

REPRESENTING THE IDEAL SELF: REPRESENTED SPEECH AND PERFORMANCE ROLES IN FULFULDE PERSONAL NARRATIVES

Annette R. Harrison

Abstract

This study applies the concepts of frames and performance roles (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Bauman 1993; Goffman 1974) to represented speech in personal narratives of speakers of Fulfulde, a Niger-Congo language of the (West) Atlantic group. Contextualization cues such as verbal suffixes indicating voice and aspect, person reference and references to states of knowledge index the frame of interaction between storyteller and audience, the frame of the narrated story, and an enacted frame that recontextualizes events within the story world. These cues also signal performance roles within the frame, such as the addressing self, the principal and the animator. The multiple frames and performance roles indexed by represented speech allow the speaker to represent past and present selves, and more importantly, to make an implicit comparison between the states of knowledge at various points in time in the performance of the narrative. In this way, the speaker distributes responsibility, blame and praise across multiple depictions of the self such that the one most accessible to the audience is portrayed as a superior representation of cultural ideals.

Keywords: Represented speech; Narrative; Frame; Performance role; Frame; Linguistic ideology; Fulfulde; Fula.

1. Introduction¹

Telling a personal narrative is a form of self-exposure, an opportunity to represent and construct some facet or facets of the personal self before others. Personal narratives have been used in various ways in sociological and linguistic studies for some time (cf. Casad 1974; Goffman 1959, 1974; Labov 1972; Sacks 1986). More recently, scholars such as Bres (1993), Bucholtz (1999), Haviland (1996), Irvine (1990, 2001), Hill and Zepeda (1993), Lucy (1993), Ochs and Capps (1996), and Schiffrin (1996), among others, have recognized the relationship between represented speech in narrative and the self-representation of the narrator. Further, the work of scholars such as Bauman and Briggs (1990; Briggs and Bauman 1992) has identified metalinguistic phenomena such as framing and indexical grounding (Bauman and Briggs 1990: 75, 76) as resources for enhancing the entextualized worlds as well as the perspectives of performers. While

¹ Special thanks to Hiroko Takanashi and Joseph Sung-Yul Park for their editorial work on this special issue and for originally organizing the SLA panel on represented speech that produced this and other papers. Thanks also to Minerva Oropeza Escobar, Mary Bucholz and John Gumperz for their suggestions and encouragement.

Bauman and Briggs list deictic markers of person, spatial location and time as linguistic features of metanarration and indexical grounding, the data presented in this paper support a claim that represented speech may also be deployed to index states of knowledge over time as well, creating a time-line to demonstrate personal evolution toward an ideal. Represented speech is thus a metalinguistic resource used by speakers to perform past and present selves, distributing responsibility, blame and praise for the scenarios depicted in their narratives in order to represent an ideal self.

In this paper, I examine personal narratives in Fulfulde, a Niger-Congo language spoken in 15 West African countries, as well as in the Central African Republic and Sudan.² I first describe how represented speech indexes frames and performance roles, and then discuss how blame for ignorance and error as well as praise for success is distributed across the performance roles in each narrative allowing the narrator to construct his current self as an ideal representative of the Fulbe. These narratives were originally elicited from twelve different narrators in Benin, Niger and Nigeria by a team of researchers that included me. The purpose of the research was a study of interdialectal comprehension and language attitudes on that section of the Fulfulde dialect continuum (Harrison et al. to appear; Harrison and Tucker 2003).³

Personal narratives are autobiographical accounts of an event situated in time and experienced by the narrator. Though they are considered less frequently than folktales or myths in the ethnographic literature, Bauman points out that in eliciting a story of any kind, the researcher effectively sets the stage for a performance by the speaker (1993: 195), an aspect of elicitation also noted by Labov (1972) and Scollon and Scollon (1981: 106, 113-115). The fact that the stories were told to foreign researchers is thus a significant point because the stories were designed for an audience whose stated purpose was to learn about the Fulbe culture and the Fulfulde language (cf. Bell 1984). For further discussion on the effect of the researchers' role on the performance of these narratives as well as the differences between these personal narratives and oral literature in Fulfulde, see Harrison (2004, 2005).

The essential point for this discussion is that each of the narratives considered here were framed as lessons in Fulbe cultural ideology, with the speaker presenting himself as a prime illustration of ideological points, as well as a cultural expert. As is pointed out by the papers in this volume, framing is a valuable concept with which to examine negotiated meanings in interaction. Frames are structures of expectation; they are a sociocultural resource used in the management and interpretation of meanings (Tannen 1979). In an atypical context such as (socio)linguistic elicitation, the speaker interprets the frame of the interaction with the researcher based on his own socialized and enculturated life experiences. It appears that the men who performed these narratives understood the researchers' interests and consequently constructed representations of themselves in their personal narratives as role models of Fulbe cultural ideologies. Further, the linguistic resources deployed in the formulation of represented speech in these narratives guide Fulfulde speakers along a time line of

² Fulfulde is also known as Fula or Fulani. The speakers of Fulfulde are known as Fulbe, Fulani, or Peul.

³ The narratives are in the dialects of Fulfulde Borgu (Benin), Fulfulde Gorgal (Burkina Faso and western Niger), Fulfulde Lettugal Niger (eastern Niger), and Fulfulde Leydi Nigeria (Nigeria). Dialect names as in Harrison and Tucker 2003. ISO codes [fue], [fuh], [fuq] and [fuv] respectively.

increasingly ideal states of knowledge, an aspect of framing and reported speech not previously considered in the literature.

A fundamental component of Fulbe cultural ideologies is the system of *pulaaku* or "Fulbe-ness" (cf. Dupire 1962; Labatut 1973; Nelson 1981). It includes values such as modesty and reserve (*semteende*), patience and fortitude (*munyal*), care and forethought (*hakkiilo*) (Nelson 1981; Stenning 1959). Cattle also play an important role in Fulbe values and in society. They constitute a measure of wealth and status; they are named and cared for in a manner that at times approximates the western treatment of pets. Some have suggested that Fulbe culture has roots in ancient Egyptian religion, which venerated the sun, and cattle, citing as evidence the "royal" noun class which contains only the nouns for fire, sun, and cow (Nelson 1981; René Vallette, personal communication). Finally, membership in the group and conformity to its ideology and practices are highly valued in Fulbe culture.

