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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION OF ADDRESS FORMS AMONG THE IGBO

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ABSTRACT

Several forms of address exist across different societies and addressing people with the right form of address boosts and strengthens social relationships. Previous studies on address forms in Igbo have focused more on some prominent Igbo dialects spoken within Anambra and Imo axis with little or no attention paid to the less prominent dialects spoken around Enugu axis. This study sets out to investigate address forms in Eha-Amufu a dialect of Igbo with the focus of finding out the address forms used in this environment and the purpose for their usage. The face saving theory of politeness by Brown and Levinson is adopted for the data analysis of the study. Mixed method was used to source data for the study. Findings reveal a total number of 28 Igbo address forms generated from Eha-Amufu socio-cultural background. Most of these address forms emanated from social relationships such as family/blood relationships (kinship), friendship relationships and feats attained by men and women in the society based on the prominent cultural practices such as farming, wrestling and hunting. The address forms are hierarchical and the use of these address forms promote cordial relationship and hard work among members of the society. Finally, documentation of the address forms will help the younger generation to appreciate and adopt them in their relationships within the speech community thereby promoting an enabling environment for peaceful co-existence.

Keywords: address forms, dialects, social relationships, feats, politeness theory.

Introduction

Address form(s) is a universal phenomenon. Several forms of address exist across different societies and speech communities. They are reflected in communicative environments for the purposes of mutual understanding, peaceful co-existence, show of respect and politeness among other things.

Address forms have been defined by different people in different forms. For Oyetade (1995), address forms are words or expressions used to designate the person being talked to while talk is in progress. Carl (2000) defines it as a communicative activity in which speakers address or refer to each other. Merriam-Webster dictionary defines it as a formula generally accepted as proper or suitable for addressing an individual of a particular rank or status either orally or in writing. However, this study defines address forms as those terms, titles or names used to refer to someone in speech or in writing. Address forms often come in form of names such as: first names (FN), last names (LN), nick names (NN) and title names (TN). Therefore, beyond a person's personal name, the address form is used to express the potential or dominant qualities of such an individual as well as the social relationship that exist between the speaker and the listener. Often, the choice of an address form/term used to refer to a person

is based on some social-cultural conditions and portrays the social relationship that exists between the speaker and the person he is addressing. An individual can be addressed in different forms depending on the social relationship between him and the addresser. Address form as Oyali (2009: 106) notes is "a very important factor in every communicative event and apparently the very first step to establishing social relationship". This is because between interlocutors, proper address form generates right response from the addressee. Whether one is going to be polite or hostile when communicating with the next person largely depends on how he/she is addressed. Hence, the assertion by Aliakbari and Toni (2008:3) that "establishing social relationship between individuals is perhaps the first step to every communicative event". In other words, the establishment of the right social relationship is very vital for a smooth, successful and hitch free communication.

One notable way to establish social relationship is through the use of address forms. Hence, there is an appropriate form of address for every social relationship. Confusion ensues in the event of use of inappropriate addresses form. Wardhaugh (2006) buttresses this point by stating different forms by which a medical doctor like "Dr Smith" can be addressed by different people who come into relationship with him. He explained that Dr Smith himself might expect Doctor from a patient, Dad from his son, John from his brother, Dear from his wife, and Sir from a police officer who stops him if he drives too fast, and he might be rather surprised if any one of these is substituted for any other, e.g., 'Excuse me, dear, can I see your license?' from the police officer. This illustration demonstrates that there is an appropriate form of address for every social relationship.

However, the manners with which address forms are acquired and used vary from one society to another. Nevertheless, the focus of this study is on the Igbo language and society in general with specific attention paid to data from the Eha-Amufu dialect of the Igbo language. Therefore, this study looks at address forms among the Eha-Amufu people of the Igbo.

Address forms in Igbo

Generally, address form process in Igbo is asymmetrical because address forms do not show equality. Within the Igbo socio-cultural milieu, the elderly addresses the younger ones by their personal names while the younger ones are not permitted to address the elderly by their personal names. This buttresses Ideh's (2019:2) assertion that "culture imposes restriction on who calls the other by their personal names and who avoids the name but use alternative terms. Name avoidance and replacement is a kind of being polite in addressing people who are older than we are. It is addressing an older person in a way that he will not feel disrespected, belittled or insulted". In view of the above assertion, it is pertinent to point out here that age is not the only factor considered in name avoidance. Name avoidance is very possible between two or more people within the same age bracket. Therefore, beyond the age factor, there are other factors that determine how people are addressed in the Igbo socio-cultural milieu. Such factors are family relationship(s), feats attained, and titles taken in the society among others. These factors are examined in details in the data analysis section of this study.

