JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Onomastics of Age-Grade Names in the Igbo Community

Obiorah, Kenneth Ekezie PhD.
University of Lagos, Nigeria
Kenobiora@unilag.edu.ng,
ORCID iD**:** 0009-0007-1941-5643
(Corresponding author)

Abstract

Onomastics of Igbo age-grade names: a fundamental sub-category of African names is the act of naming a group of people that are born in a particular period of time. It is a cultural practice that has survived civilisation and urbanisation, as the Igbo worldwide now join age-grade activities of their hometown via various social media platforms. No previous study has investigated how age-grade names are acquired and classified. Therefore, this study aims to provide a better understanding of how names given to age grades in Igbo communities are created and classified. Qualitative data elicited through one-on-one interviews with 18 members of different age groups in Anam, an Igbo community, were subjected to descriptive and thematic analysis. Findings reveal that age-grade names are acquired during the teenage period mainly by boys (for both males and females) and maintained till death. The different categories of names acquired by members of age grades include testimonial, ideational, monumental, war historical, descendant, praise, and lexical matching names. The age-grade names, like Igbo personal names, reflect the distinctive experience of the bearers. They also serve as a collective identity for all members during social interactions and community engagements.

Introduction

Onomastics is a branch of linguistics that studies the art of giving names. It has contributed to the understanding of the naming practice in the Igbo community, as seen in the work of many scholars (Iwundu, 1994; Kammelu, 2008; Obiorah, 2021; Ogbonna, 2008; Onuora, 2016; Onumajuru, 2016; Mmadike, 2016; Nkamigbo, 2019; Ubahakwe, 1982). However, onomastics, in general, has paid little to no attention to age-grade names, especially in the Igbo community in Nigeria. The naming of a phenomenon shows how important an event is in a society. Names help to locate and recall events. From the ancient Igbo land, the age-grade name is one of the onomastic heritages of the Igbo, which have survived the digital revolution. Even though an age grade is a village organisation, various age groups now form social media groups where they hold monthly meetings to discuss important issues about the communities to which they belong. In this contemporary digital Igbo society, if an age grade does not have a name, it will be difficult for people to locate and be part of it. In fact, with social media, the Igbo sons and daughters now participate in age-grade meetings in any part of the world. Annual general meetings of age grades are broadcast live on Facebook and other social media platforms. The digital platforms enable those who

have left their local community to connect with home, thereby connecting and contributing their quota to the development of their homeland.

In Igbo land, which is an ethnic group in the South-East and some parts of South-South Nigeria, the age-grade system provides social support to every Igbo town as they participate in building the community and dispute resolution (Ezeogidi, 2020). Until now, many people have been unaware that age-grade naming is a social practice, just like proper naming. This study will provide education, clarity and enlightenment for the younger generations and other people on the onomastic of Igbo age-grade names using data from the Igbo community called Anam, a group of eight autonomous communities in Anambra West, in Anambra State, Nigeria (Obiorah, 2019).

Age Grade Practice in Igbo Land

"Age grade is an association of people of equal or about the same age, operating within a given territory or area with the aim of individual, collective and societal transformation and development" (Ndukwe, 2015, p. 177). It is acquired or given to a group of people born within the same period of years, especially male teenagers, with the female members joining the age group (much) later, especially after they are married. Age-grade practice in Igbo land started in the pre-colonial era in the various local communities of the Igbo land. The age group, alongside other established authorities in the village, perform executive, judicial and legislative functions (Ndukwe, 2015). A name gives the group an identity to relate to the authorities, other grades, and themselves. Every age grade takes a name known to everyone in the community. In fact, no adult in the Igbo town or village does not have an age grade. However, some only know they already belong to an age grade once they begin asking questions. They will then be pointed to the age grade they belong to, based on the year they were born.

