

Chapter 2

Anglicization of personal names: The case of Akan

Kwasi Adomako

University of Education, Winneba

John Odoom

University of Education, Winneba

Akan personal names are losing their cultural or ethnopragmatic values and meanings through anglicization. Anglicization affects the form, structure, pronunciation, and original meanings of some indigenous Akan personal names. Personal names are not merely arbitrary labels but sociocultural tags that have sociocultural functions and meanings and provide linguistic information about the Akan culture. This study seeks to examine orthographic changes identified in some anglicized Akan personal names and their implication for the Akan language and culture. This is a descriptive qualitative study. The data for this study were collected from university records of written Akan personal names. The paper shows that when Akan personal names are anglicized, they undergo orthographic modifications such as vowel replacement and consonant replacement. Two prosodic processes such as resyllabification and tone alterations were also observed in the anglicized names. The paper concludes that these processes have affected the meanings of the names by eroding their cultural or ethnopragmatic values.

1 Introduction

This paper provides a linguistic analysis of anglicization in Akan personal names (APNs). According to Mensah (2022), anglicization is a cultural and linguistic assimilation process that entails the diffusion of English words (or names) through



borrowing and adapting to other languages. In this study, we look at anglicization from the perspective of the adaptation of personal names to English spelling, syllable structure, and pronunciation.

Anglicized written names impact pronunciation, producing changes in segments, syllable structure and tone. Anglicization has largely impacted the writing system of Akan, particularly names, therefore affecting the sociocultural meaning of the name (being anthroponymy, toponymy, or ethnonymy). For instance, Akan (Fante dialect) personal names whose original, non-Anglicized, spelling and pronunciations are *Esuon* [èsón] ‘seventh born’ and *Gyasi(e)* [džèsi] ‘father’s keepings’ have been anglicized as *Eshun* [eʃən] and *Gaisie* [geizi] respectively, and have lost the original cultural value. This writing change leads to a different pronunciation and, affects the meaning of the name. This adulteration of personal names is a product of several centuries of contact between the Akan people and Europeans (Owu-Ewie 2017).

Personal names among the Akan are not merely arbitrary labels, but socio-cultural tags that have sociocultural functions and meanings and provide linguistic and typological information (Essien 1986, Agyekum 2006). The cultural and social contexts identify the bearer or convey a wide range of invaluable information about the bearer. According to Kachru (1994), a name is a valuable source of information, which can indicate gender, birthplace, nationality, ethnicity, religion and position within a family and the society at large. The concept of naming within the African context is highly valued because names echo the bearers’ cultural values and identities. This has aroused scholars’ interest to research Akan anthroponomy over the years from different perspectives (Boadi 1984; Obeng 1997, 1998, 2001; Ansu-Kyeremeh 2000; Agyekum 2006, 2010; Adomako 2015, 2017, 2019; Ofori 2019; among others). For instance, Agyekum (2006) discusses the typology of Akan personal names from a sociolinguistic perspective. Obeng (1998) describes the morpho-syntactic processes of death prevention names in Akan, while Adomako (2015, 2019) examines the truncation of some Akan personal names and some morphological and phonological processes embedded in Akan day-name formation respectively. Mireku-Gyimah & Mensah (2015) analyze the anglicization of some town names in Tarkwa, a prominent mining community in Ghana.

This paper discusses orthographic changes identified in some anglicized Akan personal names that have led to changes in the pronunciations of such names. The study shows that when personal names in Akan are anglicized, it affects the orthography and pronunciation of the names, and, by implication, it affects the meanings and sociocultural values of such names.

2 The Akan people and language

Akan refers to an ethnic and linguistic group of people in Ghana. Geographically, this group of people predominantly occupies the southern and middle parts of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire (Dolphyne 2006). Nine out of the sixteen regions in Ghana are predominantly occupied by the Akan peoples. These regions are Asante, Bono, Bono East, Central, Eastern, Oti, Western, Western North, and the Ahafo regions. However, due to trading and resultant migration, Akan speakers can be found across the length and breadth of the country.

Akan is a Central Tano language. About 80% of Ghana's population can speak Akan, and about 45.7% of Ghanaians are native speakers (Ghana Statistical Service 2021). This, therefore, arguably makes Akan the most widely spoken language in Ghana. The various subdivisions of Akan share a similar culture and there is mutual intelligibility between the dialects. According to Agyekum (2006), the language consists of the related dialects Asante, Akuapem, Fante, Agona, Assin, Ahanta, Akyem, Bono, and Wassa, among others. Out of these dialects, it is only the three major dialects, Akuapem, Asante, and Fante, that have achieved literary status.

3 The Akan naming system

Every Akan child is named after the day he/she was born, except in a few cases (Agyekum 2006: 213). For example, when a male is born on Sunday, he can be called Kwesi, Kwasi, Akweesi, or Akwasi, and if the child is female, she can be called Esi, or Akosua depending on the ethnic subgroup she belongs to (see Obeng 2001; Agyekum 2006; Odoom 2013; Adomako 2015, 2019, among others). In addition, a child receives a given name from the father, and at times a religious name (Agyekum 2006; Odoom 2013). The given name is given on the seventh day of his or her birth. The religious name, which is often a first name, depends on the religion of the child's parents. If the parents of the child are Christians, they will give him or her a Biblical name and if they are Muslims, they will give him or her an Islamic name. Aside from the given name, there are other categories of Akan names. Some of these categories include circumstantial names, proverbial names, birth order/positional or ordinal position names, deity names, death prevention names, etc. (see Ansu-Kyeremeh 2000; Agyekum 2006; Odoom 2013). These kinds of names express the sociocultural values of the Akan people through their structure and meaning. However, through anglicization, such sociocultural values have been eroded. Orthographic modifications have led to

tonal alteration and different pronunciations of such names. In this study, we discuss some of these orthographic changes embedded in the anglicized Akan personal names, specifically both day-names and family-names. Again, our use of the term “anglicized” simply refers to the variants usually produced by the Akan (especially Fante) educated elites. Therefore, the examples we will provide under “anglicized names” do not actually reflect a native English speaker’s pronunciations, instead, those of the educated elites. One of the characteristics of the variants by the educated elites is that sometimes an expected diphthong in the native English speaker’s pronunciation is simplified to a monophthong. Before we begin the discussions, let us consider the sound system of Akan.

4 Akan segmental inventory

Akan has nine contrastive oral vowels /i, ɪ, e, ε, u, ʊ, o, ɔ, a/, and one allophonic oral vowel [æ], as well as five contrastive nasal vowels /ĩ, ɪ̃, û, ʊ̃, ã/ (Schachter & Fromkin 1968; Dolphyne 2006; Odoom & Adomako 2021, among others) and one phonetic nasal vowel [æ̃] in Fante only (Abakah 2013). The allophonic [æ] is in complementary distribution with [a] (Dolphyne 2006; Odoom & Adomako 2021). The vowel chart below illustrates the ten oral vowels and their nasal counterparts. It can be seen from Table 1 that there are no nasal mid vowels in Akan.

