

SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF NICKNAMING AMONG WOMEN IN UMUNZE IGBO

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Abstract

When a woman is married in Umunze, a town in Igboland, she is expected to be given a nickname by other women in the extended family. They call one another by these names in events such as cultural dance and meetings organised by these women. Therefore, this study examines a sociolinguistic study of nicknaming among women in Umunze. It aims to ascertain the meaning of these names as well as their cultural implications. It looked into the patriarchal nature of the nicknames and the symbolical elements prevalent in the nicknames. The framework hinges on Feminist Linguistic Sex Difference theory. The researcher is a native speaker thereby uses her knowledge about the dialect in collecting data for this study. The findings are: nicknames among Umunze women are given based on the personalities of the two people involved-newly married and the husband. The reasons behind the nicknames are for unity, closeness and communal living which exist among Umunze women. The cultural implication is to uphold the culture of Umunze people as well as to bring the women together as one being that they come from different backgrounds. Some names are derogatory while others extol. Symbols are used to make the bearers of the names to think deeply and act accordingly or effect a change where possible.

Keywords: Sociolinguistic, nicknaming, women, Umunze, Igboland.

Introduction

Names are given to an individual in order to identify such a person. It could be naming a child, nicknaming among women or men, naming among dancing groups and naming among title holders. In whichever way to look at it, names are given based on agreement. One may decide to take a pet name or any other name one chooses to answer but when it involves a larger community, there must be a consensus.

In Umunze, when a woman is married to a particular family, after the traditional marriage rite known as the 'igbankwunwany'i' has been performed, the woman is expected to be given a nickname by other women in the extended family. The nicknames are given to show the communal living that exists among the women and to draw the attention of the newly married to the happenings in the compound, being that they come from different families and backgrounds. Nicknaming among Umunze women is done based on the personality of the woman, family background as well as other factors such as the personality of the husband and the events surrounding the marriage. This study explores nicknaming among Umunze women, the reasons behind those names, their cultural implications, patriarchal nature of the nicknames and their symbols.

A brief History of the Umunze People

Umunze is the headquarters of Orumba South Local Government Area in Anambra State. Umunze is one of the dialects of Igbo spoken in the Eastern part of Nigeria. Igbo language is one of the major languages in Nigeria. The language belongs to the Niger-Congo group of Kwa language family. Umunze people are the descendants of Nze. The seven villages that make up Umunze people are Nsoywu, Ugunano, Lomu, Ubaha, Ururo, Ozara and Amuda. Other neighbouring towns around Umunze are Isulo, Ajalli, Ufuma, Nawfija, Ezira, Umuchu, Ihite, Owere-Ezukalla, Eziagu, Umuchukwu, Ogbunka and Isuochi. They are known for their farming and trading. Kingship in Umunze is not hereditary but moves from one village to another.

Conceptual Framework

Language is a major cultural phenomenon in human society and therefore an important regulator of individual consciousness and social interaction. As a cultural phenomenon, language is used in naming ceremonies, marriage rites, wrestling and dancing competitions. Wale (2008) in Emezue (2011:7) has this to say, "Language is human vocal noise or the arbitrary graphic representation of this noise or used systematically and conventionally by members of a speech community for purposes of communication". Two core words in this definition are systematically and conventionally. Here, language is not spoken haphazardly; rather the words spoken by an individual or community are spoken based on the agreement made by those people about the topic of discourse. It implies that one cannot come up with any word by oneself; rather there will be a consensus by which people come together to make an agreement concerning such topic of discourse. In this regard, names and nicknaming are not left out in such communal consensus.

Name is a word or phrase that refers to a specific person, place, thing or group of things. Naming is a phenomenon that man cannot do without. Name is a mark of identity in which one is known. Not only man is named but also animals and non-living things are named. There are a lot of factors that influence naming a person. These factors include circumstances surrounding the birth of a child, the position a child is occupying in the family, political, religious and social. But nicknaming among Umunze women is different from child's naming in that the personalities of the husband and the wife involved are taken into consideration. According to Hornby in Ajileye and Ajileye (2012:195), "A nickname is a name given in addition to, or altered from, or used instead of the real name". It implies that a nickname is another name added to the real name of a person. It is a name that is different from your real name but it is what your family and friends call you when they are talking to you or about you. Bechar-Israel (1995) states that a nickname is a name we receive in addition to our legal name [which is] usually given to us by the people surrounding us.