Age grade is also practised in other ethnic groups in Nigeria. For example, the Yoruba people in South West Nigeria have age groups with names that people ascend into. In Ekere-Ekiti, particularly a town in Ekiti State in Yorubaland, there is an established age-grade system reserved with names that every community member must pass through. In this community, for instance, *Yinmiyinmi* age grade is for people between 12-15 years, *Mojayera* age grade is the age grade for people between 16-20 years of age, *Mojuara* age grade is the age grade for people between 21-24 years, *Monimusu* age grade is for people between 25-28 years, *Monigbao* age grade is the age grade for people between 29-32 years, *Ibedo*age grade is for people between 33-36 years, *Egiri* age grade is for people between 37-40 years, *Efa/Igbekan* age grade is for people between 41-44 years, *Osake* age grade is for people between 45-48 years, while *Kolegbe/Ukoko* age grade is for people between 49 years and above (Babalola & Adedayo, 2021). However, the Igbo community does not reserve age names that people ascend into; instead, at nine to twenty, young boys are inducted into an age grade and given a new name. For example, there is the *Nnabuihe* age grade in Nsugbe, an Igbo community in Anambra state, Nigeria, comprising people born from 1966-1968 **(**Igwilo, 2014). Also, Ajali town in Anambra state has the *Njikoka* age grade, which comprises people born in that town around 1969. Lastly, in Atani situated in Ogbaru local government area in Anambra state, there is an *Obinwanne* age grade made up of people born around the 1950s. These examples show that age grade is common among different Igbo communities. Every true Igbo son and daughter is expected to know his or her age grade in the town or village where he or she originates from. The age grade enables them to grow together, relate with each other and

communicate efficiently and effectively with one another. Age-grade practice and naming are also taken seriously in neighbouring Igbo communities such as the Efik, the Ibibio, the Anang, and many other places in Nigeria. This is because an age grade name defines and situates one's age position in the community compared to other age groups.

Just as personal names point to the bearer, mentioning one's age grade will give an idea of the year such an individual was born. Like Igbo personal names, age-grade names are always meaningful (Ubahakwe, 1982). The formation of Igbo age grade names is done using lexical items that are well arranged in accordance with Igbo syntax. The syntax of Igbo age-grade names may be just a word, such as *Nkiliko* (trouble) or a two-word formation, such as *Udo* (peace) and *ka* (is greater). In the latter case, the age grade is called *the Udoka* age grade. It can sometimes be derived from a sentential word such as *soludo* (follow peace). Most sentential age grade names are declarative statements, while a few are interrogatives. Age-grade names are part of Igbo onomastic, and Igbo onomastic, in general, may tell a story about the bearer, the bearer's parents or the society at large. This has been shown in different studies (Iwundu, 1994; Kammelu, 2008; Obiorah, 2021; Ogbonna, 2008; Onuora, 2016; Onumajuru, 2016; Mmadike, 2016; Nkamigbo, 2019; Ubahakwe, 1982). For example, the meaning of an Igbo name may also give a clue to what was happening in the life of the name giver (Iwundu, 1994). The sound segment in the Igbo personal name can also reveal the part of Igbo land where the bearer comes from (Obiorah, 2021). Mba et al. (2023), discussing the contribution of the age-grade system in the development of an Igbo community known as *Ohaofia*, listed different personal names of age grade in *Ohaofia* but paid no attention to the age grade names.

Many earlier studies on Igbo names provide clues on the characteristics of Igbo onomastic with hardly any evidence from Igbo age-grade names. For example, Nkamigbo, (2019) listed the typology of Igbo names, such as occupation names, circumstantial names and the rest, without reference to cover age-grade names. Onumajuru (2016) also examines the syntax and semantics of names in Igbo; the author pointed out several structures of Igbo personal names that every class of Igbo person can bear, be it a child, an adult, male or female. One of the reasons why these scholars focused on Igbo personal names may be assumed from Clark (2010). According to Clark (2010), people are interested in personal names because they distinguish one individual from another during interactions. It is understandable because everyone has a personal name. However, age-grade names are very important in Igbo communities because they are a source of identity and social grouping. Age grades also contribute to the development of Igbo society (Mba et al., 2023). Exploring the age-grade names that contribute so much to the development of a society is very important to the current Igbo community. So many groups, such as gender, social, marital, birthplace, nationality, ethnicity, religion, and positions, have names used to identify their members. This study intends to show that age-grade names can be used to identify a person in an Igbo community apart from all these variables. In view of the above, this study intends to answer the following research questions: How are Igbo age-grade names acquired, and what are the different categories of age-grade names?