Table 1: Akan vowels

	Oral			Nasal		
	Front	Central	Back	Front	Central	Back
+ATR	i		u	ĩ		ũ
–ATR	ɪ		ʊ	ɪ̃		ʊ̃
+ATR	e		o			
–ATR	ε		ɔ			
+ATR	[æ]			[æ̃]		
–ATR		a			ã	

At the consonantal level, Akan has fourteen consonant phonemes (Table 2) , namely /p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, r, f, s, h, j, w/ (Abakah 2005, 2012). According to Adomako (2018), there are additional consonants such as [tɕ, dɕ, ɕ, jɕ, dz, ts, tɕ, dɕ, ɕ, ɲ] that might have gone or are undergoing phonemicization in Akan.

According to de Jong & Obeng (2000), there is a contrast between plain, labialized, palatalized and labio-palatalized sounds, even though there are restrictions before certain vowels. Moreover, there are phonetic consonants such as [ŋ], [ɱ] and [ɥ] which are allophones of the phonemes /n/, /m/ and /w/, respectively. /l/ is only used in Akan in borrowed words, except in the Gomoa variant of Fante where it is phonemic. The consonants [d], [r] and [l] are used as free variants (Abakah 2005; Odoom 2013). Table 2 summarises all the phonemic and phonetic consonants of Akan.

Table 2: Akan Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Labial-palatal	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
Stop	p b		t d				k g		
Affricates			ts dz	ɬ ɮ		ɕɥ dʒɥ			
Fricatives		f	s	ɕ		ɕɥ			h
Nasals	m	ɱ	n		ɲ	ɲɥ	ŋ		
Approximants					j	ɥ		w	
Trill			r						
Lateral			l						

5 Akan Orthographic System

The current orthographic system of Akan uses seven vowels, ⟨i e ε a o ɔ u⟩. Orthographic symbols will be shown between ⟨⟩. Vowel ⟨e⟩ is realized as either [e] or [ɪ], ⟨o⟩ is realized as [o] or [ʊ] and ⟨a⟩ is realized as [a] and [æ] and at times [e] in Fante. Akan orthography was developed around the 17th and 18th centuries mostly by German and British missionaries. It was not until the 1850s that a maiden standard alphabet (orthography) was developed for Akan (Christaller 1933: viii-ix). There was an important change made to the orthography in the elimination of diacritics on ⟨e⟩, ⟨o⟩, ⟨u⟩, and ⟨a⟩ for [ɪ], [ʊ], [u], and [a], respectively from the Gold Coast orthographic system to the Unified Akan orthography. The last attempt to have a unified Akan orthography was in the late 1970s but it has not been successful (Dolphyne 2006).

It should be noted that the [æ] which mostly occurs before [+ATR] vowels in Asante and Akuapem dialects (Twi) is raised to [e] in the Fante dialect (Abakah 2012, Adomako 2015). This phenomenon occurs in the nasal vowels too. The nasal vowels [ĩ] and [ũ] are written as ⟨e⟩ and ⟨o⟩, respectively. The nasality of vowels is not encoded in the writing system. Akan indicates vowel length by doubling the letter, as in ⟨kɔ⟩ ‘go’ and ⟨kɔɔ⟩ ‘reddish’. Akan vowels occur in word-initial, medial and final positions. However, not all vowels occur word-initially in all the dialects. The vowels [i], [ɪ], [u] and [ʊ] do not occur word-initially in Twi, while [u] and [ʊ] fail to occur word-initially in Fante.

At the consonantal level, Akan uses twenty-six consonants consisting of 15 single glyphs, ⟨b, d, f, g, h, k, (l), m, n, p, r, s, t, w, y⟩ and 11 digraphs, ⟨ky, gy, kw, dw, dz, tw, ts, hy, hw, ny, nw⟩ (Abakah 2005, Dolphyne 2006). The diagraphs ⟨ts⟩ and ⟨dz⟩ are used by the Fante dialect of Akan. Moreover, ⟨l⟩ is used in Akan for borrowed words, such as ⟨lete⟩ [letɛ] ‘letter’, ⟨bɔɔl(o)⟩ [bɔɔl(ʊ)] ‘ball’.

All these consonants occur word-initially and medially. The consonant ⟨r⟩ occurs word-initially only in progressive verb stems. The only consonants that occur word-finally in Akan are [m, n, w, r, ɲ, l]. Among these consonants, only [m, n, w, r, l] occur word-finally in Fante, [m, w, ɲ] in Akuapem and [m] in the Asante dialect. When ⟨n⟩ occurs word-finally, it is realized as [ɲ] in the Akuapem and Agona dialects of Akan, nasalized high vowels [ĩ, ɪ̃, ũ, ʊ̃] in Asante and [ɲ] in Fante (Dolphyne 2006; Abakah 2005, 2012). Akan does not have consonant clusters. Thus, any [+nasal] consonant followed by a [–nasal] consonant constitutes a syllable (Dolphyne 2006; Marfo & Yankson 2008; Marfo 2013).

The consonant sounds [tɛ], [dɛ], [dɛ̃], [tɛ̃], [ɛ], [ɛ̃], [ɲ], and [ɲ̃] are written as ⟨ky⟩, ⟨gy⟩, ⟨dw⟩, ⟨tw⟩, ⟨hy⟩, ⟨hw⟩, ⟨ny⟩, ⟨nw⟩, respectively in the orthography. The Akan [tɛ] is matched to [tʃ] in English. [dɛ] and [ɛ] are also matched to [dʒ] and [ʃ] in English, respectively, and this will affect the way names are anglicized.

6 Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis. Data for the study were collected from primary and secondary sources. For the primary source, we sampled 60 respondents comprising 40 males and 20 females with their ages ranging from 30–60 years. The 60 respondents were made up of three groups. The first two groups were purposively selected based on the criteria of using Akan as their first language and also bearing Akan personal names that have undergone anglicization. The third group comprised foreign Americans in Ghana. We provide explanations for methods of selecting the respondents in the following paragraph.

Out of the 60 respondents, 20 had no formal education. They were all from typical farming and fishing communities in the Ashanti and Central Regions of Ghana. 8 out of the number were subsistent farmers, 7 were fishermen and 5 were petty traders. The purpose of selecting this group of respondents was based on two objectives; first to find if their pronunciations of the target Akan family names would be influenced by the anglicization as is often done by the educated elite or not. Second, we sought to find out their knowledge of the meaning of those target names. We went with a list of the sampled anglicized names and asked about their knowledge of the names based on the two objectives. We mentioned the names in their frequently used anglicized tone after which we sought their opinions. They then provided the indigenous pronunciations and the meanings of those names. Their responses were recorded on a voice recorder and field notes. To solicit views of respondents with formal education, we sampled 30 respondents from the class lists of Akan students of the Department of Akan-Nzema, University of Education, Winneba, Ghana where Akan (Twi and Fante) is taught. We sampled 30 respondents (14 females, 16 males) who themselves bear the anglicized names. The objectives of their selection were to determine whether having been exposed to formal education up to the tertiary level, they still possess knowledge of the indigenous Akan pronunciations of the anglicized names or not, and also to elicit their knowledge of the meaning of their anglicized names. This group of respondents have both their first names and family names Akan. For example, full orthographic names such as *Kojo Essel*, *Kwamina Daadzie*, etc. The third group of the respondents were ten Americans; five students on exchange programs in Ghana, and five missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Agona Swedru in the Central Region of Ghana. Even though it is safe to assume that if indigenous Akan names have been anglicized, then it should be in British English due to the long-standing contact between the Akan people and the British during colonialism, the purpose for sampling these respondents was to find out whether orthography might have influenced the anglicization of those names (even by the Akan educated elites). For this group, our interest was solely to elicit the pronunciations of the anglicized names.

