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Teeth

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Introduction

The editors

If one searches for The Mouth as an online journal, the result may easily be a link to a journal on dentistry. The mouth indeed can be filled with germs and bacteria and rotten teeth, and then it is in need of medical care. Sometimes, teeth can be damaged beyond repair and need to be removed, or fall off. In this case, a set of dentures serves to hide the apparent lack of oral completeness. It might look better than the original teeth ever would have, and opens up opportunities for its owner: a Hollywood career, perhaps.

The Mouth, however, is not about rotten teeth and dentures, and linguists only rarely become film stars, and probably do not figure prominently as dentists either. Yet, teeth are important in linguistics, cultural and social studies, and elsewhere. They are needed in order to produce interdental fricatives, and winning smiles while presenting an academic talk on the former. They can be mutilated and extracted, painted (black), whitened and neglected – all part of social performances of class and practices of indicating group membership. The gold that is sometimes used to fill decaying molars is something people tend to keep after the molar itself got lost, while gold covers on the front teeth tend to signify wealth.

Teeth are shown to enemies in different ways than to friends when we smile. They can pain tremendously, but interestingly do not feel like anything at all when they are well. They

can be important in forensics when everything else that once was part of a person or body is already gone. In the form of dentures, they can be embarrassing when not in the mouth while we are still alive. Later, all this doesn't seem to matter.

Teeth, a lack of teeth or certain irregular shapes of teeth (crooked teeth, protruding teeth) are often relevant for sociolinguistics: they may impact the way somebody speaks, mark specific personal speech styles or simply generate (linguistic) ideologies and attitudes within a community.

The cover theme of this issue of The Mouth is therefore used and to be understood in all of these manifold ways: teeth are a metaphor of speaking, of seeing oneself and being seen, and of society at large.

Thus, this issue of The Mouth does not contain any contribution to the field of dentistry, forensics or phonetics. Instead, it offers a selection of sociolinguistic contributions which look critically at multilingualism, mobility, capitalism and academia.

William Kelleher's bilingual contribution offers an innovative and new approach to ecological issues and climate change through a sociolinguistic perspective. The author reflects on possibilities of considering ecology and environmental aspects through multidimensional reflections by discussing a case study from South Africa: The relocation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, and a personal narrative thereof, touches upon various relevant ecological matters and considerations which are used to call for an ecological critical approach in sociolinguistics.

The Trialogue by Anne Storch, Nick Shepherd and Ana Deumert is an experimental and deep piece of discussion of academic practices and paradigms. Like a journey, the authors reflect on various themes connected to academia as they affect and shape, and are affected and shaped by, their personal lives and biographical experiences. A central matter of the three authors is undisciplinarity, a notion which tries to grasp the tasks of the engaged scholars, of critically dismantling the established and often unquestioned roots of the disciplines and of finding new routes that lead to new ways of being and seeing yourself in academia.

Judith Mgbemena writes about linguistic diversity and multilingualism in northeastern Nigeria. She looks into the conflicts that go along with diversity, which often not only offers opportunities as a part of living and healing relationships between people, but also is at the base of inequality. The terminologies, ideological dynamics and political economies surrounding the language practices described and analyzed by Judith Mgbemena speak their own language.

Susanne Mohr's article on the awareness of a researcher's subjectivity in sociolinguistic research concentrates on the linguistics of tourism. Focusing on language and linguistics with regards to Zanzibar, this text offers insights into methodological as well as personal questions and answers. Mohr concludes her paper with a plea for reflexivity on the side of the researcher, who should take into account the Gestalt of the discipline and the environments in which encounters and work take place.

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For an ecological critical approach:
Sociolinguistics in the shadow of climate change

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Pour une approche critique écologique :
la sociolinguistique a l'ombre du changement climatique

02

For an ecological critical approach: sociolinguistics in the shadow of climate change

William Kelleher

This article wishes to comment on how sociolinguistics considers ecology and climate change and offers research axes and a case study to allow a deeper consideration. The discussion looks at some recent publications and then explores reasons for the delay, in the field of sociolinguistics, in incorporating ecological issues. Four axes for reflection are proposed: structural relativism, critical discourse analysis, a longer narrative timeframe, and materiality. They prompt a reorientation of research projects towards the inclusion of data from the environmental sciences, and to publishing of results in forums other than those of the humanities. These axes are then applied to a story about the relocation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, told by the Exchange's previous Chairman. This story, which has a biographical aspect, also involves considerations of Johannesburg's geology, water, vegetation and the place and logic of the new business district, Sandton, to which the Exchange migrated.

Introduction

Sociolinguistics is a dynamic field of research that seeks a critical understanding of the issues that face our contemporary societies. Recently, a series of publications have, for instance, dealt with fast capitalism (Duchêne & Heller 2012), globalisation (Collins, Slembrouck & Baynham 2009; Pennycook & Otsuji 2015), with methodology (Blommaert 2013), and with the online (Page 2018). In these works, however, any approach to climate change is very peripheral to analysis. Similarly, in those collected volumes that do deal with climate change (Dryzek, Norgaard & Scholsberg 2011; Dunlap & Brulle 2015) only a marginal place is accorded to qualitative approaches such as sociolinguistics.

Despite this, sociolinguistics does concern itself directly with societal, economic and political organisation. This is the case, firstly, in terms of qualitative approaches to dominant discourses, and, secondly, in terms of a critical deconstruction of the key events of our time. Sociolinguistics offers, for instance, a means of understanding superdiversity (De Fina, Ikizoglu & Wegner 2017), sexuality (Ehrlich, Meyerhoff & Holmes 2014), political choices in terms of work and education, or behaviour linked to consumption. Domains such as these are illustrative of the power of sociolinguistics to contribute to righting injustice and effecting change by offering analyses based in language use, corpora, interaction, multimodal artefacts and discourse. Sociolinguistic research participates in informing, and changing, what Foucault (1970) termed the 'orders' of discourse.

It would, however, be wrong to assert that these research fields are not delimited both temporally and organically. Temporally, analysis of a text or speech act is backward looking, trapped in a present of enunciation, and extrapolatable to the future only on a very provisional basis. In the humanities, more generally, there is a hesitation to generalise findings (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). So, for example, the theme of superdiversity is a rallying cry for studies that tackle migration, plurality and minorities' right to recognition. But these studies balk, in most cases, at offering any projection of demographic flows to come, or in recognising the impact of these flows on climate change, or, finally, in drawing out the relationship between the phenomenon of climate change and the motors driving these demographics.

Organically, the field of linguistic research is centred on the human. We examine the relationships that we maintain with our environment and its non-human beings from the perspective of our own manner of living together, most often in urban settings. We investigate the artefacts and societal structures that we produce ourselves. There is therefore a deep divide between the subject of research, the human and her/his language practice, and the conditions of its possibility, which is to say our climate. For, even though our gaze is turned towards ourselves, we cannot live without plants, water and earth. This is the sense that Latour gives to climate, one very close to environment or ecosystem, as, "the relations between human beings and the material conditions of their lives." (Latour 2018: 7). For Latour, further, climate poses a question of *earthliness*, "people do feel the incompatibility between the *goals* that our civilisation has set for itself up till now and the material *place* that same civilisation must learn to reside if it wishes to perdure." (Latour, 2019, translation by author, emphasis in original).

Place raises a question of *method*, as Barthes notes,

> [a method] is, let's say, firstly an approach to an objective, it's a protocol for a process, to, obtain a result, for example a method to decode, to explain, to describe exhaustively, and secondly, a method, is according to the etymology of the word in Greek, it implies the idea of a straight path. Which is to say that it wants to go straight to an objective, but paradoxically the straight path designates the places where in fact the subject does not want to go. To follow a method, in the strict sense of the word, is to risk fetishizing the objective as a place, and because of that, risk discarding other places. (Barthes, Lectures at the College of France, 1977 – 1980, lecture 1, transcription and translation by author).

As far as places go, humans now occupy the whole of the earth. Since the publication of the report on warming at 1.5°C (IPCC 2018) we have entered the political and pragmatic realities of the Anthropocene. Our societies have been informed that if nothing changes either economically, socially or technically, there is the real possibility that our planet will no longer sustain life. The alteration of our habitat, of our ability to nourish ourselves, to clothe ourselves, or, simply, to survive, are concerns of the highest priority, that the French minister of the environment, Nicolas Hulot, judged our 'unique modernity' (Hulot 2018). Sociolinguistics, in resolutely considering only the human, in fixing the human as 'objective' in Barthes' terms, has turned away from that other place, the place discussed by Latour, which is also the place of our own future.

The ecosystem on which we depend is a place that is hardly visible in sociolinguistic research projects. It is a place discarded by method. Climate has neither voice, nor agency, nor social actor. It is therefore beyond the reach of linguistics, and, for the time being, outside of humanities. Nevertheless, should the humanities avoid the call to dystopian nihilism, discourses on climate can enter into a nexus with discourses on neoliberalism, on exclusion or on intolerance that give substance to the aforementioned research into gender, multilingualism, superdiversity or migration. Climate is an element that is out-of-frame, but that can inform analyses of texts, corpuses, interactions and actors.

This article would like to explore to what extent an ecological approach is possible within the field of sociolinguistics, by shifting it from its current out-of-frame position. It will take as data for this exploration an excerpt of an interview with a key figure of finance in South Africa. The interview was conducted during a broader project (see Kelleher 2018) that researched Sandton, a site for business and conspicuous consumption. This research project adopted a small stories narrative framework (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2008a; 2008b; 2012; 2015). In exploring this extract, and in seeking a new direction for sociolinguistics, we can also be guided by the concepts of motion squared and of social navigation (Vigh 2009). Societal occurrences are generally conceived of as having a regular background, as extending two-dimensionally, and terms such as 'landscape' (as in linguistic landscape) translate this tendency. However, the articulation between actors, and the events and systems that they constitute, has variable depths, inconsistencies, ripples

and currents. Vigh uses the metaphor of a seascape to illustrate this,

> seascapes are multidimensional and dense, entailing that agents within them constantly have to take their bearings in relation to multiple forces (waves, wind, current, stars, and so on), some of which are in rapid motion while others are cyclical or relatively static. (Vigh 2009: 429-430).

From this perspective, even as one tries to describe the social and linguistic fabric, this fabric itself is in the process of evolving, and changing. We find ourselves plunged into a milieu that is fluid, unpredictable and which develops at the same time as we study it.

Axes for reflection

Sociolinguistics can be understood as being, then, temporally and organically delimited. This informs how climate can be discussed in a research project. On one hand, climate change is not propinquitous. Its effects are measurable, but concern the kinetic energy of the oceans, ice melt or the death of coral reefs: phenomena that are not accessible to most people. On the other hand, our ecosystems respond to a timeframe that is long, comprising several human generations, and which, from the point of view of our lives, is mostly imperceptible. Even when its effects are visible, it would be difficult to say that ecology is directly involved in a situation of human interaction. The hurricane propelled by masses of atmospheric water does, for instance, insert itself into our interactions, but this is a manifestation of climate change, not the change itself, nor, properly speaking, the ecology. The two temporal scales, the human and the climatic, are incompatible (see Dunlap & Brulle 2015). Finally, as we have already mentioned, climate has neither verb, writing, nor enunciation. Its manifestation is not governed in the same way as ours.

At present, the people, texts, artefacts, enunciations and situations of interaction that are the subject of sociolinguistics are approached as being motivated, situated, structured, multi-dimensional, relational and scalar. Some articulations of this paradigmatic approach are: social semiotics (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001), geosemiotics (Scollon & Scollon 2003; 2004), critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2013 [1995]; Gee & Handford 2012), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982) and, in line with this, linguistic ethnography (Rampton, Maybin & Roberts 2014). In a similar vein, explorations to which these approaches are pertinent can concern gender and performativity (Bucholtz & Hall 2005), multilingualism and superdiversity as already mentioned, and narrative research (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2015).

Approaches such as these open up a vast domain of study that has a multidisciplinary aspect, in that sociology, anthropology, human geography, history and philosophy are implicated in the genesis and formulation of analyses. The discipline of sociolinguistics itself however, is dominated by the universities of the global North and by a handful of thinkers (Blommaert, Pennycook, Rampton …). Faced with this imbalance, and with the silences of the literature on the subject of ecology, one must reconsider the actor that gives form to these theoretic approaches, as well as the predominant analytic models. To refer back to the idea of social navigation as expressed by Vigh (2009) we will need to find how to think of ecol-

ogy and climate, and how that can be given form, concretely, in a research project, placing the emphasis on, "the *interactivity* of practice and the *intermorphology* of motion » (Vigh 2009: 420, emphasis in the original).

If by 'social actor' one understands an actor grappling with a structure, who moves in a relational space defined by the accumulation of markers of culture, capital and biographic trajectory, then the literature continues to be dominated by the work of Bourdieu. Bourdieu is cited explicitly in several of the theoretic frameworks that we have already mentioned, such as geosemiotics, or the sociocultural interactional approach formulated by Bucholtz & Hall (2005). His vision of social structure underscores a multitude of research orientations such as attitude and policy, education, or language variation.

Bourdieu moves the social actor in two directions simultaneously: towards the rigidity of structural reproduction, and towards an agency that is deployed through the manipulation of that structure. The environment, or ecology, are outside of that movement, but constitute an important resource, both symbolically and pragmatically. In Bourdieu's researches into Kabyle homes for instance (Bourdieu 1992 [1980]) light opposes darkness, autumn opposes spring etc. Since, however, the analysis focuses on the social space, there is no reciprocation between this and the environment. Which is to say that even though the production of foodstuffs, or the asperities of the climate do enter into analysis (Bourdieu 2008) that analysis only takes account of the response to these conditions by the actors. It does not draw out implications of these environmental conditions for the social structure itself, nor a structure's ability to reproduce itself over a longer geological and environmental timeframe.

Bourdieu stops at structure. He doesn't insert this into the wider organisation of the earth and its ecosystems. In proceeding thus, he exercises a form of relativism. A structure is considered on its own terms. And this has implications for the analysis that results. The conclusions for the human, for our organisation, are rarely drawn. In Hanks' work, for instance, that deals with interactional genres as being assimilable to the habitus of interlocutors (Hanks 1987), the contours of the environment merely serve to situate actors (Hanks 1992) like a background on which deictic operations take place. And this observation applies to other approaches based on the same conception of actor and structure. The tactics of intersubjectivity proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2004; 2005) are a further example, although they do complete Bourdieu's work on distinction by considerations of authentication and authorisation.

Confronting this relativism is a first axis of reflection to explore if one wishes to encourage a more mobile sociolinguistics. Two areas of research need mention in this regard: Actor Network Theory (ANT) and critical discourse analysis (CDA). ANT (Latour 2007) refutes the existence of an abstract social structure and turns analysis towards actors and intermediaries and their associations and reassociations. Sociology becomes the study not of a separate and limitable field, but instead the study of the channels and links between actors. These channels may not necessarily be social in themselves and as a result may involve non-human actors and intermediaries. They also confound easy dichotomies between the macro and the micro, the global and the local, the human and

the natural, since sites and actors are connected together in ways that may involve elements of both simultaneously.

Actor Network Theory does not see social organisation as a substance or a structure and as a result it can more readily account for the ways in which non-human artefacts and beings enter into relationships with human actors. However, it should be noted that this is not a critical approach. ANT aims for detailed description, in humble and straightforward terms, of sites that provide for an understanding of certain aspects of beings' assembling and reassembling. ANT is not a sociolinguistic theory, since it is concerned with concrete links, not discourse, and it would not accept CDA's structural and ideological critique as formulated in Fairclough's (2013 [1995]) tripartite interpretative model. This progresses from the micro of the attributes of a specific text, to the meso of the processes that are pertinent for that text, to the macro of discourse and ideology. Nevertheless, ANT's conception of actor is very relevant to the aim of this paper, which is to find the means of encompassing our relationship to the earth within sociolinguistic inquiry.

This enterprise is still terribly underdeveloped. If one takes two Routledge collected volumes on discourse studies (Flowerdew & Richardson 2018; Gee & Handford 2012), in the 2012 volume there is no contribution at all that deals explicitly with climate. Six years later only one chapter by Stibbe (2018) almost at the end of the volume (chapter 33 in Flowerdew & Richardson 2018) tackles our relationship with our earth. It is also Stibbe who contributes a chapter (chapter 25) in the volume on critical discourse edited by Hart and Cap (2014).

Stibbe (2018) offers a critical discourse analysis that focuses on narrative and on the stories that inform our vision of the environment as well as our means of taking it into account. His ecolinguistic approach, a second axis for reflection, examines the cognitive framings, the control over discourse, that is exerted by certain groups, the forms that narratives can take (ideologies, identity, evaluations, erasure, etc.) and the behaviours and values that are related thereto. He gives the example of the framing of climate change as a problem to be solved (Stibbe 2018: 501) in that it is necessary only to find a solution for the problem to go away. This, obviously, is false. One could also think of the opposition between the two terms 'global warming' and 'climate change', where the former has much more comforting connotations than the latter. Stibbe's work is important, because it offers a recognition of non-human beings. Additionally, it establishes the bases for a critique of social structuration in that this can be judged as being either beneficial or harmful. Finally, his approach recognises the links between discourse and narrative.

Narrative is an epistemic mode: a fundamental means of apprehending our existence (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2015). It gives rise to a third axis for reflection. As text, it can be read critically, as Stibbe does. But narrative can also be examined from the perspective of the interactions that give rise to stories. Analysis can then concern the positioning of speakers (Bamberg 2006) and the links between wider processes and narratives. In the positioning model as developed by De Fina (2013), this positioning occurs with respect to an actor whose biography and affect are taken into account, and whose telling roles are solidified within communities of practice whose other members also have histories, trajectories, and intra- and extra-institutional relationships.

A diachronic approach such as this takes into account the telling and retelling of stories, and, examines them with respect to processes and discourses that can also be understood from the perspective of narrative. These would be the 'grand' narratives of our age. Thus, for instance, Marxism is a powerful examination of class struggle, but it is, further, a narration of these struggles and their insertion in an overarching temporal and historical movement. The Marxist diachrony extends from the pre-industrial era, to the post-war, to our own age of 'fast capitalism'. A temporal scale such as this allows a sociolinguistic research project to more easily confront the longer, ecological, timeframe. These grander narratives often also relate to anthropogenic change. Marxism, for instance, takes us to a time and an earth still relatively untransformed by human activity. One can think, as does Stibbe (2018), of American pre-colonial narratives, but also those of the African continent, or even of occidental utopias (Swift, Plato or Moore).

Social organisation and process, discourse and narrative, are increasingly studied in terms of their materiality, a fourth axis for reflection. Language is not simply immaterial as is a code, a flow of information or a bitstream. As Chartier notes for reading (Chartier, 1992), practices take their sense in a world of forms and contours (see also Barton & Papen 2010). Instantiation is language. This materiality can refer to inscription and to the media that are necessary to writing, what Scollon & Scollon (2003) call the semiotics of place. It can also include what Blommaert and De Fina research under the term of chronotope (Blommaert & De Fina 2015). Similarly, materiality can touch on resemiotisation across media or across different sites and institutional contexts. This current of sociolinguistic research is capable of accounting for the interpenetration of our physical environment and human language and interaction. It is an axis of research however that has not yet been expanded upon.

We have touched on a great many currents, reference works and noted several possible ways of merging linguistic research and the environment. A first axis of investigation concerns our conception of social space. Why should this space remain shielded from critique, isolated by structural relativism? Secondly, we have looked at critical discourse analysis and recognised the possibility, within this critical tradition, of working to aid our ecosystems. Thirdly, from the perspective of narrative research, we have explored a longer analytic timeframe so as to bring sociolinguistics into line with the more inertial changes of the earth. Finally, in materiality, whether artefactual, geographic, inscriptive, or re-mediated, we have noted an avenue that requires further investigation.

These axes are not exhaustive, but rather point towards possibilities in research. Linguistic variation, for instance, is a process that is linked to change over time and to built and geographic place. Studies that take language variety as their data could include the climate through materiality and temporality and do so much more than is the case at present (see for instance Smakman & Heinrich 2018). To operationalise these possibilities, as a result, we need to reimagine research processes.

Reimagining the research process

Relativism, critical discourse analysis, narrativisation and materiality are just some of the axes one could propose for reflection in reimagining the sociolinguistic research process. A

first way of operationalising these axes is constituted by a current in ecolinguistics that is differentiated from critical approaches in that it does not investigate text (stories and discourse) but language itself, as a living organism (Bang & Trampe 2014). Language does have its own logic, its own structures, forms and mutations. It is a collective product. But to note this is not to return to a Saussurean structuralism or the anthropologic and comparative studies of Sapir (1921). On the contrary, this approach allows a view of the effects of the environment on language and on linguistic communities (see Nash & Mühlhäusler 2014), where, "The ecosystem approach allows a differentiated perspective on language and its situational, individual, social, cultural and environmental implications." (Bang & Trampe 2014: 88).

This branch of ecolinguistics escapes from structural relativism in that, implicitly, it merges the stuff of human cognition with the environmental. It's a step towards sensibilisation and re-framing, where, through research into a conjuncture and its change, one can more easily understand the damage done by industries, such as food and feed, that fragilise our planet at the same time as they fragilise our social organisation and our capacity to live together. This systemic vision is compatible with ecosophy (Naess 1989; Guattari 2000 [1989]) an environmental philosophy. Ecosophy, which is also very relevant to the ecolinguistic approach advocated by Stibbe (2018), questions the vision of the world inherent in any system. As philosophy it concerns the social and the mental. Social ecosophy consists in developing specific practices that modify and reinvent the ways we live together (Guattari 2000 [1989]: 34). Mental ecosophy invites us to reinvent the bodily relation of a subject (Guattari 2000 [1989]: 35). In this case we can escape from relativism by the observation, a fairly intuitive one, that it is simply not true that all organisational principles and grand narratives have equal value.

From the point of view of a sociolinguistic research project, it is perhaps incumbent on the researcher to confront the relations and constraints that are pertinent for a participant with other human and non-human associations and systems. Additionally, research should take account of the progressive adaptations, tensions and contrasts in the positioning and evaluation of participants in respect of climate both emically and etically. From the perspective of Actor Network Theory this would concern the actor's understanding of the links and associations that obtain. From a structural perspective it would concern an individual's reference to determining factors. In interactional terms, where a participant is understood to produce her or his identity, Bucholtz & Hall (2005) discuss the principle of 'emergence'. To tripartite models of analysis that move from the micro, to the meso, to the macro, or to models such as ANT that appose the situated and the global, one must introduce a fourth level, which would be a sensibility to interplay with climate, and indeed the transversality of non-human actors.

This would involve questioning how sociolinguistics makes use of data generated by those already working on climate change. Sociolinguistics could bring to environmental sciences the interpretative powers that the humanities have of cultural issues (Hulme 2013: 128-134) or contribute a qualitative analysis of opinions and motivations (Dunlap & Brulle 2015). Sociolinguistics could also align itself with those research axes proposed by urban studies, human geography, botany, marine biology etc. In these sciences there is a great deal of

high-resolution data. This kind of alignment was the approach adopted, for instance, by Burnett & Milani (2017) who bring sociolinguistics to bear on rhino poaching.

As far as the critical analysis of texts, oral data and artefacts is concerned, sociolinguistic research can adopt a more active stance in the phase of data collection (Bartlett, 2012). This can be done in two ways. Firstly, a research project can investigate the urban and industrial discourses in and around a participant. Is power derived from fossil fuels? What are the major industrial interests in the area and what are their discourses with regard to their products, their production and their packaging? This research direction could also extend to urban policy on green spaces for example. The analysis could include documents generated by institutional actors, by textual/visual artefacts in the public space (the semiotic landscape), and by the advertising campaigns that all have an overt and explicit discourse. Bringing this line of inquiry into a project comes down to acknowledging the discourses that frame the space around a research project.

A second direction would be to expressly include ecological data in a research project. This would mean writing back to the silence or the omission of a text or a participant's words. The project could, in these cases, explicitly fill these silences with relevant ecological information. This would not mean, however, that the researcher would be pushing data in an artificial direction or influencing the participant's responses. Instead, a project could note how participants view their agency in social and ecological terms, in terms of their supply chain, their consumption, the use of plastics, or the origins of the articles that they eat, drink or apply. By examining these aspects of a research question, one gains a much clearer picture of how a participant conceives of their agency with respect to macro processes of extraction, circulation, combustion and landfilling of products that all come from our earth.

Linguistic analysis is here, moreover, a recognition of the materiality that informs and structures practices, texts and other data. This can be studied from a series of different theoretic starting points, but it has been clear since Goffman's work on interaction (1981) that the materiality of artefacts and environments must be an integral part of analysis. We mentioned chronotopes at the beginning of this article, but one could also refer here to material ethnographies (Lou 2016; Low 2017). The fact of the matter is that global warming is a physical process, fed by the physical, agentive, choices of people in their management of their bodies and of the use of these bodies in space (see Noland 2009, for a discussion of agency and embodiment).

The narrative mode could be better operationalised. Stibbe (2018) accomplishes this by acting on the production and circulation of stories, but it could also occur through the inclusion in a project of the biographies of participants, or through an awareness of the trajectory of tellings of their stories (Bamberg 2008). Another method could consist in harnessing the longer narrative time frame and tracing the evolution of pertinent grand narratives upstream of the present of the research project. For instance, this could involve understanding what distinguishes the liberalism of today from its incarnation in the post-war period. Finally, narrative research could assume a much more active ecological role, as Scollon and Scollon (2007) pleaded for ethnography. Some examples of an ecological turn could be in the sciences themselves (Moezzia, Janda &

Rotmann 2017), in governance (Paschen & Ison 2014) or in pedagogy (Holthuis, Lotan, Saltzman, Mastrandrea & Wild 2014).

To conclude, and open up the discussion to the data collected at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, we can examine how an interaction refers to its setting, how a participant positions him or herself with respect to processes and how this positioning changes or transitions to other positionings, how a sociolinguistic approach compares with or completes the data generated by environmental sciences, and how we can, when undertaking a research project, introduce data that is more explicitly ecological. Finally, in exploring this data, we can bear in mind the materiality of space and artefact as well as the reach of the narrative mode and its longer timeframe.

Of liberalism

As an example of what we have been discussing so far, we can look at a story collected with Geoff Rothschild, the ex-Chairman of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange in South Africa. Geoff Rothschild was a participant in a broader research project that conducted a small stories investigation of the space of Sandton, a business and retail district in the North of Johannesburg (see Kelleher 2018). Eleven transcript sections were made of a two-hour interview with Geoff Rothschild. He frequently returned to the theme of relocating and building the new Stock Exchange and to the transformation of Sandton from farmland to dense urban hub. The story extract is representative of the interview with him and has been chosen on that basis.

In the context of what we have been saying concerning discourses like those of capitalism, and the relationship between actors that the market supposes, it is interesting to study a narrative that relates directly to the theme. It is important to note that this story is not overtly either about the environment, or about the relationships between human and non-human actors. It is about the change in premises of the Stock Exchange and its conversion to all electronic. However, the entire point of this article resides in the fact that if we want to see it, the interpenetration of climate and our spatial, embodied, material, use of language is everywhere. It permeates our existence, and, as such, that of any sociolinguistic analysis. The following exploration of the story extract is tentative and illustratory, hoping to highlight the practicability and usefulness of a more ecological sociolinguistics.

