Operant Subjectivity

The International Journal of Q Methodology

Assembling Concourse Material and Selecting Q Samples on the Sociolinguistics of Tourism Discourse in Zanzibar

Susanne Mohr
University of Cape Town/University of Bonn

Abstract: There are a variety of methods used in the field of linguistics. However, Q methodology has only rarely been employed and this article showcases one of the few linguistic studies to do so. Its focus is on assembling a concourse and compiling a Q sample, two of the basic and thus most important steps in the application of the method. While designed as a paired study at its inception, comparing tourists' and hosts' reasons for language choices in the tourist space of Zanzibar, this design could not be maintained given the concourse data based on the literature and on previous fieldwork. Thus, the article emphasizes the necessity for a researcher's flexibility during the research process and the continuous re-evaluation of research designs by letting the data speak for itself and recognizing participants as co-producers of knowledge. As such, it contributes importantly to the field of linguistics in advancing it methodologically, while at the same time making a contribution to the development of Q methodology as a conversation analytical tool.

Introduction

There are a variety of methods used to investigate the structure and functions of language, for example, in the field of linguistics. Traditionally, these have involved philological methods such as textual analysis (e.g., Boeckh, 1877), as well as language documentary methods such as elicitation in fieldwork (e.g., Gippert, Himmelmann & Mosel, 2006). In the era of digitization, the (semi-)automated analysis of digital text corpora facilitates the analysis of increasingly larger texts in corpus-based and driven studies drawing largely on quantitative methods of analysis (e.g., McEnery & Hardie, 2012), that is, the positivist turn in this field is relatively strong. Here, statistical modeling is almost indispensable for credibility, and practical guidebooks abound (e.g., Gries, 2016). This is similar to a tendency in the social sciences where W. Stainton Rogers (1997/1998, p. 3) maintains that for a long time "the preoccupation with objectivity and 'hard data' made it impossible to engage with what was most salient and interesting about the social world". Often, the participants, or in the case of linguistics, speakers of a language or variety, seem to take a back seat in research analyses because information on their socio-demographic background, for example, in the form of corpus meta-data, was not collected for a long time (Greenbaum & Nelson, 1996). It is only

recently that corpus meta-data have been compiled in a systematic manner (e.g., Gut, 2013) as the value of these data became more appreciated.

Much in opposition to these quantitatively oriented methods, constructionist approaches to language emphasize the importance of individual speakers and society for the meaning-making process, employing for instance discourse analysis (e.g., Wodak & Meyer, 2016) or interviews as research instruments (e.g., Schilling, 2013). It is in this regard that Q methodology is relevant for linguistics: it identifies the main discourses in the data and is thus inherently discourse analytical (cf. R. Stainton Rogers, 1997/1998; W. Stainton Rogers, 1997/1998), as well as constructionist, making out the viewpoints of specific social groups concerning a subject matter (Watts & Stenner, 2012). Nevertheless, Q has only rarely been used in linguistics, most notably by King and Carson (2017) in a large-scale study investigating multilingual identities in Europe, and in smaller studies by Bianco (2015) or Lundberg (2019). The present article discusses Q's usefulness for linguistics, illustrating its application in a study on language choices in the tourist space of Zanzibar. Further, it provides an outlook on what insights linguistics might be able to offer to the Q research community.

Q as a Humanizing and Decolonizing Methodology (in Linguistics)

Q is discourse analytical in that it identifies the various discourses at work in the data, "discourse" defined, on the one hand, in a narrow sense, that is different ways of representing reality, and broadly defined on the other hand referring to a moment of the social, subsuming language and other semiotic forms, and dialectically relating to other moments of the social (Fairclough, 2003). Hence, the factors that emerge from a Q study are cultural products (e.g., Stephenson, 1983; R. Stainton Rogers, 1997/1998), representing the cultural background of the participants and their conceptualization of the Q sample, creating meaning in their cultural and social context. In this vein, Q is "tectonic" in nature, "assum[ing] that new stories and representations […] are crafted out of existing ones or the discursive 'spaces' between them" (W. Stainton Rogers, 1997/1998, p. 14).

As such, Q, particularly in the study outlined here, emphasizes the fact that data can speak for themselves and the participants determine meaning and salience (W. Stainton Rogers, 1997/1998, p. 9). Thus, the centrality and value of the participant in the research process is emphasized, a tendency that has been underscored by recent movements to "humanize" the research process (e.g., Paris & Winn, 2014), that is a "methodological stance, which requires that our inquiries involve dialogic consciousness-raising and the building of relationships of dignity and care for both researchers and participants" (Paris, 2011, p. 137). In this vein, researchers should build meaningful relationships and equalize the power balance between them and their participants, ultimately leading to more valid data (cf. Fredricks, 2019). This is closely linked to the idea of "decolonizing" the research process (cf. Nhemachena, Mlambo & Kaundjua, 2016 for a general account, Burke, 2015 in relation to Q), which raises similar issues of power (im)balance. This especially applies in cultural contexts in which race and colonial hegemonic power relations play(ed) a role (see also Wijngaarden, 2016): for instance, in a questionnaire study that I conducted in Tanzania, a group of participants could not conceive of the Likert scale as an instrument to measure their personal opinion on linguistic constructions but rather as a tool to measure that opinion's "correctness" as judged by me as a white person (Mohr, 2018a). This happened despite detailed explanations of the task on my part. Q might have been a

more "human" and decolonized methodology for this study in that I could have entered a veritable dialogue with the participants and possibly built a more equal relationship with them. Applying a humanized approach, the "researcher should be prepared to adapt and modify research practices *in response to what participants say and do*" (Fredricks, 2019, pp. 110-111, own emphasis), making them true co-producers of knowledge. In line with this, there has recently been a tendency to avoid the notion of "informant" and instead conceptualize participants as, among others, "co-producers of knowledge" (Phillips, Kristiansen, Vehviläinen & Gunnarsson, 2013) in the humanities and social sciences. In view of the humanizing and reflective character of Q outlined here, it can thus advance linguistics a great deal in raising more awareness for positionalities and subjectivity in the research process.