Methodology

To address the research question, the researcher used observation to track and access many age groups formed by men in the Igbo community. This method allowed the researcher to explore joining the different age-grade meetings, where community members are identified through their age-grade names. Through the observation methods, different names of age grades on social media, especially WhatsApp, were identified. The key and active members of the age grade, both online and offline, were identified and contacted for interviews.

Due to the impossibility of sampling all the age-grade names in Igbo communities, a purposive sampling approach was adopted on key members of the age grades in the Anam Igbo community based on the consistency of the Anam community in producing age groups every three years. Twenty key age grade members, 18 males and two females, were then interviewed in different settings. The interviews from the females were, however, later excluded because of the inconsistency in their (female age grade members) narratives and the fact that age grades are headed by males (females are also members of age grades, but usually males lead and participate actively in many age grades). The criteria for including any informant is that such a person must belong to an age grade, hold a key post and be an active member of the age grade. The researcher visited these 20 key members for a face-to-face interview in a quiet environment. Members of the following age grades were interviewed: *Ogoamaka, Udoadigo, Soludo, Iveadigo, Ikemba, Ekwueme, Mmekoka, Oganiru, Igwebuike, Njikoka, Oguebigo, Akwuloto, Mmuogwu, Udoka, Oselogwu-ani, Oselogwu-enu, Ogubagha, Nkiliko, Otondo,* and *Echikwulu*. The interview was conducted in the Igbo language. In order to capture the objective of the study, the informants answered various questions about how the name was given and the meaning, history, and value of the name in the community. Also, factors that influenced the age grade names were asked. The aged members of the age grade provided the history of age grades that no longer have any living members. The data were recorded and later translated into English by the researcher, who also understands the informants' language. Another member of the age group corroborated the answers. The corroboration helped to scrutinise the data. Also, face and content validation were adopted to delineate data accuracy and quality.

The study then employed descriptive and thematic methods of analysis, which helped to arrange recorded interviews into various categories. However, the data-driven analysis mainly relied on the descriptivist approach, which presupposed that the semantic content of names was similar to the description the owners associated with them. The limitation of this study was that there were names of age grades with no living members to account for the prevailing circumstances during their formations. This limited the description and analysis of such age-grade names. The study was premised on establishing how age-grade names were acquired and the various categories of Igbo age-grade names.

How Age Grade Names are Acquired

Age grade names are given during the gathering of people of the same age in a community by a leader chosen by the members of the age grade. The process is known as *tigolo tigolo* or *mkpokogbo* or *mkpokotu* (literally, gathering of age mates). According to the leader of Ikemba age grade:

> Ava anyị na-aza bụ ikemba bụ nna anyị bụ nnadị silive gwụrụ anyị ya. O nele anya vụ ihe na-eme mgbe we amụlụ anyị nweli nye anyị ava wa. Eri ka anyị jị mesie tigolo tigolo, ava nwa ka anyị zali n'ịba na mmawụ anyị well lụọ nị
>
> (this name that we bear which is ikemba is given to us by our father; he looked at what was happening around when we were born and decided to give us such a name; we answered the name during our initial gathering called tigolo tigolo, and then in another stage of joining the masquerade, even till now)

The event usually takes place at the beginning of the dry season. People born in the same period gather themselves and choose their leader, an elderly man with integrity. The period of an age-grade grouping and naming varies from community to community; usually, the process occurs when the age-grade members are between the ages of 10-19, on a rare instance, at age 20 and above. This process is also corroborated by another Igbo community of Nsugbe but at a different age of 21. The process is captured by Igwilo (2014, p33):

> The dream of the Ugochinyere Age grade was initiated in 1987 with the inspiration of Leonard Ohiri. This young man, born in 1966 and then 21 years old, identified those within his age grade. It took him over one year and several meetings, which he called and hosted, before members could come together to realise and appreciate his dream to start an age grade. Then, after agreeing to start, they chose a name and region; under the inspiration of God, Ugo Leonard Ohiri gave the name "Ugochinyere" (the gift from God). The name is unique because the eagle bird, Ugo in Igboland, is regarded as the king of all birds. Age mates chosen within a 1 to 3-year age bracket form an age grade or age group, as the case may be for the pioneers born between 1966 and 1967. A debate later ensued on whether to include those born in 1968 in the pioneer group, and since those born in that year were their colleagues, friends, and in many ways, their mates, they soft-pedalled and extend the invitation to them.