Extract: Ex-Chairman of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, story 1 of recording 1 (transcription schedule in appendix)

(1)	Chairman	[we-
(2)	(1.7)	
(3)		well it wa- it was: always where the JSE had been

(4)	William	yah
(5)	Chairman	uh:m
(6)	(1.3)	
(7)		and uh:m (….) but you you hit the the sna:g with uh:m (..) with what was going on in the city centre with safety→
(8)	William	yah huh=
(9)	Chairman	=people not wanting to work the:re (….) regardless of what e:r (….) population group they came from (….) and if you were going to have a first world exchange→
(10)	(1.0)	
(11)		with all the bells and whistles and what is expected (….) you needed to (..) to have top class people
(12)	(0.6)	
(13)	William	yah
(14)	Chairman	there's (….) which gives me no longer the opportunity in the city centre to achieve that
(15)	(0.8)	
(16)		so the decision was made to move out more
(17)	(2.1)	
(18)		but if you look at the: the new s- the new property where (..) the JSE is still today (….) it was: built by Group Fi:ve it was:
(19)	(1.0)	
(20)		it came in→
(21)	(1.5)	

(22)		ahead of (…) schedule(..) ahead of budget
(23)	(1.3)	
(24)		so which is quite remarkable
(25)	(0.8)	
(26)		uh: a tremendous display of lighting: you know [so it is a very light building
(27)	William	[yah it's fantastic yeah
(28)	(0.7)	
(29)	Chairman	and also:: (..) it got an award for its: architecture
(30)	William	yah
(31)	(1.2)	
(32)	Chairman	so: it was (..) quite amazing you know I mean the sort of things that one thinks of (….) uh one wanted to be proudly South **African** but then when we looked for furniture for the JSE (….) uh:m it was pretty obvious that (….) uh:m the furniture that we **got** which was from **Twice** which was uh:m (….) I think from (….) **Holland**
(33)	(1.0)	
(34)		uh:m it was expe:nsive (….) but you couldn't compare it to: (..) the locally manufactured [stuff
(35)	William	[yah (..) yah
(36)	Chairman	and (.) you know u(h) when I left (.) the stock exchange: in March last ye:ar (….) the desks and everything that came from Twice were as [good as new
(37)	William	[is it hey=

In exploring this story we will try to follow the four axes of reflection outlined above (structural relativism, discourse analysis, narrativisation and materiality) and some of the means of applying these (acknowledging how climate is articulated in the space around a research project, expressly including ecological data and having recourse to a longer narrative time frame). To achieve this objective a simple narrative positioning analysis (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008; De Fina 2013) is adopted and then expanded to include these further considerations of climate, time and space.

A study of narrative positioning examines, firstly, how the characters and events are positioned relationally, among themselves and in the storied world. Subsequently, the analysis progresses to the setting and interactional roles of the story's telling, and then, thirdly, to the wider processes and discourses that frame the interaction. It is a good initial grid for the analytic work that needs to be done here, since, at the level of the storied world, one can introduce the materiality of the story's coordinates. At the level of story telling and setting, materiality and ecological data can be introduced. At the level of wider societal processes and discourses structural relativism can be confronted, in part through the adoption of a longer narrative time frame. Schematically this presents as in table 1.

	Level one: storied world	**Level two**: story telling and setting	**Level three**: wider societal processes
Escaping structural relativism			X
Discourse			X
Narrative time frame		X	X
Materiality	X	X	X

Table 1. Schematic presentation of the intersection of axes of reflection and of the three levels of narrative positioning

The story extract illustrates these points very well. It was Geoff Rothschild's decision in 2000 to move the Exchange to Sandton that kick-started construction there, whilst simultaneously condemning Johannesburg's historic centre. There is therefore, in this story, a significant relationship between narrative and urban form. Also of interest is that the move can be situated in a longer timeframe of events, more than 150 years, that commence with the founding of the city of Johannesburg. Following a brief investigation of levels one, two and three of a positioning analysis, considerations of climate and some tentative associations between human and non-human actors can be introduced.

At level one, the level of the story's characters and events, analysis reveals an effacement of Geoff Rothschild as actor and a framing of decisions as contingent on pre-existing forces. It is at turn 9 that Geoff introduces his personnel. Due to the demographic and socio-economic changes following the end of Apartheid, staff no longer want to work in the unsafe CBD

of Johannesburg. We can note that Geoff refers to these new post-Apartheid conditions using a categorisation device where a potential racial membership criterion is replaced by a need for quality in the personnel (turn 11). Geoff's story privileges the Exchange's building itself, its constructor, Group Five (turn 19), its lighting (turn 26) and then, from turn 32, its furniture. Geoff himself is almost totally erased from this story. A passive is used (turn 16) to refer to the decision to move the Exchange to Sandton.

This actorless construction is also used to speak of the architectural prize that the building won, and the project's progress. At turn 32, Geoff uses a discourse marker, *'you know'*, followed by another marker, '*I mean'*, which is the first time that he uses a pronoun in the first person. Up to this point he has mostly used a generalising, '*you'*. This '*I*' is not used propositionally and is very quickly followed by an impersonal pronoun *'one'*, and then by *'we'*. It is interesting that at turn 36 the same discourse marker introduces the second use of the first person. This second use, the first time in the story that Geoff uses the first person in a propositional phrase is, precisely, the moment in the story where he leaves the Stock Exchange and evaluates the choices made 16 years earlier. There is therefore a tendency in this story to employ impersonal formulations or discourse markers. The self-repair at turn 14 is noteworthy, ''*there's (….) which gives me no longer the opportunity in the city centre to achieve that*''. His decision is couched in a negative and framed as a reaction to opportunities.

At the level of the interactive situation which is relevant to this story, following Schiffrin (2006) we can note the roles of local expert and of researcher that are established. In interview, Geoff's person was discrete. He gave as meeting place the BluBird café which is a place he regularly frequented. He did not dress in an ostentatious way, ordered a coffee and a croissant. Despite his immense fortune he allowed himself to be invited and respected his role as research participant. Similarly, he supported the project behind the interview and tried his hardest to give the information that he felt germane. His role as local expert, in the story extract, is found in his references to his managerial status (at turn 14) and his concerns to respect the specifications for the construction of the new premises (turn 22).

In the interactional contours of this story, the local grounding is also felt in Geoff's use of South African English (SAfE) which, according to Lass (2004: 111) aligns on a continuum from conservative, to respectable, to extreme. Here, accentuation and lexis are midpoint in this continuum and represent a respectable SAfE. Finally, Geoff's turns are often dislocated and contain frequent markers of hesitation. This is certainly a way of hedging, but it is also a form of turn control, functioning similarly to a competitive overlap and having the result of imposing his authority. Authority, and its articulation, is an aspect of the community of practice of which Geoff is a member.

At the level of wider societal processes, in this story post-Apartheid urban change dominates. In 1994, when the African National Congress officially took power, it did so, as in countries like Chile, in parallel to a liberalisation and a fluidification of the economy. After a brief post-transition effervescence, the city, deprived of its traditional fire breaks, suffered capital flight and a depreciation of its real estate. Towards the year 2000, when Geoff made the decision to move the Exchange, it was to mark the end of a city centre that had become obsolete. We noted previously his manner of avoid-

ing race-based membership categorisations, preferring to place the emphasis on a need for quality in the personnel. Nevertheless, in South Africa, and especially the South Africa of that time, access to university education, socio-economic stratification and racial categorisation overlap.

The act of condemning the centre of Johannesburg for a secure and monitored district like Sandton had, and continues to have, visible consequences. One of these consequences can be found, for instance, in the human resources profile of the Exchange that, almost twenty years later, retains a gender and racial bias in its upper management and executive grades (see table 2). Only a liberal discourse can compress societal implications and emphasise a hydraulic logic of need/opportunity. There are several examples of this discourse in the story: a need for quality furnishings leads to their importation from a Dutch company, a first world exchange requires quality personnel etc. Critically, therefore, this story has in its texture some of the reasons for social injustice that stigmatise the country. The evaluation that signals the end of the story concerns only the long-lasting quality of choices made, and lends complexity to use of the slogan, "*Proudly South African*" (turn 32). The social processes that are indexed by this story could be shared by almost any of the CEO's of the numerous head offices that have moved to Sandton over the last two decades.

JSE personnel breakdown

		MALE				FEMALE				FOREIGN				
Categories	**Grade**	**AF**	**C**	**I**	**W**	**AF**	**C**	**I**	**W**	**M**	**F**	**Total**	**Ave Age**	**Ave Tenure**
Unskilled and defined decision making	**01-03**					3						**3**	56	21
Semi-skilled and discretionary decision making	**04-07**	4	1			2	1					**8**	50	17
Skilled technical and academically qualified workers, junior management, supervisors, foremen, superintendents	**08-11**	45	2	11	7	56	12	16	17			**166**	35	5
Professionally qualified, experienced specialists and mid-management	**12-14**	36	10	30	48	24	4	24	50	3	2	**231**	39	7
Senior management	**15-16**	4	1	3	28	1	2	6	18	1	0	**64**	45	12
Top management	**Exco**	2			3		1	1	3		1	**11**	48	11
		91	**14**	**44**	**86**	**86**	**20**	**47**	**88**	**4**	**3**	**483**	**39**	**7**

Table 2. Breakdown of personnel at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange using the categories still adopted in South Africa

These human processes are mirrored in the materiality of the place of the story. The Stock Exchange is in a courtyard almost without vegetation. It draws its electricity from the grid which in turn is fed by coal powered stations. When the grid doesn't work (the electricity sector in South Africa being plagued by debt and mismanagement) the backup is a diesel generator. The building is entirely airconditioned and its access is principally by car. The Sandton district breathes this concentration of concrete and the corporate inspiration of its form. The image of Figure 1 is taken from the floor of the meeting room of the Exchange. One

Figure 1. View of Sandton from the Johannesburg Stock Exchange executive floor

can clearly see the constructed density of Sandton against the vegetation of the rest of the North of Johannesburg.

As a powerful actor in a corporatist network, Geoff Rothschild is privileging certain types of links between sites, certain types of energy, and certain types of narrative. Rather than sustainability, the Stock Exchange building references its own history which is also that of the market. In the paving that leads up to the building there is a representation of the chain that used to separate the floor of the exchange in the old open outcry system. There are statues in the courtyard that symbolise the bull/bear push of capital markets. Most especially, stained glass windows recovered from the old Exchange have been restored and reutilised in the modern new building.

The place of the story, its coordinates, also englobes the wider Johannesburg metropolitan area, since the Stock Exchange moved from the old Johannesburg CBD to Sandton. Johannesburg is situated on a granite dome that accumulated the heavy metals and the gold that would shape its history (Storie, 2014). The subterranean dome redistributes water and heat and makes the North of Johannesburg, where Sandton is situated, more comfortable, geographically, than the South. This is why the 'randlords' (the mine owners and entrepreneurs) made this part of the city their home (Mabin, 2014) and in so doing encouraged a vegetation that would become a wooded cover (see Figure 2).

This cover, and the more abundant water in the North (see Figure 3) contrast with the mine dumps the same randlords generated in the South. Even though the mining industry is now largely stagnant in the city itself, South Africa continues to export the diamonds, coal and gold that are found in its earth, and the Sandton exchange continues to list mining companies that conduct extractive operations in war torn countries such as Southern Somalia or the Congo. Ecology and earth sciences offer, in this regard, strong support for a neoliberal analysis of the story extract. The ecological stratification of Northern Johannesburg echoes social stratification and inequality.

Having revisited the place of the story from a more ecological perspective, it is also fruitful to revisit the setting of its telling and

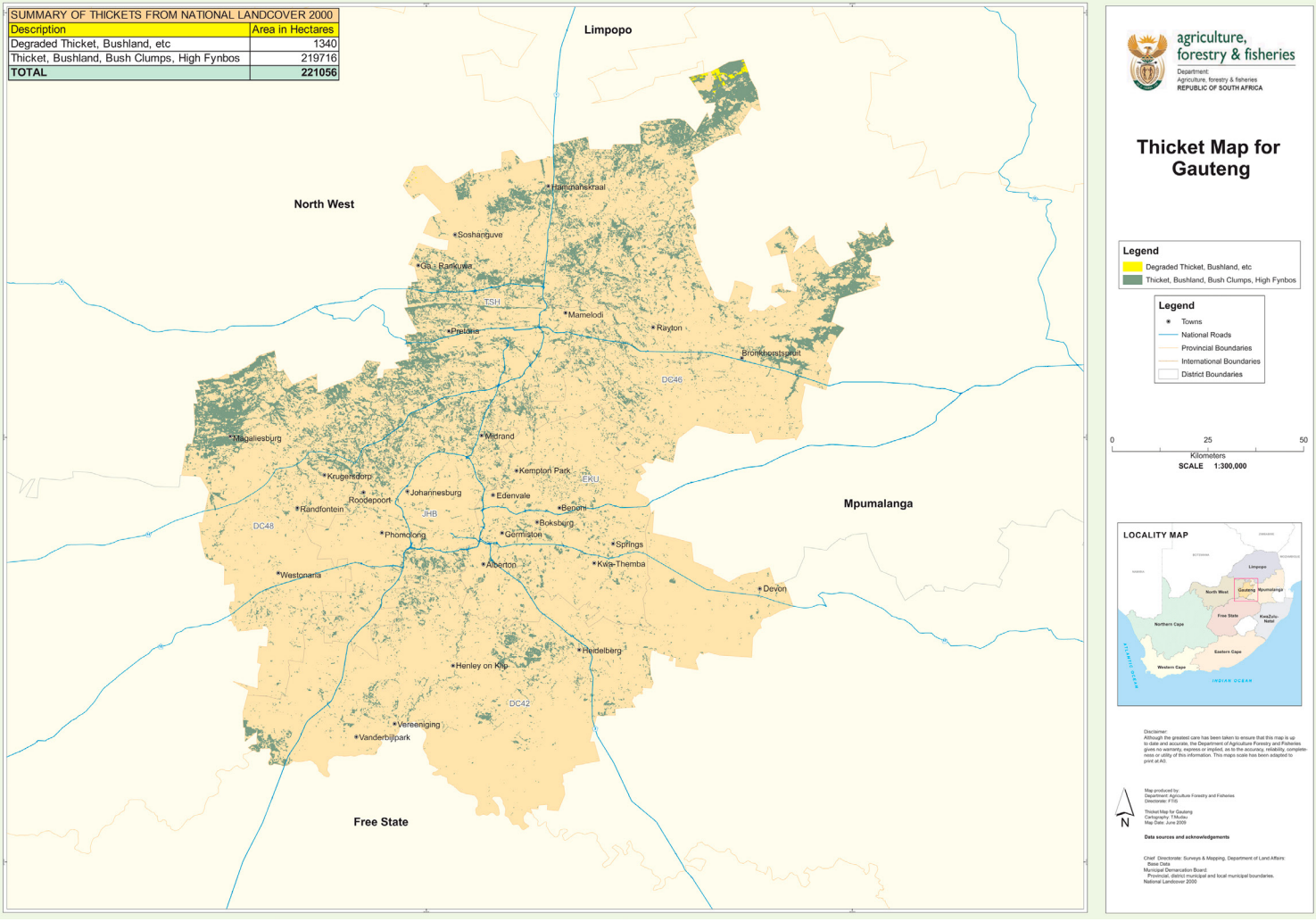

Figure 2. Map representing the concentration of wooded areas in the Gauteng region (DAFF 2013)

the interactional work accomplished there. In opposition to the materiality of the Stock Exchange building, the coffee shop, chosen by Geoff, where the interview was conducted, used few plastic or disposable utensils. It was lit with natural light and situated in a low-density part of the city. The interactional situation provided, in this respect, a counterpoint to the Exchange and the story world. Geoff, in addition, changed his discursive position towards the end of the interview. He grew much more animated and told of the Grootbos foundation that he had founded ten years previously. This foundation is set up with the local authorities and works to renew the environment, train the youth, reinstate practices such as apiculture and even develop a nursery. If space permitted, and this were a full study of a participant's positioning, one could juxtapose the two stories of the Exchange and of the Grootbos foundation. The links that each would establish with climate and with non-human actors would be very different.

This difference highlights the subjective malleability of links to wider processes. Outside of the logics of the market, Geoff is a philan-

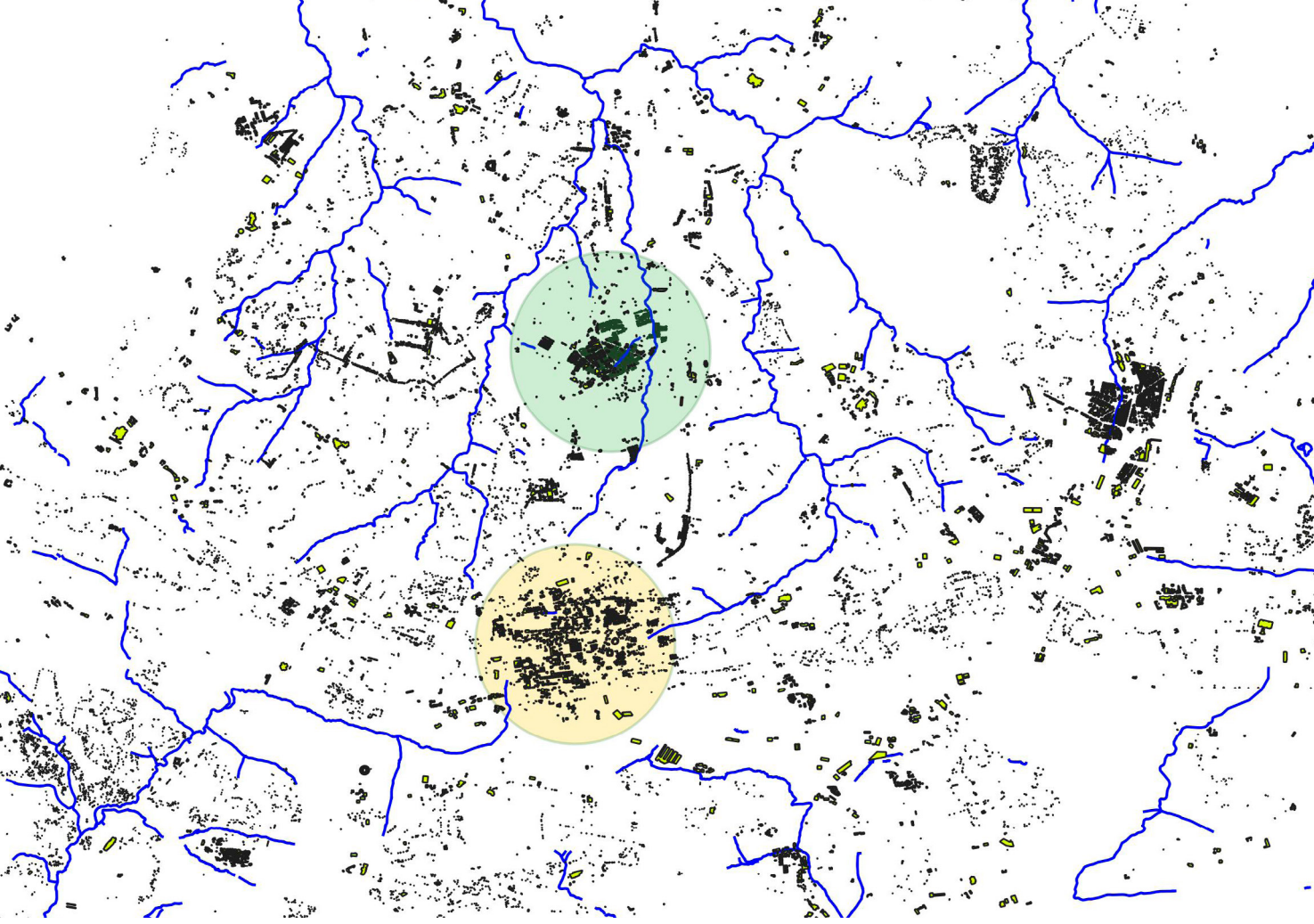

Figure 3. Distribution of waterways (in blue) and built environment in the Gauteng region. Sandton is marked green and Johannesburg marked orange (mapped by author, with data obtained from Ramm 2019)

thropist who is active in South Africa's rural ecosystems. The variation in positioning is also a means for us to escape a neoliberal relativism. Firstly, the participant himself is cognisant of two systems, one based on the market, the other based on social education, durable development and on reparation for the injustices of Apartheid. Secondly, the Grootbos foundation works deliberately to link the environmental and the social, which means that it recognises another materiality, another path for human activity which is not that of Sandton, of its courtyards and concrete without life. Finally, one should note that the Grootbos project was founded by Geoff at the end of his career. In some ways this project is an evaluation of his other projects and other logics, and points, ecosophically, towards a true practice that will modify and reinvent the manner in which we live together. It reverses the direction taken by Sandton with its leafy North, and its mine dumps in the South.

This leads us to take into consideration the longer timeframe of the Exchange (founded in 1887), of the city of Johannesburg (charted from 1886 by Von Brandis) and of the Rothschild

dynasty that traces its origins back to the 16th century. Geoff Rothschild has a history and a biography that are much longer than the few years that have lapsed from the Exchange's move in 2000. Even his career in that institution dates from the 70's when brokers still used the open outcry system. The Sandton district was at that time a genteel farming area frequented by what Beryl Porter has coined the, "mink and manure set". Geoff's story affords us a bridge to this longer timeframe. The Exchange's move, from this perspective, represents a return to the social and environmental geography of his family and his class. It's a return that, at Sandton, is represented by the Balalaika Hotel, established in 1949, where Geoff used to take his tea.

Let´s have a closer look at this. As noted (Figures 2 and 3), the North of Johannesburg, where Sandton is situated, was always greener and better irrigated. It's the North that received the mining elite and then the genteel farmers. The district where Sandton now stands has always been in juxtaposition to the downtown of Johannesburg, for reasons that are as ecological as they are social. When the post-Apartheid transformation of the city began, the fact that Sandton quickly densified, and did so in a monitored and security-conscious way, is not surprising. Sandton is not the *new* financial and service district, it's the *old* one, but this time with head offices.

Ecologically it represents the substitution of fields and horses by towers and cars. Going back further, towards the 19th century it represents the history of the conquest of South Africa and the transformation of its waters, its earth, its vegetation and its populations (both human and non-human). The logic of Geoff Rothschild's story is the logic of human expansion, increased population and the rise and fall of their living spaces. Here, by introducing ecological considerations, we have better understood the dynamics of this human and non-human geography, as well as deepening our analysis of Geoff's narrative.

In this analysis, we have started with a discussion of positioning to then bring in the ecological conditions in the district of Sandton, the materiality of the storied world and the interactional situation, as well the longer timeframe of biography and of urban form. It is necessary to note that the findings of the research project from which this data have been taken were given to the city to help inform its public policies.

Conclusion

Geoff Rothschild´s story brings out materiality, narrative time and the possibilities of a critical approach that includes data from sciences outside of the humanities. We have seen how linguistic investigation and ecology can inform each other, and how environmental considerations can allow a deeper and more nuanced discussion of sociolinguistic data. We have also noted how a participant can vary her or his positioning and be conscient of the wider processes and discourses that inform her or his own narratives. This is important when tackling structural relativism. Finally, the sociolinguistic research project which generated the data analysed here, has, hopefully, helped inform the public policies of the city council, by contributing a qualitative approach. Nevertheless, finding a way to alter the kinds of human and non-human processes of which some of the ramifications have been discussed here will not be easy. Like many other countries in

the world, South African public policy is tilted towards more reliance on fossil fuels, not less, a broader, more aggressive consumption base, not a more sustainable one. Sociolinguistics has the responsibility to play a role in analysing, and changing, these patterns.

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Disclaimer

All of the views and analyses presented in this article are those of the author and do not in any way reflect the position of the host university, nor that of the National Research Foundation.

Appendix - Transcription conventions

emphasis (voice slightly raised)	bold typeface or *italics*
following volume noticeably lower	°
in-breath	·hhhh (by length)
out-breath	hhhh (by length)
intonation unity continues into next line	→
latching between utterances	=
laughter during speech	@
lengthening of preceding sound	: :: ::: :::: (by length)
loud	CAPS
marked rising intonation	↑
marked falling intonation	↓
material omitted	[…]
omission of morphemes	ø
overlap	[
pause more than 3 seconds	(P)
pause 3 seconds or less	(p)
pause	(.) (..) (…) (….) (by length)
plosive aspiration (breathiness, laughter, crying)	(h)
silent interval, in seconds	(0.0)
speech faster	><
speech slower	<>
transcriber's comment	(( )) or [ ]
truncation of word or syllable	-
uncertain transcription	( )

Source: De Fina, A. & A. Georgakopoulou (eds.) 2015. *The handbook of narrative analysis*, p. 7. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

02

Pour une approche critique écologique : la sociolinguistique a l'ombre du changement climatique

William Kelleher

Cet article propose une critique de la place que la sociolinguistique accorde à l'écologie et au changement climatique, et offre quelques axes de travail pour faciliter leur meilleure prise en compte. Passant en revue les récentes publications, la discussion explore les raisons pour lesquelles l'analyse sociolinguistique peine à incorporer l'écologie. Quatre axes de réflexion sont proposés : le relativisme structurel, l'analyse critique du discours, le temps long narratif et la matérialité. Ils impulsent une réorientation des projets de recherche vers l'inclusion des données issues des sciences de la terre, et vers la publication des conclusions dans des forums autres que ceux des sciences humaines. Ces axes de réflexion sont, ensuite, appliqués à un récit qui traite de la relocation de la bourse de Johannesburg, raconté par son ancien Président Directeur Général. Ce récit, qui revêt un aspect biographique, mène à considérer la géologie de la ville, ses cours d'eau, sa végétation et la logique de construction du nouveau district d'affaires, Sandton, vers lequel la bourse migra.

Introduction

La sociolinguistique est un champ dynamique qui cherche à résoudre les problématiques de nos sociétés contemporaines. Récemment, par exemple, une série de publications a pu faire référence au capitalisme rapide (Duchêne & Heller 2012), à la globalisation (Collins, Slembrouck & Baynham 2009 ; Pennycook & Otsuji 2015), à la méthodologie (Blommaert 2013), et à la digitalisation (Page 2018). Dans ces œuvres, pourtant, l'analyse sur le changement climatique n'est que périphérique. De même, les recueils récents qui traitent de l'environnement et du changement climatique (Dryzek, Norgaard & Schlosberg 2011 ; Dunlap & Brulle 2015) n'accorde qu'une place très marginale aux approches qualitatives et encore moins à la linguistique appliquée ou à la sociolinguistique.

Cependant, les recherches sociolinguistiques s'intéressent directement à l'organisation sociale, économique et politique. D'une part, par l'analyse qu'elles fournissent des discours courants et, d'autre part, par la déconstruction qu'elles offrent des phénomènes marquants de notre époque. La sociolinguistique offre, par exemple, un moyen de comprendre la super diversité (De Fina, Ikizoglu & Wegner 2017), la sexualité (Ehrlich, Meyerhoff & Holmes 2014), les choix politiques en matière de travail et d'éducation, ou les comportements liés à la consommation. Ces champs de recherche sont une illustration de la capacité de la sociolinguistique à contribuer à la transformation des sociétés et à la justice sociale en offrant des analyses basées sur les usages, les corpus, les interactions, les artéfacts multimodaux, et les analyses du discours. Ces recherches participent à informer, et à changer, ce que Foucault (1970) dénomme les 'ordres' de discours.

Néanmoins, le sujet de ces recherches est délimité temporellement et organiquement. Temporellement, l'analyse de l'acte langagier dépasse difficilement le temps présent, et ne s'étend dans un futur proche que de manière très provisoire. Il existe une hésitation qui s'impose dans les sciences humaines à l'heure de généraliser leurs conclusions (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). Par exemple, le thème de la super diversité est un cri de ralliement pour les études engagées sur la migration, la pluralité et le droit à la reconnaissance des minorités. Mais ces études peinent, le plus souvent, à offrir une projection des changements démographiques à venir, de reconnaître l'impact de ces changements sur la déstabilisation climatique et, enfin, de faire le lien entre les précarités induites par cette déstabilisation et les moteurs de flux démographique.

