate interrelationship and direction of influence between personal names in the donor and recipient languages, taking into account ethnic hierarchies, and social formations that are found in the context where personal names are given and used. The study relied on Thomason and Kauffman's (1988) integrated theory of language contact as its theoretical plank, which maintains that there is a strong tendency for

speakers of less powerful languages to borrow from the economically and politically powerful languages to enhance their internal resourcefulness. Since names are lexical items in a language, they are not immune to this contact influence. Audio-video data and text materials were elicited from sampled respondents who were contact names bearers and their community members through an ethnographic qualitative approach. The paper concludes with the claim that the interplay of forces like trade, religion and other socio-cultural factors are the main vectors of name borrowing, which are social praxis for negotiating cultural boundaries and relationships as well as indexing the notion of power, personhood and sociocentrism, given the effect of contact. The paper, therefore, sheds some light on ethnic mechanisms of shared social behaviour signalled by shared personal names, as it attempts to understand local settings in greater depth.

1. Introduction

In Cross River State, a densely culturally and linguistically heterogeneous setting, personal names are shared across ethnic, geographical and cultural boundaries. In this concern, such names, which are a unique form of identity, become fluid and the notion of ethnicity is redefined and reconceptualised. This article interrogates the phenomenon of name borrowing cross-linguistically in an attempt to unearth the motivations and propelling factors that are responsible for these commonalities within the Cross River sociolinguistic and socio-cultural contexts. The study explores the mechanism of name borrowing in relation to cultural contact, and examines the consequences of this cultural assimilation process for intercultural cooperation and for a homogenising understanding of ethnic identity (Barker 2012). There is rich body of literature on names and naming practices in Africa. Earlier studies like Ubahakwe (1981), Oduduye (1982) and Essien (1986) have examined the structures and meanings of Igbo, Yoruba, and Ibibio names respectively. A basic assumption about the structures of names in these cultures is that they provide a window to the grammar of the languages concerned. These names are not just words: they could constitute compounding structures, phrases, clauses or even sentences. Therefore, having a good grasp of these names can give some insights into the grammars of these languages. Obeng (1998) questions the assumed significance of death prevention names among the Akan of Ghana. He argues that such names do not just have structures but are imbued with enormous pragmatic significance that indicates some causal relationship with Akan culture and tradition. Similarly, Mensah and Offong (2013) examined the structure of death prevention names in Ibibio. They maintained that Ibibio names represent enriching morpho-syntactic properties that provide a window to the grammatical description of the Ibibio language. They further argue that in addition to the referential contents and metaphysical presupposition of these names, they have other formal structural properties that distinguish them from ordinary Ibibio names. Essien (2000) attempts a linguistic and cultural exploration of Ibibio personal names. He compares naming among the Ibibio with naming in other cultures like Igbo and Yoruba and attempts to justify the occurrence of some Ibibio-like names in Ghana. He argues that to a large extent, Ibibio, Igbo and Yoruba names are similar in encoding linguistic and cultural information based on their genetic relationship.

Mensah (2015) investigates death prevention names among the Ibibio people from ethnographic and ethno-pragmatic accounts. He opines that such names can generate and maintain some level of assurance and security that is vital for a child's survival given the implicit assumption that some kind of spiritual forces are at work. Death prevention names are not ordinary labels or identifiers but are ritualised representations with sufficient cultural meanings embedded in them.

They are valuable entry points into the core of Ibibio cosmology and cosmogony (Mensah 2015:15). Maduagwu (2010) examines Igbo names from a morpho-semantic perspective. She argues that Igbo names consist of both derived and underived lexical items, which also reflect the cultural milieu of the Igbo people in Nigeria. Ebeogu (1993) examines some Igbo names as they manifest themselves in the Igbo culture, and relate them either directly or by extended interpretation to the political consciousness of both the ancient and contemporary Igbo psyche. He argues that it is possible to use these names to hint at certain aspects of consultative democracy, oligarchic spirit, military grandeur, bourgeois tendencies and individual non-conformity that characterise the Igbo traditions of politics.

Moyo (2012) examines the contact between naming practices in Malawi and colonialisation, finding that this affected the socio-cultural ideologies that were traditionally embedded in naming practices. People adopted Westernised or fused (indigenous with Western) names as a result of the changing pattern of socio-political dynamics in Malawi. Similarly, Fitzpatrick (2012) argues that some African names survived the onslaught of slavery and European domination and so, African names, especially in the diaspora, became elements of cultural retention, forms of resistance, and means of identity construction. Ngidi (2012) investigates how the Zulu people use personal names to connect to their ancestors. She maintains that personal names act as a deterrent against offending the ancestors, and in situations where getting even is not an option, opting for a name to voice one's disapproval is the easy way out. In this way, names become communication channels between family or community members and the ancestors. They confer a sense of belonging to the living-dead. Pfuka (2007) explores the onomastic patterns and processes that influenced war names adopted by the guerrillas during the Zimbabwe conflict of 1966-1979. The study shows that war names played a vital role in creating new identities, which were used as weapons to challenge the enemy and to contest space.

Daba's (2003) study of Hausa names reveals that Islamic social values influence the Hausa way of life and this is deeply ingrained in the naming patterns, to the extent that fundamental issues and values of the Hausa community, which are basically Islamic, are now reflected in their names. He further argues that extralinguistic factors such as social status, age and sex correlate with the use of particular Hausa names. These factors determine the type of name or title someone can use on a particular occasion. Batoma (2009) argues that the Kabre people of Togo have developed some verbal strategies that involve the use of personal names and animal names to indirectly communicate their emotions, feelings and opinions, particularly in conflict-laden situations. African names, apart from being the means of establishing identity, are also meant to reflect the social universe and cultural existence of the people (Mutanda 2011, Mensah 2015).

Makondo's (2013) study of Shona female names reveals that such names are an embodiment of the diverse factors the namer and name bearer had to come to terms with in the Shona social hierarchies and culture.

Gebre (2010) examines the effect of cultural contact on naming practices among the Aari of Ethiopia. He suggests that, as a result of Gama hegemony over the Aari people and their culture and language, Aari people have adopted Amhari personal names, thus preventing the Aari language from being the medium of expression of Aari culture and a marker of its people's identity. Ngade (2012) also investigates the relationship between naming, culture and identity among the Bakossi people in Cameroon. He maintains that naming an essential cultural value of the Bakossi people that plays a prominent role in constructing identity, and demonstrates how Bakossi names have changed as a result of the breakdown of traditions. Makoni et al. (1993) studied the implication of naming practices on language planning in Zimbabwe. They showed that naming provides significant insights into language planning, language ideology, language shift and the development of new varieties of English. They demonstrate the effect of non-standard English on naming practices and how this has brought about changes not only to the use of African languages, but also to the use of names drawn from non-standard English. They argue that the promotion of English results in the spread of its non-standard form in the area of naming and that the policy of promoting indigenous African languages is in sync with this practice and Zimbabweans articulate their cultural practices in their naming traditions. Agyekum (2006), in his study of Akan personal names, argues that there is inherent power and linkage in names which indexicalise the lives and behaviour of people either positively or negatively. Akan names depict Akan ways of life and socio-cultural experiences and give deep insights into the cultural patterns, beliefs, ideology and religion of the Akan people of Ghana.

From the review so far, it has been established that African onomastics has been a novel and evolving field of intellectual enterprise in the last few decades given the diverse functions of names in African socio-cultural, political, communicative, economic, educational, and linguistic history.

The Agwagune, Lokaa and Ejagham people of Cross River State encountered the Efik people and their language in several ways – through trade, education, religion and mass communication. In terms of geographic proximity, the Ejagham are the closest to Efik. Speakers of Ekin, one of the clusters of the Ejagham language, are actually neighbours of Efik people, who occupy the hinterland of Central Calabar. They are said to be the earliest settlers in what is now the city of Calabar (Nair 1972). The Agwagune people are found in Biase Local Government Area, which is under the same Southern Senatorial District with the Efik people

(Ugot 2013), while the Lokaa people occupy the central part of the state. They have speakers of Legbbo, Kohumono, Agoi and Mbembe as their closest neighbours (Iwara et al. 2003). These ethnic groups are mostly united with the Efik by trade concerns and interethnic marriages. In the course of these social interactions, the Efik language has encroached into the lexicon of their respective languages and a host of other Upper-Cross languages, and has acquired more functions and speakers given its overwhelming influence as the local lingua franca throughout the entire Cross River Basin for over a century (Nair 1972). This influence became so pervasive that many cultures began to adopt Efik personal names and many aspects of Efik culture. It is instructive to note that the effect of Efik on the neighbouring Ejagham people, for instance, is so widespread that the present generation of Ekin speak Efik as their first language, while their ancestral Ekin (variety of Ejagham) faces the threat of extinction (Mensah and Offiong 2004).

