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The Use of Proper Nouns as an Index of Group Identity
in Fulfulde Personal Narratives

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by

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ABSTRACT

There is a recognizable tension in the discipline of linguistics between a focus on the referential use of language and its extra-propositional symbolic nature (Briggs 1986, Silverstein 1977). Proper nouns have been included in studies on reference and referent tracking in narrative and in conversation (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976; Longacre 1983; Polanyi 1985; Scollon and Scollon 1981). However, as scholars such as Basso (1984, 1986) and Pagliai (2000) have demonstrated, proper nouns are more than referential; they are also resources for indexing shared knowledge, cultural practices and identities.

Using as my data a corpus of Fulfulde narratives which were experimentally elicited, I argue that the use of proper nouns in these narratives is indexical of the relationship between the narrator and the researcher. The concept of the Community of Practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992) is useful in deciphering how much shared knowledge and practice the narrator and researcher may have in common, while the concept of Pathways of Identifiability (Du Bois and Thompson 1991) allows an analysis of how the participants in the context of the narration may be identifying the referents.

The use of most of the proper nouns is consistent with a model of discourse between interlocutors who hold only very general types of knowledge in common. The Pathways of Identifiability chosen by the narrators included Situation, Anchored, Mention, and Repair. These Pathways are

directly linked to the discourse itself and the circumstances surrounding it. Local, Areal and Conventional Frames chosen as Pathways include knowledge which can be shared by people who happen to be in the same geographic areas and wider society, but may not belong to the same Communities of Practice. The Pathways which the narrators seem to have chosen indicate that their assessment of the audience's identity was as those who did not share membership in the same specific Community of Practice.

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Min yetti korey.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Language and identity

Linguists have long acknowledged the complex relationship between language and the speaker as an individual and simultaneously as a member of a group. Sapir proposed the idea of a relationship between language and personality in his 1927 article “Speech as a Personality Trait.” Decades later, scholars from a variety of disciplinary perspectives contributed to the study of language and sociocultural identity as part of the new discipline of sociolinguistics (cf. Giles and Powesland 1975, Gumperz 1982, Hymes 1974, Labov 1972a, Trudgill 1974). These studies suggest that linguistic features are signals of extra-propositional, sociocultural meaning, and that language use itself is imbued with symbolic meaning.

From the beginning of sociolinguistic research, scholars noted that features of speech are subject to evaluation by others (Giles & Powesland 1975). This gave rise to an interest in language use as part of individual and group identities. Giles and Johnson (1987) noted that humans categorize the social world, and situate themselves within the categories they create. A constellation of salient categories makes up self-identity with respect to group identity, and with respect to the larger society of groups. Not all membership categories will be equally salient in every situation, and this dynamic

relationship of categories and identities allows the possibility for different evaluations with respect to identity according to situational context.

Language is often perceived as a salient category of group identification by interactants and researchers. The functional mechanism which establishes an association between language and salient categories of identity (or other elements tied to the person and/or the group) is called indexicality (Silverstein 1977, Ochs 1992).

The present study is concerned with the indexical function of proper nouns in elicited personal narratives in Fulfulde, a language of West Africa. Personal names and place names are of interest in these narratives because of their interactional work as indexes of group membership status for the Fulfulde-speaking narrators and the expatriate researchers who elicited the narratives. Kroskrity's comment about interaction between relative strangers is especially appropriate in studying this situation.

"Under circumstances where little is known about the other's biographical identity, interactants must provide in the here-and-now the communicative symbols by which they will be classified and assessed as persons." (Kroskrity 2001:107)

The narrators and the researchers in many of the elicitation sessions in which the narratives were recorded had only recently met, and thus had very little, if any, knowledge about each other's biographical identity. Evidence that the narrators were negotiating individual and group identities can be found in

the recorded interactions, (though as I will explain below, factors relating to the research paradigm appear to have prevented the researchers from recognizing these negotiations at the time). This evidence and accompanying ethnographic observations supports what others have claimed before: language is an ubiquitous resource for the representation and construction of personal, cultural and social identities.

1.2. The organization of the thesis

In the rest of Section 1 I present a review of previous literature on four concepts that are central to this thesis: indexicality, the social symbolism of place names, culture, and the Community of Practice. Then I describe my research questions with regard to personal narratives in Fulfulde, the language of the Fulɓe of West Africa.

After briefly describing the Fulɓe and their language, I describe the data used in this study: a corpus of thirteen personal narratives. I focus especially on how the narratives were elicited, and how the methodological focus of the researchers resulted in some interesting linguistic dilemmas for the Fulɓe consultants in this special type of interactional situation.

In the third section of this thesis, I present a description and analysis of my data, and demonstrate how the answers to my research questions are related to referential identifiability and the indexical value of proper nouns with regard to group membership. The use of proper nouns in the majority of the narratives

can be described as indexical to the in-group and out-group membership statuses of the Fulɓe speaker and expatriate researcher in these interactions.

My conclusion reiterates the argument of the thesis, and suggests some implications for the use of previously unconsidered grammatical elements as resources for social practice and identity work in interaction.

I turn now to a discussion of the concepts of indexicality, the social symbolism of place names, culture, and the Community of Practice.

1.3. Indexicality

Indexicality is an interactional pragmatic device by which socialized, enculturated presuppositions about norms (e.g. of identity) are associated with linguistic features and their use within a community (Silverstein 1977, Ochs 1992). It involves tacit understandings between speakers, and is therefore a vital part of communicative competence (Hymes 1974). Communicative competence involves not only knowledge of the phonology, morphology, lexicon and grammatical structure of the language, but how features of the language may be manipulated by the individual and evaluated by other speakers. The reflection and construction of an identity based on a given language requires specific knowledge about the people who speak it.

Indexicality is an important concept for the present study because my data demonstrate that the Fulɓe narrators are indexing the difference in group

membership between themselves and the expatriate researchers through the use of place names and personal names in their narratives. These proper nouns are imbued with symbolic social meaning because of the way the narrators use them.

1.3.1. Is indexing agentive?

Whether the indexing of identity is purposeful and agentive on the speaker's part, or the result of socialization and subconscious linguistic processing is a point of disagreement that is related to the perspective of the present study. Studies which concentrate on the representation and analysis of identity in terms of linguistic features which index that identity often focus on interpretations made by recipients in the interaction, or other resultant descriptions of indexicality. Thus, the motives and purposes of the speakers themselves are not specifically included in the study, e.g. Bosch 2000, Ochs 1992. On the other hand, studies which focus on the speaker's behavior in constructing a certain identity may downplay the recipient's evaluation while focusing on the emergent identity of the speaker, e.g. Barrett 1999, Irvine 1990, Kamwangamalu 2001. Kroskrity calls this "language use as a social action" (2000:347) (following Silverstein 1977).

In the case of this corpus of Fulfulde narratives, it is not possible to know what the role of speaker agency may have been at the time of the elicitation. Yet an experimental elicitation session is still an interaction

between linguistically and socially complex individuals, with all that that entails for the indexical use of language. Significantly, language use is designed for its context, which includes the identities of the participants in the interaction.

I turn now to a review of literature concerning the sociocultural symbolism of place names.

1.4. Place names

Place names have been interesting to linguists historically for what they reveal about the sound inventory and sound system of the language based on the orthography. Toponymy or the study of place names has been useful in tracing the historical path of sound change and semantic shift, as place names have been found to conserve features of earlier forms of the language (e.g. Richter 1968 [1907] for the development of French). Though such studies include reference to social and cultural phenomena, they are generally not concerned with the social and indexical function of the place name in discourse. For example, in his 1990 article, Hamman Tukur Sa'ad argues that the process of sedentarization of nomadic Fulɓe in the Adamawa¹ is reflected in the construction of place names. He claims that names which reflect a close association with nature such as *Mayo Bani* 'the river of wild buffaloes' or

¹ Adamawa is the historical name for a region that encompasses parts of eastern Nigeria and Cameroon.

Hosere Daneje ‘hill of the white trees’ (1990:227, 228) index an era when the Fulɓe were more fully nomadic than place names such as *Wuro Jam* ‘the town of peace’ or *Jalingo Maiha* ‘the town which conquered Maiha’ which refer to more anthro-centric states or events (1990:246, 245).

A place name from my data which reflects the sedentarization of a Fulfulde-speaking group in Niger is *Tassa Ibrahim*, a permanent settlement (though some members of the group continue to migrate seasonally with the cattle). The name of the place is derived from the word *tassa* ‘bush taxi stop’, borrowed from Hausa, the language of the sedentary population in the area, and *Ibrahim*, the name of the most senior of the three men who established the settlement. This place name reflects a social reality, in line with Sa’ad’s claim.

While Sa’ad’s article argues for a social interpretation of place names, Basso demonstrates that place names among the Western Apache carry evocative cultural meaning as well (1984, 1988). He argues for the interrelationship between the physical environment, culture, meaning and language: “features of the local landscape...acquire value and significance by virtue of the ideational systems with which they are apprehended and construed” (1988:100). He argues that place names are not simply referential for a geographical location, but “symbolically constituted, socially transmitted, individually applied” (Ibid.). More crucially with regard to the findings in my study, Basso corroborates my own observations about identity: “as speakers

communicate about the landscape and the kinds of dealings they have with it, they may also communicate about themselves as social actors and the kinds of dealings they are having with one another” (1988:101).

As I will discuss below, though the Fulfulde narrators were instructed not to use place names or personal names in their narratives, the majority of them did so. I argue that in a world full of people and place names, it is difficult to eradicate them from discourse. Basso’s claim is even stronger. The Western Apache apparently consider that a description or at least a mention of geographical location in a story is a fundamental feature of effective storytelling: “Placeless events are an impossibility; everything that happens must happen somewhere. The location of an event is an integral aspect of the event itself...” (Basso 1988:101). Though my data do not support so strong a claim, the use of place names as "an integral aspect of the event" is a strong tendency in the Fulfulde narratives.

Place names in discourse are a special type of information; their lexico-semantic features and use are specific to a group of people. How the place name is used as a type of information is therefore of interest for its indexical function. In both his 1984 and 1988 articles, Basso demonstrates how the evocation of a place name indexes specific morals and lessons. The Western Apache interpret the mention of specific place names as “a recommendation to

recall ancestral wisdom and apply it directly to matters of pressing personal concern” (1984:113). Two examples from Basso's articles illustrate this point.

In his 1984 article, he demonstrates the use of place names as part of the socialization process through the teaching and enforcing of cultural norms of behavior based on associations between the place and an event from which a moral lesson was drawn. He describes how a young girl is remonstrated for her hairstyle which is deemed socially and culturally inappropriate by her grandmother. The remonstration consists merely of a single utterance: a place name which evokes the story of a young person who died as a result of deviant behavior at that particular place. The place name indexes the story, and the girl's sociocultural and communicative competence makes the connection between the story and her behavior (1984:26-27). The place name is the tool used by the grandmother to correct behavior.

A second example is a scene Basso describes in his 1988 article in which several participants attempt to console a bereaved woman during a conversation in Apache in which Basso was himself a participant. The interaction was incomprehensible to Basso, an outsider. Though he was able to identify each utterance in the conversation as a place name (e.g. "line of white rocks extends upward and out", "whiteness spreads out descending to water" (1988:105)), he did not recognize a meaningful relationship between the woman's grief, the list of place names, and the woman's response to her fellow

Apaches which indicated that she had been encouraged by the interaction. Later, he was able to ascertain that the mere mention of a place name communicated a rich set of associations to the recipient for the recipient's comfort. "Discourse," Basso states, "consists in a developing matrix of utterances and actions, bound together by a web of shared understandings pertinent to both, which serves as an expanding context for interpreting the meanings of utterances and actions" (1988:106). Place names are part of the "web of shared understandings" for members of a group.

Pagliai discovered the indexical use of place names and personal names in the northern Italian poetic duels called *Contrasti* (2000). In her article she stresses the pragmatic function of place names as the indexical and figurative bases for ever-changing, contrastive identities between dueling poets. Metonymic reference indexes a place as connected to personal identity, while metaphoric reference builds an image of the place. Metonymy and metaphor are resources through which an identity is performed: "Performance creates places, and places are continuously performed. In every word, in every encounter, we perform being Tuscan, and we perform our belonging to places that are at the same time the depository of us being Tuscan" (2000:50). The indexical value of place names has an important role in the linguistic resources used to build ethnic identity.

Though many scholars have studied issues of language and identity in Africa (cf. Adegbija 1994; Ansre 1971; Bamgbose 1991; Bosch 2000; Cook 1999; Goke-Pariola 1993; Irvine 1990, 2001; Kamwangamalu 2001; McLaughlin 1995; Niang 1995; Russell 1982; Showalter 1991), Bosch's study of ethnicity markers in Afrikaans is the only one I have encountered so far which mentions a connection between an aspect of identity and place names. She mentions that the choice of a name for a given place, as well as nicknames for people, are aspects of language use which reflect the ethnic identity of the speaker (2000:62).

In short, place names are more than simple references to physical locations; rather, they carry social and cultural import as linguistic building blocks for identity in a given situation. As such, they are also indexical of the membership status of the individual with reference to a group. Thus far I have discussed the concept of indexicality, and described the work of scholars who have been interested in how place is indexed in discourse. Basso asserts that this is a much-neglected area of research (1988:102). Therefore, one aim of this study is to further our understanding of the role of place names and personal names in speaker interactions with relation to speaker identity and association with a group or groups. As I will demonstrate, it is not only the mention of place names and the sociocultural meanings that are associated with them, but how the place names are used in discourse that indexes identity. The

third and fourth concepts which are central to this thesis are culture, and the Community of Practice.

1.5. Culture and the Community of Practice

The question of how to define a group of people relative to commonalities in language and knowledge about places and people finds answers in linguistic-anthropological perspectives on the definition of culture, as well as the theoretical concept of the Community of Practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992; Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999). There are many definitions of culture in the anthropological literature as described by Duranti (1997); three of them provide especially useful contributions to this discussion: 1) culture is cognitive; 2) culture is shared; 3) culture is practice. Though proponents of these views do not always see eye to eye, all three perspectives on culture are valuable for defining a group. In addition, the emphasis on culture as cognitive, interactional and locally practiced is reflected in the notion of a Community of Practice. I turn first to a discussion of culture.

1.5.1. Views of Culture

- **Culture is cognitive**

Proponents of the view that culture is cognitive place great emphasis on what cultural members know. Knowledge defines the group, and accords to those who know the proper procedures and the appropriate information membership status. This is the view most attractive to cognitive linguists and

anthropologists, who emphasize a view of culture in terms of stored experiences about interactions (cf. Christiansen and Chater 2001; Clark 2000). The cognitive dimension is one of three which Hiebert describes as constituting culture (1985:31). Cognition involves not just knowledge, but also logic and wisdom, or the application of knowledge and logic. Thus, in this view, propositional knowledge and procedural knowledge are two aspects of culture. This view of culture is often interpreted as defining the group in terms of what each member knows. Those who are not members of the group, then, lack completely or partially, the knowledge held by those who identify themselves and are identified by others as members of the group.