The issue of naming cannot be over-emphasized because you are your name and your name is you. We cannot but say that our nicknames make us loud, the tones and voices people use most time in calling people's nicknames are high and loud. The idea of naming makes you to fit in the society; nonetheless, there is nobody without a name. In the same vein, Ogunwale (2016), remarked that the idea of naming is onomastic, and is contextualised within the premise of its social and cultural ideologies. In nicknaming, the socio-cultural background of an individual needs to be taken into cognisance. In other words, different people around the globe have expunge different ways of naming. The same name differs based on our cultures. A

name given to a child in a particular situation in one culture may be different from the one given to another child in that particular situation in a different culture.

Saeed (2007:27) asserts, "Names after all are labels for people, places, etc and often seem to have little other meaning". When we ask of the meaning of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, it is quite unreasonable to ask such a question but rather to talk about the individual. It is worthy to note that context is important in the use of names. Saeed (2007) advocates names are definite in that they carry the speakers' assumptions that their audience can identify the referent. It implies that when one makes reference to a definite person, one assumes that one can identify the person made reference to. Deciding what to call something according to Barbara (2008) can constitute a claim about it. For example, people who sell clothing through catalogues or over the internet make highly strategic choices of names for the colours of items, since buyers can only see them in pictures. Hudson (2003: 122) sees personal names as: "The clearest linguistic markers of social relations. Each person has a number of different names by which they may be addressed, including first and family names, and possibly a title". This study aims at examining the title names given to women by other women in the families they are married to, so as to make them become part of them, being brought in from different family backgrounds. Mbonu (2010:10), differentiates between given names and taken names in Igbo tradition. He continues, "Given names represent a family story while taken names express a person's current history". In the same vein, Ezeanya (1994:9) avers, "A person receives a new name to indicate a change in his rank or in his appointment to a new post". When a young girl of a marriageable age marries in Umunze, she has changed her position as well as rank; a new name is given to her in order to make her acceptable and honourable.

Title names given to women as the case here cannot be divorced from the socio-cultural affinity. It depends on where the woman is coming from, her personality and where she is settling. Naturally, when a woman is newly married, there is an issue of acceptability which most women face in their husbands' place. With the title names given by other women, the newly married is drawn a bit closer to other women in her new home. Thomas (2017) does not go out of his way when he remarks that in the formation of a name; most African cultures do not forget their roots, lineage, future and destiny. Also, a title name may be given by the women based on some persons who have achieved prominence as well as on historical figures. Basically, they have seen those fits on the newly married before they will give such names to her. Scholars that have written on names and nicknaming include Ajileye & Ajileye (2012) on "Pragma-sociolinguistic features of Yoruba nicknames". They examined the stylistic significant characteristics of nicknames with a view to identifying the manner of construction, expression and perception which they exhibit using a pragma-sociolinguistic model.

The paper finds out that these nicknames demonstrate particular characteristic strategies of naming which implicate certain layers of meanings which include primary, secondary and tertiary. Also, Yoruba nicknames are not semantically distinguishable but also have distinction and elegance in their forms and functions. Their study added more light in the semantic differences on Yoruba nicknames as well as their forms and functions. However, there are gaps between this current study and theirs in that this present study attempts to analyse the cultural implications behind Umunze women's nicknames. It focuses on the patriarchal nature of the nicknames as well as their symbolic elements. But Ajileye and Ajileye's works focused in identifying the manner of construction, expression and perception found in Yoruba nicknames. Ibukun and Omotosho (2014) analysed a study on a "Socio-

semiotic study of nicknaming among undergraduates in a Nigerian University". They attempted to identify the patterns of nicknaming and see how nicknames function as a socio-semiotic signification system for identity reformation and reinvention among students of the University of Ibadan. The study finds out the use of irony as a common tool for reinventing the identity of others especially where the nicknames are given as derogatory labels to redesign the identities of the concerned personalities.