The hegemonic influence of Efik has endangered or caused the outright extinction of other neighbouring languages and cultures. The Usakedet language of the Efut people in Calabar South is an extinct language today and Kiong, the language of the Okoyong people in Odukpani Local Government Area, is severely endangered. Many aspects of Kiong traditional life have been eclipsed and the younger generation does not know about them. It lost most of its names in the course of the internal colonisation by the Efik. Economic, political, educational and religious activities in Kiong communities are carried out in Efik. Kiong is not learnt or taught in schools and intergenerational transmission has ceased. Kiong children and adults except for those aged 70 years and above speak, read and write Efik fluently as a mother tongue. If this trend continues without any intervention to reverse it, another language and its unique worldview will soon be lost.

In this paper, we establish that the effects of language contact are evidenced in personal names cross-linguistically and that the social affinity between these linguistic groups involved is reinforced by shared names (Mensah and Offiong 2004). In this study, I demonstrate how the combined forces of trade, religion and other sociocultural factors have become vectors of lexical change and borrowing. The work also examines the direction of influence in the adoption of personal names between Efik and English on the one hand and Efik and Agwagune/Ejagham/ Lokaa on the other hand. It examines the relationship between language, naming practices and identity and attempts to understand the attitudes towards borrowed personal names by the actual bearers of these 'contact names'. The paper finally considers the implication of contact names for ethno-linguistic cooperation in Cross River State.
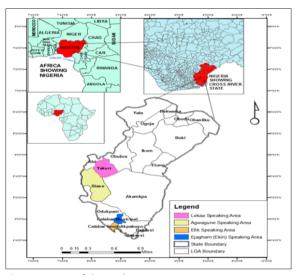
Figure 1: A map of the study areas

2. Theoretical framework

This work is rooted in Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) integrated theory of language contact. According to the authors, contact is determined by a given social situation and not necessarily by linguistic constraints. The social context decides the direction and the extent of borrowing. The major claim here is that anything can happen to a language internally as a result of immense social pressure. When social and linguistic factors are in competition in language contact situations, the social factors will be the primary determinant of the contact situation (Sankoff 2001). Thomason and Kaufman (1988) further argue that in cases of intensive contact between speakers of different languages, it is the language of the group that has more socioeconomic or political power that becomes the source of borrowing. The more intense the contact is, the more opportunity there is for bilingualism to develop and consequently the more borrowing takes place. Greater intensity means a longer time span of contact, a greater number of speakers of the dominant language, and/or more intimate contact between speakers (Dombrowsky-Hahn 2010). Enfield (2007) suggests that the right approach to the study of language contact is an epidemiological one, that is, taking lexical items as the unit of analysis instead of the genealogical model, (which takes the whole 'language' as the unit of analysis). This approach, according to

him, will approximate the facts effectively. He sees language contact as a special case of the normal situation of language in any setting that can be determined by the principle of social diffusion of innovation. Gadet (2007) maintains that when contact is intended as a process taking place between speaking human beings and not solely between languages, it can be said that all speakers are constantly in contact. Contact is therefore seen as the usual regime of language process as in the case of monolingual and bi/multilingual communities, only that in contact situations, speakers are referred to as the "locus of the battlefield" (Weinreich 1953). Matras (2009) maintains that the quantitative claim of language contact is that in any contact situation, content items will be borrowed more than function words. The Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa languages borrow certain words from neighbouring Efik due to contact. If names are lexical items, they are, therefore, not immune to this kind of influence or convergence. They are also likely to be borrowed through intensive socio-cultural contacts. The Efik language has power and influence; hence it acts as a natural source of borrowing for languages with lesser socio-economic power. Speakers of the latter category of languages are, therefore, engrossed in a 'battlefield' to either lose their language and culture to the overwhelming dominance of Efik or to take a mainstream position where borrowed names from Efik can be seen as a naturally occurring phenomenon. This theory forms the conceptual basis for understanding, and investigating the relationships of name contact within a complex social system.

3. Methodology

This qualitative ethnographic research involved a process of data collection in four linguistic communities in Cross River State, Nigeria. These speech communities are Agwagune (AG) for (Agwagune), Calabar South (CS) for (Efik), Calabar Municipality (CM) for (Ejagham) and Ugep (UG) for (Lokaa). They constituted the study areas for this research as we can see in Figure 1 above. A total of 212 respondents were interviewed in these communities using the random sampling technique. The socio-biographical data of each respondent such as name, age, sex, religion, occupation and education were recorded. This was to enable the researcher to ascertain how these variables could shape the use of contact names (though of secondary consideration to the goal of the research). A digital audio recorder and a field note were used as the primary tools for data collection for the study. Flexible and non-structured interviews were the only elicitation technique employed in the study. This was to enable the researcher to work around the respondents' schedules and convenience. It also enabled the researcher to adjust questions and appreciate new information that could act as an impetus for further questioning. The respondents were mainly people with borrowed names, their parents, traditional chiefs, elders, teachers, church leaders and youths. The

researcher employed the services of three language assistants for the purpose of translation. As a matter of ethics, the researcher explained the purpose of the exercise to the respondents and sought their consent and cooperation for the interviews and recordings. The researcher gave a commitment to make the outcome of the research available to the respondents were the need to arise.

Table 1. Frequency distribution of respondents by sex, age, and location:

Category	CS	CM	AG	UG	Total
men > 60	11	10	9	7	37
women > 60	6	5	3	2	16
men 31–60	15	10	7	8	40
women 31–60	8	6	4	7	25
youth < 30	31	23	18	22	94
Total	71	54	41	46	212

The table reveals that the highest number of respondents was from Calabar South while the smallest number was from Agwagune. Young people were the most highly represented, followed by men and women respectively. Youths are the dominant bearers of contact names, based on our available data. This is as a result of growing cultural contact in the last three decades. Older men and women are the other bearers of contact names in the communities under study. We sought to understand the mechanisms of name borrowing through local history in addition to these field observations, and why these mechanisms should be more prevalent among Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa communities than in other local areas of the Cross River Basin. The researcher asked questions on the sources of these borrowed names, the effect of bearing these names and the general perception and attitude of the community towards these names. The researcher also sought to know the history of contact between each community with the Efik, and how this had improved inter-group relations among the people. The researcher employed participant observation, an approach that afforded him a first-hand opportunity to interact with the bearers of borrowed names, their parents, peers and community members. It is important to note that this work is a part of a larger project on the documentation of names within the Cross River Basin. Most indigenous names are fast disappearing due to the effects of globalisation and Westernisation. Hence, there is urgent need to collect, document and archive these names for posterity and for academic purposes. This justifies the large size of sample. The conceptual framework therefore limits the scope of the relevant data (to only contact-influenced names) and focuses on specific variables and paradigms that are relevant in the analysis and interpretation of the

data gathered. From the onset, the theoretical framework has guided the kind of data that has been elicited and the method used to generate this data.

4. Language, naming and identity

Every language community projects and propagates its values, philosophy, worldview, and culture and every speaker of a language has psychological attachment to his or her language, ethnic group and heritage. Spolsky (1999) maintains that language serves as a marker of ethnic identity and symbol of group identity. The relationship between language and identity is intertwined. Speakers of a language share certain bonds and social dynamics like culture, ancestry, history, religion etc. that reinforce greater commonality and identity. Obeng and Adegbiga (1999:353) argue that "...each ethnic group expresses and identifies itself by the language it speaks and its cultural paraphernalia is shaped by its language". In most cases, there is a direct relationship or connection between language and identity either indexically or symbolically. A personal name is one of the indices that usually gives people away in encoding their ethnic identity, culture and nationality. Haviland (2013) further argues that the naming ceremony marks the child's social transition from a state of nature to culture and subsequently full acceptance into the community. It is this acceptance that gives the child a new form of collective identity and individuality. However, the link may not be as straightforward and transparent as it seems. This is why Mclaughin (1995:16) argues that language may sometimes but not necessarily serve as an important variable in the constitution or reconfiguration of ethnicity or identity.