The age quotation also gives insight into how age grades are formed and given names in another Igbo community of Nsugbe. Unlike in Anam, in Nsugbe, the age mates gathered themselves together. However, in Anam, a reputable elder oversees an age-grade formation through various meetings with the age-grade members and other authorities in the community. The age-grade formation usually starts with boys in a ceremony held in a village square at a given time. Girls the same age as the boys who form the age grade will join the age grade later, but the early process is purely boys' affairs. All boys born in the same period (between 2-4 age differences) are expected to participate in the age-grade grouping ceremony while others join the age-grade later. The leader of every age grade is regarded as their father, who helps guide and organise

them. The father also justifies decisions that relate to the age grades. In consultation with other elders, the father or leader of the age grade suggests different names for the group. Once a name is adopted from the numerous names suggested (which is usually derived from the prevailing circumstance during the years of birth of members or current issues during the age grade grouping), the age group goes by that name forever, and no other age group will ever bear the same name in the community. The joining of the age-grade group is accompanied by a ceremony and ritual in colourful regalia that welcome such a group into the village's traditional political organisation. For members of an age grade, the age-grade name is part of their profile in a community. Apart from personal names, an individual is expected to mention his or her age-grade name during an introduction in an official community meeting or assignment. In fact, it is treated as a personal name when it comes to certain communal identification and relationships.

The main challenge to age-grade names is that people in the city hardly bother about the name of the age grade to which they belong, unlike the local town dwellers who must mention their age-grade names for daily social grouping and identification. An introduction in a village meeting is only complete if an individual mentions his age-grade name. In fact, people see anyone who does not know his age-grade name as a cultural bastard. Anyone writing attendance in a village meeting must write the name of his age grade. People see age-grade names as a second identity. The name is significant to the community and the individual, just like Igbo personal names, which have been studied extensively in literature. Age-grade names have meanings that are just like personal names. However, basic characteristics of age-grade names make them different from Igbo personal names. Igbo personal names do not have lexical matching names where the meaning of one name contrasts with another. For example, there was never a situation where the first child's name would contain a lexical item that matches or contrasts with the second child's name. Another characteristic of Igbo personal names which do not occur in age-grade names is the anglicisation of names. Igbo age-grade names are also not shortened arbitrarily. For example, *Oganiru* as an age-grade name cannot be reduced to *Oga*, *Ogaa* or *Oganiii* which is common in Igbo personal names. In contrast, a name like *Ifeoma* (good thing) can be reduced to a meaninglessness ify or ifi. The Igbo personal names do not have onomatopoeic names like Igbo age-grade names that have names such as *Ojongo*, *Ayaya* and *Nkiloko*. It is important to note that Igbo age-grade names cannot be changed, unlike Igbo personal names, where an individual may decide to change his name for personal reasons. Furthermore, two age grades cannot bear the same name, but different persons can bear the same name. Also, the Igbo age-grade names do not have theophoric names common in Igbo personal names.

Different Categories of Igbo Age Grade Names

Based on their meaning, age-grade names may be classified following Iwundu's (1994) classification of Igbo names in line with events and situations that influenced such naming. To illustrate events which may influence the naming of an age grade in Igbo, the age-grade name called *Ogwuebigo* (war has ended) comprises people who were born in the year after the end of the Nigerian civil war, which is popularly referred to as Biafra-Nigeria war. Many age-grade names in Igbo allude to the historical event of war in the community. Following the example

mentioned in the previous page, the following age-grade names were derived based on the meanings, situations or events that surround such names:

1.   Testimonial age grade names: The long-standing practice by the Igbo of having a name that amplifies communal fortunes is also seen in Igbo age grade naming. Such names are few in our current data. An example of a testimonial age grade name is *Ifeadigo* (light has come), and the light in this name symbolises the development that has come to the community. This name does not necessarily testify to what is happening to every member of the age grade but that of the society and local community as a whole.

