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Bakossi names, naming culture and identity

Ivo Ngade*

Department of African Languages and Cultures, University of Ghent, Belgium

Names form part of the culturally inherited values under threat in Bakossi. The impact of change, as seen in Bakossi naming practice, leads to the questioning of Bakossi identity. This paper examines the role of names in constructing identity and especially how this is achieved following the historical and cultural background of the Bakossi naming practice. The paper demonstrates how this age-old naming practice has undergone some deviation. What Bakossi names stand for is a scenario of uninterrupted succession of family, society, natural environment (animal, plants, fields, hills), and historical events which form a relationship between culture and power.

Keywords: Bakossi; names; identity; naming practices

Introduction

Amongst the Bakossi, a name is given to a person, animal, or place. This paper argues that names (especially personal) and naming culture confer identities crucial to maintain power and resilience against the foraying of culturally inherited values in Bakossiland. In her book *Identity and Difference* Kathryn Woodward (1997) affirms that:

> The extent of change might mean that there is a crisis of identity, where old certainties no longer obtain and social, political and economic changes both globally and locally have led to the breakdown of previously stable group membership (Woodward 1997, 1).

Woodward treats identity in relation to social change, where she postulates that identity gives us a location in the world and links us with the society we live in. And that makes the concept of identity pivotal in understanding cultural, socio-political, and economic change. This change has taken many forms; a glaring example is the impact it has created in encouraging communities to gradually bury their pasts. Against this debate Bakossi names stand as a means to show established family, clan, and kinship pedigrees and the culturally inherited values in the keen sense of ancestral descent.

The Bakossi cultural background

Not much has been written about the Bakossi tradition/history, apart from the following works: S.N. Ejedepang-Koge's *Tradition of a People* (1971) and *Tradition and Religion in Bakossi* (1979); Thomas Sube Atabe's *Religion in Traditional Bakossi Society* (1979); Henrich Balz's *Where Faith Has to Live* (1995); some sociolinguistic studies by Robert Herdinger (1980; 1981; 1984) and Beatrice Ekanjume (2008); Epoge Napoleon's doctoral research on *The Interpretation of Anaphoric Expressions by Native Bakossi Speakers*; and also studies by other Bakossi research students in Yaounde and Buea universities and even abroad, focussing on Bakossi language. Generally, it appears there has been a dearth of ethnographic investigation into Bakossi culture. A major reason is that in Cameroon Bakossi culture is still deep in sacred

*Email: ntiegemesumbe.ngadeivo@ugent.be

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traditions. According to oral history it is a (deadly) risk to try to probe into these sacred traditions. The Bakossi are noted for their veneration of cultural and spiritual values conferred on protected areas. The protected areas (sanctuaries) have been identified as graves set aside for a long time as places of 'meeting and ritual' (Dudley et al. 2005, 59).

Known as *nkosse* (Bakossi) in the language *Akosse*, Bakossi is garnished with a medley of villages and clans, which cognates descend from a common ancestry. As a result, Bakossi legacy is deeply rooted in the belief and honour for *Ngoe* and *Sumediang* (the latter's wife) as ancestral parents. Based on Pamela Willoughby's analysis (2007, 94), we see some degree of probability that these progenitors presumably settled in Bakossi region about 100,000 years ago. Equally, Ivo Ngwese in his doctoral research on the Bakossi culture and ecotourism development in Muanenguba tries to retrace the Bakossi ancestral origin. He concludes that by inference from Hamilton's (1982) environmental history, the Bakossi founding ancestor must have settled in Bakossiland sometime from 3000BC to 10,000BC.

More important elements of Bakossi culture are the local architectural house *ndabechum* and the traditional dances. The *ndabechum* is constructed out of ferns and bamboo. This architectural building is now extinct while the dances are still practised. Prominent amongst them is the *Ahon*, a dancing group and a sacred society with an extreme hierarchy. Members (initiates) known as *behon*, meaning the rich ones (in singular *nhon*), are distinctive members of the Bakossi traditional community. They appear and perform in complete traditional regalia: *elob* (a sceptre of rare traditional power) and *olab* (a red feathered cap). These *behon* exercise exceptional valour and manifest the abstruse manner and prestige of *ahon* dance which last for only 25 minutes.

