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ARTICLE

A Linguistic and Cultural Analysis of British Football Club Nicknames

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ABSTRACT

Nicknames are a byproduct of culture and are specific to the environment in which they are used and given. Onomasticology research has gained importance as linguists' interest in language and culture has grown. This study investigates the potential benefits and drawbacks of English football clubs' (EFCs) nicknames as a communication tool. Specifically, it examines the nicknames of EFC players from the Premier League, Championship, League One, and League Two during the 2021–2022 season. The study sample includes all 92 EFCs in Britain, each of which has a nickname. These nicknames were categorized using a classification method and then compared. The analysis revealed statistically significant variations between the nicknames, with each conveying unique messages about language, society, or history while honoring the individuals associated with the term. The study highlights the importance of specific cultural elements in determining how EFCs acquire their nicknames. However, some nicknames tend to represent "culture-specific lexical concepts" that may be difficult for language learners to understand, especially those unfamiliar with English and British cultures. This exploration of nicknames aims to inspire further in-depth research at cross-cultural and intercultural levels to understand better how

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language reflects the significance of club nicknames.

Keywords: Culture-Specific Lexical Concepts; English Football Clubs; Language and Culture; Nicknames; Onomastics

1. Introduction

Football is the most popular ball game in the world, whether measured by participation or viewership. It is a global game with millions of admirers, and the Football World Cup is the most-watched sporting competition world-wide [1-4]. In medieval times, 'folk' games were played in villages and towns with minimal rules, often based on local customs. Modern football originated in Britain in the 19th century and has been the most popular sport since the 1850s, having a profound impact on British society. In 1857, Sheffield FC became the first football club to be established, followed by the formation of the Football Association in 1863, which set the initial rules for the modern game (The History of the First Football Club, Sheffield FC) [5-8].

The earliest leagues were founded in England and Scotland, but football clubs began to appear across Europe in the early 1900s, with each country forming its own leagues. A significant number of professional Scottish players moved south to join English teams, introducing English players to more skilled ballplayers and the advantages of passing and teamwork. Through frequent club tours abroad, British influence continued to shape the global development of football. The complex political and cultural landscape of European nations is reflected in their football teams. In the UK, football has traditionally been associated with the industrial working class, particularly in cities like Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Newcastle (Britannica.com) [9–16].

Today, there are over 40,000 registered football clubs in England. However, this study focuses solely on the nicknames of English professional clubs (EFCs) from the 2021–2022 season that participated in the Championship (CH) (see **Tables A1** and **A2**), Premier League (PL), League One (L1) (see **Table A3**), and League Two (L2) (see **Table A4**). The Premier League, often referred to as the "top flight", sits at the pinnacle of the football league system (level 1) and comprises 20 clubs. Below it, the English Football League (EFL), previously known as "the Football League", is divided into three divisions of 24 clubs each: The Championship (level 2), League One (level 3), and League Two

(level 4). All 20 clubs in the Premier League and the 72 clubs in the English Football League are full-time professional teams [17, 18].

This study explores the use of nicknames by English football clubs (EFCs), with a particular focus on whether these nicknames convey positive or negative communicative goals. As such, the research contributes to the body of literature that informs onomastic theory. "Name theory" should be grounded in robust methodologies and empirical data. Researchers should document nicknames and their origins within clear samples, classify the names, and analyze the contexts in which they are used. This approach allows researchers to identify the preferential, constitutive, and spontaneous rule-bound characteristics of nicknames and their usage [19–22]. The analysis of EFC nicknames may contribute to this objective and encourage further comprehensive studies on the topic.

Nicknames are products of cultural systems and are shaped by the contexts in which they are created and used [23–25]. To the researchers' knowledge, little research has been conducted in this area, despite the fact that nicknaming is a valuable communicative tool. Several factors, such as linguists' growing interest in the relationship between language and culture and the study of onomastic units, highlight the importance of this research. Significantly, it enhances understanding of the national mentality, way of thinking, history, and emotional outlook of the English people [26–30]. Thus, this study may offer learners of English as a second or foreign language valuable insights into British culture. In this regard, Pour (2009) argues that nicknames are deeply rooted in culture, reflecting a cultural dimension that may be unique to one society over another.