Theoretical framework: Politeness theory

Politeness theory is a linguistic theory that is used in modeling people's mode of interaction. To Elias (1969), politeness has to do with the consideration that a person owes to another one

in order to maintain and balance social relation. Several scholars have defined politeness in different forms and the different definitions reveal the understanding or perceptions of these scholars of politeness. "First-order politeness" and "second-order politeness are the terms used by Watts, Ide &Ehlich (1992) to differentiate between the commonsense and scientific notions of politeness. They explained that first-order politeness corresponds to the various ways in which polite behavior is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups in everyday interactions. On the other hand, they explained second-order politeness as an attempted to develop a scientific theory of politeness which can present universal characteristics of politeness in different communities. Thereby providing the criteria by which polite and impolite behavior is distinguished. In support of this view and to expound the first-order politeness, Felix-Brasdefer (2008) classifies first-order politeness into "expressive, classificatory, and metapragmatic". He sees expressive first-order politeness as the polite intention that the speakers manifest through speech; classificatory as the classification of behaviors as polite and impolite based on the addressee's evaluation; and metapragmatic first-order politeness as the way people think of politeness and the way it is conceptualized in various interactional contexts. In the words of Kawai (2013), politeness theory describes the conventionalized rules in human interactions in different languages and cultures and the face-saving model of politeness propounded by Brown and Levinson (1987) which is anchored on constructing a Model Person (MP) has been applied in sociolinguistic research cross-culturally. Shahrokhi&Bidabadi (2013) understands politeness as a phenomenon constructed through sociocultural and historical processes because as a socialization process, competent adult members in every society learn how to behave politely, linguistically and otherwise. These various versions of politeness have tried to achieve some levels of success especially the Brown and Levinson's face-saving view adopted in this study.

Brown and Levinson's Face-Saving View

According to Al-hindawi and Alkhazaali (2016:1541), Brown and Levinson's (1987) model is the most representative work of the 'face-saving' approach. The face saving approach of Brown and Levinson is an aspect of the politeness theory. Face on the other hand has been identifies by Goffman (1955) as the positive public image one seeks to establish in social interactions. From his explanation the face or image one seeks to establish in social interactions is dependent on the contexts of interaction. The concept of face by Brown and Levinson, have been divided into: negative and positive face. Redmond (2015) has it that a positive face is the desire to be seen as competent and desire to have our face accepted and a negative face is a desire for autonomy and to preserve the status quo. On the other hand, Brown and Levinson (1987: 61-2) as presented by Al-Hindawi and Alkhazaali (2016) have it that negative face mainly refers to the individual's want to preserve his/her own independence, while positive face concerns the person's want or desire to be liked by others. This according to them implies that negative face demands that one's actions are unimpeded by others, whereas positive face refers to one's want to be desirable. Another very important aspect of the face-saving approach is the face-threatening acts which cause a loss of face. The face-threatening acts injure or harm one's positive or negative face. To fix the face-threatening acts, a face-work is required. Brown and Levinson (1987) have this further argument of the universality of their politeness strategies. Here, they claim that their politeness strategies can be applied to cross-linguistic and cross-cultural contexts.

Review of related literature

In this section, some works that have been done on address forms and politeness are reviewed. In his study of address forms titled: *How do I address you*, Oyali (2009) examined the forms of address in Oko, a dialect of Igbo. His aim was todocument the various address forms of the Oko people and to analyze them ethnographically. He examined the address forms based on the classification of: personal names, titles, nicknames, kinship or family/relative terms, occupational terms, teknonyms and descriptive terms. He noted in conclusion that understanding the linguistic etiquette of a group is a giant step towards coexisting peacefully with the people. As using the right form of address endears one to the people of the society. Ugorji (2014) studied the reflections on address politeness in Igbo family. He examined how address forms are used within the Igbo family in negotiating politeness. Majority of his data were sourcing from Mbieri, an Igbo community in Imo state of Nigeria. His data revealed address forms such as: dee/deede, daa/dada, dee, ndaa, nnaanyị, nnaanyị/m ukwu, nneanyị/m ukwu, the use of "nne" as a suffix to a personal name as in Ugonne (m) or Nkechinne (m) *sic.* to mark affection or endearment. He observed that age not power or status is the dominant social variable that influences the use of these forms. Andthough relationships are casual and intimate at the family level, norms of politeness in communication are serious and required as part of social roles.The work of Ideh (2019) is on Name and Politeness: Multiple Address Term among the Igbo. She notes in the work that among the Igbo, every individual has a name that is given to him at infancy. However, the names are often avoided and alternative name(s) used especially when one is in face-to-face with the elderly bearer. The work identifies age and gender as the social variable which affect the use of alternative terms of address to show politeness and respect. It also reveals that an individual mostly men can have many alternative address forms used by different people to address them.