In Nigeria, for instance, there are cases where personal names cannot be regarded as markers of ethnic identity or group solidarity. A child may be given a name based on socio-economic forces, historical circumstances, personal beliefs or other mundane considerations like being named after role models or key political figures or popular names of the area in which the child was born. The immediate past president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, for instance is of Ijaw stock but bears two prominent Igbo names, Ebele and Azikiwe. A former military president in Nigeria, Ibrahim Babangida, a Hausa man, has a Yoruba middle name, Badamosi, and the Governor of Edo state, Adam Oshiomole, from Ishan in mid-western Nigeria, answers to Aliyu, a Hausa name, as his middle name. This state of affairs reveals that ethnic identity is not hereditary but can be reconstructed through the adaptation of names (Aceto 2002). This means that the bearers of these names may live in and have a strong sense of belonging to a place and share a similar culture but have a different ancestry. This is why King (2001) maintains that ethnic categories and groups should be defined on the basis of shared cultural features and a distinctive social system that persists through time. Understanding

ethnicity should entail looking at the dynamics of identity formation and the processes of social change, which can be enhanced by rethinking the concept of society and social change so that ethnic groupings are seen as constituent parts of a wide set of social, economic, political, and cultural relations. In the context of our discussion, the borrowing of Efik personal names by Agwagune, Ejagham, and Lokaa people and culture does not translate by any means into a limited resourcefulness on the part of the Agwagune, Ejagham, and Lokaa languages to be the means of cultural expression and identity of their speakers.

5.   A sociolinguistic background of Southern and Central Cross River State

Cross River State is geographically one of the South-eastern states in Nigeria. Politically, it is classified under the South-South geopolitical zone. It is highly linguistically and culturally heterogeneous, accounting for more than 40 ethnic nationalities. There have been varying accounts of the exact number of languages spoken in the state; Bendor-Samuel and Standford (1976) enumerated 42, Crozier and Blench (1992) identified 40 and most of the identified languages have their standard forms and dialects. Efik is spoken predominantly in five out of the 18 local government areas of the state. Agwagune is spoken in Biase, Lokaa is spoken in Yakurr and parts of Abi Local Government areas while Ejagham is spoken across the length and breadth of the state and beyond. Watters (1981) maintains that the Ejagham people live in the Cross River Basin in a continuous territory within the triangle formed by the towns of Calabar and Ikom in Nigeria and Mamfe in Cameroon. It is the most widely spoken language in the Cross River State. Efik and Agwagune are found in the southern parts of the state while Lokaa is spoken in the central part of the state. These languages belong to the Benue-Congo sub-branch of the Niger-Congo language family. Efik has variously been classified as a Lower-Cross language while Ejagham is a member of the Bantoid sub-group of the Niger-Congo. Agwagune and Lokaa are said to be Upper-Cross languages (all within the Niger-Congo family). They all belong to the Cross River sub-group of the Niger-Congo family (Faraclas 1989).

Multilingualism is a dominant phenomenon among the speakers of Cross River languages. English is the official language of education, civil service, media and legislation while only Efik, Ejagham and Bekwarra are recognised state languages that are given pride of place in early literacy, mass mobilisation and public education especially in the mass media (Ugot and Ogar 2014). Nigerian Pidgin is the language of wider communication in Cross River State given its thick linguistic diversity. The languages under study – Ejagham, Agwagune and Lokaa – are not genetically related though they belong to the same proto family with Efik. Speakers

of each language have different linguistic ideologies and social structures. Efik constitutes the superstrate influence on other languages as a result of the socio-economic relevance of Calabar as the epicentre of trade along the entire Cross River Basin. Calabar, the Efik capital, has attracted people from far and wide for commercial, educational and economic reasons. This is because lexical items from Efik were frequently borrowed into these languages in a situation of linguistic convergence and not vice-versa (Ugot 2013). Apart from trade concerns, certain other factors could have been accountable for this cline of borrowability, which we shall subsequently discuss. The Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa languages have related contact history, and in terms of the effect of geographic spread or social variation, Efik has a more restricted distribution while there is spatial distribution of Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa relative to variation and change across a wide span of areas where their respective dialects are spoken. Some of the varieties of Ejagham include Bendeghe, Etung, Akamkpa, Oban, Ekin or Abakpa (Watters 1981). Dialects of Lokaa include Lomaamaa (spoken in Ugep), Lokori (spoken in Ekori), Loloomi (spoken in Idomi), Lokpankpani (spoken in Mkpani) and Lokaaka (spoken in (Nko) (Ottor 2013) while Agwagune has the following cluster of languages: Erei, Abini, Abayongo, Etono and Etono Central (Ugot 2005). Ugot also maintains that Agwagune is the largest homogenous group of languages in Biase and it has the largest number of speakers in the entire local government area. They have a genealogical relationship and spread to form a larger language family, the Upper Cross River, within the enlarged Cross River family of languages.

Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa are relatively underdeveloped languages compared to Efik. Although Ejagham and Lokaa have approved orthographies, they are grossly understudied and exist basically as folkloristic media. Agwagune, on the other hand, is largely an unwritten language. It is not a medium of literacy among children and exists mainly in oral traditions. The domain of use of these languages is mainly the home. There is unidirectional influence in the relationship between Efik and Ejagham that brings about a situation of language shift, where speakers of Ejagham speak Efik as part of the process of Efikanisation or what Connell & Zeitlyn (2009:208) call "shift of ethnic identity". Some speakers of Ejagham, especially children, do not have emotional attachment to their heritage language hence their language serves as a mark of dual identity. Their attitude towards Ejagham is relatively negative since the language is no longer a means of socialisation. Consequently, Efik threatens the Ejagham language in the Calabar Municipality and Ejagham is hugely endangered. Another evidence of shift is the dominant instances of code-switching. A sample of some of the naturally occurring speech that we got in the fieldwork shows switching of utterances indicating lexical influence from Efik. This is an instance of language contact and change.

The influence of Efik on Agwagune and Lokaa is not as strong as its influence on Ejagham. This is primarily as a result of the absence of geographical boundaries between Efik and these ethno-linguistic communities. However, from our data we can observe that core vocabulary items such as numerals, body parts, and kinship terms have been borrowed from Efik into these languages. These are not susceptible to alternative explanations as examples of code-switching under bilingualism. This evidence belies the claim that members of the closed set of words are less susceptible to borrowing than members of the open set, and that core vocabulary items are less likely to be replaced by loanwords (Tadmor 2007). The data in Tables 2 and 3 demonstrate the counter-claim that numerals, body parts and kinship terms are susceptible to linguistic borrowing:

Table 2: Efik nouns (numeral and body parts) borrowed into Agwagune

Efik	Agwagune	Gloss
ibà	ifà	two
ítá	itát/atát	three
ìnàñ	íná/áná	four
édíp	éníp	twenty
úbók	óbbók	hand

Table 3: Efik nouns (body parts and kinship terms) borrowed into Ejagham

Efik	Lokaa	Gloss
úbók	kóbó	hand
útóñ	kótúñ	ear
été	yaté	father
èkà	yàkà	mother
ébá	éblá	breast

These data are examples of borrowing and not cognates given that Agwagune and Lokaa are not genetically related to Efik. From the data in Table 2, it is seen that Agwagune borrows words for numerals and body parts while, in Table 3, Lokaa borrows mainly body parts and kinship terms from Efik. The phonological adaptation of these words in the recipient languages involves a number of processes such as devoicing, creation of extra syllable, deletion/insertion of sounds, gemination, substitution of sounds, and so on. These changes are made to conform to the recipient language phonology. The evidence in Tables 2 and 3 provides a greater impetus for socio-cultural borrowing (which includes names). The influence of Efik on Agwagune and Lokaa is, therefore, intense, cutting across every aspect of their vocabulary including personal names, as we shall soon

discover. In the discussion that follows, I present Efik as a language that is also not immune to contact (with English) in spite of its hegemonic influence on some Upper Cross River languages.