With respect to this study, the knowledge that individuals hold in their heads concerning their local environment is important to cultural identity. Classifying knowledge as cognitive often presumes that it is simply propositional, such as knowing where someone's house is located. However, my data support a conclusion that whether participants in an exchange recognize that they share commonalities in propositional knowledge or not is significant to how they linguistically encode that knowledge, and whether it is elaborated or not. Therefore, a social dimension must be added to the cognitive perspective (cf. Hutchins 1995 on distributed cognition; Hanks 1990 on symmetry of knowledge).

- **Culture is shared**

Goldschmidt (1966) posits the shared or interactional value of culture as one of his three universals of human culture. He makes the strong statement that without interaction, there could be no culture.

"I am convinced that there is an aspect of man in the interactional area which is universal – a part of the inner drive toward associations – and which is necessary for the very establishment of culture and the maintenance of society"
(1966:41)

Likewise, Geertz emphasized the public interactional source and nature of culture: "Cultural manifestations are acts of communication." (quoted in Duranti 1997:37). Silverstein orients towards this view of culture as something that is shared through his discussions of semiotic processes, and the mutual comprehension of signs, symbols and indexes (Silverstein 1998a). Silverstein, in fact, makes a connection between a geographically bounded group of people and their constitution of a cultural and linguistic community by stating, "It is thus the production of a characteristically ethnogeographic and ethnohistorical sense of community boundedness about a 'center' that constitutes locality as a cultural fact" (1998a:404). In other words, the shared location and shared history contribute to the construction of group identity and boundaries which make a group distinct. They share space, history, and as such, they share culture.

An interesting aspect of the view of culture as shared is that this implies that not all members of the group may possess identical knowledge, identical skills or access to the same knowledge and skills (Duranti 1997:30; Hutchins 1995). This facet of cultural knowledge becomes important in communication. Some knowledge cannot be taken for granted as possessed by the interlocutor, and thus it must be introduced, explained, and generally elaborated on in discourse. Later in my discussion of the elicitation of the Fulfulde narratives, I note that methodological considerations about the research purpose for the narratives inhibited the researcher from fully participating in the exchange. This, in turn, created a difficulty for the narrators, as the cues from the researcher which should have confirmed or denied the researcher's knowledge of a place or person were deliberately suppressed. By not sharing in the interaction, the researchers effectively prevented the narrators from knowing what knowledge was shared and what was not.

- **Culture is practice**

Schegloff, among many others, has oriented to culture as "a way of doing things" (1986, 1996). Culture, in this view, is practice; it is action. Bourdieu is associated with this perspective, primarily through his notion of *habitus*, which Duranti describes as "a system of dispositions with historical dimensions through which novices acquire competence by entering activities through which they develop a series of expectations about the world and about

ways of being in it" (1997:44). Competence and expectations are acquired through action, through social practices. These social practices define members of a group by what they do.

A view of culture as practice tends to focus on the individual as agentive, though sometimes carrying out social practices guided by ideologies which may be only subconscious (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004). Often, however, the practices can be shown to be deliberate. Bucholtz and Hall discuss "the local, situated, and often improvised quality of the everyday practices through which individuals...accomplish their social goals," drawing attention to the agentive and negotiated interactions carried out according to ideologies (2004:380). Practice and ideology operate in tandem according to this view, which is a view of 'culture as practice' that encompasses actions of social agents. The common practices unite the individuals inasmuch as they make the practices a tacit condition of group membership.

How proper nouns are linguistically encoded and deployed in discourse is a practice which is fundamental to this study. Practices such as "name dropping" carry indexical weight as they raise or lower the status of an interlocutor according to their personal relationships and knowledge. This is not so different from the use of personal names and place names as a test of insider or outsider status. Insiders will signal recognition of these specific types of knowledge, while outsiders will not, and speakers must then design

their utterances so as to provide explanations as to the relevance of the name to the discourse context. In my data narrators regularly identified the researchers as outsiders who required the presentation of personal names and place names to be explicit, whether through explanation in the discourse, or reference to the physical context of the immediate interaction.

Cognition, interaction and social practice cannot truly be compartmentalized by single perspectives on culture; each influences the other in the context of human relationships. Culture as understood through the three perspectives of cognition, shared interaction and practice defines and delineates a given group.

In this study, I have found that an interpretation of the use of place names and personal names in these Fulfulde narratives told to a researcher requires consideration of culture as knowledge in interaction and as a practice which indexes insider or outsider status in relation to the salient group, in this case the Fulfulde of West Africa. Before introducing this group, I will briefly discuss the theoretical concept of the Community of Practice, and summarize the application of the theories of culture and the Community of Practice to my data.

1.5.2. The Community of Practice

The theoretical construct of the Community of Practice was first applied to sociolinguistics and elaborated upon by Eckert and McConnell-

Ginet (1992). Though they do not quarrel with what was then an established definition of a speech community as a community of speakers who share rules and norms for the use of a language (Gumperz 1972), they believe that this definition does not sufficiently consider the role of language and identity as emerging from social practices which are shared by individuals. Their definition includes two of the three components from the above definition of culture, and implies the presence of the third, knowledge.

"A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social construct, a community of practice is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages." (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992:464)

One strength of this definition is that the size of the community of practice is directly related to those who are mutually involved in social relationships and practices. Thus, a group as small as two (a marriage relationship is the example given by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet) is a Community of Practice, as well as a group such as the Fulbe who number in the millions. The notion of the Community of Practice is useful in that it allows an individual to be a member of more than one community simultaneously, based on the various social roles and relationships in which he or she is implicated. In this way, a person may be part of Communities of

Practice which include those who share the same occupation, those who share familial relationships, those who share the same language. Language use is a crucial device in signaling membership in a Community of Practice.

In this view of Communities of Practice, which allow an individual to belong to more than one Community simultaneously, relationships between individuals may bear evidence of a multiplicity of joint Communities of Practice. For example, imagine two people who meet in a shop. One is the store clerk, the other the customer. But they also attend the same church, they were also schoolmates together, and one is married to the other's sister. An understanding of their relationship and the norms of behavior and linguistic practice that they share must take into account the complexity of these layers of relationship, each reflecting a different role in society. In addition, the more similarities between the practices of individuals, the more closely related they can be said to be.

The possibility of multiple shared relationships and similarity in social practices (including linguistic practices) has implications for how referents are identified in discourse between members of a group. The more multidimensional the relationship between interlocutors, the less elaboration and explanation is necessary whenever a new referent is introduced. Likewise, the more distant the relationship between interlocutors, the more explicit must be the linguistic signal (Du Bois and Thompson 1991). For example, in one of

my narratives, a conversation is reported between father and son concerning the theft of an animal. The son is narrating the story; he has just described a day he spent in a nearby market with a friend. As he and the friend exit the market, he meets his father on a hastily saddled horse (transcription and glossing abbreviations are in Appendices 6.2 and 6.3).

(1) Tanout-Sad

- 17 min mburtoyake □akkol luumo,
 1PL emerge.EXT.VAP edge.CL market.CL
We came out on the edge of the market,
- 18 naa raa ndottiijo sa□ni puccu.
 DMKR look.VAP elder.CL mount.EXT.VAP horse.CL
And look! It was my old man mounted on a horse.
- 19 toole minon e weli. min mbi'i
 entrust. 1SG: CONJ pleasure. 1SG: say.VAP
 VAP EMPH VAP EMPH
Really, myself, I was having a good time. I said,
- 20 jam koo □a□aaje o joggaaki kirke tan?
 peace for make.VAP 3PL accompany. saddle. only
 EXT.VAP VAP
*"How is everything? Why are you just using a saddle
 (without a blanket)?"*
- 21 o wi'i jam walaa. enen ma nga hoo□aama.
 3SG say. peace be.NEG 1PL: or PRN. take.EXT.
 VAP EMPH CL VAP
He said, "No, things are not well. Ours has been stolen."

The father replies, "Ours has been stolen" using the pronoun *nga* (Line 21), which indicates the noun class associated with large animals, including elephants and camels (Arnott 1970; Paradis 1992). This is the first time this referent is mentioned, yet the narrator does not report it as a lexical noun

phrase, which would be the most explicit linguistic form. He reports it as a pronoun, which is arguably the way in which his father referred to the animal in the actual conversation.

In terms of a Community of Practice, the father and son have a complex, multi-dimensional relationship: they are co-owners of a herd of animals, sharing in the responsibilities of herding, as well as being father and son. They belong to the Community of Practice that includes herders; and they belong to the Communities of Practice which are their clan, their extended family, and their nuclear family. These multiple sets of defining practices held jointly allow them to communicate effectively with a minimum of elaboration because their mutual interests and activities provide them with similar knowledge and information which allow identification of a referent. Even through the minimally elaborated linguistic signal of a pronoun, the meaning of which animal was stolen was apparently clear to the son; he does not report any indication of misunderstanding of his father's cryptic utterance. Pragmatic theory and Conversation Analysis predict that when communication is not clear, the recipient will locate trouble in the speaker's utterance, and signal that clarification is needed (Levinson 1983, Schegloff 1996).

This is an example of the effect that group membership in a Community or Communities of Practice may have on how referents are linguistically coded in discourse, and how they may be identified by

interlocutors. The more knowledge members of a group share as a result of culture, relationships and practices in Communities of Practice, the less communicative effort is required for mutual understanding. As Sapir noted,

“Generally speaking, the smaller the circle and the more complex the understandings already arrived at within it, the more economical can the act of communication afford to become.” (Sapir 1931 quoted in Gumperz 1991:375).

A definition of a group based on shared cultural understandings, relationships and practices in a Community of Practice provides an explanation for language in discourse which may at first glance appear counter-intuitive with respect to theories of referentiality in discourse. Discourse linguists such as Halliday and Hasan (1976) or Longacre (1983) would not predict that the first mention of a referent would be a pronoun as opposed to a full lexical noun. However, minimally coded and elaborated linguistic elements are doing special pragmatic work. They are indicators of common membership in a group, indexes of shared knowledge and shared practices.

Linguistic forms have social meaning; they indicate propositional and/or procedural knowledge, but equally importantly, they index the relationship between the interlocutors. Those who share in culture, community and practices display group identity in their linguistic practices.² How

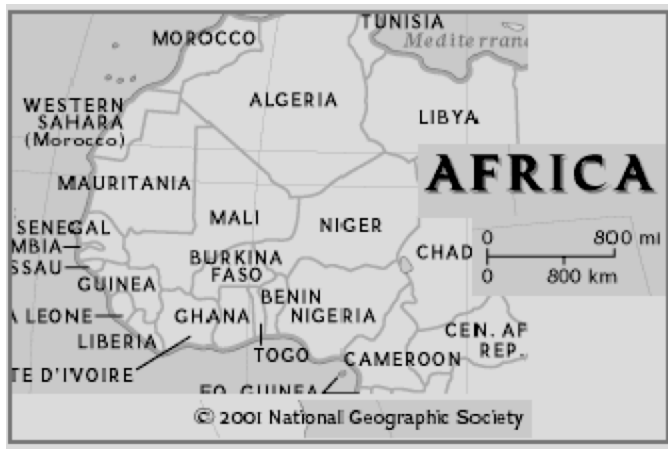
² Though Downing seems to indicate that referential choice may merely create the illusion of community (1996:112). What is "real" or "illusionary" is a much larger question that leads away from the points of my argument.

knowledge is linguistically encoded and displayed makes a strong statement about the identity of the speaker.

My data consist of a corpus of narratives told by Fulfulde speakers from Benin, Niger and Nigeria in West Africa. The original context of each narrative was in an elicitation by one or two expatriate researchers. Although not elicited for the purpose of studying identity, the narratives reflect the group membership status of the participants in the interaction. The effects of group membership as defined by culture and social network are especially clear in their use of proper nouns. I turn now to a description of the Fulɓe.

1.6. The Fulɓe

Fulfulde (or Fula) is a Niger-Congo language of the West Atlantic group. Fulfulde speakers are known as Fulani, Fula, Fulɓe, Peul (Peuhl), or Fellata. There are an estimated 17-21 million speakers of Fulfulde dispersed throughout West Africa, and in Sudan. Nevertheless, Fulfulde is generally considered a minority language, and its speakers tend to be marginalized in their countries of residence. The Fulɓe comprise ten percent or less of the population in every country where they are found. With the exception of Cameroon where Fulfulde is used as a language of wider communication in the north, Fulfulde is generally not spoken by non-Fulɓe. (Fagerberg 1979, Harrison and Tucker 2003, Nelson 1981, Seydou 1998).



Map 1: West Africa

On the eastern end of the Fulfulde continuum, from Burkina Faso eastward (see Map 1), live

Fulfulde speakers who call themselves Woɓaaɓe (singular 'boɓaaɓo'). For non-Fulɓe the difference between Woɓaaɓe and Fulɓe may be inconsequential and easily overlooked or ignored. For the Woɓaaɓe and Fulɓe, however, there are differences of historical origin, lifestyle, religion, and particular ceremonies and customs which separate them (Harrison and Harrison 2000, Paris 1997, Sow 1989). The narrators from Birnin Gaouré, Kandi, and Ouallam would most likely be offended at the suggestion that they might be Woɓaaɓe, while the narrators from Tassa Ibrahim and Maradi would be delighted (in fact, one of the narrators from Maradi proudly asserts this identity in his story). To many sedentary and semi-sedentary Fulɓe, the Woɓaaɓe are a backwards, pagan people (Steve and Ann White, personal communication; Armour 1997). Paradoxically, however, the Fulɓe and Woɓaaɓe appear to be united by two cultural elements: Fulfulde and Pulaaku.

Quand un peul bodaa□o dit à un peul sédentaire...En fuu fulful□e wootere nden mbolweten “nous parlons tous le même fulfuldé” alors l’un et l’autre connaissent les différences dialectales, et culturelles qui les séparent; nous pensons qu’il veut dire tout simplement nous appartenons à la même culture, nous reconnaissons la pulaaku comme valeur commune....(Sow 1989:68)

When a nomadic bo□aa□o says to a sedentary pullo "we all speak the same Fulfulde", they are each aware of the dialectal variation and cultural differences which separate them. We believe that this statement simply means "we belong to the same culture", "we recognize pulaaku as a common value... [my translation]

The assertion that "we all speak the same Fulfulde" is important metapragmatic discourse which defines and indexes group membership. Though Fulfulde speakers belong to different clans which may differ in important ways in cultural practices such as rituals surrounding marriage, and social class by occupation, the unifying force of linguistic identity is significant (cf. Breedveld 1995; Dupire 1962; Fagerberg 1979; Harrison and Harrison 2000; Labatut 1973; Nelson 1981; Sow 1989; Stenning 1959). The Fulfulde language constitutes a central practice of this Community of Practice. I will continue to refer to the language as *Fulfulde*, and to the speakers as *Ful□e* as umbrella terms throughout this thesis, with the understanding that the use of a single term does not entail a homogeneous population.