For the secondary source, in addition to the class name lists, a book on Fante personal names, namely Crayner (1988) was used to add to the data. In all, 300 personal anglicized names were collected for the present study comprising class lists of Akan students of the Department of Akan-Nzema, University of Education, Winneba and some names from Crayner (1988) (see the Appendix for the list of the names).

Out of the list of 300 anglicized names, about 60 names were sampled, recorded, categorized and coded according to themes and subthemes as are presented in §7 of the present paper. These sampled names were checked for accuracy, transcribed according to respondents' pronunciations and glossed. It is these sampled names that served as the primary source of data for the present study. We employed our native speakers' intuition (Asante and Fante dialects) in our analysis of the sampled names. The analysis of the data is descriptive. The anglicization of Akan personal names in this study is categorized and discussed under three main threads: orthographic or segment modifications, resyllabification, and tonal alteration. Each of these processes is analyzed in detail in what follows.

7 Orthographic or segment modifications

This section focuses mainly on the anglicization of Akan personal names through English orthographic representations. Akan names can be written with Akan orthography but there are anglicized versions which are characterized orthographically based on the English alphabet. This technique was introduced by early missionaries due to a "misconception" of the original names (Ukpong 2007: 227).

The following spelling modification strategies demonstrate how APNs have been anglicized with English spellings. In this section, tone will not be indicated in the phonetic transcriptions. Tone will be discussed in §7.4.

7.1 Vowel replacement

Vowel replacement occurs when a phonemic vowel in Akan is replaced with a different vowel in the anglicized version. Unlike the Akan orthographic system, the English orthographic system does not have the means to represent [ɔ] and [ɛ] with separate symbols. In Akan names that have such sounds, they are replaced with ⟨o⟩ and ⟨e⟩ respectively and pronounced as given in the transcription (Abakah 2013), as shown in (1a-d) below.¹ In addition, the vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] are written as ⟨i⟩ and ⟨u⟩ respectively as shown in (1e-g). Finally, in (1h), the sound [e] is written ⟨ai⟩ and pronounced as a diphthong [ai].²

¹ *ɔsɛɛ* is derived from *ɔ+sa+yɛ*. The *ɔ-* is a nominal prefix or nominalizer. The *sa* means 'war' or 'battle' and the *yɛ* means 'good'. It has a historical interpretation that we will not go into detail about here. These morphological components show that the name has gone through phonological processes such as assimilation due to vowel hiatus.

² The raising of the /a/ to [e] in Fante is a result of a well-attested phonological process of vowel raising/replacement before high [+ATR] vowels.

(1)	Original name			Anglicized name	
a.	Ɔsee	[ɔsɛɪ]	‘battle is good’	Osei	[oseɪ]
b.	Dɔŋkɔ	[dɔŋkɔ]	‘a slave’	Donkor	[dɔŋko]
c.	Abeɓrɛsɛ	[abɛbrɛsɛ]	‘struggler’	Abebresse	[abɛbrɛsɛ]
d.	Akyerɛ	[atɛrɛ]	‘delayed in womb’	Achere	[afɪrɛ]
e.	Dadze	[dadʒɪ]	‘iron/metal’	Daadzie/Dadzi	[daadzi]
f.	Apea	[apɪja]	‘spear’	Appiah	[apia]
g.	Afor	[aful]	‘tender’	Afful	[aful]
h.	Badu	[bedu]	‘tenth born’		

These replacement processes can be summarized as in (2).

(2)	a.	⟨ɔ⟩	[ɔ]	→	⟨o⟩	[o]
	b.	⟨ɛ⟩	[ɛ]	→	⟨e⟩	[e]
	c.	⟨o⟩	[ʊ]	→	⟨u⟩	[u]
	d.	⟨e⟩	[ɪ]	→	⟨ie⟩ or ⟨i⟩	[i]

It is worth pointing out that despite these orthographic modifications, native speakers of Akan pronounce the anglicized names the same as the original form. However, non-native speakers and elites pronounce them based on the orthographic forms they see, as shown above.

7.1.1 Replacing a single vowel ⟨u⟩ with double vowels ⟨oo⟩

This vowel modification process involves replacing a single vowel symbol with double vowels as shown in (3).

(3)	Original name			Anglicized name	
a.	Otu	[otu]	‘gun’	Otoo	[otu]
b.	Owu	[owu]	‘death’	Owoo	[owu]
c.	Badu	[bedu]	‘tenth born’	Baidoo	[beidu]
d.	Adu	[edu]	‘tenth born’	Aidoo	[eidu]
e.	Ewur	[ewur]	‘key/padlock’	Ewool	[əwuol]
f.	Odum	[odum]	‘teak tree’	Odoom	[odum]
g.	Nkum	[ŋkum]	‘do not kill me’	Incoom	[ɪŋkum]

The original vowel ⟨u⟩ in Akan is replaced with ⟨oo⟩ in the English orthography, though this orthographic change does not necessarily affect the pronunciations of the vowels. This replacement strategy is seen as a “writing style” and it mostly affects disyllabic and trisyllabic names.

7.1.2 Replacing Asante <ɔ> with <our> or <uor>

In Akan, rounding harmony occurs only in Asante and Fante (see Dolphyne 2006; Abakah 2012). Dolphyne (2006) explains that in addition to having two sets of verbal prefixes depending on whether the vowel of the verb stem is an advanced or unadvanced tongue root, Fante verbs have an additional feature of round vowel harmony. In Asante, the nominalizing suffix /-E/ alternates for both ATR and rounding.

(4) Asante round harmony

- | | | |
|----|-------|---------------|
| a. | owu-o | ‘death’ |
| b. | nsu-o | ‘water’ |
| c. | ɛbɔ-ɔ | ‘stone’ |
| d. | ɔfɔ-ɔ | ‘buffalo’ |
| e. | adɪ-ɛ | ‘thing’ |
| f. | asɪ-ɛ | ‘the base of’ |
| g. | esi-e | ‘anthill’ |

This phenomenon is also applicable to personal names in Asante Twi. The nominal suffix -ɔ when it follows ɔ is written as <our> or <uor> in the English version and pronounced as [uɔ:]. Compare (5) to (6).