Names of progenitors of Bakossi descent

According to Herdinger (2008), apart from the attempts to trace the ancestral couple as the founding parents, there appear to be no further recollections in history. What then are the circumstances that brought about the names *Ngoe* and *Sumediang* as ancestral names? Further, are these names the result of some historical circumstances at the time or do we just assume that the names emerged from a compound of metaphors derived from the Bakossi mythical and natural environment?

The Bakossi language *Akosse*, is described as 'one of the North Western, most narrow Bantu languages of Cameroon' (Herdinger 2008). In *Akosse*, the name *Ngoe* means lion. This leaves us with literary suggestions. First, that *Ngoe* as the founding ancestor (of Bakossi) was a hero; thus, metaphorically, he is a lion (*Ngoe*). Second, at the time when he was living, hunting and gathering was a risky activity with the existence of several wild animals. Since the lion conquers all other animals in strength, therefore, *Ngoe* eulogized himself (self praise) as being a lion. This is one case in point where praise poetry, an energizer of personal identity, is often a critical category in Bakossi personal names. Bakossi storytelling tradition asserts that *Ngoe's* overpowering emotions to discover a lonely woman (*Sumediang*) as well as the woman's ecstasy in finding a man (*Ngoe*) brought them to emotional chanting, holding hands, and whirling as this:

Ngoe: A ni me ndib me muad (Dear me, I have found a woman)
Sumediang: A ni me ndib me muenchum (Dear me, I have found a man)

The second name *Sumediang* (*Ngoe*'s wife) is indicative of the rapturous delight surrounding *Ngoe's* heart when in his usual wandering he meets with a lonely woman who accepts to become his wife in the Muanenguba fields. *Sumediang* comprises two noun clusters; *Sume* means 'to pin' and *Diang* means 'to trample'. The metaphor expresses someone pinning a stick in the ground.

The third name is *Ngotenkang.* According to Bakossi oral history, the ancestral couple were baffled with the state of this scabies-ridden woman. The woman was a wanderer as well, *Ngoe* kindly accorded her lodging. So she lived with *Ngoe* and *Sumediang* in the ancestral home (cave) at Muekan (Ejedepang-Koge 1971, 207). *Ngotenkang* simply means much scabies, as in *Akosse*, *Nkang* means scabies.

In the cave at Muekan, the ancestral couple had their children. These children migrated to various regions of Bakossi. Their names tell us about the syntactic structure of name-giving in Bakossi. According to this structure, the child's name precedes the father's name, qualifying the male name as the family name in Bakossi. The burial ground of the ancestral couple at Mwekan has remained a reserved forest, isolated and sacred. This groove, often seen in cloud or fog, is a dreaded area, but designated elders dare to go there for rituals and meetings. These elders have the power and ability to communicate with *benyame* (the dead or the ones living beyond). And according to Bakossi tradition, during the time of ritual, these elders, talented in ancestor communication, are the ones who can call names of ancestors as far back as the generation of the founding father (*Ngoe*).

Calling names of ancestors is often regarded as a means to remember the Bakossi genealogy. The calling of names by designated elders in designated places, viz, Muanenguba highlands, the twin lakes *edib* and *njemue*, the cave at Muekan, all suggest the constant Bakossi fascination for nature. Further, through such communication, we witness a symbolic summary of the origin and structure of the Bakossi ancestral world and the fact that Bakossi history rotates around nature. Bakossi place names originate from ancestral names and the geographical features of these place names form a cumulative vibration of the Bakossi spiritual world bestowed in the patterns of their myths.