The language name *Fulfulde* is more than a linguistic one; it carries ethnic and cultural meaning. The meaning of the verb root *ful-* relates both to

speaking, acting, and having the true nature of a member of the group.³ Because of the Fulfulde system of initial consonant alternation between singular and plural, the singular form of *ful-* is *pul-*. With the added allomorph for the noun class corresponding to people, the word for one person from the group is *pullo*, while the plural form is *ful*□*e*, both the initial consonant of the root and the noun class ending agreeing for singular and plural. The name for the language of the Ful□*e* is formed through the reduplication of the plural form of the root, and an allomorph for the noun class corresponding to language: *ful-ful-de*. To speak Fulfulde, then, is to be aligned and identified with the Ful□*e*.

Aligning oneself with the Ful□*e* by speaking Fulfulde is an ideology that has grown up in the literature documenting the various clans and kingdoms which claim Fulfulde as their language. Nevertheless, as vital as the language is to Ful□*e* identity, how a Pullo relates to a researcher who speaks Fulfulde reveals that there is more to Ful□*e* identity than language. Shared culture and membership in a Community of Practice are also important aspects of Ful□*e* identity.

All of the Ful□*e* and Wo□*aa*□*e* narrators appear to orient somehow to the broad Community of Practice composed of the set of all Fulfulde-speakers,

³ René Vallette first called my attention to this linguistic representation of identity.

whether Fulɓe or Woɗaɗe, and all those who follow *pulaaku* as an ideology of praxis. I base this observation on the narrators' language use, narrative topics, and various stances in the narratives, which display an orientation towards Fulfulde and the ideology of Pulaaku. However, there is another Community of Practice represented in each of these narratives: one which is local as opposed to the larger Communities of Fulfulde speakers and *pulaaku* practitioners which stretch across West Africa. The orientation to a local Fulɓe Community of Practice is apparent in how place names and personal names are used, and their place in the flow of discourse. Though I cannot say that the narrators are fully conscious of the indexical work of the proper nouns in their narratives, it is too regular and consistent to be accidental. This regular and consistent practice is striking considering that these Fulɓe narrators do not claim the same clan affiliation, political nation of origin, or even the same variety of Fulfulde (the narrator from Benin, for instance, would be hard-pressed to understand the narrators from Miango, Nigeria, or Toumour, Niger).

Schiffrin reminds us of the locally occasioned and locally oriented extra-propositional work inherent in interaction.

“...we actively structure our discursive activities in light of prescriptive norms and validations of self. Not only do we respond in anticipation of how we wish to be understood, but we verbally locate ourselves (and position ourselves, Davies & Harré 1990) in relation to discourse contexts, thereby defining

ourselves through what we say, how we say it, and to whom we say it.” (Schiffrin 1996:169)

Place names and personal names are not simply referential artifacts in discourse, but tools in the hands of sociocultural agents. They are precise pieces of information which allow these narrators to locate themselves in social space with reference to a group, in opposition to the researcher or researchers who are their interlocutors. This is an empirical claim which is supported in my data. In the next section I describe the peculiar characteristics of my data and the context of elicitation. Then, I present the results of my analysis and demonstrate that the data support my claims.

2. A Description of the Corpus and the Effects of Elicitation

2.1. A description of the corpus

The thirteen narratives in my corpus were collected by me and by friends and colleagues who currently have or previously were involved in research, literacy and Bible translation among the Fulɓe in Benin, Niger and Nigeria.⁴ I was not present at the elicitation of every narrative, however I know enough about the friends and colleagues who were kind enough to provide narratives to me (i.e. their training, methods and personalities) to be

⁴ Special thanks to Steve and Ann White, Jennifer Harper and Jean Baumbach for access to their narratives and their knowledge and experience with the Fulɓe in Niger and Nigeria. Thanks are due to Pierre Barassounon and Isaac Matchoudo who contributed the narrative from Kandi, Benin, and Ouallam, Niger. Thanks are also due to Byron Harrison, Kendall Isaac, and Mike Rueck who traveled and worked with me during the fieldwork phase of the Sociolinguistic Study of Eastern Niger Fulfulde in 1998-1999.

able to reconstruct most of the relevant details of the elicitation sessions. I have audio recordings for all but four of the narratives. In addition, transcriptions of varying degrees of linguistic detail were provided with all of the narratives; all narratives had been interlinearized with a free translation, but none had been completed glossed morpheme by morpheme. I was able to produce glosses of all of the narratives based on my own knowledge of Fulfulde and the help of several dictionaries and grammars, though unfortunately, I have not been able to check the glosses with native speakers of each Fulfulde variety represented in my corpus. Table 1 and Map 2 below summarize basic information about the narrative corpus.

In the first column of Table 1 are the abbreviations which will be used to identify the narrative which is the source of an example given in the analysis and discussion sections below. The first word in the abbreviation identifies the text by the location of elicitation. For example, the first word in the abbreviation OUALLAM-BITE means that the text was elicited in Ouallam, Republic of Niger. Two of the texts are identified by the Nigerian state in which they were elicited: the SOKOTO-STOLEN and PLATEAU-ODA texts were elicited in Sokoto State and Plateau State, Nigeria, respectively. The texts are in alphabetical order by abbreviation.

Table 1 : Narrative corpus information

Abbreviation	Variety name	Location	Title	Narrator
BIRNIN-UNHAPPY	Fulfulde Gorgal (Western Niger)	Birnin Gaouré, Niger	An unhappy day	Anonymous
KANDI-TROUBLES	Fulfulde Borgu (Benin)	Kandi, Benin	My troubles as a youth	Sidi Kadri
MAINE-HORSE	Fulfulde Lettugal Niger (Eastern Niger)	Maine-Soroa, Niger	Horse Thieves	Harouna Hamadou
MARADI-COWS	Fulfulde Lettugal Niger (Eastern Niger)	Maradi, Niger	When I let the cows get into a field	Daari Kiir
MARADI-THIEVES	Fulfulde Lettugal Niger (Eastern Niger)	Maradi, Niger	When the Thieves Came	Bermo Yuguda
MAYAHI-MISTAKEN	Fulfulde Lettugal Niger (Eastern Niger)	Mayahi, Niger	Mistaken Identity	Unknown
OUALLAM-BITE	Fulfulde Gorgal (Western Niger)	Ouallam, Niger	The Ant Bite	Harouna
PLATEAU-ODA	Fulfulde Leydi Nigeria (Nigeria)	Miango, Plateau State, Nigeria	Ooda Story	Ibrahim Isa
SOKOTO-STOLEN	Fulfulde Leydi Nigeria	Gidan Dare, Sokoto	Stolen cows	Amadu Bello

Abbreviation	Variety name	Location	Title	Narrator
	(Nigeria)	State, Nigeria		
TANOUT-SAD	Fulfulde Lettugal Niger (Eastern Niger)	Jijiiru Clan well, north of Tanout, Niger	My Sad Story	Anonymous
TASSA-FIELDS	Fulfulde Lettugal Niger (Eastern Niger)	Tassa Ibrahim, Niger	The farmer's fields	Harouna Laabol
TASSA-WATER	Fulfulde Lettugal Niger (Eastern Niger)	Tassa Ibrahim, Niger	Finding water	Harouna Laabol
TOUMOUR-YOUNG	Fulfulde Lettugal Niger (Eastern Niger)	Toumour, Niger	When I was young	Eddo Garba

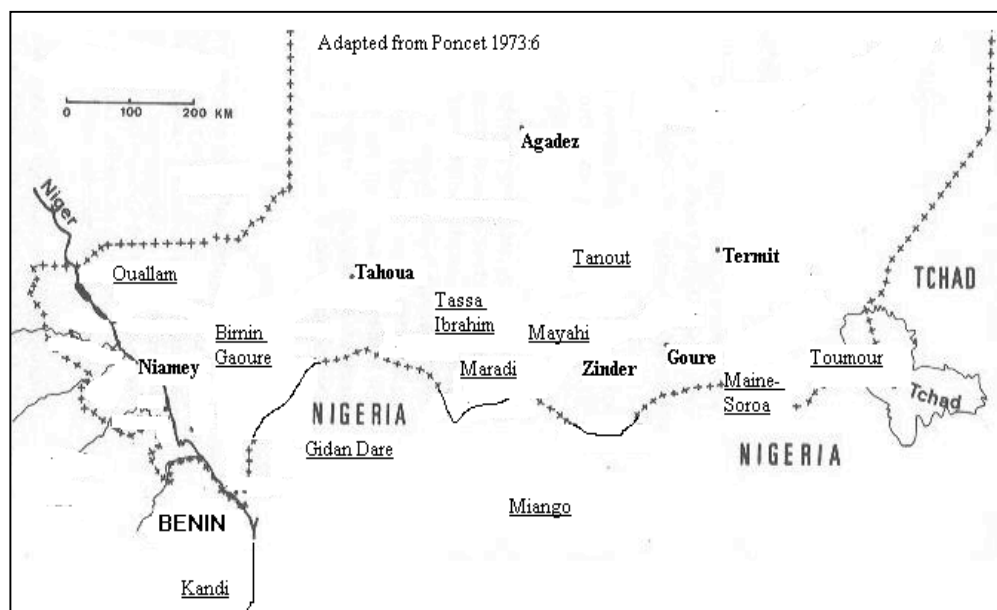
The second column of Table 1 lists the name of the Fulfulde variety spoken in the area where the text was elicited. The variety names are given as autonyms, using regional names in Fulfulde (cf. Harrison and Tucker 2003). The third column gives the name of the town, village or encampment where the story was elicited, which is also where the narrator is from. The fourth and fifth columns provide the title of each narrative, and the name of the narrator.⁵ A key word from the title of each narrative provides the second half of the

⁵ No narrator specifically announced a title for his story. Most of the titles were chosen by the researcher using words from the first few lines of the story; a few titles were chosen by the researcher based on the topic of the story.

abbreviation which will be used to refer to the narratives throughout this document. The BIRNIN-UNHAPPY narrative, for example, is entitled "An Unhappy Day."

Map 2 below shows the locations for each of the narrative elicitations in Benin, Niger, and Nigeria. The names of the towns where each narrative was elicited are underlined.

Map 2: Location of Narrative Elicitations



2.2. Ethnographic information

Ten of the narrators are adult men between the ages of 20-40; the narrators of the SOKOTO-STOLEN and MARADI-THIEVES stories were closer to 60 years of age when the narratives were elicited. Most of the narrators have

spent most of their lives in the rural sahelien environment of northern Benin, northern Nigeria, and Niger.⁶ With the exceptions of the authors from Toumour (eastern Niger), Miango (Plateau State, Nigeria), and Kandi (Benin), it is most likely that none of the other nine have any formal schooling, though it is evident in several of the texts that they pride themselves in their knowledge of the African bush. The narrators from Toumour and Miango (Plateau State) have at least a university level education. The narrator from Toumour has entered the Catholic priesthood, while the narrator from Miango was recently in the employ of an adult literacy project among the Fulɓe in the Plateau State. The level of education of these two men exposed them to ideas originating from outside of West Africa, and more importantly for this study, to expatriate researchers.

Most of the narrators belong to the group in Fulɓe society whose primary occupation is bovine husbandry, or herding cattle. The narrator from Kandi describes his childhood experiences as involving farming, not necessarily unusual for sedentary Fulɓe in Benin, but atypical of most Fulɓe, who generally consider farming to be a disgraceful occupation for Fulɓe. Eight of the narrators mention herding cattle in their stories; four of the narrators' stories revolve around an incident when the cattle they were herding

⁶ "Sahelien" refers to the Sahel, the area of savanna and grasslands between the Sahara desert and the coastal jungles of West Africa.

got into a non-Fulfulde farmer's fields. According to his story, the narrator from Gidan Dare (Sokoto State) had evidently retired from doing the herding himself and was employing a boy to herd his cattle. The narrator from Mainesoroa was employed as a night guard for an expatriate at the time he told his story.

2.3. How the narratives were elicited

All of the narratives were originally elicited for the purpose of conducting Recorded Text Testing as part of a large sociolinguistic research project in Fulfulde. The goal of the project was to ascertain levels of inherent intelligibility and relatedness between linguistic varieties along the Fulfulde dialect continuum. Recorded Text Testing (RTT) is a method of indirectly assessing relatedness between speech varieties, as well as assessing the comprehension speakers have of varieties other than their own. According to the description in Casad's *Dialect Intelligibility Testing* (1974) a narrative text is recorded in Variety A and a set of questions about the content of the text are developed in Variety A. Correct answers to the questions require speakers to recognize and comprehend words from various grammatical categories, semantic roles, and positions in the argument structure of the text. These questions are tested with speakers of Variety A. Unsuccessful questions are discarded. The text and successfully tested questions are then used to assess the level of comprehension speakers of Variety B have of Variety A. The

questions in Variety A are translated/adapted to Variety B. The text in Variety A is played for speakers of Variety B. The questions in Variety B are presented at appropriate points in the text. The answers of speakers of Variety B are noted and compared with the answers speakers of Variety A gave to the same text.

The RTT requires a biographical narrative in order to rule out the possibility that speakers of Variety B are able to answer questions about the narrative from Variety A based on their knowledge of folklore, mythology, and general culture. Ideally, the narrator should not say anything that would indicate where he is from, or where any of the events take place. This eliminates another source of information that would allow subjects to guess answers to the RTT questions. In almost thirty years of use in many situations in South America, Africa, Asia and Oceania, Recorded Text Testing has been found to be helpful for expatriates who do not speak the language which is the focus of their research. It allows them to construct a simple diagnostic tool in a fieldwork situation with a minimum of equipment, requiring a very simple sampling technique, and is not as artificial and intrusive as more controlled laboratory research methods would be. (For a more in-depth discussion of the complexities of the development and use of the RTT, see Casad 1974, Bergman 1990, Grimes 1995 and Stalder 1996.)

2.3.1. The challenge of artificiality in eliciting a narrative

However, the RTT is not without challenges due to artificial constraints the method places on human interaction. It is not an easy task to tell a three-to-five minute story full of interesting details to relative strangers. Many of the people I interacted with during sociolinguistic fieldwork in Burkina Faso and Niger were uncomfortable speaking with an expatriate, as evidenced by a number of children who cried and ran away because of my strange white, European-American appearance, and adults who refused to cooperate even when chosen by a village leader to tell me a story.

The concept of controlled empirical research is not well-understood, and often seemed to be unbelievable to the narrators and other Fulɓe participants. I had the privilege of working with some talented young Fulɓe men who were guides, interpreters and language consultants during this research. They had some amount of education in the national school system, and therefore had had exposure to European-style analytical reasoning and principles of scientific research. However, very often they did not understand the purpose of empirical research. The requirements of the RTT design did not make sense to them, and sometimes they were frank in admitting that they did not believe that my purpose for visiting them was truly to record someone telling a story (they often preferred an interpretation in which my purpose was to obtain knowledge or information for personal fame and fortune). This factor,

combined with my limited competence in Fulfulde, caused difficulty in some of the narrative elicitations in which I took part, because I could not always be certain exactly what the interpreter was telling the narrator. I was therefore unsure how the narrator was interpreting the situation.