The greater opportunity for participants to contribute to the meaning-making process in Q shall be briefly demonstrated here with respect to linguistic methodologies A frequently applied quantitative methodology in linguistics is questionnaires. However, "when a subject responds to a scale item [...] the meaning and significance his response has for him may differ in major respects from the meaning assumed by the observer" (Brown, 1980, p. 3), that is, researcher-imposed categories (cf. Lundberg, 2019). In a study on teachers' attitudes towards different varieties of English used in the English as a foreign language classroom (Forsberg, Mohr & Jansen, 2019), one problem with the evaluation of the data turned out to be that our research team had no idea what the teachers actually thought of when presented with the concept of "Euro-English", an artificial variety of English not spoken in any particular country, although this had been briefly explained in the questionnaire. From the teachers' answers, it became clear that it might have been a different category from what we had in mind when we compiled the questionnaire. Q could have obtained more valid results in this case, given that its value for attitude research, as well as research into beliefs, has been demonstrated (e.g., Stephenson, 1965; Cross, 2005; Burke, 2015; Lundberg, 2019).

In linguistics, with respect to qualitative methodologies such as interviews, the problem is often that of focus. While an interview is much more flexible than a questionnaire and can be tailored more to the research situation and the participants (cf. Fredricks, 2019 on the adaptation of interviews with refugee children), this bears the risk of wandering off topic, especially in unstructured interviews. Further, traditional sociolinguistic interviews usually do not aim so much at eliciting stories but rather at obtaining a large amount of spontaneous speech data for analysis (Tagliamonte, 2006). They are thus an important tool for eliciting linguistic data to work with structurally but not necessarily in order to analyze attitudes and beliefs about language.[1] Even if a researcher undertakes an interview targeting attitudes and beliefs, the problem of connecting with the participant, that is, creating power balance, remains, or, if they succeed in doing so, of covering the entirety of their questions in one session. In fact, approaches such as in-depth interviewing require at least three interview sessions with one participant to elicit meaningful linguistic data (Seidmann, 2006).

While Q shows characteristics of and advantages over several other research methodologies, it has been argued to have several shortcomings, for example, issues of reliability as participants do not necessarily sort a sample in the same way twice (Brown 1980) and a relatively narrow focus due to the selection of a limited number of

---

[1] This is notably different in approaches using narrative analysis, for instance (cf. De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012).

statements by the researcher (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 54). However, Brown (1980) reports up to 85% consistency in repeated sorts and similar findings can be observed even with different Q samples. This may be traceable to the general nature of human behavior. The narrow focus of the sample simply emphasizes the importance of a meticulous sampling process (Cross, 2005, p. 212), and seems to be a characteristic of sampling in general. Further, Q may be combined with other methods, such as questionnaires (Watts & Stenner, 2012, pp. 74-76, 81-83), which can ultimately broaden the focus of a study. Finally, post-sorting interviews are an important part of the Q research process, in order to better understand the participants' points of view and provide further insights for the statistical analysis and interpretation of the data (Gallagher & Porock, 2010; Shemmings & Ellingsen, 2012). As such, they again emphasize the humanizing spirit of Q.

Concourse Compilation and Q Sample Selection: Insights From an Investigation Into Language Choices in Tourism

The concept of the concourse as defined in Stephenson's theories is complex (1978, 1982, 1986, 1988/1989), applying varying terminologies and definitions. This variability might be due to the nature of the concourse being different in every study (Watts & Stenner 2012, p. 34). However, most centrally, a concourse is characterized by communicability, referring to observable facets of a subject matter (Stephenson, 1982). This means that ultimately, there exists a concourse for "every concept, every declarative statement, every wish, [and] every object in nature, when viewed subjectively" (Stephenson, 1986, p. 44). Further, statements and opinions about a subject matter may be derived from a field of shared knowledge based on cultural background.

More practically defined, "a concourse is […] the overall population of statements from which a final Q-set is sampled" (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 34). It is equally variable what the concourse in fact consists of, with statements formulated orally or in written form being the most obvious components, while other modes of expression should certainly be considered, similar to Q samples (Watts & Stenner, 2012). Viewing language and communication from a semiotic angle, this study also considered pictures, souvenirs and other artifacts of the tourist space as expressions of opinion.

A concourse of language choices in the tourist space of Zanzibar

Q has been frequently used in tourism research (Stergiou & Airey, 2011), discussing various aspects and types of tourism, for example, Hardy and Pearson (2016), Mayett-Moreno, Villarraga-Flórez and Rodríguez-Piñeros (2017) on sustainability issues, Lee and Son (2016), Lee (2019) on ecotourism, Tan, Luh and Kung (2014) on creative tourism and Wijngaarden (2016) on cultural tourism, to name but a few recent studies. Given that the present investigation operated within a largely ethnographic framework, it was particularly inspired by Wijngaarden's (2016, 2017) approach.

The study conducted here aimed at answering the research question: "How are language choices by tourists and hosts in Zanzibar (Tanzania) motivated?" In tourist contexts, linguistically super-diverse situations develop as tourists from all over the world come into contact with local hosts (Vertovec, 2007; Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010). This also applies to Zanzibar. While in some tourist locations around the world the local language is employed frequently for interaction between tourists and hosts, and "markets" the destination linguistically giving it a distinct local flavor (cf. Salazar, 2006

for the Tanzanian case), English remains one of the most frequently chosen lingua francas in tourism (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010). Along the East African coast where the present study is set, Kiswahili, the lingua franca of the region, is frequently encountered being used by tourists, albeit in a simplified version, termed "Hakuna Matata Swahili" (Nassenstein, 2019). The present research project aimed at finding out why the communicative means that had been observed in the tourist space of Zanzibar in previous fieldwork, including English, the local language Kiswahili and a simplified version of it, as well as the tourists' native languages (Mohr, forthcoming), were used by tourists as compared to hosts. These communicative practices were, however, not theoretically conceptualized as distinct languages but rather as parts of a linguistic repertoire existing within a speaker, a theory that has been maintained specifically with reference to language and super-diversity (Blommaert & Backus, 2012). Using Q to analyze motivations for choosing one of the various parts of one's repertoire also emphasizes the shift of orientation from communities to individuals and subjectivities that has recently been demanded in sociolinguistics (Blommaert & Backus, 2012; Blommaert 2019).