The important points about the ancestral names are: first, the spirit of unity that they generate amongst the descendants of *Ngoe*. Ivo Ngwese (2009) mentions that the Bakossi call themselves *ban'ngoe* which means children of *Ngoe* (singular *Muan'ngoe:* child of *Ngoe*). He concludes that it is a term that unites these descendants who speak the *Muanenguba* languages. This confirms Woodward's (1997) assertion that identity (as we have in the Bakossi founding names) 'gives people a location in the world and presents a link between them and the society'. Second, both names, *Ngoe* and *Sumediang*, are quite alive and have meanings in Bakossi language. And the fact that these founding names are still given to new generations indicates their survival and their causal relationship to Bakossi tradition and identity.

Genealogy, personal names and place names in Bakossi

Social and environmental psychologists have shown great concern regarding the importance of place in creating identity. Dixon (2000) highlights, through the South African landscapes, how a place sustains a sense of the self. Consequently, Dixon's argument posits that questions of 'who we are' often intimately relate to questions 'of where we are' (Dixon 2000, 27). Therefore, the names of *Ngoe's* seven children stand today as place names in Bakossiland. And it suffices to say, where we live cannot be left out in questions of identity. Further, Dixon qualifies this assertion by mentioning that the notions of place such as communities, ethnicity, and nation envelope the social categories that social psychologists incessantly research (2000, 27).

Still, making a closer examination of Dixon, the names of *Ngoe's* seven children reflect 'who we are' as Bakossi. Equally, the names of *Ngoe's* children form a fascinating 'toponym' which relates to 'where Bakossi is'. In each name the child's name ends with the '*Ngoe*' suffix. Identity, place, and the self in Bakossi are intimately followed through this genealogy. This human history readily gives us initial insights into the etiological myths of Bakossi geographical names as we can see in Figure 1.

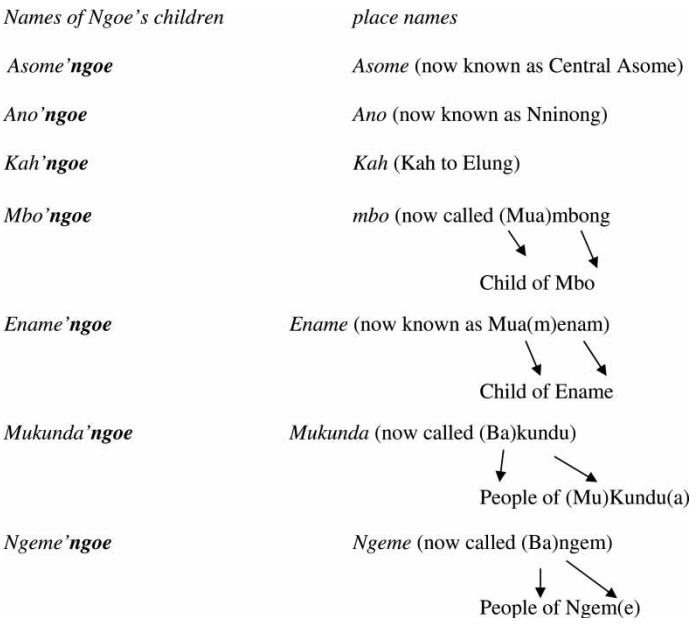

Figure 1. Ngoe originated names in Bakossi.

Bakossi naming culture and the relationship to gender

In the first instance the decision for naming remains a family choice, especially for the parents of a child, or 'name-givers' (Suzman 1994). Lorenz Megara (2007) cites cultural anthropologist Richard Alford, who states that 'of all the messages that personal names may convey, none is more likely to be conveyed than the sex of the individual' (Megara 2007). From this angle, Bakossi names convey gender identity; the implication for this is to assess an individual's masculine or feminine qualities, role, and position along the masculine/feminine continuum in Bakossiland. Giving a name conveys identity, invoked in the summoning and binding of individual agents into groups, as social actors (Woodward 1997, 315). That is why the Bakossi naming culture significantly concentrates on gender identity to construct one's self-image as regards belonging to a specific sex or sex group.

