Nicknames as Marker of Identity in Ilorin; a Socio Linguistic Analysis

*JAIYEOLA, Fatima Funmilola[1], EMUCHAY Joyce[2] and MOSHOOD Zakariyyah[2]

1Kwara State Polytechnic, P.M.B 1375, Ilorin.

2Kwara State University, P.M.B 1530, Ilorin

* Email of corresponding author: fafuja@yahoo.com, Mobile no: +234-8033333825

Abstract

Although a lot of scholarly research has been done on Yoruba names, little or no literature exist on nicknames fondly used among Ilorin people and its interplay with language in signalling identity. Therefore, this research was initiated to provide information on the socio-linguistic features of Yoruba nicknames of among Ilorin people and their use in marking identity. To this end, structured questionnaire was used to elicit information on nicknames from 150 Ilorin indigenes selected from three (3) tertiary institutions namely Kwara State University (KWASU), Kwara State Polytechnic (Kwara Poly) and University of Ilorin (UNILORIN). The findings showed that nicknames borne by Ìlọrin indigenes (NII) can be classified into name derivative, celebrities'-imitated-nicknames, ironic nicknames, euphemistic nicknames, transliterated-anglicised nicknames, anglicised name derivative, physical attribute-derived nicknames, family name derivative, translation of bearer name and ambition based nicknames. It also showed that nicknames are fluid and hence not exclusive to any ethnic entity-Ilorin but provides means of social interaction and integration in the society. They indicate social identity.
Key words: Ilorin, nicknames, identity, language, socio linguitic.

1. Introduction

Although nicknaming is a common linguistic apparatus in most African societies, scholarly attention varies on this subject matter. McDowell (1981) and Lakaw (2006) opined that the word nickname originates from the Middle English word- 'an eke- name'- connoting another name. Thus, its etymology distinguishes it from the conventional names.   Harder (2008) identified nicknames and pseudonyms as categories under names. He however observed that nicknames could originate from acknowledgment of a person's physical characteristics or verbal relationship or from association of ideas while a pseudonym is a name adopted by authors or actors to mask their identity. More so, nickname provides the basis for fluidity of identity as one could have different nickname in different social construct. Nickname is seen as a way of reinventing one's identity or that of others to produce the desired signification or derogatory tags for reinventing the identity of others (McDowell, 1981).

2. Language and Identity

Pinker (1994: 17) portrayed language as being "so closely woven into human experience that it is scarcely possible to imagine human life without it."   Language is a system of communication used by humans ubiquitously, and it is indisputably a distinguishing difference between human and lower animal (Sinclair, 2001: 830). Thus, allowing for interpersonal communication among humans. Although the main function of language communication of the content of messages, it is also used to convey information, whether is true or not, or is designed to be used to command, persuade or express feelings and maintenance of social identity (Aitchison, 2000: 175). Gibson (2004) noted that language is a control feature of human identity as people's state and status can be identified through speech. Futhermore, Spolsky (1999:181) noted that language is a potent mark of collective identity as it unites people belonging to a particular speech community. It is a powerful symbol of

national and ethnic identity This is a form of social identity where individuals' linguistic items, such as naming strategies, identify with the people they consider as members of their group become important. In Hockett's (1958: 73-75) words, language evolved in two steps involving "blending occurred when human ancestors began to produce new calls by combining two old ones and in the duality of patterning stage, humans acquired the ability to produce arrangements of blended sounds."

2.1 Concepts of Group, Personal and Social Identity

Identity is conceptualized as an individual's or a group's sense of self conception, expression, and affiliation. It epitomizes a person's or a group's sense of uniqueness. Norton (2000: 5) viewed identity as "how a person understands his/her relationship to the world, how this relationship is constructed in time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future." Park (2007: 341) cited in Barnawi (2009: 65) saw identity as "an inherently social product that is jointly created by interactants, rather than as a pre-determined, psychological construct that is lodged within each individual's mind." To Val and Vinogradova (2010: 1), identity is dynamic and socially constructed as it is negotiated in discourse and thus influenced by language, which creates the medium for its negotiation.

Ansaldo (2010: 615) saw the alignment between language and identity as "complex" and "continually shifting" while Barnawi (ibid: 66) sees it as a mediating tool for constructing and deconstructing individual and social identities.

Although scholarly works have been done on the structure (Sangotoro, 2002); sociolinguistics (Akinnaso, 1980) and pragma-sociolinguistics (Ajileye/Ajileye, 2003) of nicknames, little attention has been given to socio linguistic analysis of collective Yoruba nicknames. Thus, the present research seeks to x-ray Yoruba collective nicknames among the Ìlọrin people. Also, it intends to examine the sociolinguistic basis of such nicknames since they are social phenomena in the society. Hence, the aim of this research is to show the sociolinguistic basis of Yorùbá nicknames among Ìlọrin sub-ethnic group and their interplay with identity through a sociolinguistic study. However, it was limited the meaning and social context of Yorùbá nicknames as applicable to Ìlọrin people. Also the analysis of data will draw insight from socio-linguistics and hence depict the linguistic features of the Yorùbá nicknames. Ìlọrin is the the capital of Kwara State, occupying latitude 8.50° N and longitude 4.55° E in North Central of Nigeria, with a claim to ownership between Àfònjá (the Are Ona Kakanfo of Old Oyo) and Mallam Alimi, a Fulani associated with Gwandu (Jimoh, 1994).