This current study differs from theirs in the sense that it investigates a sociolinguistic study of nicknaming among Umunze women. It looks at the rationale behind the nicknames as well as their cultural implications, patriarchal nature of the nicknames and their symbols. So, reviewing Ibukun and Omotosho's works has shown that some people use nicknames to project themselves especially where the nicknames were the creations of the individual concerned.

Anyachonkeya (2014) analysed "Naming in Igbo land: a linguistic and cultural study". The paper examines naming among Omuma people of Oru East Local Government Area of Imo in order to ascertain the relationship that exists in their naming with the rest of Ndi Igbo of Nigeria and Ndi Igbo in the Diaspora. The study investigates naming under the following subheadings: religious, social, historical, linguistic and philosophical. It finds out that sentential naming is customary of the Igbo people in general. She asserts that naming has religious, social, linguistic and philosophic colouring. The study shows that names children bear are reflection of their parents' thoughts and life's travail. Also, names given to children are the whims of their parents.

Onumajuru (2016) conducted a study on "Semantic and pragmatic analysis of Igbo names". The paper investigates the semantic and pragmatic contents of personal names and naming in the Igbo language and culture. The study examines the structure of Igbo names and analyses their semantic and pragmatic contents. The findings show that Igbo names structurally fall into three categories: lexical, phrasal and sentential. She posits that for Ndi Igbo, a name is not just a tag of identity or personal label but a story and an expression of the events and circumstances surrounding the birth of the child as well as the parents' life experiences and world view.

Also, Okagbue et al (2017) analysed a study on "Personal name in Igbo culture: a data set on randomly selected personal names and their statistical analysis". They investigated a simple random sampling of some selected Igbo personal names. The alphabets were presented in their written form. The study shows the statistical analysis of the distribution of the following: characters for each name, consonants, vowels, initial letters, terminal letters and total or word length and comparative ranking of frequency of occurrence. It is observed that the 5 vowels are ranked first to fifth and the consonants are ranked after. Initial and terminal letters constitute a major component of the study of words, nouns, proper nouns and personal names.

This present study is different from Anyachonkeya, Onumajuru and Okagbue et al works in that it centres on a sociolinguistic study of nicknaming among Umunze women which is not the focus of the various scholars' works reviewed. Anyachonkeya, Onumajuru and Okagbue et al works, deal on personal names while this present work deals on nicknames given to women by other women in the extended family. Their works are relevant to this study for they delve into the linguistics, structural and statistical analysis of Igbo personal names respectively which give an insight into this present work.

Nicknaming in Igbo Land

In the olden days, nickname is common among men and women in Igbo land either for their achievement, wealth, non-achievement, handsomeness or strength. Then, a winner in a wrestling competition is given a name such as 'azueralala' (back that does not touch ground) and 'dike' (strong man); a man who has a barn full of yam is nicknamed 'ezeji' (king of yam), and in terms of wealth, the person is called 'akajiaku' (hand that holds wealth), 'omeego' (always bringing money) and 'omenyiri' (someone who can do more than required). Supporting this, Phillip (1990), advocates that male nicknames relate typically to connotestrength, hardness and maturity while female nicknames connotemore of beauty, pleasantness, kindness and goodness. Other times, nicknames can be acquired or transferred from one person to another, such nicknames include; 'omekannaya' (one that behaves like his father) and 'oyirinnaya' (one that resembles his father). According to the study conducted by De klerk and Bosch (1996) on nicknames as sex-role stereotypes, it shows that males were more likely to have nicknames than females, especially in single-sex schools. Sometimes, their names can be shortened to become their business nicknames such as 'Williams' to 'Willcon', 'Obinna' to 'Obibenz' and 'John' to 'Jonnitex'.

Female nicknames are mostly given by friends and family members because of their goodness, kindness, support, beauty and personality etc. Differentiating nicknaming among male and female, Deklerk and Bosch (1996), argue that male nicknames were more likely than female nicknames to be used by their peer group members, males were more likely to coin nicknames than females, parents and family members were more likely to coin female nicknames. In terms of the woman's beauty, such nicknames include; 'anyanwuututu' which means 'morning sun' and 'apun'anwu' which means someone that should not go under the sun' because of her beauty. In terms of support, we have, 'ada di oramma' which means 'a daughter that is good for everybody' and 'nneora' which means the 'mother of everybody'.