From this brief description of salient elements in Fulbe cultural ideologies, it follows that a model member of the group would know how to care for cattle and would treat them with respect. The values of modesty and reserve (*semteende*) would constrain the performance of self in that speakers would avoid the appearance of taking too much credit or praise. In these data, the narrators appear to constantly juggle blame and praise as they avoid the appearance of too much ignorance, impatience or individualism on one hand, or of too much self-praise, pride in accomplishment, or exceptional character on the other. The performances of these narratives are thus illustrations of practices through which cultural identity is constituted. Represented speech is an important linguistic resource for these practices because it is one of the metalinguistic devices that narrators use to index different performance roles and frames. More importantly, it also creates a time line to index increasing knowledge and mastery of Fulbe cultural ideals. While I have already mentioned the frame of interaction between foreign researcher and Fulbe narrator, the performance of each personal narrative involves additional frames that are embedded in the story world such as the frame of narrative description and the frame where events are re-enacted, each of which can be identified through the performance role taken up by the narrator (Hanks 1996; Irvine 1996; Levinson 1988; Oropeza-Escobar 2002). In this paper, I outline how these Fulbe narrators construct their culturally ideal self through the manipulation and negotiation of these roles, and by doing so, demonstrate that the instances of represented speech in these data reveal not only how speakers index shifts between different narrative frames, but also how represented speech creates time depth for states of knowledge that increasingly conform to cultural ideals of the *pulaaku* system. In this way, represented speech is a crucial semiotic tool for the speaker's performance of identity.

2. Frames and roles

2.1. *The embedded frames of the performed narrative*

Bauman describes performance as "the act of speaking...framed as display" (Bauman 1993: 182). In these data, the added complexity is that the act of speaking is framed as one of at least three kinds of displays. The first frame encountered is the spoken interaction between performer and audience, a kind of outer frame to the performance itself. This frame involves the choice of the story, how it is introduced and how the

performer guides the audience through various points in the story. As mentioned above, when performer and audience do not necessarily share the same sets of expectations that are used to manage and interpret meaning in interaction, it becomes necessary for the performer to provide some sort of obvious explanation that is analogous to an aside to the audience at a play. But this frame often results in elements of the storytelling that appear to be messy or out of place when the narrative is transcribed for analysis. Indeed, it is a temptation for transcribers to “clean up” the narrated story by omitting or deleting evidence of the outer frame of interaction (Harrison 2004, 2005).

Embedded within the interaction frame is the narrated story frame. In this frame, the narrator sets the stage, provides background information and other types of description for the story line. In the discourse analysis of narrative texts, this is most often the frame to which the discourse analyst attends; it involves the story itself without regard for any other interaction between performer and audience. Finally, the innermost frame is that of enactment. In this frame, scenes and interactions within the story world come alive through recontextualization (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Briggs and Bauman 1992). The re-enactment of scenes from the story provides the audience with a primary sensory experience of that part of the story.

2.2. *Performance role and self*

Goffman's analysis of performance roles was central to his study of meaning and the organization of interaction. He argued that the meaning of utterances relies upon the ability of both speaker and hearer to connect the utterance to its source (Goffman 1974: 516). He broke down the speaker-hearer communicative model into finer roles such as the *addressing self*, *principal* and *animator*, further elaborated by Levinson (1988) and Irvine (1996). The addressing self is the speaker's current identity (Goffman 1981: 147). The principal is the originator of the words of the narration, akin to the author or composer; the animator is the one who physically re-enacts dialogue, thoughts or other "live" aspects of the story. What is significant about the concept of performance roles is how speakers use them as a resource to link their utterances to other dialogues and other participants (Irvine 1996: 136, 140). My analysis foregrounds the performance roles of the *addressing self*, the *principal* and the *animator*. These are only three of many performance roles that can be attributed to the narrator and other participants in the event, such as hearers or audience (cf. Goffman 1974, 1981; Hanks 1996; Irvine 1990, 1996; Levinson 1988; Oropeza-Escobar 2002; Schiffrin 1993).

To identify what role is highlighted in the narrative performance is to identify which *voice* is speaking, which self is being represented (Bakhtin 1981). The grammatical form of represented speech in these Fulfulde narratives indexes the voice of the speaker's self. Markings on the verb, person reference and also reference to states of knowledge in the represented speech index one of several selves that are at the disposition of the speaker, e.g., the addressing self, the principal, the animator. Moreover, each of these selves is located within a specific frame of the speech event, e.g., the interaction frame, the narrative frame, the re-enactment frame. The multiple frames and multiple performance roles allow the performer to represent more than one self, each of which exists in a different time, and each of which evidences a different state of knowledge. In this way, the speaker distributes responsibility for various acts across these multiple selves. Significantly, these selves exist in a time line displayed

before the audience, with the result that in the self closest to the interaction with his audience is that which most closely corresponds to Fulbe cultural ideologies. Thus, the addressing self in the outer frame of interaction lays implicit claim to be the most up-to-date state of knowledge and even mastery of Fulbe cultural ideology: a representation of the ideal Fulbe. In the next sections, I present the grammatical forms in which represented speech may be encoded and explain how each of them corresponds to a different frame and performance role. I begin with the narrative frame performed by the principal, and then compare the grammatical forms used in the narrative frame with those used in the outer frame of interaction by the addressing self as well as in the embedded frame of re-enactment by the animator.

2.3. *The narrative frame and the role of the principal*

The narrative text occurs in the narrative frame; it does not include the dynamic of interaction between speaker and audience, which will be illustrated below. In a written text such as a novel (a written form of the narrative frame), the principal is the voice of the narrator: the voice within the text. Goffman describes the principal in terms of "self-as-protagonist," the primary character in the represented action of the story world (Goffman 1974: 519-520). The principal is a socially identified self (Goffman 1981: 145), "someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say" (Goffman 1981: 144).

The principal represents and interprets one of several footings within the story world. The principal knows the end of the story even from the beginning, and is in charge of leading the audience through the story events. The principal does not interact directly with the audience; he is within the frame of the story world, not outside of it in the interaction frame. Example 1 illustrates the role of the principal. It is an early section of a long story about how the narrator was initiated into the knowledge of the African bush. Here, the principal is narrating a general description of his life before the events of the story, a necessary background to the point of the story, which is how much more he knows now as compared to then.

(1) Toumour-Young⁴

5 (hx) ammaa da yike lokole ba'ewii ...(.53) mi anndaa haraka
 but when see.VAP⁵ school<FR> take.care.of.VAP 1SG know.NEG limit.CL
 ladde no wontiri
 bush.CL ANT COP.EXT.VAP

'But because I was always occupied with school, I didn't know what happens in the bush.'

⁴ Gloss abbreviations and transcription symbols are at the end of the article.

⁵ VAP – Voice Aspect Polarity marker. Grammatical meanings for voice, aspect and affirmative/negative polarity are combined in Fulfulde verbal suffixes such that there are over 60 different forms. For further discussion, see McIntosh 1984 and Nelson 2001 for Fulfulde. See also Kari 2003 and Williamson 1989 for examples of other Niger-Congo languages that combine features of tense, aspect and polarity in verbal affixes.