Next, to mention the role and position along the masculine/feminine continuum in Bakossi, how difficult it is to neutralize the age-old tradition of male domination that is ubiquitous in many African countries. As a result of this it remains the routine privilege of the man to decide which name is to be given to the first child. The privilege varies such that naming the second child is the woman's responsibility. It offers feminist perspectives and illuminates how difference in gender roles is strongly related to gender identity. It also illuminates the fact that the man normally prefers to name the first child (male or female) after his father/mother or grandfather/mother (living or dead) respectively. Similarly, the woman (wife) does the same as she names the second child after her mother/father or grandfather/mother.

Some deviation in the naming practice

We have earlier mentioned that the decision to name remains a family choice, especially for the parents of a child, or 'name-givers' as Suzman refers to them. But, the reverse can occur due to circumstances during childbirth. For instance, if a midwife is present during childbirth in Bakossi this is a circumstance that can influence the name and naming practice, as the child may be named

after the midwife. There are two possibilities here: the first is that when the midwife is a Bakossi the family may find it suitable for the child to keep the name forever. Second, if the midwife is a non-Bakossi or *nkimud*, the child is still named after that midwife, but a parallel name (Bakossi-like) is often associated with the *nkimud* (non-Bakossi) name.

In some cases, the members of the family want to maintain the *nkimud* name strictly to the level of articulation, but the tendency is that the parallel (Bakossi name plus the family name) is entered into the civil or population registers or records (birth certificate, identity card) of that community. This particular practice in the Bakossi naming culture is symbolic just as it is typical of Bakossi realities and insights. According to Bakossi oral tradition, naming a child after a midwife is seen as compensation for the midwife's assistance to the woman during childbirth. Nowadays, with the availability of health centres and hospitals in Bakossiland, many of the women are now assisted by modern midwives (trained). In the olden days, many births that took place in Bakossiland were what Simmons and Bernstein call 'out of hospital births' (Simmons and Bernstein 1983).

Due to lack of obstetrical services that catered for women during childbirth, local midwives (using indigenous obstetrical knowledge) assisted in these deliveries. These women had local skills and knowledge to carry out these obstetrics according to traditional rules. Historically, Ejedepang-Koge (1971) discovered that Bakossi women were still afraid or reluctant to have babies in hospitals by the 1950s. The main reason for this fear was that women still had precarious assumptions in their beliefs about the 'white man' who was often thought to predict the future of the child. And, according to this belief, if the 'white man' (who avoided any indigenous confrontation that challenged colonial administration) predicted any greatness in the child this led to the killing of the child. This gloomy assumption was a result of the fact that at the moment of birth the Bakossi probe into what mission the child is bringing to the world. The basic remark here is how Bakossi rarely name a child without explaining to the members of the family and to the village the circumstances that prompted the name. When the child is named after the midwife, as compensation for her wonderful job, the family understands and concludes it to be circumstantial. More preferably, such names are regarded as names that create new relationships beyond the 'cognate families' (Gibbs 1965, 259).

The fact that names are honoured to the extent that they are a compensation for the work of a midwife shows that names have been valued beyond the relative rank of commodities that have monetary value. This proves how names are critical elements of identity in Bakossi. Additionally, this tells us that naming a child after the midwife who has assisted in childbirth in the 'family hut' (Elliot 1970, 56) is not simply regarded as mere compensation, but rather what we must call a 'historical and traditional reward'. This applies not just to assistance in the family hut, but in the bush as well, where the pregnant woman has been toiling to get firewood, food, or water. It is important to note here that even now, during the eighth and ninth months of pregnancy, some Bakossi women in the villages still toil in nearby bushes in search of food, fire, and water. In the face of such peril, anyone who comes to intervene in assisting the woman (Bakossi or non-Bakossi) is seen as a good Samaritan, and the child's name automatically goes to her. The circumstantial nature of such names does not involve careful thought and choice as it is a traditional naming practice.