Nicknames influence the perceptions of users; this is because of the semantic values evident in some nicknames (Holland 1990; Alford 1987). There is the tendency that the bearers of those nicknames behave like their names. Therefore, such nicknames have consequences of influencing the character of their bearers hereby making them to act the same. De klerk and Bosch (1996), concur with Holland and Alford when they say that bearers too may well accept their appellations as somehow indicative of the kind of person they are, the nickname functioning as a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy.

But in recent time, nickname is no longer in vogue due to the influence of religion. It is a practice condemned by the Christian faithful, that it is worldly and against the faith. For this reason, most people that have nicknames abhor it, saying that it is barbaric. Although, some individuals still answer their nicknames, majority do not. It is pertinent to note that in nicknaming, the bearer is aware of the situation unlike in child's naming where he/she is not aware. The child is named based on the events surrounding his/her birth; as well as it could be political, religious or traditional occurrences. Nicknames are chosen by the individual involved or they could be chosen by friends, peer groups or family members. Also Ibukun and Omotosho (2014) remarked that nickname could originate from the recognition of a person's physical characteristics or verbal relationships or association of ideas.

Theoretical Basis

The theoretical framework for this study hinges on sex difference theory of Feminist

Linguistics henceforth FL. FL is established on the basis that men and women use language differently. Cameron (1992), identifies two main motives FL studies sex difference which are, firstly the positive one is the quest for an authentic female language, whether this is taken to reflect some deep-seated cognitive difference or the existence in many societies of a female subculture. Secondly, the negative one is to identify the sexual power dynamic in language use, the conventions and behaviours through which speech reflects and perpetuates gender inequality.

According to Litosseliti (2006:23), "FL aims to theorise gender-related linguistic phenomena and language use, and to explicitly link these gender inequality or discrimination on the assumption that linguistic change is an important part of social change". By sex difference we mean the social difference between men and women. Litosseliti (2006), views sex difference theory between women and men's language as traceable to the two sexes having different world experiences, and women's language is not just as different, but positively valued. From different studies conducted by scholars, Fishman (1990), believes that women ask a lot of question while Wareing (1999), believes that women are less-assertive in language use.

In conclusion, women being different from men in language use are not the cause of sexism but the effect of sexism. Therefore, not hiring women to a particular social practice brings about the effect over time produces the differences, which are then used to justify the original discrimination. In other words, depriving women working in a particular social practice becomes the norm and with time, it justifies the claim.

In view of the above, the sex difference feminist theory is relevant in the analysis of this study following the propositions made that nicknames are additional names taken by women apart from their original names by people surrounding them and men and women are socially different. It then implies that the nicknames taken by Umunze women whether they are relating to their husbands or personalities or family background do not matter to them. Rather, the nicknames denote the manner the women behave different from the men socially and linguistically. The nicknames are needful in order for the women to function effectively in their domains. The women are more interested in fulfilling their marital vows than in thinking about the men's dominance over them.

Methodology

The study uses interview method and personal intuition in the collection of data. The researcher interviewed twenty women between ages 25 to 70 so as to ascertain the reasons behind their names and their cultural implications. The rationale for the selection is to aid culture continuity, hence, old women are the custodians of culture while the young women are the recipients. Also, the researcher being a native speaker uses her knowledge about the language in the interpretation of data.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The names were analysed based on the names given relating to their husbands, on the women's personalities and the family background of the women.