Investigating the viewpoint of tourists and hosts concerning interaction with the respective other group, seemed to require a paired study to make these viewpoints comparable. The research question had also been discussed in interviews with a few hosts in the aforementioned previous fieldwork. Stemming from one part of the target population only, this data could not answer the question for both groups though, and importantly, in relation to the extant literature. Many participants in the interviews in fact could not answer the question as to why they use a certain language with tourists and felt put on the spot. That is why I decided to use Q to answer the research question.

The concourse consisted of three different general components, resulting in more than 100 statements:
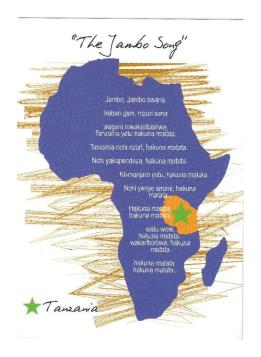
1) opinions expressed in the literature, namely, linguistics literature but also, given the interdisciplinarity of tourism studies, anthropological literature
2) opinions expressed by participants in interviews
3) observations made during the first fieldwork trip, including field notes, photos, souvenirs and other artifacts

While the point of saturation for collecting material, that is, the moment in which no new information on the research topic could be gathered as signaled by recurrence and ultimately redundancy of themes (Saunders, Sim, Kingstone, Baker, Waterfield, Bartlam, Burroughs & Jinks, 2018), was naturally implemented by the time limits of the fieldwork trip for 3) above, it was not as easily determined for 1) and 2). For these two aspects, I considered saturation to have been reached once no new information came up in the relevant literature from linguistics and anthropology. Examples (1) – (3) illustrate some of the diverse statements that were collected for the concourse.

(1)   "English is chosen for communication because it is the global lingua franca" (mentioned, for example, in Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010).

(2)   "Expressions like *hakuna matata* or *jambo* are chosen for communication because that is the version of Kiswahili tourists know." Taken from various interviews, e.g. with Abdalla[2], between minute 04:17 and 04:52 of interview 1: "there's like uh now it's like a formal greeting with the tourists [...] i think is something like they can- we find like they cannot pronounce well how we greeting for example we say <SWAHILI> hujambo </SWAHILI> ['how are you'] [...] so instead then we use uh we cut off some of [...] prefix or suffix [...] and then they say <SWAHILI> jambo </SWAHILI> [slang: 'how are you'] so it is easy for them"

(3)   "Kiswahili is chosen for communication because it functions as a linguistic souvenir of the holiday" as shown in this postcard:

Figure 1. Postcard from Zanzibar

Some statements were only applicable to either the tourist or the host group; for instance, example (2) seems mainly applicable to Zanzibari hosts. However, if possible, the statements were subsequently applied and chosen for the Q sample in both groups, in order to compare in-group and out-group perceptions of a possible motivation for language choices and hence making the study paired. Nevertheless, there were a few statements that simply could not be meaningfully applied to the respective other group, as shown in example (4).

(4)   "For communication with Zanzibaris I choose expressions like *hakuna matata* or *jambo* because I already knew them before my vacation." (cf. Nassenstein, 2019)

---

[2] This is a pseudonym that I have used for this participant in several publications (e.g., Mohr, forthcoming). All participant names mentioned in this article are pseudonyms.

After long and careful consideration in line with the idea of Q theory to let the (in this case concourse) data speak, I hence decided to abandon the paired design and develop two very similar but slightly different Q samples. These are outlined in the following.

The tourist and host Q samples

Given that I worked with two groups of participants that potentially did not have much time to participate, that is, tourists who are on holidays and are often reluctant to spend time participating in research studies or are about to impart on their next sightseeing trip, as well as hosts who I sought out in their work environment (20 in each group, i.e., a total of N=40), a relatively small Q sample was chosen, consisting of 30 statements. These were chosen from the statements of the concourse as outlined above, and are explained in detail in the following. The small size of the Q sample also allowed for the fact that for almost all of my participants, except for a few English native speaker tourists and hosts (N=6), the sorting was carried out in a language which was not their mother tongue, hence complicating the task considerably. While I could have chosen Kiswahili, the native language of most Zanzibaris, for the hosts' Q sample (cf. Brown & Feist, 1992 on the application of bilingual samples) and Wijngaarden (2016) in fact operated in two languages in her study, I decided against it in order to make the two samples more comparable. This decision was based on the fact that it has been shown in linguistics that cross-cultural research designs require special care and translations into another language are never fully comparable (e.g., Van der Veer, Ommundsen, Larsen, Van Le, Krumov & Pernice, 2003; Peña, 2007). Even everyday linguistic terms may differ considerably in terms of their semantic conceptualization, specifically where African languages and English are concerned (Ibriszimow & Zulyadaini, 2008, 2009; Mohr & Agyepong, 2018). Given that most tourists are from Western cultures and the Zanzibari culture, as well as Kiswahili, is rather different, a translation of the sample seemed not adequate in this case. Specifically, salient communicative practices of the tourist space that were also addressed in the statements, such as greetings (Jaworski, 2009), are cross-culturally different and relate to social differences in terms of hierarchies and politeness (Duranti, 1997), so that addressing them in different languages might have skewed the results.