The strange appearance of the researcher, foreign research practices, and issues relating to the explanations given for the purpose of the researcher's visit are only the beginning of a list of unsettling complications for the Fulfulde narrators. They must also resolve the dilemma of the identity of their audience, choose a suitable story that is neither too long nor too short, cooperate with people who are avoiding behavior expected of interlocutors, and purposely omit from the narrative ordinary information like names of people and places.

2.3.2. The dilemma: Who is the audience?

How the narrator interprets the situation is crucial in the dilemma he faces as a participant in the unusual interactive context of elicitation. In conversational storytelling, the immediate context – including what has just been said, something in the physical environment, or knowledge accessible to some or all of the participants – may provide inspiration for a story. In other words, the story is locally occasioned. As the story unfolds, it is designed according to its place in the conversation, and according to who the recipients of the story are (Sacks 1974; Scollon and Scollon 1981). If the narrator interprets his role in the interaction with the researchers as a host providing

entertainment to one or more strangers (not an unusual situation in isolated communities on the edge of the Sahara desert), he will design the story to fit the immediate audience of the researcher. However, in asking for the narrator's cooperation, the researchers have told him that they will be playing the recording of his narrative to people in other communities. The anomaly of an absent, unknown and undefined audience has an effect on the design of the narrative. As Bauman has pointed out,

"the act of recording itself contributes to and upholds the sense that larger audiences of strangers are implicated, even in one-to-one sessions with the fieldworker" (Bauman 1986:105)

This point was highlighted for me by a narrator from a different ethnolinguistic group who mentioned dialectal variants for the names of all the animals that were included in his hunting narrative. He apparently understood that his unseen audience would very likely include those from other varieties of his own language, and so very considerately provided text-internal "translations" designed specifically for that audience (which defeated the purpose of the study). It is possible that the narrator from Toumour provided a similar service to his unseen audience when he included two dialectal variants for "dog" when describing his boyhood attempt to identify a jackal he encountered in the bush.

(2) TOUMOUR-YOUNG

39	gada	mi	yi'i	go□□um	kama	kareeru
	after	1SG	see	something.CL	COMP	dog (1) .CL

then I see something that looks like a dog

40 go□□um kama rawaandu
something.CL COMP dog(2).CL
something that looks like a dog

41 i raarayam i futtinani yam gitte
it.CL look.VAP. it.CL roll.EXT. 1SG eye.PL
1SG VAP
it stared at me, rolling its eyes

In line 39, the narrator uses *kareeru* 'dog', a word with the Hausa stem *kare* 'dog' which has been integrated into the appropriate Fulfulde noun class for dogs by the addition of the suffix *-eeru*. This lexeme is used by Wo□aa□e clans in eastern Niger who have borrowed Hausa lexical items and some conjunctions. The lexeme *rawaandu* 'dog', in line 40, is the term more widely used in eastern and western Niger, and in some varieties in Mali (though in some areas of Mali and Burkina Faso it can also mean 'lion'). As the protagonist's inability to identify the strange animal is crucial to the story, this use of two variants may be evidence of a narrative designed for a wide audience. On the other hand, it may also serve to highlight the protagonist's uncertainty as to the name of the animal with a dog-like appearance. Because it is impossible to know for which audience the narrative was designed, a decisive argument cannot be made.

Another example of the effect of the uncertainty of the narrator's interpretation of the identity of his audience comes from two of the narratives which were told by Ful□e men who earn a living as night-guards for

expatriates. In their stories both of them demonstrate desirable characteristics in a night-guard such as loyalty, trustworthiness, and courage. Because at least one of the members of the audience when these two stories were told was a potential employer, this raises the possibility that the narrators in these two cases made the decision to design the narrative for the immediate audience. The choice of a story is part of its local occasioning and design. The unusual interactive situation creates a difficulty for the narrator's task in choosing a story to tell.

2.3.3. Choosing a story to tell

A request from a stranger for a personal story which interrupts daytime activities puts the would-be narrator in a difficult position. As mentioned above, choices made by the narrator are governed at least in part by his interpretation of the identity of the audience. The amount of background information which must be given in a story, the perspective of the action, and the type of story -- e.g. one about happy events, or tragedies, a story told to socialize or enculturate younger members of the society, etc. -- are just three general choices which must be made by the narrator. These decisions are rendered difficult or impossible in the face of someone from a different Community of Practice who does not share mother tongue, culture, or region of origin.

For this reason the expatriate researcher in search of a narrative for Recorded Text Testing must often make general suggestions to help the narrator settle on a choice of event from his or her life which could be told as a story. Following Labov and Waletzky's "danger of death" technique in elicitation (Labov 1972a), several of the narratives in my corpus bear the marks of the suggestion that the narrator tell about a time when he was afraid, or "something bad" happened. Thus, the topics of several of the stories revolve around unfortunate incidents such as livestock theft (TANOUT-SAD, MAINE-HORSE and SOKOTO-STOLEN), confrontations with the law (BIRNIN-UNHAPPY, PLATEAU-ODA and TASSA-FIELDS), and illness (OUALLAM-BITE).

2.3.4. Time limit

Another requirement which adds to the artificial constraints which affect the form of the narrative is that the ideal narrative for the RTT is restricted in length to three to five minutes. The time limit is due to the fact that researchers often are assessing inherent intelligibility between varieties in five, ten or more locations, but must restrict the number of texts used in testing due to subject fatigue. Not all narrators are willing or able to provide a story that fits the required time restriction, and this has resulted in some creativity on the part of researchers in extracting a usable narrative out of a stream of speech.

For example, on some occasions would-be narrators are simply happy for an audience and occasion to talk. This seems to have been the case for the two older narrators of the STOLEN COWS story from Gidan Dare in Sokoto State, Nigeria, and WHEN THE THIEVES CAME story from Maradi in Niger. In both cases, the researcher was evidently obliged to "carve" a "story" from a stream of several stories which ran together. On paper, the fact that the "narrative" is a piece cut from a longer story is not discernible, but on tape, the intonation of the speaker and the hint of another voice reveals that the narrators are either responding to a suggestion from an audience member (SOKOTO-STOLEN), or have embedded the story in a longer discourse which continues after the end of the story (MARADI-THIEVES).

(3) SOKOTO-STOLEN

0 ??: \square e hokka habaru.
 3PL give.VAP story
...give them a story

1 Narrator: ...(.48) habaru nguyka nai?
 story theft.CL cow.PL
The story about the theft of the cows?

2 Narrator: ...(.49) mmHMM
 DMKR
Ah hah.

3 Narrator: .. to nde \square almi durngol nai
 DMKR when leave. herding.CL cow.PL
 VAP.1SG

njarumi to suka dillidi \square i.
 take.VAP.1SG there boy.CL go.VAP.EXT.3PL

*When I stopped herding cows I took them to a boy who
would go with them.*

Line 0 is produced by a speaker who is not the narrator; the quality of his voice is of a different pitch and lower volume. In Line 1, the narrator seems to be confirming that he has correctly understood the prior suggestion in Line 0. His voice rises at the end of the Intonation Unit for a question. There is no audible response from the other speaker, but the narrator confirms that he has the situation in hand in Line 2 with a lengthened affirmative discourse particle. He then begins his story in Line 3.

2.3.5. A "clean copy"

A fifth factor which introduces artificiality into the recording situation is that for the RTT, a "clean copy" of the recording is desirable, with no background noises, no listeners interrupting or contributing to the story. For all but two of the stories in my corpus, the expatriate researcher had sufficient competency in Fulfulde to speak directly to the narrator. This was doubtless helpful as far as making the narrator a little more comfortable, but then complicated the expatriate researcher's task as he or she was forced to limit his or her backchanneling responses during the taping so as to produce a "clean copy." At times, the invitation to interact with the storyteller was overwhelming: the audio versions of AN UNHAPPY DAY from Birnin Gaouré and WHEN I LET THE COWS GET INTO A FIELD from Maradi both reveal the researcher's natural inclination to interact with the storyteller during the story

softly (Line 84). This audibly small response apparently speaks volumes: before the pulses of the researcher's laughter are completed, the narrator builds on his prior comments by saying that it is even impossible for him to hold the cows back, out of the fields. In Line 87 there is evidence of smile quality in his voice, and more expressiveness in his intonation (note the jump in pitch on the intensifier *ngu'unde*): he is "playing to the audience." In Line 88, he upgrades once again and smiles. What would seem to be a small and fairly insignificant action on the part of the researcher has provoked a new design and several more utterances in the story from the narrator. Speech is locally occasioned and designed for its context; this is pervasive and inescapable. Linguists eliciting data from speakers cannot pretend that human speech can be fully experimentally controlled.

As much as possible, background noises due to nature and "the elements" must be eliminated from the recording in order to have a "clean copy." At the location north of Tanout, several men were proposed as storytellers, but all declined. The man who finally did consent to give the story nevertheless seemed reluctant to deal with us; he did not speak clearly, and had a lot of difficulty telling a story with sufficient detail and adequate length for the purposes of an RTT. It probably was not helpful to the narrator that, because of the wind and blowing sand, two researchers, an interpreter and one

of the narrator's friends had to crowd into the cab of a pickup truck with him in order to record his story.

2.3.6. People and place names

A final restriction for the narrator, as was mentioned above, is that he is asked to avoid the names of people and places in his story. The reason for this is so that subjects do not have this additional information that allows them to guess more accurately at some meanings (researchers want to distinguish lucky guesses from comprehension), or that may prejudice them against the narrator (researchers want to distinguish between inability to understand and refusal to understand). However, the narrators often do not comply with this request, perhaps because their world is full of personal and place names.

An acquaintance between the narrator and a member of the audience is a source of the first example of the difficulty posed by the restriction on names of people and places. When it is possible to ask "a friend of a friend" to tell a story for the purposes of RTT testing, this has the advantage that the language consultant is generally more comfortable, cooperative, and inspired to tell very interesting stories that might not be revealed to complete strangers (cf. Milroy 1980, 1987). On the other hand, this raises the probability that the storyteller will personally interact with the researcher friend, which makes for remarks that will be wildly out of context in the testing situation. For example, in the story *WHEN I LET THE COWS GET INTO THE FIELD* from Maradi, the narrator

seems to be helping his immediate audience understand where a particular event took place, and parenthetically adds

(5) MARADI-COWS

66 ...(.75) <VOX>ngam kanko alheri emo anndi ka'o<VOX>.
 because PRN. NAM be. know. NAM
 DEM 3SG VAP
*Because she, Alheri, knows (or has been to) [the town of]
 Ka 'o'.*

Here he is referring to his friend, Alheri, (known to expatriate friends as Jean Baumbach), who is one of the researchers, while addressing the other researcher, who is a stranger to him. This utterance fits the local context perfectly. However, for the unseen and future audience (subjects of RTT testing), the narrator's comment may be linguistically de-code able, but pragmatically meaningless or confusing.

Names that are part of the narrator's *habitus*, or habitual practice (Bourdieu 1977) frequently slip into speech. This became clear when we began to use the story from Miango, Nigeria, in our intercomprehension and language attitude testing situations in Niger. The PLATEAU-ODA story looks like an ideal narrative for the construction of the RTT: the narrator enunciated well, the story is interesting, it contains unpredictable details, it is the right length, and the recording is free of background noises, interruptions, etc. However, there is an explicit reference to a place when the narrator says

(6) PLATEAU-ODA

9 ...(.62) e □un nodda wigereden= .. ooda.
 CONJ PRN call.VAP place.DEM order<EN>
and that place was called "ooda".

Because no one on our team recognized *ooda* as a proper noun referencing a specific place, we did not concern ourselves with it. We did notice some confusion on the part of some subjects, but attributed it to differences in language variety. It was not until the next year that I was able to talk with the researcher who had elicited the story, Jennifer Harper. She explained to me that in Nigeria, the word "ooda" was introduced into Fulfulde through signs in English *ordering* herders not to trespass, hence the place name "ooda" from the English "order." Because English is not a factor in the multilingual situation in Niger, where French is the language of the former colonizer, no one recognized this locally salient idiomatic place name.

Another use of place names that is remarkable considering that the narrator was instructed not to use them, is found in the narrative from Maine-Soroa, Niger. In the story, the narrator's horse has been stolen, and he pursues the thief southward into Nigeria. In describing his pursuit, the narrator lists a series of place names:

(7) MAINE-HORSE

25 mi yehi jajiri
 1SG go.VAP NAM
I went to Jajiri

26 mi yehi sheri
 1SG go.VAP NAM

I went to Sheri

27 mi doggi faa gashuwa
 1SG run.VAP until NAM
I ran as far as Gashuwa

28 faa guya
 until NAM
as far as Guya

29 faa gashuwa
 until NAM
as far as Gashuwa

30 □aawo mi yehi,
 back 1SG go.VAP
Afterwards I went

31 gashuwa
 NAM
(to) Gashuwa,

32 geidam,
 NAM
Geidam,

33 ...eh nguru
 EMPTY NAM
um, Nguru,

34 ...(mx) ... ozubari,
 NAM
(to) Ozubari

35 faa mi wittoyi
 until 1SG go.VAP.EXT
Until I returned.

36 faa mi wittoyi
 until 1SG go.VAP.EXT
Until I returned,

37 faa mi yehi boti
 until 1SG go.VAP NAM

until I went to Boti.

38 □aawo mi yehi boti,
 back 1SG go.VAP NAM
After I went to Boti,

39 mi wittoyi mi warti
 1SG go.VAP.EXT 1SG come.EXT.VAP
I returned I came back,

40 ..mi warti= .. jajiri,
 1SG come.EXT.VAP NAM
I went back to Jajiri,

41 mi he□i habaru.
 1SG find.VAP news
I found news.

The towns of Gashua, Jajiri, Sheri, Boti, and the others which are mentioned in the list in the lines above are for the most part in Yobe State, in northeast Nigeria. The town of Maine-Soroa in Niger sits on the border between the two countries. Several of these towns would be known by someone who had traveled either on foot with migrating cattle, or by bush taxi into Nigeria from Niger: Geidam, Nguru, Gashua and Jajiri. Significantly, these are names which are known to people living locally in the region, regardless of their language or ethnicity. In this list of towns, the narrator's knowledge of the local area is displayed, marking him for an interlocutor as someone who has access to this information by virtue of membership in the local Community of Practice. In this instance, a Community of Practice might be formed of people who live and work in a given region in terms of how they relate to the physical environment, and how those practices are reflected in language, and

constructed in interaction. There is a similarity here between this Fulfulde narrator and the way in which the Western Apaches described by Basso (1984, 1988) relate to their physical environment, reflecting and constructing relationships in their use of place names (see Section 1.4).

To an "insider", these place names are unremarkable and unmarked. As mentioned above, daily life is filled with place names which are difficult to eradicate from speech. But these names are unusual or even incomprehensible for someone who is not familiar with the referents. In this way, place names are a test of knowledge, which is ultimately part of the culture and part of what qualifies individuals as members of a local Community of Practice.