It becomes ironic when only a man has come to the aid of a helpless pregnant woman. In this case, if the child happens to be a boy and the man who came to the aid of the woman is Bakossi, the child is named without a parallel name. This is to show that a name, regardless of the fact that it does not arise from the history of the family, is always accepted, provided it is Bakossi-like. It becomes more complex if the man is a non-Bakossi man. It is always difficult for parents to name their son after a *nkimud* (stranger). In fact, the prejudice is that a boy with a *nkimud* name becomes a victim of insults and mockery, especially when he reaches the age of rites of

passage (initiation). From his childhood to adulthood he faces the consequence of a disparaging word, *ntang* (in *Akosse*) meaning 'slave'. Calling someone *ntang* because s/he bears a non-Bakossi name brings personal identity and belonging into question. It suffices that friends of that 'boy' *ntang* repeatedly mock him as a slave and provoke childhood brawls and even create *ehinde* (enmity) amongst the parents of that child's group.

Name, meaning and the ethos of Bakossi beliefs

Through the meanings of Bakossi names we come to notice the underlying notions of Bakossi belief, practices, and customs. Such names in themselves compose the ethical, moral, and natural elements that form the Bakossi spiritual identities. Before demonstrating some examples, it is necessary to mention that Bakossi names following the linguistic intonation and phonology contain consonants and vowels such as ŋ, â, ɔ, ó, ŭ, ǐ, ò, ù, ú. The name *Akoose* (language) itself is written as *Akóóse* (Ekanjume 2009) or *Akɔɔse* (Herdinger 1992). In his ethnographic linguistic study of *Akoose* (*Akɔɔse*) in 1992, Herdinger came up with *Dé tel dé lâŋ Akɔɔse* (Let's read and write Bakossi). The fact that Bakossi names are written in English and French style permits us to avoid the phonetic dimensions of Beatrice Ekanjume, Robert Herdinger and Epoge Napoleon amongst others carrying out in-depth linguistic research on *Akɔɔse* or *Akóóse*.

Coming back to the names, their meanings, and ethos of Bakossi beliefs, it is necessary to demonstrate a cluster of such names as a clear suggestion of the realities in normal daily lives in Bakossi. The names also allow us to understand the point where the myth provides supplementary insights by describing the significant ideas shared by a group of people. Levi Strauss has elaborated on this in his concept of the myth: he argues that it is through myths that the society forms the basis for her culture's storytelling. A lot of Bakossi names refer to versions of traditional Bakossi myths and they contribute in grasping the complete message of Bakossi society. The names, meanings, and their notion are shown in Table 1.

Bakossi names and self praise (praise poetry)

Allena Rettova (2007) asserts that 'praise poetry is one of the most common genres of oral literature among Southern Bantu people'. According to Rettova, praise poems consist of praise names of people, giving poetical expression to their qualities and actions. Unlike in Xhosa 'Izibongo', where an 'imbongi' expresses the praises of kings and chiefs, in Bakossi, praise poetry recital is manifested through *mbia* or *mbuen*. This is a reminder that many names are a symbol of praise, especially as the pride in a male name is often spiced up with self praise, *mbia.*

The praise song forms identity, following the fact that it is a prelude to the ritualized summit of manhood in some sacred traditions of the Bakossi. Coined with a concoction of dexterity and poetic recital, and based on the previous daring deeds of the ancestors, the praise poem goes like this:

(Akoose (Akɔɔse, Akóóse))
Muan be saar
Chum e kanga ne ngoe
Awag ne Muankum
Achabe nkang ase ne mbange etom
Awuu chum eche mud mud enyine
Ne ehunate ban mpag min
Ne horate, ban che me belle ba
Esum eche wuoge enyen