6 ...(.8) (mx) (hx) .. feene fuu mbi'i-mi mi yahay ladde
 time all say.VAP-1SG 1SG go.VAP bush.CL
 'Every time I said I will go to the bush'

7 ...(.52) mama am sai haday-am
 mother 1SG:POSS then prevent.VAP-1SG
 'my mother would prevent me.'

In lines 5-7, the referent for the first person pronoun *mi*, and first person pronominal suffixes *-mi* and *-(y)am*, is the principal, the performance role of the narrator within the frame of the story-world. Here, the narrator first describes a previous state of affairs in his life: he was always in school and was not familiar with the bush as other Fulbe children would be (line 5). Next, in line 6, he reports something he said often. Though line 6 has all the grammatical cues for direct speech, i.e., the verb of speaking and first person reference, it does not describe a specific incident, but reports the sum of repeated actions: *feene fuu* 'every time.' Bres describes such examples as *narrated reported speech* (Bres 1996: 57). The story events are recounted in an order that gives structure to the narration. The type of information in these instances of represented speech is meant as background information to fill out the frame of the story world and to orient the audience (Bres 1996: 53; Tannen 1993: 60). In addition, it lays the groundwork for the principal to demonstrate that the protagonist has undergone some sort of change over time in the story-world, an evolution of character. In these narratives, it is a change from a less ideal self to a more ideal self.

Narrated reported speech does not fit neatly into either category of directly quoted or indirectly reported speech in terms of the grammatical cues of pronominal reference and the verbal suffixes that indicate voice and aspect. It is a subtle contextualization cue that requires the audience to recognize the performance role of the principal through the orienting nature of the utterance. Lines 6 and 7 of Example 1 above acquaint the audience with a previous desire on the part of the narrator. When he was a boy, he didn't know about the bush because he had never been there and because his mother had always prevented him from going. As the story unfolds, the narrator presents the audience with key events, which changed the course of his life, so that he can comment at the end of the story:

(2) Toumour-Young

77 ...(.65) daga sa'iren den (hx) ...(.44) nyumtu-mi acce ...(.33) kaado
 from that.time then think.EXT.VAP-1SG that non-Fulani.CL
 gari ...(.53) walaa kon anndi
 town.CL there.is.not thing.CL know.VAP
 'Ever since then I've thought that town folk just don't know anything.'

78 ...(.61) tagu ye sai wurtaake den annda areji dudu
 person.CL DEM then go.out.VAP then know.VAP thing.PL many
 'A person has to get out and about to know many things.'

79 (hx .79) . non gada i sa'ire den fuɗɗu-mi nango ko maama am
 so after DEM now then start.VAP-1SG hear.VAP REL mother 1SG:POSS
 wi'-atay-am fuu
 say.VAP-1SG all

'So from that time on I started listening to everything my mother tells me.'

This example demonstrates a change in perspective on the part of the narrator – from a previous association with *kaadô gari* 'non-Fulani town folk' and ignorance of the bush (line 77) to someone who "gets out and about" so that he can learn and "know many things" (line 78). Moreover, it illustrates the narrator's summary representation in line 79 of 'everything my mother tells me,' *maama am wi'atay-am fuu*. The verb form *wi'atay* here is marked with a Voice-Aspect-Polarity (VAP) suffix that indicates unaccomplished action that is not the primary focus, i.e., imperfective aspect with secondary focus. As such, 'everything my mother tells me' is marked as part of the orienting and structuring process that serves as a background to the main events of the story line (Bres 1996; Longacre 1983; Tannen 1993).

In examples 1 and 2, then, the represented speech provides supportive background material for the narrative. It does not represent a single instance of a particular speech event, but a generalization of many speech events over time. Though the action of speaking may be marked either as completed (Example 1) or continuing (Example 2), adverbials such as "every time" (Example 1) or a verbal suffix indicating secondary focus (Example 2) indicate that the speaker is providing more general background information.

Moreover, a comparison of the perspectives in Examples 1 and 2 reveal a change in the state of knowledge of the principal. At the beginning of the story he admits that he was not well acquainted with the ways of the African bush. Then at the end of the story, his remarks concerning "town folk" and "getting out and about" make allusion to the fact that through experiences such as those he tells about in his personal narrative, he has become educated in the ways of the bush. The change in perspective in terms of the principal's knowledge is significant in the way that he represents himself in the narrative.

Conversely, there are moments when the person performing the narrative momentarily steps out of the role of the narrator to interact directly with the audience. He steps in to what I referred to earlier as the interaction frame. In doing so, he interrupts the voice of the narrator to speak as the addressing self. I discuss this further in the next section.

2.4. The interaction frame and the role of the addressing self

A key component of the identity of the addressing self is that he or she is *currently* responsible and accessible to the listener (Goffman 1974: 518). The addressing self is the interlocutor in the interaction as opposed to the narrator of the text. As such, the addressing self monitors the reactions of the others in the interaction and is able to add or to highlight information in order to make the personal narrative as clear as possible. In other words, the addressing self in the interaction frame anticipates possible points of trouble in the interaction and moves to help his audience navigate those points. In the next example, the principal in the narrative frame has just finished a broad description

of habitual actions and attitudes that define the protagonist (himself) as a city person and begins to tell about a specific incident to illustrate his point. As a means to tie the specific instance to the general description, he briefly exits the narrative frame and steps into the interaction frame to remind the audience of something he had already said.

(3) Toumour-Young

17 ...(.57) (hx .55) .. jonto besgol
 next morning.CL
 ‘The next morning’

18 ...(1.03) gada mi ummi njahami
 after 1SG get.up go.EXT.VAP.1SG
 ‘after I got up to go’

19 ...(.96) (mx) (hx .39) ...(.44) kama no mbi'-ay-mi on
 like ANT say.VAP-1SG 2PL
 Like I was just saying to you

20 ...(.45) (mx) (hx .41) sey laatii jonto besgol
 then become.VAP next morning
 ‘It happened that the next morning’

In line 19, the principal reminds the audience, “like I was just saying to you” (Note that for the English gloss it is necessary to choose between the present continuative “am saying” or the past continuative “was saying”, though the tense distinction is not present in the Fulfulde). This marks a change in aspect between the VAP suffix *-i* in lines 18 and 20 that involve perfective meaning, action that has been accomplished. The 1st person pronoun suffixed to the verbal complex *mbi'ay-mi* ‘I am saying’ and the second person plural pronoun *on*, addressed to the audience, invoke the frame of interaction between interlocutors in the here-and-now. For a brief moment, the addressing self converses with the other participants in the interaction, in this case, the team of researchers listening to his narrative. Here the addressing self does not repeat everything he had said before, but simply references the prior speech event. It is not the second person plural pronoun *on* alone that indexes the interaction frame and the voice of the addressing self as can be seen by comparison to Example 4, in which another narrator also uses the second person plural pronoun.