2.4. Natural and unnatural narratives

There is one story in my corpus that was not originally elicited for the RTT: WHEN I WAS YOUNG, the story from Toumour. My colleagues Mike Rueck and Kendall Isaac met the storyteller at the Catholic Mission in Diffa, approximately twenty-five kilometers southwest of Toumour, while working on another project. Mr. Garba entertained them over dinner with a boyhood story, told in French, and they asked him to re-tell the story in his native Fulfulde for the tape-recorder. It is evident from the recording that Mr. Garba understood their interest to be about the culture and lifestyle of his people, as he gives an ethnographic sketch in French of his own clan before launching into the story in Fulfulde. Though he was aware that neither Rueck nor Isaac

understood exactly what he was saying, he seems to have been able to maintain the illusion of a storyteller entertaining an audience who understands him perfectly. As the next example demonstrates, he apparently oriented to the presence of the tape-recorder as representative of a wider, Fulfulde-speaking audience.

(8) TOUMOUR-YOUNG

82 ton hanjum diftinanaymi on ɔoo sabida
 there this.CL tell.EXT.2PL. 2PL here because
 VAP.1SG

da mbimi ka ɛ jalli hamɛma
 there say.1SG there 3PL laugh.VAP listen.3PL.
 NOM

*So this is what I have told you here because when I told
 it to the listeners, they laughed.*

The narrator gives the reason for the telling of the story as the fact that it made others laugh; their assessment of the story through laughter was positive, and therefore the story could be told again to others.

It is notable that this narrator includes a place name in his story, which supposedly contains the same storyline and information as the original unelicited story.

(9) TOUMOUR-YOUNG

3 (.56) (hx.69 ... ehɦ.' .. Toumour mawnoomi
 PAUSE NAM big.become.1SG

she'engol am
 village.CL 1SG

Toumour, I grew up in my village

The place name "Toumour" occurs at the beginning of the story, as part of an introduction which situates the story at a certain time and place, though the events in the story do not actually occur in the village of Toumour. The name of the village seems rather to tell the audience something about the person of the narrator as a part of anchoring the story to events which affected him. This is further support for my argument that names of people and places are part of real-world knowledge which is part of the identity of those who use them in discourse, whether in the context of an elicitation, or in a dinner conversation. Nevertheless, an argument which insists on a qualitative difference of "naturalness" between elicited narratives and those told in the course of conversation may miss the point that both contexts (elicitation or conversation) include human participants in social interaction. In this respect, they are alike, and may be expected to contain very similar social, cultural, and linguistic elements.

"If all human behaviour is social behaviour, then interaction between researcher and researched does not produce some anomalous form of communication peculiar to the research situation and misleading as to the nature of 'reality'. Rather such interaction instantiates normal communication in one of its forms." (Cameron et al. 1993:87)

Restricting speakers of these "on-demand" stories told to strangers to a certain length of time, with no interlocutor interaction, sometimes in small, cramped (though quiet) spaces, and avoiding names that are a part of their everyday interactions, puts pressure on the language consultant, ultimately affecting the

linguistic output. Nevertheless, these narratives cannot truly be considered artificial products of an artificial situation. As Cameron insists, researcher and researched are nevertheless human participants in social interaction; their interaction is not artificial or abnormal, but natural and normal communication in a special context. The use of personal and place names is evidence that elicited narratives are simply stories told within the confines and context of a special type of interaction.

3. The Use of Personal and Place Names in Discourse

In Sections 1 and 2 of this thesis, a theoretical foundation was laid for the argument that the use of personal and place names in discourse is related to the identity of the speaker as reflected in their culture and Community of Practice. As Basso (1984, 1988) , Pagliai (2000) and Downing (1996) have claimed, personal and place names as referential choices in discourse are not void of social and cultural meaning; rather, they are useful indicators of identity and group affiliation. In this Section I discuss my data. First, I show the level of frequency of the occurrence of proper nouns in the data, and determine that there does not seem to be a relationship between how well the narrator knew his audience and the frequency of proper nouns in his narrative. The focal point of my argument begins in Section 3.3 where I discuss the relationship between a speaker's referential choice and their group identity. I state my specific research questions in Section 3.3.1, and then turn to a

discussion of how to answer those questions using the concept of Pathways of Identifiability developed by Du Bois and Thompson (1991). For the remainder of the Section, I illustrate the various possible Pathways of Identifiability for the narrators and recipients using examples from my data. My conclusion is that the narrators in my data used proper nouns which could be identified through Pathways of Identifiability which are not specifically associated with a single Community of Practice.

3.1. Frequency of personal and place names in the data

The frequency of personal and place names in the data was what originally attracted my attention to the topic of this thesis. Though the narrators were instructed not to use personal names or place names in their stories, 10 of the narrators in 11 of the narratives did use one or the other. Table 2 below lists the names of the thirteen texts told by the twelve narrators; eleven of the 13 texts (85%) contain either a personal name, a place name, or both. Names of individuals and names of specific places were counted as proper nouns. Ethnic names, such as *boaa*, as used by one of the narrators from Maradi to refer to himself, were not counted as personal names.

The number of proper nouns included in a narrative varies widely, from no use at all (e.g. in BIRNIN-UNHAPPY) to 26 place names in a single narrative, which amounts to 30% of the total number of proper nouns in the data. A total of 87 proper noun tokens was used in the narratives: 50 were place names, 21

were personal names, and 16 fall into a special category "Allah," which is discussed in more detail in Section 3.5.4.

The two texts which do not contain any proper nouns are not noticeably different in structure or in kind from the texts which do contain them. Those two narrators were simply more successful at suppressing the strong tendency to employ proper nouns in storytelling.

Table 2: Proper noun tokens per text

Text	# of place name tokens	# of name tokens		Total
		personal name	Allah	
Birnin-Unhappy	0	0	0	0
Kandi-Troubles	1	1	0	2
Maine-Horse	25	0	1	26
Maradi-Cows	0	4	1	5
Maradi-Thieves	0	0	0	0
Mayahi-Mistaken	0	2	1	3
Ouallam-Bite	3	0	1	4
Plateau-Ooda	3	0	0	3
Sokoto-Stolen	11	11	1	23
Tanout-Sad	5	3	0	8
Tassa-Fields	0	0	1	1
Tassa-Water	1	0	10	11
Toumour-Young	1	0	0	1
Total	50	21	16	87

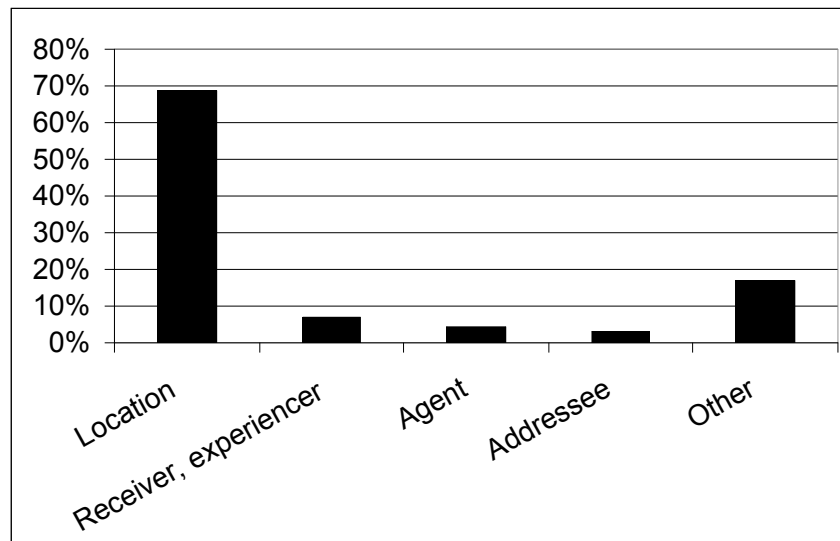
Another aspect of the frequency of personal and place names in the narratives is remarkable: over 80% of the tokens are unmarked, mentioned with no explanation, as if the audience is expected to recognize the name.

Eight-five percent of these unmarked tokens are locations, i.e. names of towns and villages.

Another way to describe the frequency of use of the proper nouns in these narratives is through an examination of the grammatical relations and semantic roles which they play. Over 68% of the proper nouns used in these narratives can be considered as obliques⁷ which are semantically LOCATION. Of the remaining 31% of the proper nouns, 5 of them are RECIPIENTS and EXPERIENCERS; only 3 tokens (4% of all tokens) are AGENTS. Another role which is of a pragmatic type is that of ADDRESSEE with vocative structure. Two of the tokens represent instances when the story protagonist called out to someone, seeking their attention (Hey, Mustafa!). These percentages are summarized in Chart 1 below.

⁷ The question of whether these are obliques is in fact debatable, resting on questions of the transitivity of motion verbs (see Hopper and Thompson 1980) and the structural typology of West African languages (Creissels 1991).

Chart 1: Semantic roles associated with proper noun tokens



The prominence of the semantic role LOCATION as opposed to other possibilities for proper nouns in these texts is striking. This raises the questions of recipient design and lexical choice. What is guiding the referential choices made by these narrators? For whom are these narrators designing their utterances? A general description of the participants involved in each elicitation session may provide some answers to these questions.

3.2. Information on the participants in the narration context

In every elicitation, there were a minimum of three or four participants: the narrator, a primary researcher who directed the elicitation session, a second researcher, and in the case where neither of the researchers spoke enough Fulfulde for clear communication with the narrator, there was a Fulfulde interpreter (MAYAH-MISTAKEN, TANOUT-SAD). The mix of participants

created a challenge for the narrator, as in several of the elicitation sessions he knew at least one of the participants much better than the others. Table 3 below summarizes how well the narrator knew the participants. All of the narratives are ranked in groups according to the depth of relationship between the narrator and the participant most well-known to him: well-known, less well-known, acquaintances, and relative strangers.

Table 3: Level of acquaintance between the narrator and the audience

	<i>Well-known</i>	<i>Less well-known</i>	<i>Acquaintances</i>	<i>Relative strangers</i>
Narrative	PLATEAU- OODA	MARADI- COWS	BIRNIN- UNHAPPY	TOUMOUR- YOUNG
	SOKOTO- STOLEN	MARADI- THIEVES	KANDI- TROUBLES	OUELLAM- BITE
		TASSA- FIELDS	MAINE- HORSE	MAYAHI- MISTAKEN
		TASSA- WATER		TANOUT- SAD

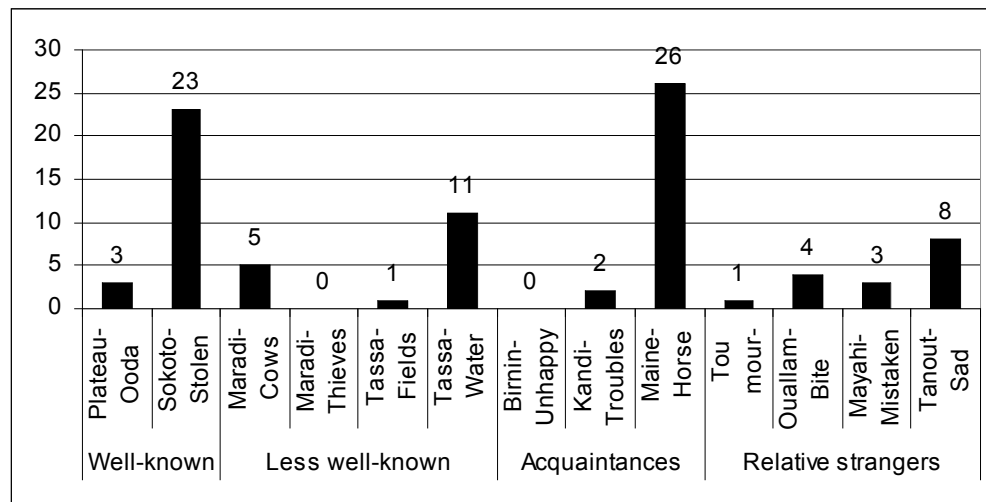
The PLATEAU-OODA and SOKOTO-STOLEN narratives were told to other Fulɓe, and expatriates who had become peripheral members of the community by virtue of their language skills and local residence. In the cases of the narratives under the rubric "Less well-known", one of the researchers was a friend of the narrator, while the other was a stranger. Both of the researchers in each case were expatriates. For the narratives told to "Acquaintances", one researcher was always a stranger, while the other was "a friend of a friend." The last

category is of narratives told to strangers. In this case, the researchers were completely unknown to the narrator. The MAYAHI-MISTAKEN and TANOUT-SAD narratives were told to researchers who needed the help of a Fulɓe interpreter.

3.2.1. Effect of the relationships on frequency of proper noun use

How well the narrator knew his immediate audience did not seem to have an effect on the frequency of his use of proper nouns. For the first three levels of relationship, one of the narratives in the category had a high number of personal and place names (23, 11, and 26 respectively for SOKOTO-STOLEN, TASSA-WATER, and MAINE-HORSE), while the other(s) had a relatively low level of personal and place names (between zero and five). For the "Relative Strangers" the frequency of use was between one and eight. This information is summarized in the chart below.

Chart 2: Frequency of Proper Noun Tokens According to Narrator's Acquaintance with Audience



There does not seem to be any discernable pattern or statistical tendency to use more proper nouns or certain types of proper nouns (i.e. names of people vs. names of places) with friends or with strangers for these narratives. Thus, the frequency of use of proper nouns may be ruled out for this data as an index of same-group identity. Though the frequency of use of proper nouns does not seem to be related to how well the narrator knew his immediate audience, the question remains as to the possible motivations for the narrators' referential choices of personal and place names.

3.3. Referential choice and group membership

As discussed in Section 1.5, the notions of culture and the Community of Practice are related to the identity of the individual with reference to a given

group. Downing's study of referential choice connects the choices speakers make to their judgment of the identity of audience members.

"In any context, the choice of one particular proper name...is likely to serve as a useful indicator of the speaker's assessment of the social network that encompasses the speaker, the hearer, the referent, and possibly also various other auditors or overhearers" (Downing 1996:135)

Thus, speakers may be choosing how to refer to a person or a place based on their assessment of their audience's affiliation with a given social network or Community of Practice, and designing their utterances with the assumption of what knowledge is possessed by the members of that group. Therefore, discourse between interlocutors who share the same cultural frames may be less elaborate in the level of explanation and grounding that must be accomplished regarding referents than between interlocutors for whom that is not the case. An individual on the periphery of a given Community of Practice requires more elaboration and explanation in order to identify and track referents in discourse (cf. Du Bois 1980; Du Bois and Thompson 1991; Downing 1996; Hutchins 1995).⁸

From this, it follows that speakers may be defining the relationship between themselves and their recipients at least partially through referential

⁸ Downing (1996) cites Kamio's notion of "territories of information" (Kamio 1994); Hanks (1990) has discussed this phenomenon, calling it "symmetry of knowledge". It is interesting that linguists and anthropologists working independently, and with different types of data, have come across the phenomenon of shared knowledge and sought to describe and label its effect on linguistic features of discourse.

choice. In the case of interlocutors who share significant social practices and large amounts of knowledge in common, some names need no explanation or elaboration, as we saw in Example (1), in which the father and son communicated about a referent that was not lexicalized. Such names are part of the culture and practices of the interlocutors; as such, we may say that they are Identifiable to the interlocutors. Crucially, the use of proper nouns may become indexical of what interlocutors hold in common. When even referents mentioned for the first time in discourse are Identifiable by the recipient, this indicates shared knowledge between the speaker and recipient.

From the perspective of a non-member or peripheral of the Community of Practice, "referential choice may ... have pronounced exclusionary effects on ... participants in the conversation" (Downing 1996:104). In this way, the pragmatic use of grammatical resources is an indirect index of a socio-cultural relationship. Referential choice reveals cultural knowledge and practice, which in turn indexes the relationship between speaker and recipient.

A speaker who consistently treats each referent as non-Identifiable for the recipient is constructing the relationship as a distant one, while a speaker who consistently treats most referents as Identifiable for the recipient is constructing the relationship as a close one. How the speaker treats discourse referents is at once a reflection of the perception of the social roles of speaker and recipient, as well as a construction of their relationship. Identifiability is a

matter of speaker choice and audience design (Bell 1984, 2001). As Downing notes: "The system of referential options does not operate in a vacuum" (1996:122).

3.3.1. Research questions

My research question concerned whether Fulɓe narrators were indexing a distant relationship with the researchers who were eliciting personal narratives from them, i.e. the narrator was signaling that he and the researcher did not belong to the same socio-cultural group. This question has two predictions: 1) If the referential choice of proper nouns is consistently one which requires knowledge available to such a broad spectrum of individuals and groups that it is not associated with a specific Community of Practice, then we can say that narrators are accommodating the lack of shared knowledge between themselves and the recipients, recognizing the recipients as outsiders to the narrator's Community of Practice. 2) However, if the referential choice of proper nouns is consistently one which requires knowledge associated with a specific Community of Practice, then we can say that narrators are recognizing the recipients as insiders to the group. As the data show, the narrators' use of proper nouns demonstrates that they recognized the differences in group membership between themselves and the researchers, while also recognizing when some shared knowledge could be expected.

An unpublished document by Du Bois and Thompson (1991) provides a framework for the study of how a speaker may assess the recipient's ability to recognize or identify a referent. Their term for the means through which referents may be recognized in discourse is "Pathways of Identifiability."

3.4. Pathways of Identifiability

The positive connection between the linguistic sign and the signified is what is called "Identifiability," a notion attributed by Du Bois and Thompson (1991) to Chafe's work on information flow (1979, 1994). Pathways of Identifiability are the means by which the speaker believes the hearer to be able to recognize or identify a referent. Du Bois and Thompson list nine Pathways of Identifiability in conversational discourse, including reference to 1st and 2nd persons, anaphoric and cataphoric reference, physical setting (which they call "Situation"), and Frame.⁹ Under the broad rubric of Frame, the authors list five types: Universal, which includes general cultural knowledge; Invoked, i.e. when one part or aspect of something is invoked, for instance a page of a book, all aspects of what a book is and what its components are has been brought into the referential sphere; Name, which stands for the relationship of proper nouns to their referents; Body part, and Kin. Five of the nine Pathways described by Du Bois and Thompson can be found in my data.

⁹ This is Fillmore's cognitive-semantic concept of Frame pertaining to the Lexicon (1978), as opposed to the sociocultural description attributed to Goffman (1974) pertaining to performance.

The data which Du Bois and Thompson used to develop the list of Pathways of Identifiability was a conversation between friends: friends who shared the same culture and who were part of the same Community of Practice. However, my data, which consists of interactions between individuals who do not necessarily share culture or membership in the same Community of practice, have revealed an area where this framework may be refined, specifically for the categories of Frame and Name, as well as confirming proposed Pathways such as Situation, Anchored and Mention for a language other than English. In the discussions below, I provide examples of the use of proper nouns which correspond to various Pathways of Identifiability proposed by Du Bois and Thompson, as well as proposing a re-organization of the sub-categories under "Frame." First, however, I address the issue of "Name" as a type of Frame.

3.4.1. Name

"Name" is listed as a type of Frame by Du Bois and Thompson, suggesting that a proper noun is perhaps itself a Pathway of Identifiability. My data suggest that various pathways are required to identify both personal names and place names. Du Bois and Thompson were apparently assuming most proper names would be identifiable, but, as noted, their data were of a conversation between people of the same Community of Practice: friends with a large amount of shared knowledge.

"A referent may be Identifiable by virtue of its name being assumed to be known to the co-conversationalists:

*(1) **Katya** didn't pick them. (195.2)*

(Du Bois and Thompson 1991:8)

As did Du Bois and Thompson, Downing predicted that a bare proper name would be used only when the speaker was sure of the Identifiability of the referent for the addressee (1996:103). I find this not necessarily to be the case in my data. That the recipient can identify the referent may not be important for the speaker, or reflect an assumption which turns out to be incorrect, that the recipient can identify the referent based on the Pathway or Pathways as reflected in the referential choice of the speaker. Names may also be Identifiable through more than one Pathway. The important point is that not all names in a given discourse are Identifiable for all recipients; for whom they are Identifiable is important in terms of group membership.

The two points to be stressed throughout the discussion which follows are first that the personal and place names may be identified through various Pathways of Identifiability, and potentially through more than one Pathway; secondly, the Pathway chosen by the speaker for the hearer says something about group identity. Pathways of Identifiability are about knowledge, and knowledge is acquired and distributed throughout a Community of Practice. The choice of one personal or place name over another reflects and defines the relationship between interlocutors in terms of group affiliation and identity. In

this way, Pathways of Identifiability provide a heuristic device for the indexing of group identity by the Fulfulde narrators vis-à-vis their immediate audience of expatriate researchers.

3.4.2. *Situation*

The Pathway of Identifiability "Situation" refers to the Identifiability of a referent due to physical context, i.e. the speaker and recipient may both be able to see, hear, touch, smell, taste or somehow identify the referent through the immediate circumstances. Example (10) provides a case in point, which was already referred to in Section 2.3.6. The narrator of MARADI-COWS is telling his story to two expatriate women, one of whom has taken on the Fulfulde name "Alheri" because of her involvement with the Fulfulde. The narrator is well-enough acquainted with Alheri to share some knowledge with her, notably the location of the town of Ka'o. During the story, when the narrator refers to the town of Ka'o, he inserts a parenthetical statement for the benefit of the other expatriate woman, which is line 66 below. Furthermore, the second woman recognizes what the narrator is doing, and responds with a barely audible response token (line 67).

- (10) MARADI-COWS
- 64 N: . faa ɓe njahari ɓum si'ire go'o,
 until 3PL go.EXT.VAP PRN town.CL one
 Then they took them to this one town,
- 65 N: wi'ete nde ka'o
 say.EXT.VAP PRN.CL NAM

66 N: ...(.75) <VOX>ngam kanko alheri [em]o
because PRN.DEM NAM be.3SG

67 Researcher: [<P mm P>]

Alheri's physical presence is one Pathway to Identifiability by which the narrator could assume that the other member of his audience will identify the referent; her uptake as evidenced by the slight response token uttered directly after the personal name confirms that the narrator's assumption was correct.

The physical presence of both researcher and narrator in a given location is also provided through "Situation," as in Example (11) below. In his story, the narrator recounts how he has come to Ouallam for help with a physical ailment which he claims to have been begun by an insect bite.

20 walam □on yaa ni ko ke□umi
 NAM here like.this PART what gain.VAP.1SG

69

In this case, both researcher and narrator are in the town of Ouallam, and are presumably both aware of the name of the town. Though the name of the town may be identifiable or not independently of whether the interlocutors are at that physical location, the use of the deictic □*on* 'here' in the syntactic position of a modifier in the noun phrase seems to indicate the narrator's orientation to the physical location of this particular exchange as the Pathway through which the place name may be identified.

Knowledge of the name of a place may be taken for granted through physical presence in that place, or it may be assumed by virtue of proximity. In the example below, the narrator from Sokoto reports what the middleman, Abdu Kinta, testified about the narrator-protagonist. In Example (12), there are a combination of factors surrounding the use of the two place names *Achida* and *Gidan Dare*. First, the elicitation is taking place in Gidan Dare. This presumably makes the Identifiability of this particular place name available by the Pathway of Situation, though the place in which the reported speech took place according to the narrative is not the same place where the elicitation of the narrative is taking place.

(12) SOKOTO-STOLEN

70 o wi'i
3SG say.VAP
He said,

71 <VOX>mi yahaay wuro makko<VOX>.
1SG go.NEG house.CL 3SG:POSS

I haven't been to his house.

72 ... ammaa ni achida taway mo mi.
 CONJ PRN NAM met.EXT. 3SG: 1SG
 VAP OBJ

But I met him at Achida.

73 ...(hx) ammaa gari makko gidan dare.
 CONJ town.CL 3SG:POSS NAM NAM

He is from Gidan Dare.

74 ...(.75) ammaa mi yahaay wuro.
 CONJ 1SG go.NEG house.CL

And I haven't been to his house.

75 amma mi tawi mo achida kam.
 CONJ 1SG meet.VAP 3SG:OBJ NAM PRN

But it is him I met in Achida.

76 .. mi on andi mo.
 1SG.exist.here know.VAP 3SG:OBJ

I here know him.

The place name, Achida, is a nearby town. The ethnographic information which accompanied this narrative states that the place of elicitation is: "Gidan Dare (between Achida and Wurno), Sokoto State, Nigeria." It is very likely that in order to get to Gidan Dare where the elicitation took place, the researchers traveled by way of Achida. Another possibility is that the presence of the researchers in Gidan Dare entails for the narrator some knowledge of towns in the region which would include Achida. In both cases, one Pathway of Identifiability is the physical context or Situation.

However, the additional layer of embedding within the context of the narrative may indicate that whether the immediate audience can identify the

place name is irrelevant. The reported interaction is taking place between local inhabitants in a local market. In this context, the Pathway of Identifiability would not be Situation, but be based on knowledge that is independent of the immediate physical context.

"Situation" as a Pathway does not differentiate at a fine level between interlocutors who may belong to different Communities of Practice because it is possible for people from different Communities of Practice to find themselves in a shared physical context. Thus, Situation is a helpful Pathway of Identifiability for those who lack shared knowledge.

3.4.3. *Anchored*

The Pathway of Identifiability "Anchored" refers to the grammatical anchoring of the referent by a relative clause or possessive noun phrase to an already-established referent. The complete identification of a given referent may not be possible through how it is grammatically Anchored; however the clause or phrase to which the referent is Anchored provides relevant information about the referent to the recipient. An "anchored" name indicates that the speaker is providing information to tell the recipient something about the name. If the name is not identifiable either alone or with the information it is "anchored" to, the information at least allows the recipient to know how the name is relevant to the situation or to the discourse. For example, the narrator from Toumour knows that his recipients have never been to Toumour, and may

not be able to identify it. The two researchers had only just arrived in the area, and met the narrator over a meal. The added information "my village" makes "Toumour" relevant as a piece of background information as the narrator sets up his story.

The narrator from Toumour begins his narration by situating the story events in time (long ago) and space (his village). He gives the name of his village, Toumour, as the first word in the clause in Line 3 of Example (13), but then explains what Toumour is: "my village." "Toumour" is embedded in a noun phrase which contains information making the name Identifiable. This is an example, then, of the Pathway of Identifiability "Anchored."

(13) TOUMOUR-YOUNG

1 (hx .53)...(.52) i woodi won□i hitaande
PRN exist. be.VAP year.CL
VAP

□um nebii
it.is long.
ago

It was one year long ago

2 ...(77) (mx).. kiden saide den mi pamaro'
time.DEM then DEM 1SG small.CL
at that time I was young

3 (.56)(hx.69)... eh!:.. Toumour mawnoomi
PAUSE NAM big.become.1SG

she'engol am
village. 1SG
CL

Toumour, I grew up in my village

4	...(.84)	(mx)	(hx)	..	nder	ladde	amin
					in	bush	1PL:POSS
	<i>in our bush</i>						

Line 3 could also be translated "Toumour which is the village where I grew up". Anchoring is certainly a Pathway of Identifiability which may be used when the speaker is fairly certain that the recipient cannot identify either the referent or the relevance of the referent's mention for the discourse. It is a means of providing explanation which is grammatically and pragmatically connected to the personal or place name. Though Anchoring may be used by speakers who share membership in a Community of Practice with their interlocutors, as in the case of Du Bois and Thompson's data, it is also a useful device for use between interlocutors who do not know each other well or share membership in the same Community of Practice.

Anchoring or the next Pathway, Mention, were used for only 15 out of 87 proper noun tokens (17%) in my data.

3.4.4. *Mention*

"Mention" is the Pathway of Identifiability which refers to anaphoric reference, i.e. the referent is Identifiable because it has already been mentioned once in the discourse. In my data, it was not uncommon for a narrator to mention a referent with a full noun phrase, for instance, "one of my father's younger brothers," and then use the referent's personal name in the following line or Intonation Unit (see Appendix 6.1 for a discussion of Intonation Units

and the lines of the data). This is the case in the example below: line 16 mentions the referent in a full noun phrase, and in the next line the referent's personal name is given.

(14) KANDI-TROUBLES

15 ...(1.19) ko mi yara boyeeri fu,
 when 1SG drink.VAP bowl.of.food.CL all
*before I could drink all of my food,*¹⁰

16 ...(1.01) den baaba amen gon petto
 then father. 1PL: any paternal.younger.
 CL POSS brother.CL

na'an □on,
 PART.3SG here
then one of my father's younger brothers,

17 ...(1.03) we'etee umaru.
 call.EXT.VAP NAM
He is called Umaru.

18 ...(1.47) o wi'a mi 'etta jalo,
 3SG say.VAP 1SG take.VAP hoe.CL
he told me to grab a hoe,

A device I found about 25% of the time for the "Mention" Pathway is the use of a derived form of the quotative verb root *wi'*, which is also the verb used in line 17 of the example above. In Example (15) below, line 68 contains the root *wi'*, followed by a verbal extension and a suffix indicating the noun class for humans. The resulting word *wi'ete*□*o* carries a meaning expressed in the English clause "someone who is called."

¹⁰ Within the cultural context, it is common for a meal to consist of ground millet in a bowl of milk. This is considered food, yet it is not solid and must be drunk.

(15) MARADI-COWS

- 67 ...(.81) \square e njahari \square e ton to laamii \square o,
 3PL bring.EXT.VAP 3PL there where chief
They brought them there to a chief,
- 68 ...(.64) wi'ete \square o ba'ayre.
 say.EXT.VAP.CL NAM
a man by the name of Baayre.

In this example, the referent, a chief, is first mentioned in line 67. The personal name in the following line is Identifiable through both the use of the *wi'* structure, and the Pathway of Mention.

Sometimes the connection between the Mention and the name is not very explicit. In the lines just previous to this excerpt the narrator-protagonist has identified his cows, which had been stolen, and is attempting to leave the market with them. He is stopped by a policeman and others in the market who ask him for proof of his identity, not by papers, but by people in the market who know him and can vouch for his rightful ownership of the cows. In Line 66 of Example (16), the narrator describes how a middleman, someone who makes his living buying cows from Ful \square e herders and re-selling them at the market, approaches the scene of the action. In the next line, the narrator says, "Abdu Kinta knows me", using a personal name as the Subject of the clause, as if the referent is Identifiable.

(16) SOKOTO-STOLEN

- 65 ...(.97) gi'imi aa'aa kowa e andi am
 say.VAP. no anybody PRN know. 1SG:
 1SG VAP OBJ

interaction between speaker and recipients who do not know each other well or are not members of the same Community of Practice.

Situation, Mention and Anchor are Pathways of Identifiability which may emerge from the context of the interaction between speaker and recipient. Though they may be used for non-proper nouns between participants who know each other well, as was found in Du Bois and Thompson's data, as we see, they are equally possible for proper nouns between participants who do not know each other well. As such, they do not indicate shared group identity or membership. A Frame may require more specific knowledge and practice in order for it to be useful as a Pathway to Identifiability. A Frame reflects shared knowledge, shared perspectives, shared worldview, in short, membership in some sort of Community of Practice. However, Du Bois and Thompson's data did not provide them with an opportunity to study the use of Frame in a cross-cultural interaction. Thus, the type of Frame which they call "Universal" needs to be refined to make it more useful for my cross-cultural data.

3.5. Refining "Universal" Frame

Du Bois and Thompson define the Universal Frame as a Pathway of Identifiability based on "general culturally shared frames" (1991:7). As previously mentioned, this definition stems from the particular data which were the subject of their analysis. Universal may be an appropriate category when the data are from members of the same culture; however I found it too broad a

category for the analysis of cross-cultural interaction for two reasons. First, the Universal Frame may allow the assumption that everyone living in the same geographical locality is from the same culture, which is not necessarily the case for multi-ethnic, multi-lingual areas of the world where members of different cultures and practices share the same geographical space. In addition, the Universal Frame may also assume sameness or homogeneity of knowledge for all members of a cultural community (see Hutchins 1995 on distributed cognition).

With regards to the first assumption, place names and personal names may be known to people who are strangers to each other simply because they share a larger regional, national or global environment. Personal names which are prominent in the media or politics are more widely known, for instance, than the names of obscure family members. Media and political personalities may be known by many people whose have only very distant relationships in a very broad Community of Practice, such as the Community of Practice made up of all speakers of English. In the same way, the name of a large and prominent city such as "Los Angeles" is available to a large set of people whose only commonality is that they have had access to knowledge about Los Angeles based on hearsay (radio, television or other news media), or personal location (they live and/or work in Los Angeles), or travel (they have traveled to or through Los Angeles). Therefore, identifying who knows popular names

and referents is unpredictable, and subject to assumptions on the part of interlocutors who may not know each other well.

A Universal Frame may also erroneously presuppose that some elements of the physical environment are easily Identifiable to anyone. There is a growing body of work by scholars who argue that even elements of human experience which have previously been supposed to be "biologically fixed," such as the perception of color, categories of kinship or the perception of physical space, can be shown to be shaped by the practices of socialization and interaction which are specific to a Community of Practice (cf. Danziger 2001; Goodwin 1997; Haviland 1996; Levinson 1996).

In proposing types of Frames which cover the scope of Universal, I have considered issues of geography (local, areal), society and socialization (community), and grammaticalization (convention). A Local Frame refers to a category of Identifiability which is specific to a small geographic area: a neighborhood, a town or city, or small area which includes a rural community. A Local Frame may be shared by interlocutors of different languages or ethnicities; however their co-existence in a relatively small geographic space allows shared Local Frames. The Areal Frame refers to a category of Identifiability which is larger than a Local Frame; it covers regions, continents or parts of several continents which share a common history, political structures, similarities in society and language. It may be as small as the

Midwest of the United States, or as large as the Arabic-speaking world. The name of the Community Frame is reminiscent of the concept of a Community of Practice because similar practices and knowledge may be shared by people from different localities and areas by virtue of commonalities such as technology, e.g. automobiles, the internet, farming practices. The last Frame is Convention, a category of Identifiability which includes grammaticalized and idiomatic expressions.

3.5.1. Local Frame

In at least three instances, narrators used a locally situated, locally salient place name with no explanation for the audience which could aid in identifying the referent. Whether the locally situated use of place names reflects a conscious choice that marks the difference between the narrator and his audience based on local origins, or a habitual use, the point is that some local place names are salient enough to be used even in unusual interactions such as elicited narratives. Secondly, the use of local place names is associated with what may only vaguely resemble a very broad Community of Practice. Anyone living in the area, regardless of their ethnicity, language, kinship affiliations or occupation, has the potential to possess this knowledge.

The locally situated quality of a place name is very apparent when narrators refer to facilities or institutions. For example, the narrator from Ouallam, Niger, names a medical clinic (*lokotoroore dinngaaji* 'Dinngaaji

Clinic') he visited for relief from the poisonous effects of an insect bite, but omits any explanation as to the location of the clinic.

(17) OUALLAM-BITE

7 mi wa□i bal□e tati goo□on
1SG make.VAP day.PL three something.CL

allah tan hollikam da□al bal□e tati □en
god<AR> only show.VAP. end.CL day.PL three there
1SG

I was three days like that. Only God brought me to the end of those three days.

8 jaami lokotoroore dinngaaji kankay
go.VAP.1SG doctor<ENG>.CL NAM 3SG.CL

ko gattanaa mi go□□um □en
what put.EXT.VAP 1SG something.CL there
I went to the Dinngaaji Clinic; they gave me something for it.

9 ni □um □uri
CONJ PRN worse.VAP
But it only got worse.

My point is not that Dinngaaji Clinic itself is necessarily local, but that its mention without any sort of introduction or explanation in the text seems to reflect an assumption on the part of the narrator that anyone in the area would be able to identify this clinic: we can think of this as identifiability via a Local Frame pathway.¹¹

¹¹ I have found this to be the case in my own personal experience as a student at UCSB. Because I don't live in Santa Barbara, my knowledge of places in town is very limited, yet because I am a student at the university, fellow students and faculty members have mentioned places to me, and given me driving directions as if I were well aware of common landmarks. An explanation of a local place name is rarely given unless I ask for it.

Likewise, as he describes his search for two stolen cows, the narrator from Sokoto, Nigeria, names the local market. It would have been grammatically and pragmatically possible for him to simply use the word *lumo* 'market' in lines 31 and 32, yet he names it. The storyline can be easily followed by a naïve listener (myself, for instance) without the knowledge of the precise identity and location of the market. Yet there does seem to be an implicit assumption of local knowledge on the part of his audience, as he does not say where this market is located. This reflects the Pathway of Identifiability I am calling a Local Frame.

(18) SOKOTO-STOLEN

- 29 o wosso nder ladde,
 3SG look.around in bush
 (I) *looked around in the bush,*
- 30 cumumi,
 tire.EXT.VAP.1SG
 until I got tired,
- 31 nyannan nyande lumo shinkafi.
 day.DEM day.CL market NAM(rice<HA>)
 That day was Shinkafi market day.
- 32 sai nattumi lumo shinkafi.
 then enter.EXT.VAP.1SG market NAM
 So I went to Shinkafi market.

As in Example (17), the precise location of Shinkafi Market is never given, though it is the site of the scene in the story which is pivotal to the recovery of the stolen cows. It may be that the Local Frame is a Pathway of Identifiability which the narrators may have presumed based on the local presence of the

researchers, or it may be that this type of local information is not necessarily meant to be Identifiable for strangers. Uses of the names of local places may be unintentionally exclusionary. However, the effect is the same regardless of intention: a dividing line has been created between those who can identify the referent and those who cannot.

3.5.2. *Areal Frame*

The Areal Frame is a Pathway to Identifiability which is based on the knowledge of inhabitants of a broader geographical area than is the case for the Local Frame. National borders between Niger, Nigeria and Benin were imposed by the French and English colonial powers barely a century ago, uniting groups with no common heritage, and dividing groups such as the Fulɓe. Prior to colonialization, the area in which these narratives were elicited was part of the Sokoto Empire ruled by Fulɓe and Hausa politicians (Hama 1968a, 1968b). The use of a traditional name recalls the past even as it associates the speaker with the geography of the area (Hanks 1990). For example, the narrator from a location north of Tanout, Niger, uses the traditional name for the area where he and his family pursued the bandits who robbed them, "Damagaram", instead of the modern name of the *département* (roughly equivalent to a state in the United States), which is "Zinder".¹²

¹² This would be analogous to a resident on the east coast of the United States continuing to use the term "Plymouth colony" instead of "Massachusetts."

(19) TANOUT-SAD

35 □e potti ga□a damagaram.
 3PL move.way.VAP behind NAM
They went away beyond Damagaram (name of region).

The use of "Damagaram" may be a reflection of this narrator's orientation to his identity, as well as the habitual use of the traditional name of his home region. The areally situated and historically salient place name creates a contrast in identities, whether conscious or not, between the narrator who is native to the region and the white, expatriate researchers whose skin color associates them with people originating from a different part of the world, and with the history of African colonialization. The Pathway of Identifiability for a traditional name for an area is what I am calling an Areal Frame.

In the same way, the MAINE-HORSE narrative contains place names the Identifiability of which are based on the Areal Frame. This is one of the more striking examples of the use of place names in a narrative told to an indirect acquaintance and a stranger. Example (7) on page 48 was one list of place names from this narrative; here is a second and shorter instance of a slightly different list.

(20) MAINE-HORSE

52 ...(.53)(mx) gujjo wa□i bal□e □i□i joggi puccu.
 thief. make. day.CL two have. horse.
 CL VAP VAP CL
The thief had spent two days with the horse.

53 ...(.131) □aawo ...(.37) □aawo o joggi puccu
 back back 3SG have. horse.

bal□e □i□i,
 day. two
 CL

After he had the horse for two days,

54 ...(1.31) mi sahalake mi yehi .. gashuwa,
 1SG go.away. 1SG go.VAP NAM
 EXT.VAP

I went away I went to Gashuwa,

55 ... geidam,
 NAM

Geidam,

56 guru,
 NAM

Guru

57 .. ammaa mi wittoyi.
 but 1SG go.back.EXT.VAP

But I returned.

The Areal Frame seems to be the Pathway of Identifiability to which this narrator may have been orienting. In the case of the relationship context of this narrative, the researcher who was a stranger to the narrator was visiting from Nigeria. In addition, the town of Maine-Soroa is located on the border between Niger and Nigeria. The researcher from Nigeria could be expected to know the names of towns in Nigeria (Gashua, Geidam and Guru), while anyone who was in the area of the border town of Maine-Soroa could also be expected to know the names of Nigerian towns such as Gashua and Geidam.

In the four examples given for the Local and Areal Frames, the use of place names is what would be expected if the expatriate researcher's physical

presence with the narrator and their knowledge of Fulfulde were enough for the narrator to assume knowledge on the part of the expatriate researcher which included places in the locality and in the area. As Pomerantz observed, knowing can be locally occasioned, with some knowledge being available to anyone who happens to be in the right place at the right time (1980:187). Thus, the use of Local and Areal Frames as Pathways of Identifiability may result in some exclusionary effects for recipients who don't know enough about an area to identify place names; however the fact that narrators seem to have relied on those Frames as valid Pathways indicates that they did attribute some local competence to the researchers.

3.5.3. *Community Frame*

The Community Frame as a Pathway of Identifiability resonates with the notion of "Community of Practice", because this is one means by which someone would come to have knowledge of a referent. The idea of Community Frame reflects knowledge gained through socialization, enculturation and close personal contact as a Pathway to Identifiability. The best example of this that I can find in my data was presented in Example (10), where the narrator can be sure that he and one of the members of his audience both know the other member of the audience. When he names "Alheri," she is identifiable presumably not only because of her physical presence, but also because she has

a history of relationship with both of the other members of this ephemeral, situational Community of Practice.

It is striking that I can find no other examples of personal names or place names whose Pathway of Identifiability would be through the Community Frame. This indicates that the narrators did not use names in a manner which would have required knowledge based on membership in a specific Community of Practice.

3.5.4. *Convention*

The Convention Frame may be defined as the place where *habitus* and grammaticalization meet. The effect of frequency and routinization on language results in reduced and or conventionalized ways of expressing ideas. Presumably, these ideas and concepts must be frequent in societal practices and expectations, in order for them to become linguistically frequent. The prime example in my data of a referent which can be identified through the Frame of Convention is a supreme deity.

In Table 2 on page 56, I had separated the 16 tokens of *Allah* 'God' from the other personal and place names which occur in my data. One reason for this was because the personal name *Allah* was the most frequent personal name in my data; its frequency makes it noteworthy. Some of the tokens were clearly formulaic in use. In Example (21), the personal name *Allah* is used in the closing line of the narrative:

(21) TASSA-FIELDS

Allah wallu en
May God help us.

In this example, the referent is Identifiable based both on the culturally habitual way of asking for God's help, as well as the frequent linguistic combination which has resulted in what appears to be a conventionalized phrase. An even more grammaticalized form is found in line 82 of Example (23) under a discussion of the Kin Frame. "God bless you" in English as a response to a sneeze is another example of a referent which is Identifiable based on the Convention Frame.

Six narrators of the 12 narrators used *Allah* in their narratives. The name *Allah* and its accompanying associations was borrowed into Fulfulde and the Fulɓe culture from Arabic and Islam (Nelson 1981). The Fulɓe have been Muslims for several centuries, and are responsible for several *jihads* (holy wars) during the Maasina (Mali) and Sokoto (Nigeria) Empires (Bâ 1991; Hama 1968b). Steve and Ann White, who have worked with Fulɓe in Burkina Faso and Niger, report that they were told that no Fulɓe can practice any religion but Islam (personal communication). Thus the name *Allah* is Identifiable for the Fulɓe as part of their history, and as part of the religion practiced in their society. This name is used in ways that no other personal name is used in the narratives.

(17) OUALLAM-BITE

allah	tan	hollikam	da□al	bal□e	tati	□en
god<AR>	only	show.VAP. 1SG	end.CL	day.PL	three	there

Prayer is one of the five Pillars of Islam; the five habitual practices every adherent must carry out regularly. Though a well-known prayer Muslims is the recitation of the 99 names of God, it is not unheard-of for individuals to address the deity personally (cf. Bâ 1991; Caner and Caner Nelson 1981; Parshall 1983, 1985). One narrator reports himself as doing this within quoted speech in Example (22).