2. Literature Review

The English word "nickname" comes from the Middle English phrase "an eke name", which means "another name", where "eke" means "also, additional, or extra" [31]. Crystal [31] defines a nickname as "an unofficial extra name given to someone or something." In football (or soccer, as it

is known in the USA), a nickname is typically a descriptive name given by fans or rivals, either instead of or in addition to the team's official name. Nuessel^[32] explains that sports team nicknames refer to "people or objects in the real world with positive and negative qualities associated with winning or beating an opponent" (p. 108).

Nicknames develop spontaneously within small or large groups and often express specific attitudes and emotions, such as friendliness, affection, unity, and humor, which might not be conveyed through the use of a full name. MacKenzie^[33] suggests that nicknames convey more explicit meanings than given names. Skipper^[34] contends that some functions of nicknames include breaking down barriers of formality, fostering closeness, and increasing fans' identification with teams. Wang et al.^[35] examined the nicknames of FIFA national football teams, showing that nicknames have subtle intercultural distinctions.

In their study of the 211 FIFA national football teams (NFTs), Feng et al. [36] analyzed 315 nicknames. Their preliminary analysis indicated statistically significant differences among the nicknames, suggesting minor intercultural variations that warrant further investigation. An in-depth scholarly exploration of these nicknames is anticipated, both at the continental and international levels.

Boateng et al. [37] studied the names of FIFA national football teams to provide classificatory insights, identify similarities and differences in nickname classifications across continents, and understand how human civilizations and the global nature of football and soccer influence nicknaming practices. Their research shows that cultural similarities and differences, along with the universal nature of football, shape nicknaming traditions.

Cassidy^[38] and Doyle^[39] argue that the term "nick-name" typically refers to an informal name familiar to locals but not necessarily to outsiders. Nicknames are often used in casual contexts, while formal titles are linked to specific positions. As these names aim to highlight particular traits, they are usually descriptive. However, a description can also convey an opinion, and nicknames may reflect a community's neutral, idealizing, personalizing, humorous, derisive, ironic, or even condemning attitudes. The expression of such attitudes is often a defining characteristic of a nickname ^[40] Ensuring that outsiders fully grasp the nuanced meaning of a nickname as insiders do can be challenging, and sometimes

this understanding remains elusive.

Boateng et al.^[37] further examined the names of FIFA national football teams, aiming to classify and compare them across continents. Their research highlights the influence of both cultural diversity and shared elements on nicknaming practices, as well as the global perspective of football and soccer. The study underscores that nicknaming traditions in football are shaped by both the commonalities and differences across civilizations and the universal perception of football or soccer as a sport.

3. Materials and Methods

The methodology of the present study was primarily based on Wilson and Skipper's^[41] work. First, a list of nicknames for all 92 EFCs was compiled from Wikipedia. Additionally, a Google search was conducted using the query "nickname + English football club + [specific club name]". Second, a classification scheme was developed by the researchers to categorize the nicknames. Analysis of the dataset yielded eight categories based on the 148 nicknames of the 92 EFCs.

4. Results and Discussion

The dataset analysis revealed eight classification types, as shown in **Table 1**.

It is worth noting that some clubs have multiple nicknames. These nicknames were categorized and quantified. For instance, Preston North End has five nicknames: "The Lilywhites," "PNE," "The Whites," "Preston," and "The Invincibles." When a nickname consisted of several terms, each phrase was classified and included in the statistical analysis. For example, "The Blue Birds", the nickname of Cardiff City, was counted in two distinct onomastic categories, represented by type codes A and E, as it was classified as both animal-related and color-related. In contrast, "Red and White", the nickname of Sheffield United, was counted as a single color-related term, despite referencing two colors. This method was applied to categorize the terms within the 148 nicknames of the 92 EFCs examined. The percentage of each onomastic type was calculated for the nickname set, as shown in Table 2.

The 92 EFCs are divided into four categories, as shown in **Table 2**, based on the football organizations they belong

Table 1. The classification of the nicknames of EFC.