Names given relating to their husbands

Table 1 represents the nicknames given to the women relating to their husbands. The references to their husbands denote the patriarchal nature of the nicknames. On the domination

of women by the men, Udofot (2009) in Aremu (2016), remarked that females are made to accept the male political, social, economic and linguistic dominance over the women folk in our society. We cannot but say that the antecedents of gender differentials are influenced by the cultural beliefs of the people, social, the biological and psychological forms of the women. On the contrary, Ijah (2016), argues that in the traditional society, human activities were limited and as such, the divisions of functions on gender basis did not attract any disillusionment or dissatisfaction. The men and the women accepted the traditional stereotypes without question. Even the traditional Igbo society over-protected the women. Nevertheless, the nicknames by Umnze women do not initiate rebellion rather submission as indicated by the women. The nicknames are represented below;

Table `1: Names given in relation to one's husband

| S/N | Nicknames | Meaning |
|-----|-----------------------|---|
| 1. | Oyiridiye | One who resembles her husband. |
| 2. | Omasiridiye | Someone that is liked by her husband. |
| 3. | Osodieme | Someone that follows her husband to carry out responsibilities. |
| 4. | Ụlụ́manaechekụ́diye | Beautiful house that protects her husband's wealth. |
| 5. | Obidiye | Heart of her husband. |
| 6. | Anyanwụ́ụ́diye | Morning sun of her husband. |
| 7. | Oyoyoụ́madiyejiejemba | Beautiful thing the husband uses to go to a distant land. |
| 8. | Oladiye | Husband's ring. |
| 9. | Odoziakụ́diye | One who manages her husband's wealth |
| 10. | Ihuụ́madijiemeụ́hu | Favoured one her husband boasts of. |
| 11. | Akụ́madinyere | Favoured wealth from the husband. |
| 12. | Ụ́ganaechendo | One protected by her master/husband. |
| 13. | Ugogbeediye | Husband's mirror. |
| 14. | Ugochinyerediye | Eagle God has given to her husband |
| 16. | Ụ́nwadijiahụ́zo | Moon that her husband uses to see. |

In the above table, the prevalent issue in the nicknames is the references to the women's husbands which is not a matter of concern to them after all they accepted new names on account of their husbands. Also, the references to their husbands are conceived as complementary rather than domination by the men in conjunction with the biblical counsel which admonishes the women to call their husbands 'Lord' (1 Peter 3:6). Awoyemi (2012), explains that the place of the African woman in her society cannot be contested so also is her contribution in complementing the effort of the man. This is to say that men and women aspire to their different roles in the maintenance and survival of the community. Therefore, making references to their husbands do not make them less human rather extol them. The implied meanings of the nicknames are as follows:

Datum 1: Oyiridiye means one who resembles her husband. It could be a physical resemblance or character wise. In terms of physical resemblance, they will look like children of the same parents. As well, it could be a resemblance in terms of attitude and character. In other words, she is a woman who will be at peace with her husband because she acts and behaves like him. She respects and esteems her husband like no other person.

Datum 2: Omasiridiye means someone that is liked by her husband. She is the best liked by her husband. She is liked by her husband more than every other person in the family. She knows how to manage as well as soothe her husband. No one could have done better than her in handling her husband.

Datum 3: Osodieme means someone that follows her husband to carry out responsibilities. It indicates that the woman is industrious, virtuous and hardworking. She teams up with her husband to tackle the issues at home. She is a diligent woman who wants to partner with her husband in solving family challenges.

Datum 4 Uloomanaecheakudiye means beautiful house that protects her husband's wealth. A woman who is a home maker, she has come to make her home a comfortable place to be, both for her husband, children and every member of the family. She is not extravagant in her spending rather manages her home and prevents lack.

Datum 5: Obidiye means heart of her husband. It shows someone that will indeed understand and partner with her husband. She knows the needs of her husband and supports him, in complement with an adage that says united we stand and divided we fall.

Datum 9: Odoziakudiye means one who manages her husband's wealth. The woman does not spend the resources of her husband extravagantly rather she spends judiciously.

Datum 12: ụ ganaechendo means one protected by her husband. The husband is seen as a covering or protector over his wife. He is to defend and protect his woman from family turbulence. He is to esteem her before his people in order for them to respect her.

Datum 14: Ugochinyerediye means eagle God has given to her husband. She is a gift from God to her husband. She is a blessing to him. She has strength like an eagle to subdue evil ones and will take her husband to places. She is beautiful, strong and sensitive to issues. She is also sophisticated. 'Ugo' (eagle) is a symbol of strength and good vision. Eagle is not seen often, so the woman is a rare gem.

Datum 15: ụ nwadijahụzo means moon that her husband uses to see. This shows that her coming into her husband's life has brought in breakthrough, success, and excellence to the husband.