Methodology

The data for this work were purposively sourced from six males and females Igbo respondents orally interviewed. The respondents comprise of three adult males and three adult females. These six respondents were the people the researcher was able to reach within the period of data collection. All the respondents are within the age range of 50-85 years. This age range was chosen because people in this range were considered elderly and acquainted with culture and tradition. All the respondents live and work in Eha-Amufu the Igbo community in the South Eastern part of Nigeria where the data were sourced from. A total number of twenty eight (28) address forms were elicited and used for this analysis. The descriptive method was adopted in the analysis of the elicited data. An English translation was given to each of the elicited address forms and they were analyzed under seven sub-headings.

Data presentation and analysis

The data are categorized and analyzed under the following sub-headings: family/blood relation; marriage relation; friendship relation; traditional rites and titles gotten as a result of successes recorded in wrestling, farming and hunting.

(a). Family/blood relation: Here under, address forms used among family members, that is people that are connected by birth (blood) are presented and analyzed.

1. ***Nenē/màma*** **(mother):** As earlier noted above, the address form process in Igbo is asymmetrical as the younger ones are not permitted to address the elderly by their personal names. *Nenē* is the traditional name for mother in Eha-Amufu; *màma* also means mother to the

Eha-Amufu modern native speakers. While children in modern families use *màma* as the address term for their mother, many other families within the same community still uphold the traditional form *nenē* as the address term for mother. Children therefore, address their mothers as *nenē* or *màma* whenever they make reference to them. What this means is that, whether the mother is present or absent, their children address them as *nenē* or *màma* as a mark of respect and politeness. It will be impolite for any child, no matter his/her age, to address his/her mother by her first name. In relation to the face theory, the child here would want to maintain a positive face in other to be liked by others and seen as a competent member of the family. Again, due to the communal life style of the Igbo in general and Eha-Amufu in particular, there is another group of people that can be addressed as *nenē* in this society. These are the older women who, though might not be biologically related to the person (s) addressing them as *nenē* are old enough to be their mothers or grandmothers. Addressing them this way is a mark of respect and politeness. It is also a way of presenting positive face for general societal acceptance. Sometimes, a parent or an elderly fellow might, choose to, address his/her daughter or a likable female child as *nenē* as a show of love and affection to the child. In a case like this, the address *nenē* is seen as a pet name for the child in question who might be a young person or an adult.

2. *Nnànà*/*papa* (father): *Nnànà* and papa are the two terms used to address fathers in Eha-Amufu. *Nnànà* is the more traditional and ancient address term for fathers in Eha-Amufu. *Papa*seems to be more common in contemporary times. However, a few families still call and address their fathers as *nnànà* in the society under study. *Nnànà* is also used as address form for older men, the very old men. A very polite way to address elderly men in Eha-Amufu is by calling them *nnànà*. A mother can also address her son as *nnànà* likewise a close relative can call and address a young boy who is dear to him or her in the family as *nnànà*. In a case like this, the young boy is seen as a replacement for the larger family's father or grandfather who may have died a while ago. It is only considered polite for children and younger people to address their fathers and older men as *nnànà*or *papa* rather than addressing them by their personal names. The use of *nnànà* as address form is also a way of presenting positive face.

3. *Okhìem̄*(my grandmother): *Okhìem̄* means my grandmother in Eha-Amufu dialect of Igbo. Young people also use *okhìem̄* as address form for elderly women. Therefore, young people cannot call their grandmothers by their names; they must address the grandmothers as *okhìem̄* while the grandfather will be addressed as *nnamokhìe*. This will be explicated in (4) below. This is done not withstanding whether the grandmother is present or absent. The grandchild must be polite and respectful enough to address her as *okhìem̄*.