2.   Ideational age grade names: These are names that show the traditional and philosophical values of the Igbo community. It depicts the highly esteemed values that hold the Igbo community together. These values control personal relationships among the Igbo people. Examples of ideational age grade names include *Igwebuike* (strength lies with the majority), *mmekoka* (togetherness is better), *Udoka* (peace is better), *Ovuobi* (literally, one heart which means unity) and *Njikoka* (communalism is better). These age-grade names contain values and philosophy that the Igbo hold very high. For example, the Igbo people believe communal strength is stronger than individual strength, which is why age grade and even individual bear names like *Igwebuike* (strength lies with the majority). Similarly, the Igbo believe that communal relationships have many social benefits, hence the name *Mmekoka* (togetherness is better). Such belief is also seen in the name *Udokamma* (peace is greater than war). The age-grade name *Njikoka* (communalism is better) is so named to show how community members, particularly the group that bears such a name, cherish togetherness after some warring problems in the community.

3.   Solicitory age names: These are age-grade names that require individuals as well as members of the community to follow a particular part that is considered good and virtuous. Hence, the name *Soludo* age grade, which means 'follow the way of peace' is one of the age grade names in Igbo. The Igbo community believes in peaceful co-existence for all; hence, such age-grade name is used to encourage one another and showcase one of the key philosophies of the Igbo.

4.   Monumental age grade names: These are names whose meaning shows the military prowess and strength of the group. Examples of monumental names are *Ikemba* (strength of the nation), *Kpaaike* (demonstrate your power) and *Ekwueme* (say and do it). The name eulogises strength and encourages individuals and the community to demonstrate physical and mental power. The Igbo people believe that everyone in the society, especially men, should demonstrate their abilities, so these names capture such philosophy. One coincidence is that *Ekwueme* (say and do it) is also a personal name, but names like *Ikemba* (strength of the nation) and *Kpaaike* (demonstrate your power) are not personal names.

5   War (historical) age-grade names: These are names whose semantic output points to one or more historical events that occurred at any time the community is aware of. These names are chronologically and sequentially named to reflect events before and after the war. For example, *Oselogwu* age grade, which means 'that which precede the war,' was a name of age grade given to people born around the 1960s. This name records the war between two neighbouring towns at

the year members of the age grade were born. After that war, there were remote killings whenever the two warring neighbours accidentally met each other. That was why the next age grade after *Oselogwu* was named Echikulu for short, meaning 'friction' (that occurs anywhere they meet). The full pronunciation of the name is *Echikuluogbaa*, meaning they sting wherever they touch (like ants). These names serve as history keepers. Another war name is *Oguebigo*, which means the war has ended. This name (*Oguebigo*) was given to people born at the end of the Nigerian-Biafran war in 1967-1970. Other names reflecting war history are *Olioguenu*, *Olioguani*, *Umuava*, *Akpaliamu* and *Akpaliani*. The meanings of the names above are explained below:

Olioguenu (literarily, the festive of air war) is a name that indicates the period of the First World War. It indicates a celebration that happened during the war. The age grade name that succeeded and complemented it is *Olioguani* (literally, the festive of land war). It means the celebration that preceded the war); *enu* (up) and *ani* (down) are complementarities in the Igbo language. The two words are what differentiate the two age-grade names.

Umuava, which in standard Igbo dialect is Umuagha, means children of war. They were given that name because members of the age grade were born during the war period. So, the name is used to mark such a historical event.

Akpalianu (literally means no matter the high level of discussion) and *Akpaliani* (literally means no matter the low level of discussion) are historical names that indicate the fruitless negotiations and efforts made before the war. It is common knowledge that meetings and negotiations are held before any war takes place to avert it. These names show that there had been discussions in different places which did not yield results.

Otimgboromgboro literally means the heat of the war. This onomatopoeic name shows that the period was a period of tension. Other names that indicate war periods are *Tiwomusi* (break my head), *Ojongo* (wayward), *Ayaya* (scatter), and *nkiliko* (trouble).