6.   Efik as a contact language

The Efik people were the earliest indigenous peoples of the Cross River Basin to establish contact with the Europeans during the colonial era. Aye (1967) records that as early as 1547, Portuguese merchants had already established trade links with the Efik people. This contact yielded a set of Portuguese-derived lexemes in the Afro-European Pidgin language that emerged along the West Africa coast. Words of Portuguese origin like pikin 'child', dash 'gift', palaver 'problem', sabi 'know' and na 'it's' are now fully conventionalised in Nigerian Pidgin (NP), the most widely spoken language in Nigeria today, which is at least in part descended from these contact languages. Fayer (1990: 185) demonstrates how the Diary of Antera Duke (Efik 18th Century trader) provides some of the earliest evidence of the pidgin that contributed to the emergence of the Nigerian Pidgin that is still spoken in the area today. Among the next group of Europeans to have contact with the Efik were the British. They arrived first as slave traders, then as missionaries and subsequently as colonial administrators. With the abolition of the slave trade, their dealings shifted to oil palm, palm kernel, copper, etc. The contact between the English and the Efik had a number of linguistic consequences for the Efik language, some of which are bilingualism, borrowing and convergence.

The contact between English and Efik is quite evident in Efik personal names, street names, geographical names and place names in Calabar (for centuries, the largest population centre in the Efik-speaking region). The missionaries routinely renamed their new converts with Biblical or baptismal names as a mark of their acceptance of the Christian faith, which was in keen competition for religious space with other forms of traditional worships and belief systems, particularly the Ékpè cult, Ndem 'deity' society and other forms of traditional religion. Slave masters gave English names to their Efik trading associates as a way of reinforcing confidence, cementing partnerships, and sustaining bilateral trust in the transatlantic business. A case in point was the renaming of a popular Efik king, Eyo Nsa, as Eyo Nsa Honesty. This was to identify him with a unique virtue that was extremely desirable in sustaining their bilateral trade relationship.

The colonial officials and functionaries were mainly concerned with adapting or changing Efik names to English for ease of pronunciation and writing. Many of these anglicised versions of Efik names have gained general currency in the Efik onomasticon. Today, two versions of these names are used side by side though preference is often given to the English forms given the upsurge of interest in English

names. Kahane and Kahane (1996:1026) point out that "… this process starts with the foreigners, who use appellatives of their own language, familiar to them from their former environment – and the names stick and are adopted by natives". In Table 4, some Efik names that were assigned English equivalents are illustrated:

Table 4: Efik names and their English equivalent forms

Efik name	English equivalent form
Ókón	Hogan
Èfìòm	Ephraim
Ákàbòm	Cobham
Èkpényóñ	Young
Édèm	Adam
Nsà	Henshaw
Ásibòñ	Archibong
Éné	Henry

The linguistic device employed here involves the establishment of equivalence, where Efik names are replaced by English names not on the basis of any semantic inter-relationship but as a result of phonetic resemblance. Etteh (2011) argues that these non-contact Efik names were merely altered by the foreigners for ease of pronunciation. Some of these Efik names are semantically opaque, that is, they do not have meaningful contents. Their meanings were assumed to have been lost in the course of history while the English equivalent forms have lexical meanings in order to function as identifying and individuating devices (Kahane & Kahane 1996).

In other instances, indigenous Efik names are adapted phonologically and/or orthographically to the conventions of the English language. This was a style or idiosyncratic principle adopted by the English people the Efik encountered early on and the practice has been conventionalised:

Table 5: Anglicised Efik names (based on tonal alteration)

Efik names	Anglicised form	IPA representation	gloss
Ófióñ	Óffiong	[ofıoŋ]	moon
Èsién	Èssien	[esien]	stranger(s)
Ńyóñ	Ńyong	[ŋoŋ]	wanderer
Àbàsi	Bassey	[abasi]	God
Èfìòm	Effıom	[efıom]	crocodile
Ékpó	Ekpo	[ekpo]	ghost
Ìnyàñ	Inyang	[iŋaŋ]	river

Mensah (2009) links the phonological differential in names to status differential, given the class system of the British that reflects their social organisation and which they bequeathed to the Efik people. A high-low tone combination realised on a two- or three-syllable name automatically depicts a high social status while the high-high (HH) or low-low (LL) tone combination represents a low or inferior social class. For instance, if a traditional ruler and his driver are namesakes, society refers to the man who has power and influence with the HL tone adaptation, while the 'powerless' one answers the HH or LL tone form. This was the pattern the European handed down to the people and the European's way is more prestigious and highly respected. Some of the names that carry the adapted tonal patterns may be semantically opaque, though they are a unique form of power or prestige. In addition to tonal differences, these names are equally adapted orthographically to express some phonological changes. For instance, in Table 5, the anglicised Offiong, Nyong and Inyang end with the graphemes <ng> which is represented phonemically as /ñ/ in Efik. In Essien, Bassey and Effiom, the intervocalic consonant sounds are doubled in the graphemically adapted names, but are represented as single sounds in Efik. This shows that Efik indigenous names are basically phonemic, with near perfect correspondence between sound and symbol. The English versions are orthographic, where one cannot establish a one-to-one relationship between the sounds and the symbols they represent. Further instances of orthographic adaptation with its conventionalised form and pronunciation can be illustrated below:

Table 6: Anglicised Efik names (based on orthographic adaptation)

Efik names	Anglicised form	IPA representation	Gloss
Kûfrê	Kóòffrêh	[kûːfre]	Do not forget
Kûbiáñá	Kûbiáŋghá	[kûbianʁa]	Do not deceive
Ímáhá	Ímághá	[imaʁa]	S/he does not like
Úmó	Ùmóh	[umo]	Wealth/beauty
Ámá	Ámáh	[ama]	A lover
Étá	Éttah/Étta	[eta]	Strength
Éfá	Éffá/Éffáh	[efa]	Authority/power

The two versions of names in Tables 5 and 6 have lexical contents and are semantically transparent in spite of the tonal and graphemic adaptation in the anglicised forms that have been conventionalised. The linguistic devices in Table 6 include, among others, the creation of double graphemes in Kooffreh to represent single sounds, and the introduction of additional grapheme <g> (in Kûbiánghá and Ímághá) that does not have any phonemic status. There is the introduction of an extra grapheme <h> that correspondingly does not represent any sound.

Williamson (1984) observes that in Ogbah, an Ijoid language (Niger- Congo) spoken in Bayelsa State, Southern Nigeria, the use of final 'h' indicates that all the vowels in a word are narrowed or dotted. In Efik, however, this does not appear to be systematic as it is merely a stylistic convention signaled by the anglicisation of names. /h/ is not a phoneme in Efik. The interesting point is that the anglicised spelling is more popular and mainly preferred by the Efik.

English names that have been borrowed by the Efik people have now become a part of the onomastic system of Efik. Such names include:

Table 7: English borrowed names as Efik family names

Ephraim
Fuller
Henshaw
Yellow-Duke
King-Duke
Slessor
Ironbar
Duke
Adam

These names are mainly sustained not merely as personal names but in street and place names. Street names like Fuller Street, Yellow-Duke Street, Mary Slessor Street, and King-Duke Street are very popular in the Efik capital, Calabar. Their origin has been traced to the contact of the Efik people with colonial administrators, slave masters and missionaries. Some of these names have been adopted by some Efik families and clans as heritage/ancestral names and passed down from one generation to the next. They were popular at various phases of the historical development of Efik; for instance, the name Slessor was adopted by few Efik families after the abolition of the killing of twins by Mary Slessor, a Scottish Presbyterian Missionary, during the pre-colonial era in Efikland. Slessor personally adopted a number of twins, to whom she gave her name. Slessor is still a household name in Calabar today.

The anglicisation of Efik names is also as a result of contact with the English language, people and culture, especially the influence of Western education. Beyond personal names, street names and place names in the Calabar Metropolis have also shown traces of this contact situation. The Efik language itself is also seriously affected by this contact phenomenon. The overwhelming effects of globalisation, Westernisation, Christianity and urbanisation are some of the factors

that are responsible for language contact. In this way, the onomasticon and lexicon of Efik have been influenced as linguistic consequences of contact with English.