Table 1. Some Bakossi names and their meanings

Names (personal)	*Meaning*	*Moral value (traditional myths)*
Ebanmig (f)	just watching	peaceful
Enonge, enongene (m)	just watching	peaceful
Ewa, ewane(m)	fighter	warrior
Nzum, nzume(m)	fight	warrior
Edinge (m)	love	romance
Esung (f)	half	handicap
Nkumbe (m)	gun	warrior
Ntungwe (m)	harmony stick	peace
Eboh (f)	beautiful	beauty
Ntie, Ntiege (m)	coffin	death
Ekuh (m)	catcher	hunting
Eduke (f)	cunning	deceit
Ntoh (f)	quarrel	noisy
Akwa (f)	shame	guilt
Edube (f)	respectful	polite
Ebwe (m)	soul	reality
Ngole (m)	sorrow	sadness
Emah, emade(f)	put an end	authority
Ndung (m)	pepper	ill-tempered
Ekuu (m)	door	furniture
Nzuo (m)	elephant	animal
Ngoe (m)	lion	animal
Ebude (f)	frog	animal
Epenebel	warlike village	conflict
Ekukah	hide and skin	antelope (Animal)
Ekanzuo	elephants' dwelling	habitat
Konebe	two hills	environment
Poala	rocks	environment
Muanoh	Nnoko's child	genealogy

Notes: m = male, f = female.

Translation (English)
The son and his father
Something that roars like the lion
Peppery like 'Muankum'
Deep rooted like the 'Cocoyam plantain'
He killed something that no one had ever seen
When things are tough, they call me to help
When there is calm, everyone thinks I did nothing
The grass that never feel the sun heat

The above praise poem was recited in March 2003 during a burial ceremony of a prominent *Ahon* member in Bangem (Northern Bakossi).

Apart from for personal names and praise poetry which follows the daring deeds of ancestors, some Bakossi adopt nicknames for fame. Such nicknames are, in most cases, related to the traditional myths of the Bakossi. An example is the myth of *Etub'anyang*, which can be translated as a dilapidated ferry. '*Etub*' in *Akoose* refers to something that is worn out or almost at the state of disrepair. '*Anyang*' in *Akoose* refers to a local ferry that was supernaturally constructed by Bakossi sacred *juju*. A Bakossi, one of Cameroon's most prominent jazz stars, Epie Charles adopted and boasted of this name as his self praise *Etub'anyang*.

To briefly analyze the circumstances that led to this heroic praise name, it is important to recount the historical circumstances that gave rise to the name *etub'anyang*. According to a traditionalist (and *Nhon*) Anuge Apang of Poala (son of a late Poala warrior chief Apang), barter trade was common between the Elung and Nhia, all in upper Bakossi, and the Babubog close to Nguti. The Babubog produced palm oil that Elung/Nhia lacked. On the contrary, the Elung and especially the Nhia produced cocoyams that the Babubog lacked greatly.

Therefore, early economic links amidst the upper Bakossi and Babubog emerged giving rise to trade by barter as cocoyams were exchanged with palm oil. This link equally developed to the importance of *Dua Njue* meaning the 'Njue' market, as the Babubog were known as *Njue* people. It is important to note that at that time days of the week were counted using market days and not the modern weekly days we have now. The Bakossi came to know about days of the week, Monday to Sunday, with the coming of the missionaries. As trade by barter became important amidst Babubog and the upper Bakossi, crossing the river Babubog also became a challenge for both. Finally, a locally made ferry was constructed by the traditional sacred society *Muankum* or the executive and judiciary arm of Bakossi traditional society (Njume 2005).

Whenever this ferry became dilapidated to the state of disrepair, it was often known as *Etub'anyang*. But because the ferry was always constructed by the sacred (supernatural) ingenuity of Bakossi *juju* at night, no traveller could face the deadly risk of falling into the river. Due to this belief, businessmen from either side did not care about the critical state of *anyang* because in whatever condition any traveller (from Babubog or Upper Bakossi) had to achieve his/her purpose of crossing to the other side of the dangerous river valley. As such, Epie Charles adopted this name for musical fame. Though it is a nickname, it has much to tell about the life and experiences of his ancestors crossing *anyang* and finally how the Bakossi use the daring deeds of their ancestors as a means to construct the Bakossi cultural identity.