For the tourist group, which was extremely diverse culturally and linguistically, choosing a language they were more fluent in than English and which they shared was impossible anyway. Fluency in English differed considerably and in three cases, I had to rely on the help of fellow travelers or colleagues as interpreters, that is, with an Italian and a German tourist who only spoke very little English, as well as a Maasai shop keeper who only spoke Meru. Sometimes, I stepped in as interpreter myself. This was taken into account in the analysis. Only in one case a sort had to be discontinued as the participant obviously did not speak English well enough to understand the statements, or even the task, and nobody was around to help translate (leaving N=39). Further, after piloting the samples among two people who had been tourists in Zanzibar themselves and were non-native speakers of English, I simplified several of the statements so as to make them more easily comprehensible to non-native speakers. This includes for instance example (1) in which "global lingua franca" was substituted by "is understood by everyone". However, two formulations that caused comprehension problems among several of the participants were (emphasis added for illustration purposes here):

(5)   "For communication with tourists/Zanzibaris, I choose English because it is a sign of *worldliness.*"

(6)   "For communication with tourists/Zanzibaris, I choose expressions like *hakuna matata* or *jambo* because they are an expression of a *laid back* lifestyle."

In cases where the participants did not understand these expressions, I explained them as "knowing a lot about the (ways of the) world, having travelled a lot" and "relaxed", respectively. Generally, however, the participants understood the statements well, despite several of them expressing their doubts about being able to comprehend the statements before participating. Ultimately, the number of statements chosen worked well, with the quickest participant sorting the sample in 15 minutes and the slowest in 1.5 hours. All statements were written statements, despite the concourse being multimodal, that is, consisting of written (e.g., the literature), spoken (e.g., interviews) and pictorial (e.g., photographs) data that all contribute to the meaning-making process (cf. Kress, 2010 on a social semiotic approach to communication). This choice was made in order not to put unwanted focus on parts of the sample.

Generally, the statements were structured according to the following pattern, with italics marking variable components:

For communication with/greeting | tourists/hosts | I choose | *communicative practice* | because | *reason*.

The overarching themes applied to construct statements of the Q sample were thus different means of communication (corresponding to "languages" in common usage) used in the tourist space, as well as possible reasons for these choices that had emerged in the concourse. At first glance, this made the statements technically double barreled in that both themes could influence agreement or disagreement with a statement. For instance, in example (5) above, participants might in fact choose English frequently for communication but not because English is a sign of worldliness. However, I wanted to keep this structure of the statements in order to complement and verify my observations on languages choices stemming from previous fieldwork, as well as the theoretical framework of linguistic repertoires in super-diversity in which individual languages are not clearly distinguishable (Blommaert & Backus, 2012). Some participants directly sorted out those statements including a communicative practice they would not use with tourists/Zanzibaris into a "disagree" pile, which I noted in turn for the analysis of the data. This specifically referred to the tourist participants, many of whom did not speak Kiswahili. Very much in opposition to that, none of the Zanzibaris identified a means of communication in the statements that they did not use. A large number of the participants did not comment on the "double barreled" statements at all, which suggests that the statements might in fact have not been perceived as double barreled. Context is an important factor here, and the ease with which participants sorted the statements goes on to prove the aforementioned theories on languages within linguistic repertoires not being clearly distinguishable (Blommaert & Backus, 2012).

The choice of the Q sample was then also based on frequency, that is, a reason for choosing a communicative practice was mentioned by several participants in interviews as example (2), or mentioned frequently in the literature, as example (5). As mentioned, the samples differed slightly, that is, 5 statements each were applicable only to the tourist and host group. They are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1: Differing Statements of Tourist and Host Samples

Tourist Q sample	
No.	Statement
5	For greeting Zanzibaris I use Kiswahili because I have learnt a couple of words specifically for my vacation.
7	For communication with Zanzibaris I use phrases like *hakuna matata* or *jambo* because they are like souvenirs that remind me of my vacation.
12	For greeting Zanzibaris I use Kiswahili because it is the native language of most Zanzibaris.
25	For communication with Zanzibaris I use phrases like *hakuna matata* or *jambo* because I have seen them on souvenirs.
27	For communication with Zanzibaris I use phrases like *hakuna matata* or *jambo* because I already knew them (from movies etc.) before coming here.
Host Q sample	
No.	Statement
2	For communication with tourists I use phrases like *hakuna matata* or *jambo* because they help me sell my goods/service.
3	For greeting tourists I use their mother tongue because that makes them trust me.
7	For greeting tourists I use their mother tongue because it is a sign of wealth.
8	For communication with tourists I use phrases like *hakuna matata* or *jambo* because they like them.
20	For greeting tourists I use their mother tongue because I have learnt a couple words specifically to come into contact with them.

One fact concerning the communicative means mentioned in the statements was particularly interesting. Linguistically, Kiswahili proper and Hakuna Matata Swahili are different things, the latter being a pidginized, that is, simplified, version of the former (Nassenstein, 2019). However, many tourists do not know this because they only come into contact with the pidginized version. Thus, mentioning Hakuna Matata Swahili phrases in the statements and analyzing the sorts provided insights into whether tourists (and Zanzibaris) differentiated between Kiswahili proper and Hakuna Matata Swahili. Those who did not were asked about this in the subsequent interview and, if requested, informed about the concept of Hakuna Matata Swahili. All of those who enquired about it found this distinction extremely interesting and were happy to learn more about the Kiswahili language. This, and a general opportunity to ask questions in the interview, allowed for the research process to become more dialogic, and humanized. Some of the participants also asked to be informed about the results of the study, which I sent to them via e-mail. I invited all of them to comment on anything they might find noteworthy.

Further, the sort was combined with a short questionnaire on socio-demographics (10 questions for hosts and 11 for tourists) before participation. One of the riskiest choices in this was to formulate a few statements in a way that left the communicative

practice slot blank and referred to the questionnaire, such as (emphasis added for illustration purposes):

(7)   "For communication with tourists/Zanzibaris, I choose *the language indicated in question 10 in my questionnaire* because it is a modern and cool language."