In the course of this study, it has been discovered that some Efik names are semantically opaque. In other words, they do not have meaningful lexical contents. Kahane and Kahane (1996:1027) argue that this is one peculiar property that differentiates a name from a word. It is this functional discrepancy with its semantic consequences that provides names with the power of survival that words cannot match. When words lose their meaning, that is, become empty semantically, they die. Names without lexical meaning, on the other hand, thrive. This absence of recognisable lexical meaning in Efik names accounts for the lesser relevance that Efik people attach to the psychological and grammatical impacts of names. To the average Efik person, names are ordinary labels for individuals' identity, though some names may reflect the wisdom, worldviews, religion, history and geographical features of the Efik people. These latter are mostly names from the Western axis of Calabar comprising such clans as Eniong-Abatim, Ito, Ukwa and Obio Usiere. This is mainly as a result of the cultural contact of these people with their neighbours, mainly the Ibibio and Igbo.

7. Naming practices in Efik, Agwagune, Lokaa and Ejagham cultures

There are striking similarities in the sources of names borrowed from Efik into the onomasticon of Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa. An important historical source of Efik names is the days of the week or what is generally referred to as "market days". Within the Efik traditional calendar, eight days are counted in a week, and each child, male or female, born on any of these days is named after his or her "market day". We represent the days of birth (or of the week) and their corresponding male and female names in Table 8:

Table 8: Efik traditional days of the week and their corresponding names

Day	male name	female name
Ákwá èdèrì	Édèt	Árìt
Ékprí èdèrì	Édèt	Árìt
Ákwá òfìòñ	Éfìòñ	Áfìòñ
Ékprí òfìòñ	Éfìòñ	Áfìòñ
Ákwá íkwó	Ásúkwó	Íkwó
Ékprí íkwó	Ásúkwó	Íkwó
Ákwá íbíbió	Étìm	Átìm
Ékprí íbíbió	Étìm	Átìm

Unlike now where the days of the week are sequentially fixed – Sunday, for instance, is always the first day of the week and Saturday the last – there is no first or last day of the week in the Efik traditional calendar. The days revolve. Ákwá èdèrì, for example, can fall on a Monday this week and on a Tuesday next week and so on. Potentially, every day that a child is named after is associated with its own sets of beliefs and superstitions. With the adoption of the universal days of the week by the Efik, children who are born on Sundays are particularly named Àbàsì 'God', which is anglicised as Bassey [basi], because Sunday is a day set aside for the worship of God. In Efik cosmology, Ákwá Àbàsì Íbòm 'Almighty God' is referred to as the giver of power, life and wealth. He makes or mars the very existence of man. He blesses harvest, gives fruits of the womb and fortifies man against his enemies. In this regard, it is highly valued culturally to honour Àbàsì Íbòm by naming children who are born on his day of worship after him, just as is the practice with other gods of the land (Mensah 2009). Every Efik child has his or her day of birth name in addition to other traditional names. Some parents oppose the use of such names while others promote them. It is instructive to note that the choice of whether or not to use these names rests solely with the name-giver (usually the father).

Apart from the days of the week, the time of birth is another determining factor in the naming system of the Efik people. For instance, a child who is born at night is named Ókón (male) or Ókón-ánwán (female). Ókón is derived from the compound word ókón-éyó, which means 'night'. The suffix anwan is used to indicate the female gender. Animal names and natural/agricultural resources are significant sources of Efik names. Some of these animals were objects of rituals while others were used as death prevention names or antidotes against extremely high infant mortality. The Efik traditional value system gives pride of place to resources such as forest, farmland and river, given that these sustain the people's major economic activities such as hunting, farming and fishing and also function as places of traditional worship. Traditional conservation methods were employed and native laws enacted to preserve and protect these resources and their names adopted as personal names. Such names include:

Table 9: Animals and natural resources names in Efik

Name	Gloss
Ékpè	leopard
Éwá/ebua	Dog
Énàñ	Cow
Ébòk	Monkey
Òfìòm (èfìòm)	Crocodile

Name	Gloss
Ìnyàñ	river
Ésùk	beach
Ákài	forest
Inwan	farmland

The social environment and belief system determine the choice of this category of names. For instance, the leopard is famous for its bravery in Efik folklores and folktales. It is portrayed as a brave and uncanny animal. It is mysterious because it is believed that it can move around without being seen. It is also a beautiful and greatly admired animal (Offiong 1982:50) hence male children are named Ékpè 'leopard' as a mark of brevity.

The belief system, religion and superstitions also greatly influence the way children are named in Efikland. Before the advent of Christianity the people were mainly traditional worshippers. Many sources of traditional belief/religion were prominent among the Efik, among which are Íbók 'charm' or traditional medicine and Ńdèm 'deity'. To the adherents of Íbók, it is the source of their protection and wealth. It provides cure for diseases, exposes future predicaments, reveals the source of previous misfortunes, and can even harm enemies. Ídiòñ 'oracle' or fortune telling and Ábiàíbòk 'herbalist' or traditional medicine practitioner are the key instruments of worship in Íbók. Believers in this religion name their children Íbók as a way of identification with their faith. Sometimes, the initial worshippers are no longer active but the name keeps being recycled from one generation to another. Ńdèm/Ándèm 'deity', Ékánèm 'mother of ńdèm', Ekpényóñ 'a water god', or Ekpenyóñ-ánwàn 'water goddess' are usually associated with this form of worship. These names are still found among the Efik people today despite the overbearing influence of Christianity, which has eroded certain beliefs in African spirituality (Mensah 2009).

The naming tradition of the Lokaa people, as in most African cultural traditions, depicts the values, philosophy, worldview and socio-cultural orientation of the Lokaa people. When a child is to be named, an unripe palm fruit is harvested and given to every child in the neighbourhood to chew. This symbolises conviviality among children, as well as long life and prosperity. The palm tree is noted for its tremendous economic value and long life. The fruit produces palm oil and kernels that support the local economy, the leaves are used to thatch roofs and make brooms, the chaff from oil and kernel is used to make soap while the trunk provides beams for buildings. This is why Gruca et al. (2014) argue that since palms are part of everyday life of nearly all rural people in Africa, it is to be expected that they are also important in the spiritual framework of rural life in Africa. Either the father or the mother lifts the child up and prays that his/her

life be as useful as the palm tree. Every child eats the unripe fruit and the child is named. Children are given names based on the prevailing communal events or activities. Names like Lébókú 'festival of new yam celebration' and Leko 'war' are given to mark these events. Other names like Ntógha 'praise' Kàbà 'jump' Tukór 'run' and Fúken 'come', are given to children to depict certain actions. A child may be named after an unexpected place of birth, for example, Kábáti 'toilet', Égéti 'farm road', Lékpekpéli 'a dark room', Kepém 'refuse dump', etc. It was also argued by some respondents that these are actually reincarnation names that were given to prevent the incessant death of children. These names are believed to link the name bearers to their past, their ancestors and their spirituality. Among children, where there is a high mortality rate, despicable and offensive names are given with the belief that the children might be rejected by the underworld spirits and be allowed to live (Mensah 2015). This is the subtle psychology behind these names. Such children are believed to be reincarnated and have ancestors within the same family and are said to symbolise the cleansing and refinement of the inner nature (Rooke 1980). The underworld parents are vital forces that determine the destiny of the child, especially his or her right to live.

Among the Agwagune people, two categories of names have been identified. These are the ancestral names and the new generation names, which are mainly influenced by the advent of Christianity. Apart from Efik, the study discovers that Agwagune borrows personal names such as Érinma 'fine lineage', Ófém 'If I am able' and Ísamo 'warrior' from other cultures like Igbo, Lokaa and Umon respectively, as a result of geographical and cultural affinity. The ancestral names are used to honour important members of the family, living or dead and immortalise remarkable events in the community. They may also project the value system and worldview of the Agwagune people. Like the Efik, Agwagune name children after some market days and days of the week in their traditional calendar. Such names include Íbum, Íkpo and Éké who are born on Ibúm Ekú Afia/ Ibúm Amòn, Ikpo Amòn and Eké Amòn market days respectively. Children are also named after Érót deities in Agwagune. Such names are Ámure/Étabi (sacrifice), Ékimakpé (war) and Ígu (witches). Such deities protect the community through the name bearers in events of war or attack by witchcraft. Some names in this tradition are based on a child's place of birth, as in the Lokaa culture. Names like Íbenim, (ravine), Úbám (stream), Édonugóm (farmland) and Úsetu (road) profile some locations where children were born (Ugot 2005).