(5) Original name

- | | | | |
|----|----------|------------|-------------------|
| a. | Ɔboɔ | [ɔbɔɔ] | ‘stone’ |
| b. | Sereboɔ | [sɪɪbɔɔ] | ‘sharpen stone’ |
| c. | Kufɔɔ | [kufɔɔ] | ‘warrior/fighter’ |
| d. | Ɔkofoɔ | [ɔkɔfɔɔ] | ‘warrior’ |
| e. | Adubɔfoɔ | [ædubɔfɔɔ] | ‘great hunter’ |
| f. | Fɔɔdwɔɔ | [fɔɔɔɔɔɔ] | ‘deity name’ |

(6) Anglicized name

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-------------|
| a. | Obour/Obuor | [ɔbuɔ:] |
| b. | Srebour/Srebuor | [sɪɪbuɔ:] |
| c. | Kuffour/Kuffuor | [kɛfuɔ:] |
| d. | Okoffour/Okoffuor | [ɔkɛfuɔ:] |
| e. | Aduboffour/Aduboffuor | [ædubɔfuɔ:] |
| f. | Fordjour/Fordjuor | [fɔɔɔɔɔɔ] |

The added <r> with the final <our> in English is in parallel with words like <your> [jɔ:]. So, this could be the source of this added <r> and the spelling with

⟨uo⟩ or ⟨ou⟩. The ⟨r⟩ in the orthography would ensure a long vowel or a diphthong pronunciation if one is speaking with a non-rhotic British dialect. These processes do not affect pronunciations by uneducated native speakers of Akan but rather non-native speakers and educated elites.

7.1.3 Other replacements

There are some other cases in which a vowel in Akan is realized differently at the phonetic level of the anglicized version, as illustrated in (7).

(7)	Original name		Anglicized name	
a.	Badu	[bedu]	‘tenth born’	Baidoo [beidu]
b.	Adu	[edu]	‘tenth born’	Aidoo [eidu]
c.	Gyasi	[dzesi]	‘father of all’	Gaisie [geizi]
d.	Mensa	[mensã]	‘third male born’	Mensah [mənsa]
e.	Esar	[esar]	‘warrior’	Essel [esəl]
f.	Adeɛ	[adeɛ]	‘cloud’	Adae [adar]

We can see from (7) that the phonetic vowel [e] in Akan is written ⟨ai⟩ and pronounced either [ei] (7a-c) or [ə] (7d). The vowel [a] is written ⟨e⟩ and pronounced [ə] (7e), and the vowel [ɛɛ] is written ⟨ae⟩ and pronounced [ar]. Vowel replacement is one of the common segmental processes of anglicizing Akan personal names.

7.2 Consonant modifications

There are two consonant modification processes discussed in this section: consonant replacement and consonant addition. Under consonant replacement, a consonant in Akan has been replaced with a different orthographic consonant in the anglicized version. With consonant addition, a different orthographic consonant is added to the already anglicized Akan personal names. This subsection discusses the consonant replacement strategies in the anglicized Akan personal names.

7.2.1 Replacement of ⟨kw⟩ with ⟨qu⟩

There are many Akan consonant sounds, which are modified or replaced with different orthographic sounds in the anglicized version. In the following data, ⟨kw⟩ is replaced with a ⟨qu⟩ in the anglicized version. This orthographic strategy is because English uses ⟨qu⟩ to write the [kw] sound sequence; compare (8) and (8).

- (8) **Original name**
- | | | | |
|----|----------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| a. | Kwansa | [k ^w ãnsã] | ‘there is no way’ |
| b. | Kwame | [k ^w aamĩ] | ‘Saturday male born’ |
| c. | Kwam | [k ^w ãm] | ‘someone born in a road’ |
| d. | Kwao Ata | [k ^w aata] | ‘twin born on Thursday’ |
| e. | Kwaku | [k ^w eku] | ‘Wednesday male born’ |
| f. | Kwasi | [k ^w esi] | ‘Sunday male born’ |
| g. | Kwao Otu | [k ^w eetu] | ‘Thursday male born with a gun’ |
| h. | Kwao Anu | [k ^w eenũ] | ‘second male born on Thursday’ |
- (9) **Anglicized name**
- | | | |
|----|----------|----------|
| a. | Quansah | [kwãnsa] |
| b. | Quarmi | [kwamĩ] |
| c. | Quarm | [kwã:m] |
| d. | Quarttah | [kwata] |
| e. | Quaicoo | [kwaku:] |
| f. | Quaisi | [kwasi] |
| g. | Quaitoo | [kwatu:] |
| h. | Quainoo | [kwanũ:] |

The spellings <ar> and <ai> that follow the <qu> reflect the ATR quality of the vowel. The <ar> represents the [-ATR] vowel [a], written <a> in the original name as in (8a-d), but pronounced with no [r]. Conversely, the <ai> represents the [+ATR] harmonized vowel [e] (Fante variant) and [æ] (Asante variant) in the original name, but is pronounced as [a] in the Anglicized form. Moreover, data (8d), (8g) and (8h) have been assimilated to form a long vowel in the original name and this bears a direct influence on the anglicized version, which is written as a single word.

7.2.2 Replacement of palatalized and labialized consonants

There are other consonants in Akan that undergo replacement processes in the anglicized version. The palatalized and labialized consonants in the Akan consonant system <ky> [tɕ], <gy> [dɕ], <tw> [tɕʷ], <dw> [dɕʷ], <kw> [kʷ], <sw> [sʷ] are written in the anglicized version as <ch> [tʃ], <dj> or <dg> [dʒ], <tch> [tʃʷ], <dj> [dʒ], <cq> or <k> [k], <sh> [ʃ] respectively. This modification process deviates from the orthographic and phonotactic systems of Akan as shown in (10).

(10)	Original name		Anglicized name	
a.	Okwere	[ɔtɕiri] ‘delayed male born’	Ochere	[otɕiri]
b.	Takyi	[tɛtɕi] ‘a male twin’	Techie	[tɛtɕi]
c.	Otwe	[otɕwe] ‘eighth born’	Otchie/Otchey	[otɕwie]
d.	Botwe	[botɕwe] ‘variant of eighth born’	Botchey	[botɕwie]
e.	Agyapɔn	[ɛdʒapɔɔ] ‘great father’	Agyapong	[ɛdʒapɔŋ]
f.	Fɔdwoɔ	[fɔdʒwɔɔ] ‘an Akan deity name’	Fordjour	[fɔdʒwɔ:]
g.	Esuon	[es ^w uon] ‘seventh born’	Eshun	[ɛʃɔn]

Albeit the differences in the orthographic representation, phonetically, the replaced sounds are similar. The native speakers of Akan pronounce the names correctly and people can easily know to whom they are referring (Agyekum 2006). This is because the replaced orthographic symbols have similar phonetic realizations. The exception is (10g) wherein the original sound is realized as a labialized alveolar fricative [s^w] while the anglicized version is realized as a post-alveolar fricative [ʃ].

7.2.3 Replacing a single consonant with double consonants

Some APNs are written with double consonants in the anglicized version as demonstrated in (11) below.