In this example, the protagonist had previously foiled an attempt by armed thieves to rob the house he was guarding. The thieves confronted him the next day in an attempt to intimidate him so that he would remain passive during their next attempt to rob the house. The narrator reports his conversation with the thieves as direct speech between participants.

(4) Maradi-Thieves

71 ...(.94) mbi'i-mi be aa mi woorataa on nguujon,
 say.VAP-1SG 3PL no 1SG allow.NEG 2PL steal.2PL
 ‘I said to them, “Oh I won’t allow you to steal.”’

The first person pronoun *-mi* is suffixed to the verb stem after the Voice-Aspect-Polarity (VAP) suffix, while the third person plural pronoun *be* follows as a

clitic: *mbi'i-mi be* 'I said to them'. The VAP suffix here involves negation and unaccomplished action (Nelson 2001: 10). The re-occurrence of the first person pronoun *mi* after a discourse marker, this time in its preverbal form as a stand-alone pronoun, can be interpreted as the beginning of a new clause intended to represent the speech of the story character. The combination of the re-occurrence of the first person singular pronoun and a change in the VAP on the verb from the first clause to the second mark this as a representation of a single instance of direct speech, words addressed by the principal to other story characters in the narrative frame.

Verbal suffixes and pronominal forms in the examples above are illustrations of contextualization cues or triggers for vantage points; in other words, these grammatical forms comprise a kind of metalanguage (Hanks 1993; Lucy 1993; Silverstein 1993; Silverstein and Urban 1996). In speaking about speaking in each of the above examples, the narrator has metalinguistically indexed a performance role. In Example 3, the change in person reference and the use of a Voice-Aspect-Polarity marker indicating continuing action mark a shift in footing from the narrative to the interaction frame.

On the other hand, how a state of knowledge is described may blur the distinction between the voices of the addressing self and the principal in their respective frames of interaction and narration. Example 5 below provides an illustration. In this example, the protagonist had left the home of friends he was visiting during the evening and then met two animals that he believed to be his two watchdogs, but that were really hyenas. He reports his estimation of the hyenas as dogs to the audience.

(5) Mayahi-Mistaken

43 mi miin mi mbi'-ey dum kutiiju wuro amin
 1SG 1SG:EMPH 1SG say.VAP-INDIR PRN dog.PL house.CL 1PL:POSS
 'Me, I was thinking it was the dogs from our house.'

In the context of the story, he is alone. Thus, though the verb of speech *mbi'-ey* is used, it is clear that the protagonist is either talking or thinking to himself: there are no other human participants present in the interaction. The material after the verb of speech *dum kutiiju wuro amin* 'it (is) the dogs (from) our house' is what the protagonist said or thought to himself. This is a reference to a state of knowledge that the protagonist had at the time, but it is presented through use of the verb of speaking as if the speaker is still under the same impression, i.e., that the animals are the dogs from his house. The lack of pronominal references other than to the first person of the speaker presents a difficulty as to whether this is the voice of the principal or the voice of the addressing self. Likewise, it is not completely clear from the Voice-Aspect-Polarity suffix on the verb whether this utterance is intended to be understood as coming from the principal or the addressing self. The verbal suffix *-ey* is a phonological variant of the verbal suffix *-ay* that I presented in Example 3 (*mbi'ay-mi* 'I am saying'); it depicts the action as continuing rather than as accomplished. Moreover, the use of the continuative was one of the grammatical cues that indexed the voice of the addressing self and the interaction frame in that example. On the other hand, it is possible to argue that the utterance in Example 5 was produced by the principal as background information in preparation for the main action of the scene. However, the verb of speech in Example 2 indicates that background information involving continuing action must include the form and meaning of secondary focus, i.e., the suffix *-atay* (Example 2, line

79), though more examples of a similar form by other narrators would better support this argument.

Though a reported state of knowledge blurs the distinction between voices and frames, it is also an important contextualization cue. In the interactive context of the storytelling, the audience knows that the story is told as an event of the past as well as the fact that a state of knowledge described for a character in the story has most likely changed between the time of the events and the present moment of the narration. Even so, in order to guide the audience through the story events, in the role of the principal, the narrator reports the speech or thoughts of the protagonist, an earlier form of his own 'self.' In the case of Example 5, the narrator feigns ignorance of the true identity of the two animals that are following him. The discrepancy between what he knew "then", in his performance role of principal, and what he knows "now," as the addressing self who is immediately and physically accessible to the audience is crucial because it is a resource for the representation of an ideal self. This discrepancy in knowledge reveals two "selves" of the narrator: one that is in the past, displayed before the audience in the role of the principal, and the other that is in the present as the addressing self.

It becomes clear by the end of the story that the mistaken identification of the hyenas by the protagonist is a key piece of information. It was because the protagonist thought the hyenas were his dogs that he called to them, an action that could have provoked them to attack him. It also becomes clear that the addressing self of the speaker knows now what he did not know then, and that the use of a verb marked as continuative was a means to re-enact or recontextualize the story material for the audience. The frame in which story events are most fully recontextualized is the "past as present" frame of the story world. The performance role most closely associated with this frame is the animator, to which this discussion now turns.

2.5. The "past as present" frame of the story world and the role of the animator

The performance role most deeply embedded in the narrative space is the animator. Goffman describes the animator as "a fully situated transmitting machine" (1974: 520). This is the performance role in which past events are replayed by the narrator as present events. The narrator animates story characters through physically acting out the words. Shifts in voice quality, pitch and speech tempo are some contextualization cues for a past that is being dramatized in the present by the animator. The exact nature of the shifts in voice quality or pitch, though, depends upon the story character that is being recontextualized, as the physical characteristics of the voice index the character. In this way, the animator brings to life or recontextualizes parts of the story. In the following example, the narrator reports a conversation between a Fulbe herder (an earlier 'self' of the speaker) and the owner of a field in which the herder's cows are grazing. As he does so, he gradually begins to act out the parts of the two characters, moving from the performance role of the principal to that of the animator.

(6) Tassa-Fields

12 ... sey '
 next
 'Then,'

- 13 ...(78) jawmu ngesa wi'i na'i am,
owner.CL field.CL say.VAP cow.PL 1SG:POSS
'the owner of the field called to my cows,'
- 14 dume a nyaami gawri .
what.INTERR 2SG eat.VAP millet.CL
"Why did you eat (my) millet?"
- 15 ...(36) (hx) ... mbi'i-mi a'a min geene tan nyaami .
say.VAP-1SG no 1PL grass.CL only eat.VAP
'I said, "No we just ate grass."'
- 16 ...(1.36) a'a a nyaami gawri.
no 2SG eat.VAP millet.CL
"No, you ate millet."
- 17 <VOX> a'a mi nyaamaay <VOX>.
no 1SG eat.NEG
"No I didn't eat (it)."
- 18 ...(92) o laggi <PITCH>tan<PITCH> .
3SG drive.VAP only
'He drove me out just like that!'