3. Methodology

3.1 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts communication accommodation theory (CAT) developed by Howard Giles (1973) as its theoretical frame. It provides the link between language, context and identity. It proposes that when people interact, they fine-tune their verbal and non-verbal features in order to minimize their differences. This act was described as convergence. Convergence aims at adapting, enhancing similarity and seeking approval. It is an intra-group affair or sometimes intergroup where an inferior group scales up its approach to be accepted. On the other hand, divergence aims at showcasing the distinction between groups, magnifying and accentuating their differences to denote distinct identity. Howard also include over- accommodation concept in CAT where one

over stretches oneself to accommodate the excesses of others. The interconnectivity of CAT and identity can be explored through sociolinguistics.

3.2 Research Tools

3.2.1 Data gathering on proper and nicknames

The tools used for data collection in this study were: structured questionnaires, private interview and survey. Questionnaires were administered to one hundred and fifty (150) representative Ìlọrin indigenes selected from three tertiary institutions in Ìlọrin metropolis. Fifty copies of questionnaires were administered to each of the tertiary institutions to give a total of 150 questionnaires which is in the range of the acceptable upper limit recommended for survey. The tertiary institutions were chosen in order to get an assemblage of Ìlọrin youth with diverse background that understand the concept of research investigation as the theme centres on names which people are usually hesitant to divulge in details. The selected tertiary institutions were Kwara State University (KWASU), Kwara State Polytechnic (Kwara Poly) and University of Ìlọrin (UNILORIN). These tertiary institutions were selected because they are the most attended tertiary institutions by Ìlọrin indigenes that are accustomed with their culture as it relates to names and naming. Observation and preliminary investigation revealed that more Ìlọrin indigenes attend these institutions than they attend other institutions probably as a result of proximity, catchment consideration, relative ease of getting admitted and stable academic calendar. Thereafter, questions were asked to elicit information about the meanings of their nicknames and the significance as well as possible reasons for such nicknames. Also, an aspect of the questionnaire was used to find out whether the interpretation of such nicknames requires background knowledge of history, religion, culture or circumstances surrounding the birth of the bearers.

3.3 Analytical Procedure

Demographic data such the ages and sexes obtained from the subjects through the administered questionnaires were analysed using statistical package for the social sciences (SPSS) to depict the distribution of the ages, sexes and other respondents' variables. Percentages of respondent for each of the measured variables and elicitors were computed. Pie charts and tables were used to depict these percentages. All the names (proper names, nicknames and surnames) obtained were subjected to socio-linguistic analysis. The contextual meaning of the nicknames as used in Ìlọrin were revealed, their socio-classifications were portrayed and their morphological features assayed. They were also classified based on their meanings.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Demographic Data of the Respondents on Proper Names and Nicknames through Questionnaires

The sexes and age groups of the respondents on personal names and nicknames are presented below:

Figure 1 showed that the resptonets were mostly female constituting 60% of the population.

Figure 2 showed the age group of the respondents. All the respondents were youth as the subject matter-nicknaming and identity affect them the most. Majority (70%) of them fall betweem 21-25%.

4.2 Socio-Perception of Nicknames Borne by Ìlọrin Indigenes NII

Figures 3,4 and 5 depicted that though most (62%) of Ìlọrin youth know the meaning of their nicknames, they differ on whether nicknames should have meanings and the import of nicknames on them and their morale.

Figure 6 showed that friends are usually the initiator of nicknames, though individuals can reinvent themselves through self-nicknaming. Also, parents nickname their children.

Table 1 showed that Ìlọrin youth preferred their Yorùbá personal names to nicknames as nicknames are neither exclusive to Ìlọrin indigenes nor sex. Therefore, nicknames are not exclusive to Ìlọrin indigenes since other Yorùbá bear such nicknames. Hence, the researcher held that nicknames are not unique to Ìlọrin sub ethnic group.

4.3 Classification of Nicknames

Tables 2, 3 and 4 gave the list of nicknames obtained through the administration of questionnaire. The nicknames borne by Ìlọrin indigenes NII can be classified into the following:

   a.   Name derivative: These nicknames are derived from the names of the bearers. It could be short form, abbreviation of names. Examples:

       i.   Ọpẹ́yẹmí ⇨ Op

       ii.   Ọdúnọlá ⇨ Ọdún

       iii.   Ìdòwú ⇨ ID

       iv.   Àlàbá ⇨ Alabama

       v.   Adébáyọ̀ (Baa you), Olúwaségun (sege), Bọlákale (BK), Ọmọkayode (Kay), Ìbùkúnolúwa (IBK) and Owólabí (Owó).