(11)	Original name		Anglicized name	
a.	Opɔn	[ɔpɔn] ‘great one’	Oppong	[ɔppɔŋ]
b.	Apea	[apɾja] ‘spear’	Appiah	[apiia]
c.	Aban	[abān] ‘a fortress’	Abban	[abān]
d.	Asan	[asān] ‘a warrior’	Assan	[asān]
e.	Anan	[anān] ‘4 th male born after three males’	Annang	[anāŋ]
f.	Akufo	[ekufɔ] ‘a warrior’	Akuffo	[akufu]
g.	Afor	[afɔr] ‘tender’	Afful	[aful]

This data shows the intervocalic consonants ⟨p⟩, ⟨b⟩, ⟨s⟩, ⟨n⟩, and ⟨f⟩ being replaced with double consonants ⟨pp⟩, ⟨bb⟩, ⟨ss⟩, ⟨nn⟩ and ⟨ff⟩ in the anglicized version respectively. This writing convention has no bearing on the pronunciation of the anglicized variant.

7.2.4 Addition of /g/ after /n/

Akan personal names in which the final consonant is an alveolar nasal /n/ have an additional ⟨g⟩ in the English orthography. In Akan, the alveolar nasal /n/ is realized as [n] in Fante, [ŋ] in Akuapem and Agona Mfantse and nasalized vowels [ĩ, ĩ, ũ, ỹ] in Asante in word-final position. Thus, this may be the source of the perceived [ŋ] in the English variant. This sound would be written ⟨ng⟩ in English orthography; compare (12) and (13).³

(12)

	Original name	Mfante	Akuapem	Asante	
a.	Ɔpɔn	[ɔpɔ̃n]	[ɔpɔ̃ŋ]	[ɔpɔ̃ũ]	‘great one’
b.	Ɔten	[ɔtsĩn]	[ɔtĩŋ]	[ɔtĩĩ]	‘righteous’
c.	Ɔben	[ɔbĩn]	[ɔbĩŋ]	[ɔbĩĩ]	‘scholar’
d.	Akon	[akɔ̃n]	[akɔ̃ŋ]	[akɔ̃ũ]	‘ninth born’
e.	Enyan	[ɛɲã̃n]	[ɛɲã̃ŋ]	[ɛɲã̃ĩ]	‘resurrect’
f.	Agyapɔn	[æɖɛapɔ̃n]	[æɖɛapɔ̃ŋ]	[æɖɛapɔ̃ũ]	‘great father’
g.	Akyampɔn	[atɕampɔ̃n]	[atɕampɔ̃ŋ]	[atɕampɔ̃ũ]	‘great shield’

(13)

	Anglicized name		
a.	Oppong	[opɔ̃ŋ]	‘great one’
b.	Oteng	[otɛŋ]	‘righteous’
c.	Obeng	[obɛŋ]	‘scholar’
d.	Akong	[akɔ̃ŋ]	‘ninth born’
e.	Anyang	[ɛɲã̃ŋ]	‘resurrect’
f.	Adjepɔng	[æɖɛapɔ̃ŋ]	‘great father’
g.	Acheampong	[atɕiampɔ̃ŋ]	‘great shield’

Akan orthographic principles do not allow ⟨g⟩ at the word-final position. However, English adds a ⟨g⟩ because that is how the final [ŋ] is written in English orthography.

7.2.5 Addition of /r/ after the first vowel

There are instances where an /r/ is inserted right after the first vowel of the name as shown below. This, we assume, is influenced by the orthographic ⟨r⟩ after the initial vowels.

³The anglicized variants of the names in (13) were the forms produced by the non-native (American) respondents.

(14)	Original name			Anglicized name	
a.	Ahen	[ahĩn]	‘a king’	Arhin	[aɦĩn]
b.	Ebo	[ebo]	‘Tuesday male born’	Erboh	[əɾbo]
c.	Ato	[atɔ]	‘Saturday male born’	Artoh	[aɾtu]
d.	Ako	[akɔ]	‘a warrior’	Arkoh	[aɦku]

The alveolar approximant sound [ɹ] is inserted to function contextually as a lengthening segment. In (14b), the close-mid front unrounded vowel [e] in the original form is swapped with the close-mid central unrounded vowel [ə] in the anglicized form. Moreover, in (14c-d), the close back -ATR rounded vowel [ɔ] in the original form is replaced with the close-back tense rounded vowel [u] in the anglicized version.

7.2.6 Addition of ⟨h⟩ at the end of the original name

Here, Akan personal names have an extra letter ⟨h⟩ at the end of the original name. The ⟨h⟩ is redundant and does not represent any sound in the name. Orthographically, English has final ⟨h⟩ only in 2 or 3-letter interjections like “ah”, “eh”, “oh” and “duh”. Thus, the use of ⟨h⟩ to end the names looks like a strategy to represent a final [a] (Williamson 1984) as shown in (15).

(15)	Original name			Anglicized name	
a.	Baa	[bãã]	‘defense/guard /fence/wall’	Baah	[baa]
b.	Apea	[apɪja]	‘spear’	Appiah	[apɪa]
c.	Ansa	[ansã]	‘it does not finish’	Ansah	[ansa]
d.	Ammoa	[ammõa]	‘it does not help’	Amoah	[amua]
e.	Mensa	[mẽnsã]	‘third male born after two males’	Mensah	[mɛnsa]
f.	Brako	[brakɔ]	‘life is war’	Brakoh	[braku]
g.	Damoa	[damõa]	‘grave’	Damuah	[damua]

The use of this sound does not have any systematic explanation other than being analyzed as a stylistic convention. If there were no final ⟨h⟩ in these words an English speaker might pronounce the final [a] as unstressed [ə] in bisyllabic words, for example, [ansə] for Ansa. To avoid this, the ⟨h⟩ is added, ensuring [a] production. Though this paper does not focus on the morphological patterns of APNs, in this data, particularly (15c-d), there are nominal and negative morphemes that need to be pointed out. The stems *sa* ‘war/battle’ and *boa* ‘help’ have a nominal prefix morpheme or nominalizer *a-* and adjacent nasal consonant [n]

in (15c) and [m] in (15d) function as negative morphemes. This shows that some Akan personal names are derived through affixation.

7.2.7 Replacement of an approximant with a lateral <l>

A name-final approximant consonant /r/ in the original version has been replaced with a lateral /l/ consonant in the anglicized version. This occurs exclusively with the Fante dialects of Akan as illustrated in (16) below.

(16)	Original name			Anglicized name	
a.	Ewur	[ewur]	‘key/padlock’	Ewool	[əwuol]
b.	Esar	[esar]	‘warrior’	Essel	[əsəl]
c.	Afor	[afər]	‘tender’	Afful	[aful]
d.	Mbir	[mbir]	‘not black’	Mbil	[mbɪl]
e.	Otabir	[otəbir]	‘identical twins’	Otabil	[otæbɪl]
f.	Pantsir	[pentsɪr]	‘stock of knowledge’	Paintsil	[pantɪsɪl]
g.	Enkyir	[ɛntɕir]	‘do not hate it’	Enchil	[ɛntʃɪl]
h.	Ntsifor	[ntsɪfər]	‘new mind/idea’	Ntsifful	[ntsɪfɪl]

The alveolar trill /r/ in the original form is replaced with an alveolar lateral /l/ in the anglicized form. The [i] in Akan is written as <i> in the Anglicized form, but pronounced as [ɪ] before /l/, reflecting an English pronunciation, as in <pill> [pɪl].