In lines 12 to 15 the principal begins a report of a confrontation between himself as a herder boy and the owner of a field in which his cows were grazing. At the beginning of the disagreement, he uses the verb of speaking for himself as protagonist and for the field owner: *wi'i* 'he said' (line 13) and *mbi'i-mi* 'I said' (line 15), both marked with a VAP suffix indicating a completed punctiliar action. However, by line 16 the principal has given way to the animator: clauses with "I said" and "he said" no longer frame the utterances of the story characters and by line 17 the animator is fully present as recognized through the shift in voice quality (transcribed <VOX>). Then the principal returns to describe what happened next (line 18), adding affective commentary through the exaggerated high pitch of the adverb *tan*. In this example, two instances of the verb of speaking (line 13 and 15) were cues for a dramatized frame so that the following clauses could be interpreted as being attributed to different speakers without any grammatical marking designating them in this way. Besnier reports this for reported conversation on Nukulaelae Atoll as well (1993: 169).

The minimal person references marked on the verb of speaking in lines 13 and 15 in Example 6 stand in contrast to the pronominal markings on the verb used by a different narrator whose recontextualization of an incident blurs the distinction between principal and animator. This, again, is the story of how the protagonist stood up to thieves who had attempted to rob the house he was guarding. In the line below, the protagonist is discussing the situation with another character in the story.

(7) Maradi-Thieves

- 59 <VOX2>mbi'i- moo-mi ʒe ʒuri en duudgo ʒe nanngey en<VOX2>
say.VAP-3SG-1SG 3PL exceed 1PL be.many.VAP 3PL catch.VAP 1PL
'I said to him, "They are many more (than) we (are), they'll catch us."'

Though the voice of the principal seems evident in explicit marking of the speaker and hearer, i.e., "I said to him," the voice quality over the utterance indexes the voice of the animator. This example demonstrates the grammatical possibility of marking the verb with pronominal suffixes indicating speakers and hearers. The quotative verb *mbi'i* is conjugated for first person and also carries the third person singular suffix *moo* followed by the first person singular suffix *mi*. However, narrators do not choose the full grammatical marking of the speaker and the hearer in the representation of quoted speech very frequently. Of the 45 instances of verbs of speaking in my data from twelve narrators, only four instances (from four different narrators) use pronominal suffixes indicating both speaker(s) and hearer(s). Thus, voice quality appears in these data to be preferred over grammatical marking as a contextualization cue for the animator.

As previously mentioned, the animator is the most deeply embedded in the story-world of the three performance roles of principal, addressing self and animator; yet, this role is also the most physically present in terms of the auditory (and visual) stimuli presented to the audience. Represented speech in the form of recontextualized utterances dramatizes and provides vividness to a narrative. Directly presented events are "livelier" than indirectly presented events (Goffman 1974: 554). However, warns Bres, it would be a mistake to believe that recontextualized speech always (or ever) exactly and factually re-creates the exact words and intonation of the original utterance (1996: 46; cf. Tannen 1993). From this, it follows that direct quotation is not necessarily evidence that an event or spoken interchange actually occurred; rather, it creates the narrative as present reality for the audience (Bres 1996: 50-53).

All first person references in Examples 1 through 7 are to the narrator's self, but to which self and which performance role? There seems to be a gradation in terms of knowledge and lived experiences that differentiate the principal illustrated in Example 1 who is firmly embedded in the story-world from the principal of Example 5 who balances on the boundary between the principal and the addressing self. The report of an apparently continuing state of knowledge "I am/was thinking" brings the principal from the narration towards a recontextualization that plays the "then" story-world frame as the "now." In Example 3, the addressing self reminds the audience of a previously reported fact before slipping back over the threshold of the story-world frame as the principal. More than one "self" of the speaker, then, is implicated in this complex shifting of performance roles and frames.

Goffman (1959) called this juxtaposition of "selves" at different times and places "role distance." I argue that for these data it may be more aptly identified as the construction of a time-line of personal evolution. The self described by the principal in Example 5 and the addressing self of the same narrative are not truly the same in terms of knowledge, lived experience, and states of mind. Haviland, Bres and others have referred to this type of phenomenon as a kind of deixis that entails and creates space within the discourse (Bres 1996; Haviland 1996; Levinson 1988). It is the indexing of the discourse space that enables a differentiation of performance roles and selves. Furthermore, in all of the examples above, the speaker represents more than one self to his audience. Earlier selves have less well-developed experiential knowledge of the Fulbe system of cultural ideology, *pulaaku*, than more current selves; earlier selves are also further away in time and space than the most current self who is present in the form of the addressing self. Crucially for the research context in which these narratives were

elicited, the self most present to foreign researchers, the addressing self, is represented as an expert example of practiced *pulaaku*.

The previous discussion was primarily concerned with illustrating three frames and three performance roles in the discourse space that are used by the Fulfulde speakers who provided the data. I turn now to an examination of the cumulative effect of the narrators' shifts between performance roles and frames: the construction of an evolutionary time-line. By presenting various depictions of themselves and by distributing praise and blame over three performance roles situated in time and space, the narrators construct their current selves as ideal representatives of Fulbe cultural ideologies.

3. Distributed responsibility and self-representation

I have demonstrated that the speaker has at his disposal more than one persona that can be taken up and displayed before an audience through performance roles. Hill and Zepeda (1993) describe how represented speech can effectively distribute responsibility over a number of voices within discourse, and, in doing so, construct a favorable representation of the speaker. According to the authors, this is common practice in conversational narrative. Their claim is born out in these data: responsibility for positive outcomes tends to be attributed to a performance role that allows the speaker to guard the appearance of culturally ideal modesty, while responsibility for negative events is carefully distributed so that no one self receives all of the blame. Represented speech, then, is an important contextualization cue for complex shifts between frames and performance roles that distribute responsibility for praise and blame. Cumulatively, this distribution of responsibility is a means to represent an ideal self.

Example 6 (reproduced below) provided a pertinent illustration of a narrator who addresses an important question for interethnic relations in West African society: when Fulbe cows cause damage in the fields of farmers from other ethnic groups, whose fault is it? Generally sedentary farmers of various ethnic groups are given or assigned land in and around their villages. Fulbe herders, on the other hand, lead their cows from place to place in a seasonal pattern in order to find food and water for their cattle. Sedentary farmers do not take kindly to cows destroying their crops; Fulbe herders and cattle owners resent the fact that sedentary farmers deny them access to wells and grazing land. Conflicting perspectives often result in tensions and even violent confrontations between the two groups.