   b.   Celebrities'-imitated-nicknames: These are names of celebrities that are taken as nicknames by their admirers. Examples:

       i. Richoco: name of a footballer

       ii.Suzzie: name of a Hollywood actor

       iii.   Benzema: name of a Real Madrid player

   c.   Ironic nicknames: These nicknames imply the opposite of what is intended. Examples:

       i. Olówó: a pauper called 'Ọlọ́wó'

       ii.Good boyz: Political thug

       iii.   Kò sí rónbè: Rumour monger

d. Euphemistic nicknames: These nicknames are used in pleasing ways to express displeasing or negative features of the bearers. Examples:

    i. HoD: The bearer is big headed

ii. Agùntásọọ́lò: Tall person

e. Transliterated-anglicised nicknames: These nicknames are anglicised form of the bearer name to let it portent English names. Examples:

    i. Harbeesorlar: Abísọ́lá was anglicised

    ii. Mz- Hollabísi: miss Ọlábísi

    iii. Temmythorpe : Tẹ̀mítọ́pẹ́

    iv. Horllar: Ọlá

f. Anglicised name derivative: This class of nicknames resulted from anglising a part of the bearers' names or its abbreviation. Examples:

    i.   Ishọlá: Ishy

    ii. Ọmọtọ́shọ̀: Toshy

    iii. Kẹ́hìndé: Kenny

    iv. Yétúndé (Yetty), Ọmọtànwá (Tanny) Fẹ̀hìntọ́lá: Thorla and Motúnráyọ̀ (Tunray).

g. Physical attribute derived nickname: These nicknames described the physical character of the bearers. Examples:

    i.   Choco milo: the bearer is a chocọláte skinned person

    ii.   Golden girl: dark complexion

    iii.   Atinga: slender

    iv.   BBB- Big bold and beautiful: She has big stature

    v.   Ìgalà, Dogo, Àgòrò, Ọmọ́ga, Tally, Agali, Longman: Tall person

    vi.   Ọ̀rọ̀bọ̀, Wule bantu, Biggy, Ẹja ńlá, Ọ̀bọ̀kún, Bàmbà: Fat person

h. Indianized nicknames: These nicknames are coined after Indian names. Examples:

    a.   Surajkhan

    b.   IDkhan

i. Family names: The family name of the bearer is taken as their nicknames. Example:

      i.   Ọlátúnjí

      ii.   Ọmọbálẹ̀, Olówó, Crown, Olóori.

   j.   Translation of bearer name: These nicknames are translation of the bearers' names. Examples:

      i.   Plus one: Ọlámilékan

      ii.   Crown: Adé

      iii. Honey: Olóyin

   k.   Ambition based nicknames: Here, the bearer bears the professional s/he intends to become.

      i.   Doctor

      ii.   Pilot

      iii.   'Òjògbón': Professor

Although, the above classification is in consonance with the findings of Ajileye and Ajileye (2003) and Atọlágbe *et al.*, 2015), it however has other groups such as celebrities'-imitated-nicknames, euphemistic nicknames, Indianized nicknames, transliterated-anglicised nicknames and translation of bearer names. These underpinned the influence of globalization and its agent- the media on language generally and Yorùbá Ìlọrin specifically (Saheed, 2013). Nicknames as a means of social integration transcends cultural barrier to allow different speech community communicate freely without language barrier, but make Yorùbá names loss their inherent meanings and thus reduces names to mere labels (Saheed, 2013). In accordance with principle of convergence in communication accommodation theory CAT, the inferior group (Yorùbá proper names) keep adapting and seeking approval of the superior group (anglicized nicknames). Also, worthy of note is the introduction of sounds that were not hitherto in Yorùbá as in *Hor* fɜr /ɔ/ in Hɜrlar (Ọlá) and Ph fɜr /f/ as in Phemmy (Fẹ́mi); doubling of consonants as in The*mm*ytorpe (Tẹ̀mítọ́pé). This changing orthography is seen as linguistic creativity and it is believed that to open opportunity in language use in relation to names (Saheed, 2013).

The social context within which nicknames are used is of paramount in decoding the meaning of such nicknames. For instance, it could be ironic when political thugs are called good boyz or when thieve are called ọmọlópe. Or euphemistic when big headed person is called HoD. It can also be used to hide the context within a discussion. Referring to people as BBB, IBK and BK might not let the third party grasp the import of a discussion.

From the foregoing, it is seen that nicknames are neither restrictive to ethnic group nor individuals as people within and outside an ethnic group share nicknames in common. Also, individual could have more than one nickname. The nicknames borne thus depend on the social gathering the bearers are. Therefore, nicknames are rather fluid and social concept used in sustaining the bearer in a social circuit hence, nicknames signified social identity (Harder, 2008).

5. Conclusions

It can be concluded from the research that:

1. Nicknames borne by Ìlọrin indigenes (NII) are neither exclusive to Ìlọrin indigenes of Yorùbá origin nor to individuals but provide means of social interaction and integration in a social construct-society. They indicate social identity.

2. Nicknames borne by Ìlọrin indigenes (NII) can be classified into: name derivative, celebrities'-imitated-nicknames, ironic nicknames, euphemistic nicknames, transliterated-anglicised nicknames, anglicised name derivative, physical name derivative, celebrities'-imitated-nicknames, ironic nicknames, euphemistic nicknames, transliterated-anglicised nicknames, anglicised name derivative, family name derivative, translation of bearer name and ambition based nicknames.

3. This research showed that anglicizing of names disrupts the orthography of names, make them lose their meanings and introduce new sounds into English language in Nigeria.