The nicknames below on table 2 are based on the personalities of the women. They signify excellence of personal or social traits among the women. Despite all these qualities, the women are humble rather than pompous and haughty. Such names include:

Table `2: Nicknames based on the personality of the woman

| S/N | Nicknames | Meaning |
|-----|-----------------------|---|
| 16. | Ikukujos | Wind from Jos |
| 17. | Ugobechigbuakwa | The best among all the women |
| 18. | RekUdu UmUwayU | Women's recorder. |
| 19. | Abubaugoonyetutaonyee | Eagle's feather that whosoever picks becomes happy. |
| 20. | Osisiiwu | Forbidden tree. |
| 21. | UnUgUu | Sweet tendril of Pumpkin that springs forth |
| 22. | Akwaji Uj oke akwa | Expensive wrapper (George) |
| 23. | Obere Nkachifu | Small handkerchief |
| 24. | IgundU | Fresh palm frond |
| 25. | Ngwamma | Beauty paraphernalia |
| 26. | Ugomba | Eagle from a distant land |
| 27. | Egbeoyibo | Foreign gun |
| 28. | Ugboo vuu ndioma | Car or canoe that carries good people |
| 29. | Uloelu | Storey building |
| 30. | Acharaugo | Beautiful eagle |

Some of the nicknames are derogatory such as in figs. 20 and 23 which signify 'controversial' and 'short' women respectively. Although the referents may be close to these names but would not want to be reminded of them. Examples of nicknames that extol are: fig. 16, 'ikukujos' which means 'wind from Jos', fig. 22, 'AkwajiUjiokeakwa' (expensive wrapper-George), fig. 25, 'Ngwamma' (beauty paraphernalia), fig. 27, 'egbeoyibo' (foreign gun) and fig. 30, "acharaugo" (beautiful eagle) etc.

It is worthy to note that the personalities of these women do not make them rebel rather supportive as well as complement their husbands. Achebe (1958), paints a vivid picture of the Igbo traditional gender stereotypes, a miniature of Africa and how through informal education fathers groom their boys to grow up as men, bold, courageous, audacious and fearless. The women on the other hand, groom their girls to become soft, subservient, weak and gentle. As noted by Achebe, some of these qualities are possessed and seen in Umunze women. Hence, the qualities make the women to submit and not rebel. The explicit meanings of the nicknames are seen below:

Datum 16: Ikukujos means wind from Jos. The significant thing about the weather condition at Jos is cooler compared to weather in other Middle Belt States. Although Jos is not situated in the far North, the cold weather condition there penetrates inside the body. When wind blows, it lifts things around, so the woman has come to move the family forward. It then implies that an extraordinary person has entered as well as to bring a positive change into the family. Wind is an agent of change.

Datum 17: Ugobechigbuoakwa means the best among all the women. This shows a beautiful, good-looking and elegant woman. When a woman marries a responsible man who takes care of her, her beauty will glow and attract others. She is the most beautiful among other women because her husband is taking very good care of her.

Datum 18: Reḡḡḡḡḡḡwanyi means women's recorder. She is the spokesperson for the women. This is because she can store what has been said or done in a meeting and recall or produce it back when needed. She is an entertainer just as radio does. Radio does not stop nor get exhausted, so she goes on and on without getting drained.

Datum 19 Abḡbaugonyetḡḡḡḡḡḡ means eagle's feather that whosoever picks becomes happy. It signifies someone that is precious, valuable, rare and worth a lot of money. It is rare to see an eagle much less of picking the feather. She is a woman that is special and also a rare gem.

Datum 20 Osisiwu means forbidden tree. A woman that is tough, proud, and difficult to toy with. She is an arrogant woman who feels superior to other persons. She proves difficult to deal with.

Datum 21: Onuugutḡ means sweet tendril of pumpkin that springs forth. The tip or mouth of a pumpkin leaf is sweet and tender; therefore it needs a slight or gentle touch; as such, the woman married into that particular family is fragile and tender. So, she needs attention and to be guided by her husband not to digress. She is beautiful and needs to come out in order to showcase her beauty.