The story of the Fulbe cows in the farmer's millet field is a risky story to tell because the researcher audience may side with the sedentary farmer in the story against the narrator in his younger days as a boy herding his cows. On the other hand, it provides the narrator with the perfect illustration of two points that authenticate his group membership and depict him as an exemplary practitioner of Fulbe cultural ideologies. First, the protagonist's ignorance of farming and inability to identify cultivated plants definitely excludes him from membership in a sedentary non-Fulbe group. Second, this same ignorance coupled with the care he takes for his cows, and his avoidance of blaming them for damage to a farmer's fields position him as a culturally ideal member of Fulbe society.

In this example, the young protagonist has spotted a place where there are luscious green plants and guides his cows to that area to graze. No sooner has he done

this than the farmer, in whose millet field the cows are grazing, confronts him and asks why the cows are eating his crop. The protagonist, ever ignorant of the identity of the plants, denies any wrongdoing in asserting that his cows are only eating grass. But the farmer persists and eventually drives the herder and his cows out of the field. In depicting this interaction, the narrator skillfully uses multiple performance roles cued through represented speech to mitigate the responsibility of his cows and of himself.

(6) Tassa-Fields

12 ... sey ',
next
'Then,'

13 ...(.78) jawmu ngesa wi'i na'i am,
owner.CL field.CL say.VAP cow.PL 1SG:POSS
'the owner of the field called to my cows,'

14 dume a nyaami gawri .
what.INTERR 2SG eat.VAP millet.CL
"Why did you eat (my) millet?"

15 ...(.36) (hx) ... mbi'i-mi a'a min geene tan nyaami .
say.VAP-1SG no 1PL grass.CL only eat.VAP
'I said, "No we just ate grass."'

16 ...(.1.36) a'a a nyaami gawri.
no 2SG eat.VAP millet.CL
"No, you ate millet."

17 <VOX> a'a mi nyaamaay <VOX>.
no 1SG eat.NEG
"No I didn't eat (it)."

18 ...(.92) o laggi <PITCH>tan<PITCH> .
3SG drive.VAP only
'He drove me out just like that!'

In line 13 the principal depicts the farmer as addressing the cows rather than the story protagonist who is watching over them. It is worth noting here that though this is a lively animation of an event from the speaker's past, it is nevertheless a re-creation and re-interpretation that represents the speaker deliberately according to Fulbe cultural ideologies. Because the speaker chooses to have the farmer address the cows, blame is placed first on the cows for eating the farmer's millet. In line 15, the protagonist replies on behalf of the cows. The quotative *mbi'imi* 'I said' is marked with the 1st person singular pronoun, but in the representation of the spoken words, the principal uses the 1st person plural pronoun *min*. The use of 'we' thus indicts the protagonist as well as the cows, even though the audience could be expected to know that it was the cows and not the protagonist who were grazing. And this is what the animator asserts in line 17: he wasn't eating (*geene* 'grass' as the unspecified object of the verb is found in line 15). In addition, as concerns the placement of blame on the protagonist or on the cows, *nai* 'cows' in line 13 is plural, yet the pronoun in the represented speech of the farmer in

lines 14 and 16 is singular, most likely addressed to the protagonist. The sleight of hand performed by the narrator in this example effectively diffuses blame for the millet-eating incident over the cows, the protagonist, the animator, the principal and the farmer. The responsibility for the action is effectively blurred by the distribution.

It is important that blame for cows in the farmer's millet be circumvented. Fulbe culture holds cows in high esteem: they are carefully watched over, personally named, the source of life and wealth for those living in a climate and situations that can be harsh and unforgiving. On the other hand, the avoidance of shame, which may result in ostracism from the group, is an essential cultural element for the Fulbe (cf. Bâ 1991; Dupire 1962; Hama 1968; Labatut 1973; Nelson 1981; Stenning 1959). In recounting this incident from his personal life before an audience, the narrator runs the risk that the non-Fulbe audience will side with the farmer, and blame him and/or his cows, neither of which are desired outcomes according to Fulbe cultural ideologies. The distribution of responsibility for the incident over multiple selves and story characters is the narrator's solution to this possibility. Crucially, the performance roles that share blame in the incident are those embedded in the story-world frame, i.e., the narrator and the animator; they are self-representations of the speaker that are removed in time and space from the immediate interaction between the addressing self and his audience.

In contrast to Example 6, the next example involves a more positive attribution of responsibility and a different deployment of performance roles relative to the represented self. In the following example, the story protagonist has returned safely home after inadvertently provoking hyenas, which he thought were the family watchdogs, by calling to them. Upon arrival at home, he sees the family dogs and realizes his mistake of calling to the hyenas as if they were the dogs, an act which placed him in danger of being attacked. An older man in the family compound has apparently seen the hyenas and credits the narrator with possessing some sort of death-defying personal quality. As mentioned above, Fulbe culture places value on modesty. Thus, in order to represent himself in a culturally appropriate way, the narrator must avoid the appearance of self-aggrandizement or conceit even as he recounts his narrow escape.

(8) Mayahi-Identity

43 mi miin mi mbi'ey ðum kutiiju wuro amin
 1SG 1SG:EMPH 1SG say.VAP PRN dog.PL house.CL 1PL:POSS
 'Me, I thought it was our dogs from our house.'

44 emi nodda emi wi'a ðum kutiiju wuro amin
 be.VAP call.VAP be.VAP say.VAP PRN dog.PL house 1PL:POSS
 'I called. I thought it was our dogs from our house.'

45 kay durwa kay ashe ðum maleho.
 EXCL NAM EXCL NAM PRN hyena.PL
 "'Hey Durwa! Hey Ashe!" They were hyenas.'

46 daga njottimi wuro nji'imi kutiiji mbi'imi
 after arrive.VAP.1SG house.CL see.VAP.1SG dog.PL say.VAP.1SG
 'When I reached home, I saw our dogs, I said.'

- 47 a'a ðu'um hannde ðum ðume tokkoymi
 EXCL PRN today.CL PRN PRN.INTERR follow.EXT.VAP.1SG
 "Uh oh, what was following me today?"
- 48 raa kuttiji amin wuro nden nan dagga
 look.VAP dog.PL 1PL:POSS house.CL then PART wild.animal.CL
 "Here are our dogs at home! Then it was a wild animal."
- 49 ndottijo wi'i yo woy waane ðum ðume tokkoymaa
 elder.CL say.VAP EXCL exist.VAP PRN PRN.INTERR follow.EXT.VAP.2SG
 'The elder said, "Wow, what was it that followed you?"
- 50 ðum moy warti jo'oni ðum miin.
 PRN who come.EXT.VAP now PRN 1SG:EMPH
 "Was it you who came back now?" "It was really me."
- 51 moy warti jo'oni ðum miin.
 who come.EXT.VAP now PRN 1SG:EMPH
 "Who came back now?" "It was really me."
- 52 waane boo sey a wafi duuniyaaru.
 resemble.VAP also then 2SG make.VAP people.CL
 "Then you may not be like everybody else."
- 53 rani a woodi yawancin rai tun da
 death.CL 2SG exist.VAP pass.over.EXT.VAP.2SG heart<HA> there PART
 "Death has passed you over, you are still alive."