6. References

Aitchison, J. The Seeds of Speech: Language Origin and Evolution. *(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) p17 5*

Ajileye, M. K. and Ajileye, S.S. (2003). Pragma-sociolinguistic features of Yorùbá nicknames. In Bayo Lawal (Ed.) Stylistics in theory and practice. Ìlọrin: Paragon

Akinnaso, N. F. (1980). The Sociolinguistic Basis of Yorùbá Personal Names. *Anthropological Linguistics* 22: 275–304

Ansaldo, U. (2010). Identity Alignment and Language Creation in Multilingual Communities. *Language Sciences* 32: 615–623.

Atọlágbe, D.D., Abegunde, C.T and Moronfoyè, O. T. (2015). Generation and Attribution of Nicknames among Secondary School Students: Indices of Linguistic Creativity Research on Humanities and Social Sciences www.iiste.org ISSN (Paper)2224-5766 ISSN (Online) 2225-0484 (Online) Vol.5, No.20, 2015 104 accessed 3rd July, 2016.

Barnawi, O. Z. (2009). The Construction of Identity in L2 AcAdémic Classroom Community: A Small Scale Study of Two Saudi MA in TESOL Students at North American University". *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies* 5/2: 62–84.

Gibson, K. (2004). English only court Cases involving the U.S. Workplace: The Myths of Language Use and the Homọgenization of Bilingual Workers' Identities. *Second Language Studies*, *22*(2), 1-60.

Harder, K. (2008): "Names". In: *Microsoft Encarta* 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation.

Hockett, C.F. (1958). *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. The Macmillan Company: New York.

Jimoh, L.A.K. (1994). Ìlọrin the Journey So Far, Atoto Press Limited.

Lakaw, A. (2006). Hiding behind nicknames. A linguistic study of anonymity in IRC chatrooms. Student thesis, Växjö University. http://http://lnu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:206935/ FULLTEXT01 (accessed April 8, 2015).

Norton, B. (2000). Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change. *Essex: Pearson.*

Park, J. Y. (2006). "General Introduction." *Buddhisms and Deconstructions.* Ed. Jin Y. Park. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers. xi-xxii.

Pinker, S. (1994). *The Language Instinct* (London: Penguin) p17.

Saheed, O. R. (2013). Sociolinguistic dimension to globalisation: gradual shift in Yorùbá personal names among youths in South western Nigeria. The African Symposium: An online journal of the African Educational Research Network.

Sangotoro, T.K. (2002): The Grammar of Yorùbá Personal Names. M.A. Dissertation, University of Ibàdán.

Sinclair, J.M. (Ed.) (2001). *The Collins Concise Dictionary* (Glasgow: Harper Collins,) p830. *Speaker?* http://www.cal.org/heritage/pdfs/briefs/what–is–the–identity–of–a–heritage–

Spolsky, B. (1999). Second-language learning 181-192. *Handbook of language and ethnic identity,* edited by J. Fishman Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Val, A. and Vinogradova, P. (2010). *What is the Identity of a Heritage Language*

language–speaker.pdf, accessed November 19, 2010.

Figure 2: Sex of respondents
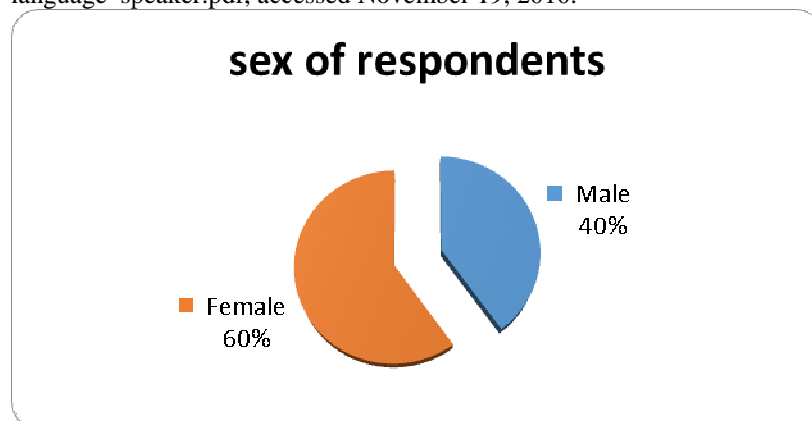
Figure 1 showed that the respontents were mostly female constituting 60% of the population.
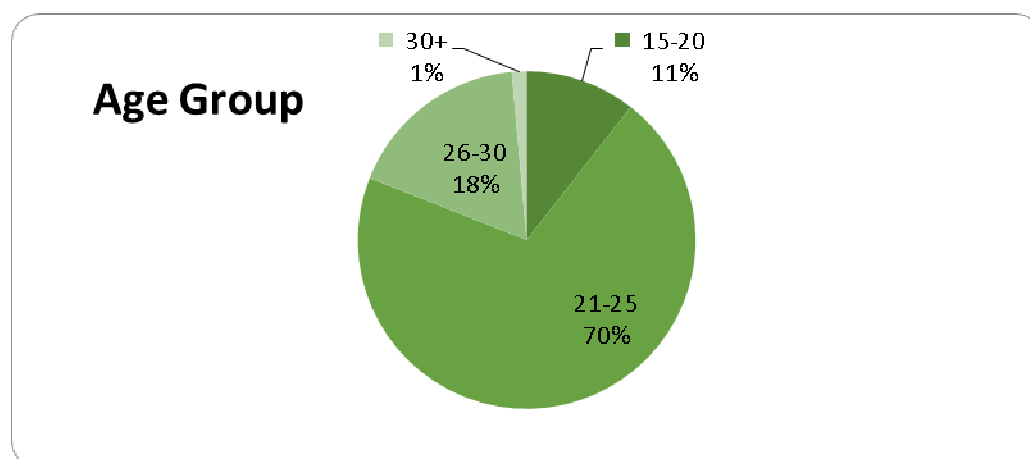