Organiquement, le champ de recherche linguistique est centré sur l'humain. Nous considérons les liens que nous entretenons avec notre environnement et ses êtres non-humains à la lumière des conditions de notre propre vivre ensemble, le plus souvent en milieu urbain. Nous regardons les artéfacts et les conditions que nous fabriquons nous-mêmes. Il y a donc un désaccouplement profond entre le sujet de recherche, l'humain et ses pratiques langagières, et les conditions de possibilité de ce sujet, c'est-à-dire notre climat. Car, bien que notre regard soit tourné vers nous-mêmes, nous ne pouvons vivre sans les plantes, les océans et les terres. D'où le sens que Latour donne au climat, un sens très proche de l'environnement ou de l'écosystème, comme étant, « les relations entre les êtres humains et les conditions matérielles de leurs vies. » (Latour 2018: 7). Pour Latour, de plus, le climat pose la question de la terrestrialisation, « le public sent

bien le décalage entre les *buts* que la civilisation s'est donnée jusqu'ici et le *lieu* matériel où cette même civilisation doit apprendre à résider si elle veut durer. » (Latour 2019).

Le lieu soulève un problème de *méthode*, comme le note Barthes,

> [la méthode] c'est, disons, d'abord une démarche vers un but, c'est un protocole d'opération, pour, obtenir un résultat, par exemple une méthode pour déchiffrer, pour expliquer, pour décrire exhaustivement, et, deuxièmement, la méthode, c'est conforme à l'étymologie du mot en grecque, ça implique l'idée d'un chemin droit. C'est-à-dire qu'il veut aller droit à un but, or paradoxalement le chemin droit désigne les lieux ou en fait le sujet ne veut pas aller. Suivre une méthode, au sens stricte du mot, c'est risquer de fétichiser le but comme lieu, et par là, risquer d'écarter les autres lieux. (Barthes, cours au Collège de France, 1977 – 1980, cours 1, transcription par l'auteur).

En termes de lieu, les humains occupent dorénavant la planète entière. Depuis la publication du rapport sur le réchauffement à 1.5°C (IPCC 2018) nous sommes entrés politiquement dans les réalités de l'ère anthropocène. Nos sociétés ont été informées que si rien ne change économiquement, socialement ou techniquement, il existe une nette possibilité à ce que notre planète s'épuise. L'altération de notre habitat, de nos capacités de nous nourrir, de nous vêtir ou, simplement, de survivre, sont des enjeux primaires, que le ministre de l'environnement Hulot qualifia de 'seule modernité' (Hulot 2018). La sociolinguistique, en étant tournée résolument vers l'humain, le fixant comme 'but', dans les termes de Barthes, s'est détournée de cette autre lieu qui est celui dont parle Latour et qui est aussi celui de notre propre avenir.

L'écosystème dont nous dépendons est un lieu à peine visible dans les projets de recherche sociolinguistiques. C'est un lieu écarté par la méthode. Le climat n'a pas de voix, ni de libre arbitre, ni d'acteur social qui s'y attache immédiatement. Il est donc hors de portée de la linguistique, et en dehors, pour le moment, des sciences humaines. Néanmoins, si ces sciences parviennent à éviter la tentation d'un nihilisme dystopique, le discours sur le climat peut entrer dans un nexus avec les discours portant sur le néolibéralisme, sur l'exclusion ou sur l'intolérance qui donnent corps aux recherches sociolinguistiques, citées plus haut, sur le genre, le multilinguisme, la super diversité ou la migration. Le climat est un élément hors cadre, mais qui peut informer l'analyse des textes, des corpus, des interactions et des acteurs sociaux.

L'article présent se propose d'explorer dans quelle mesure une approche écologique est possible à l'intérieur de la sociolinguistique, en la déplaçant de sa position hors cadre. Il prendra comme matière exploratoire un extrait d'entretien avec une haute figure de la finance en Afrique du Sud, collecté au cours d'un projet de recherche sur le district de Sandton, site des affaires et de la consommation de luxe (Kelleher 2018). Ce projet de recherche a adopté un cadre théorique qui reposait sur la recherche narrative, et particulièrement sur ce que De Fina & Georgakopoulou (2008a; 2008b; 2012; 2015) appellent les récits courts. En explorant ces extraits, et en cherchant une nouvelle direction pour la sociolinguistique, nous serons guidés par les concepts de la motion au carré et de la navigation sociale (Vigh 2009). Les phénomènes sociaux sont perçus, généralement, comme ayant un fond régulier et une extension en

deux dimensions. Cette tendance se traduit par l'utilisation des termes comme 'paysage' (un exemple étant le 'paysage linguistique'). Néanmoins, l'articulation entre les acteurs, et les évènements et les systèmes qu'ils constituent, possède des profondeurs variables, des irrégularités, des ondulations, et des courants. Vigh utilise une métaphore marine,

> Le large est multidimensionnel et dense, ce qui suppose que les agents qui s'y trouvent doivent constamment s'orienter par rapport aux multiples forces (les vagues, le vent, les courants, les étoiles, et ainsi de suite), certaines de ces forces sont en mouvement accéléré alors que d'autres sont cycliques ou relativement statiques. (Vigh, 2009, pp. 429-430, traduction par l'auteur).

Par conséquent, alors même que nous tentons de décrire le tissu social et linguistique, ce tissu même est en métamorphose. Nous nous trouvons plongés dans une matière qui est fluide, imprévisible et qui se développe en même temps que nous l'étudions.

Axes de réflexion

La délimitation de la sociolinguistique peut être comprise comme étant temporelle et organique. Ceci informe le traitement du climat dans un projet de recherche. D'une part le changement climatique n'est pas encore tout à fait à proximité : ses effets sont mesurables, mais concerne l'énergie cinétique des océans, la fonte des glaces ou la mort des récifs, des phénomènes qui ne sont pas accessibles à la plupart des personnes. D'autre part nos écosystèmes se meuvent sur le temps long, un temps qui comprend plusieurs générations humaines et qui, du point de vue de nos vies, reste imperceptible. Quand bien même ses effets se voient, il est difficile de dire que le fait écologique influe directement dans l'interaction humaine. L'ouragan déchainé par les masses d'eau atmosphériques s'introduit dans nos interactions, mais ceci n'est qu'une manifestation du changement climatique, non pas le changement lui-même, ni l'écologie, à proprement parler. Les deux échelles temporelles, humaine et climatique, sont incompatibles (voir Dunlap & Brulle 2015). Enfin, tout comme nous l'avons déjà noté, le climat ne dispose pas du verbe, d'écrit ou d'énoncé linguistique. Sa manifestation n'est pas régie de la même manière que la nôtre.

Les personnes, les textes, les artéfacts, les énonciations et les situations d'interaction qui sont étudiés par la sociolinguistique se comprennent comme étant motivés, situés, structurés, multi-dimensionnels, relationnels et sujets à des effets d'échelle. Quelques articulations de ces approches paradigmatiques sont : la sémiotique sociale (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001), la géosémiotique (Scollon & Scollon 2003 ; 2004), l'analyse critique du discours (Fairclough 2013 [1995] ; Gee et Handford 2012), la sociolinguistique interactionnelle (Gumperz 1982) et, en lien avec celle-ci, l'ethnographie linguistique (Rampton, Maybin & Roberts 2014). De même, l'investigation selon ces axes peut englober des questions de genre et de performativité (Bucholtz & Hall 2005), le multilinguisme et la super diversité, déjà soulignés, ou la recherche narrative (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2015).

Des approches comme celles-ci ouvrent sur un domaine vaste qui inclut un aspect multidisciplinaire où la sociologie, l'anthropologie, la géographie humaine, l'histoire et la philosophie s'insèrent dans la formulation et la genèse de l'analyse. En tant que discipline, néanmoins, la sociologie est dominée par les universités du

Nord et par une poignée de penseurs (Blommaert, Pennycook, Rampton …). Face à ce déséquilibre, et aux silences de la littérature sur le sujet de l'écologie, il faut reconsidérer l'acteur social prévalent dans ces approches théoriques, ainsi que les modèles d'analyse prédominants. Pour reprendre le concept de navigation sociale et de motion au carré de Vigh (2009) il faut chercher dans quelle mesure nous pouvons penser l'écologie, et comment cela se traduit concrètement dans un projet de recherche. L'on voudrait mettre l'emphase sur, "*l'interactivité* de la pratique et l'*intermorphologie* de la motion" (Vigh 2009: 420, traduction de l'auteur, emphase dans l'originel).

Si l'on entend par 'acteur social' un acteur aux prises d'une structure, qui se déplace dans un espace relationnel définit par l'accumulation de marqueurs de culture, de capital et de trajectoire biographique, alors le débat continue d'être mené par l'œuvre de Bourdieu. Bourdieu est cité ouvertement dans plusieurs des cadres théoriques dont nous avons fait mention plus haut tels la géosémiotique, ou les approches de l'interaction socioculturelle formulées par Bucholtz & Hall (2005). Sa vision de structure sous-tend une multitude d'orientations de recherche telles que les attitudes, les politiques et la variation langagières, ou l'éducation.

Bourdieu meut l'acteur social dans deux directions simultanément, vers la rigidité de la réinscription structurelle, et vers un libre-arbitre qui se déploie selon le maniement de cette structure. L'environnement, ou l'écologie, sont à l'extérieur de ce mouvement, et constitue une importante ressource pragmatique et symbolique. Dans la maison Kabyle par exemple (Bourdieu, 1992 [1980]) la lumière oppose l'obscurité, l'automne oppose le printemps etc. Mais puisque l'analyse se concentre sur l'espace social, l'environnement ne saurait entrer dans une relation de réciprocité ou de codétermination. C'est-à-dire que quand bien même les conditions de production des aliments, ou l'aspérité du climat, entrent dans l'analyse (Bourdieu 2008) celle-ci se focalise sur la réponse à ces conditions par les acteurs, non pas sur les implications pour la structure sociale ni sur sa capacité à se reproduire dans le temps long géologique et environnemental.

Bourdieu s'arrête à la structure. Il n'insère celle-ci dans l'organisation plus vaste de la terre et de ses écosystèmes. En procédant de la sorte il exerce une forme de relativisme. Toute structure est considérée selon ses propres termes. Et ceci a des implications pour l'analyse qui en découle. Les conclusions pour l'humain, pour son organisation, ne sont que rarement tirées. Dans les travaux de Hanks, par exemple, qui traite des genres d'interaction linguistique comme étant assimilables à l'habitus des interlocuteurs (Hanks 1987), la plastique de l'environnement sert seulement à situer les acteurs entre eux comme un rideau de fond sur lequel se dessinent les opérations déictiques (Hanks 1992). Et ceci vaut pour d'autres approches linguistiques basées sur cette même conception d'acteur et de structure. Le cadre proposé par Bucholtz et Hall (2004 ; 2005) en est un autre exemple, bien que leurs tactiques d'intersubjectivité complètent le travail mené par Bourdieu sur la distinction par une investigation d'authentification et d'autorisation.

Il sera nécessaire de confronter ce relativisme si l'on vaudrait jeter les bases d'une sociolinguistique plus mobile. Ceci constitue un premier axe de réflexion. Deux champs de recherche méritent mention : la théorie de l'acteur-réseau (ANT pour ses sigles en anglais) et l'analyse critique du discours. ANT (Latour

2007) réfute l'existence d'une structure sociale abstraite, et tourne l'analyse vers les acteurs, les intermédiaires, et leurs associations et réassociations. La sociologie devient l'étude non pas d'un domaine particulier et délimité, mais, au contraire, l'étude des canaux et des liens entre les acteurs. Ces canaux ne sont pas forcément sociaux eux-mêmes, et peuvent impliquer des acteurs et des intermédiaires non-humains. Ils confondent des dichotomies trop faciles entre le macro et le micro, le global et le local, l'humain et le naturel, puisque les lieux et les acteurs sont connectés de manière à impliquer les deux pôles de ces continuums simultanément.

La théorie de l'acteur-réseau ne voit pas l'organisation sociale comme une substance ni comme une structure. Comme conséquence elle peut mieux décrire comment les êtres et les artéfacts non-humains tissent des liens avec des acteurs humains. Il convient de rappeler néanmoins que ceci n'est pas une approche critique. ANT cherche à fournir des descriptions détaillées, dans des termes simples et directes, des lieux qui avancent notre compréhension de comment les êtres s'assemblent et se rassemblent. ANT n'est pas une théorie sociolinguistique, vu qu'elle se concentre sur les liens et non pas sur le discours, et n'accepterait pas une critique structurelle et idéologique telle qu'avancée dans le modèle tripartite d'analyse du discours de Fairclough (2013 [1995]). L'analyse critique du discours progresse depuis les attributs micro d'un texte en particulier, vers le meso des processus qui s'y affèrent, vers le macro du discours et de l'idéologie. Elle présente donc des différences avec ANT, qui, toutefois, avance une conception d'acteur et d'organisation qui est très utile pour les objectifs du présent article, qui voudrait englober notre relation à la terre à l'intérieur de l'enquête sociolinguistique.

Ces objectifs sont extrêmement sous-développés. Si nous prenons deux collections de Routledge sur le discours (Flowerdew & Richardson 2018 ; Gee & Handford 2012), dans le recueil de 2012 aucune contribution ne traite explicitement de l'écologie. Six ans plus tard seul un chapitre de Stibbe (2018) vers la fin du recueil (le chapitre 33 de Flowerdew & Richardson 2018) traite de la relation que nous entretenons avec notre monde. C'est également Stibbe qui propose un chapitre (le chapitre 25) dans le recueil sur le discours critique de Hart et Cap (2014).

Stibbe (2018) offre une approche critique aux discours qui se focalise sur l'acte narratif et sur les histoires qui encadrent notre vision de l'écologie ainsi que notre manière de la prendre en compte. Son approche écolinguistique, un second axe de réflexion, examine les cadres cognitifs, le contrôle sur les discours institutionnels exercé par certains groupes, les formes de ces actes narratifs (idéologiques, identitaires, évaluatives, de suppression, …) et les valeurs et les comportements qui y sont liés. Il donne l'exemple du changement climatique présenté comme un problème à résoudre (Stibbe 2018: 501) ce qui suppose qu'il suffise de trouver une solution pour que le problème se résolve. Ceci, évidement, est faux. Nous pouvons penser de manière similaire à l'opposition entre les deux termes 'réchauffement climatique' ou 'déstabilisation du climat', où le premier terme offre des connotations plus tranquillisantes que le second. L'approche de Stibbe est importante, car elle offre une reconnaissance des êtres non humains. Elle jette, qui plus est, les bases pour une critique des structures sociales qui peuvent être jugées bénéfiques ou nuisibles. Enfin, son

approche reconnaît les passerelles entre le discours et l'activité narrative.

L'activité narrative constitue un mode épistémique : une manière fondamentale d'appréhender notre existence (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2015). Elle fournit un troisième axe de réflexion. En tant que texte, elle peut être soumise à une approche critique du discours comme le fait Stibbe. De plus, les interactions qui donnent lieu à des histoires sont susceptibles de proposer une analyse qui porte sur le positionnement des interlocuteurs. Les recherches sur le positionnement (Bamberg 2006) étudient les liens entre un acte narratif donné et les processus qui l'informent. De plus, telle l'approche développée par De Fina (2013), elle met l'accent sur un acteur qui a une histoire, de l'affect, et dont les rôles se sont solidifiés à l'intérieur des communautés de pratique qui, elles aussi, ont aussi des histoires, des membres, des trajectoires et des contextes institutionnels et extra-institutionnels.

Une telle approche diachronique prend en compte l'évolution des récits, et de plus, les examine à l'aune des processus et discours qui peuvent, eux aussi, être appréhendés sous une forme narrative : les grandes narrations de notre ère. Ainsi, par exemple, le marxisme est un puissant examen des relations de classe, mais c'est aussi une narration de ces relations et de leur insertion dans un temps et une histoire plus longs. La diachronie marxiste s'étend depuis l'ère préindustrielle, à la période de l'après-guerre et jusqu'à l'ère du 'capitalisme rapide'. Une échelle temporelle comme celle-ci permet à un projet de recherche sociolinguistique d'aborder plus facilement le temps écologique long. De plus, nos grandes narrations sont, souvent, à mettre en relation avec les changements anthropogéniques. Le marxisme nous amène à un temps et à un monde peu transformé par l'activité humaine. De manière similaire nous pouvons penser aux récits précoloniaux américains comme le fait Stibbe (2018), mais aussi à ceux du continent africain, et même à ceux des utopies occidentales (Swift, Plato ou Moore).

Structure sociale, discours et récit sont de plus en plus étudiés sous leurs aspects matériels. Ceci sera un quatrième axe de réflexion. La langue n'est pas seulement immatérielle comme l'est un code, un flux d'informations ou d'octets. Comme noté par Chartier pour les pratiques de lecture (Chartier 1992), c'est une activité qui prend sens dans un monde de formes et de contours (voir aussi Barton & Papen 2010). Instanciation est langue. Cette matérialité peut faire référence à l'inscription et aux supports qui sont mobilisés pour l'écrit, ce que Scollon et Scollon (2003) appellent la sémiotique du lieu. Elle peut aussi englober ce que Blommaert et De Fina recherche sous le terme de chronotope (Blommaert & De Fina 2015). De même, la matérialité peut toucher la resémiotisation à travers media ou à travers le cadre interactionnel. Ce courant de recherche sociolinguistique est apte à rendre compte de l'interpénétration de notre environnement physique et des langages et de l'interaction humaines. Ce n'est pas un axe, pourtant, qui a été approfondi.

Dans la discussion ci-dessus nous avons abordé un grand nombre de courants et d'œuvres de référence, et nous avons remarqué plusieurs voies possibles pour l'entrelacement du fait linguistique et de l'environnement. Un premier axe d'investigation concerne notre conception de l'espace social. Pourquoi devrait-elle rester à l'abri de la critique, isolée dans un relativisme structurel ? Ensuite nous avons abordé l'approche critique du discours et reconnu la possibilité, à

l'intérieur de la tradition critique, d'agir pour nos écosystèmes. Troisièmement, par le biais de la recherche narrative nous avons invoqué le mérite d'un temps d'analyse plus long afin de rapprocher la sociolinguistique des changements beaucoup plus inertiels de la terre. Enfin, dans la matérialité, que ce soit artéfactuel, géographique, d'inscription, ou de remédiation, nous avons aussi vu une avenue d'investigation qui se prêterait à une sociolinguistique tournée vers l'écologie.

Ces axes ne sont pas exhaustifs, mais pointent plutôt vers des possibilités dans un projet de recherche. La variation linguistique, par exemple, est un processus qui s'inscrit dans le temps et dans l'espace construit et géographique. Les études qui utilisent des données qui traitent des variétés linguistiques pourraient inclure le climat à travers la matérialité et la temporalité, et le faire beaucoup plus que n'est le cas à présent (voir notamment Smakman & Heinrich 2018). Pour opérationnaliser ces courants il faudrait réimaginer, dès lors, notre rapport à la langue et à la société.

Réimaginer les processus de recherche

Relativisme, approche critique du discours, narrativisation et matérialité constituent autant d'axes de réflexion pour réimaginer les processus de recherche sociolinguistiques. Une première manière d'opérationnaliser ceux-ci est constitué par un courant de l'écolinguistique qui se différentie des approches critiques en regardant non seulement les textes (récits et discours) mais aussi la langue elle-même comme un organisme vivant (Bang & Trampe 2014). La langue en effet a ses propres logiques, ses propres structures, ses propres formes et mutations. Elle est un produit collectif. Mais ceci n'est pas un retour au structuralisme Saussurien ou aux études anthropologiques et comparatives de Sapir (1921). Au contraire, elle permet de voir les effets de l'environnement sur le langage et les communautés linguistiques (voir Nash et Mühlhäusler, 2014), où, ''L'approche écosystémique permet une perspective différentiée sur la langue et ses implications situées, individuelles, sociales, culturelles et environnementales.'' (Bang & Trampe 2014: 88, traduction de l'auteur).

Cette branche de l'écolinguistique permet de sortir du relativisme structurel car, implicitement, elle fusionne les produits de la cognition humaine avec les processus environnementaux. C'est un travail de sensibilisation où, à travers le regard sur une conjoncture et son changement l'on peut plus facilement saisir les dégâts dues aux activités industrielles (l'agroalimentaire et autres), qui fragilisent notre planète tout en fragilisant notre organisation sociale et notre vivre ensemble. Cette vision systémique est complémentaire avec l'écosophie (Naess 1989 ; Guattari 2000 [1989]) qui est une philosophie de l'environnement. L'écosophie, qui est aussi très importante pour l'approche écolinguistique promue par Stibbe (2018), s'interroge sur la vision du monde inhérente dans tout système. Cette interrogation, propre à la philosophie, concerne le social et le mental. L'écosophie sociale consiste à développer des pratiques spécifiques qui modifieront et réinventeront notre vivre ensemble (Guattari 2000 [1989]: 34). L'écosophie mentale nous amène à réinventer la relation du sujet au corps (Guattari 2000 [1989]: 35). Nous sortons du relativisme par le constat, assez intuitif, qu'il n'est tout simplement pas vrai que tout principe organisateur ou grande narrative s'équivaut.

Depuis le point de vue d'un projet de recherche sociolinguistique il s'agit, peut-être, de confronter les relations et les contraintes qui sont pertinentes pour un participant à d'autres associations et systèmes humains et non-humains. En outre, la recherche peut prendre en compte, de façon étique et émique, les progressions, adaptations, tensions et contrastes dans le positionnement et l'évaluation des participants vis-à-vis du climat. Dans les termes de la théorie acteur-réseau ceci concernerait la compréhension que l'acteur acquiert des liens et des associations qui lui sont propres. D'un point de vue structurel ceci concernerait la référence qu'un individu fait aux facteurs déterminants. Du point de vue interactionnel, où un participant est producteur de son identité, Bucholtz et Hall (2005) discutent le principe d' 'émergence'. Aux modèles tripartites d'analyse qui partent du micro, du méso et du macro, ou aux modèles comme ANT qui apposent le situé et le global, il faut ajouter un quatrième niveau, qui apportera une sensibilité aux croisements du modèle avec le climat, et, en effet, la transversalité des acteurs non-humains.

Ceci reviendrait à s'interroger sur la place de la sociolinguistique dans le champ plus grand des informations générées par les scientifiques qui travaillent sur le changement climatique. L'implication de la sociolinguistique dans les sciences de la terre peut consister à apporter la connaissance qu'ont les sciences humaines du culturel (Hulme 2013: 128-134) ou contribuer à l' analyse qualitative des opinions et des motivations (Dunlap & Brulle 2015). La sociolinguistique se doit de se s'ajuster sur quelques-uns des axes proposés par ces sciences tels que la ville, la géographie humaine et végétale, les migrations d'espèces etc. où il existe des données à haute résolution. Ceci est la démarche, par exemple, de Burnett et Milani (2017) qui examinent la chasse et le braconnage des rhinocéros.

Quant aux textes, aux données orales et aux artéfacts, et l'analyse critique de ceux-ci, les recherches sociolinguistiques peuvent adopter un rôle plus actif dans la collecte des données (Bartlett 2012). Et ce de deux façons. Premièrement, un projet de recherche peut partir d'un participant pour regarder les discours de la forme urbaine et industrielle qui l'entoure. L'espace construit est-il alimenté par des énergies fossiles ? Quels sont les intérêts industriels majeurs dans la zone et quels sont leurs discours à l'égard de leurs produits, leur production et leur emballage ? Cette direction d'analyse peut aussi comprendre la place octroyée aux espaces verts dans la ville par exemple. L'analyse peut s'alimenter de documents émis par les acteurs institutionnels, par les artéfacts visuels et écrits dans l'espace publique (le paysage sémiotique) et par des campagnes de communications, qui ont, tous, un discours ouvert et explicite. Prendre en compte cette direction d'investigation revient à reconnaître les discours 'cadre' d'un locus d'investigation sociolinguistique.

Il faut aussi amener des données sur l'écologie dans un projet. Ceci veut dire que, face au silence ou à l'omission d'un texte ou des propos d'un participant, le projet sociolinguistique peut inviter une prise en compte plus explicite. Sans nécessairement pousser la collecte des données dans une direction artificielle, le chercheur peut noter comment ses participants se placent vis-à-vis de leur libre arbitre dans l'ordre social et écologique, vis-à-vis des logiques d'approvisionnement, ou vis-à-vis de la consommation, de l'utilisation des matières plastiques dans les objets qu'ils achètent, ou de la provenance des articles qu'ils mangent, boivent ou s'appliquent. Examiner ces aspects

de la question revient à considérer comment un participant prend en charge son libre arbitre dans des macro processus sociaux d'extraction, de circulation, de combustion et d'enfouissement des produits issus de la terre.

L'analyse linguistique est, également, ici, une reconnaissance de la matérialité qui informe, structure et articule les pratiques, les textes et les autres types de données. L'on peut étudier celle-ci depuis une gamme de points de départ théoriques, mais, il est clair que depuis les travaux de Goffman sur l'interaction (1981) la matérialité des artéfacts et des environnements est une partie intégrante à l'analyse. Il a déjà été fait mention des chronotopes, l'on pourrait ajouter les travaux sur l'ethnographie matérielle (Lou 2016 ; Low 2017). L'on se doit de rappeler que le réchauffement climatique est un processus physique alimenté par les choix physiques et agentifs des personnes dans la gestion de leurs corps et dans l'utilisation de ceux-ci dans l'espace (voir Noland 2009, pour une discussion de l'aspect corporel de notre libre arbitre).

Le mode narratif pourrait être mieux opérationnalisé. Ceci peut s'accomplir comme le fait Stibbe (2018), en agissant sur la production et la circulation des récits, mais peut aussi passer, potentiellement, par l'inclusion dans un projet des biographies des participants, et par une sensibilité à la narrativisation et la ré-narrativisation de leurs récits (Bamberg, 2008). D'autre part, l'on pourrait opérer sur le temps long du mode narratif et tracer l'évolution des grandes narrations en amont du moment présent de recherche, et voir en quoi se distingue, par exemple, le libéralisme d'aujourd'hui de celui de la période d'après-guerre. Enfin, la recherche narrative peut acquérir un rôle plus actif, tout comme Scollon & Scollon (2007) plaidaient pour l'ethnographie. Quelques exemples de ce nouveau rôle sont : l'engagement social (Moezzia, Janda & Rotmann 2017), la gouvernance (Paschen & Ison 2014), ou la pédagogie (Holthuis, Lotan, Saltzman, Mastrandrea & Wild 2014).

Pour conclure, et ouvrir la discussion aux données collectées à la bourse de Johannesburg, nous pouvons regarder comment l'interaction se réfère à son milieu, comment le participant se positionne vis-à-vis d'un système monde et comment ce positionnement est susceptible d'évolution ou de transition vers d'autres positionnements, comment l'approche sociolinguistique se compare ou complète les données générées par les sciences de la terre, comment pouvons-nous, lors d'un projet, amener des données qui portent plus explicitement sur l'environnement. Enfin, dans l'exploration de ces données, nous garderons à l'esprit la matérialité de l'espace et de l'artéfact ainsi que la portée du mode narratif et de son temps plus long.