In lines 43 and 44, the principal reports his judgment about the identity of two animals that were following him through the bush. In line 45, the animator is briefly triggered to imitate how the dogs were called by name: "Hey Durwa! Hey Ashe!" The principal returns to provide the information for the audience that the animals were actually hyenas, not dogs – a mistake on the part of the protagonist that could have been physically harmful to him had the hyenas attacked. Though the responsibility for this mistake has been distributed over both the principal and animator roles, the past self of the speaker has taken the blame for the case of mistaken identity. The animator, who is more deeply embedded in the story frame, represents only the past self of the narrator in enacting the error. The principal, on the other hand, represents both the past self and a more present self who is less deeply embedded in the story frame and less distant in time and space from the audience, as well as being the one who identifies the error. Thus, responsibility for the error falls most heavily on the past self of the narrator, which is represented by two performance roles: the principal and the animator.

This pattern continues in lines 46-48: the principal narrates and the animator enacts the words of the protagonist as he realizes his mistake and comes to the conclusion that the principal has already revealed for the audience in line 45. The animator, then, takes a larger share of blame for the mistake, as that performance role provides the voice calling to the hyenas and also belatedly realizes that the protagonist had been followed by wild animals.

At this point, a second human story character intervenes: another voice embodying a different point of view, but which is also enacted by the animator. In

animating this interaction, the narrator uses only one instance of a verb of speaking (line 49) followed by clauses enacted by the animator, but which, in order to be coherent, must be interpreted as alternately the voice of the older man and of the protagonist who is an earlier self of the narrator. In lines 50 and 51, the older man establishes that it was truly the protagonist who had just returned to the family compound, i.e., a positive identification of the past self of the narrator. The animator then continues with the voice of the older man, pronouncing a positive evaluation of the extraordinary character of the protagonist: the past self of the narrator is not like everyone else, but has escaped death. In this attribution of positive evaluation, only the animator is present as a performance role. Even so, the narrator could not be accused of boasting because the animator was enacting a character that was not one of the selves of the narrator. Labov (1972) noted the influence of evaluation embedded in narrative and represented as the evaluation of a character that is not a past self of the speaker. In this case, the speaker has used the voice of another character embedded in the story world for the positive evaluation of an action of his past 'self,' a move that at once strengthens the evaluation and allows the speaker to avoid the appearance of self-conceit rather than the ideologically correct modesty.

In the recounting of events that place blame on one of the narrator's selves, multiple performance roles and multiple characters are deployed so as to distribute responsibility for a negative event, i.e., one that would depict the speaker as a less-than-ideal Fulbe. However, when a positive evaluation is made, Example 8 shows only a single performance role involved, and a single character that is significantly not a representation of the narrator. In the latter case, the positive evaluation is strengthened through its presentation by a deeply embedded story character. At the same time, the narrator still maintains a self-representation of modesty that is ideologically appropriate.

The multiplicity of performance roles and voices, then, enables each narrator to distribute responsibility for error over more than one representation of himself, or to praise himself as an extraordinary person through the voice of another character in the narrative. This practice of distributing praise and blame is crucial to the representation of the speakers as examples of culturally ideal knowledge and practice.

4. Conclusion

In this brief exploration of how the self is displayed in personal narrative through multiple performance roles and frames, as well as the cumulative result of distribution of praise and blame across these roles and frames, I discussed the roles of the principal, the addressing self and the animator as they are contextualized through represented speech in Fulfulde. I demonstrated how the grammatical forms of represented speech, including aspectual marking on the verb, pronominal references and the description of states of knowledge provide cues to identify the performance role and frame at a given point in the story-telling event. In addition, I considered how the use of multiple performance roles distributes responsibility for ignorance or error across multiple depictions of the narrator's self as well as using the voice of another to assign praise in order to achieve a culturally ideal self-representation. Though each of the narrators told unique personal stories to the team of researchers, each of the stories represented selves that are coherently connected in "a cultural matrix of meanings, beliefs, and normative practices" (Schiffrin 1996: 170).

The importance of time depth to the culturally ideal self-representation of the narrator is a noteworthy contribution to the theoretical concepts of role distance and spatial deixis indexed in narrative speech events. Examples discussed in this paper involved the depiction of a past self who was ignorant of the bush (Example 1), or of the identity of an animal (Examples 5 and 8), contrasted with a depiction of a more recent or present self who is no longer ignorant. Besides the linear chronological organization of most of these narratives, time depth affects the construction of a culturally ideal self in terms of dynamic growth that results in a current self very much aligned with cultural ideologies. As a metalinguistic device, represented speech and its role as an index for performance frames and roles is crucial to these depictions of personal evolution through time, and ultimately for representing the ideal self.

Transcription symbols

Transcription uses orthographic symbols according to the 1968 Bamako conventions for Fulfulde varieties. These include “hooked” letters for ingressive stops such as *ɓ* and *ɗ*. Other symbols are as follows:

.	short pause of 10 milliseconds or less (when at beginning of transcription line)
..	short pause of 20 milliseconds or less
...	short pause of 30 milliseconds or less
(.43)	time in seconds of pause, breath intake or lip-smack
,	continuing intonation contour
.	final intonation contour (when at end of transcription line)
(hx)	breath intake
(mx)	noise of lips coming together with light ingression
<PITCH>	exaggerated pitch
<VOX>	voice quality
<VOX2>	second voice quality that signals a second animated figure

Abbreviations used in glosses

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
CL	noun class (suffix)
EMPH	emphatic, insistence
EXCL	exclamatory expression
EXT	verbal extension
<HA>	Hausa (indicates use of Hausa lexical item in an otherwise Fulfulde phrase)
INDIR	indirect
INTERR	interrogative
NAM	personal name (proper noun)
PART	particle
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRN	pronoun
SG	singular
VAP	voice-aspect-polarity