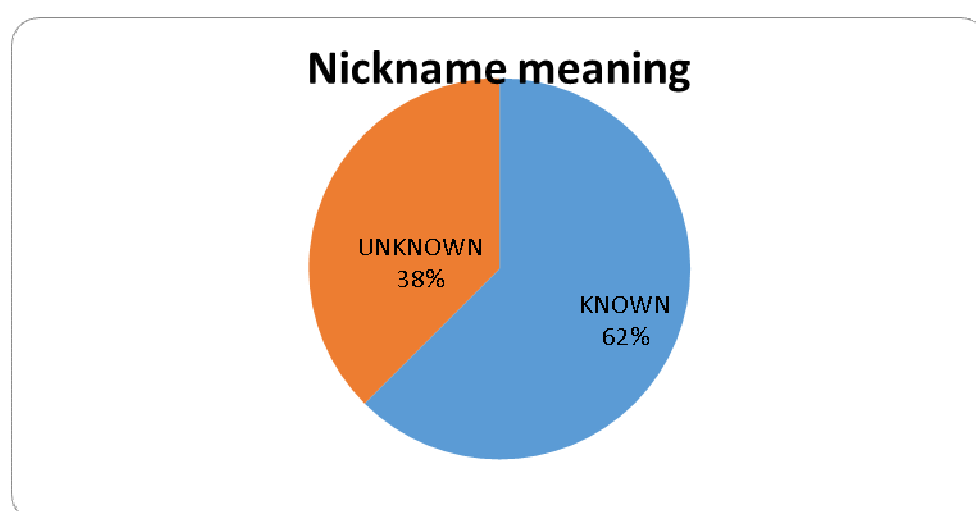**Figure 3: Age Group of respondents**

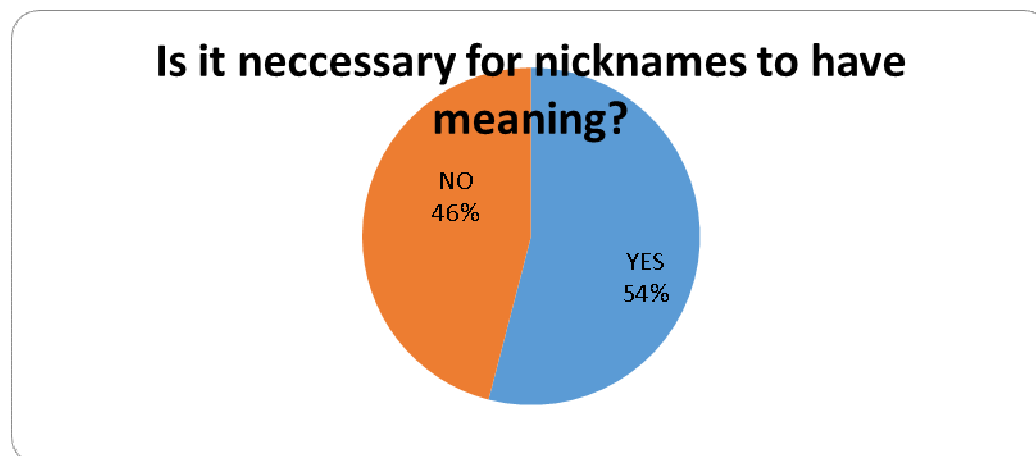**Figure 3: Percentage of Ìlǫrin youth that know the meaning of their nicknames**

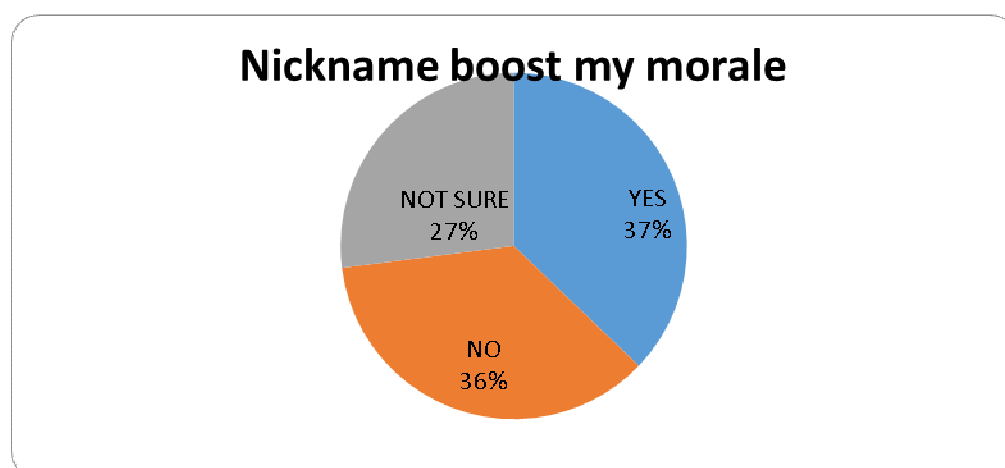**Figure 4: Perception on nicknames having meaning**