Datum 23: Oberenkachifu means a petite but strong person. The woman is small in stature but is strong and resilient.

Datum 24: Igundḡ means fresh palm frond. In Umunze, fresh palm frond is beneficial in that it is used to make thatches, shield our barns and acts as a protective covering in our farms and compound etc. Therefore, she is seen as an industrious and hardworking woman who will be a shield and a protector to her husband's family.

Datum 26: Ugomba means eagle from a distant land. She is a special woman, who thinks and acts clearly. She is a rare gem, someone from afar that brings good tidings, so she is unique. She has brought good tidings to her husband.

Datum 27: Egbeoyibo means foreign gun. Gun is a symbol of defence and protection while 'oyibo' denotes an alien or non-native person. The nickname implies a sophisticated woman.

Datum 28: ụ gbuobundiụma means car or canoe that carries good people. As car or canoe is used to convey people or goods from one place to the other and when it does, there is much joy and excitement with moving around, meeting with the right people, more so coming home with good reports. So, the woman is going to take her husband to places. Therefore, the woman has brought a change to the family. Car or canoe is a symbol of change and good tidings.

Datum 29: ụ luelu means storey building. The woman is tall and huge. Therefore, her extremely large stature accrues her prominence and respect among other women. She is her husband's backbone.

Datum 30: Acharaugo means Beautiful eagle. She is pretty and gorgeous with so much strength and vitality to support her husband.

There are also nicknames based on the background of the women. No individual is devoid of his/her root, so making reference to one's root is not a wrong assertion; rather, it motivates one for future events. The family background of the women considered in these nicknames either rich or poor background is to re-awaken them to forge ahead. Nevertheless, the conclusion of the matter is that the women have changed their title names. Below are some of such nicknames based on a woman's background:

Table 3: Nicknames based on a woman's background

| S/N | Nicknames | Meaning |
|-----|-----------|-------------------------|
| 31 | Orikeze | One who eats like kings |
| 32 | Egooyibo | English money |
| 33 | Egoigwe | Iron money |

The nicknames above do not change the personalities of these women. The women are married to support their husbands, whether from rich or poor background. Ijah (2016), remarked that days are gone when women are regarded only as "Oriaku" meaning a consumer of their husbands' wealth. Today, they are seen as "Oriaku", Odoziaku" and "Okpataaku", that is, consumer of wealth, keeper and moderator of wealth and a maker of wealth respectively. That is what a newly married should strive hard to achieve when she comes into the family. The analysis of the nicknames is as follows:

Datum 31: Orikeze means one who eats like kings. It signifies a woman who has come to enjoy her husband's affluence. In other words, her new home is better than the former place. Just like the life of a king, he has everything at his beck and call. A woman who is married into a wealthy family will have everything at her disposal, and thus will now eat like a king. Eze (king) is a symbol of surplus and abundance.

Datum 32: Egooyibo means English money. It shows someone who has been living in affluence before marriage. She has brought an extraordinary favour to her husband in conjunction with the biblical counsel that says “Whoso findeth a wife findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favour of the Lord” (Proverb 18:22).

Datum 33 Egoigwe means iron money. This shows one who comes from a place of affluence. She is a woman of substance.

In view of the above, Umunze women need to take their destinies in their hands no matter their family background, with the co-operation of their husband to overcome the lowly demeanour. Consequently, these nicknames are to create a conducive environment for a friendly relationship among the women in order to co-exist and support their families.

Symbolism in Nicknames

A lot of symbols are used in the nicknaming among Umunze women. The issue of the signifier and the signified is arbitrary; that is the named is based on the consensus of a particular speech community. Wales (2001:379) opines, “A symbol is a sign, whether visual or verbal, which stands for something else within a speech community”. Abram and Harpham (2012:258) affirm that, “in symbol, the relation between the signifying item and what it signifies is not a natural one, but entirely a matter of social convention”.