4. *Nnàmokhìe* (my grandfather): *Nnàmokhìe* means my grandfather in Eha-Amufu dialect as stated in (3) above. Whether the grandfather is present or absent, the grandchild must address him as*nnàmokhìe. Nnàmokhìe* is also used as address form for any elderly man. Women who are married in a family also address the grandfather of their children as *nnàmokhìe* or *papa* or *nnàji m̄*(my husband's father).*Nnàmokhìe* is the polite address form for grandfathers and very old men in the Eha-Amufu socio-cultural society. Anything short of these is considered impolite and a show of *irresponsibility*.

5. *Àdam̄*/*anyị*(my daughter/our daughter): *Àda* is the address form for all daughters (female born) in every Igbo family in general and in Eha-Amufu in particular. Among the Igbo, a good

number of people bear *Àda* as their personal name. In such situations, the personal name *Ada* is often borne as a compound noun because some other element (noun or adjective) will always be suffixed to make it realize names like: *À*daobī, *À*dara, *À*daeze, *À*damma, *À*daugo. The address form *Ada* can be used on all the female folks their ages notwithstanding. However, this form is not used as a proper noun because it is not peculiar to any single person but is meant for all the daughters or females in the family which can be nuclear or extended family. This address form is used to demonstrate endearment. It is polite and also presents a **positive face**.

6. *Nwaadam*̄ (my daughter's child): *Nwaadam*̄ as an address form is used to address the children of female members of the nuclear and extended family. Both males and females can be addressed with this form. Addressing one with this form is a way of showing recognition to the person being referred to or addressed in this form. It is a way of saying to the person that you are my relative. You are my blood because you are my daughter's/sister's child. It is also a face saving strategy used to show acceptance.

7. *Ògbò m*(my name sake): The address form *Ògbò m* is used to demonstrate a very strong affinity among the Eha-Amufu people. Beside the husband wife relationship or the child parent relationship, the *ògbò* relationship seems to be the next in the relationship ladder or hierarchy in the society. No title can be better or more pleasant than being addressed as *ògbò m* in Eha-Amufu socio-cultural community. The culture is that every child who is born in Eha-Amufu society is named after 28days (izuesaa) which is after seven traditional lgbo weeks. Although in recent times and with the influence of Christianity, some families no longer wait for 28days to name their children but rather name them after 8days in conformity with the Christian tradition. Normally on the day of the naming ceremony, the father of the newborn child names him/her after a person whom he wishes to honour. When this is done, the new born child automatically inherits the name of the person he/she is named after. The only part of the person's name the child will not inherit is his/her surname. The culture of inheriting the name of the person whom one is named after is still in practice till date as a means of sustaining relationships. However, a few persons in resent time give their children their choice names even after naming them after someone else. The culture of naming children after other adults *ògbò* brings a lot of joy to the person the child is named after. To demonstrate the kind of value placed on *ògbò* among the Eha-Amufu people, there abounds this maxim which says *ògbòkànwaefwọụchọ* meaning:' the joy that comes with having an *ògbò*is more pleasant than the joy derived from one's offspring.

8. *Onyeìzhì m/anyị*(my/our elder brother): *Onyeìzhì m/anyị* is the address form people use to address their elder folks in their extended family. It is polite to address someone as *onyeìzhì m/anyị.* It is also a way of showing respectto an elderly person in the society. It is as well a face saving strategy and presents a positive face because person one addresses this way will be happy and see the person who addressed him so as a courteous and respectful younger one/fellow.

(b). Marriage relation: Some address forms are limited to only people who are related by marriage. Such forms include the following:

9. *Ji mī*(my husband): *Jim*̄is used as address form for men by their wives. Note the fires person singular pronoun *m* which denotes possession in the expression *jim*̄. It does not only posit

possession, but personal endearment. Oftentimes, they use this to address their husbands behind them (the husbands); the reason being that women often address their husbands as *jim̄* when their husbands are not present but the need to make reference to them arises. Women who are married in extended family/kindred also refer to or address all the men in the extended family both the young boys and other married men as *jim̄.* As a matter of fact, they also address the women who are related to their husbands as *jim̄*. This is in line with the general belief that a wife is not married by only one person. That is to say that the wife is not married to her husband alone but to every other family member. Hence, this Eha-Amufu maxim *O kwòkejikpōde, òkpopiērumè o kwòkeụmụnejikpōde,ò kpobē le ụzọ̀* meaning that 'any wife who depends solely on the relationship she has with her husband and cares not about the husband's relatives will quit the marriage once she has a problem with her husband as her husband's relatives will not be there to intervene for her'. So a woman (wife) demonstrates loyalty to the husband's siblings and relatives by calling every one of them *jim̄* (my husband). Equally, by so doing, she will be presenting a **positive face** to the extended family members. This will in turn make them like and respect her always. This will also generate into a **Positive Facework** whereby the extended family members will now be complimenting her and her behaviour in different ways which might include giving or calling her pet names like: *ezhinwaànyî, nwunyèanyị* and *dụ mòyị* meaning 'virtuous woman, our wife and my beloved'.

10. *Nwunyè m (my wife)*: *Nwunyè m*is an address term used by men to address their wives and the wives of their relatives who are their brothers' and cousins' wives (women married in both their nuclear and extended families). It is polite and also a demonstration of love for a man to address his wife as *nwunyè m*. As explained earlier, other extended members of a family; men and women alike, would address the woman/women married to their family as *nwunyè m/nwunyèanyị.* The people who do this, do it to gain **positive face** before the women addressed as such.

11. *Nwunyèjim̄* (my husband's wife/my co-wife): The literal meaning of *nwunyèjim̄* is (my husband's wife).This address term is used by women to refer to their fellow women who are married to the same familyor kindred (ụmụnnà) where they are being married. Also, co-wives in polygamous families address themselves as *nwunyèjim̄* both in the other person's presence or absence.

12. *Nwam̄* (my child): *Nwam̄* is the address form that mothers in-law and fathers in-law (parents in-law) call their daughters-in-law in Eha-Amufu. Normally, when a man gets married to a woman, his parents begin to call his wife *nwam̄.* What this implies is that whenever you find a woman or a man from the middle age calling a younger woman *nwam̄*, it means the younger woman is the older people's daughter-in-law. This practice cuts across the whole Eha-Amufu community.

13. ***Ọgọ̀*` (in-law):** *Ọgọ̀*`is the address form used by men to refer to their wives parents, family members and relatives. It is not only the man that is directly married to a woman that refers to his wife's parents and relatives as *ọgọ̀,* all his family members and even his friends address people from his wife's family as *ọgọ̀*. The same way, the woman's parents and relatives also refer to the man marrying their daughter and his relatives as *ọgọ̀*`(in-laws). What it means is that *ọgọ̀*` (in-law) is a common name (noun) for people connected by marriage. The address form *ọgọ̀*`(in-law) is polite and as a face image, it presents a positive face.

(c). Friendship relation: The address forms associated with friendship in Eha-Amufu are listed and analyzed in this section.

14. *Okè m* (my male friend): *Okè m* means 'my boy' or 'man' friend. It is also an address form that one uses on his/her male friend. This is used as a polite way of showing respect or warm regardsfor a friend instead of identifying or addressing the person by his personal name. *Okè m* is for a male friend and both man and woman can refer to his/her male friend as *okè m*.

15. *Ọ̀yị̀m*(my female friend): *Ọ̀yị̀ m* is the address form for one's female friend. It is a direct opposite of *okè m*. It is a polite and respectful way of addressing a female friend.

16. *Ishīọ̀yị̀ m* (My bosom friend): This is another address form used to explicate the degree of friendship. The word *ishī* 'head' in the address form is the degree element that shows that this person is not just an ordinary friend but a special (bosom) friend. It is quite a very polite way to express affinity.

(d) Wrestling: Wrestling is one of the notable traditional kinetic acts in Eha-Amufu. Some address forms are associated to the wrestling act. They include:

17. *Ikēmgbèrekē* (The strength/king of mgbèrekē): *Ikēmgbèrekē* is one of the address forms associated with wrestling in Eha-Amufu. For anyone to be addressed as *ikēmgbèrekē*, such a person must be a champion wrestler. The word *Ikemgbereke* is a compound word comprising *ikē*(strength) and *mgbèrekē (*the music played for wresters). What this means is that anyone addressed as *ikēmgbèrekē* is a person who exhibits strength in *mgbèrekē* wrestling act. It is polite and a way of showing respect and recognition for such a person's strength and wrestling expertise or prowess.