The Mbumbe concept and historical transformation of naming practice

The American Heritage Dictionary of English (2009) defines a person named after another or a person having the same name as another as a 'namesake'. This concept has several similarities in different cultures, especially in the West: in Spanish, it is called *tocayo*, in German it is called *der namenvetter*, in Finnish, it is called *Kaima* and, finally, in French, it is called *homonyme.* In the *Akosse* language, 'namesake' is known as *mbumbe.* This concept is deeply rooted in the Bakossi naming practice. In traditional Bakossi society, the *mbumbe* necessarily has to (but not always) be a member of the same family to which the child is named after.

The emergence of modernity ushers a sheer contrast from the traditionally inherited practices. Consequently, this derails the naming practice. Unlike other endangered traditionally inherited values, to this effect, the *mbumbe* concept is almost extinct. More sympathetic is the encroachment of missionaries into Bakossiland. Christian doctrine ushered in a new naming practice with Christian names (baptismal) that transformed believers to the rank of Christian converts. Generally, in many parts of Africa, the success of the Christian religion was fast, and in some communities it remained the 'only historic religion with structures and adherents challenged only by traditional religion which progressively lost ground' (Ter Haar and Cox 2003, 69). Meanwhile, Ter Haar and Cox cite Igbo society as an ideal instance of the collapse of traditional religion in West Africa because of Christian pressures (2003, 69). Ejedepang-Koge also laments the limits of *ndie* (Bakossi traditional religion), which has virtually been abandoned under the pressure of the Christian mission (1971, 210).

Nowadays, the naming practice amongst the Bakossi modern elites triggers norms different from traditionally-inherited customs. These parents consult online baby dictionaries to choose

baby names devoid of the age-old traditional naming practice. They are interested in names that give sensual appeal or names honoured through mere passions of popularity and stardom, for example: Whitney from Whitney Houston; Kelly from Kelly Clarkson; Angelina from Angelina Jolie; Vanessa from Vanessa Paradis; Tracy from Tracey Chapman; Michael from Michael Jackson.

The more parents adopt and familiarize with non-Bakossi names, the greater tendency there is to depart from the ancestral naming practices that carry the values and beliefs meant to construct Bakossi identity.

Conclusion

In this paper we have focussed on the fact that names are critical categories in constructing Bakossi identity. Modernity is a major process that has led to the breakdown of traditions. Equally, the arrival of the missionary and a colonial mission in Bakossiland automatically resulted in the weakness of tradition in the face of a dominant social, political, and economic ideal. In Achebe's *Things fall Apart* (1978), we see how Nwoye (Okwonkwo's son) converts to Christianity, this is epitomized in his new name Isaac. Achebe sees this as a symptom of the collapse of tradition in Umuaro (the fictional Igbo setting). Still, in Daniel Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), in order to obscure the identity of one of the savages that Crusoe saves, he is portrayed as not having a name. Crusoe seizes this opportunity of 'namelessness' to give the savage a name, *Friday*, as a means to convert him to Christianity. This is similar to the case of Bakossi, where the local people were converted to Christianity bearing new names. This automatically meant taking the baptismal oath of denouncing tradition in favour of Christianity and if possible seeing some of the traditional beliefs as being 'wrong'. Against this process, we see Bakossi names and naming practice as a collective representation of the social, political, economic, and cultural processes of power and unity. That is why it is common to see the use of ancestral names for group/community association at national or trans-national levels, a good example is *Mbum Muan'ngoe* meaning Association of Ngoe Children. Bakossi women have adopted the same style, often identified as *Sumedian* Group in cities all over Cameroon and even abroad.

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