References

- Bâ, Amadou Hampâté (1991) *Amkoullel l'enfant peul: Mémoires*. Paris: Actes Sud.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail M. (1981) *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (trans.). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Bauman, Richard (1993) Disclaimers of performance. In Jane H. Hill and Judith T. Irvine (eds.), *Responsibility and evidence in oral discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 182-196.
- Bauman, Richard, and Charles L. Briggs (1990) Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. *Annual review of anthropology* 19: 59-88.
- Bell, Allan (1984) Language style as audience design. *Language in society* 13.2: 145-204.
- Besnier, Niko (1993) Reported speech and affect on Nukulaelae Atoll. In Jane H. Hill and Judith T. Irvine (eds.), *Responsibility and evidence in oral discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 161-181.
- Bres, Jacques (1993) *Récit oral et production d'identité sociale*. Montpellier: Groupe de recherche en linguistique praxématique, Université Paul-Valéry.
- Bres, Jacques (1996) Aspects de l'interaction rapportée dans le récit oral conversationnel. *Cahiers du français contemporain* 3: 45-59.
- Briggs, Charles L., and Richard Bauman (1992) Genre, intertextuality, and social power. *Journal of linguistic anthropology* 2.2: 131-172.
- Bucholtz, Mary (1999) "Why be normal?": Language and identity practices in a community of nerd girls. *Language in society* 28: 203-223.
- Casad, Eugene (1974) *Dialect intelligibility testing*. Norman, OK: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Dupire, Marguerite (1962) *Peuls nomades. Étude descriptive des Wodaaabe du sahel nigérien*. Paris: Institut d'ethnologie.
- Goffman, Erving (1959) *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, NJ: Doubleday Anchor Books.
- Goffman, Erving (1974) *Frame analysis*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.
- Goffman, Erving (1981) *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hama, Boubou (1968) *Contribution à la connaissance de l'histoire des peuls*. Niamey, Niger: Publication de la République du Niger.
- Hanks, William F. (1993) Metalanguage and pragmatics of deixis. In John A. Lucy (ed.), *Reflexive language: Reported speech and metapragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 127-157.
- Hanks, William F. (1996) Exorcism and the description of participant roles. In Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban (eds.), *Natural histories of discourse*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 160-200.

Harrison, Annette R. (2004) The use of proper nouns as an index of group identity in Fulfulde personal narratives. M.A. Thesis. University of California, Santa Barbara.

Harrison, Annette R. (2005) Naturalness in "unnatural" discourse: Observations from elicited west African personal narratives. *Crossroads: Proceedings from the conference of language, interaction and culture* 6: 29-58.

Harrison, Annette R., Byron L. Harrison, Michael J. Rueck, and Kendall Isaac (to appear) *A Study of Fulfulde varieties of Eastern Niger: Dialect intelligibility and language attitudes*. SIL electronic survey reports.

Harrison, Annette R., and Irene Tucker (2003) Fulfulde language family report. *SIL electronic survey reports*.

Haviland, John B. (1996) Projections, transpositions, and relativity. In John J. Gumperz and Stephen C. Levinson (eds.), *Rethinking linguistic relativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 271-323.

Hill, Jane H., and Ofelia Zepeda (1993) Mrs. Patricio's trouble: The distribution of responsibility in an account of personal experience. In Jane H. Hill and Judith T. Irvine (eds.), *Responsibility and evidence in oral discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 197-225.

Irvine, Judith T. (1990) Registering affect: Heteroglossia in the linguistic expression of emotion. In Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod (eds.), *Language and the politics of emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 126-161.

Irvine, Judith T. (1996) Shadow conversations: The indeterminacy of participant roles. In Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban (eds.), *Natural histories of discourse*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 131-159.

Irvine, Judith T. (2001) "Style" as distinctiveness: the culture and ideology of linguistic differentiation. In Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford (eds.), *Style and sociolinguistic variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 21-43.

Kari, Ethelbert E. (2003) Serial verb constructions in Degema, Nigeria. *African study monographs* 24.4: 271-289.

Labatut, Roger (1973) *Le parler d'un groupe de peuls nomades*. Paris: SELAF.

Labov, William (1972) The transformation of experience in narrative syntax. In *Language in the inner city*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 354-399.

Levinson, Stephen C. (1988) Putting linguistics on a proper footing: Explorations in Goffman's concepts of participation. In Paul Drew and Andrew Wootton (eds.), *Erving Goffman: Exploring the interaction order*. Oxford: Polity Press, pp. 161-227.

Longacre, Robert E. (1983) *The grammar of discourse*. New York: Plenum Press.

Lucy, John A. (ed.) (1993) *Reflexive language: Reported speech and metapragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McIntosh, Mary (1984) *Fulfulde syntax and verbal morphology*. Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul in association with University of Port Harcourt Press.

Nelson, Ronald W. (1981) Fulfulde cultural elements as contact points for the Gospel. Pasadena, CA: Fuller School of World Mission. M.A. Thesis.

Nelson, Ronald W. (2001) Une esquisse de grammaire foulfouldé. Ms.

- Ochs, Elinor, and Lisa Capps (1996) Narrating the self. *Annual review of anthropology* 25: 19-43.
- Oropeza-Escobar, Minerva (2002) Participant roles and storytelling: Description of a speech event in a rural community in eastern Mexico. Ms.
- Sacks, Harvey (1986) Some considerations of a story told in ordinary conversation. *Poetics* 15.1: 127-138.
- Schiffrin, Deborah (1993) Speaking for another in sociolinguistic interviews: Alignments, identities, and frames. In Deborah Tannen (ed.), *Framing in discourse*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 231-263.
- Schiffrin, Deborah (1996) Narrative as self-portrait: Sociolinguistic constructions of identity. *Language in society* 25: 167-203.
- Scollon, Ron, and Suzanne B.K. Scollon (1981) The bush consciousness and oral narrative discourse. In *Narrative, literacy and face in interethnic communication*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, pp. 99-127.
- Silverstein, Michael (1993) Metapragmatic discourse and metapragmatic function. In John A. Lucy (ed.), *Reflexive language: Reported speech and metapragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 33-58.
- Silverstein, Michael, and Greg Urban (eds.) (1996) *Natural histories of discourse*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Stenning, Derrick J. (1959) *Savannah nomads*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Tannen, Deborah (1979) What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations. In Roy O. Freedle (ed.), *New directions in discourse processing*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, pp. 137-181.
- Tannen, Deborah (1993) *Framing in discourse*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Williamson, Kay (1989) The Niger-Congo overview. In John Bendor-Samuel (ed.), *The Niger-Congo languages*. Lanham: University Press of America, pp. 3-45.

ANNETTE R. HARRISON is the Coordinator for Sociolinguistic Research and Academic Studies for SIL's Central Africa Group. She has conducted sociolinguistic research in Burkina Faso, the Republic of Niger, the Republic of Congo, and the Central African Republic, and regularly teaches linguistic courses at SIL's partner institutions in the United States, Canada and Central African Republic. Dr. Harrison's research interests include the relationship between grammar and social organization, as well as language and identity, language use in multilingual communities, the study of under-described languages, and research methodologies and cross-cultural ethical relationships between researchers and their subjects.
Address: SIL-Central Africa Group, SIL/ACATBA, B.P. 1990, Bangui, République Centrafricaine.
E-mail: annette_harrison@sil.org