The Ejagham people also name children based on their particular socio-cultural dynamics. There is a particular set of names for twins, irrespective of their sex. Áyámbá 'S/he showed the way' and Mányo 'before this one'. This practice is similar to what obtains in the Yoruba culture, where we have Taiwò and Kéhindé as twins names for both male and female children. Children who are

born in unusual places have names depicting their location of birth. Such names include Ógim 'market', Ésám 'refuse dump', Étim 'bush', and Ébin 'farm'. Children may also be named after animals; Ńke 'rabbit', Njór 'dog', and Njók 'elephant'. Some other names could be emotionally charged names like Ókót 'love' while others are sentence names like Mkpógi 'Let me try again', Njimá 'I have begun life', Nyén 'let me see', etc. Some names reflect royalty, Ntúi 'chief', Àsi 'king/God' while others depict religious belief, Njúm 'charm'. Ejagham names may also indicate the time of day when a child was born e.g, Égu 'evening', or natural resources like Ókongó 'plant', Nsí 'earth', Ébát 'light/brightness. On the whole, I conclude that the naming tradition of the Efik, Agwagune Lokaa and Ejagham are strikingly similar as names are important aspects of their ethnic identity, which are determined by some socio-cultural and historical trajectories. Names in these cultures do not only classify or individuate their bearers but are also integrative forces into the mainstream society and are means of self-expression. This is why Maybury-Lewis (1984: 5) argues that "names transform individuals into persons" especially in the traditional societies.

8.   The mechanism of name borrowing

There are a number of circumstances that made Efik the source language of the borrowed names. The Efik language was the regional lingua franca in the entire Cross River Basin. It was the dominant language of trade as well as education in the entire South-eastern region. Jeffrey (1935) asserts that the missionaries naturally directed their first studies to the Efik language with the result that the Efik have benefited enormously and their language has inevitably assumed a position that is not justified on a population or linguistic basis. This remark was a sequel to the adoption of Efik by the missionaries and colonial administrators as the only official indigenous language for missionary contact and within colonial government circles, even when languages that were there like Ibibio and Annang had more speakers. This was how the Efik language was imposed on its neighbouring people including Agwagune, Ejagham, Lokaa and a host of others. To date, there are still swathes of Efik dominance in these former "colonised" areas. In most churches in these areas, the Efik Bible and hymn books still hold sway.

In all the mission churches except, perhaps, the Catholic Church, Efik names were (and are still) accepted in baptism, and this acceptance provided a continuous motivation for identifying with the church. The missionaries trained mainly Efik priests to take the gospel to the interior (Mainland and Hinterland communities). In this way, the Efik priests assisted immensely not only in the spread of Christianity but also in spreading aspects of Efik culture by giving new converts Efik names. A respondent who speaks Lokaa but has an Efik name,

Efiom, attests that all his siblings were given Efik names such as Áfioñ, Íkwo, Ékpo, Édet and Bassey as infants during baptism in the Presbyterian Church. In addition to this, the liturgy in the mission churches, involving songs, prayers, choruses, administration of Holy Communion and testimonies, was in Efik. The use of local musical instruments was also encouraged. This was tailored to suit local peculiarities and particularities and to offer the people a sense of worship in a language they could appreciate. In this way, people from other ethnic groups came to embrace Efik as an important medium to salvation, and the urge to acquire and learn Efik was sustained given the comparative advantages. This is one of the approaches the missionaries used in localising Christianity in Eastern Nigeria (Olukoju 1997). The spread of the Christian missionary endeavour along the Cross River Basin, therefore, directly translated to the spread of the Efik language and culture in these places.

The Efik language was equally a medium of literacy in the entire Cross River Basin. Scottish Presbyterian missionary Hope Waddell's memoir, recorded in Nair (1972), shows that from 1854, Efik was not just an examinable subject in school but was the medium through which scriptures and catechism were learnt. Since the whole educational orientation of the missionaries was geared not to the economic requirements of the Efik society but to an ability to read the Bible and appreciate the religious and socio-moral messages contained in it (Nair 1972), the missionaries placed a premium on reading and writing skills in Efik, believing that training Efik interpreters and translators would further their mission to evangelise the entire area. This was how Efik continued to be learnt and taught in schools and churches. The adoption of Efik as the lingua franca along the entire Cross River Basin by the colonial administration was also responsible for the popularity of Efik in this region. Essien (1990) says that the conference of the International Institute of African Languages and Culture (IIALC), chaired by Prof William Welmers in 1929, voted favourably for Efik to be adopted as the only official and written indigenous language in the entire South-eastern region. Access to education ultimately played a role in lexical borrowing into other languages. Efik was a compulsory examinable subject in primary schools, post-primary schools and the London GCE in the entire Cross River Basin. Efik served as either L2 or L3 to most speakers of other languages during the pre-colonial era. The impact of this Efik 'dominance' is still felt today given that most of the older generations in these areas still speak, read and write impeccable Efik. Based on our findings, teaching posts in most schools in the upper and mainland parts of the Cross River Basin were populated by the Efik. A respondent admitted that he was named Ekpo after his late father's teacher in secondary school, who, according to his father, was 'a disciplined Efikman'.

Another factor that contributed to contact between Efik and languages like Agwagune, Lokaa and Ejagham was urbanisation. Calabar served as the capital of

the Oil River Protectorate (1885-1893), as well as the Nigeria-Coast Protectorate (1893-1900) during the pre-colonial era (Imbua 2008). After Nigeria's independence in 1960, Calabar became first the capital of the South-eastern State and later the Cross River State from where Akwa Ibom State was created, and has two universities, opportunities for employment, modern recreational facilities, social amenities and infrastructural facilities in addition to tourism opportunities, which naturally attract rural people to the "greener pastures" and foreigners for tourism and investments. In the course of these movements, the Efik language came into contact with other languages, which ultimately resulted in borrowing, among other linguistic consequences. As Efik persistently influences these languages, not only are lexical items affected by the borrowing phenomenon but personal names are too.

The city of Calabar was reputedly a famous slave trading depot, given its coastal location as an important seaport during the pre-colonial era. The main commodity – slaves – and other goods like palm produce, ivory, timber, among others, came from the interior. The foreign goods that were exchanged in the transatlantic trade, including rum, mirrors, beads, spirits and gin, etc. came from Europe. The Efik mediated the trade between the British traders and their hinterland communities (Imbua 2008). Two basic analytical assumptions can be made here; first, the transatlantic trade with the Europeans along the Cross River Basin was influenced and dominated by the Efik. Latham (1973:181) remarks that the Efik "...excluded all other peoples from direct access to the Europeans, establishing and maintaining a position of monopolistic middlemen". Secondly, these trade concerns were majorly sustained by the hinterland communities. Uya (2001:6) argues that the prosperity and vitality of Old Calabar port were totally dependent on its productive hinterland. There was uninterrupted contact between the Efik and the people from the interior and the external world (Nair 1972), as a result of buying and selling along the coast. This brought about cultural contacts, ethnic mingling and exchange of ideas, which resulted in political complications, conflict and change (Latham 1978:145).

The borrowing of names along the Cross River basin has been unidirectional from Efik coastal middlemen to the inland/upper Cross River communities. This state of affairs has pointed to trade as the key economic and political context for such observed asymmetry. Ecoma (2009) submits that the interaction of people through trade exchange over the centuries led to the development of a high degree of cultural intermingling and exchanges and thus broad cultural homogeneity among the people. This is evident in similarities in language, cultural practices, dances, arts and oral performances. This cultural assimilation also affected personal names to a reasonable degree. This kind of social and commercial interactions led to the borrowing of Efik personal names particularly

of the leading merchants (middlemen) who mediated the transatlantic trade (Imbua 2008).

According to Imbua (2008:38), "The impact and activities of these merchants made the years between 1660 and 1810 to be of tremendous economic activities on the coast of Old Calabar and their hinterland as British trading hulks mushroomed and eclipsed the commercial life in the region." Efik names such as Bassey, Nsa, Ekpenyong, Eyamba, Edem were borrowed during this trade intercourse. These names are quite noticeable in the onomasticon of Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa, as the study found out. A respondent said that his grandfather, a copper merchant in the 1930s, was called Ekpenyong, a name his Efik business partner gave to him. It has been observed that long distance traders especially had to be multilingual for effective trade negotiations outside their linguistic domains, and the ability of a trader to speak the language of his host gave him a better bargaining power (Ecoma 2009:128). Since Calabar was a popular trade depot, traders from the hinterland like Agwagune, Ejagham, and Lokaa who visited the area were able to speak and understand Efik for business communication. The result of this contact situation was the borrowing of lexical items from Efik, the source language into the lexicon of the target languages.