Code	Types of Terms in Nicknames	Examples
A	Colors	Norwich City: Yellows
В	Humans or character	Watford: The Golden Boys
Ь	numans of character	Peterborough United: The Posh
C	Local industry	Everton: The Toffees
D	Collective	Southampton: The Saints
E	Animals	Hull City: The Tigers
F	Region	Exeter City: Cumbrians
		Leyton Orient: Orient and O's
G	Based on the club's name including initial or last letters of club name	Aston Villa: The Villans
		Shrewsbury Town: Shrews
Н	Miscellaneous	West Bromwich: The Baggies

Table 2. The frequency and percentage of each phrase type in nicknames (all EFCs).

No	Code	Terms Used in Nicknames	PL	CH	L1	L2	Total	%
1	A	Colours	13	12	6	8	39	26.9
2	G	Based on the club's name including initial or last letters of club name	7	8	8	11	33	22.7
3	E	Animals	8	7	3	3	21	14.5
4	C	Local industry	5	7	5	2	19	13.1
5	D	Collective	7	2	1	1	11	7.5
6	F	Regions	1	3	1	3	8	5.5
7	Н	Miscellaneous	1	4	1	2	8	5.5
8	В	Humans or character	2	3	1	0	6	4.1
	Total	Nicknames for each league	44	46	25	30	148	100%

to: The Premier League (PL), League One (L1), League Two (L2), and the Championship (CH). For each of these four groups, the words in the full EFC nicknames were classified. Subsequently, we compared the distribution of the types of codes for each group to test for statistically significant differences. The analysis revealed that Championship clubs use the most nicknames (46), followed by Premier League clubs (44), League Two clubs (30), and League One clubs, which have the fewest nicknames (25; see **Table 2**).

4.1. Types of Nicknames and Percentages

The study also investigated the use of signifiers like "football" and "club". The analysis showed that the term "football" was not used in the nicknames, even though the formal name of each English football club contains the word "football". Regarding the signifier "club", it appeared only once, in the nickname "The People's Club", referring to Everton F.C.

Additionally, the study explored ambiguous terms used in football club nicknames, such as "Devil". The analysis

revealed three uses of this term, including "The Red Devils" for Manchester United F.C., "Red Devils" for Crawley Town F.C., and "Green Devils" for Forest Green Rovers F.C. This finding aligns with Feng et al.'s [36] study of FIFA national football team (NFT) nicknames, which also identified the use of the term "Devil" in "Red Devils" for various national football teams.

4.1.1. Colour

The most frequently used colors in nicknames are blue (7), red (5), and white (5). This finding contrasts with Feng et al.'s [36] study of FIFA national team nicknames, where "red" was the most frequently used color. In the present study, however, blue is the most common color for EFCs. Nevertheless, this aligns with Zvereva and Chilingaryan [42] who argue that "colorism" is the most common type of nickname in sports, where clubs are given color-based nicknames based on their uniforms. Their study found that 156 national teams across various sports had color-based nicknames, with "red" being the most common. In this study, "blue" emerges as the dominant color.

4.1.2. Including the Club's First or Last Letters

The data shows that nicknames derived from the club's name, including those based on the initial or last letters of the club name (shortened versions), such as Leyton Orient ("Orient" and "O's"), Aston Villa ("The Villans"), and Shrewsbury Town ("Shrews"), account for 22.7% (33 nicknames), comparable to the percentage in the color category.

4.1.3. Animals

Interestingly, although animal-related nicknames like "lion", "tiger", or "wolf" rank third at 14.5% (21 nicknames), EFCs tend to use birds more frequently than powerful wild animals, which typically symbolize bravery, strength, and power. The analysis shows that nine of the 21 animal-related nicknames are bird-related, such as "Canaries", "Magpies", "Peacocks", and "Seagulls". This finding contrasts with Feng et al.'s [36] study of FIFA national team nicknames, which concluded that animal-related nicknames were the most common among teams, with mammals, especially wildcats like "lions" and "tigers", being more prevalent than birds such as "eagles" or "falcons". For example, their study found that 20 national football teams bear the nickname "lions", symbolizing strength, nobility, and stateliness across various cultures worldwide.

4.1.4. Local Industry

Nicknames related to local industries, such as Everton's "The Toffees", account for 13.1% (19 nicknames), close to the percentage of animal-related nicknames.

4.1.5. Collective

Nicknames related to the collective category, such as Southampton's "The Saints", constitute 7.5% (11 nicknames).

4.1.6. Nicknames Related to the Culture of the Region

Nicknames associated with regional culture, such as Exeter City's "Cumbrians", make up 5.5% of the total (8). Holmes and Wilson [43] argue that linguistic variation exists not only in vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar but also in certain expressions, showing that communities and nicknames are no exceptions. As President Barack Obama (2010) stated:

"Language is the mirror of culture, reflecting not only the natural world around us, real-life conditions, events, and experiences, but also the collective and self-consciousness of a nation. It embodies its mentality, national character, and way of life, customs, traditions, habits, and morals, systems of values, vision, world outlook, and world perception."

In English, many phrases, words, and expressions exist for different nicknames. Due to their deep cultural connotations in British culture, EFC nicknames may convey different messages to people from diverse cultures.

The dataset analysis reveals that several EFCs use nicknames based on the cultural professions unique to their regions. For instance, Walsall F.C. is nicknamed "Saddlers" because the town is renowned for saddle manufacturing. Similarly, Luton Town F.C. is called "Hatters", and Bolton Wanderers F.C. is known as "The Trotters", both linked to the hat and trotter manufacturing industries in their respective areas. Additionally, some clubs receive cultural nicknames that refer to distinctive cultural items or customs. For example, Everton F.C.'s nickname "The Toffees" is tied to a regional tradition where women in traditional attire hand out mints to fans before games at Goodison Park Stadium [44–46].

Moreover, some clubs derive their nicknames from the names of families or tribes that historically lived in or ruled the region. For example, Newcastle United F.C. is nicknamed "The Geordies", a term that refers to the native inhabitants of that area. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a "Geordie" is defined as a "native or inhabitant of Tyneside or a neighboring region in north-east England". Additionally, certain nicknames are related to animals or birds native to the region, such as Newcastle United F.C.'s "Magpies", referring to birds from the area. This highlights how several nicknames function as "culture-specific lexical concepts" that may not be easily understood by people from other cultures. Language reflects and preserves culture, just as culture is reflected in language [47–51].

4.1.7. Miscellaneous

Nicknames related to regional categories, such as "West Bromwich: The Baggies", account for 5.5% of the total (8 nicknames).

4.1.8. Humans or Characters

Human-related nicknames, such as "Watford: The Golden Boys" and "Peterborough United: The Posh", make up the lowest percentage at 4.1% (6 nicknames; see **Table 2**).

The study also investigated the use of sports-related

signifiers like "football" and "club". The analysis showed that "football" is not used in the nicknames, despite being present in the official name of every English football club. The term "club" appeared only once, in the nickname "The People's Club", referring to Everton F.C.

Additionally, the study explored ambiguous terms used in football club nicknames, such as "Devil", which is often associated with evil. Historically, it has been recognized as the personification of evil and the adversary of virtuous people^[14]. According to Deardorff^[21] parents often disapprove of nicknames like "Blue Devils" because they are perceived as anti-Christian. The research found three instances of the term "devil" in EFC nicknames: "The Red Devils" for Manchester United F.C., "Red Devils" for Crawley Town F.C., and "Green Devils" for Forest Green Rovers F.C. Although the term "devil" often carries negative connotations, this finding aligns with Feng et al.'s ^[36] study of FIFA national football team nicknames, which also found the term used in four national teams' nicknames, such as the "Red Devils" of Belgium, South Korea, Vietnam, and Congo.

4.2. Distribution of Terms in EFC Nicknames

The statistical test results for each type of code used in the four English football leagues are shown in this section. **Table 3** compares the code types A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and H, revealing statistically significant differences between specific groups. Notably, code type A shows no statistically significant difference among the four groups.

Significant statistical differences among the four groups can be summarized as follows:

- Humans or Characters (B): League Two (0.0%) shows a significantly lower percentage than other leagues, while no significant differences are found between the other leagues.
- Local Industry (C): League One (20%) shows a significantly higher percentage than other leagues, while League Two (6.66%) shows a significantly lower percentage.
- Collective (D): The Premier League (15.9%) shows a significantly higher percentage than other leagues, while the others show no significant differences.
- Animals (E): The Premier League (18.1%) and League One (15.2%) show significantly higher percentages than other leagues.

- Regions (F): League Two (10%) shows a significantly higher percentage than other leagues, while the Premier League (2.2%) shows a significantly lower percentage.
- Based on the Club's Name (G): League One (32%) and League Two (36.66%) show significantly higher percentages than other leagues.
- Miscellaneous (H): League Two (8.7%) shows a significantly higher percentage than other leagues, while
 the Premier League (2.2%) shows a significantly
 lower percentage.
- The statistical test results for each code type in the four English football leagues are presented in **Table 3**. In summary, the preferences for nickname types among the leagues are as follows:
 - Premier League (PL): Colours (A) are the most preferred (29.5%), followed closely by nicknames based on the club's name (G) (26%). The least preferred type is "Regions (F)" (2.2%).
 - Championship (CH): Colours (A) and nicknames based on the club's name (G) are equally preferred (26% each), while "Collective (D)" is the least preferred (4.3%).
 - League One (L1): Colours (A) and nicknames based on the club's name (G) are equally preferred (32% each). The least preferred types are "Humans or Characters (B)," "Collective (D)," and "Regions (F)" (4% each).
 - League Two (L2): Nicknames based on the club's name (G) are the most preferred (36.66%), while "Humans or Characters (B)" are the least preferred (0.0%).

This study reveals varying preferences for nickname types among leagues. The Premier League and Championship favor colours and club name-based nicknames, while League One and League Two show different preferences. Notably, the term "football" is absent from the nicknames, and "club" is rarely used.

Nicknames among EFCs convey diverse messages related to language, culture, and history, honoring the clubs they represent. Many are linked to the cultural specialties of their regions, unique customs, or the names of families or tribes that once lived there. However, some nicknames are "culture-specific lexical concepts," posing comprehension challenges for learners of English and British culture,

Code Type	PL	СН	L1	L2
A	13 (29.5%)	12 (26%)	6 (24%)	8 (26.66%)
В	2 (4.5%)	3 (6.5%)	1 (4%)	0(0.0%)
C	5 (11.3%)	7 (15.2%)	5 (20%)	2 (6.66%)
D	7 (15.9%)	2 (4.3%)	1 (4%)	1 (3.3%)
E	8 (18.1%)	7 (15.2%)	3 (12%)	3 (10%)
F	1 (2.2%)	3 (6.5%)	1 (4%)	3 (10%)
G	7 (15.9%)	8 (17.4%)	8 (32%)	11 (36.66%)
H	1 (2.2%)	4 (8.7%)	1 (4%)	2 (6.66%)
Total	44	46	25	30

Table 3. Every type code in the four English football divisions' test statistics results.

especially ambiguous ones. Nicknames reflect cultural and linguistic diversity, warranting further comprehensive studies. This preliminary analysis of EFC nicknames encourages cross-cultural and intercultural discussions ^[50–52].

In brief, PL (13; 29.5%) and CH (12; 26%) show a preference for colours (A), while L1 (8; 32%) and L2 (11; 36.66%) prefer nicknames (G) based on the club's name, including initials or last letters (the short version of the name). Meanwhile, the least preferred nickname types for each league are:

- PL: Regions (F) (2.2%)
- CH: Collective (D) (4.3%)
- L1: Humans or Characters (B), Collective (D), and Regions (F) (4% each)
- L2: Humans or Characters (B) (0.0%)

5. Conclusions

This analysis revealed that nicknames are most frequently used in the Premier League and Championship, and least frequently in League One. Additionally, the sports signifier "football" has not been used in nicknames, and "club" is rarely used. The onomastic categories of colours, animals, and club names are the most common among EFC nicknames. Significant statistical differences were found across the seven onomastic categories—colours, humans or characters, local industry, animals, collectives, regions, and club names—among EFCs.

The use of specific terms in nicknames, such as "devils", "monkeys", or "owls", varies across cultures, with positive connotations in some cultures and negative ones in others. For example, while "owls" symbolize wisdom in Western countries like England, they represent pessimism in

Arab culture. This highlights how the connotative meanings of such expressions can vary cross-culturally.

The study also found that nicknames are widely used among EFCs to convey messages related to language, culture, or history, honoring the individuals or entities being nicknamed. Many EFCs adopt nicknames based on cultural professions characteristic of their regions or reference unique cultural items or specialized customs. Some nicknames are also derived from the names of families or tribes that once inhabited or ruled the region.

However, several nicknames are "culture-specific lexical concepts", making them difficult for English language learners or individuals unfamiliar with British culture to understand, particularly ambiguous ones. In other words, many nicknames are culturally bound, and translating them may not fully capture their connotation. Nicknames reflect a wide range of cultural and linguistic diversity, suggesting the need for further in-depth and comprehensive studies. This preliminary analysis of EFC nicknames aims to spark further discussions at both cross-cultural and intercultural levels.

Author Contributions

Conceptualization, L.M.R., Rababah, M.A.R., K.A.R., and B.B.-K.; methodology, C.W.W., S.A.A.-T.; software, C.W.W., B.B.-K.; validation, C.W.W. and B.B.-K.; formal analysis, S.A.A.-T.; resources, S.A.A.-T.; data, M.T.H., M.K., L.M.R., M.A.R.; writing—K.A.R., and B.B.-K.; visualization, M.T.H., M.K.; supervision, L.M.R., M.A.R.; project administration, L.M.R., M.A.R.

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The datasets generated during and/or analyzed during the current study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

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Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Abbreviations

CH	The Championship
EFL	The English Football League
EFCs	English Football Clubs
F.C	Football Club
FIFA	International Federation of Football Association
L1	League One
L2	League Two
NFTs	National Football Teams
PL	The Premier League

Appendix A

Table A1. List of British professional clubs the premier league's clubs.

Club	Nickname		
AFC Bournemouth	The Cherries	Н	AFC Bournemouth
D	The Tykes,	H	D
Barnsley	The Red	A	Barnsley
Birmingham City	The Blues	A	Birmingham City
	Rovers,	G	
Blackburn Rovers	The Blue and Whites,	A	Blackburn Rovers
	The Riversiders	H	
	The Seasiders,	H	
Blackpool	The Pool,	H	Blackpool
-	The Tangerines	A	-
Bristol City	The Robins	A	Bristol City
Cardiff City	The Bluebirds	A&E	Cardiff City
Coventry City	The Sky Blues	A	Coventry City
Derby County	The Rams	E	Derby County
	Cottagers,	C	
Fulham	Whites,	A	Fulham
	Black and White Army	A & D	

Table A1. Cont.

Club	Nickname		
Huddersfield Town	The Terriers	Е	Huddersfield Town
Hull City	The Tigers	E	Hull City
Luton Town	The Hatters	D	Luton Town
MC LIL - L L	The Boro,	G	ACAB
Middlesbrough	Smoggies	H	Middlesbrough
Millwall	The Lions,	E	Millwall
Miliwali	The Dockers	C	Miliwali
Nottingham Forest	Forest	G	Nottingham Forest
Peterborough United	The Posh	В	Peterborough United
	The Lilywhites,	A	
	PNE,	G	
Preston North End	The Whites,	Α	Preston North End
	Preston,	Η	
	The Invincibles	H	
	The Hoops,	В	
Queens Park Rangers	The Rs,	G	Queens Park Rangers
	QPR	G	
Reading	The Royals,	В	Reading
Reading	Biscuitmen	C	Reading
	The Blades,	A	
Sheffield United	Red Lizards,	Α	Sheffield United
	White Lizards	E	
Stoke City	The Potters	C	Stoke City
Swansea	The Swans	E	Swansea
West Bromwich Albion	The Baggies,	Η	West Bromwich Albion
West Dioniwich Albion	The Throstles,	Η	West Bromwich Albion
	Albion	G	

Table A2. The championship's clubs

Club	Nickname					
AFC Bournemouth	The Cherries	Н	AFC Bournemouth			
Barnsley	The Tykes, The Reds	H A	Barnsley			
Birmingham City	The Blues	A	Birmingham City			
	Rovers,	G				
Blackburn Rovers	The Blue and Whites,	A	Blackburn Rovers			
	The Riversiders	H				
	The Seasiders,	H				
Blackpool	The 'Pool,	H	Blackpool			
	The Tangerines	A				
Bristol City	The Robins	A	Bristol City			
Cardiff City	The Bluebirds	A & E	Cardiff City			
Coventry City	The Sky Blues	A	Coventry City			
Derby County	The Rams	E	Derby County			
	Cottagers,	C				
Fulham	Whites,	A	Fulham			
	Black and White army	A & D				
Huddersfield Town	The Terriers	E	Huddersfield Town			
Hull City	The tigers	E	Hull City			
Luton Town	The Hatters	D	Luton Town			
Middlesbrough	The Boro,	G	Middlesbrough			
ivildalesorougii	Smoggies	H	iviidalesorougii			
Millwall	The Lions	E	Millwall			
	The Dockers	C				
Nottingham Forest	Forest	G	Nottingham Forest			
Peterborough United	The Posh	В	Peterborough United			
	The Lilywhites,	A				
	PNE,	G				
Preston North End	The Whites,	A	Preston North End			
	Preston,	H				
	The Invincibles	H				
	The Hoops,	В				
Queens Park Rangers	The Rs,	G	Queens Park Rangers			
	QPR	G				
Reading	The Royals	В	Reading			
rteauing	Biscuitmen	C	reading			
	The Blades,	C				
Sheffield United	Red Lizards.	A	Sheffield United			
	White Lizards	E				
Stoke City	The Potters	C	Stoke City			
Swansea	The Swans	E	Swansea			
	The Baggies,	H				
West Bromwich Albion	The Throstles,	H	West Bromwich Albion			
	Albion	G				

Table A3. League one clubs.

Club	Nickname		
Accrington Stanley	Stanley	G	1
AFC Wimbledon	Dons	G	2
Bolton Wanderers	The Trotters	H	3
Burton Albion	Brewers	C	4

Table A3. Cont.

Club	Nickname		
Cambridge United	Yellows	A	5
	Lilywhites	A	_
Charlton Athletic	The Addicks	H	6
Cheltenham Town	Robins	A	7
Crewe Alexandra	Railwaymen	C	8
Doncaster Rovers	Donny	J	9
Fleetwood Town	Fisherman	C	10
Gillingham	Gills	G	11
Ipswich Town	Blues	A	12
Lincoln City	Imps	H	13
Milton Keynes Dons	Dons	G	14
Morecambe	Shrimps	E	15
Oxford United	U's	G	16
Plymouth Argyle	Pilgrims	D	17
Portsmouth	Pompey	В	18
Rotherham United	Millers	C	19
Sheffield Wednesday	The Owls	E	20
Shrewsbury Town	Shrews	G	21
Sunderland	the Black Cats	A & E	22
Wigan Athletic	Latics	G	23
Wycombe Wanderers	Blues	A	24

Table A4. League two clubs.

Club	Nickname		
Barrow	Bluebirds	A & E	1
Bradford City	Bantams	A	2
Bristol Rovers	Pirates	C	3
Carlisle United	Cumbrians	H	4
Carriste Officed	Blues	A	4
Colchester United	U's	G	5
Crawley Town	Red Devils	A	6
Exeter City	Grecians	H	7
Forest Green Rovers	Rovers	G	8
rofest Green Rovers	Green Devils	A	0
Harrogate Town	The Sulphurites	A	9
Lautan Oniant	Orient	G	10
Leyton Orient	O's	G	10
Hartlepool United	The Monkey Hangers	E	11
Mansfield Town	Stags	E	12
Newport County	Ironsides	C	13
Northampton Town	Teyn	H	14
Oldham Athletic	Latics	G	15
Port Vale	Valiants	G	16
Rochdale	Dale	G	17
Salford City	The Ammies	G	18
Scunthorpe United	Iron	G	19
Stevenage	Stripes	A	20
Sutton United	U's	G	21
Swindon Town	Robins	A	22
Tranmere Rovers	Rovers	G	23
Walsall	Saddlers	C	24

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