In the questionnaire, the corresponding question asked for the most frequently chosen language for communication with tourists/Zanzibaris. For these statements, I had chosen reasons anticipating that participants would respond with English, in line with the literature (cf. Legère & Rosendal, 2015 on language attitudes towards English in East Africa in general and Mohr, 2018b on language attitudes towards English in Tanzania in particular) and observations made in previous fieldwork. In East Africa, as in many former African colonies, English is perceived as a language of professional opportunities, education and modernity, as taken up by example (7). Example (8) presents several extracts from interviews with participants during the first fieldwork:

(8)   a) Abdalla, between minute 10:44 and 15:10 of interview 2:
        "they think english is very essential because in most of all official uh gathering and , yeah you you find it in english […] and you need it in in that way […] i know i i need to speak english and that i need to have very good english because […] i need to go further in my careers […]"
        b) Hussein, between minute 0:31 and 0:52 of interview 1:
        "people from reception the first priority they should know english […] yeah without language in reception is not possible […] to get any job in in hotel department in hotel company […] soo at reception the department of front office you have to know the language"

Leaving the statements open as shown in example (7) was in agreement with the idea of giving the participants the chance to collaborate in the research process, that is, in the spirit of humanizing it. When conducting the study, the answers of most participants were in line with my expectations based on the literature and observations during previous fieldwork. All but three tourists replied that they used English most frequently and could sort the statements meaningfully.

   The three tourist participants who responded with "Kiswahili" could make sense of the statements as well, even though I had not compiled the statements with Kiswahili in mind. One of these three participants was Tanzanian and had Kiswahili as their mother tongue, one was a missionary who had lived in mainland Tanzania for 40 years, as had the third participant albeit for a shorter amount of time. Interestingly, the statements fashioned with English as a cool, global language expressing worldliness and being a sign of wealth and education in mind, made a lot of sense to them as they associated all these attributes with Kiswahili. This was one of the most interesting and valuable conclusions to draw from this study, as I (and the literature) would never have anticipated it. This hence makes a strong case to leave the research process open (to some extent) and let the participants, co-producers of knowledge, guide the researcher. In this way, they might in fact discover discourses in the data that the researcher could not have conceived of.

Summary of Results

The application of Q, using the dedicated software package PQMethod (Schmolck 2014), centroid factor analysis with a Varimax rotation, led to the identification of four common viewpoints (factors) among the tourist participants and four (three factors of which one is bipolar) among the hosts. These are outlined in Table 2. These solutions resulted in the highest percentages of explained variance within each group, even as compared to three factor solutions. These three factor solutions did also not prove to be very conclusive in terms of their explanatory potential: the four factor solutions produced much more clear-cut answers to the research questions of the study. Similarly, a hand rotation of the factors did not produce better or more conclusive results than the Varimax rotation.

Table 2: Factors Extracted and Rotated in the Statistical Analysis

	Description	Explained variance	No. of participants associated with factor
Tourist group			
Factor 1	"Performance of imaginaries"	36%	9
Factor 2	"Practicality and inability to speak other languages"	11%	2
Factor 3	"Questioning English as lingua franca"	10%	5
Factor 4	"Swahili proper as a sign of worldliness"	7%	3
Host group			
Factor 1	"Accommodation as performance"	24%	7
Factor 2	"Practicality and lack of relation between language and values"	9%	3
Factor 3 +ve	"Showing off with one's linguistic repertoire"	7%	2
Factor 3 -ve	"Practicality and foreign language anxiety"	7%	1

A very short summary of the factors shall be provided here. For the tourists sharing the viewpoint of factor 1, respect for the host culture and expressing it linguistically is most important. They feel this is equally expressed by Kiswahili and Hakuna Matata Swahili, which they do not distinguish. This was emphasized by one of the participants asking what Kiswahili is. Similarly, they think that both communicative practices are expressive of Zanzibari as well as a general African culture (10: +4, 19: +3, 2: +2, 6: +2), emphasizing their lack of knowledge of their holiday location, and views in line with the frequently reported perception of "Africa as a country" (e.g., John, 2013). Their linguistic behavior hence reciprocates imaginaries of Africa and Zanzibar distributed by the media, and that are also performed by many hosts in Zanzibar (Edensor, 2001; Mohr, 2019). These participants are, however, culturally open and absolutely not afraid to speak foreign languages (14: -4).

For the tourists sharing viewpoint 2, the issue of practicality is most important, as they choose English because it is understood by everyone (1: +4). They also use their mother tongues (English and German) because they are most fluent in them (30: +3) and are afraid to speak foreign languages (14: +2). Concern for their hosts' communicative practices, i.e. Kiswahili, is absent in this group (15: -4, 8: -3, 12: -3). This practical orientation, specifically with regard to English, has been observed frequently in the literature on the linguistics of tourism (e.g., Schneider, 2016).

The third viewpoint among the tourists questions the practical utility of English as lingua franca. While their communicative choices are practically motivated as well, choosing communicative practices because they are most fluent in them (4: +4) or because they are addressed in them (21: +3, 8: +2), they question the status of English: they do not think that English is understood by everyone (1: 0), a distinguishing statement in relation to the other factors. They also question the status of English as perceived by East Africans (cf. Legère & Rosendal, 2015) in general, i.e. they do not see it as a sign of wealth (29: -4), education (11: -3), worldliness (16: -3) or modernity (28: -2). This general viewpoint is particularly interesting given that English is the native language of three of the participants, and their perception is very much opposed to the importance attributed to English as global lingua franca in tourism (cf. Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010).

The last emerging viewpoint among the tourists was most interesting and unexpected. These participants were the only ones who spoke fluent Kiswahili and used it regularly with hosts. They did so out of respect for Zanzibari culture and because Kiswahili is the native language of Zanzibaris and the one they understand best (12: +4, 15: +2). As they were the only participants who could actually distinguish Kiswahili and Hakuna Matata Swahili, they rejected the use of Hakuna Matata Swahili strongly, as they did not think it is an expression of Zanzibari culture (2: -2) nor authentically Zanzibari (17: -4, distinguishing). Interestingly, they strongly agreed with the statements fashioned with English in mind but inserted Kiswahili, i.e. a communicative practice being a sign of worldliness (16: +3) and modernity (18: +2), and worth showing off to others (3: +1). These participants' views illustrate the high status of Kiswahili in East Africa on the one hand and the differences between Western and African language ideologies on the other.