Du libéralisme

Afin d'appliquer l'analyse ci-dessus, nous pouvons regarder un récit recueilli avec Geoff Rothschild, l'ancien PDG de la bourse de Johannesburg, en Afrique du Sud. Geoff Rothschild était un participant dans un projet de recherche plus étendu qui collectionnait des récits courts afin de mener une investigation ethnographique de l'espace de Sandton, un quartier d'affaires et de vente haut de gamme situé au nord de Johannesburg (voir Kelleher 2018). De son entretien de deux heures, onze transcriptions comportent des récits. Dans ces récits il revenait fréquemment aux thèmes de la bourse, sa relocation et construction, et la

transformation de Sandton qui, de ses origines agricoles est devenu un centre urbain dense. L'extrait est représentatif de son entretien et a été choisi ici pour cette raison.

Dans le contexte de ce que nous avons dit concernant les discours comme celui du capitalisme, et les relations entre acteurs supposées par le marché, il est intéressant d'étudier une histoire qui s'y réfère directement. Il est important de remarquer, cependant, que cette histoire ne concerne directement ni l'environnement, ni les relations entre des acteurs humains et non-humains. Le récit concerne la relocalisation de la bourse et sa conversion au tout électronique. En se penchant sur un récit qui n'a pas, à premier égard, de rapprochement au sujet de l'environnement, nous touchons au point même de cet article : que, si l'on voudrait le voir, l'interpénétration du climat et notre utilisation spatiale et matérielle du langage est partout. Elle pénètre notre existence et, par conséquent, toute analyse sociolinguistique. L'exploration proposée de l'extrait est tentative et explicatif, elle vise, avec un peu de chance, de souligner la praticabilité et l'utilité d'une sociolinguistique plus écologique.

Extrait : l'ancien PDG de la bourse de Johannesburg, récit 1 de l'enregistrement 1 (conventions de transcription en annexe)

(1)	PDG	[we- *[nous-*
(2)	(1.7)	
(3)		well it wa- it was: always where the JSE had been *bon c'éta- c'était: toujours où la bourse avait été*
(4)	William	yah *ouais*
(5)	PDG	uh:m
(6)	(1.3)	
(7)		and uh:m (….) but you you hit the the sna:g with uh:m (..) with what was going on in the city centre with safety→ *et uh:m (….) mais on on avait le problème avec uh:m (..) ce qui se passait en centre-ville avec la sécurité→*
(8)	William	yah huh= *ouais huh=*

(9)	PDG	=people not wanting to work the:re (….) regardless of what e:r (….) population group they came from (….) and if you were going to have a first world exchange→ *=les personnels ne voulaient plus travailler là: (….) quel que soit e:r (….) le groupe de population d'où ils provenaient (….) et si on voulait une bourse de premier monde→*
(10)	(1.0)	
(11)		with all the bells and whistles and what is expected (….) you needed to (..) to have top class people *avec tous les accoutrements et tout ce qui est attendu (….) il fallait avoir (..) avoir de personnes de première qualité*
(12)	(0.6)	
(13)	William	yah *ouais*
(14)	PDG	there's (….) which gives me no longer the opportunity in the city centre to achieve that *il y a (….) ce qui ne me donne plus l'opportunité en centre-ville d'obtenir cela*
(15)	(0.8)	
(16)		so the decision was made to move out more *donc la décision était prise de plus délocaliser*
(17)	(2.1)	
(18)		but if you look at the: the new s- the new property where (..) the JSE is still today (….) it was: built by Group Fi:ve it was: *mais si vous regardez la: la nouvelle l- la nouvelle propriété où (..) la bourse se trouve encore aujourd'hui (….) c'était: construit par Group Fi:ve c'était:*
(19)	(1.0)	
(20)		it came in→ *c'est achevé→*

(21)	(1.5)	
(22)		ahead of (…) schedule(..) ahead of budget *avant la (…) date prévue (..) à un moindre coût*
(23)	(1.3)	
(24)		so which is quite remarkable *donc ce qui est assez remarquable*
(25)	(0.8)	
(26)		uh: a tremendous display of lighting: you know [so it is a very light building *uh: un formidable jeu de lumière: vous savez [donc c'est un bâtiment qui est très lumineux*
(27)	William	[yah it's fantastic yeah [*ouais c'est fantastique ouais*
(28)	(0.7)	
(29)	PDG	and also:: (..) it got an award for its: architecture *et en plus:: (..) il a obtenu un prix pour son architecture*
(30)	William	yah *ouais*
(31)	(1.2)	
(32)	PDG	so: it was (..) quite amazing you know I mean the sort of things that one thinks of (….) uh one wanted to be proudly South **African** but then when we looked for furniture for the JSE (….) uh:m it was pretty obvious that (….) uh:m the furniture that we **got** which was from **Twice** which was uh:m (….) I think from (….) **Holland** *donc: c'était (..) assez étonnant vous savez je veux dire la sorte de choses auxquelles l'on pense (….) uh l'on voulait être fier d'être Sud **Africain** mais quand nous avons cherché pour les meubles pour la bourse (….) uh:m c'était assez évident que (….) uh:m les meubles que nous avons **obtenus** qui provenaient de **Twice** qui était uh:m (….) je pense de (….) en **Hollande***

(33)	(1.0)	
(34)		uh:m it was expe:nsive (….) but you couldn't compare it to: (..) the locally manufactured [stuff *uh:m ils étaient che:rs (….) mais l'on ne pouvait pas les comparer aux (..) trucs fabriqués* [*localement*
(35)	William	[yah (..) yah *[ouais (..) ouais*
(36)	PDG	and (.) you know u(h) when I left (.) the stock exchange: in March last ye:ar (….) the desks and everything that came from Twice were as [good as new *et (.) vous savez u(h) quand j'ai quitté (.) la bourse : en mars de l'année derni:ère (….) les bureaux et tout ce que nous avons acheté chez Twice étaient [comme neufs*
(37)	William	[is it hey= *[vous ne me le dites=*

Afin d'explorer ce récit, nous essayerons de suivre les quatre axes de réflexion ébauchés précédemment (le relativisme structurel, l'analyse critique du discours, la narrativisation et la matérialité) ainsi que les moyens de les appliquer (reconnaître comment s'articule le climat dans l'espace autour d'un projet de recherche, inclure des données écologiques, chercher un temps narratif plus long). Cette entreprise se prête à l'utilisation d'une grille d'analyse tirée du positionnement narratif (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008; De Fina 2013) qui peut être étalé pour inclure ces considérations de climat, de temps et d'espace.

Étudier le positionnement narratif revient, premièrement, à examiner comment les personnages et les évènements sont positionnés relationnellement, entre eux-mêmes et dans le monde évoqué par le récit. Par la suite, il convient de se pencher sur la situation d'interaction et les rôles adoptés par les narrateurs. Enfin, l'analyse doit comprendre les processus et discours plus vastes qui encadrent l'interaction. Cette progression analytique est une très bonne grille initiale puisque, au niveau du monde narrativisé, l'on peut introduire la matérialité des coordonnées du récit. Au niveau de la situation d'interaction et des rôles adoptés par les narrateurs l'on peut introduire et la matérialité et les données écologiques. Au niveau des processus et discours plus vastes, le relativisme structurel peut être confronté, entre autres par l'adoption d'un cadre narratif plus long. Schématiquement ceci se présente selon le tableau 1.

	Niveau un: monde narrativisé	**Niveau deux**: situation d'interaction	**Niveau trois**: processus sociaux plus vaste
Relativisme structurel			X
Discours			X
Temps narratif		X	X
Matérialité	X	X	X

Tableau 1. Présentation schématique de l'intersection des axes de réflexion et des trois niveaux de positionnement narratif

L'extrait du récit illustre bien ces remarques. C'était la décision de Geoff Rothschild, prise en 2000, de déménager la bourse à Sandton qui a donné le coup d'envoi à la construction immobilière du quartier. Cette même décision condamnait le centre historique de Johannesburg. Il y a, par conséquent, dans ce récit, une relation forte entre activité narrative et forme urbaine. Par ailleurs la relocation de la bourse peut être située à l'intérieur d'un cadre événementiel plus long, plus de 150 ans, qui commence avec la planification de la ville de Johannesburg. Ainsi, après une investigation des niveaux un, deux et trois du positionnement, la grille initiale sera élargie afin d'intégrer des questions de climat et quelques associations entre les acteurs humains et non-humains.

Au niveau un, le niveau des personnages, des évènements et des coordonnés du récit, l'analyse révèle l'effacement de Geoff Rothschild et une présentation des décisions prises comme étant contingentes sur de forces préexistantes. C'est au tour de parole 9 que Geoff introduit son équipe. Le centre-ville de Johannesburg pose dorénavant, à cause des changements démographiques et socio-économiques de la fin de l'Apartheid, un problème de sécurité et son équipe ne veut plus y travailler. Notons comment Geoff se réfère aux nouvelles conditions post-Apartheid en employant un dispositif d'affiliation où un potentiel marquage racial est remplacé par un besoin de qualité de compétences du personnel (à 11). Ensuite le récit de Geoff propulse au premier plan le bâtiment lui-même avec le maître d'œuvre qui est Group Five (à 19), sa lumière (à 26) et puis, à partir du tour de parole 32, son mobilier. La figure de Geoff est presque complètement effacée de ce récit. Un passif est employé (à 16) pour la décision de relocaliser la bourse vers Sandton.

Cette formulation sans acteur est aussi celle employée pour parler du prix d'architecture et la progression du projet. Au tour de parole 32 Geoff emploie un marqueur de discours, '*vous savez*', suivi d'un autre marqueur, *' je veux dire'*, qui est la première fois qu'il utilise un pronom à la première personne. Jusqu'ici il a surtout employé un *'vous'* généralisant. Mais ce *'je'* n'est pas utilisé de manière propositionnelle et très vite est suivi par un pronom impersonnel *'on'*, et puis par *'nous'*. Il est intéressant qu'au tour 36 le même marqueur de discours introduit la seconde utilisation de la première

personne. Cette seconde utilisation, la seule fois dans le récit que Geoff reprend la première personne dans une phrase prépositionnelle est, justement, le moment dans le récit où il quitte la bourse et établit un bilan des choix faits 16 ans auparavant. Il y une tendance dans ce récit donc de recourir à des formulations impersonnelles ou à des marqueurs de discours. La réparation de sa prise de parole (à 14) est remarquable à ce titre, '' *il y a (….) ce qui ne me donne plus l'opportunité en centre-ville d'obtenir cela* ''. Sa décision est couchée dans un négatif et en réaction aux opportunités.

Au niveau de la situation interactive qui donne forme à ce récit, à l'instar de Schiffrin (2006) nous pouvons aussi noter les rôles d'expert local et de chercheur qui sont établis. Dans cet entretien Geoff s'est comporté discrètement. Il convint notre rendez-vous au café BluBird (l'oiseau bleu), qui est un endroit qu'il fréquentait habituellement. Il ne s'habilla pas de manière ostentatoire et commanda un café et un croissant. Malgré sa fortune immense il se laissa payer l'addition, et ainsi respecta son rôle d'invité de recherche. De la même façon il chercha à rendre justice à ce projet en fournissant les informations qui lui sont parues utiles de transmettre. Sa qualité d'expert local se retrouve, au niveau du récit, dans ses références à sa classe de dirigeant (à 14) et ses soucis pour le cahier des charges dans la construction du bâtiment (à 22).

Dans les contours de l'interaction, le caractère local est renforcé par l'utilisation que Geoff fait de l'anglais sud-africain (SAfE pour ses sigles en anglais) qui, selon Lass (2004: 111) s'aligne sur un continuum qui va de conservateur, au respectable et à l'extrême. Geoff, par son accentuation et son utilisation du lexique se positionne au centre de ce continuum avec un SAfE respectable. Enfin, la forme qu'il donne à ses énoncés, qui sont souvent séparés, parsemés de marqueurs d'hésitation, constitue une forme de réticence mais aussi une manière de garder la parole, un peu comme une superposition compétitive qui a pour résultat d'asseoir son autorité. L'articulation de l'autorité est un aspect de la communauté de pratique qui se consolide autour de Geoff.

Au niveau des processus sociétaux plus vastes, le changement urbain post-Apartheid est au centre du récit. En 1994, quand le gouvernement de l'ANC (Congrès Africain National) prit officiellement le pouvoir, ses membres ont fait le pari, à l'instar de pays comme le Chili, de libéraliser et de fluidifier l'économie. Après un court foisonnement post transition démocratique, Johannesburg, dépourvu de ses gardes fous traditionnels, subissait une fuite de capitaux et une dévalorisation de ses biens immobiliers. Vers l'année 2000, quand Geoff prit la décision de déménager la bourse, sa décision en finissait avec un centre-ville devenu obsolète. Nous avons déjà remarqué plus haut sa manière de contourner une description de ces faits en termes raciaux, préférant de mettre l'emphase sur un besoin de qualité dans le personnel. Mais en fait, en Afrique du Sud, et surtout l'Afrique du Sud des années 2000, l'accès à la formation universitaire, le socio-économique et le racial se superposent.

Condamner le centre-ville de Johannesburg pour un district sécurisé et surveillé comme Sandton avait, et continue d'avoir, des conséquences visibles. Nous trouvons l'une de ces conséquences dans le profil de ressources humaines de la bourse, qui, près de 20 ans après, garde un net déséquilibre de genre et de race dans ses divisions exécutives et de gestion supérieur (voir le tableau 2). Seul un discours libéral peut écraser les implications sociales et

Composition du personnel de la bourse sud-africaine														
		HOMMES				FEMMES				ETRANGERS				
Catégorie	Grade	Africain	Métisse	Indien	Blanc	Africain	Métisse	Indien	Blanc	Homme	Femme	Total	Age moyen	Durée moyenne dans le poste
Sans compétences et avec des pouvoirs de décision limités	01-03					3						3	56	21
Compétences réduites et pouvoirs de décision à discrétion du supérieur	04-07	4	1			2	1					8	50	17
Compétences techniques et avec formation universitaire, jeunes cadres, superviseurs	08-11	45	2	11	7	56	12	16	17			166	35	5
Professionnels, experts expérimentés, cadres moyens	12-14	36	10	30	48	24	4	24	50	3	2	231	39	7
Cadres supérieurs	15-16	4	1	3	28	1	2	6	18	1		64	45	12
Direction		2			3		1	1	3		1	11	48	11
		91	14	44	86	86	20	47	88	4	3	483	39	7

Tableau 2. Composition du personnel de la bourse selon les catégories habituelles en Afrique du sud

se focaliser sur une logique hydraulique de besoin/opportunité. Il existe plusieurs exemples de ce discours dans ce récit : un besoin de meubles de qualité amène leur importation par une société hollandaise, une bourse de premier monde requiert un personnel de qualité etc. Depuis le point de vue d'une analyse critique ou de positionnement, par conséquent, ce récit porte en lui quelques-uns des motifs des injustices sociales qui stigmatisent le pays. L'évaluation qui marque la fin du récit se concerne uniquement de la qualité des choix et de ces meubles immarcescibles. D'où la complexité de l'utilisation du slogan '*fière d'être sud-africain*' (à 32). Vis-à-vis des processus que sont indexés par ce récit, ses motifs seraient partagés par presque tous les PDG des nombreux sièges sociaux qui ont également déménagés à Sandton au sein des dernières deux décennies.

Ces processus humains se reflètent dans la matérialité du monde narrativisé et ses coordonnés. Le bâtiment de la bourse est dans une cour presque sans végétation. Il s'alimente en électricité du réseau métropolitain qui provient d'une centrale à charbon. Quand ce réseau ne marche plus (le secteur de génération de l'électricité en Afrique du Sud est surendetté) c'est un générateur à gasoil qui prend la relève. Le bâtiment est entièrement climatisé et son accès se fait la plupart du temps en voiture. Le district respire et cette concentration de béton, et l'inspiration corporatiste de sa forme. L'image en Figure 1 est prise depuis l'étage exécutif, conçu par Geoff Rothschild, où se trouve la salle de réunion de la bourse. L'intérieur de cet étage est en accord avec les aspirations architecturales et la densité construite de Sandton qui se voit depuis les fenêtres de cet étage (voir la Figure 1 du texte anglais). Cette densité contraste avec l'environnement du reste du nord de Johannesburg.

Un acteur puissant dans le réseau corporatiste, Geoff Rothschild privilégie certains types de relations entre chantiers, certains types d'énergie et certains types de récit. La bourse indexe sa propre histoire, celle du marché, plutôt que celle du développement durable. Les pavés qui mènent au bâtiment représentent la chaîne qui, jadis, séparait la salle des ventes lors de la cotation à la criée. Les statues qui meublent la cour symbolisent les poussées de confiance des marchés financiers (les fameux taureaux et ours américains). Enfin, les fenêtres en verre teinté récupérées de l'ancienne bourse, ont été restaurées et réutilisées dans le contexte plus moderne du nouvel édifice et ont une signification spéciale pour Geoff.

Figure 1. L'étage exécutif de la bourse de Johannesburg

Les coordonnés du récit englobent la zone métropolitaine de Johannesburg, puisque la bourse a occupé, a divers moments, et le centre-ville et le district de Sandton. Johannesburg se situe sur un dôme de granite où se sont accumulés les métaux lourds et l'or qui feront sa gloire (Storie 2014). Le dôme souterrain redistribue l'eau et la chaleur et fait du nord de Johannesburg, où se trouve Sandton, un lieu plus aisé géographiquement. C'est ainsi que les dénommés 'randlords' (les propriétaires de mines) s'installèrent dans cette partie de la ville (Mabin 2014) et plantèrent une végétation qui forme maintenant une couverture forestière (voir Figure 2).

Cette forêt du nord où l'eau est plus abondante (voir Figure 3) contraste avec les crassiers de scorie que ces mêmes propriétaires construisaient dans le sud. Bien qu'aujourd'hui l'industrie minière soit stagnante dans la ville elle-même, l'Afrique du sud continue d'exporter les diamants, le charbon et l'or qui sort de sa terre, et la bourse de Sandton continue de coter les entreprises minières qui conduisent des opérations extractives dans des pays déchirés par la guerre comme la Somalie, ou le Congo. L'écologie, et les données issues des sciences de la terre, offrent, de ce point de vue, de puissants renforts pour une analyse néolibérale du récit. La stratification écologique du nord de Johannesburg fait écho à l'inégalité et la stratification sociale.

Après d'avoir examiné les coordonnés du récit depuis un point de vue plus écologique, l'on peut revoir la situation d'interaction. A l'opposé de la matérialité de la bourse, le café, choisi par Geoff, où avait lieu notre entretien, n'utilisait que très peu de plastique ou de produits jetables. Il était éclairci avec une lumière naturelle et se trouvait dans une partie peu urbanisée de la ville. La situation d'interaction était, donc, à contraster avec la bourse et le monde narrativisé du récit. En outre, Geoff offrait une variation dans son positionnement vers la fin de l'entretien. En devenant plus animé, il racontait le développement de la fondation Grootbos qu'il avait fondé dix ans auparavant. Cette fondation coopère avec les autorités locales dans le renouveau de l'environnement, la formation des jeunes, l'apiculture et a même développé une pépinière. Si l'espace le permettait, et si ceci était une étude approfondie du positionnement d'un participant, l'on pourrait juxtaposer les deux histoires de la bourse et de la fondation Grootbos. Les liens que chaque récit établirait avec le climat et les acteurs non-humains serait très différents.

Cette différence rehausse la malléabilité subjective des liens qu'entretient un participant vis-à-vis des processus plus globaux. En filigrane des logiques du marché, Geoff est un mécène actif dans l'écologie sud-africaine en milieu rural. Cette variation de positionnement nous permet, à nous aussi, de sortir du relativisme néolibéral. D'une part le participant même entrevoit deux systèmes, l'un basé sur le marché, l'autre basé sur l'éducation so-

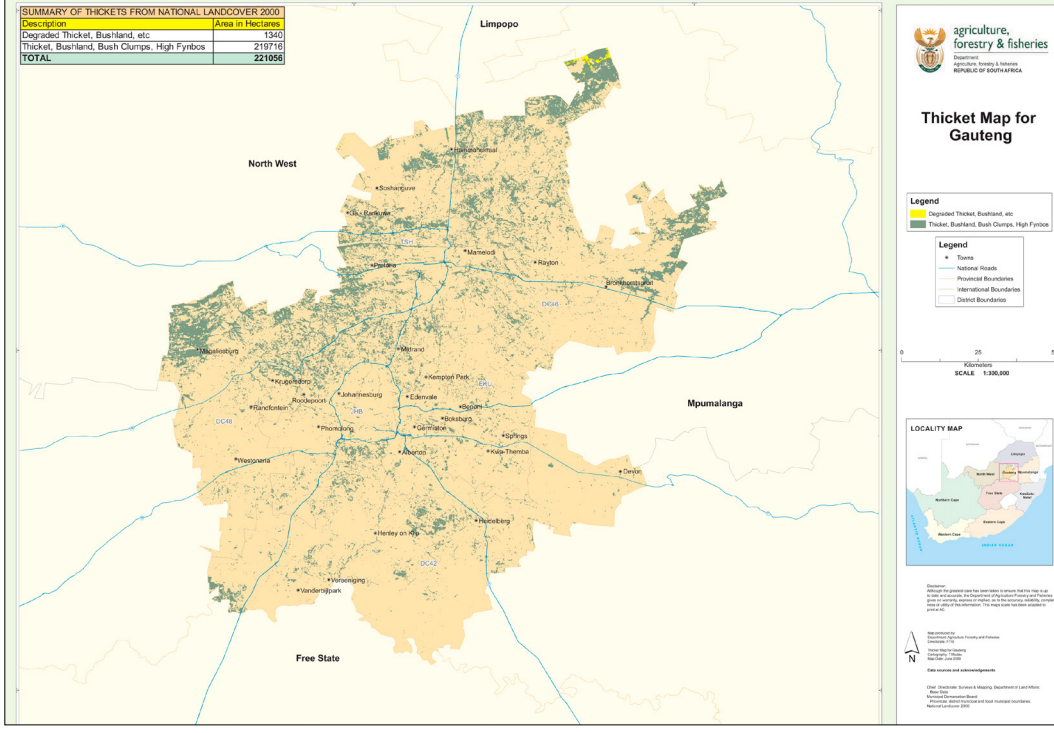

Figure 2. Carte qui représente la concentration des bosquets dans la région du Gauteng où se situe la ville de Johannesburg (DAFF 2013)

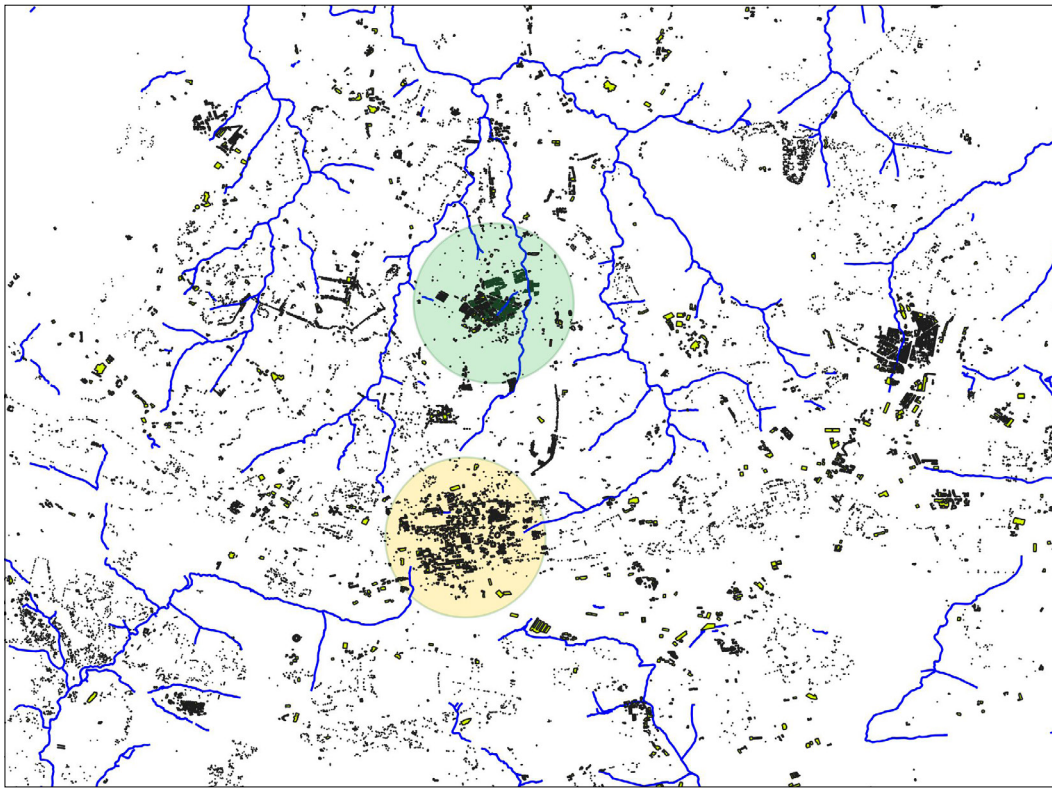

Figure 3. Distribution des cours d'eau (en bleu) et des constructions humaines dans la région du Gauteng, avec Sandton en vert et Johannesburg en orange (carte de l'auteur, données obtenues de Ramm 2019)

ciale, le développement durable et la réparation des injustices dues à l'Apartheid. D'autre part, la fondation Grootbos agit expressément pour lier l'environnement et le social, ce qui veut dire qu'elle reconnait une autre matérialité, une autre voie pour l'activité humaine qui n'est pas celle de Sandton, de ses cours sans végétation et de son béton. Enfin, il faut noter que ce projet, fondé par Geoff, intervient à la fin de sa carrière. Quelque part ce projet tient lieu d'évaluation des autres projets et des autres logiques, et pointe, comme l'écosophie, vers une vraie pratique qui modifiera et réinventera notre vivre ensemble. Il inverse la direction qu'a pris Sandton avec ses forêts dans le nord, et ses scories dans le sud.

Ceci nous amène à prendre en considération le temps plus long de la trajectoire de la bourse (fondée en 1887), de la ville de Johannesburg (cadastrée à partir de 1886 par Von Brandis) et de la dynastie Rothschild qui puise ses origines dans le 16ème siècle. Geoff Rothschild se place dans une histoire et une biographie beaucoup plus longues que les quelques années qui suivent la relocation de la bourse en 2000. Même sa carrière dans cette institution date des années 70 quand les courtiers concluaient leurs affaires à la criée. Le district de Sandton était alors encore un terrain fermier où résidait, selon la phrase de Beryl Porter, ''la coterie de vison et de fumier''. Le récit de Geoff nous permet d'aborder ce temps plus long. La relocation de la bourse, de ce point de vue, représente un retour dans la géographie sociale et environnementale de sa famille et de sa classe. C'est un retour qui, à Sandton, est représenté par l'hôtel Balalaika fondé en 1949 où Geoff Rothschild prenait le thé.

Voyons ceci de plus près. Comme nous l'avons constaté (Figures 2 et 3), le nord de Johannesburg, où se situe Sandton, a toujours été plus verdoyant et plus irrigué. C'est le nord qui reçut l'élite minière et puis les fermiers gentilshommes. Le district où se trouve Sandton a donc toujours été en juxtaposition avec le centre-ville de Johannesburg pour des raisons autant écologiques que sociales. Quand commença la transformation de la ville dans la période post-Apartheid, le fait que Sandton se développe, et que se greffent sur ce développement des aspects sécuritaires, n'est pas surprenant. Sandton n'est pas un *nouveau* district de finances et de services, c'est *l'ancien* district, mais cette fois érigé en siège social.

Ecologiquement c'est la substitution des prés et des chevaux par des tours et des voitures. En remontant plus loin, vers les années du 19ème c'est l'histoire de la post conquête de l'Afrique du Sud et la transformation de ses eaux, ses terres, sa végétation et de ses populations (humaines et non humaines) qui est en exergue. La logique dont fait état Geoff Rothschild dans son récit est la logique de l'expansion humaine, sa croissante population et l'essor et le déclin de leurs lieux de vie. Ici, le fait d'introduire des considérations écologiques nous aide à mieux comprendre les dynamiques et les ressorts de cette géographie humaine et non-humaine, ainsi que d'approfondir notre analyse du récit de Geoff.

Dans cette analyse nous sommes partis d'une discussion du positionnement du récit vers les conditions écologiques du district de Sandton, la matérialité du monde narrativisé et de la situation d'interaction, ainsi que vers le temps plus long de la biographie et de la forme urbaine. Signalons enfin que le projet de recherche dont sont issues les données présentées a été déposé auprès des instances de la ville de Johannesburg afin d'en informer ses politiques publiques urbaines et géographiques.

Conclusion

Le récit de Geoff Rothschild rend palpable la matérialité, le temps narratif et les possibilités d'une approche critique où s'utilisent des données issues des sciences de la terre. Nous avons vu comment l'écologie et l'exploration linguistique s'informent mutuellement, et comment des considérations d'ordre environnemental permettent une discussion plus profonde et plus nuancée des données sociolinguistiques. Nous avons également constaté comment un participant peut varier dans son positionnement et prendre du recul sur les processus et discours qui informe son propre acte narratif, sortant ainsi du relativisme. Enfin, le projet de recherche sociolinguistique dont sont issues les données présentées a, lui-même, on espère, pu informer les politiques urbaines du conseil municipal, en apportant une approche qualitative. Néanmoins, trouver une prise sur les types de processus humains et non-humains que nous avons discutés ici ne sera pas une entreprise facile. Comme beaucoup de pays dans le monde, la politique publique est orientée vers plus de dépendance sur les ressources en hydrocarbures, non pas moins, une base de consommation plus agressive et généralisée, non pas plus durable. La sociolinguistique a la responsabilité de jouer un rôle dans l'analyse et la modification de ces tendances.

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Toutes les opinions et les analyses de cet article sont celles de l'auteur et ne reflètent ni celles de l'université ni celles de la Fondation Nationale de Recherche.

Annexe – Conventions de transcription

emphase (ton rehaussé)	**gras** ou *italique*
volume suivante plus faible	°
inspiration	·hhhh (par longueur)
expiration	hhhh (par longueur)
unité d'intonation continue à la ligne suivante	→
deux locutions se suivent sans pause	=
rires	@
son précèdent rallongé	: :: ::: :::: (par longueur)
volume plus forte	CAPS
intonation montante	↑
intonation descendante	↓
matériel omis	[…]
omission des morphèmes	ø
des tours de parole se coïncident	[
pause de plus de 3 secondes	(P)
pause de 3 secondes ou moins	(p)
pause	(.) (..) (…) (….) (par longueur)
aspiration plosive	(h)
silence, en secondes	(0.0)
débit de parole augmenté	><
débit de parole ralenti	<>
commentaires de transcripteur	(( )) ou [ ]
troncation des mots ou des syllabes	-
transcription incertaine	( )

Conventions de transcription de De Fina, Anna & Alexandra Georgakopoulou (éds.). 2015. *The handbook of narrative analysis,* p. 7. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

03

Trialogue / Tryalogue

03

Trialogue / Tryalogue

Anne Storch, Nick Shepherd, Ana Deumert

[in order of appearance]

This has no beginning and no end. A trialogue, which is a conversation among three people, preferably across continents, schedules, and climate zones, is typically not started but continued. It has no first word and no last, and therefore is also not concluded but rather interrupted. One pops in and out. Another feature of the trialogue is its tentativeness: one does not *have* a trialogue, one *tries* a trialogue. And finally, trialogues typically involve the use of special terminology and particular language – not the language normally found in academic papers, but language that transcends it, then comes back to it, only to transcend it again. In other words, the trialogue is a genre that is not disciplinary, or only a bit.

[ANNE] Let me try to explain this a bit better: what strikes me about the collection of papers that are brought together in this volume that we co-edited[1] is that I often found their authors very brave. Look at Bettina Migge's chapter (in our book), to give just one example. She carefully and transparently discusses a particular field of linguistics that really is at the core of the discipline, very much a leading paradigm, "mainstream" if you want, as a field that lacks open, critical, and self-reflexive debates. Such a thing is not at all done in the discipline, especially by those who situate themselves in it – like her, like me, for example. One does not do this. One does not critique the discipline. I think this is also how the discipline is made – conservative, hostile towards self-critique … Hence, writing about it in this new and different way is somehow "dangerous". And this is really interesting, if you consider the potential replies. For example, whenever I am at a conference that has this disciplinary, mainstream setting, which is the case most of the time, I am faced with reactions like, "What do we do with this? How do you make this critique useful? What does this mean to linguistics?" And I was told by colleagues how they experienced a real exclusion after criticizing the discipline. Social death. Such hostile reactions are unproductive. They are the opposite of what the discussion around colonial linguistics wants and needs. Often, these reactions target a person directly: "You are speaking from a very privileged position, with a safe contract at a rich university." And this is largely true. Very difficult. What I therefore find so brave about Bettina's chapter (to remain with the example) is that she includes herself in it – this is not about other people who have long since died, or who live marginalized lives elsewhere, but about her, us, ourselves. And the usual perspective is actually an egocentric one: look at others, write about others. Write about theory. Use proper terminology. And where do we come in then? I think we need to appear somewhere in the text, in order to provide a more complete picture – and we want to remain whole, too, right? One does not want to be easily done away with as a kind of boudoir Marxist, simply because the debates led in that book are important debates. It would be a pity if this remained without reply. So where do I stand, for example? Certainly not in a marginalized position. I have never really been marginalized, but I have, working for many years in a discipline that is based on the marginalization of some (well, many) and the privileging of others (including myself), come to an understanding of what a professional deformation might be – like a violinist who, over the years, develops a little brown spot on the neck. The professional deformations acquired in our disciplines are different from those of violinists, and often not so visible. They concern the ways in which we tend to fail in listening, because we get so busy being right. I find myself overestimating texts – what is this book and trialogue, for example, but a diagnosis? And I find language hard work: language not as something that brings me and others together, but as something that is brought under control, that I am supposed to own, to be an expert in, et cetera. This is very alienating, as is my inability to properly own and possess and control. Language, like the body, is so fundamentally a part of the Self, and yet, within this

[1] Deumert, Storch, Shepherd (eds.), *Colonial and Decolonial Linguistics: Knowledges and Epistemes*. Oxford University Press, 2020.

discipline, it is made into something that is located almost completely outside it. I assume that these three make linguistics-as-a-discipline quite deforming: an egocentric perspective on language (and humanity, perhaps), alienation, and hostility towards self-critique. But once I reflect on it, it becomes an interesting journey (to where I don't know), and I play some more music, louder than before.

[NICK] Anne, I like your image of the disciplinary process as a kind of deformation of the thinking and embodied self. This is how I think of it … For seven or ten years we put ourselves through the arduous process of becoming disciplinary subjects of a particular kind, acquiring the right vocabulary, mastering the key terms (I think of this as a gendered process), reading the approved texts, learning the appropriate methods, learning what we can and cannot say, ask, and do, and so on. In the case of archaeology, this induction into a disciplinary habitus is far-reaching and extends to matters of dress, taste, how we style ourselves; a deeply embodied and affective relationship (archaeological style is often a version of colonial "safari" style). This is never a "total" process, of course, but it takes us a long way down the road in our sense of ourselves and our relation to the discipline, as a relation of identification. Like reformed alcoholics we stand up in public meetings to introduce ourselves and say: "Hello, I'm Nick, I'm an archaeologist …" This broad conception of the disciplinary process draws from the work of Foucault, and as with Foucault's conception of discipline it is double edged, in the sense that it has both a productive and an unproductive side. On the one hand, it creates (interpolates, brings into being) a community of scholars who share a common basis of understanding and can move rapidly to address a set of questions. We've read the same texts, we share the same key words and understandings, we share core assumptions, and so on. On the other hand, it has the effect of closing off certain avenues of investigation, and delimiting what is say-able, do-able, and think-able. Archaeology, for example, is full of no-go areas for archaeologists: questions of imagination and desire in archaeological interpretations, questions of affect in response to archaeological sites and materials, deeper reflections on histories of disciplinary practice, reflections on contemporary entanglements with transnational mining capital, and so on. Where, historically, disciplines have been shaped by colonial worlds of practice, as in the case of linguistics and archaeology, these no-go areas become quite pointed: disciplinary entanglements with questions of race, the recapitulation of colonial relations between practitioners in the global north and the global south / east, deeply rooted notions of "the field" and "fieldwork", and so on.

Opening the decolonial option in disciplines like archaeology and linguistics involves, in part, a work of undisciplining or undisciplinarity, which I think of as a kind of work on the self. Again, of course, this is never a "total" process, but something continuous, provisional, unfinished, and ongoing. Adopting an embodied image, I think of this as trying to achieve a shift in perspective of the thinking and doing self, so that one stands with one foot inside the discipline and one foot outside it – or perhaps one hops between different subject positions? – so that one can think and practice as a certain kind of disciplinary subject but at the same time one can see oneself doing so, so that one asks the next question (the meta-ques-

tion): Why I am doing this? Who benefits? How could I think/ do this differently? This is one iteration of what the decolonial thinkers mean by "border thinking".

Anne, the other crucial point that you make is about the costs involved in staging this kind of break, and what this means for scholars at different points in their careers. In my experience, the discipline of archaeology is quite ruthless about policing its boundaries and its core investments in a certain conception of knowledge and the disciplinary process. Disciplines exist as far more than structures of ideas and practices, they exist as transnational institutions, deeply vested in university structures, professional bodies, the publication industry, and in public and popular culture. For established scholars like the three of us, there is probably less at stake, apart from the discomfort of, as you say, a certain kind of "social death". Perhaps we even earn kudos in certain circles for staging this kind of critique, bearing in mind that we are doing so in a very conservative and recognizable format, obeying all of the rules of the form. For younger scholars there is more at stake in that they risk running up against the institutional power of the discipline, expressed in myriad ways: failure to get a job, failure to get tenure, difficulty in finding publication, shunning by colleagues, the terrible gossipy sense in which someone gets identified as being a problem. What I would say, though, is that we have reached a certain historical juncture where it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to blindly follow the strictures of the disciplines, and where so much has been thrown into question: the role of universities as institutions, what counts as knowledge, the historical sources of knowledge. Such a moment encourages "epistemic disobedience" as Walter Mignolo puts it, and perhaps we can all draw courage from that?

[ANA] I want to start by reflecting back on something Anne mentioned, that language is hard work. It very much is. Words – to quote from F.R. David's song – "don't come easy to me". Writing is struggle and achievement, and often so is speaking or signing – a dialogue that falters and turns into conflict. There is a wish to reach out and establish relations, but often we remain surrounded by invisible walls, caught up in insularity. Yet, sometimes, miraculously, a word that we utter, write, or sign is heard or seen, appreciated, taken up, a dialogue – or trialogue – emerges that is not only intellectually rewarding but also sociable and emotionally nourishing. What fascinates me about language is not its structure, but the ability of words – understood as ill-defined sequences of sounds, gestures, or inscriptions – to enter into and transform relationships. And here, questions of imagination, desire, and affect, which are – as Nick observes – kept outside of the borders of "mainstream linguistics" or "mainstream archaeology", are essential, not marginal. They cannot be no-go areas.

I stand in an odd and strange relationship to linguistics, the discipline. Even though I work in a linguistics department and teach a curriculum that is called "linguistics", most of my academic training was outside of linguistics. It was in literature and philosophy, philology and history. My PhD was in Linguistics, but only because a highly unconventional and slightly maverick professor decided to take me on as a student, even though I had no real training in the discipline. I still marvel at why he agreed and how all this was possible, why the gates of the discipline were not closed into

my face. It is because of this that I have always felt a bit of a stranger; I have never, not for one moment, had a sense of actual belonging, of being inside the discipline. I was always waiting for someone who would look at me and say "but you aren't really a linguist, you aren't one of us, you are just dabbling in it". Imposter syndrome, maybe, but a particular version of it, grounded in my personal history and my positionality. Biography matters; as Anne says, we need to appear somewhere in the text. Another aspect of my own positionality is a deep and fundamental sense of being unmoored, not only in the discipline, but also in terms of my everyday living, my life. I always felt a stranger in Germany, where I was born, was a stranger in Australia, where I worked for a short while, and I remain in some ways a stranger still in South Africa, even after twenty odd years. Stranger. It is a good word. It stops one from ever feeling too comfortable, it reminds one that we survive because of the hospitality and kindness of others, it is an identity that allows one to dwell on the border, to inhabit the border, and, indeed, to build a make-shift house at the border. So perhaps I feel differently about the discipline of linguistics because I never belonged – I was always outside looking in. As I am writing this, I am reading the work of José Esteban Muñoz (*Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*, 2013), who suggests that we should focus less on our desire to identify with something ("I am a linguist/archeologist/academic/mathematician/…"), and instead reflect on the productive possibilities of disidentification, on its transformative potential. Disidentification is, in the words of Muñoz, the practice of "cracking open the code of the majority" (and we might add "the code of the discipline"), and using this code as material for presenting, and reflecting on, the unthinkable and the unsayable. For me this captures the project of this volume.

[ANNE] I think this is a very inspiring perspective. Disidentification and undisciplining are wonderful to consider – and they belong together in a way, I suppose. But they are also complicated, because they are so ambiguous. For, to say what is not supposed to be said, to tread on mined ground, to feel one's own strangeness, are very personal actions and reflections, even though they have a public effect on where we are placed professionally and how we might be seen by others. As you say, Nick, this is social death that can earn one some nods of respect. And of course, the safari dress that you mention was once, I assume, part of a performance of academic disobedience (not a suit and tie but survival gear) as well. Pants with a zip at knee height. Have you thought about their symbolism? Fascinating: this is about having just one pair of pants, which can turn into shorts when it gets hot. Suffering, always all this suffering: almost sacrificing oneself for all this research, this search for wisdom. The field is a mystical place, where we claim to be remade, are shown secrets, and so on. This is where we can also become strangers. The expert as divine fool is located somewhere there. I like your idea about the academic stranger though, Ana, as a different stranger, more human, not defined as a remote expert. This different strangeness can be productive, liberating, and creative. This also is something that I felt was present in the various chapters of our volume: Ingo Warnke's reading of Paul, for example. If one looks at it a bit closer, it has much to do with the courage to say what is not to be said.

[ANA] I am also thinking about the difference of that which is "not to be said" (a kind of a normative prohibition), but which is "sayable" (even though saying it is a transgression), and that which is truly "unsayable" because the forces of repression have been so successful in suppressing thoughts and ideas, so that we cannot even think it. How can we articulate the "unsayable"?

[ANNE] Somewhere in her work on southern theory, Raewyn Connell writes "But the truth will out". I remember it well, because it impressed me in its unequivocal clarity, in the way it suddenly appears in her text. I am thinking about repression in knowledge production and its link with secrecy. Walter Benjamin's ideas about the public secret, and Michael Taussig's almost shamanist approach to it emphasize – in different ways – that the stronger repression gets (and the more powerful the forces of repression are), the more needs to be revealed: even though secrecy is the base of power, the instruments and fetishes of power can be shown. Only by *knowing* that there is this terror lurking underneath the apocalyptic blanket does one understand the overwhelming power of the secret. Repression has much to do with this ambiguous secrecy which reveals what it hides. But these glimpses at what is hidden are at the same time revealing: there is possibly nothing at all. And this is where silliness comes in, where laughing at the empty space underneath happens. Out of a sudden, for a short moment: *The unsayable is laughable*.

[ANA] I think often that the unsayable is not laughable but frightening; it affects us at the core of our being, it shakes us. I write this just a week after the Kavenaugh hearings in the United States, the testimony of Christine Ford, and the haunting memory of the testimony of Anita Hill. There is no laughter there, only horror – and anger – at the violence of human-against-human. This violence shapes so much of our history and being; symbolic violence and physical violence. Maybe we need to think more about anger – as a healthy response to violence and trauma, to the unsayable.

[ANNE] Ana, I couldn't agree with you more. I'm writing this a few days after these women have been publicly mocked by their head of state at a press conference. As I was watching the news, I thought, why don't they (reporters, public servants, security people) all simply leave the room, with a shrug. When all this anger doesn't reach those concerned, what remains? And this is what I mean: the unsayable cannot be said, maybe because it remains unconscious, and even if it is said, the words might not reach anybody who will hear. In my previous work, I have been interested in the unspeakable and the secret, and the ways in which people who were made to suffer from oppression, terror, and violence might express themselves. There is noise, yelling, speech-as-unintelligible-speech, and a bitter laugh. In other words, I think the unsayable will out, and even if it might remain unspeakable, it can be made noisy, yellable, laughable, movable. Laughter as a trickster's laughter, maybe, not as an expression of happiness. Surely not. I think the distinction between the unsayable and what one is not permitted to say is clear. So what I meant is that if we are working with strategies of decolonization, undisciplining, unruliness, etc., we have this option: make the unsayable laughable (or yellable, whatever), so that it somehow comes into

the open, instead of remaining internalized. I am thinking about knowledge production and academic disciplining as I write this, but I believe one cannot stop there – you are right – because how does one draw a line between the politics of power in politics, in academia, and elsewhere?

[NICK] I like the line of Connell's – "But the truth will out" – partly because it seems optimistic, and even nostalgic, looking back to a time when we could rally around such an idea, confident that the truth would be heard and recognized as such. I wonder whether that is still the case? As you both say, there is something obscene about contemporary public / political discourse, as embodied by Trump and others. The truth is mocked and derided, and public figures revel in their ignorance and their untruth and are rewarded for it by their followers. I guess this is germane to the business of our volume, in that Trump's obscenity is partly about the obscenity of a certain kind of rhetoric: bullying, carping, name-calling, ranting. Excessive speech acts … the performance of rage … and such a woman-hater, so misogynistic.

I wanted to pose a different set of questions by asking you both how you interpret (or live, or understand) your own positionality, and how this is mediated through your work and writing? What I mean is, do you think of yourselves as a certain kind of writing (reading, thinking) subject, and how does this appear (or disappear) in your work? What kinds of terms would you use to describe your positionality? Is race important? Gender? Class? Nationality? Other things?

I'm asking partly because I find that I am always interested in reading or hearing someone having an understanding of the place from which they are writing. Also, position, perspective, and experience seem like such important terms. At the same time, I really don't like it when someone assumes that they can sum me up based on ideas of race, gender, etc., which happens all the time in South Africa. For me, a really salient descriptor of position is global north / global south, which is close to what the decolonial thinkers call the "colonial difference", a kind of ratio inserted into history. Do you find the same thing? Or perhaps you think of your position differently, using other descriptors and locators? I recently made the professional journey from South Africa to Denmark, when I relocated from the University of Cape Town to Aarhus University, so these questions are on my mind at present. My friend Alejandro Haber talks about the "home address of theory", meaning what is the site from which this theory / set of ideas addresses itself? What is its stated (or unstated) home? At the back of my mind is the idea that working together as an editorial team is quite tricky, and one of the tricky things for the three of us has been to work out our different home addresses, and then to be respectful of this difference.

[ANNE] Hm. Hmhmhm. These questions call for some kind of ambiguous reply; it depends on where we are asked and by whom. Gender, class, and race identify me and they don't. Positionality is such a relational word, and yet the current debates about gender, class, and race often reduce these three to totalitarian concepts. I find it hard to take part in many of them, and I find it hard to see people that way: nobody is simply a woman, white, middle-class, and German

(these would be terms used by others characterizing me). One is also a particular body that one is used to and that has no color, no gender (being a woman at nineteen is totally different from being a woman at fifty; what does "woman" mean anyway?), and no class (consider middle class as a social parameter: when I grew up, we were middle class, and now, I still am middle class – but such a change of values, practices, appearances). In short, I do not want to describe myself (my positionality) using these totalitarian terms. I am that I am and I try my best to see persons in others too. I try to stay away from bubbled academia. I like it to be open. And the word "open" is also about place. To me, it means to actually accept the ways in which place scripts us. We are positioned and placed, and to me it is through traveling or wandering or searching that we can encounter different possibilities.

[ANA] Obviously, in the world in which we live race, class, and gender matter, as do sexuality and age – the list can go on. But as Anne says, these concepts are also totalitarian – and we have been conditioned to give certain answers to them, to read them in particular ways. Yet we also challenge them at every moment: we acknowledge their discursive nature, while we also recognize the very real effects they have on people's lives. But do they describe my positionality? Can they capture the "me" that sits here writing? And is this "me" even a stable entity, something that I can – in this moment – describe to you, my colleagues, and an unknown reader out there? Won't this description be out-dated by the time the book is in print and so much about me has changed again? So maybe I will stay with the idea of the stranger, the one who is inside and outside, visible and invisible, familiar and unknown.

A short interruption might be appropriate at this moment.

At the beginning of this trialogue, there were four themes, questions, actually, brought up by Nick, after we had already had a discussion that took place largely in the margins of papers. The first two of these questions have inspired our previous trialogue quite a bit:

I. Contexts of professional practice in linguistics: there has been lots of discussion around how linguistics works as a discipline, how it disciplines its agents, the particular race and gender dynamics at work, how women in particular are penalized and policed as they navigate professional worlds, what it means to speak out or adopt a dissenting position. Also about the relative lack of reflexivity or debate within the discipline, particularly around colonial / imperi-

al histories. So, how does one navigate these professional contexts of practice, and how does one do so at different career stages: as a junior scholar, as a senior scholar, as a woman, as a scholar in the global north etc.? And the bigger question, how does the apparatus of discipline shut down debate, or police its own limits?

[ANA] I am wondering whether we should broaden the debate, beyond scholarship and research, and focus, equally, on the undergraduate curriculum, which introduces thousands of students to the so-called "discipline"? What are we teaching and why? When we change our scholarly practice, are we also changing our curricula, our pedagogies, our criteria for assessment? What would a decolonial linguistics first year course look like? What would a decolonial university look like? Or maybe it is an oxymoron, maybe the university is always colonial, and we would need what Buaventura de Sousa Santos calls a "pluriversity"? And what is the role of relation in all this — I am thinking of Edouard Glissant's work here, of Sylvia Wynter's work on "being human as praxis". How do work and study relate to play and experience?

[ANNE] And where would we do all this teaching? Still in the white cube, or away from it all? Will students visit me at home? I could buy stackable chairs for the occasion. Could we please stop giving grades then? Do away with the competition and the measuring, and concentrate on humanity and hospitality? Or is this foolish? What do I know. I think, here, the effects of both prohibition and repression are saliently obvious. The instruments of knowledge production and transmission are so closely connected to the state (in the sense of the modern state, the nation state, the colonial state) that they always also have something to do with control, exerting power over others, transforming the subject: making workers / monolinguals / public servants / permanent populations. Therefore, a decolonized curriculum might be a curriculum that encourages heteroglossic practices, alternative literacies, and personal interaction in a much wider space than that of the seminar room.

II. Questions of positionality: a related set of questions ... What does it mean to practise in the global north / south / east, as a gendered and raced being, as a being bearing a particular nationality or subscribing to a particular religion? Linguistics as a discipline seems to have a peculiar white / protestant ethos or habitus (is this fair?) and certainly has a sense of itself as proceeding from the

global north / west and treating the rest of the world as a field site (is this fair?). Maybe these geographical imaginaries are some of the most lingeringly colonial aspects of the discipline? So what does it mean to navigate these different worlds? And how does it affect the opportunities or possibilities for dissent and critique? How is linguistics underdeveloped in particular ways in some locations, and what does this mean for scholars and students?

[ANNE] I once more think of silliness, as something that can crack open the code of the majority. Silliness, in a very interesting twist, helps to lay open the ways in which linguistics creates particular silences and shuts out those who do not say the appropriate things, use appropriate terminologies, are appropriately positioned, dressed, combed, qualified. To me, there is a form of silencing that reaches beyond those powers of exclusion that have been addressed in debates on racism and gender inequalities. Colonial ruination is an ongoing process that affects all our good intentions, a deeply unhuman condition in which the annihilation of speech (the creation of a non-discursive environment) and the exoticization (exorcism, almost) of the "deep" in language, the power of the word, take place. Therefore, I think it might make sense to address both earnestness and fear as things that keep disciplinary power formations and imperial geographies of silence firmly in place. A "decolonial linguistics", which is an odd term, would be concerned with hospitality — towards strangers, mostly.

[ANA] I think Nick asks us here to be upfront about the place of enunciation that we occupy and live — and as I was reflecting on it, I was wondering about feminist and queer theory and its relation to the decolonial. As Isis Giraldo (2016) noted: "The core concepts of the decolonial option have all been developed by men, and none of these men is directly concerned with feminist theory". Linguistics too has long been a very "male" and indeed a very heteronormative discipline. In other words, to whom should we be hospitable?

The other two questions brought up by Nick seem to lead to a kind of solution, a way forward, healing, perhaps:

III. What would a decolonial linguistics look like? It's really important to address this question or at least offer some discussion. There are hints here and there in the papers. What are the implications of a project

of identifying, codifying, and fixing "languages", and how might this project be differently imagined? There has been some fascinating discussion around the inbuilt resistance of languages, the potentialities of poetry, especially when unintended, around creolisation and hybridisation, around the mobility of language practices and new technologies etc. So is it possible to offer something a little more direct and definitive? Or is this too prescriptive, and is it better to leave things open ended?

[ANNE] I assume that all the alternatives of a fixing, codifying linguistics — a death-seeking science — have never been fully erased. It is our task to take them seriously as equally important ways of looking at language. I also think that this implies that there is no HERE or THERE, no NORTHERN or SOUTHERN which does not already form part of its imagined antagonistic counterpart. There is complexity and messiness that pervades all this fixing and counting (consider Ingo Warnke's contribution to our book). One of Luigi Nono's last compositions, dedicated to Andrej Tarkovskij, was inspired by an inscription the composer read on the wall of an old monastery in Toledo: *Caminante, no hay caminos. Hay que caminar.* 'Wayfarer, there is no path. Yet you must walk.' I think the music is beautiful beyond words, and its title has been in my thoughts and thinking since a long time. It is my reply to Nick's question.

[ANA] I like this: 'There is no path, yet you must walk.' Or as the Zapatistas say, *pregundando caminamos*, 'asking we walk'. We need this openness as we walk, the wide open sky above us, clouds and winds, the sound of birds, because even as "academics" — what a strange word — we still walk in this world, not up and down the steps in some imagined ivory tower. Walking is physical, not merely cognitive, it is linked to experience, to movement, and it is, as De Certeau reminds us, a tactic.

IV. The politics of theory: there has been some interesting discussion around the kind of strategic politics of theory, how different theoretical projects come into vogue, how they position themselves, how they intervene in different ways in different settings, etc. So maybe we want to think about decolonial thinking in this vein, and about southern theory and postcolonial theory. One way of reading the decolonial critique is as the end of linguistics (or archaeology, or anthropology), or at least as requiring a comprehensive remaking / reimagining of the discipline, a kind of undisciplining,

> or a linguistics after linguistics — yet many scholars treat it as just another new "theory", part of the pick-and-mix of theoretical options available to the well-read academic. Also, what does it mean when decolonial thinkers join the celebrity circuit? Does this not imply that they see themselves as part of the apparatus, or at least that they enjoy the celebrity exposure and access as they ritually castigate the disciplines from within the high ceremonial spaces of the disciplines?

[ANNE] I think that this is a crucial question. The ways in which southern theory is produced and presented are currently becoming deeply inhospitable. A lot of exclusion takes place here, of those who lead academic discourse in languages other than the colonial ones (and yet have a lot to say), who have no funds to visit the important (and therefore costly) conferences, and who are not part of this new "discipline". This speaks in favour of Nick's assumption — ritual castigation of the disciplines, but not opening them up.

Therefore, can we think about hospitality here once more? And form a more open community?
But this is more difficult than it might seem: we will need to understand that when we speak of the Other colleague, the thinker "outside", the stranger, the southern theorist, we always also mean ourselves (unconsciously or on purpose, depending on the context), us-as-Other, as strangers in a difficult (often hostile) professional environment. Speaking about the (disadvantaged) Other is very much a discourse on the (alienated) Self. How do we bring this into southern theory debates to make them intellectually more responsible?

[ANA] As I am thinking about the term "decolonial thinkers" I am struck by its euphemistic nature — thinkers, free spirits. But most "decolonial thinkers", whether celebrated or not, are, in the end, wage labourers in an increasingly capitalist system, the so-called "neoliberal" (another euphemism) university. But what about others? May a spoken-word poet not also be a decolonial thinker? A farmer, a worker in a mine? Do we even need the academy? Maybe we are celebrating the wrong people.

Back to where we were.

[NICK] Ana, you mentioned earlier the idea of disidentification, and the kinds of freedom that it implies. When I was a student at the University of Cape Town, Edward Said came to give a talk. This was shortly after 1994, and it felt like the whole world was passing through, to pay their respects, as it were, and to celebrate the changes that had taken place in South African society. Said drew on his recent publication, *Representations of the Intellectual* (1994), to talk about his understanding of what it meant to be an academic and an intellectual, and he had some beautiful things to say, which I have always held onto. At one point he talked about the difference between the professional and the amateur, and he spoke in favor of a kind of amateurism of approach, understanding how too much "professionalization" can be a trap. He also used the image of "the traveler and the potentate" (Ana, you write about the power of words: I really like his use of this slightly arcane word, "potentate"). Some colleagues – we all have them – set themselves up as mini-potentates. They delineate their little patch, and then lord over it, attacking all of those who have the temerity to stray into their domain. I imagine them strutting about and thrusting out their chests. Said spoke in favor of a notion of the intellectual as a kind of traveler, humble, restless, curious, not afraid to stray, dependent on the hospitality of others, a giver and receiver of kindness. Anne, this puts me in mind of what you say about the importance of being hospitable, which I like very much. I was at UCT for a long time, both as a student and as an academic, and for much of my time there it was a curiously inhospitable environment. I was fortunate in having a few close colleagues with whom I could talk about ideas, but for the most part it was a matter of "How do I survive in this environment?" This also puts me in mind of a passage by Walter Mignolo, where he writes about the costs of "epistemic disobedience". He says: "Decolonial thinking can be done within existing academic structures but is not a way of thinking that will have enthusiastic support of the administration or accumulate grants and fellowships. It can be done however within the academia through courses, seminars, workshops, mentoring students and working with colleagues who have the same conviction" (2013: 137–8). I like this idea of "colleagues who have the same conviction". I think of them as "interlocutors", and I am always on the look-out for such people. Most disciplinary colleagues do not fill this role – for this reason I seldom attend the big professional conferences on archaeology – but working around the edges of the discipline, or subversively inhabiting its interior, are some fabulously interesting and original people.

Anne, you introduce the notion of silliness, which I really like. In my current work, I have grown increasingly interested in playfulness as a method and a register. I think of playfulness not as the opposite of seriousness, but rather as an index or measure of seriousness. Some subjects are so serious (or painful or unsettling) that they are best approached through playful means, obliquely. This reminds me of Ana's comments about the importance of poetry, and about the playful potentials that you both find in language. I would be interested to hear more about this. There are so many moments in this line of work which just seem silly, and then

there are moments when things turn deadly serious. I think of this as a particular state of affairs – silly/ serious – which increasingly comes to define my understanding of what I do. I find that I care too much, or I don't care at all, and I quite enjoy both sides of this response.

[ANNE] I would say, silliness is not really the opposite of being serious. It is quite serious, for example because it is based on profound knowledge. All these very small traces, short remarks, and single words thrown into the conversation which, in a metonymic way, stand for so much meaning and so much thinking, knowledge, and so on are what makes silliness complex and demanding. It looks playful, but only because it has this enormous performative quality. You were speaking about unlearning and undisciplining before. I think this is one of the things silliness does. We need to know our field really well and obtain considerable standing in it to be able to unlearn. Silliness is a very performative form of unlearning, but it differs from it insofar as it is very particular form of protest – a way of saying that the strategies of control, competition, and oppression are *also known*, and that they are not acceptable. You might want to remark that laughter is always a powerful form of communicating disapproval, but I would say that here it is different; the laughter in performances of silliness is not so much directed at the Other, but at the Self. It is not very vain – look at Jimmie Durham's art, for example. Very simple, just revealing what's behind the curtain, because the truth will out. Silliness is based on the deep knowledge of what is underneath. It is about saying this without fear, and softly smiling at the triumphant arch as it falls down (it might as well remain standing there, why not?). The play with decontextualization, destruction as a possibility, the absence of fear of *that* public secret – this is what silliness works with. This is crucial. Silliness doesn't even ask us to destroy anything (triumphant arches, statues, capitalism), because in its emergence (or practice) there is already the potential that these things have begun to destroy themselves (the death-seeking system, the crumbling colonial monuments). It is the sign that the paradigm shift is well under way, that there is nothing behind that door, that it is all just a lie. Or a tale. Another interesting aspect of silliness is that it is very hospitable. I'm not laughing at anybody, but at my own (newly achieved) dumbness. All these traces in my silliness, of monumentally important books, intellectual movements, acquired academic knowledge (and so on) also create curiosity. They are inviting others to learn more, or to ask more. And then one might discover something, perhaps place it in a new context, make it meaningful in different ways. All this then is no longer hegemonic knowledge. It is still there (and why not), but no longer as a totalitarian thing; just one possibility among others. Of course, I'm not the only person who has ever thought about this, and perhaps my thinking makes no sense to some anyway. Oh, I could cite books and articles and handbooks to supply the reader with helpful materials on silliness, but I don't know if we have a reference section in the trialogue. Does this genre have references? Are there footnotes? What do I know? Is it fine if I write "trialogue", or should it be "tryalogue"? Perhaps I can insert a picture?

[NICK] My partner is a dancer, and one of the forms that she practices is a form of improvisational dance where there is no set script.

She says that part of the artfulness of this form lies in being able to find an ending, a graceful way to close off the performance. I mention this because it seems to me that part of the purpose of this trialogue lies in helping us to find an ending to a project that has involved each of us with different degrees of intensity for several years. Anne's image prompt is a beautiful way to help us to find an ending, and so, without thinking too much about this, here are my associations and ideas. I think of the phrase "antechamber of the soon-to-be dead". There is something institutional about the image, with its lines of beds: a ward, a space of confinement, a space of recovery (all of these words are loaded, overdetermined, slightly creepy). The radiators in the center of the room (are they radiators?) seem potent and mysterious, functional shrines. The tiles on the walls, the delicate patterning, the vaulted ceiling, and of course the light – the mystery of a doorway that leads into other rooms, other worlds – belie the institutional nature of the setting (or perhaps this is a superior kind of institution?). I am a boarding school boy, so I remember those lines of beds, the way of folding the sheets just so, that we called "hospital corners", the two pillows stacked at the head of the bed, as though no human head ever touched them: horrible, inhuman, tyrannical, obsessed. In this image the tyranny is tempered by mystery, leaving open a space for wonder. Here is another word association: "the hall of theory". Such a space invites silliness, irreverence, laughter, and loud voices.

[ANA] I looked at the picture for a long time – I never went to boarding school, so maybe this is why it does not move me? Does not resonate? But then I started wondering, what if we were to move the beds outside, create a big open space, dance in it. Or if we put the mattresses on top of one another and build a trampoline? A frivolous end to a serious book? But somehow I like the idea of the three of us and all our contributors jumping on one big trampoline. And once we are tired we walk out of that door, we walk, we travel, we keep asking questions.

04

Perspectives on multilingual practices of some language groups in North East Nigeria

04

Perspectives on multilingual practices of some language groups in North East Nigeria

Judith A. Mgbemena

With insights from a sociolinguistic survey of four language groups; Tiv, Chamba, Hausa-Fulani and Jukun, in Taraba south, the study explores the varied interpretations of the meaning and practices of multilingualism in the face of conflict and power struggle. Data for the study were derived through interview and focus group discussions. Information from the study reflects that multilingualism among the groups is determined by the prevailing power positions. To the stronger group, multilingualism is a tool to access power and control over the weaker ones, whereas for the relatively weaker groups, multilingualism serves as a strategy for identity negotiation and survival.

Introduction

With a current statistics of over 500 languages (Egbokhare 2004; *Ethnologue.com 2019*), which is a revision of Crozier & Blench (1992), Nigeria can be credibly rated as one of the linguistically most diverse nations of the world. Nigeria's bustling linguistic ecology best represents the linguistic pluralism inherent in West African states which Spencer (1971) has succinctly described as the most multilingual places in the world. Harnischfeger, Leger & Storch (2014: 1) note that Africa hosts a third of world's languages. In addition, twenty percent of the languages in Africa are spoken in Nigeria (Dalby 1980 cited in Elugbe 2009a: 1). Three out of the four phyla mainstream classification of indigenous languages in Africa namely Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan and Afroasiatic are found in Nigeria. The only exclusion is the Khoisan (click) languages which are not indigenous in Nigeria (Elugbe 2009a, Blench 2012). Thus, among other rich cultural heritages, there is no doubt that Nigeria is blessed with luxuriant linguistic diversity. This situation portends multilingualism as the diverse languages are constantly in contact. However, multilingualism as practiced in the different parts of the country is heavily influenced by the dynamics of power and socioeconomic realities in each of the zones.

The about 500 languages which are used by the estimated population of 183.5 million people in Nigeria (World Population Review, 2018) are distributed along the country's six geopolitical zones – North West, North East, North Central, South West, South South and South East. It is worthy to note here that the languages in Nigeria do not have equal functions, status and distribution. While some geopolitical zones in Nigeria are relatively bilingual, there is hardly any monolingual group in contemporary Nigeria. Multilingualism in Nigeria is inadvertently an outcome of the luxuriant linguistic heritage.

Language distribution in Nigeria is diverse and complex. Given the dissimilar socioeconomic and political situations in different parts of the country, one of the consequences is that multilingualism will mean different things in different areas. The attention of this study is on one of the linguistically dynamic and exciting geopolitical zones of the country, North East Nigeria, which has been aptly described as "super linguistically diverse" and "hot bed of linguistic diversity" (Harnischfeger, Leger & Storch 2014). The ethnography and linguistic practices of language groups in this region have continued to attract scholarship (Adekunle 1972, Webster 1993, Dinslage & Leger 1996; Berns, Fardon & Kasfir 2011; Harnischfeger 2014; Salawu 1993 cited in Popoola 2014**)**. The aim of the work is to explore the differing perspectives on multilingualism in some of the linguistically diverse communities in North East Nigeria, a zone characterized by violent conflict and insecurity. With insights from a sociolinguistic survey of four language groups; Tiv, Chamba, Hausa-Fulani and Jukun, in Taraba South, the study explores the varied interpretations and practices of multilingualism in the face of conflict and power struggle. Some of the studies cited here have been concerned with the peculiar practices of the groups such as reconstruction of historical accounts, identity fluidity, language shift and language concealment. But, the focus of this work is on the divergent perspectives on multilingualism among the language groups which inadvertently reflect in their linguistic practices.

Conflict, which include violent clashes over land boundaries and power struggle, have been part of the history of the people in North East Nigeria. The entire geographical space has experienced violent ethnic and communal clashes at some point and recently, terrorism, insecurity and tension, basically from the activities of an Islamic religious sect, Boko Haram. North East Nigeria consists of six states – Borno, Yobe, Gombe, Bauchi, Adamawa and Taraba. The states in this region have experienced spades of Boko Haram attacks often marked by bombing, suicide attacks, mass killing, sporadic shooting in public places, burning of houses, attacks on schools, churches and mosques, abduction of women and children, which relayed into mutual suspicion and internal clashes in different degrees, among religious and cultural groups in the zone. The severity of the attacks is epitomized in the abduction of about 300 school girls from Chibok, a community in Borno, the farthest North East state in the zone in 2014. Chibok incidence led to a global solidarity campaign for the release of the girls with the viral social media hashtag *#BringBackOurGirls#*. In addition to the Boko Haram attacks, there have been incessant internal clashes among the diverse language groups in the region. Conflict in this region has impacted directly on the lives of the people in many significant ways; its pervasive influence can be seen in every facet of the society.

While the most affected state in North East is Borno, the least is Taraba. However, some spaces in the Southern part of Taraba, which consists of different language groups including Wapan, Wanu, Kpanzon, Ichen, Hausa, Fulfulde, Tiv, Kuteb, Chamba, among others, have in recent times experienced bouts of violent conflicts from 2012. The clashes have devastating effect on every group and on every aspect of life in the areas. There is hardly any language group that has not been involved directly or indirectly in conflict, in recent times, in the entire study area. One of the profound effects of the violent clashes is the polarization of the entire area along religious lines – Islam and Christianity. The situation has also impacted on the linguistic practices in this region in significant ways.

This study therefore borders on language and conflict. It explores the current perspectives on multilingualism among the different language groups that have coexisted for many years in the face of ethno-religious insurgence and violent clashes in Southern Taraba, North East Nigeria. One of the aims of the study is to show how language politics as well as violence and insecurity contribute in shaping the linguistic practices of a people.

This work assumes a sociolinguistic orientation. Stratified random sampling technique is adopted in the selection of communities that represent four language groups in Southern Taraba. The groups are – Tiv, Chamba, Hausa-Fulani and Jukun. Instrument used in collection of data include interview and focus group discussion. Elders and community leaders provided information through structured interview. Focus group discussions were also conducted with the different language groups in the communities. All the informants have been directly involved in the violent crises and they narrated the impact of the bouts of clashes on their linguistic practices. The participants in the discussion include a cross section of members of each group who are of different ages, sexes and educational backgrounds. The participants were predominantly matured men. Only few women were willing to volun-

teer information. The women preferred to talk in the presence of the men and only when the men granted them permission to talk. The questions and discussions were structured to elicit information on what multilingualism means to the groups, how it is practiced in their daily repertoires and the patterns of language development in the communities. Each group attempted to provide a historical account of how they migrated to Southern Taraba to assert their identity as well as rights as first comers and indigenes of the community, before addressing the issues.

An understanding of the language situation in the study area will be facilitated by background knowledge of the language situation and language politics in Nigeria generally and in North East, Nigeria in particular.

Language distribution and language politics in Nigeria

Indigenous languages in Nigeria are often classified in levels. Awobuluiyi (1991) cited in Elugbe (2004) identifies three major levels of classifications of languages in Nigeria. At the apex are the three major languages – Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo. The middle level is occupied by non-major languages, which Egbokhare (2004) describes as the medium languages – Efik, Ibibio, Kanuri, Urhobo, Fulfulde, Ijaw, Tiv, Edo, Nupe, Urhobo, Igala. The other indigenous languages in Nigeria are classified under the third level as minority languages. Some minor languages have orthography and written texts – especially Bible translations – and are used in the daily lives of the people. But the majority exists only in oral form. A significant number of languages in the last category are endangered.

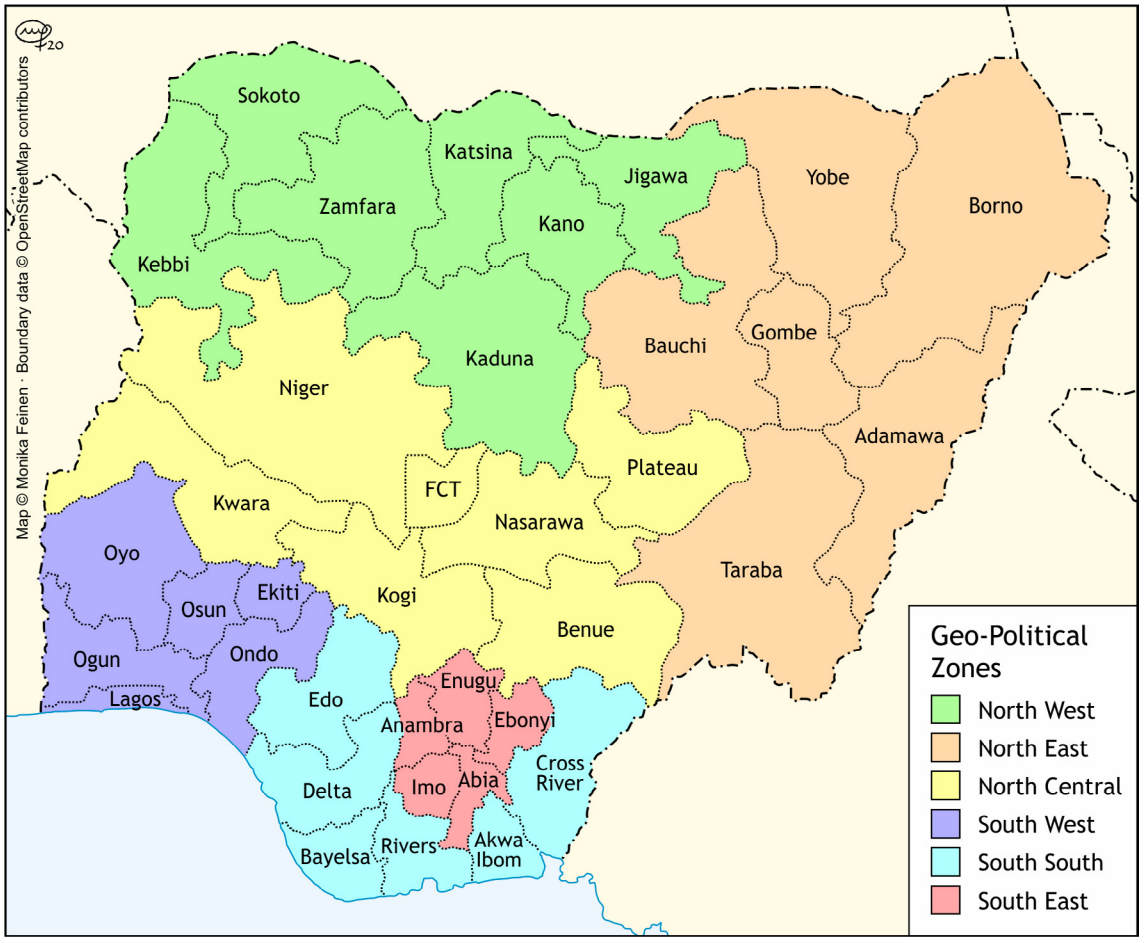
In terms of status and distribution, the three major languages at the apex have equal national status but do not have equal number of speakers and geographical spread. The language provision in the 1979 constitution stipulates that the major languages popularly known as *WAZOBIA* (an acronym coined from three lexical items denoting 'come' from the three languages, namely *wa* in Yoruba, *zo* in Hausa and *bia* in Igbo respectively) will be used in national and state legislative business of the country. *WAZOBIA* is also the name given to a radio programme that promotes the use of indigenous languages, especially Naija. However, the provision on the use of the major languages has a clause "when adequate arrangements have been made for thereof" (section 51 of the Nigerian Constitution). Thus, is spite of the provision, the English language serves as the sole language of legislation in Nigeria. No language policy with provision for the use of the medium and minor languages exists in Nigeria. The National Policy on Education (NPE) language provision as amended in 2004 advocates for the use of the Mother Tongue (MT) or the Language of the Immediate Community (LIC) in teaching school children for the first three years of basic education. But the provision still exists on paper. The reality is that most of the minor languages do not have orthography, written texts and manuals, thus cannot be used as medium of instruction in formal education.

For the purpose of convenience in documenting language distribution, the diverse language groups in Nigeria are neatly distributed into specific geographical spaces. But, with increase in urbanization and consequent mobility, the languages can be found

across the zones. The distribution of the three major languages is as follows – Yoruba covers the entire South West and shares some parts of the South South and North Central, especially Kwara state. Igbo is predominant in the South East and some parts of the South South, in Rivers and Delta states. Hausa remains the major language in North West Nigeria where it serves as the mother tongue to the group identified as Hausa. But it also serves as the lingua franca in linguistically diverse North East and some parts of North Central. Last (1993: 274) notes that North West Nigeria used to be linguistically diverse until as recent as 18th century, and that most of Hausa land was probably not Hausa speaking until as recent as 18th century. Last (1993) further explained that Hausa emerged as a Creole in cosmopolitan Kano, Katsina and Zaria, the states had communication with long distance traders, whose language and culture contributed to the new lingua franca.

The remaining three zones in Nigeria, South South, North Central and North East, are characterised by linguistic diversity.

Map 1: The six geopolitical zones in Nigeria



In consideration of the spread and numerical strength of the three major languages, Hausa ranks first. The language covers North West, North East and a greater part of North Central. Hausa also enjoys language loyalty by the speakers. This is chiefly promoted by Islam and political power. The spread of Islam went hand in hand with the spread of Hausa language as converts adhere to Islamic call for uniformity of identity (Sulaiman 1986).

Superimposing on the three national languages is a colonial language, English, which serves as Nigeria's official language, the language of national mobilization and integration, amongst others. English in Nigeria has spread as well as prestige. The pervasive role of the English language in the linguistic practices of Nigerians can be seen in the functions the language performs in Nigeria. Access to urban life as well as advancement in all strategic sectors of the economy is often premised on one's proficiency in the English language. In Nigeria today, the language is used in all communication domains, including cultural and traditional religious settings which hitherto was the exclusive preserve of the indigenous languages. Although English has gained acceptance and spread in Nigeria, the most widely spoken languages is the Nigerian Pidgin (Elugbe 2009b: 1) and most recently Naija, the language of the masses. Naija is used by people across the social classes and educational background. It is the preferred language of mass mobilization, popular music, information dissemination, advertisement, etc.

Apart from English, other popular foreign languages in Nigeria include French and Arabic. French is mainly studied in schools but it is also used in some areas especially around Nigeria's international borders such as the Lagos-Badagry border as Nigeria shares boundaries with francophone countries. Arabic is studied in schools. It is also the language of Islamic worship in Nigeria. Other foreign languages such as German and Spanish are studied in some special schools.

The linguistic scenario implies that Nigerians, especially in the urban centers, are multilingual. It is difficult to find a Nigerian, even in the rural communities who does not use more than one language regularly in his/her daily repertoire. For example, a typical Nigerian living in a farm settlement in North East Nigeria may communicate with his family in his mother tongue, Ichen, engage in trade transaction with a Tiv partner in Tiv language, and interact with other people in the market in Hausa, Fulfulde, Jukun Wapan, English and Nigerian Pidgin.

Language situation in North East Nigeria

Elugbe (2009a) has identified North Central Nigeria as the most vibrant zone in respect of linguistic diversity but North East appears to be the hub of linguistic diversity in Nigeria. For example, Borno, the state at the northern extreme has three international borders, about thirty-six indigenous languages with other languages including English, Nigerian Pidgin, French and Arabic. The other states in North East provide home for several indigenous languages, which are mainly categorized as minor languages with the exception of Tiv, Nupe, Fulfulde and Kanuri, which are classified as medium languages and Hausa – a major language.

In North East Nigeria, towns and major villages have since pre-colonial times normally been composed of segments with diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds (Harnischfeger 2014: 1). Hausa serves as the lingua franca for

the different language groups coexisting in this region of Nigeria. Identity in this zone is pervasively flux. It is susceptible to changes owing to a number of factors which borders around power – economic, political and religious.

Some previous studies have extensively discussed the factors that led to the ascendance of Hausa to the status of a lingua franca in the entire northern region of Nigeria. Ballard (1971) provides a historical account of the language politics that led to the ascendance of Hausa as the lingua franca in middle belt Nigeria. The factors include the Islamic jihadist movement of Usman Danfodio in the North in the pre-colonial times and the influence of the colonial administration's establishment of Hausa as the language of administration in the entire Northern Province. In addition, this study notes the influence of the mercantilist activities of the Hausa traders during and after the colonial era in North Nigeria on the further spread and entrenchment of Hausa language among varied ethnic groups in the area. More so, the politics that saw to the concentration of economic power and location of strategic sectors of the economy, in particular the citing of key educational institutions in core Hausa speaking states such as Katsina, Kano, Kaduna contributed significantly to the prestige, spread and dominance of Hausa above all other indigenous languages in the entire North Nigeria. In search of jobs and admission into the Universities in the core Hausa speaking states, people from the minority groups easily gave up their identity and assumed Hausa identity as that would increase their chances (Mgbemena & Yusuf 2013). Religious influence, especially Islamic religion, and economic as well as political powers contributed significantly to the superimposing status of Hausa language on the zone. In terms of spread and numerical strength of speakers, Hausa ranks next to English and Nigerian Pidgin in Nigeria's linguistic landscape.

The result of the dominance of Hausa in North Nigeria is that people who belong to a language group, reside in or even frequently visit any part in the region easily acquire at least some Hausa lexical items and expressions. The pervasive influence of Hausa is seen in some identity markers – names, greetings, dressing patterns, in North Nigeria. Some children who are from other language groups in North East prefer Hausa to their mother tongue, while some are not able to acquire the mother tongue of their parents. Hausa is the only language that is taught as a subject in government schools in most parts of the North. Hausa alongside with English serves as the language of administration, education, trade, religion, cultural activities and mutual understanding. The dominance of and language shift to Hausa among many groups in North East is general. This study on communities in Southern Taraba provides insights on how the people manage the multilingual situation.

Insights on divergent perspectives on multilingualism from linguistic practices of four groups in Southern Taraba

Taraba is the southernmost part of North East. It shares a boundary with North Central Nigeria. Taraba state also shares international boundaries in different parts of the state with Cameroun. Taraba state is said to have about eighty indigenous languages. Southern Taraba consists of five local governments – Wukari, Ibi, Donga, Takum, Ussa in which are scattered a number of language groups, some are

linguistically related while some are not. The language groups include: Jukun and the various varieties – Wapan, Wanu, Ichen, Kpanzon, Kpanyfon, Kpanyonyo, Kuteb, Chamba, Tiv, Hausa-Fulani, among others.

The towns and communities in Southern Taraba consist of different language groups. As Harnischfeger, Leger & Storch (2014) rightly observe, languages in the communities cannot be neatly tucked into distinct 'areas'. For example, there are Jukun groups in all the communities in the five local government areas. The Jukun in Wukari are known as Wapan, while the Jukun that live around the riverside are called Wanu. However, in every part of Southern Taraba one could find clans of Wapan, Wanu as well as other Jukunoids such as Ichen. The same applies to the other language groups. There are Tiv communities in different parts of Southern Taraba and beyond. The study was conducted in areas where the various groups co-habit.

Speakers from the different language groups were asked questions on their linguistic practices. But, in all the groups, before providing answers to the question, they always chose to provide a historical account of their migration to Southern Taraba. For example, the Wapan in Wukari trace their ancestral origin to Yemen, while the Tiv assert that they are from Senegal. The history of how each of the language groups came to occupy their present location appears to be conflicting. For example, in Wukari city, an octogenarian of Hausa extract narrated that the Hausas were the first comers in Wukari town. This account was refuted by the Jukun Wapan group who declared that they first occupied the geographical space and also named the place Wukari.

However, information from the different historical accounts indicate that the people migrated for various reasons which include political turmoil, leadership tussle, climate change, conflict with the colonial administration, boundary and farmland disputes, clashes between the nomadic herdsmen and farmers, etc. Each language group migrated in small units, clans and kindred and often settled in linguistically mixed areas where communication with their neighbors was only possible through multilingualism. Each group has different reasons and methods of practicing multilingualism. Consider the perspectives of the language groups on multilingualism presented below.

Tiv: Undulating multilingual practice

Multilingualism to the Tiv is a strategy for asserting or negotiating identity, economic and political advancement, security and survival among relatively strong neighbors such as the Jukun and Hausa-Fulani groups; multilingualism is not just a tool for socialization. An investigation among the Tiv communities in Southern Taraba reveals an undulating multilingual practice and contrived monolingual practice in some situations. Background information reflects that this is not recent as the Tiv people in Southern Taraba have a history of changing their linguistic practices to suite the prevailing political and socioeconomic realities in the region. Information on the group was derived from two Tiv communities – *Tor Musa* in Wukari local government area and *Tor Damisa* in Donga local government area.

Among the diverse language groups in Southern Taraba, the Tiv speaking people are perceived to be monolinguals (some speak only

Tiv) and bilinguals (some who have acquired a measure of literacy, thus use Tiv and English). The Tiv in Southern Taraba are known for their disposition of loyalty to their language as they are zealous in maintaining their language and sometimes nonchalant towards other indigenous languages in the region. Tiv people, wherever they are found can easily be identified by the way they uphold their language and other cultural heritage. Their effort in developing their language has earned Tiv language a place among the 'medium' languages in Nigeria.

In respect to language distribution in Nigeria, Tiv language group is categorized as belonging to North Central Nigeria and Benue state in particular, which serves as the ancestral base of their traditional ruler, *Tor Tiv*. The people are notable farmers who are continually in search of more arable farmlands, the Tiv can be found in different communities across North Central and North East Nigeria where they often live in settlements at the outskirts of city centers. Relatively, they live in isolation from the other groups. The point of interaction is usually the markets where they sell their farm produce. In market places, the Tiv usually adopt a stance of not being able to speak any other indigenous language in contact, especially in transactions in which they have comparative advantage. The other groups have to learn to communicate with them in Tiv language or through signs and gestures.

An observation of the naming pattern in the Tiv settlements as well as heavy Hausa lexical items in Tiv language vocabulary betrays an affinity to Hausa language in the time past. The settlements are usually named after the founders. In spite of their acclaimed devotion to Tiv, the names of settlements in Southern Taraba reflect an admixture of Tiv and Hausa lexical items – *Tor Musa, Tor Damisa,* etc. *Tor* is the traditional Tiv title for the 'head of a community or kingdom', and *Musa* is Hausa name, while *damisa* in Hausa denotes 'leopard'. Information from oral interviews of the community heads and from the focus group discussions with a cross section of the people from the two communities confirmed a previous strong political and socioeconomic alliance with Hausa.

In *Tor Musa*, the community head explained that the founding father, Shinku, had close ties with Hausa people in the time past. His Hausa friend nick named him Musa, which eventually replaced his Tiv traditional name Shinku. He probably maintained the Hausa name to facilitate the political and economic ties he had with the Hausa traders. In *Tor Damisa,* the group leaders note that the Tiv name of the founding father was Kaave but for his courage and bravery, a Chamba chief, who is Hausa speaking named him Damisa. The informant further stated that at the point they arrived their present settlement, they aligned with other Tiv speaking people, who were already in the land but they had to learn to speak Jukun and Hausa to facilitate trade relations. Although the Tiv in *Tor Damisa* had close ties with the Chamba, they did not learn to speak their language, as the Chamba people they met were Hausa speaking. Thus, the community had to take the Hausa name *Damisa* in place of the Tiv name *Kaave.*

One of the participants in the group discussion in *Tor Musa* recalled that by 1946, the Tiv people had business transactions with other groups in the area, especially, a thriving business on sesame seed at Donga, which was highly patronized by Hausa traders. Other groups involved in the business include Jukun, Kuteb and Chamba. According to the account,

the Tiv equally learnt to speak Jukun and Kuteb to facilitate trade relations with the group but they could not learn to speak Chamba, as the Chamba people preferred to use Hausa. Since Hausa was the language of colonial administration and was also taught in schools, the Tiv people along with other groups were compelled to learn Hausa. The interlocutors recalled that the factors that contributed significantly to the spread of Hausa among the Tiv were the trade in sesame seed and the influence of the *malamai*, itinerant Hausas, who were revered for selling potent charms and amulets. The people in the region were constantly confronted with atavistic forces and security challenges – internally and externally, such as violent clashes over farm lands, internal malevolent forces such as witchcraft, etc. The Tiv people needed protection, which the charms and amulets of the *malamai* provided. To foster relationships with the powerful *malamai*, in addition to the use of Hausa, they gave them their daughters in marriage. As a result of the contact between Hausa and Tiv, their language acquired some lexical items from Hausa such as *makaranta* – university. A significant number of Tiv elders in the group discussion admitted that they are fluent in Hausa language.

The motivation towards multilingualism as a means of survival was also corroborated in *Tor Damisa*, a Tiv settlement in Donga local Government some kilometers away from Tor Musa. While the closest neighbors to the Tiv in *Tor Musa* are the Jukun Wapan, the Tiv in *Tor Damisa* live closely with the Chamba, who are now Hausa speaking.

An interlocutor in the group discussion in *Tor Musa* noted that at some point in the recent past, the Tiv people in Southern Taraba thrived in their farming and some gained important political appointments in the state and in Wukari local government area in particular. The economic and political power earned the group a measure of identity and prestige in the community. They did not need any other indigenous language to survive. Thus, they reverted to the use of different forms of Nigerian English and their indigenous language to negotiate and assert identity within the ever increasingly linguistically diverse society. The Tiv during this period focused their attention on the development of their language. Children born within the period were not encouraged to acquire any other indigenous language apart from Tiv. Initially, their children were taught Tiv in government schools. Later, the politics in education led to the removal of Tiv from the school curriculum in Taraba state. The only avenue for promoting literacy in Tiv became the church with the aid of the bible translation in the language. Churches in Tiv communities promote their language through other means such as sermon and composition of choruses and hymns. From the family setting and the church, the Tiv community in different parts of Southern Taraba continued to promote the use and development of their language and culture.

Information from the focus group discussions further reveals that although a significant number of Tiv youths speak Hausa, Jukun and English, and some other languages in their linguistically diverse communities; they try to conceal their multilingual facility by adopting a stance of speaking only Tiv. According to the interlocutors, concealed multilingual practice is a strategy for maintaining their language and asserting their identity in the midst of other groups with numerical strength and economic powers. While some Tiv, especially those who live in the farm settlements do not bother to

learn any other language, as they live relatively isolated lives and prefer to intermarry within the language group, others have acquired other languages in contact. But, unlike the other groups, Tiv speakers can easily be identified by their cultural practice of naming. The Tiv do not use Hausa names like the other language groups in the area, they prefer Tiv names and sometimes English names.

The Tiv in Southern Taraba subscribe to multilingualism out of necessity. According to the interlocutors, generally the Tiv prefer to use their language. They conceded that the Tiv sometimes pretend not to understand any other indigenous language whereas they actually understand most of the languages in contact, especially Hausa and Jukun. They gave examples of situations in which they subscribe to the use of any other language. They narrated often times, people from the major groups, Jukun and Hausa hold important economic and political positions in the area. Multilingualism becomes a tool for gaining economic or political favour. When seeking for such favour, they speak the language of the potential benefactor as they understand that such gesture is potent. A young man in the group attested that he uses Hausa and Jukun to gain favour in government offices. Once he is able to identify the language group of a potential benefactor, he switches to his/her language. According to the informant, a linguistically diverse person is always at an advantage in the entire state.

The Tiv group further added that multilingualism serves as a tool to include or exclude other members of the Tiv community from a discussion. One of the interlocutors explained that sometimes he can switch to Hausa or Jukun to convey information to his allies when in the presence of members of the community who do not understand Hausa or Jukun.

The participants in the group discussions agree that the Tiv practice of language loyalty as suggested by their contrived monolingual practice is caving in the face of the current tension and crises in the area. Recent bouts of bloody clashes between the Jukun and the Hausa-Fulani which ravaged the entire community provided the ground for full adoption of multilingual practice. An octogenarian man in *Tor Musa* settlement admitted that after the recent bouts of crises in Southern Taraba, between 2013-2014, the Tiv generally realized that the ability to use the languages of the other groups, especially Jukun and Hausa, is a tool for survival in a linguistically diverse environment. This led to another shift as well as campaign to encourage their youth to acquire Jukun and Hausa as that could provide a means of escape, in case they run into any of the polar groups during the crises. Using the language of a group to aver solidarity and support serves as a means of identifying with the group and a tool to escape being regarded as an opposition as well as the attendant consequences.

From the forgoing, it is obvious that multilingualism for a relatively minority group living in a linguistically plural society characterized by violent conflict is not an option but a tool for self-assertion, identity negotiation, maintenance of power and strategy for survival. Thus, for the Tiv in linguistically diverse Southern Taraba, their multilingual practice has been undulating; it has never been stable. The exigencies of political and socio economic realities in the area drive the trend. A summary of the account of the informants reflects that in times of economic and political boom of the Hausa in Southern Taraba, the Tiv leaned their

loyalty to Hausa for survival and power relation. They also learnt to speak Jukun and other languages in the region to foster economic and political affinity. When Tiv gained a measure of political power, they shifted focus from multilingualism to bilingualism (the use of Tiv and English) and to servicing identity as well as language maintenance. In the face of resurgence of violent crises, the trend shifts back to multilingualism, especially to the use of the languages of the groups that are relatively powerful.

Chamba – from linguistic diversity to identity shift, the story of a lost language in Southern Taraba

The case of Chamba speaking people in Southern Taraba presents a scenario of peculiar linguistic practice marked by favorable disposition towards multilingualism, identity fluidity and identity shift. Just like the other groups, the Chamba speaking people can be found all across the communities in Wukari, Takum, Donga, etc. But, their main domain in Southern Taraba is in the Donga local government area, where they have a traditional council presided by *Gara Donga.* It was not difficult to identify a speech community that is Chamba. But on closer inquiry it was observed that one cannot find any fluent speaking Chamba in Southern Taraba. The Chamba people in the area speak other languages in the environment – Hausa, Tiv, Jukun, Kuteb. More curious is the fact that some have changed their identity to either Jukun or Hausa.

There is a Chamba group in Rafin Kada, a linguistically diverse community in Wukari local government area. Information from an interaction with an aged member of the community, who traced his genealogy to Chamba, reveals that Chamba people in the community have shifted identity to Jukun, basically as a result of intermittent violent clashes among groups in the area. He explained that the Chamba in Rafin Kada are in the minority so they had to integrate into a bigger group – Jukun.

The informant tried to provide a historical account of the migration of the clan from Donga to the place and the various influences on the identity and linguistic practices of the people. According to him, in Takum, the Chamba lived with different language groups such as Ichen, which is a Jukunoid, and Kuteb. To facilitate trade relations, they learnt to speak the languages in contact. Initially, they communicated with their neighbors with signs. But, in the course of time, they could use some lexical items from the languages. He recalled that at some point, the clan had problems with the colonial administrators, so they moved towards Tella at the mouth of River Taraba. There they met with some other groups, Jukun and Fulani. A violent clash erupted between the Fulani and the Chamba, they had to move back to Wukari area and settled in Rafin Kada together with the Jukun and Abakwariga.

The informant recounted that the Jukun name for Rafin Kada was Janumi which means a crocodile pond. But the Hausa later renamed it Rafin Kada which in Hausa still means River crocodile. The place is important to the Jukun as it currently provides a home for the sacred crocodiles. According to the informant, Rafin Kada is a junction which attracted the Hausa itinerant traders, who often rested temporarily in the place. Some of the itinerant traders eventually settled there. Among the itinerant Hausas were the *malamai*, whom the people had so much respect for owing to the potency of their

charms and amulets. The influence of the *malamai* contributed to acquisition of Hausa language by the Chamba people. He confirmed that some of his people have acquired a good number of the languages in the community. Thus, some people could use as many as five languages or more, Hausa, Jukun, Tiv, Kuteb, Chamba, English, in their daily repertoires especially in trade transactions and political relations.

With the political turns in the zones, identity for some Chamba people, especially those who live outside Donga – the seat of the traditional council, became fluid. The option was to lean towards the powerful political groups closest to them. Presently, the Chamba group in Rafin Kada, a community close to Wukari, assumes Jukun identity. They pay allegiance to the traditional ruler of the Jukun, the *Aku Uka* in Wukari. The palace performs important political functions such as the elections and installation of traditional rulers for them in Rafin Kada. While the Chamba in the community close to Wukari adopted Jukun language, the Chamba people in Donga local government area, speak Hausa and assume Hausa identity. The language at their traditional palace in Donga is Hausa. The naming pattern of Chamba people in Southern Taraba reflects an admixture of the languages – Jukun, Hausa, English and Chamba. Examples of names of Chamba people include – Manu Danladi Zachariah Dian. In this example, a Chamba man bears four names from four languages. Information from the study shows that what can be found lingering of Chamba identity in southern Taraba is the names. An informant from Donga stated that there is a strong Chamba speaking community known as Ganye in Adamawa state. The Chamba in Taraba often consult them for the meaning of the names they give to their children and information on some lexical items in the language.

It is clear here that for the Chamba speaking people in Southern Taraba, multilingualism as well as identity fluidity is not just a basic necessity but a strategy for survival in the midst of strong groups and precarious environment that is marked by power struggle, tension and insecurity.

Hausa: from religious cum language loyalty, language dominance to linguistic diversity as a means of asserting identity

Hausa speaking communities found all over Southern Taraba actually comprise of people from diverse language groups in Northern Nigeria. The community is marked with some characteristics. The first is that any community of people identified as Hausa is associated with Islamic religion. Another fact is that all the people who form part of Hausa community share one Hausa identity, which include the use of Hausa language, the use of Hausa and Arabic names as well as the adoption of Hausa pattern of dressing, etc., irrespective of the language group. The third is that the group does not favour the use of other indigenous languages apart from Hausa.

Some of the members of Hausa community cannot trace their historical background to any Hausa group in the core Hausa speaking states such as Kano, Kaduna, but they still assert Hausa identity. It is a known fact that Hausa communities consists of people from diverse ethnic groups in the entire Northern region who deny their heritage and assume Hausa identity as soon as they convert to Islam. For example, in Southern Taraba, some people

from Wapan group who convert to Islam see their indigenous language as a pagan heritage and the language of idolatry, so they disassociate themselves from all cultural heritages including the language. The basic rationale behind this trend has been earlier indicated in this study. While some in understanding of the importance of English, acquire, use and promote the English language, the core Islamic fundamentalist maintain the stance that Hausa and Arabic are sacred languages and the languages that deserve any loyalty. Some members of this group do not just exhibit nonchalance towards other languages, they show contempt. Thus, the majority of the people in Hausa speaking communities in Southern Taraba has abandoned their Indigenous languages and at the same time do not feel the need to acquire any other indigenous language apart from Hausa and any form of English, which they use only when it is necessary. However, some members of the group cannot be referred to as monolinguals or bilinguals as they can use more than two languages – Hausa, Arabic, English yet some of the members of the group prefer to communicate with non-Hausa speaking people in Hausa even when they know that the addressee does not understand the code of communication. Multilingualism is not a common practice among members of the group even when they live in a society characterized by linguistic diversity.

Information from interview and focus group discussion in Ibi and Wukari indicates a shift in this disposition in recent times after the recent bouts of crises in the area. An Imam, who served as an informant, stated that there is a recent awakening by members the communities who have roots in Jukun towards learning and speaking Jukun language. Further investigation reveals that during the recent crises in the area which involved Hausa-Fulani, Tiv and Jukun, the Jukun asserted authority and ownership of the land. The situation did not favour some members of the Hausa community who also claim to be indigenes, especially some members of the group who have Jukun heritage but did not have any identity marker which includes the names as well language. The result is a reawakening towards multilingualism, especially the use of Jukun as a means of asserting identity.

One of the informants, an aged member of Hausa group, stated that he is Hausa Jukun. By this, he means that his grandfather was a Hausa trader from Zaria who settled in Wukari but that his mother and his wife were Jukun. He claimed that he can speak both indigenous languages – Jukun and Hausa, but cannot explain why the generation after him abandoned Jukun language. He corroborated the present attempt towards multilingualism which involves the learning of Jukun. From focus group discussions, the Muslim youth, especially those of Jukun heritage, expressed their desire to learn Jukun however, the major challenge is the polarization of the entire city along religious line, an aftermath of the crises which has made it difficult for the two warring groups to have close contact.

A summary of the multilingual perspective of the Hausa community reflects the linguistic practice of which favours Hausa more and the superimposition of Hausa over all other languages within the community. This practice serves as a strategy for maintaining religious identity, which is extolled over any other cultural identity. Of more significance is the fact that common identity ensures solidarity, dominance and power in the society. But

with strong opposition and threat to identity, political and economic relevance, multilingualism becomes the option to achieve integration in order to maintain identity and power. For the group, multilingualism has never been a tool for socialization but a tool of necessity.

Jukun: from language secrecy which favours multilingualism to language reawakening and development of Jukun as a means of strengthening power

The Jukun ethno-linguistic group is a major language group in Southern Taraba. Jukun serves as a generic name for various language groups in the region and beyond. The group is regarded as powerful owing to their prowess in battle. Due to the prestige and power Jukun enjoys in the region, some smaller groups often assume Jukun identity as a strategy for survival. But, the Jukun speaking people in Southern Taraba are known for their favourable disposition towards learning the other languages in contact as well as their penchant for concealing their language (see Storch 2011). One of the key reasons for language secrecy is that the Jukun see language as a weapon of control and power. Being renowned warriors, they argue that their language encapsulates secret codes which need to be protected from their potential enemies. As a result, the Jukun are more apt to learn other languages than to expose their language to the other groups. Thus, an average Jukun is disposed towards multilingual practice.

A sociolinguistic survey of Wukari town conducted by Mgbemena and Yusuf (2013) notes the consequence of their pattern of multilingualism. A survey of language use and preference in strategic domains in the society – trade centers/markets, social gathering, religious gatherings, cultural activities, educational institutions show evidence of dominance of Jukun language by the Hausa language and a general language shift from Jukun to Hausa and English, a practice, which portends endangerment for Jukun language.

The Jukun people trace their ancestral origin to the ancient Kwararafa kingdom that migrated to Nigeria from Yemen. Jukun stands at present as the custodian of the culture of the kingdom and the seat of power presided by the semi divine king, the *Aku Uka* of Wukari. In 1931, C. K. Meek recorded the history of this people who were known as the Kwararafa people and one of the tribes in the renowned Kwararafa kingdom. According to their oral history, they migrated from one of the most powerful Sudanese kingdoms, probably Yemen, in the East of Mecca about 350 AD. The account claims that the Jukun migrated with the Kanuri people from Yemen and travelled by the way of Wadai to Ngazargamu, a former capital of Bornu. They settled for some time in the region of Lake Chad before proceeding to the Benue region, partly because of series of disputes with the Kanuri and partly because of over population in the region. The tribes previously under Jukun include the Alago, Agatu, Rendere, Gumai in Shendan, among others. However, most of these tribes left as a result of power tussle. Allegedly, some regions occupied by Hausa in the North East formerly belonged to the Jukun. Today, the Jukun have gained spread in some states in Nigeria, Jukun communities in Nigeria are found in Taraba, Benue, Nassarawa, Gombe, Plateau, Adamawa, including the Federal capital territory Abuja (Ajiboshe 2003). Jukun communities and settlements are also found outside Nigeria. There are Jukun communities in four

West African countries – Cameroun, Niger Republic and Benin republic and the Republic of Chad.

The seat of authority and government of Jukun people is in Wukari, where those who speak the Wapan dialect are found. The status of Wapan has been noted in previous studies (Meek 1931; Shimizu 1980). Meek (1931: 1) asserts that "the main body known as Wapa is located in and around Wukari and form under the king of Wukari, an independent unit of the Benue province." Jukun groups are named by their geographical location – Jukun Wanu (the riverine Jukun) and Jukun Wapan, the land Jukun, but in contemporary times, Jukun Wapan mainly refers to the Wukari Jukun. Jukun has many communities and dialects that are historically related and belong to the same language family. Meek (1931) identifies that there are six dialects of Jukun spoken in different Jukun communities – Wukari, Donga, Kona, Gwana, and Pindiga, Jibu and Wase-Tofa.

Basically, the Jukun community practices multilingualism as a means of gaining knowledge of other groups, maintaining power and control as well as socialization. Predominantly, members of the Jukun community speak up to three or four languages. On the average, members of the Jukun community speak Hausa. Observations and information from the Jukun group indicate that the use of other languages in contact while shielding their language from others has yielded to some consequences which include the dominance of Hausa and the shift from Jukun language to Hausa in the communities. It became evident that although the Jukun claim to be the dominant group in the area, their language is not dominant.

There is a present move towards balanced multilingualism after bouts of violent clashes. Interactions with the traditional council as well as focus group discussions with a cross section of the Jukun public reflect a trend towards Jukun language reawakening and development. In this new multilingual practice, the Jukun people use other languages in contact and also make their language accessible to the other groups. The culture of language concealment is caving in in the face of crises in the area. However, it is important to add that there are some aspects of Jukun codes, especially relating to religious practices that remain guided with secrecy. Through the effort of the Jukun language Development Project Group, Federal University Wukari in collaboration with the Jukun Traditional council, Jukun language has become the first indigenous language in Taraba state apart from Hausa, to have a nine year basic education curriculum for the teaching of the language from primary school to the junior secondary. The language is now taught in schools including Islamic schools in Wukari.

The Jukun still maintain a favourable disposition towards linguistic diversity. To the group, multilingualism remains a tool for socialization although with an underlying motive. It is a strategy for gaining information about the other groups as well as a tool for maintaining power and economic relations with the other language groups in contact.

Conclusion

The study reflects language as a powerful tool. Beyond serving as a means of communication and socialization, it can determine the survival of an individual or a people in the face of conflict and threat of extermination of life. It is clear from the discussions that multilingualism would have different meanings,

different motivations and different styles of practice in diverse settings in extremely linguistically diverse Nigeria. The focus of this study on North East Nigeria has revealed the interplay of language politics, socio economic realities, and power relations especially arising from competitions and conflicts on the linguistic practices of the communities in this region. An exploration of motivation for multilingualism in another linguistically diverse zone of Nigeria – South South – would also reveal motivations that are shaped by the sociocultural variables in the geographical space. For the present study, insights from the experiences of four language groups in Taraba south have shown how the dynamics of power, conflict and socio economic realities shape the motivations and methods of multilingual practices of language groups in convergence in the region.

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05

The "I" in sociolinguistics: The role of subjectivity in ethnographic fieldwork

05

The "I" in sociolinguistics: The role of subjectivity in ethnographic fieldwork

Susanne Mohr

This paper illustrates the importance of reflexivity for the awareness of a researcher's subjectivity in (socio)linguistic work on tourism, particularly during fieldwork. It shows that a researcher's positionality, i.e. their loyalties to epistemological conceptions and tools, crucially affects every part of the research process, reaching from the inception of the topic, to the choice of the relevant methodology and participants, to such apparently objective procedures as statistical analyses. This is illustrated by a study applying Q-methodology from psychology used to investigate language choices in the tourist space of Zanzibar. The method's focus on subjective views of the participants makes it a powerful tool to raise a researcher's awareness of their own subjectivity with respect to the research process. Ultimately, the paper argues, such constructionist approaches to science produce more valid results in linguistics, as well as in other areas of science in general.

Introduction

In February 2016 I had just left behind the noisy streets of Dar es Salaam and had flown to Zanzibar, a semi-autonomous archipelago in the Indian Ocean. In Tanzania, I had gotten used to speaking Kiswahili, the country's official language, as many people only knew a few words of English, if they spoke it at all. This was very different from the situation in Zanzibar, where English is much more widespread, and phrases like *hakuna matata* ('no problem' used as general phatic marker), which I was greeted with and came across frequently in the linguistic landscape (cf. Figure 1), were so different from the Kiswahili I had learnt and used on the mainland. Given my, albeit limited, background in African Studies, I found these greetings odd, even annoying because they seemed to assume that I was just another tourist, not able to speak proper Kiswahili. It was then that I developed the idea for a new project on language choices in the tourist space of Zanzibar.

A description like the one above, setting the scene for the linguistic analysis to follow, is uncommon in a (socio)linguistic paper (accounts like Mietzner's (2017: 34-35) are notable exceptions). While encountered more frequently in anthropology, a first person view is rather avoided in linguistics, specifically in more quantitatively oriented work where the objectivity of the analysis supposedly needs to be strengthened (Hyland 2001). A first person outline of the reasons for choosing a certain object of study or methodology is usually not provided. This is not perceived to be scientifically relevant, even found to be unscientific as mentioned by Mruck and Breuer (2003: para. 1, own translation): 'talking about yourself is – at least in those research areas that

Figure 1. Hakuna matata scarf in a guest house in Zanzibar (© Susanne Mohr)

are not immediately concerned with research on academia – still unappetizing' ("über sich selbst zu sprechen hat – zumindest für die Wissenschaftsfelder, die sich nicht unmittelbar mit Wissenschaftsforschung beschäftigen – immer noch etwas Unappetitliches").

In this article I argue that a researcher's viewpoint, their *positionality*, is not to be neglected, indeed relevant and even necessary to consider, as it influences the research process from the choice and theoretical contextualization of the topic over the data collection process to the data analysis (cf. Angouri 2018). This importance of a researcher's positionality and its impact on the research process has been recognized and is even central in (linguistic) anthropological approaches as illustrated for instance in Paris' (2011) work on language used by youths in South Vista, California, Bucholtz' (2012) research on youth styles at a California high school and Wijngaarden's (2016) investigation of perceptions of the Other in cultural tourism at a Maasai village in Kenya. The importance of positionality has also been acknowledged in some sociolinguistic work, especially in an ethnographic framework as

proposed by Gumperz and Hymes (1986), and specifically in the discussion of methodologies in sociolinguistics by Rampton (2007) and Rampton et al. (2015) for instance. However, in sociolinguistic research on tourism this reflection on positionality and a researcher's subjectivity has, with a few exceptions like Storch (2017) and Mietzner and Storch (2019), not been emphasized enough. Recognizing this negligence and in the spirit of transdisciplinarity, I introduce a method from the field of behavioural psychology (Stephenson 1935, 1953) that has so far only rarely been used in linguistics (e.g. King & Carson 2017; Lundberg 2019) but is well suited for the study of subjective viewpoints among participants, as for example language attitudes, and the researcher's own viewpoint alike. Its use is demonstrated by presenting as an example a study on language choices among tourists in Zanzibar.

Subjectivity and reflexivity, or the field as political space

In this paper, I have chosen to write from a first person perspective. Thus, I want to acknowledge that I am "a particular individual – rather than an omnipotent, authorial voice whose identity is disguised" (Lutkehaus & Cool 1999: 437). I would like to break with the tradition of "author-evacuated" texts (Geertz 1983) and made this decision in order to emphasize the fact that research is an inherently reflexive process (Wijngaarden 2016) which depends vitally on an individual's, i.e. the researcher's, ways of thinking about a topic, their subjective viewpoint, or positionality: "the ways in which we make meaning of the research process is always subject to our positioning as researchers" (Angouri 2018: 69).