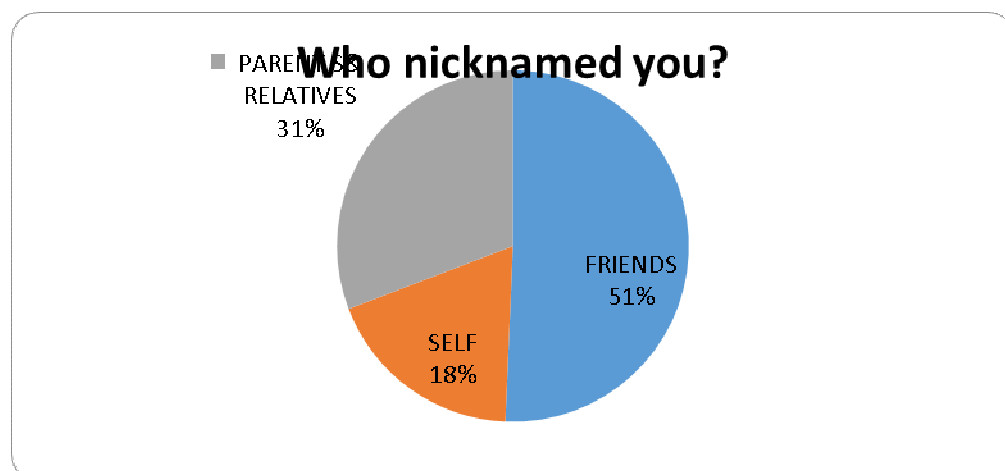**Figure 5: Percentage of youth whose morale are boosted by nickname**

Figure 6: Initiators of nicknames

Table 1: Exclusivity of nicknames

S/N	Elicitor	YES	NO	NOT SURE
1.	I prefer my nickname to my Yorùbá name	14	134	0
2.	My nickname is special and nobody bears it	53	96	0
3.	Can person of opposite sex bear your nickname?	41	95	12
4.	Do people of opposite sex bear your name?	27	90	27
5.	Old people also have nicknames	80	33	30

Table 2: Information collected on proper names and nicknames through the administered questionnaires

S/N	Proper names	Meaning	Reasons for naming	Nicknames	Meaning	Reason for nicknaming
1.	Ọpẹ́yẹmí	Mine is worthy of praise	Unknown	Op	Nil	Name derivative
2.	Ọmọlóla	Child is wealth	Unknown	Alája	female who had gone to Hajj	Personal relationship
3.	Ọlá (Nasir)	Wealth	Religious believe	Nas	Aràbíc word for people	Name derivative
4.	Olúwa seun	God is worthy of thanks	Family divine favour	Richoco	Nil	Named after footballer
5.	Ọlọ́ladé	Wealth owner has arrived	Dad's favourite aunt	Choco milo	Nil	Chocolate skinned
6.	Olúwa timileyin	God supports me	Religious believe	Timmy	Nil	Name derivative
7.	Ọlábísí	Wealth gave birth to more	First born	Monzbee	Nil	derived via Monsura Ọlábísí
8.	Adéjoke	Crown pampers this together	Unknown	Dejoke Carew	Nil	Name derivative
9.	Adéshina	Opener to male-bearing	First male child after bearing females	Ọlọ́wó	Money bag	Mocking his penury (irony)
10.	Olúwa damilọ́lá	God granted me wealth	Unknown	HOD	Head of department	Big headed (Euphemism)
11.	Ọlábísí	Wealth gave birth to more	Birth day	Mz- Hollabísí		Anglicised
12.	Ishọlá	Unknown		Ishy	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
13.	Àdùkẹ	Eager to be pampered one	Unknown	Àdùkẹ́mi	one cared for by everyone	Name derivative
14.	Ọdúnọlá	Festival of wealth	Period of birth	Odun	Festival	Name derivative
15.	Ayọ̀mídé	My joy has come	Parents' joy arrival	Ayomids	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
16.	Títílayọ́	Endless joy	Unknown	Nil		
17.	Ọlámídé	My wealth has come	Optimism for improved wealth	Nil		
18.	Àbísọla	One born into wealth	Delivered to wealth	Harbeesorlar	One born into wealth	Anglicised