The belief in reincarnation is a dominant one among Africans. The concept of death is both a social and spiritual reality among the Efik. They believe that death is not the end of life but the beginning of a fresh embodiment in another realm. Hence, a distinction is usually drawn between the physical person who is buried and the spiritual person who lives on. This implies that death does not end the life of an individual but only causes a change in his condition (Abanuku, 1999). A child is believed to reincarnate as the afterlife of an important deceased member of his or her extended family where he or she is considered as a messenger of the underworld parents (Mensah 2015). As we noted earlier, reincarnated names were meant to deceive the spiritual parents that the affected children were not wanted. Some of the names are death prevention names while others were forms of resistance from oppression. They include:

Table 10: Some reincarnation names in Efik

Name	Gloss
Ékpó	ancestral spirit/ghost
Énàn	cow
Éwá/Ebua	dog
Ndáráké	I do not rejoice
Mkpánám	Death is the cause of this
Ésuabáñá	What do they hate me for?

The Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa people borrowed these names, but they did not necessarily use them as a counterforce to ensure a child's survival. This is not to say that the belief in reincarnation or ascribing death prevention names to children do not exist in their cultures.

Another factor that contributed immensely to this loan name phenomenon came through Ékpè initiation rites. The Ékpè society was a primary machinery of government in Efikland, which evolved city-states that were essentially republican in nature and functioned under the overall legislative, executive and judiciary authority of the Ékpè society (Olong 2010: 52). Ékpè was a form of control of the social, economic, religious, and cultural activities in the entire Cross River Basin. It is widely said among the Efik that Ékpè drove the people to churches at the advent of Christianity in the area. Ékpè grades and titles were either on merit, or were bought by wealthy members of the society. Nair (1972:17) maintains that strangers (i.e. non-Efik) could also be initiated into the Ékpè order. They enjoyed the rights, claims and immunities of the grade into which they were initiated but they could not become heads of the grade. Offiong (1982:51) argues that such members were initiated into Ékpè in order to facilitate and protect their business interests with the Efik. Through the initiation process, one possesses the secret of the group in a gradual hierarchical structure where knowledge is slowly received. Efik names that were borrowed and acquired through this rite of passage ceremony by the Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa include:

Table 11: Names derived from initiation cults

Name	Gloss
Ékpè	Leopard
Éyámbá	Ekpe title
Nyàmkpè	Ekpe grade
Ídèm	masquerade (ekpe)

Traditionally new initiates may change their names through the rites of passage. The Ékpè initiation privilege accorded strangers was, therefore, an ideological integration of people who were outside the ruling class into the mainstream establishment. Among the Ejagham, the Ṁgbè society was the equivalent of Ékpè. It was a strong traditional institution as well but not as organised and sophisticated as the Ékpè, though some respondents claimed that Ékpè was an offshoot of Ṁgbè. Closely related to the Ékpè initiation phenomenon was the religious factor. The belief in Ndèm 'deities', ídiòñ 'oracle', íbók 'traditional medicine' and mbúkpó 'ancestors' is quite prevalent in Efikland. The Efik extended their indigenous religion to the interior communities in the course of their internal colonisation and this had a great impact on naming.

The fluidity of the traditional religious practices makes it possible for believers from far and wide to be converted. These practices, especially the veneration of ancestors, is quite widespread among people along the Cross River Basin. The ancestors are given pride of place in the culture and the spiritual well-being of the people and are regarded as the bridge between the past and the present. This defines a new form of social order and consciousness. In Efik, for instance, names relating to their traditional religion include names of ancestors, types of rituals, objects or animals of rituals, oracles, and the socio-cultural or spiritual contexts of worship or invocation. Based on our findings, some of these names that have been borrowed into other cultures (e.g Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa) include:

Table 12. Ritualised Efik names

Name	Gloss
Àbàsì (abasi)	God
Ékpó	Ancestral spirit
Ékpényóñ	Deity (male)
Ékánèm	Deity (female)
Ńsà/Ánsà	God/goddess
Ìnyàñ	River
Úkpòñ	Soul
Èfiòm	Crocodile

The adoption of these religiously coloured names indexes some degree of cultural sensitivity and commonality and brings about a greater understanding of a people's sense of connectedness and worship. The study discovered that the practice of ancestor veneration is similar among the Efik and related cultures like Agwagune, Ejagham, Lokaa and even Ibibio in mainland Cross River Basin. This is most visible in traditional performance like libation rituals, which have the same components of purification, pouring and prayer in all cultures. This evidence reveals common traditionality and spirituality.

The extended kinship ideology also contributed to the phenomenon of Efik name borrowing by the Upper-Cross River communities, given the effect of adoption and interethnic marriages. Adoption or compensatory kinship provides pseudoconsanguineal status for those whose children or parents would otherwise be lacking (Cardoso 1984:196). Henshaw (2006:12) records that at the abolition of slave trade, wealthy Efik kings and individuals personally adopted most of the freed slaves. They were given new names and were given the option of remaining with their benefactors or returning to their original communities. Those who chose to return went back with their Efik names and were reintegrated into their

societies. Those who chose to stay were resettled and given the means to begin their own families and businesses (Nair 1972). They were regarded as an intrinsic part of the patrilineal family with every right and privilege. Adoption and fostering are culturally acceptable means of creating kinship ties and is a prevalent practice among the Efik. Intertribal marriages also meant other cultures borrowed Efik names. Some Efik women who marry non-Efik men do not drop their maiden surnames. They use it as their middle names together with the husbands' surnames. They also give Efik names (enyiñ ufok) to their children and husbands as a way of sustaining their roots. In this way, there is transmission of social identity within a specified social context. Efik loaned names that are affected by adoption and interethnic marriages, as the study discovers, include:

Table 13: A social category of Efik names

Name	Gloss
Órók	king
Ésú	a tedious journey
Nyóñ	wanderer, reincarnated
Úmó	Wealth/beauty
Útibé	wonder(ful), miracle
Éfá	power/authority
Èkàété	father's mother

From our data, we noted that all the loan names in Agwagune from Efik have the same meaning and are pronounced and written the same way. However, it was observed that the socio-cultural forces informing these names in Efik do not determine their choice in Agwagune. Most of the respondents claimed they do not know the meaning of these names in Agwagune. Some of the examples of borrowed names into Ejagham are orthographic loans. In other words, they have the same pronunciation and meaning in the recipient language as in the donor language. Some are phonetically adapted loan names. In Ásà/Ásì and Ótû/Ítú contrasts, there are the transformations of vowels in the final and initial positions respectively in the recipient language phonology. This conforms with the principle of segment change. In Ńsà/Ánsà, an initial vowel sound has been introduced as an epenthetic process toward greater adaptability in the recipient language. In Ákwâ/Óquá there is the replacement of the marginal intervocalic cluster in the donor language orthographically by the grapheme <qu> as a written requirement of the recipient language. This is what Kang (2011:251) calls "native repair strategy", which may constitute a learnability problem, especially in writing.

Some names in Lokaa are borrowed wholesale with the same meaning, spelling and pronunciation. In some, the loan adaptation process involves a

number of strategies. In Mkpáñ/Nkpáñ, there is the substitution of a nasal consonantal feature with a similar feature. The bilabial nasal is substituted with the alveolar nasal in the same initial environment in the recipient language phonology. In Ùmó/Ùmór, there is the introduction of the trill sound in the word final position in the recipient language in conformity with its phonotactic requirements. From our data, you can see that Àbàsi/Òbàse and Ésú/Ísú present vowel transformation processes in the initial and final environments in the Lokaa and Agwagune languages while in Áyê/Áyéì we see the creation of a diphthong from the vowel in the word-final position in the recipient language. In Ńyóñ/Éyóñ, there is the creation of an additional syllable in the word-initial environment and the substitution of a nasalised word-initial with a front vowel. These changes are as a result of indigenous innovation in order to bring the names into agreement with Lokaa word structure and phonology.