18.*Okēẹ̀ka* (The great hand): *Okēẹ̀ka* which literally means *okē* (great/strong) and *ẹ̀ka* (hand)is another address form wrestlers are eulogized with in Eha-Amufu. In Eha-Amufu wrestling act, the rule is that for any wrestler to be considered the winner, he must be able to throw his opponent down or make his knee to touch the ground or even maneuver himself to the opponent's rear while the contest lasts at the wrestling arena. Therefore, addressing someone as *Okeẹ̀ka* comes from the understanding that such a person has hands that are strong or skillful enough to lift another wrestler and throw him down or make his knees to touch the ground during the contest. Such a person also must have won in several wrestling contests that he had participated in in the past.

19. *Ọ̀tụ̀leihūabị̀à* (he who throws before the wrestling drummers): *Ọ̀tụ̀leihūabị̀à* this means 'he who throws another before or in front of *abị̀à* musical instrumentalist'. This address form is an indication that the person being addressed with this form is someone who has thrown several other wrestlers down and is eminently qualified to dance to the *abị̀à* beat (the beat of the wrestling instrumentalists).

20. *Ọ̀pànwokēètemgbèrekē/abị̀à* (he who carries a fellow man to dance mgbèrekē): *Ọ̀pànwokēètemgbèrekē/abị̀à* this address form addresses someone as he who has the capability of carrying (lifting) another full-fledged man with his legs far from the ground and yet be dancing the *mgbèrekē* music/dance. The form depicts strength hence, addressing someone by

this form is a way of saying that such a person is a very strong man who has achieved a great feat in the act of wrestling. It is only a wrestler who has recorded a good success in his wrestling escapades by contesting with wrestlers from different villages within the community and even beyond and has achieved victory in all or most of the contests.

(e). Farming: Farming is the major occupation of the traditional Eha-Amufu society owing to her expanse land mass. Eha-Amufu people cultivate a lot of things in their farm land like all other Igbo society. Chief among the farm crops of Eha-Amufu people is "yam". As a result of this, most of the address forms among the Eha-Amufu people that have their root in farming were related to "yam". Some of such address forms (name) are discussed hereunder.

21. *Ọnyịba* (inexhaustible): *Ọnyịba* is a common term or address for all the people who achieved great feat in yam farming. However, the specific name or address form for someone who has gone through the first stage in the yam related feats is *Jiebule.* The address form for anyone who has gone through the second stage is *Itegina* while the address form for people who have gone through the third stage is *Iyeriye.* Apart from these specific names, the common name for all of them is *Onyịba.* What the address form connotes is that such a person is capable of providing food in abundance. To be able to earn this address, one would have, at least, gone through one of the stages of ceremony, as there are several stages, towards achieving the different addresses. After anyone has gone through the processes, it will be impolite for anyone to see such a person and address him by his personal name. It is polite and face saving to address anyone within these categories as *Onyịba* which, in the real sense of it, means *Onyịbanri* (inexhaustible); thereby acknowledging the fact that such a person has attained the feat of *Onyịba* in the society.

(g) Hunting: There are some address forms that are associated with hunting in Eha-Amufu. Some of them are:

22. *Ọ̀dànwụ̀*: In Eha-Amufu Igbo cultural area, a person who is very good at hunting is addressed as *Ọ̀dànwụ̀.* Such a hunter usually returns from his hunting expedition with different animals.

23. *Ajhịā*: *Ajhịā* is a marksman. That is a sharp shooter who can shoot without missing any target. This kind of skilled shooter is addressed as *Ajhịā* by other members of the Eha-Amufu society.

(h). Women: It is imperative to state that there are some women address forms that are earned in the society being studied. The address forms are: ebam, ọgbayarụ, ọnọgoru, ọshilehwi and oshilahụ.