The symbols make reference to inanimate objects which include; fig. 21, 'OnUgU (sweet tendril of pumpkin) which signifies tenderness, fig.4, 'U (house) in 'UIUmanaekediye' (beautiful house that protects her husband's wealth) which symbolises safety of his belongings. It implies one that is a homemaker as well as protector of the wealth of her husband. In fig.6 'AnyanwUUU (morning sun) and fig. 15 'Unwa' (moon) symbolise brightness, fig. 6 and fig 15 show women that have come to shine forth in their husbands' homes. Fig. 8 'Ola' (ring) symbolises beauty which indicates a woman that is the beauty of her husband. Fig. 20, 'Osi' (tree) symbolises strong and independent which means a strong woman. Also, 'Igu' (palm frond), palm frond in Umunze is used for a lot of purposes such as making of thatches, shelter and broom. Therefore, the woman will help to develop and increase her husband.

'Ugo' (eagle) is known for its strength, vigour, and good vision. Eagle is hardly seen. Nicknames in fig.14 'Ugochinyerediye' (eagle God has given to her husband), fig 19 'AbUgUgoonyetUaonyee' (eagle's feather that whosoever picks becomes happy) and 'Acharaugo' (beautiful eagle) show women with strength, vigour, think deeply and a rare gem. 'Eze' symbolises honour, abundance and surplus, fig.31'orikeze' means a woman who has come to enjoy where there is abundance. 'Oyibo' (foreign) means something that is not of African origin and highly developed, as in fig.27 'Egbeoyibo' (foreign gun) and in fig 32 'Ego oyibo' (English money). They are not ordinary women.

Nicknames in a Patriarchal Society

The patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society demands that men rule and women take instructions. Women are to subject themselves to their husbands, therefore whatever they are should be to their husbands. The issue of nicknaming is not left out in this practice. In view of

this, Salami (2003) in Olaitan and Omobolanle (2015:179), opines that, “the societies in most parts of the world see women as second class citizens as such their portrayal in most works of literary art are seen in the negative perspective”. Aremu (2016) affirms that there are many linguistic studies on Nigerian languages and Nigerian English which have shown that there is often a covert and/or overt linguistic violence against women in the society. In fact, women are made to accept the male dominance over them without mincing words, if you do otherwise, the women will see you as an outcast.

This is portrayed in some of the nicknames that make references to the women's husbands, to show that the women are whatever they chose to be for their husbands; indicating that males dominate the society. After all, the men brought the women into their families. There are disparities in Umunze, although they bear these names, the women are brought to complement and support their husbands. The rationale behind the nickname is for co-existence among the women in the family. Such names include 'oladiye' (husband's ring), 'osodieme' (someone that follows her husband to carry out responsibilities) and 'omasiridiye' (someone that is liked by her husband).

However, some names eulogise the women and their latent qualities are extolled. Such nicknames include; 'abŪbŪgoonyetutaonyee' (eagle's feather that whoever picks becomes happy). It shows someone that is special and precious whom the husband will be chosen as wife and be happy, 'egooyibo' (English money) means an extraordinary and a sophisticated person. She has brought wealth to the family; wealth they say is transferable. Some names are derogatory, such as 'oberenkachifu' (small handkerchief) which implies someone that is short as well as small. 'Orikeze' (one who eats like kings) means someone who has come to enjoy in the husband's house. It then implies that she is coming from a low background which she needs not to be reminded. Umunze women have accepted their fate and are submissive to their husbands.

Conclusion

Apart from the personal names given to the women during their birth, Umunze women are given nicknames by other women in the place they are married to, in order to show the communal living that exists among the women. Not only to show the unity and togetherness among the women but also to show the acceptance of the newly married into their fold thereby crushing to some extent the spirit of unacceptability that displays itself in most homes. The personality of the newly married, her family background as well as where she is married to play an important role in the nicknaming among Umunze women. References are made to animate things such as 'ugo' (eagle), 'eze' (king) and 'di' (husband) and inanimate things such as 'ugbo' (car), 'osisi' (tree) and 'ulo' (house) in the naming. A lot of symbols are used such as 'ugo' (eagle) and 'ulo' (house) which signify strength and safety respectively. For the patriarchal nature of our society, Umunze women affirmed to the different social roles between men and women, so the issue of rebellion does not arise, hence the cordial relationship between the wives and their husbands. Most of the nicknames are descriptive in nature. Nicknames on the other hand are an addition to our names.

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