9.   The consequences of shared contact names

Efik loan name adaptation and integration by the Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa people is a gradual process of cultural assimilation or what Jenkins (2009) calls 'stream shifting', where they coalesce into a new form of identity given that names have ethnic character and identity. This social transmission process is sustained from one generation to another, thus not limiting their defining character to their geographic areas of birth but also to other commonalities propelled by the cultural coalescing mechanism or the new order. In this way, Jenkins (2009) argues that the concept of ethnicity is redefined as a dynamic and developing process as names represent only one stream of the history of someone's identity. Brennen (2000:145) supports this position thus:

> For some people their given names are an important identity
> forming, behaviour-guiding element, which can overtly or
> covertly guide their life choices. One must, however, take care
> not to generalize from the compelling anecdotes about a name's
> influence to the belief that names are necessarily intimately
> bound up with one's identity.

It is possible for one to have a variety of names based on one's different levels of social contacts. In this way, loan results created simultaneous identity names, as the study has earlier noted.

Some bearers of contact names believe that their names teach them more about who they are as well as strengthen and develop their relationship with the Efik. They make their social identity more vibrant and their community more sustainable. Naming values and perceptions remain active and dynamic among contact name bearers. It has caused the ethnic boundary to be more elastic and

has promoted the various manifestations of cultural assimilation and sensitivity, as the study found out. Others maintain that their association with the Efik has enriched their experiences in many other aspects of their cultural renaissance such as visual arts, music and crafts, which undoubtedly have had traces of Efik influence since the 19th Century. It also has been argued that the Efik have a rich cultural heritage in the form of oral traditions, masquerade displays, burial orations, and libation rituals, among others, which have greatly heightened the contact name bearers' cultural consciousness and worldview.

One of the impacts of shared contact names among the Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa people is that such names help to enact multiculturalism in diverse positive ways. It strengthens existing socio-economic, political and cultural ties with the Efik people. These names open borders for inter-ethnic exchanges of ideas and oral tradition, which encourages the people to work on mutual and intercultural bases. Bearers of contact names are usually referred to as 'Calabar people' irrespective of their ethnic affiliation, which has helped to foster inter-group relations, thus using names to shape a new form of essentialised identity. This is more so because Efik is perceived as a language of opportunities and names take on the character of the language. This puts the bearers of contact names in a similar category of identity as the Efik, albeit as 'aliens' answering to Efik names.

Sharing common names with the Efik people is way of reinforcing their social affinity and cultural history with people of other nationalities. A case in point is the proposed creation of the Ogoja State out of the present Cross River State, where the Yakurr people are resisting their inclusion in the new arrangement, according to informants from the study. They said that given their historical affinity and shared cultural values with the Efik, as exemplified in their common names, cultural affinity and social solidarity, they wished to remain with the Efik. This will foster a climate of sustained tolerance and understanding. The integration of loan names into the recipient onomasticon is as a result of cultural contact, which is a varied and dynamic process. This contact situation has brought about different sorts of intercultural exchange like inter-tribal marriages between the Efik and other ethnic nationalities. This development has reduced inter-group conflicts and has promoted the principle of social acceptance, which is essential to the successful functioning of society. This understanding has also charted a road map for the cultures of other people, resulting in the Lebokun New Yam festival and Nyoro Ekpe festival, etc. being valued, recognised and appreciated by everyone, as the study discovered.

The borrowing of Efik names by the Ejagham (Ekin) culture has been found to affect Ejagham language shift and maintenance in the context of family language use. The diffused identity of Ejagham children leads to weaker ethnolinguistic

attachment to their home culture and stronger appeal to the Efik culture and language. The study, however, discovers that the reverse is the trend in the Efik-Agwagune and Efik-Lokaa borrowing situations. Efik personal names in these cultures have not affected the maintenance of Agwagune and Lokaa languages, rather, the double identity helps to strengthen ethnolinguistic vitality, promote cross-cultural attitudes and identity development. The study can, therefore, generalise that while double or diffused identity is an affective force among Agwagune and Lokaa name bearers, it is a subtractive force among the Ejagham of Calabar municipality, given the influence of contact with Efik.

10. Conclusion

The thesis of this paper is that it is not just lexical items from a language that can undergo borrowing, and be adapted and integrated into the lexicon of the recipient language from a donor language. Personal names can also be borrowed and integrated into the onomasticon of a recipient language. This study examines personal names as a consequence of language and cultural contacts from a cross-linguistic perspective. It investigated the influence of English loan name adaptation in Efik, and subsequently analysed Efik loan name adaptation in the Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa languages, which are not so powerful in terms of expanded functionality, socio-economic relevance and increased communicative demands as their substrate influence. We treated Efik loan name adaptation in these languages from the perspective of cultural and linguistic approximations. The loaning strategies include phonetic adaptation, phonemic replacement, native-speaker perception and orthography. The study discovers that there is no established system of loan name adaptation in these languages since the choice regarding what feature to preserve and which to sacrifice is informed by the status of the feature in the native phonology (Clement 2001). The paper concludes that trade and religion are the predominant influence that impact on traditional name borrowing from Efik to the upper Cross River communities. The paper argues that personal names express the cultural orientation of the people; their religion, worldviews, literary perceptions, etc. and when contacted and borrowed by other cultures, indigenous names can re-identify a people, redefine their social boundary and rewrite their cultural history. This has promoted ethnolinguistic cooperation and multiculturalism among some ethnic nationalities in Cross River State, Nigeria. The deduction here can have far-reaching implications for other language contact situations in Africa, for instance, dominant languages like Akan, Fante (Ghana), Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa (Nigeria), Afrikaans, IsiZulu (South Africa), Swahili (East Africa), Arabic (North Africa) etc. have stronger tendencies to influence small group (minority) languages around them to trigger not just

word borrowing into the lexicon but also name borrowing into the onomasticon, thus building new knowledge and validating our theoretical assumption.

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Appendix:

Some Efik personal names borrowed into Agwagune, Ejagham and Lokaa onomasticon.

Efik (source name)	Agwagune	Ejagham	Lokaa
Ḿkpáñ	-	-	Ńkpáñ
Úmó	-	-	Úmór
Ésú	Esu	Ésú	Ísú
Àbàsì (Bassey)	Obàzì	Bassey	Obàsì/Bassey
Ókón	Ókón	Ókón	Ókón
Ńyóñ	-	Nyok	Éyóñ
Áyé	-	Nye	Áyéi
Áfìòñ	Áfìòñ	Áfíóñ	Áfíóñ
Èfìòm	-	-	Èfìòm
Ékpó	-	Ékpó	Ékpó
Édèm	-	Édèm	Édèm
Édèt	Edèt	Édèt	Édèt
Óròk	Órók	Órók	Órók
Énàñ	-	Énàñ	Énàñ
Ékpè	Ekpè	-	Ékpè
Ésién	-	-	Ésién
Ótú	-	Ítú/Otu	Ótú
Íbók	Ébók	-	-
Íkwó	Íkwó	Íkwó	Íkwó

Efịk (source name)	Agwagune	Ejagham	Lokaa
Ítá	Ítá	Ítá	Átá
Étá	-	Étá	-
Àsì/Ásà	-	Àsì	-
Úkpòñ	-	Úkpóñ	-
Ésó	-	Ísó	-
Ákwá	-	Óqúa/Áquá	-
Àdìm	-	Édím	-
Óbó	-	Ábó/Odo	-
Ékòñ	-	Ékòñnninkae	-
Ńdáráké	´Ńdáráké	-	-
Ìnyàñ	Ìnyàñ	-	-
Étìm	Étìm	Étìm	´Etìm
Éwá	-	-	Éwá
Éyámbá	Íyámbá	-	Íyámbá
Ékpényóñ	Ékpényóñ	´Ekpényóñ	´Ekpényóñ
Ekanem		Ekanem	
Iniko		Iniko	
Mbang		Mbang	
Idem		Idem	
Asukwo		Asukwo	
Efa		Efa	
Nsa/Ansa		Ansa	
Eme		Eme	
Eno	Eno	Eno	Eno
Ama		Oma	
Iniko		Iniko	
Asibong/Archibong	Archibong		
Adiaha	Adiaha		
Efıon	Efıon		Efıon