24. *Ẹbàm̄*: *Ẹbàm̄* is the first level of achievement within the women category. For one to become an *Ẹbàm̄* and qualify to be so addressed in Eha-Amufu traditional society, the person will have to make some financial donations or commitments to her husband. This stems from the fact that virtually every member of the society is a farmer; therefore, for a woman to do this, she would have saved some money for a given period of time. Furthermore, one can do this if after harvesting the year's farm products, she discovers that she had a bountiful harvest which she can sell and have a bulk sum. In such a situation, after she had gathered the fund, she will

go and inform her father or her father's family that she wants to do something significant for her husband. Her father or the family member will send a message to her husband and his own family members that they will be paying him a visit on an appointed date. On the said date, delegates from her family will arrive her husband's house early in the morning to accompany her as well as to bear witness that she made a voluntary cash or material presentation to her husband. On that day, she will prepare enough food to feed all the people around and others who will come as the news goes abroad. Any woman, who does this, automatically has earned herself the appellation *Ẹbàm̄* and henceforth would be recognized and addressed as *Ẹbàm̄* by every member of the society.

25. *Ọ̀gbayarụ̀*: *Ọ̀gbayarụ̀* is the next level in the women category commendable achievers. To earn this address form, a woman will have to repeat the first process and possibly in a bigger and more elaborate way. When this is done, the woman becomes *ọ̀gbayarụ̀* which means that she has left her mates, including the *Ẹbàm̄(s),* to a higher level. So she has surpassed her associates and cotemporaries.

26. *Ọ̀nọ̀gorụ̄*:*Ọ̀nọ̀gorụ̄* is the address form for a woman who has performed the above stated feats over and over again to prove beyond every reasonable doubts that she now sits on wealth for that is the full meaning of the address form *ọ̀nọ̀gorụ̄le eluẹkụ* (she has attained the height/top of wealth). This address form is for the societal financial high class women in Eha-Amufu socio-cultural society. This category of woman achievers can equally be addressed as *ẹẹkwoachi la-agbuyarayara* (achi leaves which shade ceaselessly). This, in a way means inexhaustible wealth.

27.*Oshileebhi* (she who cooks with cow (beef)): This is another address forms for women. However, a woman can achieve this under her husband. If a man slaughters the native cow *ebhiogbu le chi* and uses it to feed and entertain the village elders led by the eight oldest men in the village *ndụẹsatọ,* such a person becomes *ogbulechi an attainment which* qualifies him to become part of the elders' council whenever he becomes old enough to admitted into the council. In the same vein, such a man's wife, who provides the condiments and does the cooking, earns the address form *oshileehi* (she who cooks with a cow).

28. *Oshileahụ* (she who cooks with melon) or *Oshimanụ* (she who cooks with oil): Furthermore, *Oshileahụ and Oshimanụ* are other forms of address associated with women. These two address forms can be used interchangeably. This form also falls in line with the *ehiogbu le chi* discussed in (27) above. It is not just enough for a man to slaughter the *ehiogbu le chi*(native cow) for the elders. The meat is served with a special delicacy called *ahụòòyè.* Therefore, when a wife/woman whose husband slaughter *ehiogbu le chi*(native cow) prepares the delicacy *ahụooye* (a special kind of egusi soup) which requires assorted ingredients and oil, serves the elders to the extent each of them eats to his satisfaction and still has some left over, she gets enlisted into the guild of oshileahụ or oshimanụ in the village. This way, such a woman earns the address form oshileahụ or oshimanụ.

Conclusion

This study has explored address forms in Igbo, using the face and politeness theory. With insight from Eha-Amufu dialect of Igbo, 28 new sets of Igbo address forms have been identified thereby increasing the number of available data on address forms in Igbo language.

Address forms such as *nene, nnana, ogbo m, oke m,ikemgbereke, okeeka, ọnyịba, ẹbàm̄,ọ̀gbayarụ̀ and ọ̀nọ̀gorụ̄*are some of the identified address forms. These forms emanated from different levels of social relationship vi-à-visfeats attained in the society. This explicates the fact that social relations, valued traditional attainments and prominent cultural practices in the society informed most of the address forms used in Eha-Amufu. While some of the appellations stemmed from relationships like marital, family or blood and friendship relationships; others originated from exploits done in kinetic display like wrestling prowess, farming and hunting venture which elevate the social status of individuals involved. Equally, some address forms identified were strictly meant for women who either by their own deeds or their husbands' deeds earned those addresses. It is evident from this study that the address forms analyzed, help to strengthen social human relations in the society and as well promote hard work among the members of the society. Following the address forms earned via feats attained in the society, the study has revealed the importance of politeness, in maintenance of cordial relationship, peaceful co-existence and order in traditional Eha-Amufu Igbo cultural area.

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