(22) TASSA-WATER

I said, "Lord God what can I do

90

am ndiyam?
 1SG: water.CL
 POSS
to find water for my mother and father?"

Due to the cultural and historical importance of Islam in the Fulɓe Community of Practice, *Allah* is an easily identifiable referent. In addition, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in an area of Africa where over three-quarters of the population identifies themselves as Muslim, and where traditional African religions play an important role in social cohesion, the existence of a supreme deity would be taken for granted. The Frame of Convention refers to a Path of Identifiability that may span localities, areas, cultures and societies. Thus the context of a religion which is practiced widely in the many cultures and societies in West Africa allows for shared knowledge or assumption even between strangers based on the widespread conventional practices.

In Sections 3.5.1 through 3.5.4 I have discussed a new subdivision of the "Universal" Frame originally proposed in Du Bois and Thompson (1991). Examples have been provided of referents which are Identifiable through the Local, Areal, Community and Convention Frames. The final type of Frame which is a category for a Pathway of Identifiability for which I find examples in my data is Kin terms.

3.6. Kin

How kin are referred to may be a choice which reflects the relationship between interlocutors. Downing has observed that with relative strangers,

familiar terms for a referent like "Uncle John", "Grandma", or "Mommy" are dispreferred (1996:119-122). Use of a familiar term of address for familiar people is something speakers tend to do for those within closer circles of relationship. Due to this type of avoidance, the provision of a first and last name instead of a more familiar term of address may be indicative of a more distant relationship between interlocutors. One example of this in my data is the reported testimony of the middleman Abdu Kinta as he identifies the narrator-protagonist for a policeman.

(23) SOKOTO-STOLEN

76 .. mi□on andi mo.
 1SG.exist.here know.VAP 3SG:OBJ
I here know him.

77 ...(58) ko ma innde makko bello.
 which 3SG name.CL 3SG:POSS NAM
His name is Bello.

78 o mo ni o dottiijo bello.
 3SG 3SG:OBJ PRN 3SG old.man.CL NAM
He is with the old man Bello.

79 mohammadu bello,
 NAM NAM
Mohammadou Bello,

80 ...(40) taanu haliru.
 grandson.CL NAM
Halirou's grandson.

81 ...(1.13) o wi'i
 3SG say.VAP
He [the policeman] said,

82 to maadallaa.
 DMKR by.the.mouth.of.God<AR>
 Okay, very good.

Abdu Kinta's recitation of the genealogically-based identity of the narrator-protagonist has a dual indexical value: it may index a relationship as a fellow member of a Community of Practice which encompasses Abdu Kinta, the narrator-protagonist, and the policeman. But at the same time, this genealogical recitation is embedded in a performance before researchers. In this instance, one of the researchers is a Fulɓe himself, while the other researcher is an expatriate.

Abdu Kinta first identifies the narrator-protagonist by family name in line 77: *His name is Bello*. Gradually, in lines 78-79, Abdu Kinta narrows the possible field of genealogical referents by specifying which other Bello in the community is related to the narrator Bello. Up to this point, the only kin term he has used is *dottiijo*, which can be used to refer to any older male relative including fathers, uncles and grandfathers, and is also an age- and sex-graded social term which may be used to refer to any men over a certain age. However the term *taanu* specifically refers to the grandparent-grandchild relationship. It is notable that the kin term comes at the end of the speech of personal identification, after the narrator-protagonist had first been identified by his family name and a patriarch of the family. This would seem to support Downing's claim about kin terms being dispreferred with people who are not

within a more familiar circle. Both for the policeman and for two researchers, the performance of genealogical relationship delays the only kin term until the end.

An additional remark about this example is that the narrator may not have been intending that immediate audience be able to specifically identify the referents in this list. However, they are provided enough information to make the discourse somehow coherent as part of the narrative. In either case, this example also supports the claim that the narrator's use of personal names is such that the Pathways of Identifiability are not necessarily associated with shared membership in a specific Community of Practice. The final Pathway of Identifiability is through Repair.

3.7. Repair

In effect, one of the primary methodological directives for the elicitation of these narratives created a complication with regard to the flow of information in them. Because of the uncertainty of whether knowledge of a prominent name or place is shared, because of Pathways of Identifiability not specific to a single Community of Practice such as the Local and Areal Frames, the narrators might have been relying on the audience to signal any difficulty in comprehension during the course of the narrative. However, the researchers' behavior was constrained by the directions for recording narratives for an RTT which explicitly state that any sounds other than the voice of the

narrator should be strictly limited. This prevented them from initiating a repair sequence, that is, stopping the narrator to ask for clarification of the identity of a referent. This methodological complication may allow a proper noun to pass unexplained.¹³ This is a likely scenario for at least one of the personal names mentioned in the SOKOTO-STOLEN narrative.

The SOKOTO-STOLEN narrative provides an example of the complication the Local and Areal Frames in combination with the researchers' constrained interactive participation may present to the narrator. In this narrative, the personal name *Sarkin Sudan* 'Chief Sudan' is mentioned with no explanation as to his identity. The Identifiability of this personage seems to be assumed by the narrator, not only because of a lack of explanation, but also because the first mention of his name is as the grammatical Subject and semantic Agent of the clause. This grammatical relationship and semantic role have been found to be a position strongly constrained by Identifiability: Du Bois and Thompson found that 90% of the intransitive Subjects and 95% of the transitive Subjects in their data were Identifiable (1991:25). Work in this area since then has confirmed that Subjects tend to be overwhelmingly Identifiable in many languages (cf. Du Bois 2001; Du Bois et al. 2003).

(24) SOKOTO-STOLEN

¹³ Downing found this to also be the case in her research on proper names in English conversation (1996:102).

- 86 ...(49) ngartumi wurno,
 come.EXT.
 VAP.1SG NAM
I went back to Wurno
- 87 ...(1.95) □oo,
 here
here,
- 88 ...(1.14) □un un sarkin sudan watta
 PRN PART chief NAM result.
 VAP
- na an jungo.
 on 1SG arm.CL
Then Chief Sudan could vouch for me (by letter).
- 89 ...(68) watta sukka makko o wara
 result. child.CL 3SG:POSS 3SG come.
 VAP VAP
- tawanmi □oo.
 meet.EXT.VAP.1SG here
So that his boy would come and meet me here.

By virtue of the title *Sarkin* 'Chief', it is possible that this man is a widely-known personality in the region. *Sarkin* is not a Fulɓe title, but a title borrowed from Hausa, the dominant language in northern Nigeria. It is evident through the unfolding of the story that *Sarkin Sudan* wields a large amount of influence and power, even to the domination of other chiefs who have the title *Lamii*□o, which is specific to the Fulɓe. The renown of *Sarkin Sudan* may or may not be known to the audience; it is impossible to tell. Because the audience did not signal to the narrator in any audible way that there was a comprehension difficulty, the narrator did not provide any elaboration as to the identity of this chief.

In the preceding pages, the various Pathways of Identifiability which seem to have been assumed by the narrators as the means by which their audience would be able to Identify referents introduced in the form of personal and place names have been discussed. These include Situation, Anchored, Mention, Repair, and the types of Frames that are Local, Areal, Community, Convention, and Kin.

3.8. Summary

The remarkable aspect about the use of these Pathways of Identifiability for the 87 proper noun tokens in my data is that, with the exception of the Community Frame, these are all categories of knowledge which do not require a close relationship between interlocutors. The evidence seems to weigh most heavily on the side of the research question which specified that if the referential choice of proper nouns is consistently one which requires knowledge available to such a broad spectrum of individuals and groups that it is not associated with a specific Community of Practice, then we can say that narrators are accommodating the lack of shared knowledge between themselves and the recipients, recognizing the recipients as outsiders to the narrator's Community of Practice.

In studying the frequency of proper noun tokens in these narratives, it was found that eleven of the thirteen Fulɓe texts contain one or more tokens. Of the 87 tokens which are either personal names or place names, there are 50

place name, 21 personal names, and 16 tokens of the personal name *Allah* which were classified as conventionalized through religious practice.

In examining the levels of relationships between the various narrators and researchers I discovered that the frequency of proper nouns was not related to how well the narrators could be supposed to know their immediate audience. Du Bois and Thompson's notion of Pathways of Identifiability ultimately proves more fruitful as a heuristic device to assess the social symbolic use of personal and place names. How the audience can be expected to identify a referent reveals how the relationship between narrator and audience is being reflected and constructed through the use of proper nouns.

Local, Areal and Conventional Frames are Pathways of Identifiability open to a wide range of interlocutors. In essence, these three Pathways may indicate that the interlocutors do not know each other well, and must name referents based on a very broad base of knowledge open to members of many Communities of Practice. The Pathways of Identifiability which allow Identification of a referent through immediate physical context or the information found in the discourse itself are Situation, Anchored, Mention and Repair. Situation as a Pathway of Identifiability is one which may be used by interlocutors who may know each other very well, as in Du Bois and Thompson's data, or who may come from very different Communities of Practice, as is the case for much of my data. The Pathways Anchored and

Mention essentially treat proper nouns as non-Identifiable for the audience, as the referent is presumably not Identifiable without the explanation in the narrative. Finally, Repair as a potential Pathway of Identifiability may be blocked by other aspects of the discourse context, such as the methodological directive that researchers not interact with the narrator in order to achieve the goal of a "clean copy" of the recording.

There is very little indication that the narrators recognized the researchers as members of the same Community of Practice who share common knowledge with them. Proper nouns are consistently treated as non-Identifiable or Identifiable through Pathways not associated with a specific Community of Practice. The narrators' use of proper nouns in these narratives demonstrates that they were orienting to the researchers as outsiders to their group.

4. Conclusion

Using as my data a corpus of Fulfulde narratives which were experimentally elicited, I have argued that the use of proper nouns in these narratives was indexical of the relationship between the narrator and the researcher. This entails a view of language as a system which is larger than structures of sound, syntax, and referential meaning, a system which is highly symbolic of human relationship, social organization, and interaction.

The literature on place names was briefly reviewed in terms of different ways scholars have used place names for the study of language and culture change. Following this, the much smaller literature on cultural symbolism in the use of place names was reviewed. The choice of place names in socially symbolic speech led to a consideration of the concept of the "Community of Practice" as a means to define the group of speakers.

Theoretical considerations of culture as cognitive, interactional, and composed of practices provide a basis for the concept of a Community of Practice. Membership in a given Community of Practice does not necessarily rely on categories such as shared language, ethnicity or geographic area, but on shared practices and what they entail in terms of assumptions and knowledge of the world.

As I described the conditions under which the data were collected, the original purposes for the data, and methodological constraints, it became apparent that even experimental elicitation is a type of natural human interaction. Narrators continued to use linguistic resources in order to accomplish the task they believed had been requested of them. The effects of the constraints the researchers attempted to place on the interactional situation are apparent in several of the narratives. This demonstrates again that language is specifically designed for its context, which includes the identities and group membership of the participants in the interaction.

A striking fact about these data is that the thirteen narratives were told by men who do not know each other though they claim the same linguistic and ethnic identity; they live in three different West African countries, and speak four varieties of Fulfulde that are not completely mutually intelligible. Even so, all but two of the narrators used proper nouns in their narrative, though they were explicitly instructed not to do so. This observation finds some resonance with previous work on place names by Basso and by Pagliai who claim that place names are ubiquitous to natural discourse.

The concept of Pathways of Identifiability proposed by Du Bois and Thompson (1991) provided a way to describe the referential choices made by the Fulfulde narrators. The use of most of the proper nouns was consistent with the introduction of referents to the discourse with no evidence of commonly shared knowledge. The Pathways of Identifiability which seemed to have been chosen by the narrators include Situation, Anchored, Mention, Kin Frame and Repair. Examples from the data were discussed for each of these Pathways. For the broad Universal Frame proposed by Du Bois and Thompson, I proposed four narrower Frame types which were reflected in my data: Local, Areal, Community, and Convention. The data support my claim that the way in which the narrators used proper nouns indexed their relationship to the researcher as individuals who belong to a different Community of Practice.

In Gumperz's 1996 article, he states explicitly that individuals' communicative backgrounds may be a better indicator of group membership than ethnic or cultural identity, particularly in light of growing urbanization and globalization (1996:402). "Human collectivities" in which people share activities, interactional norms, and talk to each other often enable the sharing of knowledge concerning people and places which ultimately makes them members of the same community. When they encounter others, they may speak of their environment and the people they know in ways that are different than they would when they speak to members of their own community. This observation has pragmatic consequences for grammar, grammatical referentiality, but even larger consequences for the symbolic use of language. The global argument of this thesis has been that even grammar can participate in indexing individual identity. A proper noun is not simply a member of a grammatical category with particular referential properties, but a resource for symbolic gesture in interaction.

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6. Appendices

6.1. A note on lines in the data

For the narratives for which I have audio data, each line in the examples is equivalent to an Intonation Unit.¹⁴ Arnott (1965) is the only previous research I am aware of on prosody in Fulfulde in addition to my own work in progress (Harrison 2003), so what I have posited as Intonation Units must be understood as preliminary. I observe, (and Chafe (1994) and Park (2001) have demonstrated), that the grammatical clause and the Intonation Unit seem to have many correspondences in cognitive and interactional reality. For this reason, and because I do not have audio files for four of the narratives (MAYAH-MISTAKEN, OUALLAM-BITE, TANOUT-SAD and TASSA-WATER), a line in my data corresponds roughly to a grammatical clause with accompanying elements such as conjunctions, deictics, demonstratives, and semantically empty vocalizations

6.2. Abbreviations used in transcription

HX = breath intake

MX = lip smack

@ = pulse of laughter

H@ = pulse of breathy snicker

CAPS = breathy/voiceless segments

. = short pause of 10 milliseconds or less

.. = short pause of 20 milliseconds or less

... = short pause of 30 milliseconds or less

¹⁴ I am following the definition and transcription conventions of Intonation Units as described by Du Bois et al. 1992, Chafe 1994, Fougeron 1999.

(.5) = time of pause in seconds

'=' = prosodic lengthening

! heightened pitch

6.3. Abbreviations used in gloss

1 – first person

2 – second person

3 – third person

ADV - adverb

be – existential/progressive/imperfect

CL – noun class marker

COMP – comparative

CONJ - conjunction

COP - copula

DEM – demonstrative pronoun

DF – disfluency

DMKR – discourse marker ('yowa', 'to')

EMPH - emphatic

<EN> - English (borrowed or code-mixing)

EXCL** -- exclamation

EXT – verbal extension (get McIntosh's definition)

<FR> - French (borrowed or code-mixing)

FS – False Start

<HA> - Hausa (borrowed or code-mixing)

LOC - locative

NAM - proper name

NEG – negation (morpheme or lexical item)

OBJ – grammatical object

PART - particle

PL - plural

POSS - possessive

PRN - pronoun

REL - relative clause marker

SG - singular

SPEC - specifier

SUBORD - subordinate clause marker

VAP – voice aspect polarity marker

See also Leipzig Morpheme Glossing Rules.

** varies from Leipzig Morpheme Glossing Rules