The first common viewpoint among the hosts emphasizes the centrality of performance in the tourist space again (Edensor, 2001). Thus, they frequently use Hakuna Matata Swahili because it sounds nice (16: +2) and tourists like it (8: +4). In this context, souvenirs and the fact that tourists buy Hakuna Matata Swahili phrases on them, was mentioned in the interviews and supports the idea of a certain economic value of this communicative practice (cf. also Salazar, 2006). Moreover, the reciprocal character of Hakuna Matata Swahili is emphasized: both tourists and hosts use it, albeit for different reasons. The hosts associated with this viewpoint do, however, also use English frequently because they think it is understood by everyone (1: +3) and it is a sign of modernity (15: +2). They do not use the tourists' native languages though, for various reasons (3: -3, 23: -2, 10: -1, 26: -1). Their own native language, Kiswahili, is also rarely used with tourists, which emphasizes the performance aspect of these participants' language practices.

The second common viewpoint among the hosts takes up the issue of practicality. They use communicative practices because they are most fluent in them (9: +4), and, in the case of Hakuna Matata Swahili, because tourists address them in it (25: +1). However, they reject the idea that the latter could express Zanzibari culture (28: -3).

Generally, the idea of communicative practices like English expressing any other value, e.g. wealth (5: -4), modernity (15: -2), is very much opposed to their viewpoint, as is the idea of showing off with communicative practices (18: -2). These results support the idea of language practices, specifically English, being used for practical reasons (Schneider, 2016), instead of having any additional value or function.

The third factor identified among the hosts is bipolar, i.e. there are two opposing viewpoints here. The first viewpoint, shared by two Zanzibaris, is the idea of showing off with one's linguistic repertoire: by using English (18: +4) which is a sign of education (21: +2), or by using the tourists' native languages in greetings (13: +1) which are a sign of wealth (7: +1). The performance aspect is supported by the fact that they use Hakuna Matata Swahili to sell their goods or service (2: +2). Personal considerations for their own native language do not play a role for them, as they never use Kiswahili with tourists (12: -4). The opposing view is held by a South African migrant, working as a kite surf instructor. They use their native language, English, because they are most fluent in it (12: +4), because tourists address them in it (24: +3) and because they think it is understood by everyone (1: +1). They sometimes use Hakuna Matata Swahili because tourists use it when they address them (25: +2) or because it sounds nice (16: +2). However, this is probably also motivated by the fact that this participant did not speak Kiswahili proper, i.e. a practical motivation. Finally, showing off in front of others was an idea completely rejected by this participant. This viewpoint emphasizes that choices of communicative practices are quite divergent with respect to local Zanzibaris and immigrants working in the tourist industry.

Conclusion

The application of Q methodology in this study obtained interesting results. While several differences between the reasons for choosing communicative means in the tourist space of Zanzibar could be identified, for example, communicative practices generally having more of a status enhancing character and being used to accommodate international tourists among Zanzibari hosts (cf. factor 1 [hosts] in Table 2), and local communicative practices being perceived as authentic while in fact emphasizing the imaginaries of the destination among the tourists (cf. factor 1 [tourists] in Table 2), interesting commonalities emerged as well. It is the tension between choosing languages for practical reasons and the social/cultural traits they are associated with, as well as the imaginary, for example, an exotic destination or general imaginaries of Africa, that is performed by using a communicative practice (cf. Edensor, 2001; Salazar, 2006) that defines language choices in the Zanzibari tourist space. This tension is most clearly shown in the third factor identified among the hosts (see Table 2), as two participants were associated positively with it, choosing languages in order to show off their impressive language skills, while one participant was associated negatively with it (factor 3 -ve [hosts] in Table 2), making language choices largely for practical reasons. Altogether, applying Q demonstrated the (linguistic) complexity of the tourist space of Zanzibar, with motivations for language choices being speaker-dependent and heterogeneous. Some of these motivations could not have been unearthed without leaving the research process open to some degree (see example (7)) and specifically applying Q, which once again supports the point that the researcher should let themselves be guided by the data and the participants, in line with humanizing approaches to research (cf. Paris & Winn, 2014).

With regard to the practical side of the study and compiling concourses and Q samples, one of the most important advantages of the present study was its multimodal concourse, drawing on a theory of communication that views language as *an* important means for making meaning but not necessarily *the* most important one (Kress, 2010). While I have refrained from constructing multimodal Q samples in order not to draw attention to particular statements and thus influence the sorts, it would certainly be an interesting avenue for future research to investigate the compilation of a balanced multimodal sample, so as to give participants in Zanzibar the chance to work with all components of the (communicative) semiotic system.

Further, it was shown that what seemed to be "double barreled" statements on language choices in the tourist space are in fact context-dependent statements, proving the make-up of linguistic repertoires without clearly distinguishable languages. This emphasizes sociolinguistic theories of linguistic repertoires in an increasingly mobile world (Blommaert & Backus, 2012), and, possibly, postcolonial theories of languageness pinpointing classical theories' Eurocentric nature (Makoni, 2011). A follow up study investigating some of these issues in more detail, for instance in the form of in-depth interviews, might be worthwhile.

Further, it was shown that small Q samples like the 30-statement sample employed here are a good choice with non-native speaker participants so as not to make the sort too demanding (cf. Burke, 2015). The same holds true for liminal spaces like tourist contexts, and the playful character of the method, which I emphasized by calling it a "card game", was beneficial as well.

The compilation of a monolingual Q sample is another issue worth mentioning in this regard. While bilingual samples have been used in many Q studies, I refrained from doing so here, given the linguistics literature emphasizing the difficulty of creating cross-cultural experiment designs (Van der Veer et al., 2003; Peña, 2007) as well as studies suggesting the different semantic conceptualization of even everyday terms in different languages (Ibriszimow & Zulyadaini, 2008, 2009). Specifically, in extremely multicultural, super-diverse contexts as the one investigated here, the use of a lingua franca thus seemed more appropriate. Alternatively, bi- or multilingual samples could be combined with a linguistic analysis of the conceptualization of central cultural terms (cf. Ibriszimow & Zulyadaini, 2008, 2009) in order to provide better grounds for a valid interpretation of results.