19.	Tolúwa lope	To God be the glory	Only female and last born	Tànwá	One sought for	Being only female
20.	Ayoka	One joyful	Unknown	MOE	Nil	Unknown
21.	Fẹ̀hìntọ́lá	Relax on wealth	Time of birth	Thorla	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
22.	Ọlálekan	Wealth increased by one	Another male added to the family	Ruzy	Nil	Nil
23.	Olúwa damilọ́lá	God granted me wealth	Family's first child	Mama's pride	Mummy's pride	Family's first child
24.	Olúwa seunbabarafunmi	God has done great things for me	God's miracle	Spicequeen	Nil	Beauty and Elégance
25.	Ọmọtọ́shọ̀	Child worths adoring	Family fortune	Toshy	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
26.	Motúnráyọ̀	I have seen joy again	Family fortune	Tunray	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
27.	Tèmídayọ̀	Mine has turn to joy	Named after daddy	Esho	'god father'	LeAdérship position
28.	Popoọlá	Highway of wealth	Unknown	Physicsman	Nil	Loves physics
29.	Kẹ́hìndé	One who come last	Twins	Kenny	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
30.	Ọpẹ́yẹmí	Mine is worthy of thanks	Unknown	Nil		
31.	Akọládé	One who brings wealth	Daddy got new appointed	Baba-kọlá	Nil	Has giant stature
32.	Kanyinsọlá	Drop honey in wealth	Only girl child	Shuga-lila	Sugar seeping	Claims to be sexy
33.	Alowónle	One who has money at home	To reincarnate late cousin	Ọ̀jọ̀gbọ́n	Professor	Possesses analytic skill
34.	Akainji (sikiru)	Unkown	Unknown	Heskay	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
35.	Onípede	Consoler has come	Appearance at birth	Nil	Nil	Nil
36.	Oyindamọlá	Honey mixed with wealth	Joy felt at birth	Chillz	Nil	Nil
37.	Olúwa bùnmi	God gave me	First child of family	Nil	Nil	Nil
38.	Ọmọtọlá (anifa)			Hannie	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
39.	Tèmítọ́pẹ́	Mine worths thankfulness	Family depressed	Nil	Nil	Nil
40.	Modúpẹ́	I thank God		Modúpẹ́ọlá	Thank god for wealth	Name derivative
41.	Ajadi	Unknown		Jady	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
42.	Mobọláji	I woke up with wealth		Mydeen	'My religion'	Nil
43.	Àpèkẹ́	One called to be cared for	Unknown	Shite	Nil	Nil
44.	Olúwa toyin	God is worthy of praise	First male child	Easy	Easy person	Easy going person
45.	Babátúndé	Father has come again	Born after the demise of	Ọlátúnjí	Wealth has been revived	Family name

			granddad			
46.	Olúwa toyin	God is worthy of praise	First child	Ọmọbálẹ̀	Clan head's child	Family name
47.	Oyindamọlá	Honey mixed with wealth	Joy felt at birth	Nil	Nil	Nil
48.	Yétúndé	Mother has come again	Born after the demise of grandma	Yetty	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
49.	Ọlárewaju	Wealth progresses	Daddy's wealth increased	Ọlọ́wó	Wealthy person	Family name
50.	Babátúndé	Father has come again	Born after the demise of granddad	Babs	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
51.	Ìdòwú	Born after a set of twins	Born after a set of twins	ID	Nil	Name derivative
52.	Olúwa kúnmi (Robiat)	God completes me	First born and born when desired	Rabby	Nil	Name derivative
53.	Olúwa dámiláre	God vindicates me	Born after parents beingcalled impotent	Dlaw	Nil	Name derivative
54.	Ọlámilékan	My wealth increased by one	Unknown	Plus one	Plus one	Translated name
55.	Ọmọtànwá	Child who is sought for		Tanny	Nil	anglicised name derivative
56.	Alába	Second child born after a set of twins	Second child born after a set of twins	Alábama	Nil	Name derivative
57.	Adébáyọ̀	Crown meets joy	Unknown	Baa you	Nil	Name derivative
58.	Eniọlá	Person of wealth	Unknown	Enny	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
59.	Adéyínká	Crown surrounds me	Family status	Whykay	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
60.	Ọlásunkanmi	Wealth move nearer to touch me	Unknown	Aduagba	Prayer is answered	Faith inclined
61.	Ọmọníke	Child who worths pampering	Smiling face at birth	Anikky	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
62.	Olúwa ṣégun	God grants victory	A male child after the demise of a son	Sege	Nil	Name derivative
63.	Ajibọlá	One who woke into wealth	Period of birth	Harji		Anglicised name derivative
64.	Damilọ́lá	Grant me wealth	Family status	Mama	Mummy	Took after grandma
65.	Gbemisọlá	Take me to wealth	Family status	Ọlọ́mi	My lover	Loving tendency
66.	Adé	Crown	Family status	Crown	Crown	Family name
67.	Ayọ̀mídé	My joy has come	First born	Pilot	Pilot	Based on future ambition
68.	Ọlákunlemi	Joy fill my	Family status	Nil	Nil	Nil

			home			
69.	Abíóyè	Born into chieftaincy	ROyal house	Tunamania	Nil	Futuristic believe
70.	Àbíodun	Born in festive period	Time of bith	Nil	Nil	Nil
71.	Bọlákale	Stay with me till night	`Abíkú 's name	B.K	Nil	Name derivative
72.	Ọmọbọlánle	Child meets wealth at home	Family status	Temmy	Mine	Base her behaviour
73.	Abíóyè	One who wakes up to royalty	ROyal house	Adé	Crown	Family status
74.	Ìbùkúnolúwa	God's blessing	Child seen as a blessing	IBK	Nil	Name derivative
75.	Afọlábí					
76.	Ayoọlá	Joyous wealth	Named after daddy	Golden girl	Golden girl	Black in complexion (irony)
77.	Ọlátúnjí	Wealth has come again	Unknown	Owóníkoko	Money is of import	Too money conscious
78.	Ọmọkayode	Child who brought joy	Mummy secured job prior to his birth	Kay	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
79.	Adio			Nil		
80.	Ajáìgbẹ́	Bush dog	`Abíkú 's name	Atinga	Nill	Slender person
81.	Dupe	Thankful	Family situation	Àbíyamọ	Motherhood	loves bàbíes
82.	Ọláyinka	I am surrounded by wealth	Family status	BBB	Big bold and beautiful	Big stature
83.	Olúwa fẹ́mi	God loves me	First born	Femo	Nil	Name derivative
84.	Adébáyọ̀	Crown met joy	ROyal home	Yusluv	Yusuf + love	Nil
85.	Olóyin	Honey owner	Family trade	Honey	Honey	English translation
86.	Ọlálekan	Wealth increased by one	Family status	Horllar	Wealth	Anglicised name derivative
87.	Ọdúnọlá (Zaynab)	Wealth festival	Given birth to on first day of the year	Zee	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
88.	Ọmọtárá	Child(ren) love(s) me	Unknown	Wumex	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
89.	Olúwa toyin	God is worthy of praise		Toyèn		Anglicised name derivative
90.	Ìdòwú	Born after a set of twins	Born after a set of twins	IDkhan	Nil	Indianised name derivative
91.	Ishọlá	Unknown	Nil	Surajkhan	Nil	Indian like name
92.	Títílọpẹ̀	Endless thanks	Last born	Teeluv	Nil	Anglicised name derivative
93.	Ọpẹ́yẹmí	Mine is worthy of thanks	Joyous mode	Suzzie	Nil	English actor
94.	Tẹ̀mítópẹ́	Mine is worthy of thanks	Unknown	Temmythorpe		Anglicised name
95.	Babátúndé	Father has come again	Born after grandpa's demise	Ọlọ́ri	Seller of shear butter	Family name

96.	Olúwa damilọ́lá	God has given me wealth	Family background	Doctor	Doctor	Future ambition
97.	Olúwa seun	Thank God	Another male child after a male	Sewen	Nil	Name derivative
98.	Owólabí	we gave birth to money	Family status	Owó	Money	Name derivative
99.	Owótárá	I love money	Family status	Wumy	Like me	Anglicised name derivative
100.	Shọlá	Named after his father	Nil	Sholly	Nil	Anglicised name derivative

Table 3: Nicknames associated with some categories of people as indicated by administered questionnaires

S/N	Common names	Collective nicknames	Ironic nicknames
1	Tall person	Ìgalà, Dogo, Àgòrò, Ọmọ́ga, Tally, Agali, Longman, Atinga, Opa, Opo, Agaa, Longie, Ese guun, Agunmaniye, Tallingo, Giga, 50cl, Gàdáfi, Agùntásọọ́lò,	
2	Short person	Shorty, Kukuru, Arara, Kunte, Igo maltex, Kubente, Peteru, Ikeregbe, Brief, Danku, Orente,Obembe, Portable, Petite, Arupe, Smally, Randu, Shanko, Okoro	
3	Fat person	Ọ̀rọ̀bọ̀, Mogidi, Fatty, Opomu, Puff puff, Wule bantu, Biggy, Ẹja ńlá, Ọ̀bọ̀kún, Bàmbà, Rokeke, Amoeba, OpỌlọ́, Ofili	
4	In-laws	Ana, molebi, Iya oko, Baba oko	Oro
5	Slim person	Slimshady, Lepa, Panla, Ọ̀pẹ́lẹ́ngẹ́, Slim Joe, Tirin gbekun, FEléfElé, Pankere, toothpick, Slego, Igi, Lege lege, PElébe, Spagetti, Eja yin yan	
6	Thief	Klepto, Gbewiri, Aláfowóra, Ọlọ́sa, Ofon, Badoo, Karigbe, Fewo, Alo kỌlọ́hun kigbe	
7	Thug	Dagboru, Jadon, Ora Isa, Capo, Skipo, Ọmọ obe, Igboro, Eruku, Ọmọ Oro	Good Boys
8	Father	Paale, Popsy, Popman, Pman, Jigi	
9	Mother	Maale, Mumsy, Maami, Wura	
10	Rumour monger	Ọlọ́fofo, Amebo, gbeborun, Eke, Kari karó, Sofo, SỌlọ́ mankinde, SỌlọ́, Debora, Seke sajo, Aproko, Oro fo fence, Busybody, Iroyin, Vendor, CNN, Aláróyè, Gbeborun/ Gbefila	Kò sí rónbè
11	Flirt person	Ono nàbí, Fara gbowó, Animasahun, Gbelépawọ, Ko mako, Bonaza, Play boy, Oní she, Alágbere, Ajagboro, Aja 4, Oju wase wase	

Table 4: Categorization of names associated with ʽAbíkú ʼ

		Appealing/ appeasing	Rebuking	Threatening	Frustration-indicating
	ʽAbíkú	Ikudayisi, Málọmọ́, Ikudairo, Jokotọlá, Durusaye, Kasimawọ, Bánkálẹ́, Rẹ̀mílekun, Dúrósinmí	Aja, Ogbanje, Aja igbe	Kòsọ́kọ́,	Jensimi,