6.	Descendant age-grade names link the age-grade members to an ancestral origin. The names indicate that A is a child or descendant of B. In this type of name, *umu* (children) is added as a prefix to the name. Examples of descendant names are *Umu-okwulubia* children of *Okwulubia*, *Umu-ebeagu* children of *Ebeagu*, *Umu-achala* children of *Achala*, *Umu-chierie* children of *Chierie*, *Umu-mbelie* children of *Mbelie*, *Umu-Olimgba* children of *Olimgba*, *Umuokivo* children of *Okivo*, *Umu-ezenu* children of *Ezenu*, *Umu-ezeani* children of *Ezeani*.

7.	Praise age-grade names sing the praises of the age grade. Singing praise for individuals and groups is part of Igbo culture and is reflected in age-grade names. Examples of praise names are *ijelemmuo* (king of masquerade) and *Nnairu* (head of one's age/class). Like every other community in Igbo land, the Anam has a masquerade called *Ijele*. The masquerade is classified as a top one because of its size, beauty and ability to dance. So when an age grade is referred to as *Ijelemmuo* (*Ijele* masquerade), it is regarded as a significant player in the community. Same with *Nnairu* (head of one's age/class). When an age grade is classified as the head of age grade, it gives the age grade a sense of satisfaction and blissfulness.

8.   *Lexical matching names*: Lexical matching names are age-grade names that contrast one another. In lexical matching names, the words *enu* (up) and *ani* (down), merged to some lexical item, contrast two age-grade names in a consecutive form, as stated earlier. In the age grade names that follow, *enu* (up) and *ani* (down) (in bolded form) are attached to them to negate and match each other. They are Egbenugo*enu* and Egbenugo*ani*, Oliogu*enu*, and Oliogu*ani*, Umeze*enu* and Umeze*ani*, Omenjo*enu* and Omenjo*ani*, Ada*enu* and Ada*ani*, Nnakwaogu*enu* and Nnakwagu*ani*, Nchalaba*enu* and Nchalaba*ani*, Emeli*enu* and emeli*ani*, Akpali*enu* and Akpali*ani*. In all these words, **enu** (up) and **ani** (down) are attached to the lexical items, and contrast them whenever they occur in sequential order. This is an act of linguistic stylistics displayed in Igbo age-grade names, which is uncommon in Igbo personal names. However, it represents a vital naming linguistic practice among the Igbo.

Conclusion

The study of age grade names has established another aspect of Igbo onomastic. The study moved beyond the traditional Igbo personal and place names that have been widely studied. Before now, not many know that meaningful names represent various categories of age grades. This study has shown that the Igbo community not only names an age grade but also encodes their values, history and linguistics stylistics. The different naming categories of age grades in this paper show that the naming culture of the Igbo people reflects what is going on in their life and also shows the cultural value age-grade names contribute to the Igbo as a people, which further displays how important age grade is to the Igbo community. This assertion is echoed by the saying by one of the informants that he cannot even imagine what will happen if there is no age grade (name), 'how do we know ourselves?' (enweghị m ike iche ihe nwere ike imenu ma ọ burụ na ọgbọ adịrọ, kee arụ anyị ga-eji amata onwe anyi?). The evidence of such rhetoric question is seen in how age grade contributes to the development of the Igbo society, which has been extensively illustrated with Ohafia people in Mba et al. (2023). Having various age-grade groups without a name would have been a big surprise. According to AO, a 70-year-old age grade member (of Achikulu) who has been an age grade member for 56 years (he became a member of age grade at age 14), one who does not know the name of his age grade is told to leave this place and called a fool ("onye ọbụla na-amarọ aha iro ya, a na-asị ya onye ahu, pụọ n'ebe, I mara iru gi? awọlị"). This shows that knowing one's age grade name is very important to the dignity of their members' life.

References

Anbessa, T. & Tafesse, G. M. (2019). A Linguistics Analysis of Personal Names in Sidaama. *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages, History and Cultur*e. *8*(1) 97-140

Babalola, O. & Adedeji, M. (2020). Conspectus of Age Grade System in Ikere-Ekiti. *Sapientia Global Journal* of *Arts, Humanity & Development Studies. 4*(2) 479–488.

Clark, S. (2010). *From Adam to Zara; Popularity of Names in region of the United State*s. FAST-US-7 (TRENAK15) United States Popular Culture (Hopkins) Department of Translation Studies, University of Tampere.

Ezeogidi, C. *(2020).* Resuscitating the Age Grade Associations and Women Guilds in Igbo Land for Effective Conflict Management Mechanism and Resolution. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3563531 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/

Igwilo, M. A. (2014). *The Role of Nnannebuife Age Grade in Promoting Rural Development in Nsugbe Community in Anambra East L.G.A. Anambra State*. B.Sc Project, Cartas University.

Iwundu, M. (1994). Igbo *Anthopynyms: A Socio-Semantic Analysis*. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis. University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Kammelu, N. C. (2008). Reconstruction of Igbo Personal Names: The Phono-Semantic Implications. In Ikwubuzo Iwu, Ohiri-Aniche Chinyere, Nnabuihe Chigozie. *Udezuluigbo (*Eds.), *A Festschrift in Honour of Sam Uzochukwu* (pp208-223). Lagos: Green Olive Publisher

Kenneth. E. O. (2021). Phonetic Variation and Tones in Igbo Personal Names. *Sapiential Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Developmental Studies*. Vol 4. 397-404

Maduabuchi, A. (2014). "Causative in Igbo Personal Names," *Journal of Universal Language 15*(22): 1-33.

Mba, A. U., Anene J. & Mba C. A. (2023). The Contribution of Age Grade System in Community development in Ohafia Land in Abia State, Nigeria. *Scholarly Journal of Social Science Research*. 2(3) 1-18

Mmadike, B..(2014). "Anthropolinguistics Study of Ala Names in Igbo." *Journal of Humantics and Social Social 19*(10) 11-19.

Ndukwe, C. (2015). "Changes and Continuity in Igbo Age Grade Practice in Nigeria: A Study of the Igbo Traditional and Modern Administrative System." *Journal of Policy and Development Studies. 19*(3):176-184.

Nkamigbo, L. (2019). The Sociolinguistics Study of Igbo Personal Names. *Journal of Linguistics, Language and Culture*. 16. 158-178

Obiorah, K. E. (2019). "A Perceptual Comparative Study of Anam and Standard Igbo Sounds." *Igede Igbo, Journal of Igbo Studies Department of Linguistics, African and Asian Studies, University of Lagos 4*(1): 50-63.

Ogbonna, O. (2008). "Language Change: Some Emerging Evidence from Igbo Proper Names." In Ikwubuzo Iwu, Ohiri-Aniche Chinyere, Nnabuihe, Chigozie. *Udezuluigbo,* (Eds.), *A Festschrift in Honour of Sam Uzochukwu*. (pp 224-240). Green Olive Publisher.

Onukawa, C. (2008). "Ontological Hierarchies Among The Igbo: Anthropolinguistic Evidence From Ka-Expressions and Personal Names. In Ikwubuzo Iwu, Ohiri-Aniche Chinyere, Nnabuihe, Chigozie, (Eds,) *Udezuluigbo, A Festschrift in Honour of Sam Uzochukwu*. (pp 214-257). Green Olive Publisher.

Onumajuru, V. (2016). A Semantic and Pragmatic Analysis of Names. *African Research Review, An International Multi-disciplinary Journal 10* (41) 307-324.

Onuorah, C. (2015) *Emume Echimechi Oba Anam*. Unpublished B.A Project. University of Lagos, Lagos.

Onuorah, J. (2016).Clipping of Igbo Personal Names: A Optimality Theory Approach. *Journal of Linguistics, Language and Culture 3*(1). 28-45

Shahnoza A. (2023) The Problem of Analysis of Onomastics Units in Alpomis and boburnoma. Accessed online 03/11/2023/ DOI:10.52773/bobur.conf.2023.25.09/BDES5345

Ubahakwe, E. (1981). *Igbo Names: Their Structure and Their Meaning.* Ibadan: Daystar Press.