However, working with a lingua franca, formulations of the statements in a Q sample were also demonstrated to be crucial. Even though I considered the accessibility of technical terms for lay people and consequently simplified several of the statements from the concourse when compiling the Q sample, a few set expressions escaped my notice (cf. examples (5) and (6) above). Idioms, that is, fixed expressions whose meanings cannot be inferred from the meaning of their individual constituents, have been shown to be particularly problematic for second language speakers (of English) (Cooper 1999) and need particular attention in the compilation of any Q sample. These results emphasize the importance of rigorous piloting of Q samples when working with non-native speakers and in general.

Altogether, specifically the humanizing aspect of Q, demanding the re-evaluation of research designs based on exchanges with the participants as co-producers of knowledge, is most important in this study. In this way, as yet unanticipated sociolinguistic aspects of communication in the tourist space of Zanzibar could be unearthed and recent sociolinguistic theories on linguistic repertoires were confirmed. The language(s) of Q samples were also addressed here and careful reflection on cross-

cultural differences and their linguistic expression demanded. Specifically, in culturally highly complex settings, such as tourist spaces all over the world, these require attention and, possibly, a decolonized and humanized view on methodology.

Acknowledgements

References

Blommaert, J. & Backus, A. (2012). Superdiverse repertoires and the individual. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies, 24*, 1-32.

Blommaert, J. (2019). From groups to actions and back in online-offline sociolinguistics. *Multilingua, 38*(4), 485-493.

Boeckh, A. (1877). *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften.* Leipzig: Teubner.

Brown, S. R. (1980). *Political subjectivity: Applications of Q method in political science.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Brown, S. R. & Feist, U. (1992). Calibrating bilingual Q samples. *Operant Subjectivity, 15*, 105-115.

Burke, L.E.C-A. (2015). Exploiting the qualitative potential of Q methodology in a post-colonial critical discourse analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 14*, 65-79.

Cooper, T. (1999). Processing of idioms by L2 learners of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 33*(2), 233-262.

Cross, R. M. (2005). Exploring attitudes: the case for Q methodology. *Health Education Research, 20*(2), 206-213.

De Fina, A. & Georgakopoulou, A. (2012). *Analyzing narratives.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duranti, A. (1997). Universal and culture-specific properties of greetings. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology, 7*(1), 63-97.

Edensor, T. (2001). Performing tourism, staging tourism. (Re)producing tourist space and practice. *Tourist Studies, 1*(1), 59-81.

Fairclough, Norman (2003) *Analyzing discourse: Textual analysis for social research.* London: Routledge.

Forsberg, J., Mohr, S. & Jansen, S. (2019). 'The goal is to enable students to communicate'. Communicative competence and target varieties in TEFL practices in Sweden and Germany. *European Journal of Applied Linguistics, 7*(1), 31-60.

Fredricks, D. E. (2019). Working toward a humanizing research stance: Reflections on modifying the interview process. In D. S. Warriner & M. Bigelow (Eds.) *Critical reflections on research methods* (pp. 110-126). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Gallagher, K. & Porock, D. (2010). The use of interviews in Q methodology. *Nursing Research, 59*(4), 295-300.

Gippert, J., Himmelmann, N. P. & Mosel, U. (Eds.) (2006). *Essentials of language documentation*. Berlin et al.: Mouton de Gruyter.

Greenbaum, S. & Nelson, G. (1996). The International Corpus of English (ICE) Project. *World Englishes, 15*(1), 3-15.

Gries, S. Th. (2016). *Quantitative corpus linguistics with R. A practical introduction*. (2nd ed.) London: Routledge.

Gut, U. (2013). *The International Corpus of English – Nigeria*. Münster. Retrieved from http://sourceforge.net/projects/ice-nigeria/.

Hardy, A. & Pearson, L. J. (2016). Determining sustainable tourism in regions. *Sustainability, 8*(7), art. 660.

Ibriszimow, D. & Zulyadaini, B. (2008). Kolanut for happiness – 'food' and 'foodstuff' from a cognitive semantic point of view. *Afrika und Übersee, 88*, 125-155.

Ibriszimow, D. & Zulyadaini, B. (2009). I think what you think. An evaluation of L1 and L2 Hausa cognitive structures. In E. Rothmaler (Ed.) *Proceedings of the fourth biennial international colloquium on the Chadic languages, 30th – 31st October, 2007, Bayreuth* (pp. 95-103). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.

Jaworski, A. (2009). Greetings in tourist-host encounters. In N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.) *The new sociolinguistics reader* (pp. 662-679). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jaworski, A. & Thurlow, C. (2010). The globalizing habitus of tourism: toward a sociolinguistics of fleeting relationships. In N. Coupland (Ed.) *The handbook of language and globalization* (pp. 255-286). Chichester et al.: Wiley-Blackwell.

John, A. (2013, 29 August) Confusing a country for a continent: How we talk about Africa. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/08/confusing-country-continent-how-we-talk-about-africa/311621/

King, L. & Carson, L. (Eds.) (2017). *Multilingual identities. A study of attitudes towards multilingualism in three European cities*. London: The Languages Company.

Kress, G. (2010). *Multimodality: A social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*. London: Routledge.

Lee, J.-H. & Son, Y.-H. (2016). Stakeholder subjectives toward ecotourism development using Q methodology: The case of Maha ecotourism site in Pyeongchang, Korea. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 21*(8), 931-951.

Lee, J.-H. (2019). Conflict mapping toward ecotourism facility foundation using spatial Q methodology. *Tourism Management, 72*, 69-77.

Legère, K. & Rosendal, T. (2015). National languages, English and social cohesion in East Africa. In H. Coleman (Ed.) *Language and social cohesion in the developing world* (pp. 75-91). Colombo: British Council/Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit.

Lo Bianco, J. (2015). Exploring language problems through Q-sorting. In F. M. Hult & D. C. Johnson (Eds.) *Research methods in language policy and planning: A practical guide* (pp. 69-80). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lundberg, A. (2019). Teachers' beliefs about multilingualism: findings from Q method research. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *20*(3), 266-283.