The abovementioned *reflexivity* is a postmodern term that describes the awareness of the researcher's effect on the situation they observe. This effect is twofold. On the one hand, there are possible effects of the researcher's (physical) presence, which are usually advised to be minimized in (ethnographic) research (e.g. Hammersley & Atkinson 2007). However, researchers are usually connected to the object of their studies (Davies 1999: 3) and thus inevitably influence the research process and, in turn, its results. In my own research, I have often experienced that my presence influenced the data collection process, proving the field to be a very political space indeed (Dimitriadis 2001). Thus, as a white person I was automatically perceived as possessing authority in Tanzania, a fact that was addressed by my participants on several occasions (Mohr 2018a) and has been discussed by other researchers working in postcolonial settings (e.g. Wijngaarden 2016). In language attitude focused projects, I hence usually worked with a local colleague who conducted most of the data collection (cf. Mohr & Ochieng 2017) in order to minimize this observer's paradox. Reflecting on these issues before and during data collection, considering them during data analysis and addressing them in the publication of results should be an important part of the research process. Luckily, nowadays it usually is.

The second kind of effect researcher might have on their research and one that is rather impossible to avoid, is epistemological positioning, loyalties to certain theoretical and methodological traditions (Angouri 2018), or a *subjective* point of view. Thus, the choice of a research topic and question is heavily influenced by what is conceivable and seems meaningful in a certain scientific context, at a certain point in time (Mruck & Breuer 2003). In the situ-

ation described in the introduction, I was quite annoyed by being greeted in an, what I felt to be, inauthentic manner that seemed to emphasize my role as a tourist in Zanzibar. I felt (and sometimes still feel) this way because I had learnt Kiswahili and was acquainted with cultural and anthropological studies of tourist settings. I felt almost cheated by the lack of authenticity, a central concept in tourist settings (Dann 1996). Given my academic training, experience and the area of linguistics I work in, my first choice of method to study the tourist space (and my annoyance with it) was ethnographic participatory observation and interviews, which I applied during a first fieldwork trip. This choice of method equally has an effect on research (Mruck & Breuer 2003) and is itself a result of my epistemological position, my subjective view. It was only by coincidence, reading an article from the field of tourism studies/anthropology (Wijngaarden 2017) that I found a methodology that seemed equally well suited to investigate my chosen topic (cf. the following Sections). It was however completely new to me and significantly changed my position towards the subject matter and the interpretation of the data after my second fieldwork (cf. Mruck & Breuer 2003).

Given this negotiation of possible theoretical viewpoints and methodologies of data collection and, subsequently, analysis, "the field" and how we operate in it methodologically is a very political space, which challenges the neutrality of the researcher (Angouri 2018). It amply illustrates that all research is ultimately conducted from the subjective perspective of the researcher. This seems problematic, given that 'the demand for the exclusion of the researcher's subjectivity is one of the imperatives of modern academia' ("die Forderung nach dem Ausschluss der Subjektivität der Forschenden einer der zentralen Imperative der wissenschaftlichen Neuzeit ist") (Mruck & Breuer 2003: para. 5, own translation). However, as will be shown later, according to Q-methodology, there is no objectivity without subjectivity (Watts & Stenner 2012: 29). The key to a meaningful interpretation of research data in a way that represents participants' lived experiences and creates a power balance between the researcher and the researched (Angouri 2018: 69-70), is being conscious of *one's own* subjectivity. From a psychological point of view, subjectivity is not so much a state but an activity (Watts and Stenner 2012: 26), and I maintain that we can best become aware of it if we actively reflect on it, emphasizing the intricate link of subjectivity and reflexivity.

Q-Methodology for the study of subjectivity

As outlined above, "a scientific focus on the subjective is uncommon" in modern academia (Watts & Stenner 2012: 30). However, Q-methodology[1] developed by William Stephenson (1935, 1953) does indeed aim at a first person, subjective kind of science, which is of the same standing as the traditionally more accepted objective science (Watts & Stenner

[1] "Q" is meant to oppose "R" approaches, which refer to quantitative (statistical) analyses. Q is thus not conceptualized as a quantitative methodology, despite its use of statistical analyses. Factor analysis used in Q is, in opposition to other statistical approaches, very exploratory in nature. The perception of Q, which varies depending on the audience presented to from too quantitative because of its statistical component to too qualitative because of a lack of large participant numbers and "experimental" use of factor analysis, emphasizes the influence of positionality and subjectivity on the research process. Thus, the perception of this methodology, which to me is a mixed method, depends largely on the other researchers' methodological and epistemological background.

2012: 27). Basically, Q-methodology is a form of discourse analysis (cf. Stainton Rogers 1991) as it identifies the relevant social viewpoints on a certain subject matter in the data, which it studies systematically (Brown 2008). It is an inherently constructionist[2] and reflexive method, operating on the principle of *abduction*. That is why it is closely related to the awareness of the researcher's subjectivity discussed in the previous section. "Abduction consists in studying the facts and devising a theory to explain them" (Peirce 1931[1958]: 90) and is thus similar to induction. Rather than describing an observed phenomenon on the basis of the data like induction, abduction intends to find an explanation for observations though. Importantly, abduction is not related to pre-existing theories but aimed at the generation of new ones (Watts & Stenner 2012: 39), which emphasizes the constructionist aspect of the method.

Q-methodology itself combines qualitative and quantitative approaches, making it inherently a *mixed method*, and is frequently used in the social sciences, recently also in tourism research (cf. e.g. Stergiou & Airey 2011; Wijngaarden 2016, 2017), but has only rarely been applied in linguistics. The EUROMEC networks' research strand on multilingual identities in European cities (http://www.euromec.eu/) is one notable exception (King & Carson 2017). Given its focus on social viewpoints, the methodology is very well suited for the study of (language) attitudes, which have an affective component and are closely related to opinions and beliefs (Garrett 2010). It could however, also be used to study other aspects of (socio)linguistics.

The method consists of five steps, combining qualitative (steps 1-4) and quantitative (step 5) procedures:

1. The compilation of a "concourse" (Stephenson 1982) presenting all existing views on a topic

2. Assembling a Q-sample, usually consisting of 40-80 statements representative of all views on the topic

3. Choosing participants to sort the Q-sample

4. The execution of the Q-sort by the participants, consisting of rank ordering the Q-sample according to (dis)agreement

5. The conduction of an inverse factor analysis, clustering participants according to common viewpoints

Ideally, the Q-sort should be followed by an interview with the participant (Watts & Stenner 2012). As such, the inclusion of quantitative procedures in a methodology focusing on subjectivity amply illustrates that even seemingly objective (quantitative) methodologies are subject to personal influences by the researcher.

In the following, each step of the procedure is explained in more detail.[3]

[2] See Watts and Stenner (2012: 41-43) for the distinction between social construction*ism* (related to the social and sociological aspects of the meaning-making process) and social construct*ivism* (referring to individuals' selective perceptions, experiences and viewpoints which shape the meaning-making process). While Stephenson's original conception of Q-methodology was constructivist in nature, Q is nowadays frequently used in a constructionist fashion.

[3] For an elaborate explanation of the first two steps of the methodology, the reader is also referred to Mohr (in press).

Compiling the concourse

The concourse as conceptualized by Stephenson is an identifiable "universe of statements for any situation or context" (Stephenson 1986: 44). Practically, it is simply "the overall population of statements from which a final Q-set is sampled" (Watts & Stenner 2012: 34). These do not necessarily have to consist of text but might be pictures or other material objects. Often, these "statements" are views on the topic expressed in the literature, but they might also consist of data collected in the field at an earlier research stage (e.g. artefacts collected, views expressed by participants in interviews). For my project, I collected a mix of all of these types of statements, resulting in an inherently multimodal concourse. Examples are provided below.

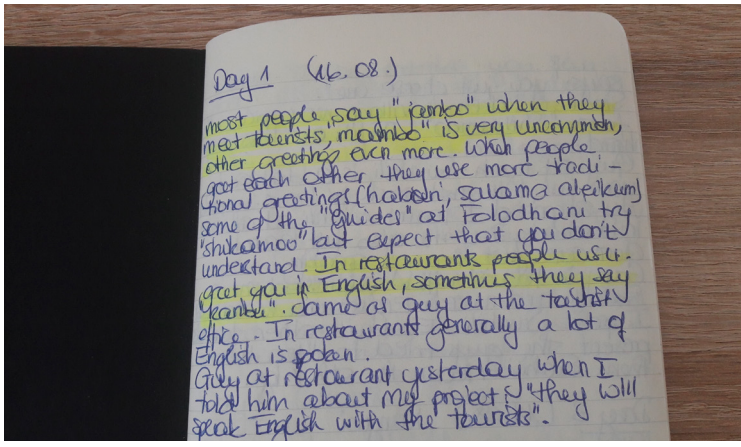
1. A definition of "Hakuna Matata Swahili" (Nassenstein 2019: 130) in the literature: "Hakuna Matata Swahili (HMS) refers to the basics of Kiswahili, the most widespread language at the East African coast, acquired by tourists in the context of their vacation"

2. Pictures of the linguistic landscape (cf. Figure 1) and language-related touristic objects like fridge magnets or postcards (Figure 2)

3. Observations made during an earlier fieldwork stage (Figure 3) and opinions expressed in interviews a transcription extract is provided in example (1)

Figure 2. Postcard from Zanzibar (© Susanne Mohr)

Figure 3. Field notes from an earlier fieldwork in Zanzibar (© Susanne Mohr)



(1) Interview with Ali[4], tour booking clerk at a hotel in Jambiani in 2017; minute 19:56-20:38; S1 = Ali, S2 = interviewer (me)

<S1> is true <S2> okay </S2> yeah this jambo is only for you know uh there is a song called <SINGING> jambo jambo <SINGING> <S2> yeah </S2> <SINGING> bwana </SINGING> <S2> yeah </S2> <SINGING> habari gani </ SINGING> so this swahili uh in in europe i think most of the people they know this this song <S2> mhm </S2> yeah yeah and if eh if you go to the tu- youtube then you can find this <S2> yeah </S2> this song yeah in swahili but , europe they uses jambo when they come here <S2> mhm </S2> yeah they use jambo jambo because they know jambo is just like hi [yeah <S2> yeah] yeah </S2> so only for the tourists they use jambo but for for us normally we use hujambo </S1>

This step of the methodology already involves a lot of possible subjectivity on the part of the researcher, as it depends on their knowledge of the relevant literature, as well as the issues they notice and find worth reporting and collecting in the field. Further, determining when the point of saturation is reached is a subjective decision too. Generally, this is the case when no new information on a subject can be gathered (Watts & Stenner 2012), so this is obviously subjectively determined. This was also the case in my study and I reflexively established criteria to make this decision easier: I decided to stop collecting material when I had consulted a) studies from different fields I am acquainted with and found relevant to my study, i.e. linguistics, anthropology and tourism studies, and b) had made observations and conducted interviews with different types of participants in the main tourist hot spots of Zanzibar, i.e. on the North, East and West coast of Unguja island. It was however not possible to read all relevant literature on my topic or conduct interviews with all tourists and hosts in Zanzibar. Thus, my subjective point of view definitely influenced my study.

Assembling the Q-sample

The task of assembling the Q-sample is dependent on factors that are not directly related to the researcher, such as the target group that is supposed to sort the sample. However, the choice and formulation of the individual statements, which again need not be in textual form but can consist of visual material for instance, is subject to the researcher's opinion. For my study, I worked in a structured way, identifying a) the language practices most frequently used in the tourist space of Zanzibar as observed in earlier fieldwork, i.e. English, Kiswahili, HMS and the tourists' native languages, and b) the most frequently mentioned reasons for language choices brought forth in the literature, observed by me and mentioned in interviews in earlier fieldwork. I then combined these aspects in all possible and meaningful ways and reduced the number of resulting statements to 30. As mentioned above, the number of statements chosen is usually larger than that but there seemed to be a limit to the number of statements my participants would be able to and want to sort, given that they would do the sorts in a foreign language and with limited time due to work

[4] The name is a pseudonym.

(hosts) or planned leisure activities (tourists). Choosing English as the language to formulate the statements in accounted for comparability of the answers of both groups. Further, specifically among the tourist group it would have been difficult to find another language shared by the majority of them or even operating in each participant's native language, given the linguistic diversity of the space and my own language knowledge that does not include all the languages I encountered, like Tagalog, for instance. Sample statements are provided in (2) and (3). All decisions related to the compilation of the Q-sample were again subjective in nature and influenced the outcome of my study.

(2) For communication with Zanzibaris I use phrases like "hakuna matata" or "jambo" because they sound nice.

(5) For communication with Zanzibaris I use my mother tongue because I identify with it.

Importantly, I left some of the statements open to some extent, in order to minimize my own influence on the research process and emphasize the agency of the participants more. This is in line with tendencies to humanize research (e.g. Paris & Winn 2014), i.e. acknowledging participants as "co-producers of knowledge" and entering a dialogue with them. Therefore, I asked the participants to fill in a short questionnaire before doing the sort, in which they had to indicate which language they thought they used most frequently with tourists/hosts in Zanzibar. This language then had to be inserted in some of the statements, such as:

(4) For communication with tourists/Zanzibaris I use *the language indicated in question 10 in my questionnaire* because it is a sign of wealth.

While I found it risky to leave the research instrument open so much, it proved extremely rewarding in the end as I was able to obtain results I had never anticipated, such as some tourists preferring Kiswahili for communication with Zanzibaris because they feel it is a sign of education and wealth, and it allowed me to enter many interesting discussions with my participants. In this way, the methodology was able to free me from my own epistemological suppositions, which emphasizes its value for reflexive approaches (in sociolinguistics).

Choosing participants

Choosing participants for a Q-study is not easy, as it is generally advisable to work with people who have strong opinions on a topic (Watts & Stenner 2012). In a multi-person study, as in any investigation, the relevant target groups that have an opinion on the subject matter, need to be identified. This, again, as well as the identification of individual participants, is a subjective choice made by the researcher. In my case, the target groups were tourists on the one hand and hosts on the other, as I aimed at comparing the viewpoints of both groups. Given my experience with the different tourist locations in Zanzibar, I also decided to collect data in different locations, i.e. a) in Stone Town where culturally interested tourists visit the sights of the Old Town, a UNESCO World Heritage site, b) in Nungwi on the North coast where tourists go for beach holidays and there are many package tourists,

and c) Paje on the East coast where kite surfers and other water sports enthusiasts spend their holidays. This equally afforded for a wide variety of work environments among the hosts. I then aimed at finding 20 participants among each of the groups; in the end I was able to collect data from 22 tourists and 18 hosts[5]. As Q was developed for studying individual viewpoints of only few participants (Stephenson 1935, 1953), it works extremely well with small participant groups such as mine. Q does not claim generalizability or representativeness and I do not claim either for my results. Rather, Q aims at illustrating the range of views, sometimes conceptualized as discourses, on a topic among the participants (cf. e.g. Stainton Rogers 1997/1998). The subjectivity of this step of the research process, i.e. selection of the participants, and my study in general is demonstrated again here.

A short overview of the socio-demographic background information of the tourist group, whose responses are taken up in the Section on the statistical analysis, is provided in Table 1.

Participant	**Been to Africa before**	**Length of holiday**	**Native language(s)**	**Other language(s)**
T1SlfST	no	6 days	Slovenian	English
T2GERfST	Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania	7 days	German	English
T3NLmST	Morocco, Tunisia, Kenya, South Africa	8 days	Dutch	English, some Bahasa Indonesia, some German
T4GERfST	Egypt	14 days	German	English, French, Kiswahili
T5UKfST	13 different countries	11 days	English	French
T6JPmST	Egypt, Senegal	18 days	Japanese	English, Chinese, German
T7KORfST	no	3 days	Korean	English
T8USmST	no	9 days	English	NA

[5] One Q-sort from the hosts' group could not be used because the participant did not finish it. I thus ended up with 17 Q-sorts from the hosts.

T9UKRfN	Egypt	10 days	Ukranian	English, Russian
T10ITmN	Tanzania	4 days	Italian	French, some English, some Kiswahili
T11ITmN	9 different countries	4 days	Italian	English
T12USfN	no	6 days	English	NA
T13UKBrafN	no	8 days	Portuguese	English, Spanish
T14TZfN	6 different countries	3 days	Kiswahili	English, Chinese
T15DKmN	Tanzania	5 days	Danish	English, Kiswahili
T16NLfP	Egypt	4 days	Dutch	English
T17PKmP	Tanzania	4 days	Urdu	English, Punjabi, Kiswahili
T18BfP	Morocco, Burkina Faso	7 days	French	English, Spanish
T19USfP	South Africa	14 days	English	Mandarin
T20GERfP	Egypt	19 days	German	some English
T21DKfP	Malawi	14 days	Danish	English
T22AUTmP	Tanzania	14 days	German	English

Table 1. Socio-demographic background of the tourist participants

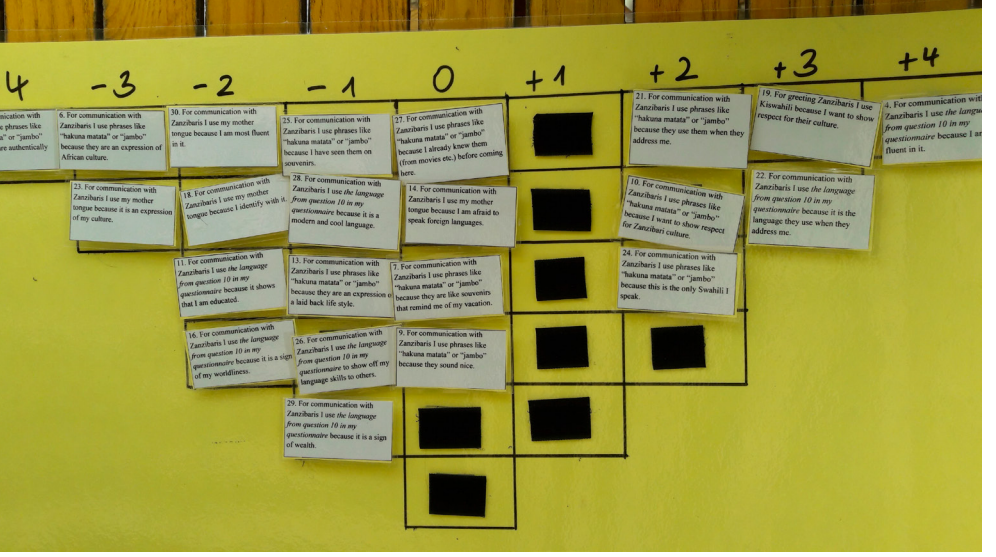


Figure 4. Sorting grid used for the Q-sort in Zanzibar (© Susanne Mohr)

Performing a Q-sort

A Q-sort initially seems similar to a scale in a questionnaire but is different in one important aspect. This step of Q-methodology consists of the participants rank ordering the Q-sample, in my study printed on cards, according to (dis) agreement with the statements. While this is similar to Likert-type scales, the important difference is that in a Q-sort the participant evaluates all statements *in relation* to each other, thus expressing their personal viewpoint on a topic. This step is possibly the one that is least likely to be subject to any influence by the researcher's opinion, however, influence by their presence is likely and awareness of that influence can only be reached by reflexivity (cf. Wijngaarden 2016).

During the sorting process I did not comment on any of the choices my participants made or on any of their comments concerning the statements, trying to minimize my influence. In several cases, however, I had to make clear that the statements on the cards were not my own opinion. It was only after the participants had finished sorting that I engaged in a conversation, sometimes offering my own opinion on the subject and engaging in a dialogue (cf. Paris & Winn 2014). This is in line with general practice that involves a follow up interview after the sort. In these conversations, I also usually asked about the things my participants had written in the brief questionnaire they filled in before doing the sort, like previous travels to Africa or their motivation for working in tourism. I also gave them the opportunity to ask me questions, according to the idea that in fieldwork, the interrogation goes both ways (Davies 2000). I have never received as many requests for information on the results of my study as I did using Q, which demonstrates the appropriateness of the methodology for the topic and for engaging with participants.

I did not audio-record any of the conversations as is generally advised (Watts & Stenner 2012) because it quickly transpired that most participants were not comfortable with that. For the sort itself I used a forced 4-point scale distribution, i.e. a fixed grid shaped like a bell curve upside down (Figure 4). I decided to do this as it is usually easier to complete a sort in a forced distribution than applying a free sort, in which participants would be able to assign as many statements a -4, -3, -2 etc. value as they wish, leaving some points on the grid empty (Watts & Stenner 2012). In practice, only few participants complained that they would have preferred a free distribution. The grid was laminated and little pieces of Velcro affixed to the individual squares to allow for conditions on the often windy beach.

I chose a 4-point scale, which results in a relatively flat distribution that is well suited for participants familiar with a topic and likely to have strong opinions on it (Watts & Stenner 2012: 80). As my participants were all immediately concerned with the subject, I suspected that they would have strong opinions. It turned out that they did and that my distribution could have been even flatter as there were several people who felt they needed more fields on either end of the scale. This also shows the subjectivity of my choice in this regard.

Conducting an inverse factor analysis

The last step in Q is rather quantitative, consisting of the conduction of a factor analysis, clustering participants according to common views. This was executed using the dedicated software package PQMethod (Schmolck 2014). For the tourist group, four factors were extracted and rotated[6], explaining 64% of the study variance. 19 of 22 sorts loaded significantly on one of these factors, a factor loading of +/- 0.47 was significant at the $p < .01$ level.

Participants significantly associated with one factor share one common viewpoint. So called exemplars, i.e. sorts conducted by the individual participants, were then merged to form what is called a *factor array*, a single typical Q-sort for each factor. The factor array is calculated according to a procedure of weighted averaging. To interpret it, the statistical analysis has to be combined with the researcher's understanding of the subject matter, and possibly participant comments, emphasizing the subjective nature of this step. In my study, I combined the statistics with the socio-demographic data of the participants, observations, as well as participants' comments in the interview to interpret the factor arrays. The interpretation of one factor among my tourist participants is provided as an example in the following Section.

An insight into tourists' views on language choices in the tourist space of Zanzibar

My study aimed at finding out *for what reasons* tourists and hosts use the language practices that have been found to form part of the tourists' and hosts' linguistic repertoires in the tourist space of Zanzibar (Mohr 2018b). Given its focus on uncovering subjective viewpoints, I considered Q-methodology well suited for answering this question. The method's emphasis on subjectivity also made me aware of *my own stance* towards the topic repeatedly, thus making the research process an interrogation that truly went both ways (Davies 2000) and emphasizing Q-methodology's value in terms of reflexive approaches. For instance, I had to remind myself not to get involved too much or show feelings of annoyance towards the choice of certain language practices among my participants. I did, at one point, also lay a Q-sort myself in order to find out where I stood in relation to my participants' views, similar to other techniques of self-reflection employed in research, such as self-interviews (cf. Bolam et al. 2003). In this way, I stayed conscious of my identity as a researcher, which crucially incorporates my observational standpoint (Wijngaarden 2016).

[6] Factor rotation is not a common procedure in factor analysis. However, in Q-methodology, it allows for a by-participant instead of by-variable analysis.

In the following, I provide an interpretation of the first and most common viewpoint on language choices among the tourists, unified by the idea of "respect for host culture above anything else" on the tourists' part, thus illustrating the process of interpretation in a Q-study. Nine participants are significantly associated with this factor, six are female, three are male, their average age is 44. They were interviewed at all three locations of data collection in Zanzibar and stayed there for an average of 7.1 days. One of them (T18BfP) had been to Zanzibar before, six had already been to other African countries. The participants' nationalities are Belgian, Brazilian, Dutch, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Pakistani, Slovenian, and Ukrainian. Two of them speak Kiswahili and all of them reported to use English most frequently with Zanzibaris, except for T17PKmP who lives in Tanzania and mentioned both Kiswahili and English.

The most important motivation for making language choices in this group is a performance of respect for an imaginary host culture, which is why I later on called this viewpoint "performance of imaginaries" (Mohr in press). The importance of performance on the tourist "stage" has been emphasized by Edensor (2001), the (re)production of imaginaries in tourism by Salazar (2006), for instance. This reported practice, i.e. linguistically respecting the host culture, among the tourist group equally applies to Zanzibari culture (10: +4, 19: +3, 2: +2)[7], as it does to what they perceive as African culture in general (6: +2). For them, these two concepts seem interchangeable as also exemplified by their lack of distinction between Kiswahili and Hakuna Matata Swahili, as a touristified, simplified version of Kiswahili (Nassenstein 2019), e.g. *jambo* lacking a person and negative marker like *si-* (= 1S.NEG) or *hu-* (= 2SNEG). The participants report to use HMS and Kiswahili to almost the same degree (10: +4 for HMS, 19: +3 for Kiswahili). The fact that the participants cannot distinguish between Kiswahili proper and HMS possibly stems from the fact that most of them do not speak Kiswahili proper, which is underlined by T7KORfST's question uttered before the sort, concerning what Kiswahili is. This is in line with the participants perceiving *hakuna matata* or *jambo* to be authentically African (20: +1), thus merging all African languages and cultures into one overarching concept. This might be due to the presence of HMS expressions in the mainstream media worldwide, where Kiswahili is depicted as a symbol for the African continent as a whole (cf. Halliday 2014). Due to this influence, expressions like *hakuna matata* can also be found in the linguistic landscape of other African countries, such as South Africa (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Shop sign in a mall in Cape Town (© Susanne Mohr)

[7] The number before the colon refers to the number of the statement, i.e. 1 to 30, the number after the colon refers to the ranking of the statement, i.e. -4 to +4.

This also makes many people acquainted with HMS expressions: the participants have not specifically learnt any for their vacation (5: -1), possibly because they did not need to. They have a media-influenced, sometimes even cartoonish idea of Africa (and Zanzibar in extension) as shown by T11ITmN wearing a t-shirt with a picture of "Tintin in Africa", a famous Belgian cartoon whose depiction of people from Africa is rather racist, on it. This idea of Africa and Zanzibar that is not according to fact is emphasized by the rating of several other statements. The fact that Zanzibaris understand Kiswahili best (15: -1) or use it when addressing tourists (8: 0), seems to be of little importance for the participants' language choices. (Dis) agreement with these ideas significantly (at the $p < .01$ level) distinguishes them from the other viewpoints, i.e. factors, identified ($z = -0.18$ and $z = 0.25$ respectively). This implies that these tourists have their own impression of Zanzibari (or African) culture, in which real Zanzibari interlocutors only play a small role.

Least important for the participants' language choices is showing off their language skills in front of others (3: -3, 26: -2, 29: -3).

Conclusion

This paper aimed at illustrating the importance of subjectivity and reflexivity in (socio) linguistic work on tourism, particularly in the field. A researcher's positionality crucially impacts every step of the research process, which I have illustrated using examples from my research on language choices in the tourist space of Zanzibar. I have also demonstrated that Q-methodology, although developed for psychology, can be a helpful, reflective tool in making a researcher aware of their subjectivity and in navigating the difficult waters of "the field" as political space (Dimitriadis 2001) in (socio)linguistics. Many factors, including the traditions of our discipline, affect which approaches we apply to our research or what we see in our data. This paper is a plea to acknowledge the importance of self-reflexivity to become aware of these influences, this subjectivity, no matter which particular research methodology we use. Ultimately, this constructionist approach seems well suited to produce better research, whether under the guise of third person objective accounts or first person narratives.

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