7.3 Resyllabification

The anglicization of Akan personal names does not affect only the orthography and segments in Akan, but syllable structure, too. Akan has three basic syllables: V, CV, and C. The C is a syllabic consonant that can be a nasal, trill, lateral, or labial-velar glide as in /asɛmʋ/ [a.sɛ.m] ‘issue’, /asɪwʋ/ [a.sɪ.w] ‘parent-in-law’, /atari/ [a.ta.r], /ɔhmɪ/ [ɔ.hɪ.n] ‘chief’ correspondingly. Akan does not have CC or VC syllables (Marfo 2013; Marfo & Yankson 2008; Dolphyne 2006), i.e. Akan does not permit coda consonants. The Wassa dialect differs from the Fante dialect on this point, as illustrated in (17).

(17)	Wassa	Fante	
a.	ɔ.ta.nĩ	ɔ.tã.n	‘enmity’
b.	a.ta.rɪ	a.ta.r	‘cloth’
c.	pa.mũ	pã.m	‘send him/her away’
d.	sa.wʋ	sa.w	‘bed’

The Fante form of the data has gone through a phonological process of final vowel deletion. When the vowel deletes, the adjacent non-nucleus segment becomes syllabic. Like in Wassa, the Asante dialect maintains the CV syllable structure. Dolphyne (2006) proposes that every vowel in Akan constitutes a syllable and each vowel in a vowel sequence belongs to a different syllable, whether the vowels are pronounced on different pitches or not, and whether the vowels are of the same quality or not as shown in (18).

(18)		Syllable Structure	
	a.	[ti.e]/[tsi.e]	CV.V 'listen'
	b.	[da.a]	CV.V 'everyday, daily'
	c.	[a.ba.a]	V.CV.V 'stick'

Anglicization sometimes modifies the syllable structure of the original indigenous Akan personal names; compare (19) and (20).

(19)	Original name		Syllable Structure
	a.	Badu	[be.du] CV.CV
	b.	Gyasi	[dʒe.si] CV.CV
	c.	Adu	[e.du] V.CV
	d.	Kwentsir	[kwe.n.tsi.r] CV.C.CV.C
	e.	Dadze	[da.d͡zɪ] CV.CV

(20)	Anglicized name		Syllable Structure
	a.	Baidoo	[be.i.du] CV.V.CV
	b.	Gaisie	[ge.i.zi] CV.V.CV
	c.	Aidoo	[e.i.du] V.V.CV
	d.	Crenstil	[kɾən.stil] CCVC.CCVC
	e.	Daadzie	[dad.zi] CVC.CV

The syllable structure of the original form is not the same as the syllable structure of the anglicized version. In examples (19a-c), the syllable structure of the original form is (C)V.CV, however, in the anglicized form, the syllabification component is (C)V.V.CV, because the vowel is diphthongized. In examples (20c-e), the syllable structure of the anglicized form violates the syllable structure of Akan. We have explained that Akan does not permit CC or CVC syllable structure. Akan has a voiced alveolar affricate [d͡z] sound in the Fante dialect but does not have /z/. But, this sound is treated as a cluster in the anglicized version. Akan does not have a [st] or [ts] consonant cluster but rather a voiceless alveolar affricate [t͡s], which can occur in the onset slot. This is realized as [st] in the anglicized version of Kwentsir.

7.4 Tonal Alteration as an Anglicization Strategy

Tonal alteration or shift is one of the common strategies of anglicizing APNs. So far, we have not been indicating tone in the forms. We will now consider it. The tones born by the indigenous personal names are carriers of the socio-cultural meaning of the names. When the speaker's tone changes from the original lexical tone, the socio-cultural meaning of the names diminishes. The following data illustrate the tone used to pronounce the original and the anglicized variant of the Akan personal names.

(21)	Original name			Anglicized name	
a.	Dadze	[dàd̥zɪ]	'iron/metal'	Dadzie	[dáád̥zɪ]
b.	Owu	[òwú]	'death'	Owoo	[ówù]
c.	Otu	[òtú]	'gun'	Otoo	[ótù]
d.	Yeboa	[jébùá]	'we help'	Yeboah	[jébúà]
e.	Ofori	[òfòrí]	'convener'	Ofori	[òfòrì]
f.	Ammoa	[àmòá]	'does not help'	Amoah	[ámúà]
g.	Asare	[àsàrì]	'warrior'	Asare	[àsàrì]
h.	Nkum	[ɲkùṃ]	'do not kill me'	Incoom	[ɲkùṃ]
i.	Mensa	[mɛ̀nsá]	'third male born after two males'	Mensah	[mɛ́nsà]
j.	Odum	[òdúṃ]	'oak tree'	Odoom	[ódùṃ]
k.	Ankra	[àɲkɪrà]	'unnoticed while coming'	Ancrah	[ájkɪrà]
l.	Asante	[àsàntí]	'name among Asante ethnic group'	Asante	[àsántì]

It can be seen from (21) that the tone for the original names has one of six tone melodies: LH, LLH, LLL, LHH, HLH, and LLLH, namely a L tone followed by a H tone somewhere in the word, or all L tone. However, the anglicized version has HL, HHL, LHL, HLL, LHHL tone melodies, that is, always a H tone followed by a L tone somewhere in the word. Now the issue is why the tones change under anglicization. The answer is that English stress matches high tone in tone languages (Leben 1996, Owino 2003, Mugabe 2006, among others). So, if one considers where English would place stress naturally in words like this, it is typically the place where a high tone appears in some of the words, while unstressed syllables receive low tone.

These tonal variations cause a change in the meaning of APNs' names. While the names with tones carry meaning to the bearer, the anglicized versions do not

convey any socio-cultural meaning to the bearer. When we asked our respondents to tell us the meaning of their names, out of the 50 Akan respondents, only 6 people (constituting 12%) were able to tell the socio-cultural meaning of their names. These people have backgrounds from rural areas and are teachers. This shows that people bear names but they do not understand the original meaning of the names they bear.

The alteration of the tone of the various names carries social tags. Our respondents revealed that an anglicized pronunciation indicates a high social class whereas original pronunciation indicates a low or inferior class. The anglicized names show that the person who is pronouncing the name is educated or has gone to school. Anglicized names can also confer social power (Mensah 2022).

8 Implication of Anglicization on Akan language and culture

As has been noted already, the three main dialects of Akan that have achieved writing status, namely Akuapem, Asante and Fante are studied at all levels of education in Ghana, from the basic up to the tertiary level. Even at the lower primary level, Akan is used as a medium of instruction (Asare et al. 2012; Adika 2012; Owu-Ewie 2017). The switch from not using Akan orthography to write personal names leads to cultural endangerment. Culture is the way of life of a group of people, and people portray this life through their names, language, food, dress, songs, buildings, etc. The most common mean of knowing someone's background is to know the name he or she bears and the language he or she speaks. This is because names show the country and tribe one is coming from. When people change or modify the orthography of their names to that of the English language, it does not affect the meaning alone, but their identity as an African (Dzameshie 1998; Adebani 2012).

Another implication of anglicization for the Akan language is language endangerment. Language endangerment refers to a language on the verge of extinction. Nowadays, English has become a lingua franca among Ghanaian youth, including some young Akan speakers. Though the Ghanaian language is used as a medium of instruction in lower primary, few students with elite backgrounds living in cosmopolitan areas proudly use the language (Owu-Ewie 2017, Fairclough 2004). It is only adult speakers and children from relatively smaller communities who use Akan frequently and fluently in public discourses. This is because the English language is equated to literacy and civilization; hence, the preference of the young Akan speakers to anglicize their names in order to sound and feel

more modernized. As a result, the original meanings that the indigenous Akan names bear are being eroded. Young Akan speakers cannot tell the meanings of the names they bear themselves or pass on to their children.

From the study, it was inferred that the respondents recognized the fact that anglicized Akan personal names are less meaningful compared to their non-anglicized counterparts. Although one must recognize that these names are not English names, they are Akan names that have been altered, yet it was observed that the young respondents especially still prefer being addressed by these anglicized personal names. It further came out that the majority of the respondents do not seem to appreciate the impact of anglicization on their linguistic and cultural identities. The implication for this is that although the Akan language in general is widely spoken, the Akan culture, through the indigenous Akan personal names, faces a threat of losing some value if the status quo perpetuates.

9 Conclusion

In this study, we have examined orthographic changes underlying some anglicized personal names in Akan and their implication for the Akan language and culture. We have shown that the anglicization of Akan personal names affects Akan orthography and pronunciation of indigenous names. This eventually results in the alterations of the names and in some cases, the meanings of the names are no longer apparent. Some of the processes that Anglicization goes through include orthographical modifications such as vowel replacement, vowel addition, and consonant replacement. For modifications beyond the segments, resyllabification and tone alterations were observed to occur in the anglicization process. The latter is the influence of anglicization on the sociocultural values and meanings of the affected person's names. Though Akan speakers are aware of the implications of the changes to the Akan language and culture, especially those of higher social class prefer the anglicized names as an expression of social identity. We conclude that this attitude by the bearers of these names' has a dire consequence for the future of indigenous Akan personal (family) names in particular and the culture in general.

Acknowledgements

We wish to express our profound gratitude to the organizers of ACAL 53 for the opportunity given us and to the participants for the very useful comments we

got during our paper presentation. Again, we are indebted to the invaluable review comments by the anonymous reviewers and especially by Prof. Sharon Rose, the co-editor of the proceedings, in the preparation of this chapter. However, all shortcomings that may be found in the chapter are solely ours.

Appendix: List of Akan personal names

1. Ɔsɛɛ	20. Baa	39. Benya	58. Koba
2. Dɔnkɔ	21. Ansa	40. Gyeduwa	59. Bɛɛko
3. Badu	22. Amoa	41. Aban	60. Amoonu
4. Abɛbrɛɛ	23. Mensa	42. Sapon	61. Duodu
5. Akyere	24. Damoa	43. Ako	62. Bentsil
6. Dadze	25. Brako	44. Edua	63. Tombo
7. Apea	26. Kwansa	45. Egyaa	64. Tumbil
8. Afor	27. Ahoma	46. Akɔndɔ	65. Danfor
9. Otu	28. Enin	47. Ayedan	66. Etuafor
10. Owu	29. Enamil	48. Sakyi	67. Ogow
11. Adu	30. Krampa	49. Abotar	68. Etua
12. Ewur	31. Nyan	50. Boadi	69. Abaka
13. Odum	32. Bentsil	51. Amisa	70. Ɔko
14. Nkum	33. Sɛsa	52. Asafua	71. Agre
15. Ɔbo	34. Efum	53. Takyi	72. Asan
16. Sereboɔ	35. Esuman	54. Afedzi	73. Kwaw
17. Fɔdwoɔ	36. Safo	55. Efe	74. Atoapem
18. Ɔkofoɔ	37. Anaman	56. Asamoa	75. Dankwa
19. Kufoɔ	38. Kɔbena	57. Gaban	76. Asenso

77. Ampɔnsa	101. Kwao Otu	125. Ako	149. Aboagye
78. Yiadom	102. Kwao Anu	126. Akon	150. Akron
79. Amakye	103. Ewur	127. Adɛɛ	151. Ampa
80. Ababio	104. Esar	128. Esar	152. Andɔ
81. Akomanin	105. Mbir	129. Gyasi	153. Obosu
82. Ado	106. Otabir	130. Hama	154. Dantsil
83. Aka	107. Pantsir	131. Koma	155. Daako
84. Awua	108. Ntsifor	132. Nyameatse	156. Manko
85. Amankwaa	109. Enkyir	133. Nyamesem	157. Dɛw
86. Amokwando	110. ɔkyere	134. Kwentsil	158. Krampa
87. Banyin	111. Takyi	135. Esiaw	159. Ewudzi
88. Esenyi	112. Botwe	136. Gɔɔman	160. Bampo
89. ɔnoma	113. Otwe	137. Aduamoa	161. Beeden
90. Aborkwa	114. Agyapɔn	138. Ano	162. Abaasa
91. Esando	115. Akyampɔn	139. Dwuma	163. Benyin
92. Ayetse	116. Esuon	140. Bagyina	164. Benya
93. Okwan	117. ɔpɔn	141. Kweku	165. Danso
94. Agyakwa	118. Aban	142. Nkroma	166. Bekyɛm
95. Dɛtse	119. Asan	143. Yanki	167. ɔkosa
96. Kyɛm	120. ɔten	144. Panki	168. Otsiwa
97. Abagya	121. ɔben	145. Yanka	169. Apem
98. Nyim	122. Ato	146. Amoako	170. Brebo
99. Nimako	123. Ebo	147. Ndome	171. Botse
100. Abonyi	124. Ahen	148. Ndo	172. Akorabo
			173. Etudur

2 Anglicization of personal names: The case of Akan

174. Amoanin	198. Nimo	222. Atakora	246. Esuman
175. Otopa	199. Omano	223. Amoesi	247. Taatu
176. Eduam	200. Akese	224. Aggrey	248. Amoasi
177. Gyate	201. Adu	225. Akonu	249. Adabo
178. Apaadu	202. Ankoma	226. Ano	250. Beesi
179. Eyisa	203. Kwentsir	227. Boadu	251. Baafi
180. Osompa	204. Crentsil	228. Boafo	252. Ato
181. Osomnya	205. Ofori	229. Asaam	253. Maafo
182. Saakwa	206. Asare	230. Kuma	254. Kwaafu
183. Aboa	207. Ankra	231. Kyeasi	255. Anto
184. Akaekyir	208. Asante	232. Okran	256. Ahoe
185. Ayeyie	209. Kwakye	233. Ofee	257. Yaaba
186. Anamoa	210. Abor	234. Sago	258. Wereko
187. Anamon	211. Otoboa	235. Nuunu	259. Tsipa
188. Apenkwa	212. Boaben	236. Patu	260. Tsikwa
189. Konya	213. Ando	237. Gyau	261. Amanin
190. Akyerefi	214. Esiaw	238. Kwaano	262. Kuntu
191. Yeboa	215. Ata	239. Kese	263. Nkansa
192. Konto	216. Abam	240. Kwabo	264. Ekuhyia
193. Amoadu	217. Sakyi	241. Kwadu	265. Ofen
194. Fo	218. Nyamekye	242. Obo	266. Pra
195. Awer	219. Asuako	243. Ahor	267. Ayensu
196. Ananse	220. Etsiwa	244. Ahuren	268. Adoko
197. Ogua	221. Adom	245. Ahun	269. Boakye
			270. Anokye

271. ɔmane	279. Gura	287. Edonu	295. Amoakwa
272. Esua	280. Anɔkwa	288. Akonya	296. Amosa
273. Afoa	281. Sãã	289. Brenu	297. Bosompem
274. Pɔw	282. Ampɔnsɛm	290. Boako	298. ɔkoampa
275. Onkyir	283. Prɛko	291. Brako	299. Akono
276. Wɔntwe	284. Esiedu	292. Apeasa	300. Boaful
277. Dɔntwe	285. Ewusi	293. Asampɔn	
278. Dɔntɔ	286. Edumadze	294. Amampɔn	

References

- Abakah, Emmanuel N. 2005. Phonological analysis of word-final consonants in Akan. *Africa & Asia* 5. 47–65.
- Abakah, Emmanuel N. 2012. Some assimilatory processes in Akan. *Journal of West African Languages* 39(2). 47–82.
- Abakah, Emmanuel N. 2013. Vowel replacement pattern in the Mfantse dialect of Akan. *Journal of Universal Languages* 14(2). 7–51.
- Adebanwi, Wale. 2012. Glocal naming and shaming: Toponymic (inter) national relations on Lagos and New York's streets. *African Affairs* 111(445). 640–661.
- Adika, Gordon Senanu Kwame. 2012. English in Ghana: Growth, tensions, and trends. *International Journal of Language, Translation and Intercultural Communication* 1. 151–166.
- Adomako, Kwasi. 2015. Some phonological processes in an Akan linguistic game. *Linguistik Online* 72(3). 3–22. DOI: 10.13092/lo.72.1970.
- Adomako, Kwasi. 2017. Morphophonological analysis of Akan female family-name formation. *Ghana Journal of Linguistics* 6(3). 1–32.
- Adomako, Kwasi. 2018. *The phonology of Akan loanwords in Ga and Dangme*. University of Ghana. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Adomako, Kwasi. 2019. Some morphological and phonological processes in Akan day-names formation. *Journal of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria* 22(1). 116–136.
- Agyekum, Kofi. 2006. The sociolinguistic of Akan personal names. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(2). 206–235.

- Agyekum, Kofi. 2010. The ethnopragmatics of Akan compliments. *Legon Journal of Humanities* 21. 13–38.
- Ansu-Kyeremeh, Kwasi. 2000. Communicating nomination: Some social aspects of Bono personal names. *Research Review New Series* 16(2). 19–33.
- Asare, Emmanuel O., Damian K. Mereku, Jophus Anamuah-Mensah & George K. T. Oduro. 2012. *In-service teacher education study in Sub-Saharan Africa: The case of Ghana* (Report of a study funded by UNESCO Commonwealth Secretariat, Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA)). Accra: Teacher Education Division, Ghana Education Service.
- Boadi, Lawrence Addai. 1984. How to derive Araba and Abenaa from a common underlying representation: Some comments on historical methodology. *Anthropological Linguistics* 26(4). 435–444.
- Christaller, Johann Gottlieb. 1933. *A dictionary of the Asante and Fante language called Tshi (Chwee, Twi)*. 2nd edn. Basel: Basel Evangelical Missionary Society.
- Crayner, John Brandford. 1988. *Yeehyiahya oo!* Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation.
- de Jong, Kenneth & Samuel G. Obeng. 2000. Labio-palatalisation in Twi: Contrastive, quantal, and organizational factors producing an uncommon sound. *Language* 76(3). 682–703.
- Dolphyne, Florence Abena. 2006. *The Akan (Twi-Fante) language: Its sound systems and tonal structure*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services.
- Dzameshie, Alex K. 1998. *Sociocultural and sociolinguistic dimensions of Ewe personal names*. Paper presented at the GILLBT Seminar Week in Tamale; 16th–20th February.
- Essien, Okon E. 1986. *Ibibio names: Their structure and meaning*. Ibadan: Daystar Press.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2004. *Analyzing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
- Ghana Statistical Service. 2021. *2021 Population and Housing Census preliminary report*. Accra. <http://www.census2021.statsghana.gov.gh/>.
- Kachru, Braj B. 1994. Englishisation and contact linguistics. *World Englishes* 13(2). 134–154.
- Leben, William R. 1996. Tonal feet and the adaptation of English borrowings into Hausa. *Studies in African Linguistics* 25. 139–154.
- Marfo, Charles. 2013. Optimizing structure: The case of the ‘CrV’ syllable of Akan. *Ghana Journal of Linguistics* 2(1). 63–78.
- Marfo, Charles & Solace Yankson. 2008. The structure of the CCV syllable of the Akan. *Concentric studies in Linguistics* 34(2). 85–100.

- Mensah, Eyo O. 2022. The Englishisation of personal names in Nigeria: What Englishisation of Efik and Ibibio personal names suggests about English in Nigeria. *English Today* 38(3). 152–164.
- Mireku-Gyimah, Patricia Beatrice & Anthony Armstrong Mensah. 2015. Anglicized places names in Ghana: The case of towns in the Tarkwa mining areas. *The Extractive Industries and Society* 2(1). 19–23.
- Mugabe, John (ed.). 2006. *Tone loans: The adaptation of English loanwords into Yoruba*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Obeng, Samuel G. 1997. From morphophonology to sociolinguistics: The case of Akan hypocoristic day-names. *Multilingua* 16. 39–56.
- Obeng, Samuel G. 1998. Akan death-prevention names: A pragmatic and structural analysis. *Names* 46(3). 163–187.
- Obeng, Samuel G. 2001. *African Anthroponymy: An ethnopragmatic and morphophonological study of names in Akan and some African societies*. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- Odoom, John K. 2013. *Nkodzen: Mfantse Anokasadwin na Amambra for SHS*. Agona Swedru: KlinSMART Publications.
- Odoom, John K. & Kwasi Adomako. 2021. Progressive vowel harmony in Gomoa. *Ghana Journal of Linguistics* 10(2). 58–83.
- Ofori, Seth Antwi. 2019. Rules and rule relations in Akan day names. *Journal of West African Languages* 46(1). 47–73.
- Owino, Daniel. 2003. *Phonological nativization of Dholuo loanwords*. University of Pretoria. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Owu-Ewie, Charles. 2017. Language, education and linguistic human rights in Ghana. *Legon Journal of the Humanities* 28(2). 151–172.
- Schachter, Paul & Victoria Fromkin. 1968. *A phonology of Akan: Akuapem, Asante and Fante* (UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics 9). University of California, Los Angeles.
- Ukpong, Edet. 2007. *An inquiry into Ibibio culture: Ibibio names*. Uyo: Dorand Publishers.
- Williamson, Kay. 1984. *Practical orthography in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Heinemann.