Makoni, S. B. (2011). Sociolinguistics, colonial and postcolonial: an integrationist perspective. *Language Sciences, 33*, 680-688.

Mayett-Moreno, Y., Villarraga-Flórez, J. F. & Rodríguez-Piñeros, S. (2017). Young farmers' perceptions about forest management for ecotourism as an alternative for development, in Puebla, Mexico. *Sustainability, 9*, art. 1134.

McEnery, T. & Hardie, A. (2012). *Corpus linguistics: Method, theory and practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mohr, S. (2018a). *The use of pluralization and the conceptualization of countability in African varieties of English.* (Postdoctoral dissertation) University of Bonn, Germany.

Mohr, S. (2018b). The dynamics of language use and language attitudes in Tanzania. *Language Matters. Studies in the Languages of Africa, 49*(3), 115-147.

Mohr, S. (2019, 20 June). Motivations for language choices in tourist-host interactions in Zanzibar. Paper presented at the 24th Conference of the International Association for World Englishes, Limerick.

Mohr, S. (forthcoming). "Jambo! I greet them with a smile." - Language choices in commodified interactions between tourists and hosts in Zanzibar. In S. Mohr, K. P. Schneider & J. A. Anderson (Eds.) *Communicative Action and Interaction in Africa.* John Benjamins.

Mohr, S. & Agyepong, D. P. (2018, 24 March). The count-mass distinction in Ghanaian English and Akan: Exploring the validity of experiment designs. Paper presented at the 49th Conference of the Association of Contemporary African Linguistics, East Lansing, MI.

Nassenstein, N. (2019). The Hakuna Matata Swahili: Linguistic souvenirs from the Kenyan coast. In A. Mietzner & A. Storch (Eds.) *Language and tourism in postcolonial settings* (pp. 130-156). Bristol: Channel View.

Nhemachena, A., Mlambo, N. & Kaundjua, M. (2016). The notion of the "field" and the practices of researching and writing Africa: towards decolonial praxis. *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies, 9*(7), 15-36.

Paris, D. (2011). 'A friend who understand fully': Notes on humanizing research in a multiethnic youth community. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 24*(2), 137-149.

Paris, D. & Winn, M. T. (Eds.) (2014). *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry with youth and communities.* Los Angeles: Sage.

Peña, E. D. (2007). Lost in Translation: Methodological Considerations in Cross-Cultural Research. *Child Development, 78*(4), 1255-1264.

Phillips, L., Kristiansen, M., Vehviläinen, M. & Gunnarsson, E. (Eds.) (2013). *Knowledge and power in collaborative research. A reflexive approach.* London & New York: Routledge.

Salazar, Noel (2006). Touristifying Tanzania. Local guides, global discourse. *Annals of Tourism Research, 33*(3), 833-852.

Saunders, B., Sim, J., Kingstone, T., Baker, S., Waterfield, J.,Bartlam, B., Burroughs, H. & Jinks, C. (2018). Saturation in qualitative research: exploring its conceptualization and operationalization. *Quality & Quantity, 52*(4), 1893–1907.

Schilling, N. (2013). *Sociolinguistic fieldwork.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schmolck, P. (2014). The QMethod Page. http://schmolck.org/qmethod/

Schneider, E. W. (2016) Grassroots Englishes in tourism interactions. *English Today, 32*(3), 2-10.

Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research. A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences.* (3rd ed.) New York: Teachers College Press.

Shemmings, D., & Ellingsen, I. T. (2012). Using Q methodology in qualitative interviews. In J. F. Gubrium, J. A. Holstein, A. B. Marvasti, & K. D. McKinney (Eds.) *The SAGE*

handbook of interview research: The complexity of the craft (pp. 415-426). Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Stainton Rogers, R. (1997/1998). Q methodology and "going critical": Some reflections on the British dialect. *Operant Subjectivity, 21*(1/2), 19-26.

Stainton Rogers, W. (1997/1998). Q methodology, textuality and tectonics. *Operant Subjectivity, 21*(1/2), 1-18.

Stephenson, W. (1965). Definition of opinion, attitude and belief. *The Psychological Record, 15*, 281-288.

Stephenson, W. (1978). Concourse theory of communication. *Communication, 3*, 21-40.

Stephenson, W. (1982). Q methodology, interbehavioural psychology, and quantum theory. *The Psychological Record, 32*, 235-248.

Stephenson, W. (1983). Against interpretation. *Operant Subjectivity, 6*(3), 73-103.

Stephenson, W. (1986). Protoconcursus: The concourse theory of communication (Part 1). *Operant Subjectivity, 9*(2), 37-58, 73-96.

Stephenson, W. (1988/1989). The quantumization of psychological events. *Operant Subjectivity, 12*(1/2), 1-23.

Stergiou, D. & Airey, D. (2011). Q-methodology and tourism research. *Current Issues in Tourism, 14*(4), 311-322.

Tagliamonte, S. (2006). *Analysing sociolinguistic variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tan, Siow-Kian, Ding-Bang Luh, & Shiann-Far Kung (2014). A taxonomy of creative tourists in creative tourism. *Tourism Management, 42*, 248-259.

Van der Veer, K., Ommundsen, R., Larsen, K. S., Van Le, H., Krumov, K., Pernice, R. E. (2003). Meaning shift of items in different language versions. A cross-national validation study of the Illegal Aliens Scale. *Quality & Quantity: International Journal of Methodology, 37*, 193-206.

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30*(6), 1024-1054.

Watts, S. & Stenner, P. (2012). *Doing Q methodological research. Theory, method and interpretation*. Los Angeles et al.: Sage.

Wijngaarden, V. (2016). *Dynamics behind persistent images of "the Other"*. Berlin: LIT.

Wijngaarden, V. (2017). Q method and ethnography in tourism research: Enhancing insights, comparability and flexibility. *Current Issues in Tourism Research, 20*(8), 869-882.

Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.) (2016). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage.