

Translation and Translanguaging in Production
and Performance in Community Arts

Jessica Mary Bradley

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For Emilia, Isabelle and Tim

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Lake Bohinj, August 2016

Abstract

This thesis is an ethnographic investigation of the processes involved in producing a collaborative piece of street arts theatre. It addresses a current shift in theories of dynamic multilingualism, specifically *translanguaging*, towards the multimodal and the embodied. It asks how people make meaning across languages, cultures and practices. It also asks how people *make* meaning and *perform* meaning across spaces and places, about the resources they have and use, and how these resources are drawn on in multiple ways to make and perform meaning.

By taking the theatre of the street as its central concern, this research informs current understandings of multilingual and multimodal communication in arts-based settings. The findings extend theoretical understandings of translanguaging and further develop empirically grounded knowledge about how people communicate when developing a shared project.

A range of research approaches was adopted for this study, including linguistic ethnography, visual ethnography and sensory ethnography. The research focuses on the *trans-semiotisation* of a story – a thread - as it undergoes a series of transformations during the production process to become, in its final incarnation, a performance in the street. In focusing on collaborative street arts, it raises theoretical questions around the extent to which the concept of translanguaging can encompass the multimodal and the embodied. It also addresses a need for innovative approaches to understanding communication in transdisciplinary projects. Its findings are relevant across disciplines and sectors, including for cross-sector arts-based project settings, for street arts practitioners, and for arts-informed pedagogy and community arts. Methodologically, this study illustrates and evidences the centrality of ethnography as an approach to understanding communication across spaces and places. In particular, it highlights the role of short, intensive periods of ethnographic study within the context of a wider commitment to collaborative working and the insights made possible through this way of working.

Academic publications arising from this thesis

A full list of academic publications arising from this research is included in Appendix G, alongside a list of conference presentations and invited speaking events.

Key publications, sole and jointly authored, which relate directly to the findings from this research, were bound and submitted in a separate document.

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Part I: Conceptualisation

Chapter One: Introduction

In the rich highlands of the Julian Alps, the White Ladies and Zlatorog protect the forests.

Visoko v Julijskih Alpah živijo bele zene in Zlatorog, ki varujejo gozdove.

In the lowlands of Lake Bohinj live a Hunter and a Farmgirl.

V dolini ob Bohinjskem jezeru živita lovec in kmečko dekle.

The Hunter goes to the mountains every day to hunt. He takes enough, and never too much.

Lovec vsak dan odide v gore na lov. V dolino nikoli ne prinese vec, kot je potrebno.

(Script written for How Much Is Enough?, June 2015)



1.1. Prologue

This is a thesis about communication. It was carried out as part of the wider Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded project, 'Translation and Translanguaging: Investigating Linguistics and Cultural Transformations in Superdiverse Wards in Four UK Cities' (2014-2018, henceforth TLANG). It is about processes of collaboration in community arts and street arts production. It focuses on a thread – a story – as it undergoes a series of transformations (or resemiotisations) to become a piece of devised street theatre, performed across squares and streets in Slovenia. It follows a group of performers as they work together to conceptualise a production, source and make puppets, costumes and props, devise a piece of theatre and subsequently perform it. It seeks to make visible the mechanisms underpinning this process and focus on interactions and intra-actions within and around these stages.

1.2. On 'speaking' and 'not speaking'

Speakers need access to discourses and knowledges which are socially structured for the purposes at hand; they need to know how to formulate these knowledges in the appropriate register and how to embed them in an (inter) active event; and they need to be able to speak (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001:9).

Speakers need to be able to 'speak'. So say Kress and van Leeuwen. In order to do so, they need to be able to access resources that suit both their needs as speakers and the contexts in which they are speaking. For street performers, 'speaking', as a verbal act, is not assumed. Interaction is not only verbal. It is, in many cases, non-verbal. Street performance is highly visual. In street arts, the processes of communicating multimodally, across modes (Rowse, 2013:2) and of 'transduction' (Kress, 1997), are made acutely visible in sites of great risk and great provisionality (Kress, 2012). Focusing on the mode as 'the outcome of the cultural shaping of a material' (Jewitt, 2009:300 in Rowse, 2013:2) enables a richer understanding of how performers access discourses and knowledges for communicating across languages, across cultures, and across practices. A study seeking to take into account the multimodality of communication must therefore take into account a large number of variables (Latour, 1996).

Street performers, as 'speakers', need to have communicative resources from which to draw, appropriate to the context and to the piece of art they are creating and performing. They also

design and create objects to be used within the production and performance. The production, performance, objects and performers create each other.

1.3. On 'translanguaging'

This study takes the sociolinguistic concept of translanguaging (García, 2009; García and Li, 2014; Otheguy et al., 2015; MacSwan, 2017) as its central concept. Translanguaging offers an orientation to dynamic multilingualism which focuses on the individual repertoire (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972 (1986); Busch, 2012; 2014; Rymes, 2014) and its fluid deployment. Much contested as a concept (for example, Jaspers, 2017), translanguaging, for Otheguy and colleagues, is:

the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages (Otheguy et al., 2015:281, original emphases).

This clarification of what translanguaging might be, or even *ought to be*, implies that translanguaging as a concept enables understanding of how 'speakers' – those who need to speak and to be able to speak - draw from their full communicative repertoire. Not only this, but how they might do so without particular attention to *which* named language they might be using. It considers that languages within an individual's repertoire are neither bounded nor autonomous. Instead, they are fluid. Likewise their deployment is fluid.

Any research grounded in translanguaging, seeking to understand how people might draw from their whole communicative repertoires in interaction, must go beyond what Otheguy and colleagues describe as the 'socially and politically defined boundaries' of languages. This extends further, with researchers going beyond boundaries 'within' language to going beyond 'language' itself (Zhu et al., 2017; Kusters et al., 2017; Blackledge and Creese, 2017). In this study the focus is on processes of production of a piece of street theatre based on the traditional folk story of a magical goat with golden horns originating from the Julian Alps in Slovenia. The research follows the story as it is gradually and deliberately developed into a performance by a process characterised by what I describe as scripted emergence. Although originally intended to be 'non-verbal', the resultant production includes multilingual 'verbal' language. The performance is, like all performance, multimodal (e.g. Darvin, 2015), and includes puppets, actors, props, 'found objects', music, and, as a crucial late addition, verbal language. The production embodies a contrast or tension between language which, according to Kress 'is necessarily a temporally, sequentially organised mode' and the visual

which is a 'spatially and simultaneously organised mode' (1999:79). It also questions this contrast: is the language within the performance also spatially organised and is the visual therefore temporally and sequentially organised?

Street artists speak in the street. They are emplaced (Pink, 2011), their bodies 'parts of places' (p.347). They actively seek to communicate with shoppers, with passers-by, with commuters, with tourists, with the old, with the young. They communicate with those who are deliberately watching. And they also communicate with those who did not seek to watch. There are no tickets, no cordons, and no barriers. Anyone physically present in the street can participate. This study, therefore, takes translanguaging as a concept which goes beyond 'named languages' to incorporate the multimodal, the embodied, the material and the emplaced through focusing on street artists. It develops a methodology, grounded in ethnography, which takes into account a large number of variables to bring the communicative practices into presence. It moves from the study of interaction to consideration of intra-action (Barad, 2007), which, for Barad in her discussion of agential realism, '*signifies the mutual constitution of entangled agencies*' (p.33, original italics):

There are no solutions; there is only the ongoing practice of being open and alive to each meeting, each intra-action, so that we might use our ability to respond, our responsibility, to help awaken, to breathe life into ever new possibilities for living justly (p.x).

1.4. The speaking of slices of stories

In March 2015 I started the data collection that encompassed the street arts production process forming the central core of this thesis. In July 2015 the performance took place and data collection was theoretically complete. However, with an ethnographic approach, the data collection periods are not neatly bounded. Therefore, this piece of research takes the form of an evolving investigation conducted over the course of four years. A description of the research process which developed over this period and which resulted in this thesis is woven into the chapters that follow.

The study follows the trajectory of a folk story which forms the central thread for the investigation. For the purposes of this thesis, the thread starts its life as a story told by an actor in a former church. It then undergoes a series of multiple resemiotisations. Shifting shape, shifting mode, shifting semiotic field, the story mutates and travels as multiple texts. Eventually, five months after it is first told, it is performed across city streets and squares for

an international street arts festival in Slovenia. Of course, the story long predated its telling in those particular locations. And the story continues to travel. This thesis, therefore, is a snapshot. As Heller states in describing ethnographies of bilingualism, 'ethnographies allow us to get at things we would otherwise never be able to discover' (2008:250). Ethnographies, she continues, are our own story:

Ethnographies allow us to tell a story; not someone else's story exactly, but *our own story of some slice of experience*, a story which illuminates social processes and generates explanations for why people do and think the things they do (ibid).

This thesis represents a slice of experience: a slice of a story, a story that is told and retold multiple times and in multiple ways. It seeks to understand and show how the performers do the things they do and what else is at play. But it is also my own story of the slice of experience. It is partial. And like all ethnography, it is incomplete. It aims to illuminate, in the ways that Heller describes, but it also aims to disrupt and develop new ways of thinking about translanguaging and its affordances for understanding processes of production and collaboration.

1.5. Speaking of texts

The use of 'text' within this thesis draws broadly from the social semiotic theoretical perspective (Bezemer and Kress, 2017; 2010; Kress, 2010). The texts described here are multiple and multimodal. Their multimodality, following Bezemer and Kress, 'is intimately connected with profound changes in the social relations between those who make and those who engage with the text' (2010:10) and 'motivated by the signmaker' (2017:513). The texts form a point of tension for collaboratively produced projects. In this case the emergent community of practice or transient multilingual community which develops around the production guides and shapes the story through the multiple processes of resemiotisation. For the performance, the anticipated audience and the space into which the story is projected, in addition to the threads that intertwine across the multiple resemiotisations, determine the subsequent modalities and gains and losses (Bezemer and Kress, 2008).

1.6. Speaking of ethnography

This thesis is, in many ways, a critical ethnography (Foley, 2002; Thomas, 1993, see also 3.7). I continue to deliberately use the term *ethnography* to broadly situate the approach I have taken across the process of this work. But I do so consciously and with the awareness that, as

Ingold states, ethnography can be constraining (2017). If ethnographers commit to a 'descriptive fidelity', Ingold explains, anthropology is 'speculative':

But in what I write I can at least argue for what I consider to be true, or as close to the truth as I can attain, in the light of my reading, the conversations I have had, and my own critical reflection (Ingold, 2017:23).

Committing to researching *with people* and to engaging in common activities *with people* is committing to providing evidence for our claims and to account for our observations (Miller, 2017). But, as Ingold argues, it is not a commitment to represent or to speak to the views and opinions of the people with whom I have been working. Herein lies a tension which I foreground within this thesis. As with Heller's description of ethnographies of multilingualism, the resulting discussion is the researcher's story of the stories. The researcher's slice of experience and the researcher's interpretation. My story, my slice of experience and my interpretation.

I present the views of my participants to some extent through the analysis of the decisions and processes behind each series of resemiotisations and each transformation. But the analysis reflects my reading, my conversations, my observations, and my own critical reflection. It is my contribution to knowledge and it is my interpretation of research findings gained through 'educational correspondence' (Ingold, 2014:393).

1.7. On 'speaking' for others

Here, therefore, in this text (an account of other texts, a travelling story) I do not claim to speak for the people with whom I have been engaging in 'educational correspondence'. Instead, I speak for myself, through the training and intellectual development that has opened up for me through writing this thesis. The process has been both 'experimental and interrogative' (Ingold, 2017:24), in the way that anthropology should be.

The research processes too, as threads connecting the story of the production and the story of this research, travel. This thesis can necessarily only attend to a small part of what was observed. The processes involved in finding a research site and developing research relationships are outlined in Chapter Three. Attention is consciously given to this stage as integral to the research itself and to my understandings of the story I am telling about the stories I observed, heard, recorded, and wrote down. As researcher, I contributed to many of these stories and I seek to make this visible in the analysis.

1.8. Speaking of participant observation

The analysis focuses on a five-month research period within the broader context of a longer-term commitment to working in collaboration with those involved. The data collection took place in short, intensive time periods. Across and beyond these I conducted an in-depth study with the West Yorkshire-based arts organisation, Faceless Arts, who at the time were embarking on a project with a Slovenia-based arts organisation, the Ana Monro Theatre, to devise, produce and perform a piece of street theatre for an annual street arts summer festival, Ana Desetnica. The longer-term commitment took the form of a series of collaborative projects working with the Artistic Director, Bev Adams, and linking to the TLANG project (Simpson and Bradley 2016; 2017, see Appendix F). These experiences are also shaped and enhanced by a number of aligned projects for which I worked with visual and performance artists (e.g. McKay and Bradley, 2016; Bradley et al., 2018 and Bradley and Atkinson, 2019 forthcoming).

1.9. On 'speaking the language'

Piller makes the point that multilingualism is frequently studied through the lens of monolingualism (2016), stating that it is often assumed that researchers can attend to languages they do not speak in their research, being 'surprisingly coy' (p.26) when questioned about their language abilities. My academic background is in Modern Languages. I studied French and Spanish at undergraduate level and I hold an MA in Applied Translation Studies. I do not speak Slovene, the language in which many of the actors communicated during the production process, although over the process of the research I have become more familiar with it. I am aware that this raises an important question about research validity. During my research, I observed how language (bounded, named languages) became a creative lens. Less a focus of analysis, which 'language' performers were using became less relevant and less interesting (Li, 2017). Translanguaging, for the performers, as communicative practice, was normal and unremarkable. Multilingualism is the norm. Across the course of the production, spaces opened up for the actors to draw from and extend their communicative repertoires. These repertoires go beyond languages, and beyond language. This relates to Otheguy and colleagues' understanding of the idiolect as 'unique', belonging to the individual, while also shifting to consider the shared affordances of repertoire:

An idiolect is for us a person's own unique, personal language, the person's *mental grammar* that emerges in interaction with other speakers and enables the person's use of language (Otheguy et al., 2015:289).

I approach this research through my own repertoire which extended towards the academic genre of the doctoral thesis. The study also reflexively considers language in terms of the concepts of multi- and mono- lingualism, and disruption of these categories (see also Busch, 2012).

1.10. Thesis structure

There are four main parts to this thesis which also follow the study's analytical structure. Part I, *Conceptualisation*, outlines the context and foundations for the study, the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings, the research questions and the framing literature. Part II, *Making*, describes the methodology and analytical frameworks for the research. Part III, *Devising*, forms the analytical core of the thesis, with the analysis divided across four stages of the production process. Part IV, *Performance*, draws together the analysis and presents the research findings and conclusions.

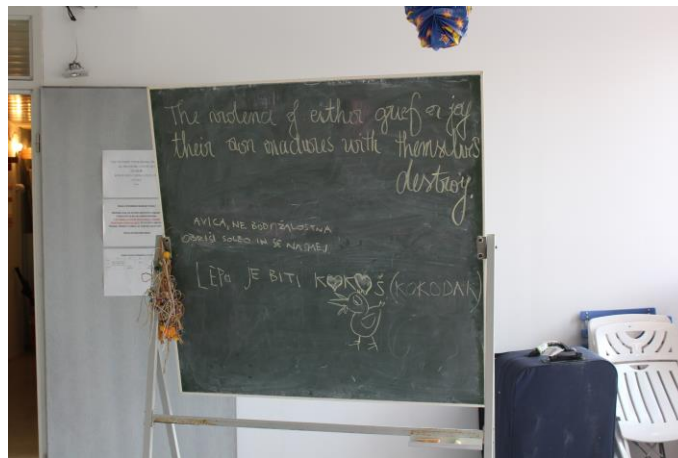
1.11. Summary

In this chapter I introduced the study and the background to the research. Chapter Two focuses on the core theoretical underpinnings of this study and the intellectual debates to which this research contributes.

Chapter Two: Theoretical underpinnings

Seeing comes before words. The child looks and recognizes before it can speak.

But there is also another sense in which seeing comes before words. It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world; we explain that world with words, but words can never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it (Berger, 1972:7).



2.1. Introduction

The context of this study – street arts production and performance - raised important theoretical and methodological questions from the outset. Why focus research into multilingual and multimodal communicative practices on street arts? Why puppet-based performance? Why integrate the puppets, masks, objects and the act of puppetry itself into a study focused on translanguaging? How can a *translanguaging* approach encompass creative practice and objects?

This chapter therefore sets out another story, outlining the key theories underpinning this thesis and the research areas to which my work contributes. In its discussion of the framing literature, it establishes a thread connecting theories of dynamic multilingualism, space, multimodality and moves towards materiality and intra-action. Here I also identify the ‘gap’ in the field directly addressed by this research.

First, theories of dynamic multilingualism are mapped out. *Translanguaging* (García and Li, 2014) is introduced and contextualised as the central theoretical concept for this thesis and as a lens for understanding dynamic communication across spaces and practices. Second, I consider spatial theories of communication, and make connections between the concept of translanguaging space (Li, 2011; García and Li, 2014; Li, 2014; Zhu et al., 2017) and spatial repertoires (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2014; 2015; Blackledge, Creese and Hu, 2016; Pennycook, 2017a), as extending across communicative and spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1991). Third, I discuss the concept of the communicative repertoire, building on the interactional sociolinguistics of Gumperz (1962; 1968; 1971; 1982) and Hymes (1974; 1980) and its development towards repertoire-based approaches to communication and multilingualism (Blommaert, 2010; Busch, 2012; 2014; 2015; Rymes, 2010; 2014). Fourth, stemming from the contrasting paradigm of Hallidayan systemics, multimodality (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; 2001) is introduced as a holistic and expansive approach to the analysis of the communicative practices of the street performers across the processes of production which enables analytical extension to the non-verbal and the objects which are created. Building on translanguaging and its multimodal affordances, the current shift of translanguaging-based theories of communication towards embodiment is then described and critiqued. Fifth, post-human theories around intra-action (Barad, 2007) are considered and the thread between inter- and intra-action - as explored within this thesis - is set out. As theoretical scaffolding, this is then brought into dialogue with the analytical frameworks developed in Chapter Four. Finally, the key research questions underpinning this thesis are established.

2.2. Dynamic multilingualism and translanguaging

2.2.1. Language and symbolic power

Berger states that seeing comes before words (1972:7). As children learn, they see before they can speak. Of course they see language, and when they do start to 'speak', patterns of social life emerge. As Blommaert puts it, 'attention to the small details of language usage offers a privileged entrance into broader and less immediate social, cultural and political patterns' (2014:83). Language, therefore, and the minutiae of language usage as analytical foci can develop new understandings of broader practices and patterns. Bourdieu viewed communication, exchanges, interactions as sites in which symbolic power is made visible (1990:37). For Bourdieu, 'there are no neutral words' (p.40), and he considers the impossibility of a 'neutralised language' as a way of communicating across difference, across practice, across power relations as necessary for achieving any kind of consensus (ibid). A tension arises, therefore, between approaches to communication for which the focus is on language and its relation to power, and approaches which decentre language. As Hymes states, 'the dialectic of potential and actual comes together in narrative' (1992:1). This dialectic becomes visible and audible in language, with its lack of neutrality made prominent.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus (e.g. 1990; 2000) considers how people's behaviour, thinking, experiences and belonging(s) come together in any kind of social action (see Blackledge et al., 2016). Habitus, or the historical body (Scollon and Scollon, 2004), is a way of being and a way of doing that is inherited. In a study of communication in the Library of Birmingham, Blackledge and colleagues, drawing from Bakhtin, Goffman and the work of the Scollons, describe the ways of being and doing as looking backwards to what is inherited and forwards to what might be in the complex and diverse social world:

The social arena, perhaps especially the superdiverse social arena, incorporates discourse that is multivoiced, as utterances are shaped by those that precede them and anticipate those that will succeed them (Blackledge et al, 2016:10).

Taking this perspective, within the creative arts spaces and street arts in the case of the current study, utterances are multivoiced, shaped by those which have gone before, and anticipating what will happen next (and specifically the devised production). These spaces and places in which interactions take place are zones of tension, or contact zones (Pratt, 1991), in which hierarchies between historical bodies in space are foregrounded. From a Bourdieuan perspective, language is one area in which these hierarchies are marked, in

which they stand out. Language should, therefore, retain its focus. But yet, much more than 'language' is serving to communicate within these spaces.

Developing from Gumperz' repertoire-based scholarship (1978) and the concept of *crosstalk*, as a way of theorising the communicative misunderstandings he observed through his research with Indian English speakers in London, Rymes describes how the concept of 'repertoire' is now used to encompass ways of communication which go beyond 'language' to encompass non-linguistic features (2010). Any study of communication must reconcile the inarguable centrality and role of language with the visual, the material, and the gestural (Thurlow, 2016). Blackledge and Creese (2017) posit that current research in translanguaging and dynamic multilingualism shifts away from the emphasis on language towards approaches that encompass the many other resources which are deployed by speakers in any given interaction (p.251). As Rymes puts it, multiple elements come into play in any communicative situation:

The way someone is dressed, the color of their skin, the length of their hair, the way they sit during an interview or what kind of bag they carry their papers in all may have an effect on how encounters with diversity unfold (Rymes, 2014:7).

Non-verbal communicative and often embodied elements, including clothes, skin colour, hairstyle, posture and accessories, all serve as social action. They communicate. Yet, attention to these 'non-verbal' elements must keep account of the non-neutrality of language and its continued symbolic power. There is a clear tension. This tension inevitably presents itself when approaching multimodality from a linguistic ethnographic perspective, which mainly uses language as a lens (Bezemer and Jewitt, 2018). In attending to a large number of variables, researchers must negotiate their analysis in ways that do not detract from language's symbolic power and the inherent, inbuilt structural inequalities embodied by language. These variables include the spaces in which the interactions take place and the non-verbal communicative elements, in addition to language - in this sense, all the elements in which the historical body is imbued. Bourdieu argues that it is vital to remember that:

the relations of communication *par excellence* – linguistic exchanges – are also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualised (Bourdieu, 1991:37).

Within the context of ethnographically-informed approaches to language in society, Hymes believed that linguistics should start with diversity (Johnstone and Marcellino, 2010). For Hymes, the separation of what people *do* with language and the *context* (the spaces in which

they *do things with language*) is artificial. In Hymes' work, language is a site of inequality, with those varieties of language (of English) which are viewed as 'non-standard' often being viewed as 'deficient' (1996:209).

Bourdieu and Hymes approach, therefore, from similar standpoints. Language is pivotal as the focus of analysis for an understanding of communication and social (in)equalities and social (in)justice. But this focus on *language* must be integrated within a broader, ethnographic approach which can encompass the historical, in terms of what lies behind, in the past, what is here, in the present, and what might lie ahead, in the future, for each utterance. And yet, language is always part of a 'wider assemblage' (Appleby and Pennycook, 2017:247).

2.2.2. Introducing translanguaging

Translanguaging is one analytical lens which considers how people use language (Jaspers and Madsen, 2016). It seeks to open out ways of understanding how people draw from and combine multiple resources in communication. As previously stated, a useful definition is provided by Otheguy and colleagues:

Translanguaging is the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages (Otheguy et al., 2015:281, original emphasis).

Translanguaging can be considered an ontological stance. A pedagogical translanguaging stance (García, 2009; García and Li, 2014) actively enables people to draw from their communicative repertoires in the classroom. Otheguy and colleagues argue that for the majority of the time and in the majority of contexts, 'monolinguals', seen in contrast to 'bi-' and 'multi'-linguals, have implied permission to draw from their full repertoires (2015:297). However, there are limits to 'fullness', and the authors admit that it is unusual to encounter a situation in which any speaker (whether perceived as mono-, bi-, or multi-lingual) can use their repertoire completely freely:

Neither monolinguals nor bilinguals ever engage in fully unfettered translanguaging, for the trivial reason that monolinguals regularly suppress those features of their repertoire (usually lexical ones) that are inappropriate for certain settings or interlocutors (Otheguy et al., 2015:304).

A clarification is therefore offered. The affordances and possibilities of translanguaging relate closely to the context: to *opportunities* for translanguaging practice. Speakers do not

communicate however they wish in any given situation, drawing *fully* from their entire communicative repertoire, regardless of what might be required or indeed appropriate. This idea presents not only an impossibility but potential incoherence. Instead, it is the affordances of a particular interactional space for an individual to draw from their full repertoire, or 'idiolect', as these authors also put it, without consideration for which 'named language' or resource is being used. In this sense, it enables an individual to communicate without external regulation in terms of a named language. Lüdi and Py (2009) describe the individual speaker:

a free and active subject who has amassed a repertoire of resources and who activates this repertoire according to his/her need, knowledge or whims, modifying or combining them where necessary' (p.159).

This individual, as 'a free and active subject', is able to use their own judgement to 'activate' their repertoire as they see fit. Arguably this is an idealist orientation within a 'heteroglossic language ideology' (MacSwan 2017:167). Framing as *linguaging* (Becker, 1995), rather than *language*, conceptualises a process in *constant becoming*. Linguaging is understood as 'the unique human capacity to change the world through communication with others by means of language' (Jørgensen and Juffermans, 2011, see also Møller and Jørgensen, 2009). The repertoire is never complete, it is never finished. It is a 'contingent space of potentialities' (Busch, 2012:19).

Naming phenomena, as translanguaging does, draws attention to what is, in fact, very ordinary communicative practice. The question of *how* translanguaging might be analysed and what should be drawn from this analysis has been often discussed (Jaspers and Madsen, 2016; MacSwan, 2017). Should the focus be on 'which' 'languages' are being 'translanguaged'? Blommaert suggests that in codeswitching analyses, 'the distinction between (L)anguages is rarely the most salient aspect of the issue' (2013:3). This raises the question: if not 'language', or even '(L)anguage', then what?

In recent years, multiple approaches to dynamic multilingualism have developed, including translanguaging. Jaspers and Madsen (2016) critique the potentially confusing and imprecise widespread uptake of these different conceptual lenses in terms of the fluctuations between their use as description, as pedagogy, and as theory (p.236). For Jaspers and Madsen, our world is unavoidably 'linguagised' (p.237) and as human beings we must ultimately 'invest in separate languages' (ibid), even if these languages might be a 'construct'. The tensions outlined here are undoubtedly ontological and echo critiques by

Piller (2016), who, using arguments developed from Berger's *Ways of Seeing* (1972), states that the multilingual turn in linguistics and language education (e.g. May, 2013; Conteh and Meier, 2014) is complicated by a monolingual approach to conducting and disseminating research (see 1.9). As Piller points out, 'academic understanding of multilingualism is skewed towards mediation through English' (p.27). However, she equally cautions against romanticising the multilingual text which can also prevent access to knowledge: multilingualism can be a gatekeeper. As found in research around English as a lingua franca in linguistic landscapes in superdiverse cities (Callaghan, 2015:20), a monolingual text written in English is potentially more inclusive (Piller, 2016:32). However, the appearance of the monolingual written form on streets and in academic publications frequently belies the continuing heterogeneous and multilingual realities behind the shop fronts and the printed page. Attention to everyday dynamic multilingual interactions suggests that a holistic approach be taken to enable a fuller analysis of dynamic multilingual and multimodal communication across space and place. Moreover, MacSwan (2017) warns that a translanguaging approach that rejects codeswitching and the existence of multilingualism (for example Makoni and Pennycook, 2005; 2007) risks losing attention to the inequalities embodied by language. Thus translanguaging and the divergent ways it is being used are contested and potentially problematic.

2.2.3. An historical perspective on dynamic multilingualism

In the second part of the last century, interactional sociolinguists developed approaches to understandings of how people know and use language. These include Gumperz (1968, 1982) whose scholarship drew attention to the centrality of language in understanding social life (and social problems) and who, working with Hymes (1972), developed the ethnography of communication as an approach to researching language in society, building on the work of Bloomfield (1933). Gumperz describes Bloomfield's work on speech communities and the 'intervening level of human communication which mediates between linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena' (1972[1986]:3-4). This 'intervening level' proved challenging empirically and technologically (p.4). He goes on to describe the borders of dialect (and language) as difficult to locate and analyse, adopting the notion of repertoire based on his ethnographic research in Indian marketplaces (1968) where he observed market traders drawing from a wide range of local languages. Theorisations of the linguistic repertoire aligned to dynamic multilingualism (e.g. Blommaert and Backus, 2013; Rymes, 2014) build directly on Gumperz's research in this area.

Concepts developed during this time, for example speech communities (Gumperz, 1964; 1968; Hymes, 1968; 1972; Fishman, 1972; Labov, 1972) as groups who ‘share knowledge of the communicative constraints and options governing a significant number of social situations’ (Gumperz, 1968:16), are now much critiqued (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011; Blommaert, 2013). Recent scholarship around ‘superdiversity’ (for example Vertovec, 2007; 2017) problematizes notions which suggest settled communities using language in a particular way with Rampton referring to the speech community as a ‘troubled term’ (2010:274), describing the shifts in understandings of communities and memberships in changing and fluid times. As he explains, few of us consider ourselves to belong to large, static communities that dictate our language and communicative behaviour (p.275).

The non-existence of the ‘stable’ speech community with its perfect speakers links to a renewed focus on repertoire (Blommaert and Backus, 2011; Busch, 2012). Building on historical orientations to repertoire, current repertoire-based research problematises bounded and named notions of *language*. Blommaert (2013) provides a useful summary of the general theoretical picture, differentiating between language and ‘(L)anguage’. In his view, ‘Languages’ are not used, in general, by people. Instead, people deploy ‘resources for communication’ in ‘practices of *linguaging*’ (p.4). This is understood as ‘doing’ language. ‘Languages’ are ideological units. Blommaert explains that when we purport to write or speak in a specific Language, we refer to the series of characteristics we are deploying, associated with that Language:

The collectable resources available to anyone at any point in time are a *repertoire*; repertoires are biographically emerging complexes of indexically ordered, and therefore functionally organised, resources. Repertoires include *every* resource used in communication – linguistic ones, semiotic ones, sociocultural ones (Blommaert, 2013:4, original emphases).

This orientation suggests that in drawing from specific resources we index ‘conventionalised (hence recognisable as meaningful) ordered patterns of deployed resources’ (ibid). The concept of a repertoire becomes increasingly important as an ‘emerging complex’ for each individual. Repertoire, therefore, is a collectable and emerging resource from which we draw. And repertoires are made up of multiple modes of communication.

2.2.4. Third space: the idiolect and distributed language

Bourdieu’s work illuminates current discussions around language, individual repertoires (Blommaert: 2015:2, and, for example, returning to Otheguy et al., 2015) and distributed

language (Cowley, 2012; Pennycook, 2017a; Callaghan et al., 2018). This pushes beyond the concept of the individual idiolect (Otheguy et al., 2015), as one which can be drawn on in different ways, depending on the context, to affordances of time and space. As Pennycook explains:

The notion of distributed cognition goes beyond the idea of extended mind (Clark, 2008) by operating not only on a *spatial* scale larger than the individual, but by expanding such insights *beyond* the cognitive affordances in immediate time and space towards broader cognitive ecosystems (Pennycook, 2017a:276, emphases added).

This poses significant questions for researchers in how these broader ecosystems might be understood. Bourdieu advocated for an ethnographic stance (Blommaert, 2015:3), arguing that the messiness of the research process should be made visible, with research presented in a state of 'becoming' (1992). This state of becoming links to the 'actual', as Blommaert explains:

language usage is an extraordinarily sensitive indicator of actual social ('macro') relationships and their dynamics, and such 'macro' features occur across the entire field of language in society (2015:10).

Bourdieu's methodological and epistemological concerns are relevant to a study of communication through a dynamic multilingual lens in the following ways:

- First, moving between the empirical data and theory to develop reflexive methodological and analytical approaches which can address the challenges posed by radical considerations of languaging which travel beyond the linguistic.
- Second, and importantly, as a methodological and analytical approach which can draw together languaging in terms of the individual, the social and the spatial.

However, there are methodological and epistemological challenges inherent with any ethnographically-oriented approach. These are addressed throughout this research.

2.2.5. Alternative approaches to dynamic multilingualism

García and Li suggest that translanguaging approaches communication from the dynamic perspective of the bilingual speaker (2017:2), moving away from what Blackledge and Creese describe as the 'shift or shuttle between two languages' (2017:251) and towards the concept of the (semiotic) repertoire. The challenge here is to what extent *translanguaging*

can incorporate wider semiosis (Research Question 3, 2.10). Moreover, this raises questions over whether and how translanguaging might extend further to objects and materiality, continuing the expansion of focus from the notion of individual idiolect to a spatially and socially constructed languaging (Pennycook, 2017a). There are clear analytical challenges arising from this (Rampton, 2006; Pennycook, 2007). But what can we learn from alternative approaches which serve to understand dynamic communication? Jaspers and Madsen refer to the 'flurry' (p.237) of names for theoretical approaches to this 'deconstruction of Language' (2016:237) and a short discussion of key 'alternative approaches' follows.

Heteroglossia

Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia (1981) has been developed in multilingual pedagogy by multiple scholars (e.g. Bailey, 2007; Blackledge and Creese, 2010; 2014). Heteroglossia acknowledges that there are 'traces of the social, political, and historical forces that have shaped it' (Blackledge and Creese, 2010:106) in every utterance. Crucially here, the concept of heteroglossia allows for both monolingual and multilingual approaches, enabling a focus on intertextuality. Proponents of heteroglossia suggest that it provides a theoretical lens for understanding the complex, evolving and superdiverse contexts in which people are communicating.

Disinventing and reinventing languages

A growing number of multilingualism scholars, among them Creese and Blackledge, argue that approaching multilingual communication from the lens of bounded languages (or Languages) is insufficient to understand the complexity of language in use and language in action (2015). As Li states, in addition to questioning '(L)anguages' as linked to nation-state building and colonisation, 'concepts such as native, foreign, indigenous, minority languages are also constantly being reassessed and challenged' (2017:15). The case for multilingual pedagogy, as pioneered by García in particular (2009, 2014, 2016, 2017) is made by multiple scholars (e.g. King and Bigelow, 2019 forthcoming), but while still acknowledging the existence of discrete (bounded) (L)anguages. There are clear tensions within these different orientations.

If translanguaging approaches consider bounded languages to be inscribed by nation states and mainly disregarded by individuals as they draw creatively from all elements of their communicative repertoires, to what extent might bounded 'named' (L)anguages even exist?

In an edited collection from 2007, Makoni and Pennycook argue that they are the construct of processes of nationalism and/or colonialism (May, 2010). Drawing on heteroglossia, they argue that the concepts of bounded languages restrict our ability to analyse and understand the realities of communication. Habitus is salient here: you ‘cannot avoid “being born” in one or more language(s), to have them inscribed in your body’ (García and Li, 2014:18). Makoni and Pennycook consider the construction of languages and how this leads to power relations: empowering some and disempowering others. Multiple and significant questions arise from these perspectives including what this might mean for indigenous and endangered languages, and for language rights more generally (e.g. MacSwan, 2017). Innovative analytical apparatus for considering communication are also required to unpack the notion of language/(L)anguage. This view is opposite to one which considers ‘a pure form of language’ (Li, 2017).

Polylinguaging

Sternberg suggests that translators and translation scholars consider the Tower of Babel incident as the *‘felix culpa* responsible for the crisscross of interlingual chasms which they are constantly urged to survey as far as possible to bridge’ (1981:221). Similarly to plurilingualism (e.g. Lüdi, 1984; 2009; Lüdi and Py, 1986), an orientation often defined functionally, for example in the Conseil de l’Europe (Common European Framework of References for Languages, CEFR, 2001), polylinguaging (Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, and Møller, 2011) seeks to understand dynamic, multilingual communication in superdiverse contexts, disrupting the notion that language can be defined by its affiliation to particular nation states. Polylinguaging acts as an analytical frame for how speakers use particular linguistic features rather than levels of language (Jørgensen et al., 2011), therefore foregrounding the connections between ‘language’ and linguistic features. In research into online communication on Facebook, the authors conduct fine-grained analysis to demonstrate how features of Turkish are used by young people communicating online. They consider this in terms of the futility of ‘counting’ or identifying languages, instead proposing, like Heller (2007) and Blommaert (2010) that features should be the focus of analysis:

The insight of current sociolinguistics is then that “languages” as neat packages of features that are closely connected and exclude other features, are sociocultural constructions that do not represent language use in the real world very well (2011:28).

Polylinguaging aligns with translanguaging in its focus on communication beyond bounded languages, with speakers using ‘whatever features are at their disposal’ (p.32) in addition to ‘enregisterment’ (Agha, 2007; Pennycook, 2016:205) in terms of features becoming ‘recognised’. Research in this area assumes a polylingual norm, with language as individual and social:

Language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages; this entails that the language users may know – and use – the fact that some of the features are perceived by some speakers as not belonging together (Jørgensen et al., 2011:34).

This echoes Otheguy and colleagues’ clarification of translanguaging (2015) individuals drawing from their communicative repertoires without adhering to particular constructions of language.

Metrolingualism, codemeshing, translingual and transidiomatic practices

Metrolingualism offers a further lens which extends to the spatial. Pennycook and Otsuji argue that metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010; 2015) sheds light on how communicative resources are deployed within city contexts and the relationships between individual and spatial repertoires (see 2.4):

metrolingualism makes central the relations between language and place (*spatial repertoires*), language and activity (*metrolingual multitasking*) (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2014), and the broader context of the city (Pennycook, 2016:205).

Yet these practices are not restricted to urban, metropolitan spaces and there is a risk that the prefix *metro* restricts its application more broadly, for example in rural multilingual areas, although the authors argue it is not confined to the city (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010; see also Jaworski, 2014).

Other concepts include *code-meshing*, conceptualised by Canagarajah (2011) as movement across and between linguistic repertoires. For Canagarajah (2013), *translingual practice* acts as a general ‘umbrella term’ (Pennycook, 2016:201) for these multiple approaches to

dynamic communication, which also include *transidiomatic practices* (Jacquemet, 2005), *transidioma* (Jacquemet, 2020 forthcoming) and *transdiglossia* (García, 2009).

Trans-super-poly-metro?

There exists, therefore, what Marshall and Moore describe as ‘an array of lingualisms’ (2018:19). The practices these concepts seek to describe and analyse are by no means new and this is widely recognised by scholars (Li and García, 2017). In a critical appraisal, Pennycook (2016, 2017b) calls this range of approaches the ‘trans-super-poly-metro’ movement (cf Reyes, 2014), suggesting this represents a conscious shift, or ‘desire’:

a desire to move away from the language of bi- or multilingualism, castigating earlier work for operating with the idea that multilingualism is the sum of several, separate languages (p.201).

For Pennycook, two questions arise from this ‘array of lingualisms’. First, whether this suggests a ‘changing sociolinguistic world’ or simply a ‘shift in theory’ and second, whether this is simply what he describes as ‘old wine in new bottles’, therefore not presenting an advance of any kind (p.201). He also asks whether these approaches ‘struggle to escape the linguistics that still defines the objects of critique’ (p.208)?

2.3. Clarifying translanguaging as underpinning the current research

Despite these valid critiques, translanguaging as the ‘term of choice’ (Pennycook 2016:201) has seemingly ‘captured people’s attention’ (Li, 2017:9). But why might this be? And what is the case for selecting translanguaging from the plethora of available lenses on dynamic multilingualism? Of these multiple approaches, *translanguaging* denotes an ontology extending beyond ‘switching’ and beyond ‘code’. Originally coined by Welsh linguist Williams in 1994 to describe bilingual pedagogy in schools in Wales (see Lewis, Jones and Baker, 2012), translanguaging’s increasing visibility over the past decade (García and Li 2017:1, see also Mazzaferro, 2018 and Sherris and Adami, 2018) suggests a commitment to developing understandings of bilingual and multilingual communication from a ‘dynamic perspective’ (García and Li 2017:2). This moves deliberately away from what might be considered ‘a static monoglossic’ perspective (ibid), which includes that of nation-states and institutions:

Translanguaging research reminds us that although different languages do not have objective linguistic reality, they do have a social reality that impacts bilingual speakers (ibid).

Translanguaging, therefore, moves away from considering languages as having an ‘objective linguistic reality’, instead acknowledging a ‘social reality’. In educational settings, in which many translanguaging studies have taken place, translanguaging foregrounds ‘the ways in which students combine different modes and media across social contexts and negotiate social identities’ (Creese and Blackledge, 2015:28-29). Enabling or building a translanguaging space or zone orients towards a social justice agenda, enabling voices to be heard and therefore identities to be explored, developed and negotiated. For García and Li, a core theoretical contribution of translanguaging is its transdisciplinarity, defined as follows:

a meaning-making social *and* cognitive activity that works in-between conventional meaning-making practices and disciplines and goes far beyond them, for it emerges from the contextual affordances in the complex interactions of multilinguals (2014:40, original emphasis).

In this sense the focus on the contextual affordances of multilingual interactions differentiates translanguaging from other terms, although arguably other lenses also enable this (for example, in the case of metrolingualism). This is explained further by Otheguy and colleagues in their clarification of translanguaging.

The new term aimed to overturn the conceptualisation of the two languages of bilinguals (which for us includes multilinguals) as clearly distinct systems normally deployed separately but occasionally deployed in close, alternating succession under a practice known as code-switching (Otheguy et al., 2015:282).

For these authors it is the distinctness of the different systems (languages) ‘deployed in close, alternating succession’ that translanguaging seeks to transcend. Moreover, translanguaging in this sense affords researchers a conceptual lens for considering communicative practices that may be stigmatised or hidden, including the communicative practices of linguistic minority groups (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011; García and Leiva, 2014; Creese and Blackledge, 2015). A translanguaging lens is adopted to consider the hidden practices of groups at the periphery, for example in Moore’s research into the practices of young poets in the north of England and the street arts practice which forms the focus of this thesis (Bradley and Moore, 2018; Moore and Bradley, 2019 forthcoming) enabling these often hidden, peripheral activities and the communicative practices which form them to be brought to the fore. The translanguaging lens adopted within this thesis opens up the

hitherto hidden communicative practices of multilingual street arts practitioners within the context of collaborative street arts performance.

Translanguaging is arguably oriented towards social justice (García and Leiva, 2014). Gibson-Graham, writing in 2008, describe the potential for research as a *performative ontological project* (2008:618) and, in a similar vein, Stetsenko refers to the *transformative activist stance* (2015). These reorientations towards engagement and activism commit the researcher to a process of transformation, working *with* research participants as co-producers of the knowledging process and therefore co-authors of the findings (Facer and Pahl, 2017). Translanguaging research orients towards the performative ontological project and the transformative activist stance, as agentive of a shift towards making audible that which is often inaudible and making visible that which is often invisible (Moore et al., 2019 forthcoming).

Translanguaging as a lens for understanding communicative practice enables a dual focus.

- First, it takes the practices under investigation, in this case the development of a street arts production, as performative ontological projects in themselves.
- Second, it orients the research towards an ontological perspective which considers knowledging as a continual process and as ethical practice.

I chose to adopt translanguaging for this thesis to consider repertoire as extending beyond the linguistic, reflecting how individuals might engage in fluid meaning-making processes using a multiplicity of resources, or ‘the expanded complex practices of speakers who could not avoid having had languages inscribed in their body’ (García and Li, 2014:18).

Translanguaging research is extending towards the creative arts (e.g. Aden and Eschenauer, 2019; Aden and Pavlovskaya, 2018; Domokos, 2013; Eschenauer, 2014; Lee, 2015; Wells, 2018) in part because of its transdisciplinary affordances. This also suggests that it can enable a focus not solely across ‘named’ languages but also across modes and gestures (e.g. Blackledge and Creese, 2017) to a greater extent than alternative approaches, for which the central concern is language. Although translanguaging’s ‘multimodal turn’ is relatively recent, with much research in translanguaging continuing to focus on the ‘cross-linguistic’ (for example with code-switching and translation), as a concept it is gaining traction and being developed ‘across, through and beyond’ (Jones, 2016:1) disciplines. Its application in creative arts can be found in the work of Lee (2015) who analyses translingual practices in

literary art, arguing that translanguaging represents a resource for ‘linguistic creativity in communication and for critical engagement with one’s sociolinguistic or sociocultural reality’ (p.:441). Using visual installations by Chinese contemporary artist Xu Bing, Lee describes ‘translanguaging spaces’ created in the text as a ‘third narrative’. The ‘third narrative’ exists as ‘inbetweenness’ and, this ‘inbetweenness’ acts to accentuate the wellformedness of spaces elsewhere. Lee claims that translanguaging in visual arts not only ‘delineates borders’ but ‘simultaneously challenges and transcends them, turning these into liminal zones of creativity and criticality’ (p.463). Lee’s theoretical position here is that translanguaging spaces emerge on the borders, with the disruption and transcendence that exist in the movement ‘across, through and beyond’ as a border activity. As he explains, transdisciplinary focus on translanguaging and the visual enables a rich site for understanding communication across languages and cultures. The visibility of these borders in visual arts extends to the processes and objects under investigation for this study, which include visual and plastic arts.

Building on these multiple approaches to translanguaging in the context of dynamic multilingualism, this thesis takes translanguaging as an ontological approach to dynamic multilingual practice, with two main identifying features which differentiate it from other approaches. These can be understood in terms of social justice, as with translanguaging pedagogies (García 2014; Creese and Blackledge, 2015; Duarte, 2016), and multimodality (Blackledge and Creese, 2017; Zhu et al., 2017; Kusters et al., 2017; Bradley and Moore, 2018).

2.4. Multimodality

Social semioticians Kress and van Leeuwen critique the monomodality inherent in what they call ‘Western Culture’ as ascribing particular ‘languages’ in which to interrogate and communicate particular modes:

one language to speak about language (linguistics), another to speak about art (art history), yet another to speak about music (musicology), and so on, each with its own methods, its own assumptions, its own technical vocabulary, its own strengths and its own blind spots (2001:1).

Their critique of monomodality becomes a critique of disciplinarity and the problematic of isolating one mode as an analytical focus. Moreover, it is a critique of language as limiting, as creating boundaries and distinctions, as repressing communicative possibilities. The authors

aimed to develop a 'common terminology' for all semiotic modes, in this way, crossing the boundaries they perceive between the 'languages' used around particular discrete modes. A common terminology seeks to demonstrate whether the same meanings can be expressed in different modes, through analysis that focuses on 'common semiotic principles' which can be observed across modes.

Mondada considers the consequences of placing the body at the centre of research and the resultant restructuring and realigning of language as the central focus (2016). In asking 'how human action is organised', Mondada sets out an 'integrated holistic approach to multimodality' (p.337), with 'multimodality' referring to a cross-disciplinary and cross-epistemological field of research, including computer science, semiotics, and gestures (p.338). As a term multimodality is multifaceted and with a plethora of meanings and, therefore, affordances. Language is one of these modalities, and the concept of multimodality, albeit broad and overarching, implies a disruption of modal hierarchies.

When using the term 'mode', I refer to the broad definition of 'a unit of expression and representation' (Rowse, 2013:3). Rowse cites Jewitt in her description of a mode as 'the outcome of the cultural shaping of a material' (Jewitt, 2009:300). Following Halliday, she describes a mode, or *outcome of the cultural shaping of a material*, as having three broad functions, defined as interpersonal, immaterial and physical:

- 1) interpersonal functions that speak to an audience;
- 2) more immaterial qualities that express ideas, values, beliefs, emotions, senses as ideational functions; and
- 3) physical features that materialise these more ephemeral qualities of texts as textual functions (Rowse, 2013:3-4).

Significant here is the fact that meanings are always 'culturally shaped, and materially and socially situated' (p.4). Adami argues that modes, rather than language, should be the focus for research into 'superdiverse' communication (2017), stating that the investigation of communication must consider 'language practices within a broader semiotic framework, as part of multimodal semiotic practices' (p.25). This moves away from 'national codification' of languages and circulation of stereotypes, preconceptions, prescriptions (p.24). Adami's point is that attention to modes and to the non-verbal, therefore the decentring of 'language', can enable new understandings of non-verbal resources and their circulation.

Boundary crossing presents an alternative to the disciplinary-bounded 'languages' in which scholars typically become versed and speak. Translanguaging, in shifting away from 'nation-state/colonial language ideologies' (García and Li, 2014:9), also seeks to disrupt and cross these borders. It extends further still: García and Li state that 'translanguaging provides this space *sin fronteras* – linguistic ones, nationalistic ones, cultural ones' (p.43). This builds on Grosjean's (1989) argument that bilinguals should not be considered as two monolinguals, drawing attention to the negative consequences of the persistence in categorising bilinguals as those with equal and balanced competence in two languages, therefore discounting those who used two (or more) languages in the context of their day to day lives: 'All the others...are "not really" bilingual or are "special types" of bilingual' (1989:4). One of Grosjean's arguments focuses on the concept of deficit that a monolingual approach to multilingualism risks and how we should consider bilinguals as 'perfectly competent speaker-hearers in their own right' (p.6).

If, as Otheguy and colleagues suggest when describing the idiolect as a 'linguistic object', 'the named language of a nation or social group is not (a definable linguistic object); its boundaries and membership *cannot* be established on the basis of lexical and structural features' (2015:281), this points to a multimodal approach, moving beyond tightly bounded languages and modes: communication *sin fronteras*. Otheguy and colleagues describe what is possible for grammarians in terms of investigating 'the language user's strategies of communication' (p.287). Following this logic, considering strategies of communication from the perspective of an individual 'idiolect' enables approaches that move away from the notion of a named language. As the authors put it:

An idiolect is for us a person's own unique, personal language, the person's *mental grammar* that emerges in interaction with other speakers and enables the person's use of language. An idiolect is language in sense (b) above (languages as entities without names, as sets of lexical and structural features that make up an individual's repertoire and are deployed to enable communication – pg.285) language viewed from the internal perspective of the individual, language seen separately from the external perspective of the society that categorizes and classifies named languages (Otheguy et al., 2015:289).

An idiolect, according to this orientation, develops socially and through interaction but is also distinctly individual. It is emergent. An idiolect structures and defines how an individual communicates and how they can communicate. But, to describe it as an internal grammar, as Otheguy and colleagues do, risks losing emphasis on the 'value of and multiplicity of linguistic diversity' (MacSwan, 2017:172). Instead, MacSwan argues grammars and

repertoires should be distinguished and that here what is being conceptualised is not idiolect but *repertoire*.

García and Li claim that translanguaging approaches to communication necessarily incorporate the multimodal, 'Translanguaging for us includes *all meaning-making modes*' (2014:29, emphases added). But they also state that *multimodality* is particularly observable in what they describe as 'complex multilingual contexts' (p.28), suggesting that an integrated approach to multimodality and multilingualism is called for. Multimodality can therefore be considered central to a social semiotic approach to translanguaging (p.29). The 'multimodal turn' in linguistics (Blommaert and Backus, 2013; Jewitt, 2009; Kusters et al., 2017) has extended the reach of multilingualism research, acknowledging the multimodality of communicative practices (Adami, 2017). It accepts that interaction is by nature multimodal, encompassing the visual, the gestural and any part of an individual's communicative repertoire to make meaning (Goodwin, 2000; Kusters et al., 2017). But although recent research has started to consider how translanguaging might encompass the multimodal (Kusters et al., 2017) there remains a gap in how this might be theorised productively. In response to this, Kusters and colleagues claim a space for dialogue between multimodality-oriented research and multilingualism-oriented research (2017:221). There is significant scope for dialogue, for example Kohrs (2018) argues for critical approaches from linguistics to be incorporated into multimodal analysis. For Kusters and colleagues, applying translanguaging to studies of multimodal interaction in contexts in which sign language, gesture and spoken languages are at play is particularly fruitful, particularly when the concept of semiotic resources is used (replacing linguistic resources). They state:

This examination enriches concepts of translanguaging by extending our inventories of the semiotic resources that people use to communicate, offering a more sophisticated understanding of the relationships across and between modalities and shedding new light into the processes, dynamics and principles of co-constructed meaning in communication beyond the confines of codified 'modalities' and 'languages' (p.229).

Translanguaging is enriched by multimodal approaches to interaction and meaning-making multimodal practices are integral to a translanguaging approach and to the *trans-spaces*, or inbetweenness (Lee, 2015), generated by translanguaging practices. Attending to *either* multilingualism *or* multimodality risks a narrowness of scope (Kusters et al., 2017:10). Attention to wider semiosis is necessary for understanding interactions in a rapidly changing world and translanguaging should attend to this:

Translanguaging works by generating *trans-systems* of semiosis, and creating *trans-spaces* where new language practices, *meaning-making multimodal practices*, subjectivities and social structures and dynamically generated in response to the complex interactions of the 21st century (García and Li, 2014:43, emphases added).

Both multimodalists and translanguaging scholars face similar challenges, if, as Kress and van Leeuwen state, ‘meaning is made in many different ways, always, in the many different modes and media which are co-present in a communicational ensemble’ (2001:111). The notion of a communicational ensemble disrupts the centrality of ‘language’ in analysis of communication. Kress and van Leeuwen’s multimodal theory of communication focuses on, first ‘the *semiotic resources* of communication, the modes and media used’, and second, ‘the communicative practices in which these resources are used’ (ibid).

This considers all communication to be multimodal and multi-layered and includes ‘discursive practices, production practices and interpretative practices’ as well as ‘design and/or distribution practices’ (ibid). However, analysis of *how* this happens is highly challenging. MacLure considers this within the context of ‘post-qualitative methodology’ (2013a) and ‘materially informed post-qualitative research’ (p.658). Building on Deleuze’s (2004) *Logic of Sense* and the tensions of representation and of language, she suggests how the ‘materiality’ of language might be drawn upon, calling for a disruption of the hierarchies inherent in representation. MacLure argues against the separation of language and the world, from a new materialist perspective and using the concepts of entanglements (Barad, 2007), assemblages (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) and Actor Network Theory (Latour, 2005):

In these flat and profiligated assemblages, the world is not held still and forever separate from the linguistic or category systems that ‘represent it’. Language is deposed from its god-like centrality in the construction and regulation of worldly affairs, to become one element in a manifold of forces and intensities that are moving, connecting and diverging (2013:660).

Posthumanist approaches to applied linguistics (for example, Appleby and Pennycook, 2017) aim to ‘unsettle the position of humans as the monarchs of being and to see humans as *entangled* and *implicated* in other beings’ (Pennycook, 2018: 126). MacLure’s argument echoes those developing across translanguaging scholarship, particularly for research which seeks not to reduce translanguaging to a ‘notion of bilingual activity’ (Pennycook, 2018:130), or something observable. To avoid reductionism, translanguaging research must reach beyond language and beyond mode, not solely drawing attention to hierarchies but adopting

a performative ontological approach (Gibson-Graham, 2008), seeking both to understand and to change.

If translanguaging is dynamic communication using whichever resources are to hand, named languages are necessarily 'deposed', as MacLure puts it. Linguistic categories are not separate to a 'world held still': there is movement, connection, divergence. Translanguaging as a conceptual framework seen from a perspective which transcends the linguistic categories which aim to bound communication, to pin it to nation-states and borders, moves necessarily beyond the linguistic and towards the multimodal, the gestural, the 'non-linguistic' elements. But how might a multimodal translanguaging approach engage with ideas from posthumanism, embracing the 'inbetweenness'?

2.5. Resemiotisation

This inbetweenness leads to the concept of resemitisation (2001, 2003, see also Kell, 2015), or the tracing of points of translation from mode to mode. Drawing from the work of the Scollons (2004), García and Li suggest that translanguaging leads to semiotic transformation, or resemitisation (2014:29). If translanguaging has transformational affordances, this suggests processes of resemitisation are taking place as communication actions move across, through and beyond languages and modes. And as this happens, new meanings come to the fore.

Iedema defines resemitisation as how 'meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of practice to the next' (2003:41). Such 'meaning making' moves from what might be considered more 'temporal' (verbal communication) to the more 'durable' (Iedema uses the example of designs and buildings for the construction project he describes). Or it might move from the more 'durable' to the more 'temporal' (as is the case with the street arts production process under analysis in this thesis). In this sense it necessitates a rethink of what is temporal and what is durable. Resemiotisation enables an analytical focus on the trajectory (Kell, 2015) as meanings are made more 'resistant' (Iedema, 2001:24) or are lost at different stages across the process (Kell, 2009). With translanguaging, resemitisation is particularly useful as a conceptual lens for understanding transformations leading from particular actions. These transformations emerge at different points across the process and focusing on how they emerge across, through and beyond communicative practices enables shifts in analysis. This aligns with

Kell's proposal for 'meaning-making trajectories' as made of 'recontextualising and resemiotising moves' (2015:425) as analytical foci.

When taking up a multimodal translanguaging lens, we need to ask, 'is the action under examination a point at which resemiotisation or semiotic transformation occurs?' (García and Li, 2014:29). Once this *trans-semiotic moment* is established, the next questions are *how* resemiotisation might occur and in what broader context this is taking place. These are considered by Li in his discussion of translanguaging space as 'semiotically highly significant' (2011:1222) moments. Li developed the concept of moment analysis to enable identification of these actions (2011; Li and Zhu, 2013) and as a way to understand which practices are converging at these semiotically significant moments. In decentring language in the analyses presented in this thesis and in using resemiotisation as a lens through which to do this, I consider the extension of the concept of translanguaging beyond 'language'. I draw attention to the points at which resemiotisation takes place and consider the discourses around these moments (Scollon and Scollon, 2004:105), in addition to attending to the spatial and the material. Resemiotisation serves as an underpinning framework to make visible the developing threads between levels of analysis.

2.6. Translanguaging spaces, spatial repertoires and semiotic assemblages

Translanguaging space is described by Li as 'space for the act of translanguaging as well as a space created by translanguaging' (2011:1222). In this sense, these spaces operate as 'third spaces' (Soja, 1996, following Lefebvre, 1991), created through translanguaging and subsequently occupied by translanguaging. They exemplify what Li describes as 'network-specific socio-cultural practices' (p.1222) and, for Li, creativity and criticality occupy a central role. This relates to the multimodal affordances of translanguaging, defined as:

both going between linguistic structures and systems, including different modalities (speaking, writing, signing, listening, reading, remembering) and going beyond them (p.1223).

In this sense, the spaces created for and also by translanguaging are inherently multimodal. Crucially, they are spaces in which repertoires do not simply co-exist, but instead merge and mesh, constructed socially and 'perceived, conceived, and lived' (Lefebvre, 1991). Focusing on ideas of space and communication, Zhu and colleagues (2017) use translanguaging space to analyse the orchestration of multimodal resources in a Polish shop in the community of Newham, East London, arguing this foregrounds the dynamics of communication 'whilst

highlighting the complexity and interconnectivity of the multimodal and the multisensory resources that are deployed in everyday interaction' (p.412). Translanguaging spaces extend to the multisensory. Using the spatial layout of the shop and multimodal analysis of gesture, movement and gaze, the authors consider how these intersect and merge to create these emergent translanguaging spaces. They view this space as transformative in itself, as a 'variety of multimodal semiotic resources are mobilised and assembled together' (p.432). Zhu and Li (2013) extend the concept further in the context of multilingual Chinese students in British universities and their translanguaging practices. Translanguaging space is productive for exploring how multilingual and multimodal repertoires might be drawn on in creative ways through shared activities. In writing about a collaborative ethnographic arts-based project, I considered the multimodality of translanguaging space as multimodal and as created through social action to consider meaning-making by young people engaged in arts activities to explore semiotic city landscapes (Bradley et al., 2018).

Pennycook and Otsuji (2014, also 2010; 2015) use theories of metrolingualism and spatial repertoires to refer to the relationships between space and language practices. Drawing on the work of geographer Doreen Massey (1991) they argue for 'a dynamic and social understanding of space as 'articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings' (Massey, 1991:28) and for 'spaces as 'social productions'' (2014:166). They suggest that translanguaging spaces foreground the individual and their relationships with resources, and that more attention should be paid to the space itself. By contrast, they propose spatial repertoires as a way to understand 'resources in a place rather than in an individual' (p.167). Crucially for the questions arising through this thesis, they state that what is required is 'an understanding of the relations between language, space, objects and activities' (ibid). Objects are also foregrounded with spatial repertoires seen as the 'sedimented language practices of particular places' (p.180).

Pennycook brings spatial repertoires and translanguaging into dialogue to ask to what extent translanguaging can encompass 'semiotic items' (2017:269). His questions concern how researchers might seek to understand relationships between semiosis. These questions are highly pertinent for this study; not least the consequences of moving away from the 'linguaging' suffix and shifting focus towards the 'trans'. As Pennycook states:

Less attention, however, has been paid to the scope of what is encompassed by the idea of language itself, or what translanguaging might look like if it took up an expanded version of language and attended not only to the borders between

languages but also to the borders between semiotic modes. (2017:269-270).

Pennycook uses the example of linguistic landscapes research as expanding from its original focus on 'multilingual signs' to the 'greater contextual (ethnographic) and historical understandings of texts in the landscapes' (p.270). He questions the direction of flow from one area to another, suggesting that although translanguaging research has entered the linguistic landscape realm, this has happened less in the other direction. Citing Deleuze and Guattari, and echoing the 'semiotic repertoires' proposed by Kusters and colleagues (2017), Pennycook suggests the concept of 'semiotic assemblages' as a better fit:

This expands the semiotic terrain (beyond language more narrowly construed) in relation to material surrounds and space, with an increased focus on place, objects and semiotics (p.278).

In expanding the semiotic terrain, the focus shifts from language (or Language) but still, crucially, considers language within its lens. Pennycook's argument is that translanguaging is insufficient as a concept to grasp the complex intersection of resources, both material and semiotic, which come together at a particular moment. The challenge here, as with *metrolingualism*, is in the word itself: *translanguaging* requires continued attention to language.

2.7. Embodiment: the case for puppetry

This thesis brings the multimodal and spatial translanguaging turn into dialogue with street arts production and puppetry. Puppetry is an old art, with some of the oldest forms of performance involving puppets (Bell, 2001:5). Puppets and masks are often used in the performance of folk stories, and traditionally these are taken up in studies of folklore. There is also a long history of approaching theatre, puppet theatre and circus from a social semiotic perspective (for example Bouissac, 1977; 1991; 2012; Sindoni et al., 2016). Despite this, puppetry is often seen with ambivalence (Cohen 2007). In 1923 Bogatreyev published a short piece of writing about Czech Puppet Theatre and Russian Folk Theatre, seeking to consider culture from a semiotic perspective, in which he writes about the role of puppeteers in 'native-language propaganda' (p.100). As Bogatreyev explains, puppetry occupied a place of resistance:

When the authorities tried to force famous folk puppeteer [Matej] Kopecký to perform in German, Kopecký cunningly replied that although he could speak German, his puppets did not know that language (1923[1999]:100).

The resistance demonstrated here is both playful and serious. As Cohen explains, 'puppets are alien others *and* closely associated with the person. They are 'not me' and also 'not not me' (2007:124). More recently, Sesame Street and the Muppets are well-known and often synonymous with puppetry (Stoessner, 2009), with the musical Avenue Q and its Muppets style puppets a modern example of disruptive puppetry.

The study of puppetry emerged in German romanticism in the early 1800s. Addressing the question of the power of the 'old art' of puppetry, Bell states that watching puppetry allows people to 'see great possibilities of thought and action' (Bell, 2001:4). Material performance and puppetry extend production beyond verbal language and beyond the human, allowing audiences an expanded view of the world.

Historically, the study of puppetry, folklore and masks in anthropological terms is widespread and diverse, for example with Lévi-Strauss's 'The Way of the Masks' (1982). Taking a structural anthropological approach, he explored the masks of the Indians in the Northwest Coast of Canada, stating that these cultural objects must be analysed in terms of their contradictions and considering the prominence of structures in guiding innovation.

Performance scholar Mello suggests that performance and puppetry emerge from embodied practice (2016). In this thesis the concept of embodiment is used to frame the objects themselves, the puppets, the masks, and the props, all created or sourced during the production process. Mello develops a theory of 'trans-embodiment' as 'the transfer of direct and indirect embodied techniques among actor-puppeteers, puppets, and materials' (p.49). Drawing from the work of Tillis (1992, 1996) who describes the 'occlusion' of the actor (1996:112-113), Mello states there is a clear process by which the performance itself is produced. It must travel from producer (the actor) to what Tillis describes as the 'site of signification' (in this case, the puppet or material object, or performer). Mello situates this with the actor's 'controls' of the puppet (or manipulation) and the 'performance skills' (or knowledge of technique) (2016:50), within the context of Francis' work on 'transference' (2012:5). Crucially, Mello's argument is that these embodied practices, described as direct and indirect, following Spatz (2015), can be enacted knowingly or unknowingly. Actors using puppets and working in this way draw from long practised techniques and practices 'developed over years as part of the creative process', and which they embody. Spaces of performance (formed between performer and puppet) can be considered as spaces which allow for and enable the actors to draw from their repertoire both in terms of practice (puppetry), space, and language, through puppetry. To what extent might the concept of

translanguaging space be opened up to incorporate these diverse communicative practices between performer, puppet, audience, time and space?

Puppetry, or material performance, as the vehicle for a communicative street arts production developed collaboratively across spaces and places and performed in the city streets, has particular creative potential for a study seeking to extend understandings of translanguaging. This thesis foregrounds the objects (the puppets, the masks, the props and the costumes) and processes involved in their creation at key moments of resemiotisation. In using the trajectory of a story as it travels from space to space and is subject to a series of resemiotisations, translanguaging as a concept is expanded and critiqued, with the texts created through the production process acting as key focal points. In this sense, the focus dances to and from each point of resemiotisation, or trans-semiotic moment, as the production process unfolds.

2.8. Inter to intra-action

Focusing on processes of creating puppets and devising performance therefore disrupts what might be more traditional ways of researching communication. If puppets, and the actors creating and working with them, enable the creation of spaces which both develop repertoire and enable the deployment of a full repertoire, incorporating materiality is necessary.

Barad developed agential realism as an ‘epistemological-ontological-ethical framework’ (2007:26). This approach ‘doesn’t presume the separateness of any-“thing”’ (p.136), instead, accepting that ‘the forces at work in the materialisation of bodies are not only social, and the bodies produced are not all human’ (p.50-51). Barad suggests that *intra-action* is pivotal to agential realism, differentiating it with *inter-action* in that actors will have ‘separate individual agencies that precede their interaction’ (p.33). By contrast to inter-action, *intra-action* is the ‘mutual constitution of entangled agencies’ (ibid). Importantly, the focus here is on how agencies emerge through processes of intra-action. As she explains, ‘agencies are only distinct in relation to their mutual entanglement; they don’t exist as individual elements’ (ibid). This has particular implications for other concepts, including:

Space, time, matter, dynamics, agency, structure, subjectivity, objectivity, intentionality, discursivity, performativity, entanglement and ethical engagement (p.33).

Puppetry foregrounds the non-human body. The bodies created by and for the trajectory (Kell, 2015) of the production of the street arts performance are quite visibly not all human. However, this poses significant epistemological questions. As Barad explains, when considering what she describes as 'entanglements', it is not necessarily possible to find structures or frameworks to help us study them: 'entanglements are highly specific configurations' (p.74). If the agencies do not pre-exist the intra-actions, what is the unit of analysis?

Through reconsidering data through trans-contextual analysis Kell suggests that a focus on 'things' in chains of events and in a trajectory, offers a lens on 'the way in which "things make people happen" (2015:442). In so doing, the analysis can centre on what the points of interaction are between 'language' and the 'material world'. Similarly to Pennycook, she suggests that frequently in research in language practices, the 'material' is pushed to the side and relegated to the 'contextual'. As she states, 'objects, in and of themselves, have consequences' (ibid).

The question of attending to broader semiosis and human/non-human bodies is being taken up across different spheres of communication and literacies-based research. Researchers were invited to consider post-human perspectives on childhood play and literacy (e.g. Kuby and Rowsell, 2017; Hackett and Somerville, 2017) for a special issue of the *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*. In this special issue, Escott and Pahl (2017) consider the entanglement of language and objects in making young people's films. Drawing on data collected in a makerspace with preschool aged children, Wohlwend and colleagues compare two different approaches to materiality (2017). Using mediated discourse analysis (Scollon and Scollon, 2003; 2004) and Barad's agential realism, they demonstrate how these different ways of considering data in social action might produce different meanings, comparing nexus analysis with entanglement, and interaction with intra-action to consider how this extended their understandings of childhood play. For these authors a posthuman approach is expansive:

Exploring posthumanist perspectives on materiality in making and makerspaces not only acts on and alters the mediation and expands the view of children's literacy learning, but also opened up new ways to understand the interconnected actions that produce literacy, designs, learners, teachers and researchers (2017:460).

In their discussion of children's messy play, Hackett and colleagues (2017) use Barad's 'intra-action' to develop what MacLure describes as 'non-representational' (2013a),

focusing on the entanglements of children, of researchers, and of ‘matter’ in the context of building cardboard dens. In foregrounding the ‘agency of materials within processes’ (2017:70), the authors were able to consider the children’s play and denmaking as a way of ‘coming to know’. They describe this as ‘acknowledging the ways in which we might come to know through place, body and materials’ (p.70).

Harvey (2019, forthcoming) considers the ‘different yet entangled processes of *trans-ing* (following Mylona, 2016) – *translanguaging*, *transcreation*, and *transauthorship*’ - in the context of developing stories gathered through a doctoral research project for performance. As she points out, with reference to Barad (2007):

The modes of communication, the experiences and knowledges, and the authors, cannot be clearly identified; they are entangled, moving across, through and beyond boundaries through the material vehicle of *voice* (2019, forthcoming).

These different approaches to social action, incorporating the material and the non-human have particular relevance for applied linguists (see Pennycook, 2018, for a recent summary) and for translanguaging. If translanguaging expands to incorporate the multimodal, and subsequently the material, to what extent can it also incorporate the non-human. Moreover, what kinds of analytical structures and frameworks can be deployed in order to do justice to these entanglements?

2.9. Research questions

I began my doctoral research with some initial ideas for research questions, aligning with those for the TLANG project. These concerned how translanguaging practices might be deployed by artists and performers in community arts settings. They considered translanguaging as observable phenomena, an ontological position which has now shifted. In my transfer document I described my questions as follows:

1. How do street performers communicate throughout the process of producing a piece of art (street arts performance)?
 - 1.1 With each other - the ‘community of practice’ (see question 2.) - within the workshop and theatre spaces, to create and build ‘translanguaging spaces’.

- 1.2 With the public, the audience within the contact zone exterior to the workshop (street space).

These first questions can be broken down further:

2. How do street performers draw on their multiple and diverse communicative repertoires to build provisional communities of practice?
3. How do language and creative practice intersect throughout the process?

- 3.1 Through 'translanguaging spaces'.

4. How is translanguaging used as 'multiple discursive practice' (García 2009) within spaces determined by activity type?

- 4.1 Within the **conceptualisation** stage: arts training workshops (street arts puppetry skills) and 'finding a story'.

- 4.2 Within the **making** stage: practical workshops (puppets and prop making).

- 4.3 Within the **devising** stage: rehearsals and workshops.

- 4.4 Within **performance**: communication with an audience (street arts performance).

The overarching TLANG research question concerns how people communicate multilingually across languages and cultures. As a broader question this required refining to fit the context of this specific study with an ethnographic approach. Blommaert and Jie discuss the 'inductive' nature of Linguistic Ethnography (2010) and Copland and Creese (2015) describe how using this approach requires the researcher to 'work from evidence towards theory'. Therefore, my questions developed through my ongoing experiences within the field. When adopting an inductive approach, theoretical directions emerge from the research process, driven by data (MacLure, 2013b) and the ethnographic fieldwork itself. Exploring the community arts and street arts contexts enabled the development of interdisciplinary approaches to the understanding of multilingual communication, in activities for which *communication* to a public audience is the focus and the purpose for the activity.

The questions therefore evolved with the research:

1. How do performers deploy *translanguaging* practices in drawing from their communicative repertoires across the processes of producing a piece of street theatre?
2. What is the relationship between translanguaging and resemiotisation and how do these lead to semiotic transformation?
3. How do performers go beyond language, bringing in their own communicative and practice-based repertoires, to create the production?
4. How are *translanguaging spaces* opened up and closed down across the production process?

The study of translanguaging here is therefore onto-epistemological (Barad, 2007:185). It is understood through the 'practice of knowing in being' (ibid). But, equally, translanguaging is itself a practice of knowing in being. Translanguaging's epistemological possibilities are unpacked within the context of the practice-based methodologies employed by the performers during the production process. Moreover, translanguaging is explored as an approach to ethnographic research in grass-roots contexts.

Translanguaging is also contested and critiqued throughout this study. To what extent can the notion of a translanguaging space (Zhu and Li, 2013; Zhu et al., 2017), as defined by Li as one built by translanguaging practices and for translanguaging practices (2011), be possible? How can the spaces of production and performance be understood through the lens of translanguaging spaces? And, at what point does the concept simply stop being useful?

2.10. Summary

In this study, the concept of translanguaging is taken as a starting point. Its affordances in terms of it travelling '*across, through and beyond* the quality it precedes' (Jones, 2016:2) are understood as a point of departure. According to feminist art historian Jones, *trans-* as a prefix enables the following:

Trans- connects (a performer and an audience, the present soon to be past act and future histories) and opens the creative arts to embodiment, fluidity, duration, movement, and change: transtemporality, transhistory, transgenealogy, transmigratory, transmorgrification (Jones, 2016:2).

This chapter focused on the theoretical underpinnings for this study. It began by developing a critical discussion around theories of dynamic multilingualism, with a focus on the concept of translanguaging as a central theoretical consideration. I followed by introducing the concepts of spatial repertoires and translanguaging spaces, as ways to draw connections between the individualised repertoires and social and spatial understandings of communication. The history of repertoire-based approaches to communication was then sketched out, starting with the work of Gumperz in the 1960s. Translanguaging's multimodal affordances and the shift towards embodiment were then introduced. This linked to the puppetry and street arts practice under investigation in this thesis. The key research questions were then outlined.

Chapter Three sets out the context for the study, starting with TLANG. It moves on to describe the research focus and the collaboration with the community arts organisations and performers in the UK and in Slovenia.

Chapter Three: Context

Every story is a travel story – a spatial practice (de Certeau, 1984:115).



3.1. Introduction

As part of the TLANG project, this thesis is emplaced within a larger study with its own research questions. Yet, this research is a discrete and separate endeavour in itself, extending TLANG's reach towards community arts, raising further questions about translanguaging and communication in superdiverse and liquid contexts. This chapter focuses on the wider context for this study and its spatio-temporal dimension.

Site was an important early consideration, not least as the literature with which I would engage would be led by the kinds of activities I would observe, the location in which I would conduct my research, and the people with whom I would work. Here I describe the community arts context and the trajectory of my own collaboration with the arts groups with whom I collaborated. I provide an analytical perspective on these decisions and processes and the subsequent direction of this research, including how the relationship developed through my doctoral research and through related co-produced projects and initiatives (see Appendix F). I then turn to the Ana Monro Theatre (A.M.T.), the Ljubljana, Slovenia-based street arts theatre whose collaboration with Faceless Arts (F.A.) and resultant production, 'How Much Is Enough?', performed at the Ana Desetnica Street Arts Festival in Slovenia, forms the focus of this thesis. The chapter closes with some perspectives on what the reader should not expect in this thesis.

3.2. The TLANG project and learning to research

3.2.1. Introduction

The TLANG project sought to contribute to understandings of how people communicate multilingually in contexts of superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007; 2017; Creese et al. 2018) and it aimed to make a 'timely and significant contribution to knowledge about communication in superdiverse cities' (TLANG case for support, 2013:23). Its seven main objectives were:

- 1 To understand translanguaging as communication in *public* spaces.
- 2 To understand translanguaging as communication in *private* spaces.
- 3 To understand translanguaging as communication in *digital and social media* spaces.
- 4 To understand local histories of communicative practices.
- 5 To develop transformative, interdisciplinary approaches to researching translanguaging as communication.
- 6 To develop the capacity of researchers to conduct high-quality research in the

arts and humanities.

- 7 To inform local, national and international policy in relation to superdiverse community settings.

(TLANG case for support, 2013:2)

My doctoral research, developing in parallel with and in dialogue with the TLANG project, broadly encompasses these seven objectives. My research questions link to those of the wider research, but also diverge in line with the context and direction of my research. Being part of an interdisciplinary project of this kind was an attractive prospect for me, with the opportunity it offered to be part of a wider study, and it proved to be a productive intellectual experience. But this also required reflection on how to position myself and my work within the wider programme of research, retaining and building my independence as a researcher and the distinctiveness of my own research project and contribution.

3.2.2. TLANG Leeds: positioning within an emergent community of researchers

As part of the Leeds case study I was embedded in an interdisciplinary research team. One of the initial challenges I encountered was around establishing how closely my own work should follow the rhythm and themes of the broader project and to what extent my own investigations would contribute to the main research. As the project progressed, my role within the team became more defined. As a research team we found that we were asking similar questions from different perspectives, for example in terms of researcher positioning within the field (Baynham et al., 2016). An interdisciplinary research team of this kind is an emergent community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), described here in terms of Barton and Tusting's summary of the characteristics of Wenger's 'groupings':

- 1) **diverse interaction** within the group (Wenger's *mutual engagement*);
- 2) a **shared purpose** or activity (Wenger's *joint enterprise*);
- 3) development of '**common resources**' which enable the participants to perform a group identity (Wenger's *shared repertoire*) (2005:2).

The development and expansion (and subsequent contraction as the project drew to a close) of the Leeds case study, and diversity of approaches embodied by the team contributed to the evolution of the research. Regular research meetings enabled *diverse interactions* in engaging with different research questions, sites, data, and ethical challenges arising from these. A *shared purpose* was defined in analysing data and producing detailed case study reports. Our *common resources* or *shared repertoires* continued to develop throughout this

process. These gradually became academic resources, made material, embodied in working papers, publications and conference presentations.

I considered the concept of co-membership (Erickson and Schultz, 1982) when theorising how my research might intertwine with the larger project. Extending co-membership to theories around participatory culture (Jenkins, 2006), Rymes suggests that this process is one by which people 'build on each other's communicative repertoires while expanding their own' (2014:6). As such, as part of this team I was able to expand my own repertoire intellectually and academically. For Busch, the communicative repertoire demonstrates what is not yet present, what does not yet exist:

Our repertoire is not determined solely by the linguistic resources we *have*, but sometimes by those we do *not* have, and these can become noticeable in a given situation as a gap, a threat or a desire. The linguistic repertoire can be understood as a heteroglossic realm of constraints and potentialities: different languages and ways of speaking come to the fore, then return to the background, they observe each other, keep their distance from each other, intervene or interweave into something new, but in one form or another they are always there (Busch, 2015:15, original emphases).

There were periods during which I was conscious of and frustrated by constraints in my own communicative repertoire and what I saw as its limitations - the resources that I did not have at my disposal (Harvey, 2016; 2017). Embarking on my research made these gaps in my own repertoire highly visible. But, conversely, I began to draw on the resources that were to hand, for example for the educational engagement activity strands and participatory arts-informed research which led from aspects of the TLANG project research (McKay and Bradley, 2016; Bradley, 2017c; Bradley et al., 2018), for which I could draw from my professional experience of university outreach and engagement. My *ways of speaking* were integrated into the shared repertoire, and as such, my contribution and that of my research to the team ethnography became clearer. References shared within the research group would be integrated into written drafts and published work (including the paper by Gibson-Graham, 2008, particularly influential for me when developing my research methodology, which also became an underpinning theory for a co-edited collection (Moore et al., 2019 forthcoming)).

The ways in which texts move (and are moved), shift (and are shifted) and are recreated have been conceptualised in different ways. Bakhtin's *dialogism* ([1935]1981) argues that texts are 'in dialogue both with previous texts and with future texts' (Rock et al., 2013:9). As

such, the notion of a fixed and stable text is redundant, as claimed by many scholars across disciplines. Intertextuality (Kristeva, 1980) suggests what Rock and colleagues describe as a 'historical chain' (2013:9) with text trajectories as a concept from linguistic anthropology (R.Bauman and Briggs, 1990; Blommaert, 2001; 2005). Blommaert describes text trajectories as 'intricate' in the context of the Belgian asylum procedure (2005):

One of the features of communication in contemporary societies is the fact that it is often the object of intricate text trajectories: texts, discourses, images get shipped around in a process in which they are repeatedly decontextualized and recontextualised (2005:76).

Likewise, due to their materiality, texts can become objects, as argued by Budach and colleagues:

...with the materiality of writing itself and of text artefacts, written texts can become objects which produce meanings and move across contexts (2015:392).

While the concept of textual travel serves as a broad umbrella for these multiple concepts (Rock et al., 2013), Kell argues for the trajectory (2009; 2015) as object of analysis to describe the movement of texts and objects across time and space. An interdisciplinary research team creates a space for trajectories of academic texts and concepts. In my research notes, I started to map where I had come across particular theories (for example, in writing a blog post about fieldwork and liminality, I make reference to a research seminar led by Anni Raw (School of Performance and Cultural Industries, October 2014) which was my introduction to Turner and liminality (1969)). A shared discussion of a particular article or book chapter puts a concept in dialogue with other texts and spaces. Over the research process I was conscious that as I observed street performers in their own processes of establishing co-membership and developing a community of practice around the devised production, I was doing the same within an academic setting, through a series of intersecting, converging and diverging research projects (the TLANG project, the Leeds case study, my own doctorate and subsequent associated projects). These parallel processes were intertwined and co-implicated. Negotiation of co-membership is described by Rymes as a *pas de deux*:

Arriving at co-membership (my hyphen) was less like an exchange of information than a dance, a *pas de deux* in which each partner carefully negotiated with the other physically and emotionally to arrive at a shared sense of order (Rymes, 2014:4).

Co-membership, in this case co-membership of an emergent scholarly community, is comparable to a dance, with my positioning in continual negotiation.

3.2.3. Benefits of co-membership: co-learning, collaboration and shared repertoire

Conteh describes the potentiality of relationships between researcher and researched in educational research:

Such relationships promote a culture of learning where the **'funds of knowledge'** (Gonzalez et al. 2005) brought to the shared enterprise by all participants are equally valued, and new knowledge is constructed and shared in collaborative and mutually empowering ways (2017:13, original emphases).

As with the contexts described by Conteh, research team resources are 'funds of knowledge'. The TLANG research design enabled collaborative working and co-writing, processes mirrored across the project, for example with the project blog which I co-edited (see examples in Appendix E). The Leeds team would meet regularly, often weekly, with the four TLANG case study teams coming together every two months. As the project continued, the Leeds team expanded to include a post-doctoral researcher and a doctoral researcher from Universitat Autònoma Barcelona, enabling a broadening of the scope and focus of the research. The influence of the changing team is reflected in the data analysis and the theoretical direction of the working papers and subsequent publications (for example, Callaghan et al., 2018). It also enabled the team to develop further links across institutions and internationally (Moore et al., 2019 forthcoming).

Throughout, and in particular for the heritage case study which aligned with my doctoral research due to the similar themes emerging of precarity and provisionality, I contributed to presentations, report writing and publications arising from the project (for example, Baynham et al., 2015; Baynham et al., 2016; Baynham et al., 2017; Bradley, 2017; Bradley and Simpson, 2019 forthcoming; Bradley and Moore, 2018). Writing working papers was a sole and group activity and the papers punctuate each shift in the development of a shared repertoire.

3.2.4. Team ethnography as a contact zone

Creese and Blackledge (2012) highlight the dynamics of group ethnography, and how meaning making, so often 'hidden from view' (p.317), takes place (see also Creese et al., 2008). They describe these processes as a contact zone (Pratt, 1991):

When a team of researchers makes meaning from the voices of others the histories, biographies, and ideologies of the individual researchers come into contact and come into view as they clash, disagree, argue, negotiate, barter, compromise, and even come to agreement (2012:317).

The contact zone is also embodied in the texts themselves (blog posts, working papers and co-authored publications), as papers at different stages of drafting, as multiple voices are gradually woven together. Creese and Blackledge compare collaborative team ethnography with the research processes of the 'lone researcher'. They state that when researching alone, the 'history, biography, and ideology that the researcher brings to the process' (p.317) can be hidden and therefore not fully understood or acknowledged. Team ethnography, by contrast, foregrounds these, as discussions take place around data analysis and interpretation. These experiences played a significant role in my own development as an independent researcher, not least in terms of voice (Hymes, 1996; Blommaert, 2005). The team meetings were a non-hierarchical space, in which all voices were audible and the 'histories, biographies, and ideologies' of the researchers were acknowledged, welcomed, and, furthermore, challenged: a contact zone, yet also a 'safe house' (Pratt, 1991:40). Through establishing this way of working and developing it across the lifespan of the project, an ethical commitment in terms of 'flattening the relationship between researcher and researched' (Copland and Creese, 2015b:162; Bradley, 2017:255) was modelled and embedded in the day-to-day and week-to-week lived experiences of research.

Moreover, establishing and developing team-based ethnography is grounded in the epistemological underpinnings of linguistic ethnography as TLANG's guiding approach (see Chapter Four). Rampton cautions that a three-year PhD programme provides a weak base for 'development of breadth and depth in theory and analysis' (2007:594) and a team approach mitigates this risk to some extent, through the collaborative experiences of data collection and analysis within a broader structure. But, despite this, the immersion necessitated by an ethnographic approach makes it challenging to condense into a bounded period of time. Conducting research as part of a wider team demonstrated the reality of research: that no research is ever truly completed.

3.2.5. TLANG definitions and starting points

TLANG adopted particular definitions for 'translation' and 'translanguaging' as starting points. *Translation* is defined as 'the negotiation of meaning using different modes (spoken/written/visual/gestural) in interactional spaces where speakers deploy different

proficiencies in a range of languages' with *translanguaging* defined as the process of deploying diverse linguistic signs to communicate (TLANG case for support document, 2013:2). In parallel, these definitions were gradually interrogated and critiqued throughout my research.

3.2.6. Bricolage

Ethnographic research requires a continual piecing together of multiple elements: recordings, photographs, fieldnotes, and email correspondence. The concept of 'bricolage' (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, also Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; 2000; 2005; Bradley and Atkinson, 2019 forthcoming) sheds light on processes of research within a broader framework. It also enables an ethnographic approach to research to be theorised, one in which *everything* is potentially interesting and *everything* is potentially data. Berry argues for research as 'bricolage':

At a time when the discourses of emancipation, inclusiveness, social justice, plurality, multiplicity, diversity, complexity and chaos are entering academic circles and mainstream communication media, a way of incorporating these discourses and their complementary practices requires new research questions, tools, processes and ways of reporting (Berry, 2015:81).

Berry suggests that new research approaches are needed to allow a multiplicity of discourses to be addressed. Bricolage creates research texts, drawing from other, multiple texts. It is messy. Learning to 'self-organise the messiness' was a particular and situated challenge, in terms of 'organising the messiness into a 'readable' but scholarly text' (p.106) and extracting my research from that of the wider project, to establish my contribution, as distinct and separate from the main TLANG research. I used 'writing as inquiry' (Richardson and Adams St. Pierre, 2005) as a methodological and analytical strategy. I considered the texts (or writing products) and the production of the texts (or writing processes) to be 'deeply intertwined' (ibid): 'The product cannot be separated from the producer, the mode of production, or the method of knowing' (p.962).

3.3. Choosing a site

A commitment to furthering understanding of 'translation as a process that occurs across different languages, cultures, generations, media, genres and sectors' was one of the strategic objectives of the AHRC's 'Translating Cultures' theme. The *arts*, in general, as a broad, non-specific, category, offer fertile opportunities for the investigation of ways in

which this ‘translation’ takes place. The focus of this thesis is the trajectory of a story, a folk story, which is shaped into a street arts performance. Through the production process multiple multimodal texts are created. The finished production is then communicated through the performance. As such, the ontological standpoint taken for this thesis takes is that art (in this context) *communicates* (Williams, [1961]2001:46), and that artists, *translate*.

3.3.1. Following the data

Linguistic Ethnography, TLANG’s underpinning approach, is inductive (Rampton et al., 2004:1; Blommaert and Jie, 2010:14), involving working ‘from the data bottom up’. Linguistic ethnographers ‘*follow* the data, and the data suggest particular theoretical issues’ (Blommaert and Jie, 2010:14). Focusing on street arts shifted my gaze across to multiple, interconnecting fields: applied theatre (e.g. Balfour, 2009), community arts (e.g. Matarasso, 1997) and participatory arts (e.g. Bishop, 2012). Blommaert and Jie compare linguistic ethnography to a ‘case method’ (p.15) and the longitudinal and detailed nature of ethnography as an approach makes the extended case method highly relevant here (Burawoy, 1998). The street arts production is at once a ‘case’ in itself, and a ‘case’ which belongs to, links from and to, and leads from and to a complex, intersecting ecology of cases: a meshwork (Ingold, 2011).

3.3.2. Working ‘with’

Epistemologies of working and studying ‘*with* people’, rather than conducting a study ‘*of*’ people are not new (Ingold, 2008; 2014; 2017). Ingold suggests that anthropological research should enable us to become knowledgeable of how we perceive the world or ‘other possibilities of being’ (2008a:82). This perspective on how we might work with ‘participants’, as researchers of social life (as ethnographers, although Ingold here is critiquing the widespread take of ‘ethnography’ in research), significantly informed my initial research strategy of finding a research site early on. There are similar discussions in applied linguistics and Rampton envisages the field as ‘blending teaching and research around increased civic engagement’ (2015: 5) over the next decade. The affordances here are beginning to be explored (for example, the edited collection by Lawson and Sayers, 2016; Matras and Robertson, 2017).

3.3.3. An ethnographic approach

During the first four months of my doctorate I took a flexible approach to finding a research 'site'. My professional experience of university outreach and engagement in combination with my developing understanding of 'how' applied linguistics might be 'applied' (Roberts, 2003), led me to enter 'the field' in this way. I believed that finding an organisation with whom to work should take place *alongside* the development of a research plan and theoretical framework, not afterwards. The processes were mutually informative and co-constructing, with the 'gap' in the literature mirrored by the activities taking place 'in the world'. It was not possible, therefore, to unpick the activities relating to different stages of the research process and separate into tasks that could be completed in a linear fashion. The 'site' itself and the type of 'arts' activity within that site led the direction of the study, affecting the research design, the literature review, and the theoretical underpinnings (Lanza, 2008:73). Moreover, developing understandings of the places and people with whom I would conduct my research would enable my research to be 'practice-led', with practice as Althusser describes as 'an active relationship with the real' (1970).

3.3.4. Leads and links

I made a deliberate decision at an early stage to be open to following up opportunities. These opportunities arose continually throughout the research process (and continue to arise). Leads came from informal conversations in coffee shops, from chance remarks in conversations, from a poster in a shop window, from email addresses and phone numbers scribbled on postcards and in fieldwork notebooks and from friends and acquaintances. Can ethnographic work start in any other way (Katz, 2006)? Through this I began to gain a deeper understanding of the field of 'community arts'. My confidence grew through reading about ethnographic approaches to liminality in community arts (Raw, 2013, unpublished thesis; 2014; Raw and Rosas Mantecón, 2013) and through scholarship on messiness and bricolage (Lévi-Strauss, 1966; Berry, 2015). But with this perceived opportunism (and its many incumbent negative connotations) comes risk: the risk that we inevitably take on when entering into any kind of communication. As a research process it was neither straightforward nor linear. Decisions had to be made, fieldwork sites approached, and my different roles and 'identities' within these diverse spaces negotiated.

I came to research street arts by following where others lead (Ingold, 2014). During the initial stages of my research, I travelled widely across West Yorkshire, participating in

women's yoga classes in suburban community centres, observing arts and craft workshops organised by Leeds-based community health charities and learning about mindfulness with a group of student volunteers, in the context of facilitating an arts project for International Women's Day. At one point the Leeds TLANG team were taken on a tour of Gipton and Harehills in the back of a police van. I spent a year serving coffee in a pop-up social enterprise café in a temporary portakabin on Wednesday mornings, discussing Zygmunt Bauman and participatory methods. And I started to collaborate with Bev, the creative director of F.A., a West Yorkshire-based community arts organisation, who was establishing a collaborative partnership with a Slovenia-based street arts theatre, A.M.T.. This led to me documenting multilingual puppetry workshops in Ljubljana. These workshops and the production of a street performance then formed the focus of this thesis.

3.3.5. Personal orienting frame of reference

How might this research trajectory be understood and theorised? Exploring multiple diverse contexts and sites enriched my own emergent knowledge of the fields in which I was researching, and my developing understanding of other ways of being. Each context raised different questions. Each site, each potential case, offered a new window into which I could peer, and each would have led to a different thesis. This way of approaching research also sheds light on my own 'personal orienting frame of reference or worldview' (Callaghan, 2011:6), as a former outreach and engagement practitioner, coming to research from a career which required me to maintain a broad knowledge of a wide ranging set of projects, initiatives and policies. This approach informed me as I went on to theorise the patchwork, or *bricolage*, of additional projects leading from my emergent research, from TLANG, and, in some cases, back to my previous career. And it also enabled me to establish how and where I wanted to continue to develop my research and start to consider the intersections of engagement, practice, and research. Moreover this initial work became a solid and grounded starting point for analysis and for informing the data-driven direction of my research. Throughout this process, I continued to consider and problematize concepts of community, community arts, and translanguaging practices in-between reading, writing, and building the research relationships and getting to know and understand the spaces to which the research led me.

Over the course of this exploratory work, I observed a small-scale project organised by a museums trust and a women's charity, focusing on migration, including how the project leaders sought out participants from across the city, casting their net as wide as possible. I

learnt from this experience that if my research were to take an ‘arts’ focus, it might not be defined by a particular geographical location, but instead by an organisation or an individual. Artists and arts organisations travel across ward, city, and national boundaries, following the work, following the funding. I decided to find one organisation and follow them and their work, wherever it might take place. In this way, I would be able to, as Ingold suggests, *attend to the practices under observation*. My approach was grounded in ‘following where others go’. As Ingold explains:

It is one that calls upon the novice anthropologist to *attend*: to attend to what others are doing or saying and to what is going on around and about; to follow along where others go and to do their bidding, whatever this might entail and wherever it might take you (Ingold, 2014:389, see also Bradley, 2017:269, emphases added).

Ingold describes this ‘existential risk’ as ‘like pushing the boat out into an as yet unformed world—a world in which things are not ready made but always incipient, on the cusp of continual emergence’ (p.389). During my research I kept a research blog, mapping out my thoughts and experiences and linking these to the literature and theory with which I was engaging. On my research blog I made the following notes, drawing on Z.Bauman’s ‘The Art of Life’ (2008: 53):

There’s something that Zygmunt Bauman says in his book, The Art of Life. Something about choices and decisions. A PhD seems to me to be a series of decisions. A series of decisions that you have to make as an ‘apprentice independent researcher’ who is on the path to becoming an ‘independent researcher’. So does making these decisions, theorizing them, backing up your decisions and explaining why you didn’t choose the different path – does all this mean that at the end of the three years you are suddenly ‘independent’?

Back to Bauman:

‘All that, however, only soon to find out that our choice of guiding star was in the last account our choice, pregnant with risks as all our choices have been and are bound to be – and our choice, made on our responsibility, it will remain to the end.’

(Research blog entry, 2 December 2015)

Periods of uncertainty were mapped out in earlier fieldnotes. Approaching in this way and accepting the uncertainty enabled me to develop my methodology in dialogue with the research site, the performers and the actions under investigation. Conteh, drawing from Glaser and Strauss (1965, 1967), describes this blurring of boundaries as ‘continually developing and iterative’ (2017:17). This was an epistemological strategy: to embed myself

within a site and start to develop understandings of the practices under observation. This followed four stages, set out below:

Dates	Site	Activities
Stage One: Conceptualisation (planning and design of research project)		
September 2014 – December 2014	<p>Pop-up community coffee shop and emergent arts space Harehills, Leeds, UK;</p> <p>Migrant Education Trust, Harehills, Leeds;</p> <p>Museums Trust and Women’s Charity arts project, various wards of Leeds.</p> <p><i>Harehills linked to the first two stages of the TLANG project and my research activities intertwined with those of the Leeds case study.</i></p>	<p>Volunteering;</p> <p>developing networks;</p> <p>establishing a presence within the ward and with the arts and third sector in general.</p>
Stage Two: Making (data collection)		
January 2015 – July 2015	<p>Pop-up community coffee shop and emergent arts space Harehills, Leeds, UK; F.A., Wakefield, UK;</p> <p>A.M.T., Ljubljana, Slovenia.</p>	<p>LSSI Placement Fellowship Scheme funded report ‘A social audit of a community interest company’;</p> <p>developing research site and research collaboration;</p> <p>observation of process of production and performance of ‘How Much Is Enough?’.</p>
Stage Three: Devising (developing co-produced projects)		
August 2015 – December 2015	<p>F.A., Wakefield, UK;</p> <p>A.M.T., Ljubljana, Slovenia.</p>	<p>Continuing research collaboration;</p> <p>further consolidation visit to A.M.T. to observe street arts education workshops (December 2015).</p>
Stage Four: Performance (consolidation and writing up)		
January 2016 – August 2018	<p>F.A., Wakefield, UK;</p> <p>Migrant Education Trust, Harehills, Leeds;</p> <p>A.M.T., Ljubljana, Slovenia.</p>	<p>Continuing research collaboration;</p> <p>co-produced arts and research project ‘Migration and Home: Welcome in Utopia’ (AHRC-funded, Connected Communities), with Migrant Education Trust, Leeds;</p> <p>co-produced arts and research project ‘Migration and Settlement: Extending the Welcome’, also Migrant Education Trust, Leeds;</p> <p>Return visit to Ljubljana to work with A.M.T. (November 2017).</p>

The collaboration developed alongside and through my research and led to a series of co-produced research and arts practice projects (see appendix F). The four stages of the exploratory stage of my research (above) are comparable with the categories I established for the four stages of the production process - conceptualisation, making, devising and performing - as shown below.



3.4. Faceless Arts

F.A. was a Wakefield-based community arts organisation, whose interactive, participatory work was based on the Commedia dell' Arte. The organisation was created in 1990 by performing arts graduates from Bretton Hall College in Wakefield (now Performance and Cultural Industries and part of the University of Leeds). I started to work with F.A. in January 2015, towards the beginning of the first year of my doctoral research, working mainly with Bev, the company's co-founder and artistic director. In early 2017 the company closed after twenty-seven years, forming a new company, Edgelands Arts (E.A.), later the same year. The organisation's main creative practices were outdoor street arts and visual arts and crafts and they worked in community contexts, often with groups from diverse backgrounds. F.A. and the street arts production developed with A.M.T. form the focal point for my research. I worked mainly with Bev, but also with the other two full-time employees, its freelance arts practitioners and its international partners. I described the ways in which the collaboration began in my transfer document as follows:

Once I established that I would look at organisations within a wider geographical area, I decided to approach a local arts organisation, (F.A.). I had spoken to the artistic director when I put together my original research plan in February 2014 to ask for advice on literature related to multilingualism in the arts. I knew of the organisation from activities I had attended with my own children (in Chapel Allerton and in Wakefield). I had a link through a former school friend who works for F.A. as communities manager. I arranged a meeting with Bev, the artistic director, to

talk about the work I was hoping to do and to see if she could offer some suggestions. She was open to working with a researcher and was interested in how researching language in an arts setting could potentially feed into their own practice working with diverse groups. Initially I had heard from a contact at Wakefield City of Sanctuary that F.A. were planning to work on an arts project at a housing organisation for refugees and refugees seeking asylum. This was one of the reasons I approached them, as this fit with the original focus of my research plan. Unfortunately their funding proposal was unsuccessful and they were in the process of resubmitting. Bev was, however, about to embark on an international project with a theatre company based in Ljubljana, Slovenia. She offered me the opportunity to accompany her and observe and document the project.

(Transfer document, 2015)

F.A.'s website included a manifesto for their work, centred on their belief that people everywhere should be able to engage with the arts:

1.	Art is for everyone ... everywhere.
2.	Art can flourish in the edgelands and is not the preserve of the urban cognoscenti.
3.	Art is about people and place and stories of people and places.
4.	Art can be made to high quality by anyone if the creative experience is of high quality.
5.	A high quality creative participatory experience consists of the right process, with relevance to participants, facilitated in the right place.
6.	A theatre building or arts venue can be a barrier to some people engaging with the arts.
7.	More people will have an opportunity to enjoy the arts if art is taken to them, made with them and is about them.
8.	Everyone has a story to tell and art is a way of presenting and documenting those stories for others to appreciate.
9.	To create art through play makes it accessible and enriches both the quality of the work, the audience experience and those creating the work.
10.	Using multifarious media in the creation of work provides multitudinous layers by which an audience can engage.
11.	Working with performance, non-verbally and visually creates a universal poetic language accessible to all.

(F.A. website, n.d.)

The last point, 'a universal poetic language accessible to all', relates specifically to the organisation's street arts practice. I was interested in the way that F.A. considered street arts as a language and how this might provide a fruitful dialogue with my own research questions and my interest in how people might draw from their full communicative repertoire in arts contexts.

3.5. Collaborating across countries: Faceless Arts and the Ana Monro Theatre

This thesis focuses on a short period of time, March 2015 – July 2015, during which F.A. worked with A.M.T. to create a collaborative production. The fieldwork timetable is set out below:

Date	Location	Activity	Stage
March 2015	Ljubljana, Slovenia: Tabor	Animating the inanimate: street arts puppetry workshops	<i>One. Conceptualisation</i>
May 2015	Ljubljana, Slovenia: A.M.T. Studio	Making the puppets and sourcing the props and objects for the production	<i>Two. Making</i>
June 2015	Ljubljana, Slovenia: Tabor	Devising the production, writing the final script, finalizing the puppets	<i>Three. Devising</i>
July 2015	Ljubljana, Slovenia: City-wide	Performing the production for the street arts festival	<i>Four. Performing</i>

The additional visits to Ljubljana, Slovenia I made to follow up this research are listed below:

Date	Location	Activity
December 2015	Ljubljana, Slovenia: A.M.T. Studio and Tabor	EFETSA workshops
August 2016	Ljubljana, Slovenia and Lake Bohinj	Additional visit
November 2017	Ljubljana, Slovenia: Tabor	CIRCOSTRADA general meeting

3.5.1. The Ana Monro Theatre and the ŠUGLA programme

F.A. had started to work with the A.M.T. as part of a European collaborative project around street arts training and education. A.M.T. was founded in 1982 and is the longest running street theatre company in Slovenia. In a report outlining developments for the European project, Goro Osojnik, A.M.T.'s director, whose own street arts practice is in clown, describes its evolution into what he calls a 'support agency, providing education, creation, dissemination of knowledge and festivities':

With A.M.T., I made many street performances and toured them for a number of years and life was good. However, as money became scarce, I discovered that it was easier to get money to organise something than to create something (Adams, 2015:7).



Figure 1: Ana Monro Theatre studio and offices

Economic necessity, therefore, was the catalyst for A.M.T.'s current formation and purpose, which includes the organisation and delivery of a series of street arts festivals across the country and internationally, among which is the Ana Desetnica festival, taking place each summer and in its eighteenth year in 2015. Goro also explains the rationale for establishing the ŠUGLA street arts education and training programme as addressing what he perceived as the lack of opportunities for young people to learn how to perform in the street. Describing European street theatre as having reached 'a plateau', Goro's concerns are that street arts skills and practices are potentially lost amidst the desire to create 'large scale spectacle'. 'Education' is central to his project, as 'without education, street arts will disappear' (p.7). The emphasis here is on transmission of street arts practice to younger generations of aspiring street artists.

3.5.2. The European Federation for Education and Training in Street Arts

The puppetry workshops in March 2015 (Chapter Six) marked Bev's second visit to Slovenia in as many weeks, as over the previous weekend she had participated in an international

street arts seminar in Maribor, Slovenia, alongside performers and academics from across Europe. This was part of the ongoing collaborative street arts initiatives led by A.M.T., which included a series of practitioner seminars, entitled the 'Street Arts Winter Academy'. This recent workshop, the 'Street Arts Winter Academy #4' (SAWA#4), focusing on 'Methods and Approaches to Education and Training in Street Arts', had resulted in the creation of the 'European Federation of Education and Training in Street Arts' (EFETSA) (Adams, 2015), established to continue to develop the existing network around 'Education and Training in Street Arts' (ETSA).

The previous three Winter Academy seminars had focused on different aspects of street arts. SAWA#1 (2012) in Pokljuka, Slovenia, had considered 'language' in terms of the 'common language between practitioners of many different European languages and disciplines as well as finding the common language for ETSA between practitioners, pedagogues and academics'. At SAWA#2 (2013) in Winchester, UK, the group discussed the relationship between practice and research while SAWA#3 (2014) in Marseilles, France, had initiated a common framework for ETSA practice, drawing on the Bologna process. Participants in the SAWA#4 (2015) seminar came from across six countries: Slovenia, UK, France, Turkey, Switzerland and Poland, with representation from street arts companies, networks, universities, governments, and from the European Parliament and the 'Culture and Education Committee' (CULT), responsible for the cultural aspects of the EU. Its main action had been to debate the affordances of a collaborative approach to street arts education and training, a debate that developed towards a grant application to formalise the group and their activities across sectors and national borders.

The SAWA#4 seminar report (Adams, 2015) sets out a framework for the development of the collaborative project, drawn in part from the group workshops, including a formalised street arts qualification system with an emphasis on 'documentation of practice'. Challenges articulated around the documentation of street arts practice and the development of resources which could then be shared included a desire not to create 'gurus', the responsibility for possible injury should the documentation be misinterpreted by workshop leaders recreating particular activities, and whether it was even possible to document creative activities while engaged in the creative process. Mason, writing in 1992, calls outdoor theatre the 'unappreciated outsider busy getting on with its own development and expanding its popularity' (p.3). He goes on to say:

because it is a relatively new field, most practitioners have learnt by trial and error and so have a practical approach rather than a theoretical one; they take for granted what does and does not work (ibid).

Although writing over twenty years before the SAWA events took place, the context Mason describes is still widely considered to be the case by street artists, with practitioners also operating in a competitive arena for funding. Pan-European networks, such as the emergent SAWA network, and more established ones, including Paris-based Circostrada, Hors les Murs and ArtCENA, seek to develop the field in terms of visibility, professionalisation and advocacy. The #SAWA4 seminar report concluded:

As the feedbacks from discussion groups merged into a conversation with all attendees at the seminar, it appeared that SAWA#4 was moving forward to a clear consensus for the importance of documenting practice and a desire to develop as an organisation to bring formal and informal ETSA practices together through a joint Erasmus+ funded project (Adams, 2015:25).

The consensus from #SAWA4 was to collaborate and write a joint funding application. It is within this broader context of a collaborative European street arts consortium that Bev is working with the aspiring street artists. A.M.T. and the European project collaborators have the longer-term aim of developing a Europe-wide collaborative programme of street arts education and training, under the EFETSA banner.

In addition to the three research visits I made in March 2015 (Chapter Six, conceptualisation), May/June 2015 (Chapter Seven, making; Chapter Eight, devising) and July 2015 (Chapter Nine, performance) I continued to return to Ljubljana to meet the performers and follow their activities. I made three further visits in December 2015, July 2016 and November 2017. For the December visit, I observed the first practicum of the network, the EFETSA Practicum #1, hosted by A.M.T., which focused on teaching methods. The production and performance of 'How Much Is Enough?' which forms the focus for my research, was commissioned by A.M.T. for the Ana Desetnica Street Arts Festival.

3.6. From outside to inside: moving from public-facing work to research

Prior to starting my PhD I had worked for ten years in university educational outreach and engagement, creating languages and arts-based projects with schools and for public audiences. Through this I developed an interest in how research might be translated for different audiences and the creative ways in which researchers can work with groups of

children and young people, not only to communicate research findings but also to conduct participatory research. My work focused on including school communities in research and in teaching in different ways, and this involved not solely thinking about them as participants or as receivers of our knowledge, but considering them as collaborators or as co-researchers (e.g. Hackett, 2017).

As previously stated, this influenced how I approached my doctoral research. But, increasingly, I began to consider the front-stage, back-stage of the research processes of a project of this kind as fluid, as liquid. Ten months in, in my transfer document I reflected on my motivations:

Moreover, I would suggest that at ten months in, my motivation lies in an increasing appreciation of the rare opportunity that this doctoral research offers. It is a side-step from my previous work and has created a vantage point from which to consider reflexively my own practice to date, develop new understandings of this, and dig deeper into the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of participation and outreach in the arts through language. It also offers me the chance to reposition myself as a researcher and allows space for realignment, exploration of alternative possibilities, and a change of direction. I am drawn towards the intellectual interrogation and critique within academic study, by the diverse literatures, and by the call to make a contribution, however small, to an emerging body of work in a dynamic area of research that is at once relevant and topical in nature. I am motivated by being able to develop my own position and my own views through scholarship and through empirical analysis.

(Transfer document, 2015)

My motivation to carry out this research and the appreciation of the opportunity I describe in my transfer document remain true. Earlier in this chapter I wrote about the shared repertoires which developed over the course of the TLANG project across multiple scholarly endeavours and through the production of texts. Likewise, the observations and the work contained in this thesis have guided me not only forwards towards research, but taken me back to reappraise my professional practice.

3.7. Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations emerged from the outset and my approach was informed by Gibson-Graham's understanding of ethical practice as 'the co-implicated processes of changing ourselves/changing our thinking/changing the world' (2008:6018). Taking an ethnographic approach has multiple potential risks and is often at odds with the institutional frameworks required for ethical research (Katz, 2006). Through establishing a research collaboration during the first few months of my research I was able to set out the details for institutional

ethical review early on. The ethical approval process was important for many reasons, but it particularly focused my attention on the complexities of following where others lead. I wanted to respond to opportunities and allow my research to emerge, while ensuring it fit within the necessary institutional structures, therefore balancing the macro with the micro (Kubanyiova, 2008). Kubanyiova highlights the inadequacies of 'adherence to general 'macroethical' principles established in professional codes of ethics' (p.504) and refers to the 'can of ethical worms' that can be opened through a situated ethnographic study (p.515). My research continually raised questions for me, including when I might feel comfortable recording interactions or writing notes. I wanted to be sure that my research, essentially at micro-level, had an 'ethics of care' (p. 515) as a central consideration. This supported my decision to develop a long-term research relationship with the arts organisations with whom I was working. Through doing so I sought to address the challenge De Costa outlines as 'the danger of cursory involvement' (2014:416). This laid the foundations for the methodological approach using short-term ethnography within the context of a wider engagement and commitment to collaboration (Pink and Morgan, 2013, see also 4.2.1). Collaborating with the arts organisations gave me deeper insights into their motivations for working in particular ways and more understanding of the role that the economic precarity of parts of this sector has on day-to-day activities. This in itself was an ethical decision, enabling me to make informed decisions about data collection and, for the purpose of this thesis, identifying the core questions and analytical focus.

An early ethical audit by the University (February 2015) was a significant moment in my research, allowing me to focus on what an ethics of care might look like in an emergent ethnographic study and within an institutional framework which required order for a process that felt very unordered. Strathern (2006) critiques the discourse of audit with its 'human subjects' rather than 'persons and relations' (p.533) and the relational aspects of researching collaboratively emerged not from the paperwork but through the research as it unfolded.

De Costa describes his 'ethical obligation to respect the teachers' space (2014:416) and, likewise, I used my own intuition in terms of how much to 'record' either by means of audio- and video-recording, photographs or even fieldnotes. This either was through electing not to 'record' at that particular point, stepping away from the main activity in order to allow for some space, or the non-selection of a conversation or discussion. In order to do this, ethically, and yet still ensure the validity of my research, ongoing communication was important, as

were the additional collaborative projects which afforded a deeper insight into F.A.'s practice and organisational priorities.

The ethical process I undertook can be broadly summarised as follows:

Step 1	Agreement of the organisations involved	F.A. and A.M.T. provided confirmation that they were happy for me to conduct research across their work, sending additional documentation including risk assessments and liability documents.
Step 2	Full ethical review	The project proposal, information sheets and consent forms underwent full ethical review at University Faculty level (Appendix A and B)
Step 3	Ongoing dialogue	When working with the performers I introduced myself and my research. Information sheets and consent forms were given out and explained. These were signed and returned. Contact was maintained (and is still maintained with the arts organisations and many of the performers) including sending writing to view.

However, the lived reality of research is more complex than a table might suggest. As the research unfolded, the ethical review paperwork, although important, seemed to do little justice to the engagements and ethics of ongoing research with creative practitioners in public spaces. These ethical considerations were central to the ways in which I developed my collaboration with the arts organisations and are foregrounded in ethnographic research (e.g. Copland and Creese, 2016).

As ethnographer I am embedded in the activities, albeit to greater and lesser extents at different points. But there are questions as to how much a researcher can and should be embedded and for how long. On the one hand, there can be a risk of 'parachuting' in to communities when researching in this way. This can, rightly and understandably, cause people to become suspicious of research and researchers. For whose gain is this research? On the other hand, a PhD must be bounded and there are particular timeframes which must be taken into account and adhered to. These questions relate directly to vulnerability. Vulnerability must be considered in terms of the participants and sites which might risk 'exposure' through research. But the researcher is also vulnerable and accountable for the vulnerability of others when writing about their practices. And these are not new considerations or dilemmas - as Behar puts it:

As a mode of knowing that depends on a particular relationship formed by a particular anthropologist with a particular set of people in a particular time and

place, anthropology has always been vexed about the question about vulnerability (1996:5).

Behar goes on to ask just how much a researcher should be 'enmeshed' in the environments in which they are carrying out their research. As I began to establish and develop research relationships with the different organisations with whom I was carrying out my research, I was immediately negotiating a series of intersecting ethical considerations. Ethical tensions arose in different ways. At the beginning there were questions of role. To what extent does or should a researcher advocate for the people with whom they are carrying out their research? When researching with communities who wish to raise the profile of their work, to what extent should a researcher's role be to make visible the practices under investigation? The performers with whom I worked wished to be named in my research. Earlier iterations of my thesis included pseudonyms as, together with my participants, I played with different names which might reflect the organisations and people involved but retain their anonymity. But by the end of the process, the people with whom I had worked decided that they wished to be named. This is a matter of agency but also pertains to visibility. As described in 3.5, the activities I was observing formed part of a wider European project for which one of the objectives was for street arts to be made more prominent and more visible. An ethical question for me, as author of this work, is what the implications of naming participants might be. This goes beyond the end of the research and requires reflexivity about what might happen in the future.

Ethnography therefore needs to be critical, in the sense that it requires commitment to a change, or the 'performative ontological project' (Gibson-Graham, 2008). Foley considers critical ethnography as 'a well-theorized empirical study with a serious political intent to change people's consciousness, if not their daily lives' (2002:140). The criticality in this thesis pertains to ongoing reflection on ethnographic research as ethical practice and to an ethical stance to conducting research (see also 1.6). My role is not to critique the practice of the people with whom I am working. Instead, I seek to engage in different ways with the world from the perspective of being in the world.

3.8. The language of street arts and performance

One of the potential challenges of interdisciplinary researching at borders lies within language itself. As a researcher *of* language, I am aware of the tensions and debates around arts *language*, of the politicised discourse around *community arts* and *participatory arts* (Matarasso, 1997; Belfiore, 2002; Bishop, 2012; Kester, 2013; Cooke and Soria-Donlan,

2017). Further and more detailed interrogation of these debates falls outside the scope of this research. I have endeavoured, therefore, to select my language with care and attention and to remain consistent with the terminology I employ.

Throughout this document I use the term *performer* to refer to those participants in this research. I use *street arts* to describe performance in the street, in line with the terminology adopted by A.M.T..

At times, words were written in different ways in the texts produced over the course of the production stages. When reproducing data I keep these forms as they have been written by the participants. These often do not follow conventions (for example when using the Slovene language). However, for consistency I have used standard spelling throughout when not directly reproducing data.

3.9. What not to expect in this thesis

Debates around theories and ontologies around the status of a work of art continue, as do diverse anthropological perspectives on art and its place and purpose within societies (Morphy and Perkins, 2006). These continue to be important, relevant, and of significant interest, including in education. It is within this broad, diverse, and continuing debate that this research has developed. But this thesis does not seek to engage directly with these debates. For the purposes of this piece of work, and within the context of the activities and processes under observation, I take a communicative perspective on art. The rationale for this, put simply, is that this research investigates communicative repertoires and translanguaging in the context of street arts production and performance. The Arts Council England (ACE) considers participation as a ‘malleable dialogue’ (Dix and Gregory, 2010). In defining participation as a dialogue in this way, production processes (and performance) are framed as interactive acts. Adopting Williams’ stance that art is a communicative vehicle, an ‘intense’ (1961:25) extension or development of common communicative practices, it seems logical to extend this meaning within the sphere of participatory arts to a ‘communicative dialogue’, as the ACE definition suggests.

As the research progressed, its foci moved and changed direction multiple times. I first decided to follow up the opportunity of observing F.A.’s collaboration with A.M.T. as it offered a site in which I could consider multilingualism within the development of a co-produced, collaborative performance. Although this research was carried out in Ljubljana,

Slovenia, it is not a study which focuses on the Slovene language, and nor does it allow for a comprehensive account of the historical and political context of Slovenia, although this is touched on in Chapter Five. This study takes the concepts of superdiversity and liquidity as foregrounded and focuses on translanguaging practices in arts contexts within these fluid and mobile spaces.

And finally, it is not a thesis which offers an additional TLANG case study. Instead, it complements the broader project, the research and its findings. It can be considered as part of a larger body of work around translation, around translanguaging, and around communicative practices. But it is a stand-alone and discrete undertaking. It provides documentation of my own developing repertoire. As Busch puts it, following Bakhtin:

Because language is, in Bakhtin's term, dialogic, because it lies on the border between oneself and the other (Bakhtin 1981a: 293), the linguistic repertoire reflects the synchronic coexistence of different social spaces in which we participate as speakers, and it points diachronically to different levels of time. It not only points backwards to the past of the language biography, which has left behind its traces and scars, but also forwards, anticipating and projecting the future situations and events we are preparing to face (Busch, 2015:16).

Likewise, this thesis points backwards and also forwards.

3.10. Summary

This chapter focused on the context for this study. The broader TLANG project and its overarching research questions were introduced, as was the more local context of the Leeds case study. The processes of finding a research site and developing a research collaboration were sketched out, with reference to the ontological and epistemological commitments of this research. I then introduced the arts organisations with whom this research was carried out, and described the international links and projects of which the performance was part, followed by an introduction to my own research trajectory in terms of practice and research. Attention was given to the language of street performance and consideration was made of what this thesis cannot be.

In Part II the focus is on making and Chapter Four sets out the methodology I developed for this study.

Part II: Making

Chapter Four: Methodology

to observe, in itself, is not to objectify (Ingold, 2017:23).

our data may have a future if we give them the attention they deserve (Ochs, 1979, in Jaworski and Coupland, 2006:178).



4.1. Introduction

Building on the contextual information set out in Chapter Three, this chapter describes the methodology for this study. It starts by considering ethnography as an underpinning approach, encompassing short-term ethnography, the role of writing in ethnography and the extended case study method. It follows by focusing on linguistic, visual, sensory and collaborative ethnography within the research design, drawing from elements of street arts theory to consider the situated practice of research. It then moves to consider interdisciplinarity and the concept of the trajectory. The focus then shifts to data and data collection, with core analytical processes outlined.

4.2. Ethnography as underpinning approach

As social scientists we are thrown off balance by our presence in the world we study, by absorption in the society we observe, by dwelling alongside those we make 'other' (Burawoy, 1998:4).

For Burawoy, methodology is pivotal to keeping upright while navigating what he describes as a terrain that 'moves and shifts even as we attempt to traverse it' (p.4). This moving and shifting of terrain is characteristic of ethnographic work in non-formal contexts. Likewise, the landscape of community arts constantly changes and the activities under observation are fluid, contingent on grant applications and policy adjustments.

Burawoy suggests that researchers have a choice in how they consider and deal with their presence in the world. They can, on the one hand, choose to limit their entanglement: to 'minimise our predicament by limiting our involvement in the world we study'. In this way they choose not to 'affect', or even, perhaps, 'infect' the research, participants and contexts (p.5). The objective here is to be as removed as possible. On the other hand, researchers can, as ethnographers do, choose to do as Burawoy suggests and 'thematise our participation in the world we study' (p.5). Burawoy considers the role of a theoretically grounded methodology as enabling an underpinning of the research, which acts to steady the researcher as they stand on this shifting terrain.

Pink and Morgan define the relationship between researcher, researched and the field as 'entanglement' (Pink and Morgan 2013:354; see also Barad, 2007). The dilemma, or one of a series of dilemmas, lies in how to traverse the gap between knowledge gained through

‘active participation and engagement’ and knowledge produced through ‘disciplined rational enquiry’ (Pink, 2015:47). We are embodied and emplaced beings, as Pink explains:

Such scholarship is indeed fundamental to the modern western academic project of intellectualising ethnographic happenings. Yet if we understand even abstract thought as an *emplaced practice* (my italics) then to a certain extent the problem is resolved. We might abstract, isolate or rationalise embodied knowing into written description through theoretical frames. Yet we remain embodied beings interacting with environments that might include discursive, sensory, material and social strands (ibid).

How, therefore, with data gathered across a period of time during multiple fieldwork visits, can the researcher start to bring these *emplaced practices* and *data* together to being to ‘rationalise embodied knowing into written description’? How this moving and shifting terrain be *written*?

Clifford considers ethnography as ‘actively situated *between* powerful systems of meaning’ (1986:2), describing it as an *emergent phenomenon* (p.3). Conducting an ethnographically-informed study of street arts as a ‘non-practitioner’ is, in many ways, a process of deliberate inbetweenness. I considered my way of working as aligned with ‘deep hanging out’ (Geertz, 1998, see also Walmsley, 2018) with performers and creative practitioners and with people learning to be and do these things. The contexts in which I found myself are also inbetween: the spaces of production, the making and sourcing of objects and puppets, devising, the rehearsals. I am researching the inbetween and I am inbetween. In taking a long-term ethnographic approach and collecting multiple data types across the process (observational notes, video recordings, audio recordings, vignettes, and blog posts) I developed different understandings of the complexity of these production processes. Taking a longer-term approach (see 4.2.1.) enabled me to better situate the smaller, short-term project with A.M.T. within the wider contexts of the emerging collaborative relationships (3.4).

Street arts practice is also inbetween. It is inbetween and it takes place in the inbetween, in the ‘juxtaposition of theatres and normal social life’ (Delfour, 1997:147-148, translation Haedicke, 2013:188) and I observe the (often hidden) processes involved in creating interventions which, according to Haedicke,

Disrupt expectations, unsettle routines, and transform ordinary places of commerce or relaxation into places of art. From amusing to annoying, diverting to challenging, the interventions interrupt and interact with everyday life (Haedicke, 2013:xii).

As explained in 3.3., in the changing contexts I was carrying out my research I followed where others led (Ingold, 2014) as a theoretically-grounded epistemological decision. However, in so doing I accepted I would not find the neatly bounded project I had envisaged in my original research proposal. Miller describes this process of not finding what we are looking for as ‘the humiliation of anthropology’ (2017:28). When exploring the field I was frequently asked by third sector organisations to set up a community arts project (the kind I was looking for) as they needed to meet a particular need and did not necessarily have the resource or expertise to deliver. With community arts, the contexts are always uncertain, linked to funding and to short-term projects, meaning the risks and inbetweenness of ethnography seem particularly foregrounded. This inbetweenness leads to the sense of being on the verge (Shuman, 2011). As Shuman writes, it is unsettling:

Doing ethnography places us on the verge, whether on the verge of knowing, on the verge of exploitation, on the verge of discovery, on the verge of desire, or on the verge of going native. For me, as for many others, ethnography is always a meeting place of the personal, the methodological, and the theoretical (Shuman, 2011:147).

Shuman goes on to describe this sense of ‘being on verge’ as ‘critiquing but longing for the self-evident’ (p.170) through continuous engagement with the field. In Miller’s view ethnography is ‘engagement with people’ (2017:29) and he states that ‘the world is always so much more than we can envisage’ (p.30). Accordingly ethnographers are almost permanently on the verge, including in critical debates in anthropology about ethnography (see, for example, the 2017 HAU journal special issue focusing on these debates).

This kind of engagement is described as a dialogue by Burawoy. He suggests that in embarking on ethnographic research, researchers start from dialogue: dialogue between ‘us’ and ‘them’, or between researcher and ‘researched’. These dialogues start from ‘real’ locations (p.7) which move and shift as the research and the relationship progresses. It is not possible for either partner to be conscious of the nature and parameters of the dialogue at the outset. When working across disciplines, or at the borders of disciplines, the locations can seem to move more quickly than anticipated, as demonstrated in this thesis.

4.2.1. Short-term and long-term engagement

The evolution of the research methodology to follow the arts organisation’s work is discussed in more detail in a book chapter (Bradley, 2017a) in which I conceptualise the ‘liquid’ ethnographic approach underpinning my research as encompassing short-term,

intensive ethnography (Pink and Morgan, 2013), consolidated through active participation and engagement across a longer period of time.

This active participation and engagement led to collaboration. Having approached F.A. initially about a specific project, I had anticipated that my research would focus on a migration-related arts project for which they were submitting grant applications. Over the year these did not come to fruition in their original form and towards the end of 2015 we developed a collaborative proposal for the AHRC's Connected Communities Utopias Festival, linking with TLANG's emergent findings and exploring methods of co-production across arts practice and linguistic ethnography (Migration and Home, 2016, AHRC). Through working together on this, the nature of the research collaboration changed considerably. I had initially ruled out 'action research' approaches at the beginning of my research but as we continued to collaborate the methodological boundaries became more blurred (for example, research as arts practice, arts practice as research). This enabled contextualisation of the production process within this thesis, for which the boundaries were significantly less porous, due in part to geographical distance. My role continued to shift and with my fourth visit to Slovenia in December 2015, the nature of my involvement moved to that of observer. This affected not just my position within the group – a move inwards to a more emic, or insider, positioning – but also the ways in which I started to write up my observations and fieldnotes. I was asked to prepare documents on the workshops that took place. These documents were to be uniformly structured, and would form the basis of a project proposal aiming to provide infrastructure for the documentation and dissemination of pan-European street arts practice (see 3.5.2.). My methodology therefore had to shift in line with my new role within the group. I wrote the following as a fieldwork vignette for the TLANG blog shortly afterwards (Appendix E):

Thomson and Gunter (2011) write about the fluidity of researcher identity when conducting ethnographic fieldwork in schools. For me, although my work is in the street and in the theatre – not in a school – this seems to be particularly apposite. As I arrived at the studio, the group was waiting for me, and my role had been assigned: I was an observer. Officially. Of course, as a researcher drawing from ethnography, I'm used to this role. Observing. But generally I am an observer for my own research project. My observations are jotted down in notebooks, interactions are recorded onto my iPhone, my videos and photographs are stored into my own folders. But in this case, my outsider status (I'm not a street arts practitioner, I have had no practical experience in this area) was one that positioned me as someone who could document the workshops and produce a factual account of what was happening.

(TLANG blog post, January 2016)

Researcher positioning, as I found out, is sometimes not a conscious choice we can make ourselves. A role may be created by participants and this requires a continuous reflexive approach. Pillow (2010) argues for 'continued deeper critical engagement with reflexivity as methodological practice in qualitative research' (p.280) and it is through commitment to researching reflexively, to paying attention to the relational, to considering the different ways that the moving terrain affects our data collection, methodology, and data analysis, that researchers can continue to locate themselves within the research. For Pillow, the writing (and re-writing) process is crucial. Writing offered me a reflexive and sometimes cathartic way to confront methodological challenges, such as the ones highlighted earlier, and I used my blog extensively during the first two years of my doctorate.

4.2.2. Extending beyond the fieldwork

My data led me to go beyond the bounded fieldwork period, to look backwards (Chapter Five). Kell (2009) draws on Burawoy's 'extended case study' method (1998) to consider trajectories of texts and material. For Kell, Burawoy's 'extension processes' are defined as 'extending from the observer to the participant' (2009:86). These extensions are spatio-temporally oriented for observations and also extend 'out from process to force and extending theory, which together lay the basis for theoretical refinement' (ibid).

Kell argues that Burawoy's focus is on the deepening of theory, and how data can be used to extend understanding of the broad theoretical frameworks within which research is situated. Burawoy suggests an *extended case method* to 'move from the "micro" to the "macro"' and Kell adopts this framework to enable a shift from the fine-grained analysis of the literary events themselves, to a broader base from which to work towards 'the refinement and elaboration of theory' (Kell, 2009:86).

Burawoy situates the origins of the *extended case method* in the Manchester School of Social Anthropology, who changed orientation from 'what "natives" [sic] ought to do' to 'what "natives" [sic] actually were doing' (1998:5). In Kell's research, the processes, in terms of the literacy events and the broader contexts were 'transcontextual', 'unfolding over space and time' (2009:87). Likewise, for street arts production processes, the events and contexts unfold over space and time – and *between* time and space. I defined the four main stages of the production process, *conceptualisation*, *making*, *devising* and *performance*, to some degree by the activities taking place within them and by Bev's aims and objectives. These stages

were demarcated by time and by place, and also by communication, and the challenge here was to avoid assumptions made from a particular context (p.88).

Kell developed a strategy to separate what she describes as the 'emic' and the 'etic'. For emic, she considers the descriptions of the events themselves and the sequences and for etic, the conceptual categories. To do this, she draws from Bernstein (1996:135-141) and deploys 'language of description', thereby arguing that understanding and defining a particular concept develops through 'how it comes to be' (p.87). In this way she starts to make 'higher-level claims' (p.91). She describes this initial way of writing as being 'horizontal', in terms of allowing her to 'follow the thread'. 'Vertical' writing, by contrast, she sees as the development of the initial horizontal writing to move between description and theory.

To make sense of my data over time and space, the emergent analytical framework I deployed draws from these horizontal and vertical writing strategies, both of which could be considered as 'inbetween writing' (Coles and Thomson, 2016, see 4.6.2.). This worked to help me navigate Burawoy's 'moving and shifting terrain', both identifying trajectories and a coherent thread. This kind of writing can also be considered as a form of what Pink conceptualizes as the 'ethnographic place' (Pink, 2015:49).

4.2.3. (Linguistic) Ethnography

My research started, necessarily, with a focus on language. My methodological approach was grounded within the tradition, or beneath the 'golfing umbrella' (Copland and Creese, 2015), of Linguistic Ethnography (L.E.). L.E. continues to be theorised, critiqued and applied to increasingly diverse and complex studies (for example, Baynham et al., 2015; 2016; 2017; Blackledge et al., 2015; 2016; 2017; Creese and Blackledge et al., 2018; Zhu et al., 2015; 2016; 2017). Researchers and practitioners within the L.E. community (Creese, 2008; Rampton et al, 2014), underline its fluidity as an approach, stating that it continues to be built upon and developed with a view to reflexive development of how it is constituted, applied and theorised. Rampton and colleagues (2004) define the meshing of ethnography and linguistic analysis as 'tying ethnography down and opening linguistics up' (p.4), and argue that empirical linguistic data analyses allow for the sharpening of the researcher's lens to focus on 'language, discourse and communication' within these broader contexts which are also explored ethnographically.

L.E. allows for fluidity of data. Blommaert and Jie reiterate that all ethnographic research will 'yield ethnographic data' (2010:1) and as such L.E. can and should be considered as an approach with a robust theoretical and scientific tradition. The focus on data, collected through diverse methods, enables a deeper understanding of the context, the participants and their lives and the socio-cultural settings being explored. L.E. requires the undertaking of a 'systematic enquiry' (Heller, 2008: 251) or 'close analysis of *language in use*' (Copland and Creese, 2015:29). Here it is not only the language that is closely analysed but the communicative resources employed by the participants and the communicative act of the performance or production itself. My engagement with the data demonstrated to me that the different data sets were integral to my emergent research design, mirroring the complexity of the activities and performers who form the focus of this study (Blommaert and Jie, 2010:85). Multiple and varied data sets enable deeper contextualisation (Blommaert and Jie, 2010:30) and a broader scope, making links and connections across time and geographical space. Working with performers led me to experiment with multiple foci: analysis of interactional data through a translanguaging lens, analysis of superdiversity through a street arts lens, or analysis of visual and performative arts through a metrolingual (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2010; 2014a; 2014b; 2015) and Bakhtinian heteroglossic lens (cf. Jaworski, 2014). It opened up possibilities, or 'hot spots' (MacLure, 2010).

L.E.'s roots lie in Hymes' ethnography of communication (1972; 1974) and his call for researchers to fuse together ethnographic and linguistic methodological frameworks. According to Hymes, analysis of language cannot be carried out without a deeper understanding of the interactional context. Likewise, he believed that language, or rather, *communication*, should be at the heart of ethnographic research (1974:8). My objective as a researcher within this particular methodological and theoretical tradition could have been quite simply to 'make meaning from the speech of others' (Creese and Blackledge, 2012:1), through investigating translation and translanguaging practices within community arts. But as my focus extended from speech to other communicative resources, I had concerns that L.E.'s focus on language might potentially restrict the scope of the study.

L.E. has many commonalities with Anthropological Linguistics (A.L.) in the American tradition. Blommaert, in describing the foundations of A.L. from its Boasian roots, sets out the two arguments for A.L. approaches: the 'native [sic] point of view' as providing a 'critique of their own society' (p.7) and abstention of any judgement of the 'native' community. These approaches served to shift the focus away from the belief that 'difference' meant 'inequality'

with *anthropology* emerging as reflexive. As Blommaert puts it, 'Anthropology was as much about us as it was about Native American groups' (p.8).

An understanding of culture and language requires setting culture and language firmly in the whole of the system in which a group operates, and explaining culture and language not by reference to a universal standard but by reference to the particular environment in which this culture and language occurs (Blommaert, 2005:8).

Considering the whole of the system led me to the analysis presented in Chapter Five, in which the folk story of the Zlatorog is presented in its historical context. Through looking backwards, I started to broaden my research approach.

4.2.4. (Visual) and (sensory) ethnography

As this study moved away from *language*, or (L)anguage, attention to the visual and the sensory became necessary to account for and encompass the richness of the practices under observation.

Street arts puppetry is highly visual. And, as Pink states, 'ethnographic research is likewise intertwined with visual images and metaphors' (2007:17). The overlaps between arts practice and sensory ethnography are described by Pink (2015:22), who considers how ethnography as research practice might develop in relation to explorations in art. My research started to enable me to consider the parallels in what I am doing as an ethnographer and what the street performers are doing. Like me, street performers observe the space and the interactions within it. This shared practice blurs the boundaries between what is observed and how I observe, analyse and present. There is a sharedness in our epistemologies. The street arts production workshops are spaces in which performers learn to observe – to do ethnography - and therefore learn to become ethnographers. Their aim is to understand the spaces in which they will perform and use that knowledge to learn to communicate within those spaces. What kind of performance space is the street? Who is there already, what kinds of interactions (and intra-actions) might occur? How can they, as street arts performers, shape the street? How do their disruptions and transformations shape the street?

I began to consider this in terms of what Pink (2009) describes as *sensory ways of knowing*. In this way, street arts can be considered as entanglements of communicative practices and as a way of knowing. A way of knowing the street, as public (and non-public) space. It is a

way of knowing and understanding space and a way of disrupting space. Again, the notion of inbetweenness emerges. Delfour describes street arts as an inbetween.

To change life, but in the sense of an alternate experience of life and social reality... [Street theatre] does not erase the difference between theatre and social life. It transforms this difference between theatre and not-theatre, between theatre and communal reality, not to abolish it, but to make it function differently. It is precisely in the juxtaposition of theatres and normal social life that street theatre occurs and asserts another way of living (Delfour, 1997:147-148, translation Haedicke, 2013:188).

The inbetweenness created by street arts (between theatres and 'normal' social life) is considered as another way of living. The purpose of analysis is to enable researchers to 'grasp a moving but determinate complexity' (1992:12). However, as demonstrated in this thesis, the separation of language from the visual and the sensory to conduct analysis is problematic (e.g. MacLure 2013a; Thurlow, 2016; Pennycook, 2017a). With a L.E. approach, the act of being there, being present and developing a deeper understanding of the broader context is crucial to the analysis of the linguistic data. The data themselves are not 'ethnographic' or 'linguistic', it is the analytical process which makes and remakes them. The visual is encompassed in the 'ethnographic' and in the 'linguistic', yet it also encompasses: a distinction cannot be made between the linguistic and visual in research, in the same way that it cannot be made in everyday life. Moreover, it is highly problematic to view these methodological practices as distinct as they are not. Categorising risks reductivism, as with investigating solely one attribute of the object under investigation (Lefebvre, 1991). The street arts practices and research methods intersect and co-construct, they merge and mesh, as do the elements of the objects being scrutinised. Consideration and reflection on this therefore becomes an intrinsic part of the methodology, and, additionally, emerges from the practices under observation and analysis.

4.2.5. The challenges of ethnography

Over the course of my doctoral research there were times of intensity in terms of research relationships and times of less contact (see 4.2.1.). There have also been periods of time during which I worked in collaboration with F.A.. This approach aligns with aspects of collaborative ethnography (e.g. Lassiter, 2005; Hackett et al., 2017). I frequently found there to be a paradox: ethnography is, by nature, collaborative, however it is within the writing – the writing 'here' of being 'there' (Geertz) and the interpretations of social action through participant observation of that 'being there' that ethnography lies. The writing was a sole

activity, and it seemed at times I would lose the collaborative element and the richness of working with the performers.

Without the writing, without the translation involved in writing up fieldnotes (as with ‘inbetween writing’) in different ways and across multiple genres, and while remembering that ethnography is always partial, there is no ethnography. Miller argues that ethnography is ‘holistic contextualisation’ (2017). In this sense, when we start to observe something we are also making a commitment to ‘account’ for our observations. The difficulty for me was how to do this within a bounded, discrete project – a sole project, determined by a set time period.

Another challenge for ethnographic research lies in language itself. I do not and cannot speak some of the languages of the performers (including Slovene) and I needed to account for what is observed in contexts in which languages are multiple and not always shared (1.9). Language here is another marker of inbetweenness, and of the researcher’s inbetweenness in particular. But I found that I regained a sharper focus in terms of a point of metacommentary (Rymes, 2014) as recurring through the fieldwork and emerging through my data.

4.3. Interdisciplinarity

Central to the TLANG research design, theoretical framework and methodology are *interdisciplinarity*, defined for this purpose by the AHRC as an approach drawing from across disciplines, and *multidisciplinarity*, defined as a team of researchers from different academic fields (Creese and Blackledge, 2012). Moreover, the development of ‘transformative interdisciplinary’ approaches to the study of communication across languages and cultures is stated as being integral to the research (TLANG case for support document, 2014). In situating a study of communication within an arts context which defines itself as communication, as *language*, the research must take a transdisciplinary approach, looking to *transdisciplinary outcomes* in the future.

Interdisciplinarity, as a concept, ideology or fashionable ‘buzzword’, (Widdowson, 2006: 95), is necessarily subject to scholarly critique. Hammersley echoes this caution for the ‘bricoleur’ within ethnography (1999), calling for ‘boat-building’ rather than patchwork bricolage. To be more than merely instrumental, interdisciplinarity must be purposeful and meaningful. Widdowson states:

Interdisciplinary relationships are established where areas of possible convergence can be identified, where one discipline accommodates the concepts or procedures of another, thus changing the manner and scope of its abstraction (2006:95).

But in coming to applied linguistics from outside, travelling in from a modern languages and translation studies background and with a non-traditional academic trajectory, interdisciplinarity was my (unconscious) starting point (Bradley, 2017a). Furthermore, applied linguistics is intrinsically interdisciplinary, as its applied nature requires it to have a subject to which to apply itself (Roberts, 2003; Simpson, 2010), although arguably, this is not without challenges for the researcher. Elsewhere Widdowson argues that applied linguistics acts as mediator 'between linguistics and other discourses' (2000:22), suggesting that the 'applied' denotes another inbetween. Meanwhile the 'linguistic' is problematized even within applied linguistics. Brumfit states that 'if real problems are to be confronted...the issues will not solely be linguistic' (1980:161), calling for an approach not rigidly defined within a single discipline. Pennycook argues for a *critical* applied linguistics which goes beyond method and techniques and which is not interdisciplinary but '*antidisciplinary*' (original emphases).

I see critical applied linguistics as a constantly shifting and dynamic approach to questions of language and education rather than a method, a set of techniques, or a fixed body of knowledge. And rather than viewing critical applied linguistics as a new form of interdisciplinary knowledge, I prefer to view it as a form of *antidisciplinary* knowledge, as a way of thinking and doing that is always questioning, always seeking new schemas of politicization (2016:173).

I sought to underpin this study with theory that draws from across disciplinary boundaries and which also absorbs the practices under observation and the stories embedded in the practices. Yet, equally, I sought to retain 'coherence and consistency' (Widdowson, 2006:95) even within the messiness.

4.4. Threads and traces: stories as connecting threads

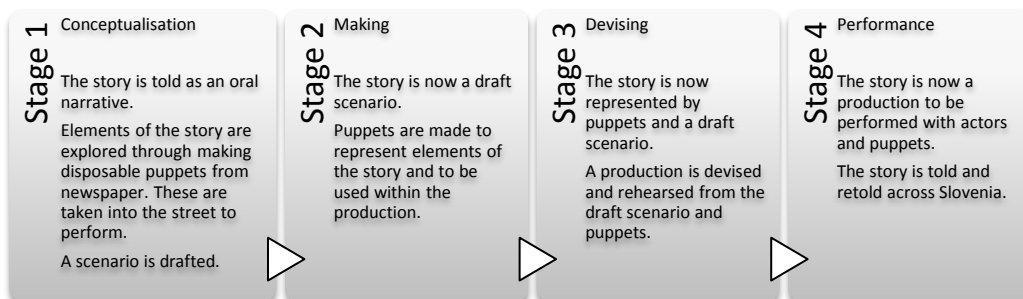
The analytical core of this thesis is divided into four parts, based on the four stages I observed: conceptualisation, making, devising and performing, as set out below. The story is a 'thread' running directly through the analysis, connecting the three stages of production and the fourth stage, the performance.

The stages mark convenient time-bound pauses and provide an analytic structure for the messiness of the processes under investigation. The stages were fluid, with boundaries

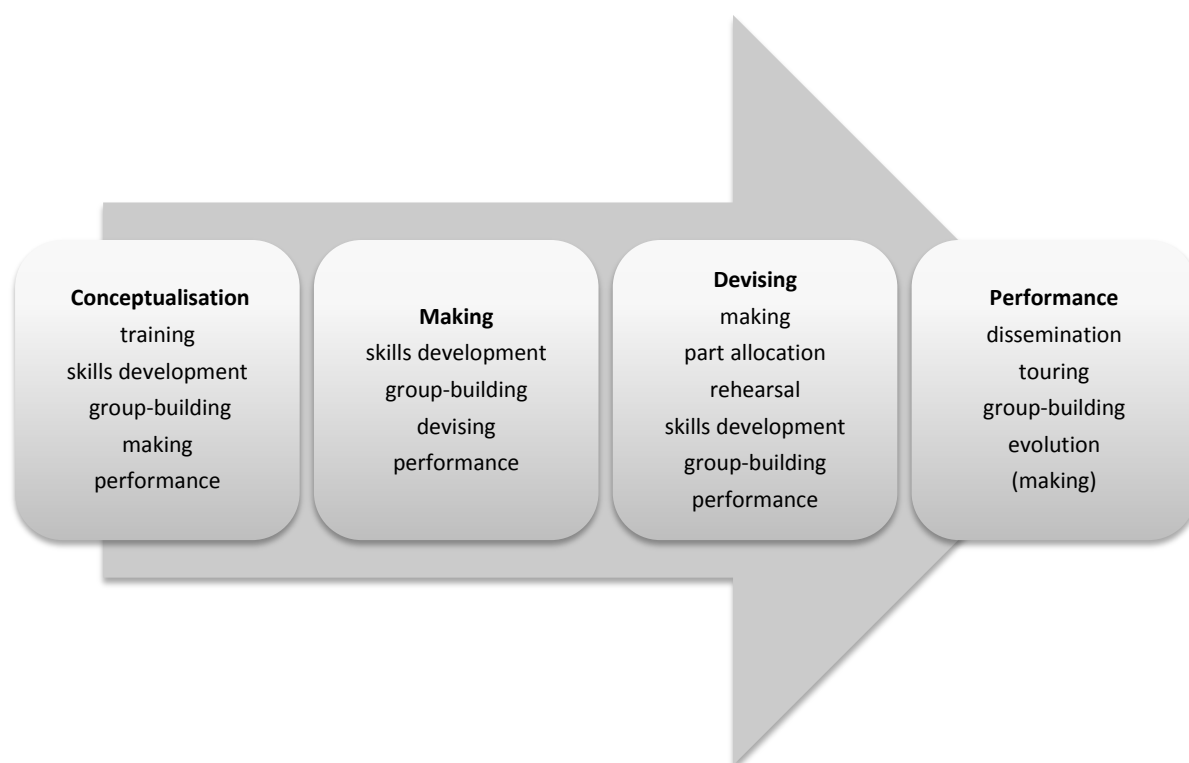
between them porous. Activities would bleed and merge into each other, meaning the act of categorising the stages imposes an artificial boundary between the grouped activities. Its artificiality is foregrounded.



The story moves through these stages, undergoing multiple transformations. Each mode has ‘divergent affordances’ (Iedema, 2001:35), and each transformation represents a compromise. The stages and their relationship to the story are shown in more detail below.



Structuring the activities in this way allowed for the preliminary organisation and analysis of the data. It enabled the loose framing and organisation of the different types of interactional and visual data at each stage. The diagram below shows the different elements forming part of each stage and how these overlap.



This story, the thread, connects the different stages of the production process. Its trajectory and function are complex. First, the story undergoes multiple, layered transformations as it is gradually made and re-made into a street performance. Second, it is around this story that the community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991) develops. Third, the story starts to represent the community and their work, as iconic of the historical bodies (Scollon and Scollon, 2004) involved in the creation of the final product (the resultant devised performance).

Approaching from New Literacy Studies, Kell (2009) considers 'transcontextual flows' and 'the language of description' (p. 85), using Latour's concept of 'Ariadne's thread' to describe the series of interlinking and cross-secting processes, practices, and 'objects' within her study. She highlights the 'documents, translations, practices and instruments', questioning how we can then, as researchers, 'pin them down to study and make claims about them' (p.86). These transcontextual flows, practices and bits and pieces of information, or 'flows of events', demonstrate the importance of being able to move beyond the 'single instance' (p.86). Kell states that 'it is in the process of recontextualisation, of shifting from context to the next, that other entities such as power become thrown into relief' (p.86). She describes the steps she took to start analysis, taking into account not simply the literacy events themselves, but using ethnography to consider the broader picture and to understand the

links and the connections across the time and space. These stages, although problematic and artificial, acted to tie down the analysis but also to open it up.

Taking an ethnographic approach of this kind builds a corpus of multimodal data of significant size. Data selection was an important methodological consideration due to the quantities and complexity of the data, the diversity of the practices under observation, and the inter-related projects I developed and undertook alongside my doctoral research. Decisions about which data to select were iterative, made through a series of analytical strategies and with ongoing dialogue with the arts group and performers themselves. The story, as the thread central to the production process but also as the thread around which the performers and creative practitioners were interacting, became the structural thread for this thesis.

4.5. Data collection and methods

The data collection timeframe and types of data collected within each stage are outlined as follows:

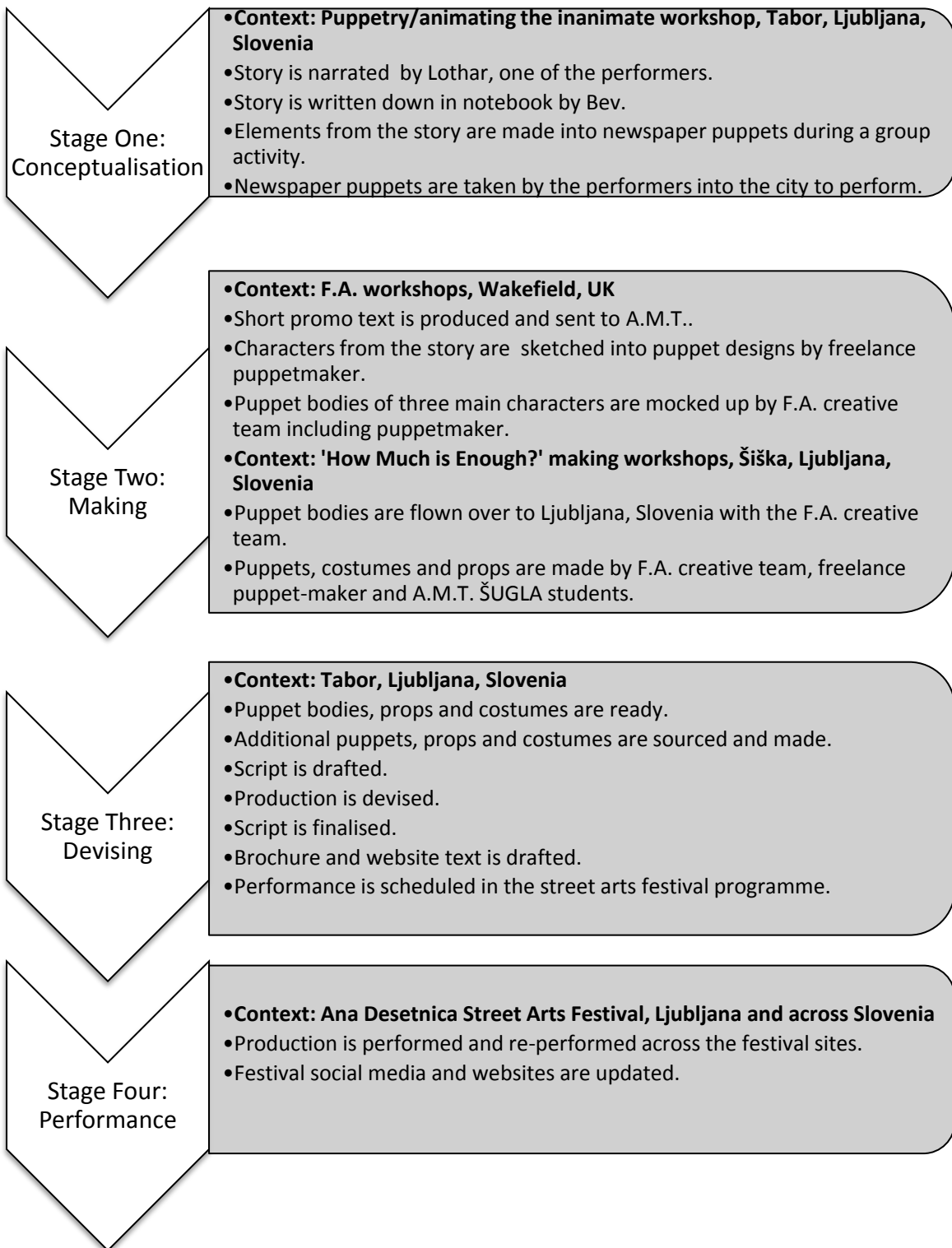
4.5.1. Research timeframe

Data collection	Dates and location
<i>Stage One: Conceptualisation</i>	
Participant observation of workshops; video recordings of workshops; video recordings of interviews; photographs; fieldnotes.	12/03/15 – 15/03/15 Tabor, central Ljubljana
<i>Stage Two: Making</i>	
Participant observation of workshops; participation in activities; video recordings of activities; video recordings of interviews; photographs; audio recordings of activities; audio recordings of interviews; audio recordings of conversations; fieldnotes; reflective vignettes.	28/05/15 – 31/05/15 Ana Theatre, Šiška district, Ljubljana
<i>Stage Three: Devising</i>	
Participant observation of devising workshops; video recordings of activities; video recordings of interviews; photographs; audio recordings of activities; audio recordings of interviews; audio recordings of conversations; fieldnotes; reflective vignettes.	1/6/15 – 3/6/15, Tabor, central Ljubljana (devising took place 1/6/15 – 7/6/17)

Stage Four: Performance	
Participant observation during festival: backstage and performances; video recordings of 2 HMIE performances; audio recordings of interviews; audio recordings of conversations; photographs; fieldnotes; reflective vignettes.	1/7/15 – 5/7/15 Ljubljana streets and Tabor, central Ljubljana (Festival dates 24/6/15 – 8/7/15)

4.5.2. From the Zlatorog to 'How Much Is Enough?'

The following table shows the story of the Zlatorog as a thread and its trajectory during the production process.



4.6. Analytical approach

In this section I describe the analytical approach for my research and explain how the data collected for this research are analysed in each of the four analytical chapters (Chapter Six, Chapter Seven, Chapter Eight and Chapter Nine). I start by considering resemiotisation and how this informs the emergent analytical framings. I then set out each of the directions and their development over the course of the research. This is further elaborated in the chapters themselves.

4.6.1. Resemiotisation and reorganization as guiding analytical structure

Using resemiotisation as a guiding analytical structure, the process of translation across semiotic modes, as takes place across the production process, is also one of 'reorganisation' (Lemke, 2000b:103). In one sense, the resemiotisation of the story across the processes of making, devising and performing the production – itself ephemeral - disrupts the planning and architectural processes analysed by Iedema (2001:36) as having 'increasingly durable and resistant materiality', a disruption also highlighted by Kell (2009). But equally, the performance occupies a different cycle (Scollon and Scollon, 2004:105) on a different time-scale (Lemke, 2000a, 2000b). Its durability and resistance is relative to the time scales and spaces to which it is bound and to which it is connected. Lemke proposes that 'emergent levels of organisation' can then reorganise the levels above and below. In Lemke's terms:

As we move from level to level up the scale hierarchy, units get more massive, larger, more energetic in aggregate (but with less energy used per interaction on the relevant scale), and slower in operation (2000b:101).

Analytical focus on the interactions, texts, and objects - and the processes and historical bodies within these - at points of resemiotisation enables the movement from level to level 'up (and down) the scale hierarchy' (p.101, my addition in brackets) to be investigated. I take (*N*), in Lemke's terms, as the story of the Zlatorog. The resultant performance (Chapter Nine) is the higher-scale project focus and final iteration of the story (*N*). It is the purpose for the collaboration and for the community of practice, or multilingual transient community. The smaller objects, the narrated story, the props, the puppets made from newspaper are situated lower down in the scale hierarchy (Chapters Six – Eight). Following Lemke's explanation, which uses Salthe's three-level paradigm as a starting point, if the emergent phenomenon under investigation is the story (*N*) as it is resemiotised during the production process leading to the performance itself, (*N*) is constituted by the interactions occurring at

the lower levels, in this case as illustrated by the objects within the production process ($N-1$). However, this all takes place within the broader framework of the developing collaborative relationship between F.A. and A.M.T., and the scheduled performance of 'How Much Is Enough?' for the street arts festival ($N+1$). This emergent community of practice is situated within the larger scale and ambitious European project, EFETSA. And this larger scale project and developing (and formalising) network represents a meshwork of other networks and communities of practice, with differing degrees of formality (see Circostrada report in Appendix D). Analytically, this *ecology* can be considered following Lemke's model as ($N+1$). Lemke states 'the properties of the units and interactions at level ($N-1$) are *constitutive* for level N phenomena; those at level ($N+1$) are *constraining* for Level N phenomena' (2000b:101). Put like this, the resemiotised text as performance acts as a buffer between the higher level street arts festival itself and the objects in terms of the props, puppets and costumes created at the lower level. It also reorganises: N , as the emergent phenomena, has an impact on the relationship between the higher and lower levels. N , as the emergent performance, affects the programming and spatial considerations for its place in the street arts festival schedule, which must then accommodate the processes and objects (props, puppets, costumes) which are developed at the lower level and which are communicated through the emergent performance.

Here I have adapted Lemke's three-level paradigm (p.101) to illustrate the different levels of phenomena within the production process. This basic level paradigm is a starting point for understanding how the points of resemiotisation of the folk story can be analysed to understand the complexities of the relationships between the phenomena at different scales. Lemke develops this concept into a 'transorganisation across modes' (ibid), introducing the concept of the 'principle of alternation':

The Principle of Alternation: Each new, emergent intermediate level N in a complex, hierarchical, self-organising system, functions semiotically to reorganise the continuous quantitative (topological) variety of units and interactions at level ($N-1$) as discrete, categorical (typological) meaning for level ($N+1$), and/or to reorganise the discrete, categorical (typological) variety of level ($N-1$) as continuously variable (topological) meaning for level ($N+1$) (2000b:106).

For the production process under investigation here, the continuous development of N , in this case the text as emergent performance, is 'transorganised' through the multiple resemiotisations it undergoes. The conceptualisation, making, devising and performing process described and analysed here, therefore, is a process of transorganisation.

4.6.2. Analytical framework

I now outline the analytical underpinnings for each chapter. Data presented from across the four stages follow the trajectory - the story - as it is made and remade for performance. Key points of trans-semiosis are foregrounded, drawing broadly on Li's concept of moment analysis (2011).

In Chapter Five the focus shifts to the story itself, before its telling by Lothar. The story is contextualized and an analytical framework deriving from Hymesian folklore is used (1975, see 5.3) to highlight important elements of the story which are then brought into the analysis in later chapters.

The story is then introduced by Lothar in Chapter Six and the analytical framework which is adapted for this narrative draws from narrative analysis and a small stories approach (e.g. Bamberg 2004, 2006; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008; Georgakopoulou, 2006; 2007; Simpson, 2011, see 6.7) is developed to understand three levels of narrative, spatial and group interaction.

Chapter Seven (see 7.7) brings in objects made and found throughout the making process, and the analysis extends beyond interactions to processes and objects. The Hymesian framework (Chapter Five) for analysing folklore is reintroduced to foreground themes within the story. The material elements – the puppets, costumes and props – are analysed with reference to their impact on the trajectory and the shift towards the non-human.

The data presented in Chapter Eight are from interactions around the production process, and a small stories approach is used again (see also Chapter Six) to conduct micro-analysis of the plans for the production. Multiple texts are brought into focus, including the synopsis and script, with resemiotisation as a guiding analytic structure.

The performance itself is described in Chapter Nine and the analysis presented is one which foregrounds the non-human and material intra-action within the telling of the story in the Ljubljana streets. This is the culmination of the production process and it is written in a way which seeks to highlight intra-action and the role of non-humans, humans, language and space.

The rationale for the analytical approaches for this thesis is that they emerge through intra-action across the process of conducting ethnographic research. An ethnographic approach of

this kind, and working in contexts of emergence, mean that the framework develops in dialogue with what the performers are doing and the practices under investigation.

The next section deals directly with the data collected and outlines key considerations.

4.7. Data

In ethnographic research, the data are empirical evidence, upon which the researcher makes their claim to knowledge (Copland and Creese, 2015:173). In this study, no distinction is made between data that is 'linguistic', 'visual' or 'ethnographic' (p.174). Video data therefore provides empirical data for analysis but also data for developing what Geertz (1973), following Ryle, theorised as the 'thick description' of ethnography. Video data are evidence to which the researcher can repeatedly return. In this sense, the video data, and the acts of returning to it multiple times, of categorising it, of dissecting it, enable the researcher to make sense of the 'multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular and inexplicit, and which he [sic] must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render' (1973:314).

In the following paragraphs I summarise the kinds of data I collected and my approach to analysis.

4.7.1. Dealing with (small, big) data

Large quantities of data were collected during the short, intensive periods of ethnographic research over the five-month period, including fieldnotes, video, audio data and photographs (Kress, 2012) and deciding what to include and to exclude has significant epistemological consequences.

The processes for selecting, transcribing and analysing multilingual data are time-intensive. This methodological process, with its intricacies and the weaving together of the multiple and diverse threads of data could be considered an art form in itself (Goetz and LeCompte, 1981). Decision-making was entangled with considerations of and commitment to the research approach and to the participants. Moreover, data selection processes raise questions around notions of ownership and story-telling rights (Shuman, 2005). These decisions were made with a commitment to transparency, manifest in making visible these strategies and processes with the participants with whom I was working.

Questions emerged across this process around messiness and the politics of mess in research. Law (2004) describes how research methods and analytical processes serve to build and construct the worlds that we are observing and documenting. Data selection and analysis build and construct this process, positioning it within a particular paradigm and viewing it with a specific lens. I asked myself how data might be selected in a way which aligned with the epistemologies underpinning the research. How could the complexity of the activities under observation be communicated within a format which dictates that only a small proportion of the data be presented (and re-presented)? How could I account for academic rigour in the selection processes? There are restrictions in what can be presented within a thesis, with its incumbent limitations in length and in genre. Inevitably the data must be reduced. And inevitably the data must be packaged up (Baynham et al., 2016) and re-presented within the context of the thesis, adhering to the requirements of the genre. This means that in the process of weaving together the thesis narrative, some threads must be severed. As the researcher and the author of this work, my ethical commitment is to provide evidence of these processes and present the underpinning analytical structures. These processes and structures are under scrutiny, in the same way as the data themselves (Wolcott 1975). Analytical approaches for each of the four analysis chapters are outlined in 4.6 and in more detail within the chapters themselves.

4.7.2. Ethnographic writing and the inbetween: fieldnotes

Coles and Thomson (2016) explore the different stages of writing in ethnographic research as ‘inbetween writing’. These kinds of writing – writing that might not be published in this form, writing that might stay within the folders of the researcher’s computer – are crucial to ‘ethnographic sense-making and knowledge production’ (p.253). The authors state that an ‘intuitive and experimental’ approach to ethnography as ‘a process of tacking back and forth between theoretical concepts and empirical materials’ is one which allows for ‘a holistic view of writing and analysis’ (p.254). It is this *holistic* approach that is explored here. A holistic approach considers writing and analysis to be *in dialogue* and this dialogue is also present between researcher and researched. This dialogue moves and shifts, with the inbetween writing forming initial stages of analysis, in addition to informing the direction of the more fine-grained linguistic analysis.

Coles and Thomson define inbetween writing as a heuristic, using axes drawn from the work of Clifford: intertextuality and rewriting. They see these kinds of writing as being generally hidden within the ethnographic research process, and suggest that more research is

necessary to understand more about how this writing functions within the processes of sense-making and knowledge production. The different types of inbetween writing are interchangeable: a piece of writing might incorporate multiple types. Yet, crucially, inbetween writing forms an important part of the analytical process. The data produced through this study are in multiple forms. I have handwritten notes which stretch across multiple notepads, typed fieldnotes, emails sent to my research team, vignettes as blog posts across two different blogs, reports, and over 250,000 words in a (private) research blog. Inbetween writing describes the ongoing and iterative process of ethnographic research. At various points, I found myself working with a vast set of materials collected through what felt like string gathering, attempting to make sense of what I have observed. It seemed at times like the intellectual equivalent of unravelling fairy lights at Christmas.

4.7.3. Photographs

I collected large quantities of photographic data, initially envisaging that these data might serve as documentation or as aide-memoires. But as I started to move beyond language and towards an approach that encompasses the visual, the arts practices and the artistic products, I wanted to understand more about how the arts practices intersect to enable 'critical and creative spaces'. As data, the photographs became focal points. The photographs become more than simply an aide-memoire for me when writing about the workshops and conducting linguistic analyses of the interactions. They recorded significant moments in processes of resemiotisation in addition to being important texts (7.8.3).

4.7.4. Structured conversations

Over the course of my research I conducted multiple interviews, mainly using the approach Conteh and Toyoshima describe as 'structured conversations' (2005). These structured conversations were, in the main, 'go-along' (Kusenbach, 2003), conducted during the periods of participant-observation and often in response to specific observations I had made.

4.7.5. Video data in ethnographic research: extending the research repertoire

Video recording equipment enables more to be documented multimodally than using audio recordings (Ochs, 1979; Erickson, 2011; Mondada, 2013; 2016). Studies of social interaction involving video data are widespread, with origins in the continuous photography of the 1880s by Eadweard Muybridge and by English anthropologist Alfred C Haddon for the second expedition to the Torres Strait (Erickson, 2011: 179). Since the 1960s video-based

research has increased exponentially, opening out ways of using video for researchers, including participatory film-making and videography (see also Pink, 2013; Jewitt, 2012, and examples of video research with children and young people in Hackett et al., 2015 and Stirling and Yamada-Rice, 2015). The present study uses video in fieldwork because of the ‘temporal-sequential interaction and the thick description’ (Jewitt, 2012:5) it makes possible. This enables a focus on action (Goodwin, 2000; Scollon and Scollon, 2004; Mondada, 2016), linking to what Mondada describes as the ‘visual turn’ across the social sciences (2013).

4.7.6. Considerations for using video data: limitations and strengths

No research methodology or data collection, however intensive, however thorough, however detailed, can constitute ‘the real world’ (Ochs, 2006[1979]:166). As Jewitt explains, using video in qualitative research ‘provides a fine-grained multimodal record of an event detailing gaze, expression, body posture, and gesture’ (2012:2). The visual images with which ethnographic research is ‘intertwined’ (Pink, 2001:17) are captured by the video camera (or iPhone, iPad), enabling a historical perspective at later stages of the research process. But, the video camera can only record that which is within the scope of its lens. There are significant limitations, as addressed by Goldman (2009, summarised in Jewitt, 2012:5):

1. *Wholeness/particularity*, raising questions about detail within the video data;
2. *Being there/being with*, raising questions about how to connect the viewer who was not there (or reader, in the case of the transcript);
3. *Chronological verisimilitude*, to show actions in a truthlike manner;
4. *Perspectivity*, demonstrating the point of viewing for the videographer.

These are balanced by the affordances of video data for a conversation analysis-grounded approach to understanding ‘resources for action’ (Mondada, 2014; 2016). Moreover, Jewitt argues that video’s limitations can also be considered strengths in terms of selectivity and filtering (ibid). Mondada concurs:

the documentation of naturally occurring actions as they happen in their setting – and not as they could be elicited by researchers in various manners – responds to the fundamental principle of indexicality of action (2016:339).

4.7.7. Video data and ethnographic approaches

Therefore, using video in fieldwork has a long history in the social sciences (Erickson, 2011) and in ethnography. What role do video data (and the transcripts) have within an ethnographic approach to a study of this kind? Using video enables experiences to be documented and a record created. But video data is not necessarily ethnographic. Pink suggests that it is 'interpretation' and 'context' that work to make a film or other data 'ethnographic' (2007). As appropriate for a study of translanguaging, video also arguably extends the researchers' own 'repertoire' (Jewitt, 2012:6).

Returning to Goldman's four points summarised by Jewitt (2012), collecting video data in the context of street arts production raised particular challenges for this study. In terms of *wholeness and particularity*, the detail of the video data is entangled with *perspectivity*, and restricted by the use of the handheld video camera. The viewer, however, is connected with the actions and the context through the data which enable a partial glimpse into being there and being with (Geertz, 1988), and representation of actions in a truthlike manner. The data, however, are then represented through transcription, and a process of researcher-guided selection, posing further methodological and analytical questions.

Another consideration is bias. Ochs suggests that biases present in transcription (for example, top-bottom, left-right) may reinforce assumptions about power and judgements, for example for the assumed authority of the speaker whose interactions are positioned on the left hand-side of the transcript (p.168-170).

4.7.8. Use of video data in the present study

For this study, filming and camera placement were important considerations during the data collection process to enable me to record 'naturally occurring actions'. Questions arose around which camera(s) to choose, how many to use and where to place them. How could I account for the activities taking place in adjacent rooms during the making stage? How might I document the complex and dynamic processes of production comprehensively? Ethical considerations also arose. At what point should the camera be turned off and which data might be discarded? During the making and devising stages I set up my laptop computer to record actions within the space as a whole. At times the participants forgot it was recording, although I reminded them on a regular basis. At other times the participants turned the screen away from their conversations. It is at these moments that an

ethnographic approach and my growing knowledge of the group and their interactions became important in terms of data selection, in dialogue with my research questions. 'Selective observation', as described by Ochs, can never be avoided, either at the point of data collection or at the point of analysis. Selective observation is also ethical practice, one carried out through engagement with the participants. As Ochs explains, in recording more and in using multiple data collection methods, these challenges are simply delayed until the point of transcription and analysis. This is echoed in the way Pink describes ethnography:

Rather than being a method for the collection of 'data', ethnography is a process of creating and representing knowledge (about society, culture, individuals) that is based on ethnographers' own experiences (2001:18).

4.7.9. Selectivity in transcription

Ochs argues for researchers to focus on processes of transcription, giving three reasons: first, the transcriptions are data in themselves; second, transcription as a process is underpinned by theory thereby rendering it selective; and third, it is not generally foregrounded as a research activity.

Transcription conventions exist across fields and disciplines, for example Jefferson's 1974 transcription conventions in conversation analysis (Bezemer and Mavers, 2011) and alternative graphic modes of representing action through transcription (Mondada, 2014) form part of what Bezemer and Mavers describe as the 'changes towards the visualisation and variability of the transcript' (p.192). They see these as key for what they describe as 'weakening disciplinary boundaries, notably between ethnography and the discourse-related disciplines' (ibid).

Selectivity, therefore, in the case of transcription, is both inevitable and necessary. Whereas an ethnographic approach, or 'holistic contextualisation' (Miller, 2017:28) seeks to consider communication from a social perspective (Blommaert and Jie, 2010; Copland and Creese, 2015; Hymes, 1972; 1974), providing what Pahl describes as a process of listening (2014:133), transcription works as a filter. The filtering process should 'reflect the particular interests – the hypotheses to be examined – of the researchers' (Ochs, 1979[2006]:167), with the data in the transcript serving as a focal point for analysis. Transcripts also enable accountability for the research and the claims made, demonstrating a robust approach and enabling peers to 'read' the data.

4.7.10. Transcribing the relationship ‘across and between modalities’

Transcription is a pivotal concern for a study seeking to disrupt boundaries between languages and modes and additional transdisciplinary approaches are required to represent translanguaging data (see Bradley and Moore, 2018, in which Moore suggests musical notation as a form of transcription for spoken word poetry, following van Leeuwen, 1999). Analytical structures and processes are required to support the movement away from the semiotics of ‘language-plus-image or ‘language-plus-gesture’ for which scholars are arguing (e.g. Pennycook, 2018:136). The visual in research is never solely visual, as ‘neither a purely visual ethnography nor an exclusively visual approach to culture can exist’ (Pink, 2001:17). Likewise, following the ‘interactional turn and the visual turn’ (Mondada, 2016:34), an exclusively verbal approach cannot exist for any study of communication.

The performers creating the street arts production in this study foreground the non-verbal and the material. Street artists deploy a wide range of communicative resources to perform in the street. But as Ochs states, the verbal is usually the focus for transcription, with the ‘non-verbal’ considered as contextual and related to the verbal utterance: ‘By and large, the message content is considered to be conveyed by language’ (p.170). A repertoire approach (Blackledge and Creese, 2017; Busch, 2012; 2015; Kusters et al., 2017; Rymes, 2014) enables what Kusters and colleagues describe as *softening* ‘the boundaries between languages and research paradigms’ (2017:2). As discussed earlier (2.4), a number of studies, including those of sign language and gesture, make the case for multimodality and translanguaging to be brought into dialogue. Here the case is concerned with the question of how we can document, analyse and theorise interaction in contexts in which there may not be significant ‘overlap’ in terms of shared resources (‘languages’, ‘codes’ or ‘modalities’, following Kusters et al.). The argument here (see also Blackledge and Creese, 2017; Callaghan et al., 2018; Zhu et al., 2017) foregrounds the ‘relationship across and between modalities’ (Kusters et al., 2017:11) or, to develop this further, the focus on *trans*, considered as ‘*across, through* and *beyond* the quality it precedes’ (Jones, 2016:2).

Ochs argues for recording the ‘non-verbal’ in detail in terms of interoccurrence (p.172). Her transcripts shed light on how communication is organised, and, crucially, that ‘nonverbal and verbal behaviour may carry out different types of communicative work’ (ibid).

Transcription across analytical processes

Transcription, therefore, as analytical process and as theory, raised important questions for the current study and its epistemological approach. Across the four analytical chapters, the focus shifts, and the transcription process shifts accordingly.

The analytical processes for attending to the video data were established as follows:

Analysis Stage 1	Sketching of the actions within the video data	Production of a draft sketch of actions and rich points, or 'semiotically highly significant actions' (Li, 2011:1222) identified
Analysis Stage 2	Initial rough transcription of interactional data using Elan	Production of a draft transcript outlining the verbal interactions
Analysis Stage 3	Detailed multimodal transcription using Elan	Production of detailed multimodal transcript
Analysis Stage 4	Returning to data in Elan and transcripts, adding detail in dialogue with the developing theoretical frameworks arising from the data analysis	Production of detailed multimodal transcript

This process evolved over the course of the data collection and analytical processes and follows Mondada's statement that 'multimodality allows interactional studies to potentially revisit all the fields of linguistics – not only deixis, but syntax, semantics, even phonetics and prosody – as well as writing and textuality' (2016:340).

Transcription conventions

The following transcription conventions, adapted from Georgakopoulou, 2007, are used generally within this study, unless stated otherwise.

(0.03) time from beginning of extract

Overlapping utterances []

Intervals (.) less than 0.1 seconds; (..) between 0.1 and 0.5 seconds; (...) greater than 0.5 seconds

(italics) a gesture to the group or laugh from the group

CAPITALS speech louder than surrounding talk

4.8. Summary

This chapter considered the methodology for this study. It focused on ethnography as the underpinning approach, outlining linguistic and visual ethnographic research. It considered the analytical structure of the thesis and the story as connecting thread across four stages of production, leading to discussion of data, video data and transcription processes. In Chapter Five the thread – the folk story – is set out and considered with reference to its historical context.

Chapter Five: The story of the Zlatorog

The people perish, in the myth, but the world of the myth, their world, rules and remains (Hymes, 1975:359).



5.1. Introduction to the Zlatorog: tracing the threads of the story

This chapter focuses on the folk story of the mythical *Zlatorog*, *Goldhorn*, or *Golden Horn*. As a story never really begins for the first time, nor really ever ends, I choose to contextualise it here to produce additional layers of thick description, supporting the analysis in the four chapters which follow. Deeper understandings of the fluidity and liquidity of our times (Z.Bauman, 2000) can be gained through folklore and many themes within the story resonate with current times (mobility, community, xenophobia). Over the course of the production process, the Zlatorog becomes the story on which the devised production of 'How Much Is Enough?' is based and is therefore the thread on which this thesis focuses. Here the story is emplaced within its folkloric tradition. I introduce the story according to a well-known historical version, a written text by Karel Dežman (1868:325-327) and published in translation in Slovenian folklorist Kropelj's 'review and classification of supernatural beings in Slovenian Myth and Fairy Tales' (2012). I consider the story with the following three lenses: Z.Bauman's conceptualisation of community (2000; 2004); allegory and storytelling (Clifford, 1986; Shuman, 2005; 2017); and folklore and the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1971; 1975).

Dežman's telling of the story of Zlatorog is widely considered to be the first written version of the folk tale (Kropelj, 2012:58). Zlatorog, like all folk tales, is a number of stories woven together into an 'epic' during the Romantic period of literature (Copeland, 1949:285). Here I establish the themes of the narrative and contextualise the story in terms of the physical location from which it originates and the theoretical underpinnings of this study. Its telling in this chapter is a starting point, the marking out of an existing 'trace' (Ingold, 2015; [2007]2016), prior to its telling during the conceptualisation stage of the production process.

By starting with its first written version, I seek to 'connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future' (Burawoy, 1998:5). It extends the reach of this thesis to trace the historical origins of the story, therefore making connections and shedding light on the discourses which come together for the performance, following elements of nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon, 2004). The story itself is an actor, shaping and reshaping interactions around it, the development of the performance, and the intra-actions between performers, objects and space.

5.2. The story as meshwork

Zlatorog is therefore a meshwork, or ‘bundle of lines’ (Ingold, 2017), with multiple reworkings in existence. In 1877, nine years after Dežman’s version, it was translated to song by Rudolf Baumbach (1840-1905), a German poet known for his drinking songs and narrative verse (Kropej, 2007). But it is Dežman’s re-presentation of the story which led to it becoming a ‘Slovene national myth’ (Kropej, 2007:9). Kropej lists numerous works for which the folk tale of the Zlatorog has inspired artists and composers and these are set out below:

Year	Author/creator	Type of piece
1877	Rudolf Baumbach	‘Zlatorog’ poem (German)
1885	Albert Thierfelder	‘Zlatorog’ piece for choir (German)
1886	Anton Funtek	‘Zlatorog’ poem translation (Slovene)
1894	Hans Schmitt	‘Bruna’ opera (German)
1903	Georg Wilhelm Rauchenecker	‘Zlatorog’ opera (German)
1904	Anton Aškerc	‘Zlatorog’ fairytale play (Slovene)
1910	Viktor Gluth	‘Zlatorog’ opera (German)
1917-1919	Viktor Parma	‘Zlatorog’ opera (Slovene)
1978	Avgust Ipavec	‘Zlatorog’ symphonic poem (Slovene)

Folklorist and geographer Fanny Copeland describes the story’s origins as folkloric, found in ‘native myths, tales’ (Copeland, 1933b:631). Copeland, originally from Ireland, was a linguist, geographer and renowned Alpinist who lived in Slovenia for most of her life. She developed the English Society at the University of Ljubljana and played a role in the post-World War I establishment of the ‘Kingdom of Yugoslavia’ (Anterić and Clarke, 2009; Clarke, 2011). Over the course of her career, Copeland became a renowned expert on Slovene mythology and folklore. Additionally, in the geographical context of her work, she was a key protagonist in the creation of the Triglav National Park (Anterić and Clarke, 2009); the geographical origin of the Zlatorog story and the location recreated in ‘How Much Is Enough?’. Alongside her literary and academic works are books about the mountains and walks, including ‘Beautiful Mountains: In the Yugoslav Alps’ (1931). An ‘adopted Slovene’ (Anterić and Clarke, 2009:163), Copeland compiled a collection of ‘native myths and tales of Slovenia’ by Slovenian scholar and professor of Germanic philology Jakob Kelemina (1882-1957) (Jurak, 2007) in the early 1930s. Kelemina had categorised a large number of these stories in 1921, an act which in Copeland’s view, was one of preservation: ‘to rescue the traditions of the

Slovene common people from oblivion and not at all to give literary scope or coherence to these traditions' (p.631). She interprets Kelemina's scholarship and the origins of the Zlatorog story, which has its roots in the traditional Slovenian myth of 'Vesnik and Jarnik' deities and multiple circulating variations of stories about the Devil and the Green Hunter which connect to the Zlatorog (1933:640).

5.3. Desire, travel, discovery and staying

As a way in to Dežman's text, the analysis here considers the four leading topics of action identified by Hymes in his description of the Chinookan myth from the Columbia River, 'The Sun's Myth': desire, travel, discovery and staying (1975:368). For Hymes, the example of this Kathlamet Native American myth demonstrated the affordances of a particular kind of scholarship: one that he describes as mediating tradition and opening up 'towards the future' (p.356). Using a narrative approach, Hymes presents key research participant Charles Cultee's telling of the myth, as recorded in 1891 by Franz Boas (pp.360-367), who first encountered Cultee in the late 1800s. Hymes describes his analysis as situated within the context of 'work to restore to Indian people and their neighbours that part of the original cultural heritage of Oregon which can be recaptured' (1975:357). In The Sun's Myth, the people are destroyed, and it is, according to Hymes, the 'universality' of the story that allows it to be told to a wider audience:

That the narrative has such power shows that in assimilating the disaster to his people through the genre of myth, in creatively interpreting that situation within his tradition, Charles Cultee created a work of art whose performance, even in another century and another language, can speak to mankind (1975:360).

In the story the chief travels to the sun, aiming to take its treasures as his own. His pursuit of the 'shining object' results in the subsequent destruction of his own town and people. The analytical focus is four-fold, centring on the concepts of *desire*, *travel*, *discovery*, and *staying*, and how they appear within each of the story's three acts. Following Hymes' framework, I link these four concepts to the development of the theme of *community* within the analysis, using Z.Bauman's conceptualisations (2000, 2004) as representing both security and a loss of freedom. The story itself is allegorical, a cautionary tale for those who come across it. The themes, as arising in Dežman's telling of the story, underpin the subsequent analysis of the text as it undergoes multiple transformations during the production process. They recede and reappear across the resemiotisations.

Folklore claims to discover the 'community' definitions and how these organise 'communicative means'. Hymes states:

Folklore is able to start from community definitions of situation, activity, purpose, genre, and to discover validly the ways in which communicative means are organised in terms of them (1975:350).

Over the course of the production process, the story, as a thread, is resemiotised according to the multiple definitions of those involved and the material elements created. As such, the environment, the 'production process' or 'project' is a 'zone of entanglement' (Ingold, 2008: 1796). Dežman's version enables these 'community definitions', as embedded within the story itself, to be drawn out. These situated definitions are then developed throughout the analytical chapters, starting with the first iteration of the story, as told by Lothar (6.8) and continuing to the performance (9.8).

5.4. Situating the study

Situating this first iteration of the story in its folkloric tradition and through Hymes' and R.Bauman's anthropological linguistic studies of the 1960s and 1970s, offers an insight into what Hymes describes as the 'anthropological study of one's own society' (1975:350), or, 'getting analytic distance on what's close-at-hand' (Rampton, 2007:591) and making the familiar strange. In taking a folk tale as a central thread around which the production develops and a community is built, it takes a critical ethnographic approach to the use of folk stories in community arts. For this thesis, the 'familiar' being made 'strange' is also the strange made familiar. This is understood in terms of F.A.'s collaborative practice, as I approached the study from the perspective of an organisation and their activities across sites and was invited to accompany Bev in her collaborative work with A.M.T. and to use the activities in which F.A. were involved as my research focus. However, ontologically this thesis takes the view that all contexts are 'strange', whether familiar or unfamiliar (Holliday, 1999). The story and its multiple recontextualisations and resemiotisations work to shed light on small, soft, emergent cultures, away from the 'culturist' paradigm of large cultures, which risks essentialism and exoticism (p.240). These soft cultures emerge through the process of collaboration: through making, devising and performing.

Hymes states that 'adequate theories of the place of folklore, as of language, in social life must be based on studies of use' (Hymes, 1971:46). The ethnography of communication (1962; 1964), founded by Hymes as an analytical approach to the understanding of

communication in context, shifted the analytic focus from considering speech in abstraction (for example in his critique of Chomsky's concept of linguistic competence), instead focusing on ethnographic approaches to and understandings of speech. As Hymes explains:

For anthropologists and anthropologically – minded investigators from other disciplines, *ethnography of communication* seems best to indicate the necessary scope, and to convey and encourage the fundamental contribution they best can make: studies ethnographic in basis, and of communication in the scope and kind of patterned complexity with which they deal (Hymes, 1964:2).

Folklore and the performance of 'culture in discourse' occupy a central role in Hymes' 'constellation of interests' (Sherzer et al., 2010:302). Subsequently, over the course of his career Hymes conducted extensive research with Native American communities in the North-West (Hornberger, 2011:3):

Finding truly performed speech is crucial for the analyst who wants to find evidence about culture in discourse, because 'performance is a mode of existence and realisation that is partly *constitutive of* what the tradition is. The tradition itself exists partly for the sake of performance - performance is itself partly an end' (Hymes, 1981:86) (Johnstone and Marcellino, 2010:62).

This resonates with the case of the production created from the story of the Zlatorog, for which the performance is 'an end'. The performance of a folk story is, in part, constitutive of folklore itself. R. Bauman argues for social identities to be foregrounded in investigations of folklore:

A true understanding of the social base of folklore must be based upon investigations which focus upon those social identities which are relevant to the performance of folklore within the context of particular situations and events for it is only here that we will find the true locus of the interrelationship between the folklore and its bearers (1978:38).

In the case of this thesis, the bearer of the story is a performer: Lothar, an aspiring street artist (see 6.8). The interrelationship between folklore and its bearers is complex. Lothar is asked by Bev to tell a story from the region during a story-sharing workshop. In this sense it is not a spontaneous performance, or 'truly performed speech'. It is performed in response to a request at the beginning of the workshop. It is elicited. The use of the story in this specific context is foregrounded: the story is introduced and then adopted as the basis for creating and devising a series of performances. During this process it is subsequently adapted for a street performance, contracted for a street arts festival. But the story *in use*

also illuminates what is happening around it, simultaneously challenging perceptions of mobility in street arts practice.

5.4.1. Defining folklore and problematizing community

It is necessary to consider the broader context in which this story is told and how *folklore* is defined for the purposes here, which I draw from Hymes' ethnography of communication (1971, 1975). Hymes describes folklore's application in interactional sociolinguistics in two ways, of which both have relevance to this study and the analysis of the text.

Genre

The first of these is in terms of *genre*. As Hymes explains,

all of speaking is to be approached as having an organisation in terms of ways of speaking, and thus as manifestations of a *community's* repertory of acts and genres of speech (1971:50, emphasis added).

Hymes' focus is the 'speech community' (see 2.2.3). Following Gumperz, this is:

any human aggregate characterised by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage' (1968:381).

Unlike a stable idealised speech community, the community developing around the creation of the street arts production is transient and unstable. The performers come together for short bursts of targeted activity and with specific objectives. Once the street arts production is finished and the performances have ended, this particular configuration of the community, 'Team Zlatorog', also ends and the group disperses. The community is only ever transient as the group are brought together for a fixed period of time over a shared activity. Therefore, to study a story as it moves (and is moved), shifts (and is shifted), as a trajectory, across, through and beyond production stages develops understandings of how a community both develops and manifests a shared repertoire of communication.

Community here is defined across multiple different spheres. There is the 'transient multilingual community' (Hazel, 2017; Mortensen, 2017; Moore, 2017) or emergent 'community of practice' (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Farnsworth et al., 2016) which develops around the production. There is also the street-based audience community of passers by,

shoppers, and tourists who have widely differing levels of commitment to the street arts production unfolding around them. Each of these ‘communities’ is made up of human and non-human elements (Barad, 2007). However, beyond these tangible and embodied communities there is also the imagined community (Anderson, 1983) of the Slovenian nation, for which the story might symbolise the ‘embodiment of tradition’ (Roginsky, 2006:244). Imagined communities have a ‘mythical quality’ for which the material is central. National meaning and community are conferred in multiple ways on multiple objects or practices: ‘for example, upon a dish of food, if those who sit down to eat it believe or imagine themselves to be in communion with the rest of their nation while they do so’ (Baycroft, 2012:3-4, cf. Otheguy et al., 2015). Likewise, this story and its performance act to create and build a shared national meaning. Baycroft describes how myths deal with histories of borders and nations developing from large empires. The imagined community is further made tangible through the act of devising and performing the street arts piece as part of the Ana Desetnica street arts festival, itself an annual event in the Slovenian cultural calendar, attracting visitors to the capital. ‘How Much Is Enough?’ performs Slovenia. It performs nation-statehood.

Interdisciplinarity

The second of these is *interdisciplinarity* and Hymes’ commitment to interweaving sociolinguistics and folklore.

Hymes defines the distinctive concerns of folklore as:

- concern with the aesthetic and expressive aspects of culture;
- concern with traditions and traditional life of one’s own society;
- enjoyment of, and caring for, what one studies;
- often craftsman-like participation in the tradition studied;
- concern for accuracy and objectivity;
- insight and explanation, that manages by and large not to contort what one studies with procrustean methodology, or to conceal it behind a mask of theoretics (1975:345).

These characteristics shed light on Bev’s motivations for requesting that folk stories are shared in the workshop context. Bev’s original request for the performers to ‘share stories of place’ is because she wants the performance to be devised from a ‘traditional tale’. In Ljubljana and Maribor storytelling performances take place (Kropej, 2007:7) and these can be considered as providing structured spaces for spontaneous storytelling in a traditional

style. Concerns around ‘traditions and traditional life’ translate to craftsman-like participation in the tradition studied – in this case by the emergent community of practice through the shared activity of devising a street arts production.

5.4.2. Folklore and national identity

Although linked, folklore and mythology are quite distinct areas of study (Dorson, 1973:107). Myth, argues Dorson, following Kirk (1971), is quite simply a ‘traditional story’ (p.111). Bastian and Mitchell conceptualise the myth in anthropology as ‘a narrative that justifies a behaviour, practice, or social institution’ (2004:1), and for Copeland, writing from the perspective of Slovene Yugoslavia (Copeland uses both spellings: Yugoslavia and Jugoslavia), myth or ‘bajka’ is ‘a tale dealing with pagan religious ideas, with gods and demi-gods’ (1933:634). Myths also seek to provide explanations for something and moral messages. In this case, the folk tale seeks to explain the barren landscapes of the higher mountain peaks. It assumes that there was a time (in the imagined past, itself an imaginary community) in which the landscape was abundant and green. It is understood, however, that the distinctions between these categories are constantly blurred, and ‘myth, folktale and legend often merge in a particular narrative’ (ibid), and as Copeland states, a ‘hard and fast line between myths, folk-tales, and fairy-tales cannot be drawn’ (1933:634). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to attend to these differences and here, for consistency, the story is described throughout as a ‘folk tale’ or ‘folk story’, aligning with Copeland’s own 1933 translation of the Zlatorog. This version is itself based on Kelemina’s, albeit with additions and edits, following Copeland’s own ethnographic insights:

and wherever my text differs from his, it is because I have preferred to make use of local tradition, obtained by friends who are well acquainted with it (Copeland, 1933b:651).

Copeland positions herself here as having additional, situated and expert knowledge to Kelemina, through her integration into Slovenian social life, her social network, and her own research. As Kropej states, ‘the study of mythology in the present is not an easy task’ (2012:10), and multiple challenges and questions arise for anyone considering such an undertaking. Is it, as Kropej asks, *superfluous*, to study a myth, to study folklore, in this current age of technology, instant celebrity and internet memes? Have the myths of old been replaced by ‘urban legends’? Kropej looks backwards to a distant past when stories, ‘subject to constant change and adaptations’ (p.9) were told from memory to pass the hours in the evening. This bygone period of time shares characteristics with the community described by

Z.Bauman: a 'paradise lost' (2004:3). A time, a place, a community, to which one can never return. Another imagined community. Krojež suggests that, in Slovenia, these traditional folk stories are regaining popularity, not least in terms of discovering and developing a sense of cultural identity – a cultural identity that is linked to, in her words, the Slovenian people, and to the development of a national identity. This bygone time is not so bygone. There is a resurgence of interest in the folklore of the past, inextricably linked to identity and to a deliberate move to develop and define this on a national level. Writing in 1933, Copeland states that 'the Slovenes are sometimes referred to as a people without history' (1933a:631), a statement which then raises the question of how a 'people without history' develop a shared sense of identity? How is history conceptualised, made, devised and performed for a new nation? Krojež relates the folklore revival in Slovenia to its independence in 1991 (2007:1), and claims that 'spontaneous recounting of folktales and fairy tales can occasionally still be witnessed in remote, isolated mountain and frontier regions', giving an example from her own experience of witnessing this in 1994 (p.2). Folklore has long been understood to be instrumentalised in nation state building and political agendas (for example, Baycroft and Hopkin, 2012):

Folklore often constituted one of the key elements of national identities, a distinguishing feature of a group of people who could be identified as a nation through their folkloric cultural practices, stories, traditions, dwellings, songs, music, costume, dialect, cuisine, etc (Baycroft, 2012:2).

Lowthorp (2017) describes the use of folklore in Indian state building over a sixty-year period, highlighting the nuanced relationship between 'heritage' and nation-state building, both internally and externally. She suggests:

Just as national heritage has become a means for nation-states to perform their modernity, so has global heritage becomes a means for them to perform their continued relevance within a post-modern world (2017:553).

Roginsky (2006) draws together gender, ethnicity and folklore as 'ambivalent others' in the context of national identity through a socio-historical study of Israeli folk dance. In 'new Israeli folk dance', the 'desired characteristics' of the 'Israeli identity' were embedded (p.241). For Roginsky, a 'national modern identity' is defined as:

an ongoing cultural-political negotiation between many actors, organisations and ideas in the social scene: political leaders, intellectuals, state institutions, national ideologies, economic interests (p.242).

Crucially, national identities as imposed 'from above' are accepted only if they align with people's understandings 'from below'. This raises questions around the role of street arts production and performance as part of an international festival? The visibility of the Zlatorog imagery across Slovenia appears to verify Kropelj's insights. But the choice of story within the context of devising a street arts production raises additional questions. Why programme a traditional telling of a traditional tale within a street arts festival which itself seeks to disrupt and which boasts a broad international reach?

5.4.3. The relevance of folklore

Basing a street arts production on a folk tale therefore raises multiple questions about folklore and its relevance. What purpose does it serve to focus attention on myths, and, what place do they serve in a study of languaging and communication in superdiverse, post-modern society? To what extent should we focus on the messages within the stories and what can we draw from these? These questions link to the role of folk tales in negotiating and renegotiating national identity, as Hymes states:

When one speaks of language or of folklore as an index or reflection of culture, it may be that one is trying to persuade the student of culture in general that our special study is relevant – it fits (1971:44).

When the folk tale is told it becomes a partial reflection of an imagined history. The act of choosing this particular story and using it as the basis for a production is deliberate on Bev's part (see Appendix C for the workshop plan). A focus on the retellings, the representations and the *re-presentations* of myth in street arts production enables a space for developing a closer understanding of how that myth functions within the development of the interlinking communities of practice. Or, as Hymes puts it, it allows the investigation of 'its functioning in the particular community, so with forms of speech generally and language itself' (p. 45). In this particular context, the folk tale, as trajectory (Kell, 2009), is the focus. The story is the thread (Ingold, 2016). The communicative practices are within it – within the language of the story itself. But, the practices under investigation are around it and within it, aligning with Hymes' suggestion that the study of folklore makes a particular and specific contribution to the ethnography of communication.

5.4.4. Allegory and cautionary tales

We do not, according to Z.Bauman, 'tell stories to amuse' (2004:8). The purpose of myths, and of mythology, is often pedagogical or political. To forget or neglect these messages is considered highly dangerous, and listeners 'may forget or neglect only at their peril' (ibid). The folk tale here is allegorical in Clifford's terms, in that it references multiple patterns, therefore acting to "interpret" itself' (Clifford, 1986:99). The story has a series of messages to communicate, one of which pertains to 'greed', a common characteristic of the folkloric tales related or similar to the Zlatorog (Kropej, 2012:74). As the story undergoes multiple transformations and resemiotising processes during the production, these messages are adapted and added to. They evolve, and additional messages, linking to those involved with the production, are woven into the devised performance. The messages also affect the objects and the puppets made, which in turn affect the story's telling.

Folkloric tales linked to the Zlatorog include stories of other chamois, and of goats and deer with golden hooves (for example as Kropej explains, the White Stag, the White Horse on Vršac, the Mountain Chamois with a Cross on its Brow, the Chamois with the Golden Hooves at Zijalka Cave, the Chamois with the Golden Hooves at the Cave above Bistrica, pp.70-74). The chamois motif is a common one and the story is therefore explicitly allegorical. In telling, and then presenting multiple re-tellings of the folk tale and using its trajectory as the focus here, this thesis too becomes at once allegorical (Clifford, 1986:99) and multivocal as an 'ethnographic text'. As Clifford states, 'Ethnographic texts are inescapably allegorical and a serious acceptance of this fact changes the ways they can be written and read' (ibid).

Allegory draws special attention to the *narrative* character of cultural representations, to the stories built into the representational model process itself. It also breaks down the seamless quality of cultural description by adding a temporal aspect to the process of reading. One level of meaning in a text will always generate other meanings (Clifford, 1986:100)

Clifford refers here to allegory in ethnographic writing, and to its risks (see also Kincheloe and McLaren, 2002). Its relevance to the analysis in the following chapters is that the story, as a cautionary tale, undergoes a series of multiple resemiotising processes by multiple actors over the course of creating a production. During this process it generates multiple meanings in each interpretation and re-presentation: new meshworks of meanings. The resultant multivocal production of the Zlatorog, 'How Much Is Enough?', as performed for the Ana Desetnica street arts festival, reflects and is inseparable from this multiplicity of

meanings and interpretations. And so using the thread as a focus here builds on Clifford's exhortation to ethnographers to use 'multilocal ethnography' (1986:102), in order to understand culture:

Rather than fixing culture into reified textual portraits, culture needs to be better understood as displacement, transplantation, disruption, positionality, and difference (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2002:117).

5.4.5. Folklore and the study of language

According to Hymes, the role of folklore in the study of communication has five main elements, summarised below.

1. Ordinary people and communities

The first of these is that folklore counters Chomskyan *competence*, and instead 'recognises the use of language as a positive accomplishment, and not only in literature with a capital L but in the art of *ordinary people and communities*' (p. 48, emphases added).

2. Emergent properties of interactions

The second is that folklore 'recognises the differentiation of knowledge and competence within a community with regard to speaking...and it recognises the *emergent* properties of such interactions' (p.48-49, emphases added).

3. Relationship between novelty and familiarity

The third relates to creativity, but importantly, to the relationship between novelty and familiarity, or, as Hymes puts it, 'the role of language is not only to enable persons to adapt to new situations with novel utterances but also do so with familiar utterances' (p.49).

4. Higher level functions and contents

The fourth is positioned in terms of analysis and suggests a dialectical analytic framework between the micro level fine-grained analysis and the macro level 'analysis of a communicative event'. This links to Kell's description of horizontal and vertical analysis (2009).

5. Perspectives and sensitivities

The fifth point Hymes makes is that the folklorist is able to assess more generally the language under investigation, not solely in terms of 'internal organisation'. A 'continuum' can be assessed rather than a 'dichotomy'.

The salience of these five points for this study lies in the underpinning interdisciplinarity. Moreover, allegory here serves to destabilise the theories and interpretations (Clifford, 1986:103), in addition to foregrounding the nuances of interpretation within the multiple resemiotising processes and transformations under observation and within the analysis in this thesis. This thesis, therefore, 'seeks to evoke multiple (but not limitless) allegories' (ibid).

5.4.6. Visuality and visibility of the Zlatorog

Zlatorog, Golden Horn, or *Goldhorn* as it is often translated, is a familiar story for residents of Slovenia. Those visiting may also start to recognise it. It is both a highly *visual* story (a *golden-horned* goat, the *White Ladies*, the *red* rose of Triglav) and highly *visible* story (its imagery is used in different places for a wide range of purposes). It is visible on the labels of the popular Slovenian beer, *Laško*, brewed by Slovenian brewery *Pivovarna Laško* in the town of the same name. The beer, named Zlatorog after the mythical chamois, features the Goldhorn's head on the label and is marketed as a 'traditional', yet simultaneously modern and technologically innovative, beer:

Incorporating the finest ingredients and the latest technological advances and brewed using our traditional formula which has remained unchanged for decades we can proudly say Zlatorog is a beer that was already enjoyed by our grandparents (Laško website, n.d.).

Visitors to the Bohinj region can see a statue of Zlatorog on a rock by Lake Bohinj.



Figure 2: Zlatorog statue Lake Bohinj (August 2016)

Those visiting the region with young children might choose to purchase a copy of an illustrated pamphlet, 'The Fairyland of the Goldhorn' which details guided walks along the tracks and paths of the forests which follow the folk stories of the region, including the Zlatorog. You can stay at Chalet Zlatorog. A pamphlet produced by the Slovenian tourist board under its 'I feel **Sloven**ia' campaign, 'Slovenian Symbols: Songs of Freedom', cites Zlatorog as one of the country's 'icons: superheroes'. Folkloric imagery of the chamois with the golden horns is therefore both preserved and reproduced across multiple spaces in Slovenia. The Zlatorog takes on a symbolic role, as iconic of a 'national culture' and tradition, which draws together nature (for example, in Alpine tourism) and commodities (for example, traditional yet technologically innovative alcohol). It represents tradition.

Hence, folklore as a living representation of tradition, preserved in its apparently authentic state, has been used to justify the legitimacy of a national culture, though relegating to it the marginal status of the traditional and primitive Other vis-a-vis the enlightened, modern national project (Roginsky, 2006:245-246).

Placed-based folk tales serve to 'constantly remind us of their presence' (Kropej, 2007:4). Kropej uses the example of Martin Krpan, a story introduced by another performer, Luka, during the story-sharing workshop in the conceptualisation stage. Krpan, described by Copeland as a 'personification of the Slovene people' (1949:282), is a local hero, with the story's place of origin strongly identified with the story: 'the area is even called 'the land of Martin Krpan'' (Kropej, 2007:4), and he, like the Zlatorog, is used in tourist campaigns and literature from the region, including to advertise meat (p.5). The mythical goat transcends

multiple national borders: Zlatorog was also the name of a Bulgarian cultural journal (Moser, 1963) founded in 1920 covering a range of original writing and literary and cultural topics from a broad geographical area between the two world wars.

5.5. The folk tale of the Zlatorog: desire, travel, discovery and staying

Although Kropej (2012:58) traces the first known written version of the folk tale of the Zlatorog to Dežman in 1868 (1868:325-327) the story itself is centuries old. It is a tragedy, or, as Hymes describes The Sun's Myth, 'a spectacle of hubris brought low' (1975:358). The story, or collection of stories, hail from a village near Mount Triglav called *Bovec*. Dežman's written version is in the style of late Romanticism and was published in *Laibacher Zeitung*, a German-language daily newspaper based in Ljubljana from 1778-1918 (Žigon, 2013:270). It is typical of Romantic artistic interpretations of folklore of this kind that were common in the nineteenth century (Baycroft, 2012:2). Dežman's telling is set out in full and translated into English in Kropej 2012 (pp.58-61), reproduced in the sections below. Here Dežman's version is used to introduce the story of the Zlatorog and its main themes, marking the starting point of the thread and serving to contextualise the tale.

5.5.1. Paradise lost

The story begins with an introduction to the White Ladies, or Bele Žene in Copeland's 1933 translation, and the equilibrium of the mountains and pastures, the *Alpine paradise*.

The Jezéra (mountain pasture by the Triglav Lakes) and rocky Mt. Komna were once part of the Alpine paradise where the White Ladies lived.

(p.58)

We assume, therefore, from 'were once part', that the Alpine paradise is no longer *paradise*. If we were to travel there, we would find it to be different from the space described in the story. The White Ladies 'lived' there at that time, but no longer. The Alpine paradise is lost. It is *paradise lost*, to follow Z.Bauman, and a community to which no-one can return, although the geographical features remain, a permanent reminder of what is said to have taken place. We are already aware that there is to be an act that destroys this paradise, although we do not as yet know the nature of this act. We will soon understand how and why this loss occurs through the telling of the folk tale. We also glean that there will be lessons for us to draw from this story: that it represents more than simply a tale in itself, told to amuse. It is an

allegory - an allegory which seeks to warn, to caution us, and from which we must draw important lessons, as with Milton's epic poem, *Paradise Lost*:

Of Man's First Disobedience, and the Fruit
Of that Forbidden Tree, whose moral taste
Brought Death into the World, and all our woe,
With the loss of *Eden* (Book 1, lines 1-5).

The folk tale of the Zlatorog tells of Man's (sic) disobedience (in this case the disobedience of multiple characters) that leads to the loss of the Alpine paradise, or *Eden*.

5.5.2. The White Ladies: community and equilibrium

Dežman sets the scene by describing the *Bela Žene*, or *White Ladies* and what they did, creating an image of the paradise that once was.

These were creatures with gentle and compassionate hearts. They would often appear in the valley in order to help poor people in need. They stood by the women in labour, and the boys these women gave birth to were under the special protection of the White Ladies throughout their lives. They taught the shepherds about the medicinal powers of herbs. Thanks to them, strong grass grew on the naked rocky brinks, and the poor people's goats found their pasture there. The White Ladies didn't like people thanking them and, if anyone came close to their high valley, they didn't let them go any further by making threatening gestures. If anyone did come close to their dwellings by accident or by being presumptuous, huge stone avalanches, pounding rain, and storms made them go back where they came from.

(pp.58-59)

The White Ladies, according to Copeland, are complex 'superhuman beings', found in the 'mountain, forest or water' (1949:283). Yet they are also 'wise and benevolent' (ibid), and, despite their supernatural nature, they maintain 'an interest in human affairs' (1933b:644). Copeland suggests that similar beings are also present in Scottish folklore, and that their imagery relates to what she describes as 'garbled accounts concerning survivors of pre-Slav populations, who naturally sought refuge in the less accessible parts of the country' (1949:283) and were therefore 'mysterious'. Despite their benevolence and their interest in the world of the humans, the White Ladies do not enjoy being disturbed. They are also modest, preferring not to receive gratitude for their actions and will cause untold hardship,

including ‘avalanches, pounding rain and storms’ (Kropej, 2012:59) to those who dare to go too near to them. These kinds of hardships would be well known by local residents, for the mountainous region from which the story originates is subject to rapidly changing weather. Lake Bohinj, the largest of the Slovenian lakes, is situated in a ‘deep glaciated valley’ (Petkovšek, 1960:131), and the surrounding villages in the region can be isolated from the main roads during the wintertime in the case of heavy rainfall or heavy snowfall.

We are made aware of the equilibrium of the community, of the ‘strong grass’ growing on the rocks and how the needs of the poor and the shepherds, the *ordinary people and communities*, are met. The tragedy therefore, we understand, will have consequences for *the ordinary people and communities* who need and rely on the protection of the White Ladies. By comparison, the equilibrium in *The Sun’s Myth* is maintained by a non-human - the Sun itself - who ‘is understood as maintaining proper social norms, as adhering to the rights and duties inherent in its nature’ (1975:358). Here it is the supernatural White Ladies presiding over the equilibrium.

5.5.3. The Zlatorog: strength and vulnerability

We are then introduced to the subject of the story: Zlatorog. In Kropej’s translation the Slovene-language word is not translated to Goldhorn, instead she retains the Slovene. Zlatorog is the leader of the ‘snow white’ chamois who belong to the White Ladies, who also protect him.

Their snow-white chamois grazed and stood guard on the mountain ridge whose walls fall steeply down into the Soča Valley. If an intruder approached, the White Ladies made rocks roll down the slopes. The chamois were led by a strong chamois with golden horns called Zlatorog. The White Ladies made him invulnerable. Even if a hunter’s bullet hit him, a plant with magnificent medicinal power would spring up from a single drop of his blood regardless of where it fell, be it a bare rock or icy snow-covered ground. This plant, the rose cinquefoil, was called the “miraculous balm” or the “rose of Triglav.” If Zlatorog ate a leaf of this plant, he instantly recovered, even if the bullet hit him in the heart. Even greater was the power of his horns. If someone managed to get close to Zlatorog and take one of his golden horns, he would have the key to all the silver and gold treasures that the Many-Headed Snake kept in Mt. Bogatin (literally, “Rich Man’s Mountain”).

(p.59)

Zlatorog is a ‘strong chamois’ with golden horns, made invincible by eating the ‘rose of Triglav’, a red flower which springs up each time he is wounded. Copeland cites an expert

described as an 'old Slovene botanist' who identifies the flower as 'potentilla nitida' (1933b:652). Although Zlatorog's strength is situated externally, through the protection of the White Ladies, his power is held internally, in his golden horns. Paradoxically, therein lies his vulnerability. His vulnerability is not simply an individual concern; it has implications for the broader region. As Dežman writes, 'if someone managed to get close to Zlatorog and take one of his golden horns, he would have the key to all the silver and gold treasures that the Many-Headed Snake kept in Mount Bogatin (this translates literally as 'Rich Man's Mountain')' (p.59). The equilibrium of the alpine paradise in the distant past is established, as is its potential weakness. We have an early indication as to what might occur to destroy the paradise.

5.5.4. Incomers: seekers of gold

A new character is introduced: a 'seeker of gold from Venice'. As an incomer from neighbouring Italy he is an outsider. He desires riches and travels to the area in order to source treasures.

A seeker of gold from Venice waited at the entrance to Mt. Bogatin and saw how Zlatorog touched the snake with his horn, and the snake became gentle as a lamb and let him dip his horns in the golden stream that ran through the cave. The gold seeker later found a piece of the golden horn that Zlatorog scraped off on a rock. This is how he was able to get all the treasures of the world with it. His entire life he carried bags of gold out of Mt. Bogatin and they were all sent to Italy.

(p.59)

The incomer is not a disinterested outsider, but someone who is invested in the region for this reason. We understand that he is careful and cunning. He watches how the Zlatorog greets the Many-Headed Snake at Mt Bogatin. He sees how the Zlatorog uses his golden horns, and is then able to use a small piece of the Zlatorog's golden horn, found on a rock, to tame the snake. He then takes away the treasure, takes it out of the cave, out of the region, out of the country and sends it to Italy: 'His entire life he carried bags of gold out of Mt. Bogatin and they were all sent to Italy'. He plunders the cave of treasures. He steals the wealth. He removes the gold from the community, bestowing it on the neighbouring country, and he carries on doing this all through his life. He is, therefore, fortunate to not have invoked the wrath of the White Ladies.

5.5.5. How paradise was lost: travelling while staying

Krojež adds her own analysis to Dežman's translation, describing the Venetian as lucky, in contrast to a local hunter.

A hunter from the Trenta Valley was not so lucky. People's ingratitude and thoughtlessness turned the high valley of the White Ladies into a rocky wasteland (p.59).

We then learn how the area is transformed from an 'Alpine paradise' to a 'rocky wasteland' due to 'people's ingratitude and thoughtlessness'. In the Sun's Myth, the chief 'ignores advice' and his actions disrupt the natural order (1975:359). Likewise, humans are responsible for the tragedy about to unfold in the area surrounding Mount Triglav: humans who themselves benefit from the balance maintained between the human and non-human worlds. Mobility and non-mobility, in terms of travel and staying are central here: the provenance of the first two characters introduced in the story is used as descriptors. The first, from Venice (an outsider), about whom we know little, other than that that he is from Italy and that he seeks gold. The second, from the Trenta Valley (an insider), is a local man and, by contrast, with whom a profession is associated: he is a hunter.

It happened like this:

At that time there were no roads in the Bovec Region, there was just a trail from Kobarid through Bovec to Tarvisio. Italian merchants used it to carry rich Venetian goods to Germany on their mules. At the confluence of the Koritnica and Soča rivers, there was a very popular inn where these merchants gathered. Its excellent landlady was well known far and wide because she knew how to sweeten up their rest with good food and red wine. Even more pleasing was her daughter, who was virtuous and the most beautiful girl in the valley. She had many suitors, but she gave her heart to a boy from the Trenta Valley. He was said to be the best hunter far and wide and was called "the hunter of the Trenta Valley." He was the son of a blind widow, and when she became old he took care of her with all the faithful love of a child. They also say that he was protected by the White Ladies. He knew all the trails in the mountains and he was permitted to climb the highest mountains without having to fear the landslides. He would bring many fat chamois, capercaillies, and bunches of beautiful flowers down to the inn, and in this way he won the girl's love. Because gold and finery are bound to turn people's heads, along with all the coaxing and flattery of the Italian merchants, the girl became arrogant.

(pp.59-60)

The focus is now the trade routes and the Italian merchants using these to move in and out

of the region with the Venetian goods that they transport to Germany. The merchants stay in a local inn, the owner of which (an 'excellent landlady') has a beautiful daughter who is betrothed to a local man, 'the hunter of the Trenta Valley' (p.60). In Copeland's version she writes, 'She had many wooers, but had given her heart to the young hunter of the Trenta' (1933b:653). We read that she is not only beautiful, but also virtuous. We learn that, in addition to being skilled in his profession, the hunter is also good. He looks after his blind mother and he is afforded special privileges by the White Ladies to climb up to the highest points of the mountains. Similarly to Zlatorog, the White Ladies protect him (p.653). His virtuous nature and his attendant skills enable him to travel beyond the sphere of most humans. He can access the Alpine paradise and regularly climbs the mountains to hunt, bringing back flowers to give to his betrothed, the innkeeper's daughter. Like the White Ladies, he attends to the *ordinary and local communities* through his good deeds. The White Ladies take care of him because of his virtue and good character: he is positioned as 'deserving'. The mechanisms which contribute to the community's equilibrium are further set out. Although the hunter travels (into the Alpine paradise) he does not leave the surrounding community. Although he desires, the object of his desires (the innkeeper's daughter) is from the same locality.

Yet, as the story unfolds, we hear that despite the gifts brought to her by the hunter (the flowers from the mountain tops) the innkeeper's daughter 'becomes arrogant' (p.60) with the attention she receives from the travelling merchants. The inherited role she holds in the inn and the geographical positioning this gives her, on the border, on a trade route, means she meets a wide variety of people: people from outside the community and people from neighbouring countries. She, however, stays. She does not travel, she remains in the area. Yet she is still able to encounter travel through staying. This immobile mobility leads to discovery and to desire. The inn offers hospitality to the merchants who rest on their way to Austria and Germany with their wares. The merchants flatter the innkeeper's daughter, and the outcome is suggested as inevitable: 'because gold and finery are bound to turn people's heads' (p.60). In working and living in the inn and in meeting people from outside the area and from neighbouring counties, she learns of new things, she hears of new customs. She discovers life outside the community. She meets outsiders. She looks outwards from inside. She travels without moving. This leads to desire for more than can be offered by the hunter.

5.5.6. Desire for the outside

The innkeeper's daughter is therefore well-placed for the merchant's attention.

One Sunday, when the winter was nearly over, some Italian merchants came to the inn carrying rich goods from Venice. One of them, a rich young gentleman, tried to seduce the girl with gold and promises. He put golden rings on her fingers and tied a pearl necklace around her neck. He treated the other guests to strong Italian wine and ordered the musicians to play, so that people could dance.

(p.60)

In the text, the word 'rich' is used twice: he has *rich goods* and he is a *rich young gentleman*. He embodies the richness of the objects he possesses. His richness sits in direct contrast with the hunter who is not rich. The hunter, however, is good, kind, and trusted too. He is respected by the White Ladies and, in this sense, embodies the community's interdependence and equilibrium between the local people, the supernatural beings, and nature.

Then the hunter of the Trenta Valley approached. When he asked his girlfriend for a dance, she frowned at him and, when he reproached her for wearing the Italian's golden finery, the beauty told him with a sneer that "the Italians are polite gentlemen, much more well-mannered than my lover, who despite knowing all the treasures of the mountains, has never even brought me the rose of Triglav."

(p.60)

Here the descriptor 'Italian' is used three times. We know that the hunter's rival offers the guests *strong Italian wine*. We take from the word 'strong' that the wine is intoxicating, and we are therefore to assume that its *Italianness* and its *strength* are linked. The merchant is then referred to as *the Italian*. *Italian* is therefore nominalized, with the merchant described by his country of origin and no longer by his occupation, which gives the reason for his presence in the inn. Meanwhile, the innkeeper's daughter's beau is referred to as 'the hunter of the Trenta Valley'. The two locations, Italy and the Trenta Valley, contrast. The hunter's provenance is more specifically described, whereas the merchant is linked only to a nation, not to a specific place. But while the hunter's occupation is maintained alongside his (local) provenance, the Italian merchant loses his. We then hear the innkeeper's daughter protest that 'the *Italians* are polite gentlemen'. In this way the focus shifts back to the group, with the *Italian* in question linked to a larger group identity, that of *the Italians*. She compares the Italians to the hunter, and the hunter is lacking. She laments that he has never brought her 'the rose of Triglav', the magical plant which grows from a drop of Zlatorog's blood. In referring to the treasures of the mountains, it suggests that their existence would be widely known about locally.

Because mockery goes directly from the mouth to the heart, the boy felt the harshness of these words in his heart and replied in the same arrogant manner: "I know where to find the key to the treasures of Mt. Bogatin and when I do find it I'll be a king compared to your Italian peddlers, and you are free to stay their barmaid."

(p.60)

In the hunter's words, the merchants, no longer gentlemen, become *Italian peddlers*, and the innkeeper's daughter a *barmaid*. A barmaid implies a different kind of role to an innkeeper's daughter, one that is inferior in status. A barmaid waits on people, providing what they need, and, in the hunter's description, *belongs* to people. In this case the Italians, 'their barmaid'. He refers to those to whom he states she belongs in the plural – she becomes a group barmaid, denoting subservience and a certain degree of impropriety. We also observe a thread: a thread that started with the riches and jewels, which travelled in *from outside* and with which the innkeeper's daughter, in her role in the inn, came into contact. Once she had come into contact with the incomers and seen what they could offer, she turned away from her former love interest, and in doing so, the community itself. The simple pleasures, the 'fat chamois, capercaillies, and bunches of flowers' brought to her by the hunter became insufficient. The equilibrium damaged and disrupted. The equilibrium was intrinsically embedded within the inequalities in that particular space. In turn, we then see that the hunter is affected by this greed, 'from the mouth to the heart'. We have been told that he is a good, kind, and *local* man. We know that he holds an important and privileged place among the mythical creatures of the mountains, and that this is crucial to the continued balance. What follows is now not unexpected.

He was deeply offended and left the inn. On the way, he met a wicked man called the Green Hunter, who was said to have murdered many upright boys. The Green Hunter told the boy many things about the treasures of Mt. Bogatin and the beautiful girls in Italy that are visited by many treasure seekers. That same night they both set out for the mountains to stalk Zlatorog because the hunter of the Trenta Valley knew all his favourite resting places. They spotted him in the morning, and the hunter's bullet hit Zlatorog.

(p.60)

The hunter's pride is wounded. On leaving the inn, he encounters a mythical creature called the Green Hunter. In traditional Slovene mythology, the Green Hunter is 'Jarnik', who is 'condemned to haunt the wild woods forever' (Copeland, 1933b:640). As a character he appears across multiple myths from the region and it is considered that he 'personifies the Devil' (Kropej, 2012:64). In the figure of Jarnik lie the origins for Slovenia's devil being green

in colour (Copeland, 1933b:640). The hunter of the Trenta Valley now becomes a 'boy' in the text: no longer a hunter. His human nature and fragility are foregrounded. The Green Hunter expands the boy's knowledge in terms of the treasures within the mountains (staying), and with regards the girls who live in Italy (travel and desire). The hunter of the Trenta Valley's knowledge of the region, and his ability to travel to the sites where the treasure is held, high up in the Alpine peaks, enable the two of them to find Zlatorog and to shoot him. But, as we know, Zlatorog is a supernatural being: to shoot at Zlatorog is to transgress. As Kropelj explains:

A shot at the golden-horned animal denotes a violation of a taboo. The young hunter had forgotten that Zlatorog was a sacred animal. His shot had the same consequences as if he had shot at the Sun, the crucifix or at Jesus Christ (2012:64).

In his anger and in his humiliation, the hunter has forgotten these important facts. The hunter's actions, we surmise, will have grave consequences.

Badly wounded, he found shelter on a narrow ledge in an inaccessible wall. "Come with me," shouted the Green Hunter, "the keys to the treasures of Mt. Bogatin are ours!" Suddenly, on the dangerous path amidst the snow and ice, the boy saw the most beautiful flowers he had ever seen, and among them also the edelweiss, which in past years he had often picked in order to brew medicine for his mother's eyes. The memory of his mother and his guardian angel warned him: "Stop, don't go any further, and be happy with the roses of Triglav. Your beloved will be ashamed and will ask for your forgiveness because she laughed at you." Then the Green Hunter shouted: "There is still time to subdue Zlatorog before he eats the miraculous balm. Take courage and you'll be richer than all the peddlers that made your girlfriend unfaithful." The voice of evil won, and they followed the tracks of the bleeding goat marked with flowers along the path between life and death.

(pp.60-61)

Zlatorog is wounded, and the flowers that have the power to restore him, the roses of Triglav, have sprung up from the ground below. These are the same flowers identified by the innkeeper's daughter in her outburst as the treasure that the hunter of Triglav can bring to her to demonstrate his love and affection. On the mountain, the hunter sees other aspects of nature which remind him of his family, of the community to which he belongs, and of the equilibrium which could still be maintained, if he were to change his (cursed) course of action.

But Zlatorog regained his strength by eating the miraculous balm and, newly revived, he

came galloping down the narrow path towards his pursuers with his horns shining in the sun more beautiful than ever. The hunter was blinded and looked into the endless depths. Zlatorog made one more jump and the hunter lost his footing and fell into the abyss. The Green Hunter laughed maliciously and shouted after him: "Have a nice trip to Italy!"

(p.61)

Zlatorog is a magical chamois, and he regains his strength by eating the flower. But he is now angry, and the combination of his golden horns and the sun shining on them blinds the hunter. He then slips and falls from the mountain tops. His conspiratorial partner, the Green Hunter, turns and laughs, making reference to Italy, suggesting this is his (final) destination.

In the meantime, the girl regretted bitterly what she had done to her hunter and waited sadly for him to show up again. It was only after the swallows began returning home and the waters of the Soča began rising because of the snow melting in the mountains that the river brought down his dead body holding a bouquet of the roses of Triglav.

(p.61)

While the tragic events have been unfolding, the innkeeper's daughter has waited for the hunter, feeling ashamed of her actions. Once winter passes and the snow starts to melt with the coming of the spring she learns what has happened to her friend. It is through his death that he finally brings her the rose of Triglav that she had requested.

5.5.7. Leaving

The folk story ends with a description of the area as it is now in the present day.

In the late summer, when the shepherds came near the valley of Zajezeram, they found a desolate rocky country. The White Ladies had left the land forever, and with them the white chamois were also gone. There was no trace left of the former Alpine paradise. In his rage, Zlatorog had laid waste all the most beautiful pastures and even today the traces of his golden horns can be seen on the rocky ground.

(Dežman, 1868: 325–7, in Kropelj, 2012:58-61)

The spring has passed and, during the later summer months, the shepherds travelling into the area find it to be much changed. The magical creatures have left the area: the chamois have moved away with the White Ladies. Not only have they gone, but Zlatorog has destroyed the mountain paradise. However, physical marks of his presence remain, among the ruins and the rocks. The area is changed irreparably. But traces remain. There is a thread

that continues.

Zlatorog and the White Ladies leave the mountain paradise in anger at what the humans have done. In Copeland's 1949 summary of the folk tale, she states:

The benefits conferred by these White Ladies upon mortal man meet with the *basest ingratitude*, which so enrages Zlatorog that he and the White Ladies, and the milk white goats, all forsake their mountain home forever (Copeland, 1949:285).

5.6. Discussion: desire, travel, discovery of the sun and staying

Hymes identifies the four themes in the Chinookan myth, The Sun's Myth, which lead to the destruction of the natural order as desire, travel, discovery (of the sun), and staying (p.368). These themes are visible within the story of the Zlatorog.

In the case of the innkeeper's daughter, her *desire* for something new, for something from outside the community in which the characters are supposed to remain in order to maintain the equilibrium, disrupts the natural order. She is introduced to shiny objects, to jewellery, to riches, to things that she had not dreamed of before. This leads to her desire for more than can be offered to her within the small community in which she lives. The hunter *desires* and it is through his desire for the innkeeper's daughter and his desire to demonstrate his love that he finds his downfall. The merchants too *desire*. They desire the riches with which they travel, the riches found in the caves in the kingdom, and, of course, the innkeeper's daughter.

Travel is embodied in the visitors, the Italian merchants, who move through the community with their wares. Travel is also present in the objects of desire: the jewellery and the riches offered by the merchants. These originate from elsewhere, from the neighbouring country or from the mountain peaks, representing movement and mobility. Travel is sanctioned in so much as it is bounded. The hunter has free reign over the tops of the Alpine peaks, for as long as he obeys the rules and does not disturb the fragile equilibrium. But to travel further than that is not possible.

Travel enables the *discovery* of these new objects. Discovery here is of the outside world and of the potential for a different life, a better life, a life with access to riches and the opportunity for more, in the case of the innkeeper's daughter. Travel sits in opposition to staying. Yet the innkeeper's daughter ultimately does not travel. She stays. And it is through exposure to people and things from 'outside' that the events unfold as they do.

Staying can be seen in terms of the Venetians staying in the inn, but also in terms of the necessity for those within the community to *stay*, for the sake of the equilibrium of nature. The story warns us that desire, travel, and discovery will lead to tragedy. The tragedy resonates across the whole region, as the landscape is irrevocably changed. The physical traces of the catastrophe which unfolded in the Alpine paradise are still visible today. The innkeeper's daughter resides at the cross-roads and her positionality at the intersection of desire, travel, discovery and staying, is the catalyst for the chain of events.

5.7. Summary

Kropej describes the story of the Zlatorog as 'reflecting the deep connection between man and nature, and their interdependency' (2012:58). This interdependence, as transported to today's highly globalised, liquid and *superdiverse* reality is highlighted by Z.Bauman:

We are all interdependent in this fast globalising world of ours and due to this *interdependence* none of us can be the master of our fate on our own. There are tasks which each individual confronts but which cannot be tackled and dealt with individually. Whatever separates us and prompts us to keep our distance from each other, to draw boundaries and build barricades, makes the handling of such tasks yet more difficult. We all need to gain control over the conditions under which we struggle with the challenges of life – but for most of us such control can be gained only *collectively* (2004:149).

In considering the story as allegorical, we can start to understand something of the context in which it would be told and shared. Copeland writes about Slovenia and 'alien domination', stating: 'Thus it came about that the most western of the Southern Slavs grew up under the permanent shadow of alien domination' (1933a:631). Writing about 'alien domination' in 1933 during the inter-war period, she describes the Bavarians and the Franks during the 'Great Migration', which Copeland states was 'more or less by invitation'. A 'domination' by invitation proposes an interesting dynamic. Who might invite 'domination' and how does that affect our reading of the folk story and its themes? This further contextualises the folk tale in a geographical space of complex tensions - a contact zone (Pratt, 1991).

Kress asks about the reach of a particular theory (2011, see also Dicks et al., 2011:231) and what the constraints and limitations of a particular 'way of seeing' might be? In this chapter the folk story of the Zlatorog is set out and contextualised within the broader theoretical framework for this thesis. By using the folk story itself, in a translated version of an early

written iteration, I set out the themes within the story that continue across its transformations and remediations during the production process. I also highlight the significance of the ethnography of communication in underpinning the methodology and the analysis within this thesis. It marks the beginning of the thread. In Ingold's terms this is a 'trace', or an 'enduring mark left in or on a solid surface by a continuous movement' (2010:15). It is a trace that has been deliberately marked out, multiple times. It is marked out again in this chapter, as 'casting-on', to follow Ingold's metaphor around needlework, weaving and knitting (p.19). Traces become threads. The production process, made up of four distinct yet blurring stages - conceptualisation, making, devising and performing - is a process that deliberately recreates and reimagines the trace as a thread. The thread, the story, is plucked. It is selected. And ultimately, the thread, created from the trace, becomes a trace. But a different trace to the one before, and not a singular trace: multiple traces.

5.8. Towards conceptualisation

In Chapter Six, the first of four analytical chapters, I return to the 'trace' of the story of the loss of the Alpine paradise as the story is told by a performer, Lothar, participating in a story-telling activity as part of the puppetry training programme led by F.A.. Lothar comes from the Bohinj region of Slovenia and tells the group of performers a story about a golden-horned goat.

Part III: Devising

Chapter Six: Stage One, Conceptualisation, or, *the story is told*

Through stories about place, they become inhabitable. Living is narrativizing. Stirring up or restoring this narrativizing is thus also among the tasks of renovation. One must awaken the stories that sleep in the streets...Festivals, contests, the development of 'speaking places' in neighbourhoods or buildings would return to narratives the soil from which they grow (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol, 1998:142-3, in Wynn, 2005:118).



6.1. Introduction

In the first of the four analytical chapters forming the core of this thesis I focus on the initial stage of the production process, which I describe as the conceptualisation stage. During this stage, the folk tale of the Zlatorog, or Goldhorn, the story on which the production, 'How Much Is Enough?', is based, is first introduced to Bev and the group by a performer as part of a story-telling exercise. Its introduction marks the beginning of the trajectory for the purposes of the analysis and it bears traces of the teller's spatiotemporal history, bringing it into contact with the present and with aspirations for its future.

6.2. Setting the scene

The conceptualisation stage took place in March 2015 with an intensive weekend of puppetry and street arts training (see production plan in Appendix C). The programme, entitled *Puppetry/Animating the Inanimate*, was led by Bev, who had been commissioned by A.M.T. to develop and lead a three-day workshop of puppet-making and story-telling, based on her own street arts practice. This workshop was for the students participating in the ŠUGLA (Šola Uličnega Gledališče) street arts education programme which was into its fifth year in 2015 and for which A.M.T. invites different international practitioners or 'mentors' to deliver workshops, therefore giving participants access to a wide range of street arts practice.

6.2.1. The participants: trainee street arts performers

The group had only recently started to work together, having undergone interviews and auditions at the beginning of the year and the programme had only started a fortnight previously. The following extract from my fieldnotes (March 2015) sets the scene:

The group are recently brought together as part of the ŠUGLA programme. Some of the group know each other already (Luka and Lothar, for example, were part of the ŠUGLA programme last year). The others have met in the last couple of weeks. ŠUGLA is a programme for aspiring street arts performers who want to improve their practice and their methods. It starts in March and continues until June the following year. The organisers, the Ana Monro Theatre, (Tea is the ŠUGLA education officer) also incorporate the work of the ŠUGLA students into their festivals – the Ana Desetnica festival in the summer, and the Ana Mraz festival in the winter. The ŠUGLA students participate in weekly workshops and also in weekend workshops such as the one we are here for. These are led by mentors from across the different practices and from

across Europe. Bev is here for puppetry and to explain her practice and train the students.

(Fieldnotes, March 2015)

The group is made up of twelve performers and includes the core group who go on to devise and perform, Vesna, Sara Š, Sara G, Natalija, Doris, Gaja, Ana (all new recruits to ŠUGLA) and Lothar, Luka and Jaak (all alumni from the previous ŠUGLA course), who are involved in alternative shows. Tea, responsible for the course and street arts education for A.M.T. is also present in the workshops, observing and writing notes. The group decreases and increases in size at various points across the production process, with performers moving in and out as their schedules allow. The performers are mainly undergraduate students with a small number from professional backgrounds. As the production progresses over the making and devising stages, the performers' commitment to the resulting performance must be formalised. The group starts to reduce in size, as some performers, including Jaak and Luka, have prior commitments, such as preparing for exams, during the time of the street arts festival and are therefore unable to perform with the group.

Lothar, one of the performers, who as teller of the folk tale, is narrator, or animator (Goffman, 1974), takes the central focus for this chapter. His story-telling, as a social activity and one that is integral to the workshops, relies on the others in the room and their interaction with him and with his telling of the story. The recipients of the story are Bev, who has requested the stories be shared, and the other performers present in the room, each of whom has a different level of prior knowledge of the story and connection to it. A series of interjections occur, some elicited by Lothar and others by the performers. This develops their roles as additional tellers, although these are not elevated to the status of 'co-teller' (Ochs et al., 1992) during this story-telling session. As the production process unfolds, the roles of teller (and co-tellers) are devolved and shared, with less clarity than in this initial space.

6.2.2. The location

The workshops take place in the spaces within the Hostel Dijaški dom Tabor (D.D.T.), in an area close to the centre of Ljubljana.



Figure 3: Map of Ljubljana, Hostel D.D.T. (from Google Maps)

The workshop location is a former church, part of a hostel complex, hidden from the street, now hired by various organisations for a wide range of purposes including A.M.T. who use this space regularly. As the first evening's workshops end and the props are tidied away, participants for a tango dance class start to enter the hall. To access the hall we enter through the main door of the international youth hostel, continuing past the reception, along the corridor and out of the back door to a courtyard. The church is located to the right of the courtyard.



Figure 4: D.D.T. courtyard

Figure 5: D.D.T. courtyard and entrance to former church

6.3. Data collected

The following data were collected during the conceptualisation stage:

Data type	Quantity
Photographs	181
Video data	117 videos, 8 hours 3 seconds of footage
Fieldnotes	7495 words

6.4. Data selection

Data were selected through an analytical strategy underpinned by resemiotisation (Iedema, 2001; 2003; García and Li, 2014), as concerns ‘how materiality (‘expression’) serves to realise the social, cultural and historical structures, investments and circumstances of our time’ (Iedema, 2003:50). Within this chapter moment analysis (Li, 2011), as a tool to identify the ‘point in or period of time which has outstanding significance’ (p.1224), is employed to

identify the key moments of resemiotisation and transformation of the story as it travels, to 'capture what appear to be spur-of-the-moment actions that are semiotically highly significant to the actors and their subsequent actions' (p.1222). These moments are considered as 'trans-semiotic moments'. As points in time they are formed by processes of resemiotisation and signify broader episodes of action. The notion of the 'trans-semiotic' draws from Halliday (2013 in He et al., 2015) and describes the system in which 'many meaning making signs, primarily linguistic ones that combine to make up a person's semiotic repertoire' (García and Li, 2014:42) simultaneously exist. The production process is also one of trans-semiosis, with deliberate and repeated reiterations, re-workings, and re-presentations of the story integral to the activity. The concept of a trans-semiotic moment signifies the points at which these transformations take place and at which new meanings are created. In this sense, the entirety of the episode analysed within this chapter can be considered a trans-semiotic moment. When Lothar introduces the folk story of the Zlatorog to the group this signifies a point of transformation. This specific text, as the story Lothar tells, marks the starting point for the production process. It is a catalyst.

In this chapter the data selected is a short extract of video data, 7 minutes and 51 seconds in length, chosen because it depicts the beginning of the thread. The episode introduces the story to the group. The themes within the story become elements taken up in the production process and elements that are, eventually, woven into the performance.

6.5. Methodological observations

The conceptualisation stage took place over a period of two and a half days, from Friday evening to Sunday afternoon. It was also the first stage of my data collection, following a number of initial meetings with F.A. in the UK. During this stage I was immersed in the workshops and the social activities taking place around the workshops. These social activities, as I began to understand, formed an integral part of F.A.'s developing collaboration with A.M.T.. The workshops themselves were borne of invited collaborations, and it was envisaged that these would form the starting point for a longer-term creative partnership. During the workshops I started to learn how to 'do' ethnography in an arts-based context. They were learning experiences for me as a new researcher and highly formative. As Bev led the group through multiple activities, I alternated between taking photographs using my digital camera and using the video camera to take video footage of the workshops and interactions around the activities. Due to airlines luggage restrictions on the flight I had not brought the research team's video camera tripod with me and so I held the video camera in

my hand throughout the filming as I wove in and out (although I used a fixed camera and my laptop during the making and devising stages).

After the workshops had finished each day, around 9pm on the first day and 6pm on subsequent days, the evenings were spent eating with Bev and the performers, discussing the activities and the group's progress, and returning late in the evening to the studio in which we were staying. It was my first experience of research of this kind and a particularly intensive period. Crucially for me at that stage I participated in the workshops as a researcher and not as practitioner or project manager. This was important to me from a methodological perspective. I had followed up this particular research opportunity in order to explore how I might enter the field in a way which would make the familiar, in terms of the community arts activities, 'strange', through observing a process to which I could not contribute as a practitioner.

In the mornings we left the studio early to travel a couple of miles south to the city centre on city bicycles hired for us by A.M.T.. The intensity of the workshop activities meant I could not write during the day and my written notes were scribbled down on my return from Slovenia. The video and photographic data, therefore, form the main focus for the analysis, but also developed multiple roles as interactional data, as documentation of the activities, and as the basis for visual prompts for the writing-up of my fieldwork. As a first foray into ethnographic fieldwork with an arts organisation, I was immediately immersed in a messy process, over which I had little control. I had to let certain things go. The methodological 'assemblage' (Law, 2004) developing through this situated approach to research was messy, taking into account 'multiplicity, indefiniteness and flux' (p.14). During this stage, initially conceptualised as a pilot study through which I would explore the kinds of data I could collect and through which I would develop my methodology, I was gradually establishing an emergent research design with ethnography as a central approach, as a way to pay 'attention to everyday practices and habits' (Pahl, 2014:182). These habits – developing a collaborative practice in a short time period, training, sharing ideas, working together on a street arts production - were 'everyday practices and habits' for the people with whom I was working. But at times I was highly frustrated at my inability to write during the workshops. I knew I wanted to write, and that, following my reading, ethnography was 'writing'. I wanted to produce 'thick description': how could I do this without writing copiously? Without 'writing thickly'? But, as the workshops progressed I gradually became at peace with what I had considered restraints. I started to see the process as developing in dialogue with the performers and with the fluid context in which I was immersed. At certain points, this meant

allowing myself to let ‘some of the practices of my discipline slip’ (Pahl, 2014:185), while accounting for the slippage.

6.6. The focal point

This chapter’s focal point, the oral narrative of the folk story of the Zlatorog, is told during a story-sharing workshop in which four other stories were also introduced. Empirical data drawn from the conceptualisation stage and from across subsequent stages of the research are woven into the thread.

The data within this chapter include photographs, fieldnotes, interactional data and accounts from my research diary. Together these produce what Blommaert and Jie describe as ‘theoretical statements’ (2010:17) and ‘make the relationship between language and ethnography explicit and emphatic’ (Copland and Creese, 2015:176).

6.7. Analytical framework

The folk tales, re-told and re-narrated by the performers in response to Bev’s request, can be seen as grand narratives. But within these larger, *grand narratives*, were smaller fragments of stories. These ‘snatches and fragmentary tellings of past, ongoing and hypothetical events’ (Simpson, 2011:13) highlight negotiations of identity and community within the group. On a macro level, in focusing on the folk tale the analysis within these three chapters has two primary foci:

- The story as a multilingual, multimodal thread, as it gradually undergoes a series of resemiotising processes, translations, and transformations throughout the stages of production.
- The multilingual and multimodal ‘interactions’ around the thread, as a community of performers and creative practitioners develops around it, with the analysis moving towards the concept of ‘intra-action’.

These two foci intersect and interlink and, as with the stages, these distinctions are artificial. The multiple resemiotisations and intra-actions mesh. The story, the group of performers, the mentor, the ŠUGLA street arts educational programme, the collaborative relationship between the two arts organisations, the practices which come together, the props, and the costumes are considered analytically as multiple threads which make up the production process. Through the process, these threads, already in existence in different forms (see

Chapter Five), become knotted together, as Geertz describes. These knots create and propel the project forwards. These smaller acts of weaving take place within the broader context of the larger European collaborative project (3.5.2) as an emergent framing structure.

The analysis within this chapter takes a narrative approach, with the whole story, as told by Lothar, analysed from a narrative perspective. It is divided into sections, firstly based on the notion of interactive frame (Tannen and Wallat, 1993) linking to Goffman's concept of footing (1981). It follows Tannen and Wallat's description of the use of context analysis (following Kendon, 1979, see also Simpson, 2011). The context in which this story is introduced is described in detail and still images are used to illustrate the analysis.

Integral to the analytic strategy is micro-analysis of the narrative. Micro-analysis, or micro-ethnography, here is selected for the following reasons, as outlined by Rampton (2007:2):

- it privileges participant perspectives;
- it is suspicious of a priori theory and takes description very seriously, dwelling on particulars (with transcripts often functioning like vignettes);
- it emphasises open-ended immersion in the situation being investigated;
- it's very time-consuming;
- it produces much more description and data than the analyst can eventually use;
- and in doing so, it makes room for the unpredictable (2007:2).

6.7.1. The story telling event

This first telling of the story, in effect a joint re-telling, marks an initial resemiotisation (Iedema, 2001; 2003) and a transformation: a trans-semiotic moment. During and after its telling, the thread is transformed across different, multiple semiotic modes. I describe the workshop in my fieldnotes.

The final workshop before lunch. We draw chairs together into a circle. I sit with the camera.

The group take it in turns to tell stories. Bev asks for stories which will then form the basis for the next set of workshops. Something to focus on. She has researched a story about a Ljubljana dragon, the dragons on the bridge.

I'm in the circle. I'm part of the group. But I'm filming still.

At one point I'm laughing and my camera wobbles. I wish I'd brought the tripod with me. Lothar begins. He tells the story of the Zlatorog. The Zlatorog is a golden horned

goat which is symbolic or iconic of Slovenia. The beer, Zlasko, has the Zlatorog on it. (I recall a statue by Lake Bohinj from being there in 2007). This is a traditional tale and Lothar seems to really want to tell it. It comes from the place he grew up. Bohinj. A lake, further away into the Julian Alps than Lake Bled with its picture postcard island with a church and its hanging castle on a rock. More remote.

Then Jaak tells the story of the weak shepherd. He speaks quietly. He is an actor and a dancer. He sits cross legged on the chair as he speaks.

Luka follows with his story of Martin Krpan. He tells it with humour. Everyone laughs. It's an amusing story, based on stupidity and great strength.

He plays with his pronunciation of MartIN KR-PAN.

Next it's Natalija. She's the only female in the group to speak. All three males have told their stories. Natalija's is about a snake and a porridge pot. And a crown. I notice that she uses her supposed forgetfulness of the English word to perform a game in which she brings together the whole group. A strategy for drawing people towards her story, to bringing people in? She seems quiet and shy.

Bev then tells the story of the Ljubljana dragon. She has researched it on the internet; she'd been telling me on the plane.

Then finally, just before we break for lunch, Luka and Lothar tell the story of a cup of coffee.

(Fieldnotes, March 2015)

6.7.2. The story begins

Sharing these stories is integral to the programme design (see Appendix C). It also marks a shift in the puppetry workshops, which until this point have centred on 'ice-breaker' and physical activities, with Bev introducing the group to the kinds of practice street arts puppetry involves. The stories provide a centre around which the subsequent activities can cluster, creating a distinction between the warm-up activities and skills training characterising the first half of the workshop programme and movement towards starting to devise a production. Bev wants to understand more about Slovenia and Slovenian culture, and customs and folk stories have potential for what Dundes describes as opportunities:

opportunities afforded by the study of folklore as a way of seeing another culture *from the inside out* instead of *from the outside in*, the usual position of a social scientist or teacher (2007:55).

The stories offer Bev a way in. She considers them as both an entry point to Slovenian 'culture' and the foundation for the future production.

6.7.3. Sharing stories

Story-telling here *promises* to do something (Shuman, 2005:3) and in subsequent workshops the performers will use the stories to develop objects and experiment with street arts puppetry. The *something* promised by the story-telling is pivotal. It must provide material for the practical workshops that follow, and subsequently for the making and devising stages of the project. It must provide a focus and something for Bev to work with. It promises to give the group something tangible – in this case a narrative with named characters, set in a specific place (for Bev this is ideally a Slovenian place), and with a clear story - with which they can play for the duration of the programme workshops. In describing the activity as *sharing*, it promises to develop *something* that will become owned by others. Something is given to the group that is then owned collectively, to a greater or lesser extent. In this sense, that *something* is given as a gift to the group, and to Bev as mentor, an incomer to the group. The something is requested and it is offered.

Stories of place invoke belonging (Pahl, 2014:32). As Pahl explains, the sharing of stories of place is also an opportunity of rediscovery for those for whom these stories are familiar, as is the case with some of the street arts performers. But it also promises to develop a thread – one that will bring the group together for what is the ultimate objective of the workshops: to produce a performance which can, and will, be performed in the street. In its performance, the story is then shared on a wider stage to a wider group. Points of *sharing* are highlighted in the following analysis and considered in terms of opening up spaces for the development and resemiotisation of a shared story.

Story-telling is central to 'community performance', which here, following Haedicke, is used to define 'a social practice: a socio-artistic process and event created in collaboration with a particular community or communities' (2013:152). From this perspective, Bev is collaborating with a particular community - the aspiring street performers who are part of A.M.T.'s school for street arts - to train and subsequently produce something. The project community is initially the performers present in the room, working together with Bev for a short period, a 'transient multilingual project community' (see 5.4.1.). The practice, process and event in which the group are engaged are therefore collectively categorised as 'community performance' as an activity in which a group comes together temporarily for a

defined and common goal (Haedicke, 2013:152). The practice, process and event, led by Bev and undertaken by the performers, are collaborative and can be considered as ‘cultural intervention’:

the creative act of cultural intervention, an aesthetic experience that challenges conventional perceptions and assumptions about art and art-making, interrogates the spaces of and for art, and questions both the dialogues that result in a kind of connected and contextual aesthetic knowledge and even the nature and worth of such a collaboration (Haedicke, 2014:251)

6.7.4. Narratives as analytic core

Lothar’s narrative forms the core of this analytic chapter. The resultant performance (Chapter Nine) embodies the decisions made by the group, working with Bev as mentor and director guiding the project. However, these choices and decisions are also made by Bev and the performers during the making and devising stages (Chapters Seven and Eight) and are determined by the objects and puppets. Likewise, there is significant input by other protagonists, including a puppet maker, Jonny, across various stages of the production process, with decisions made around what is and what is not selected as central to the finished piece (Chapter Seven). Chapter Seven focuses on the objects themselves and the processes involved in their creation, arguing that these are also protagonists, heavily implicated in the final outcome. However, during the conceptualisation stage Lothar’s choices about what is included in his telling of the story in this first workshop, and, crucially, what is omitted, are integral to subsequent translations and resemiotising processes. At the time of the workshops, Bev is unaware of other versions of this story, for example by Dežman. She therefore works from Lothar’s telling, or rather from the notes she jots down as he speaks. Performance here, as story-telling and as narration, is considered as a ‘frame that invites critical reflection on communicative processes’ (R.Bauman and Briggs, 1990:60). Moreover, as R.Bauman and Briggs state, and as exemplified in the previous chapter, the folk stories recounted here comprise multiple discourses, requiring ethnographic attention *and* attention to detail to account for their richness.

The analysis within this chapter takes a narrative approach, and is adapted from Bamberg and Georgakopoulou’s ‘small stories’ framework for narrative analysis. Small stories constitute a ‘new narrative turn’ (Bamberg 2004, 2006; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008; Georgakopoulou, 2006; 2007; Simpson, 2011), enabling a focus on ‘fleeting moments of narrative orientation to the world’ (Hymes, 1996, in Georgakopoulou, 2006:123). Although

predominately based on the analysis of small sections of naturally occurring talk, a small stories approach here establishes a dialectic between the larger story (the folk tale itself) and the small stories which emerge through the narrative as it unfolds and in interaction with Bev and the other performers. Lothar's version of the story, as narrated during this workshop, is set out in full within this analytical chapter and the structure of the analysis is on three levels, based broadly on the framework in Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) and adapted by Simpson (2011) in the analysis of a story telling exercise in an ESOL classroom. This is an elicited narrative, and small stories typically are conversational and non-elicited (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008:378). But it forms an interactional event. The identities emerging from the story-telling are the product (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005:285; Simpson, 2011:13) of the intra-action.

These levels are as follows:

- firstly, *narrative* interaction: the story being told, the characters within the story and their interactions with each other;
- secondly, *spatial* interaction: Lothar's own relationship to the story and the place in which the story is based, and;
- thirdly, *group* interaction: Lothar's construction of himself as a teller, and Bev and the performers as recipients of the story.

Through analysing the interaction, I start to consider intra-action as a concept which considers that these entities existed prior to the story telling (Barad, 2007:197). The focus is on how the telling of the story opens up the space.

Positioning (Davies and Harré, 1990) is negotiated both through the requesting of the stories and through the telling of the stories, with identities emergent and contingent (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Simpson, 2011). Translanguaging spaces (Bradley and Simpson, 2019 forthcoming ; Li, 2011; Zhu et al., 2017) are problematized and polyphony (Bakhtin, 1981) in the story's telling is considered and foregrounded.

6.7.5. Interactive frame of the story telling event

The broad interactive frames of the story telling event are set out as follows. As the stories are requested by Bev at the beginning of the workshop she develops and sets out the 'structure of expectation' (Tannen and Wallat, 1993:206). This activity is considered the 'business proper' (Goffman, 1981:125) of the workshops, taking place after the warm-up

activities and after the exploratory puppetry work, during which the performers used clothes (sweatshirts and scarves) and then newspaper to create small interactions and to develop the performers' puppetry skills. During the story telling event, the interactions are, following Goffman, 'in a more segmental relation, ordered by work requirements, functionally specific authority' (1981:125). The work requirements here are both established and communicated by Bev. They aim to inform her, as mentor, and, subsequently, as director of the street arts production, about the 'folk stories' which might be typical of the country, Slovenia. This demonstrates an assumption made on Bev's part about folklore (see Chapter Five), and its esoteric nature. It implies that these stories are shared within 'group boundaries' (R.Bauman, 1972:32) and that 'folklore is a function of shared identity' (ibid). There is also a sense of 'romantic nationalism' inherent within this kind of story sharing activity. Stories are often assumed to link to the traditions of 'national cultures, regional subcultures, and linguistically defined ethnic units' (p.32-33). A focus on folk stories might suggest a paradoxical starting point when preparing to devise a performance which seeks to 'disrupt expectations, unsettle routines' (Haedicke, 2013:xii), 'challenging social norms' (p.2).

Bev's role is to guide the story-telling and she positions herself in the circle with a notebook and pen, ready to document the stories. Throughout the story telling session she continues to write notes.

Footing, following Goffman (1981), is used 'to describe how, at the same time that participants frame events, they negotiate the interpersonal relationships, or 'alignments', that constitute these events' (Tannen and Wallat, 1993:207). The interactional frames within the telling of the tale are emergent and 'constituted by verbal and non-verbal interaction' (ibid).

Lothar taking the floor as the first in the group to respond to the request marks the first shift in interactive frame. The second shift is marked by Bev as she indicates that she is slightly familiar with the tale. The third shift is caused by Jaak's interjection and the fourth by Lothar's response to Jaak. Lothar then continues his story, making the fifth shift. The sixth shift is found in Jaak's final remark after Lothar has recounted the story.

These broader interactive framings are divided into smaller segments, marked by shifts in the story itself and Lothar's use of interactional devices within his telling of the tale.

6.8. Analysis: The story of the Zlatorog

As Lothar tells the story, Bev continues to write notes, glancing up occasionally to make eye contact, smiling, and then turning her eyes downwards, continuing to document

6.8.1. Interactional frame 1: setting the task

Bev is sitting in the circle with her notebook and pen. She opens the workshop.

1. So this might be quite hard actually, I (.) hadn't considered the fact that you would know these stories in your language and would have to TRANSLATE them for ME(.) I'm sorry, but yes (...)

In the first interactional frame Bev begins by explaining that she requires the group to speak in English, immediately setting out the 'structure of expectation' (Tannen and Wallat, 1993:206) for the 'language' that must be used. Although she wants to hear stories that are from Slovenia – stories that she hopes will be 'traditional folk stories', offering her an insight into the country and its history - she does not speak any variety of the Slovene language herself and will not be able to understand the stories unless they are told in English. In setting the task, she immediately links the stories themselves to a particular national and linguistic group, perhaps assuming that these stories will enable a 'collective representation' (R.Bauman, 1972:33) of 'Slovenia', 'Slovenianness', and what it might mean to be 'Slovenian'. The stories therefore promise to provide an entry point for her as a non-Slovenian.

Language is a site of struggle for a relatively young nation-state. Slovenia is a multilingual country, with Slovene having been the official language since 1991 (Toporišič, 1997:5). Programmes around Slovene independence centred round the concept of a 'Slovene literary language' (p.7). Toporišič states that language policies in post-war Yugoslavia caused the 'displacement and undermining of Slovene' (p.7). In some municipalities, Hungarian and Italian also hold official language status and there is a minority language programme to protect Roma languages and creativity (Copic and Srakar, 2015). Within Slovenia there is significant intralingual diversity, with Slovene having over forty regional dialects within eight major dialect groups (Greenberg, 1997). Greenberg describes the two areas of Slovene language policy as first, the preservation of Slovene dialects and second, the protection of Slovene language rights (1997:1).

By requesting that the stories are told in English, Bev is potentially establishing a 'monolingual space', and, in doing so, appears to close down potential for a translanguaging space. This action marks a first significant moment (Li, 2011) within the broader trans-semiotic moment of the story-telling itself. There are practical reasons why the stories must be told in English, the language shared within the group, and why they cannot be told in Slovene, or in any variety thereof. Bev indicates that there is no space at this point for any other named languages to be used for the story-telling activity. She does, however, apologise for having to make this request and takes responsibility for her role in what she considers a potential disruption, suggesting that the language of the stories was something she had not considered when setting the task.

By saying 'your language' she articulates a distance between herself – as an English speaker, and as a non-Slovene speaker – and the group, with language as a key identifier of that difference. She situates the group as having a language which is *owned* by them, '*your language*', implying this is not a shared language (within the whole group, including herself). Slovene, as a language, belongs to the group of performers and not to Bev. By placing emphasis on the word 'me', she takes responsibility for closing down opportunities for multilingual story-telling, for creating what could be considered a 'negative translanguaging space' (Bradley and Simpson, 2019 forthcoming). 'I'm sorry', she says, while also firmly asserting that this must, in fact, be the case and that there is no alternative: 'yes'. Here she asserts her role as mentor within the group and as expert. This suggests that the mentor not only leads the activities in which she has expertise but also takes responsibility for decisions about which 'named' languages are used. This seemingly compares with a formal educational setting, in which English is enforced (Auerbach, 1993) with translanguaging pedagogies serving to disrupt this (e.g. García, 2009). She has initiated the story-telling activity and she therefore has the right to establish the language ground rules for the interactional event. As mentor, she can set language for the activity according to her own needs, an act which establishes a hierarchy within the group. Paradoxically, she is in a position of power, as mentor, but to be able to do what she needs to do she also requires the group to respond to her own needs, following the parameters that she must set. Language rules are central to this structure of expectation, with monolingualism acting to regulate the multilingual interactions within the group.

Setting the story-telling task is intertwined with establishing the language rules for the group – what could be considered as the negative translanguaging space. In this way, the possibilities for what Li describes as 'spontaneous performances of the multilingual

language users' (2011:1223) are seemingly closed down. But there is a clear purpose for her request.

6.8.2. Interactional frame 2: establishing space and ownership

Lothar is the first of the group to volunteer. As Bev finishes talking, he is already poised to respond, stretching backwards on his chair and then leaning forward as he starts to share the folk story. He begins:

2. ok, so I'm originally from Bohinj (.) for several generations you probably know the place (...)(gestures to the group with his right hand) and you probably don't (...)(looks at Bev and gestures with his left hand)



Figure 6: Lothar (left) and Bev (right)

Lothar turns to look at Bev as he starts his story. She has set the task, and, as the invited workshop mentor, she wants the stories to be told so that she can use them for the following practical workshops and determine the focus for the production itself. Bev continues to write notes as Lothar speaks, her face turned towards her notepad, her legs crossed.

In Goffman's terms (1981), Lothar is the animator here. From the outset Lothar places himself as being from Bohinj, and from a long line of Bohinj residents. He has a history bound up with the place from which the story originates. It is a long history, which he communicates from the outset. A history which he asserts as authentic. He gestures behind himself with his right arm as he says 'several generations back'. By doing so he positions himself within the story, with his history and genealogy visible within the narrative

(Georgakopoulou, 2005:89). He establishes himself as the point of departure for the story - 'so I'm originally from Bohinj' - and starts to assert his ownership over the story, weaving himself into the narrative. The multidimensionality of the story becomes visible in terms of his historical body (Scollon and Scollon, 2004). In addition, ownership is tied up with entitlement claims (Shuman, 2005). Lothar's discourse identity (Georgakopoulou, 2005:89; Wooffitt and Clark, 1998:108ff) is foregrounded. He is present both within the space and within the narrative and the story therefore has meaning for him. He asserts an autobiographical claim on the story he is about to recount. Lothar translates not only the story, but also himself for the group. He is inextricable from the story. In this sense his 'exogenous' role becomes foregrounded: 'ok, so'. His choice in telling this story (and not choosing to tell a different story) is attributed to his own historical link to the region. Although a well-known folk tale, as a story it is linked to 'memory, heritage and family history' (Pahl, 2014:23), and several generations of Lothar's family. The region is one with which Lothar is intrinsically linked, spatially and temporally across generations and is also one with which the performers are familiar.

In stating 'you probably know the place' and gesturing to the group, he positions the majority of the performers (as residents of Slovenia) as insiders to knowledge about the place he is from, and the place of the story, reinforcing the perceived shared group identity related to nation and to language introduced by Bev. He positions Bev as an outsider to this place-related knowledge, 'and you probably don't (...) (looks at Bev and gestures with his left hand)'. He aligns with the group and makes the distinction with Bev. This continues the distinction Bev has established through setting the task, defining both ownership of language and ownership of the stories through language. He starts to develop what Shuman calls a 'shared experience' (2005:27). The sharing of stories offers the promise that the stories are 'both ordinary and larger than life' (ibid). To do so they must also promise a shared experience, and place here plays a key role in establishing the sharedness of the narrative.

As described in Chapter Five, the story of the Zlatorog is one of travel (Shuman, 2005), and of spatial practice, following de Certeau. It is a story of movement and of displacement. The movement and displacement described in the text and the subsequent irreparable damage to the landscape demonstrates what de Certeau describes as 'the impossibility of an identity fixed by place' (1984:218). It is a story that ultimately results in tragedy - in death (the hunter's), in exile (Zlatorog and the White Ladies), and in the destruction of the Alpine paradise. Through Lothar's narration of the story in the workshop in the former church, the

story travels again, yet its traces and connections to its place of origin (Shuman, 2005:3) are made clear and foregrounded. This is a story of somewhere else. Somewhere close, yet also distant. It is a story of somewhere to which nobody can return, and for which another time begins:

When someone departs, the security of being there together... another time begins, made of other sorts of excursions – more secret, more abstract, or “intellectual” as one might say. These are the traces of things we learn to seek through rational and ‘academic’ paths, but in fact they cannot be separated from chance, from fortuitous encounters, from a kind of knowing astonishment (de Certeau, cited in Terdiman, 1992:2).

Yet Lothar is returning. At the time of the workshops, he is soon to move back to his former family home in Bohinj with his growing family. He had announced his news during the warm-up activities which had taken place the previous evening. During that particular activity, the performers had been seated on chairs in a circle, in a similar configuration to the story-telling workshop. Bev had introduced a ball of wool to the circle and started to reveal facts about herself (*I was born in South Africa*). When a member of the group heard something that resonated with an aspect of their own life, they were to stand up and take the ball of wool, with the end thread still held by Bev. Holding the ball of wool then permitted them to talk, starting with the point of alignment raised by the previous speaker. Eventually a web of threads connected each member of the group, across the circle, interweaving and tangled. The Zlatorog story can be seen to be talismanic, and its trajectory and its telling ‘makes and remakes social spaces, identities and practices’ (de Fina and Baynham, 2005:8). And travel – or homecoming – is a central consideration for Lothar in choosing to tell this story and not another. Its telling is a ‘spatio-temporal event’, a ‘story-so-far’ in Massey’s words:

If space is rather a simultaneity of stories-so far, then places are collections of these stories, articulations within the wider power-geometries of space. Their character will be the product of these intersections within that wider setting, and of what is made of them. And, too, of the non-meetings-up, the disconnections and the relations not established, the exclusions (Massey, 2005:130, in Haedicke, 2013:150).

6.8.3. Interactional frame 3: familiarity with the story’s provenance

Bev then responds to Lothar.

3. ish (all laugh) I know OF it, I’ve never been

Bev continues to write notes as Lothar speaks. Through her collaborative work with A.M.T. and in developing shared projects with partners from the newly established EFETSA programme over a number of months she is gradually becoming more familiar with Slovenia, having visited the country a number of times. She has no embodied spatial experience of the site of the story's provenance as she has not visited the region at this point. She asserts that she is not a complete outsider and that she has some knowledge of the place: 'I know of it'.



Figure 7: Bev writing notes

6.8.4. Interactional frame 4: establishing a sense of place

Lothar turns to Bev as he offers more detail about Bohinj.

4. it's a national park? a large part of it is the national park and it has lots of mountains (*gestures upwards with right hand*) and lots of erm (...) natural erm (...)riches (...) and (*moves back on chair*) the mountains (*gestures upwards with left hand*) in the in the highest parts are bare however just rocks (.) and stones (.) and twigs and stuff like that (..) but it wasn't always like that in the PAST (...) (*gestures behind with right hand*)



Figure 8: Mountains

Figure 9: Past

Lothar starts to talk about the mountainous region of Bohinj, situating the story and the ‘intersections’ Massey describes. He uses his body, in particular his hands, to illustrate the word ‘mountains’. Here, although he speaks in English as Bev has requested, a translanguaging space (García and Li, 2014:28) opens up multimodally through his use of gesture and his body, which together articulate a sense of place. Lothar directs his description of the mountains at Bev, as initiator of the story-telling activity. Bev carries on writing in her notebook, roughly transcribing his words, glancing over at him momentarily as he says ‘past’. He describes the highest tops of the mountains as they would currently be known to visitors to Bohinj, or visitors to any mountainous region. As he does so, ‘bare, however, just rocks and stones and twigs and stuff like that’, he glances backwards and gestures with his right hand, as if pointing to a space in past. In drawing attention to the difference between the mountains of the past and the mountains of the present, Lothar indicates that the performers are soon to learn what caused this change to the physical space.

5. the tops (*gestures with hand upwards*) of the mountains were actually the richest parts of nature (..) with lots of (.) fruits and (...) flowers, everything you can imagine, is like (...) a tiny paradise (...) (*gestures upwards with right hand*) way way up high(...)



Figure 10: A 'tiny paradise'

Lothar refers to 'paradise', gesturing upwards with his right hand and moving his eyes to the ceiling. In this case it is a 'tiny' paradise. This tiny paradise is in direct contrast to the mountains encountered by visitors in the present day, as Lothar has explained. He gestures his hand upwards to demonstrate the height of the mountains he is describing. This place is physically distant. He describes the mountains as having 'everything you can imagine', drawing Bev and the performers into the story as he states 'you'. The image of a mountainous paradise in the highest tops of the Alps is a common one. But the mountain peaks, both geographically and historically, are not easily accessible, and can be considered as 'distant landscapes' or 'the space of wishes' (Šmitek, 1999:161). This concept of the 'garden of Eden in the midst of an inaccessible mountain wilderness' within this fairytale is one part of a broader heaven and hell motif in folklore across the region (p.173).

6. but (...) that changed (.) as you know

Again, he draws the performers into his narrative 'as *you* know' developing the sharedness of the story. He has already hinted that this is not going to end well. The story Lothar narrates is set to be tragedy on multiple levels, not least environmentally in its effect on the mountainous landscape. The group, including Bev who has established herself as unfamiliar with the story and the place ('*ish*'), are positioned as aware of the ending. They know that the paradise no longer exists in that space and that the mountains are now rocky and barren. In terms of footing, he establishes alignments within the group around the telling of the tale, continuing to develop these through connecting their own experiences to the context of the story. This all takes place within the spatio-temporal dimension of the physical space of the former church and the puppetry training workshops.

7. if any of you do any mountaineering you know that the higher you go (.) (*gestures upwards with hands*) the less growth there is

As Lothar continues to narrate the story, he refers to activities in which the group might engage. He states, 'if any of *you* do any mountaineering, *you* know', further developing a sense of space and embodied experience. He continues to use 'you' as he speaks, drawing the group towards his story, reaffirming implied shared experiences of the mountains and associated activities. In doing so he continues to create an image of the place within which the story takes place: as one that is known to the other performers. This suggests that the performers themselves have experienced the phenomena Lothar describes. Mountaineering is a popular pastime in the mountains and lakes of the Julian Alps, as documented by Copeland (1931). But the act of mountaineering also suggests a certain level of inaccessibility for these highest mountain peaks and a certain level of required skill. Mountaineering is an important thread for Copeland when writing about Slovene folklore. In her own translation of Zlatorog, based on Kelemina, Copeland adds the following as a note:

In so far as I have not kept strictly to Dr Kelemina's text, I have followed popular tradition obtained from M.M.Debelak, the well-known Slovene mountaineer, who has for several years past made a special study of the Komna and the Lakes Valley. He has also drawn an excellent mountaineer's and ski-runner's map (the only reliable one, so far) of that interesting part of the Julian Alps (1933b:654).

8. (.) and there is a reason for that because (...) in the past (...) there was a mythical creature called the Zlatorog, the Goldhorn (*looks at Bev*)

Lothar makes the connection between the present and the past, and alludes to the 'change' that caused the destruction of the tiny paradise, the details of which he is about to explain. The group is forewarned: they know the paradise is no longer there. It is implied that although the performers know about the barrenness of the mountains, they might not know why this is the case, and this is what Lothar is going to elucidate, as teller. It is at this point that Lothar introduces the Zlatorog, or golden-horned chamois, for the first time, marking a change in footing. This is the first of only two instances of Slovene language use within Lothar's narrative, and is, therefore, a semiotically significant moment. As he says the word 'Zlatorog', Bev looks up from her notebook. Her action is taken as a cue by Lothar who,

mindful that the story must be told in English, then translates the word as 'Goldhorn'. The literal translation of 'zlato' is 'gold' and 'rog' is 'horn'. Goldhorn is a common translation (e.g. Šmitek, 1999) that he continues to use throughout his telling of the story. He describes the goat as a mythical creature, one who rules the mountain paradise. This description serves to continue the broader image of the mountain paradise Lothar is building. The word nature is repeated. The narrative is fleetingly translingual as Lothar introduces the golden-horned goat using its Slovenian name of Zlatorog. But as he then quickly translates it to Goldhorn for Bev, the translingual possibilities are potentially lost.



Figure 11: Bev looks at Lothar as he says 'Zlatorog'

9. and he was like a magical goat with golden horns (*gestures over head*) and he was the keeper of the kingdom a-nd (...) everyone who lived in that area respected his kingdom respected the treasures of nature that were there (...) and (*sound of door creaking*) they went hunting sometimes but they never treaded or trespassed that territory

The Zlatorog, as Lothar goes on to explain, is no ordinary chamois, but a magical one. He then contextualizes the event which he is about to describe as taking place in a kingdom full of the 'treasures of nature'. These treasures were respected by those living in the region, who, although they hunted animals, would not go beyond the boundaries between the magical goat and his kingdom and their own communities. Lothar tells the story as one of a paradise that once was (and which we know already is no longer in existence).

10. and there were white women, the fairies, who took care of the goats, of these herds, and of nature and the whole plants

Lothar continues to set the scene, adding description to the magical world of the mountains. He introduces the 'white women' ('White Ladies' following Kropelj's translation of Dežman's telling, 'Bela Žene' following Copeland's who continues to use the Slovene) who live with the Zlatorog and who contribute to the continued upkeep of the alpine paradise and treasures of nature, including the plants. This is an otherworldly place, heavenly and magical, presided over by the non-human.

11. and (..) it was a very nice equilibrium (uses hands to show equilibrium) a nice balance between (*uses hands to show 'world'*) the world of the people and the world of the fairies (uses hands to show height) in the mountains, and then (..) as you can imagine (..) something happened

The scene is set. Lothar uses the words 'equilibrium' and 'balance'. There is a clear demarcation between the two worlds: that of the 'people' and that of the 'fairies', which he demonstrates using hand gestures. Yet, there is, importantly, 'equilibrium'. Those living in each 'world' respect the boundaries and the distinctions between the two. Hymes draws from Redfield in using the concept of 'participant maintenance', or 'a mutuality between the people and the powers of the world around them, a "covenant", so to speak, of mutual rights and duties' (1975:358). Here there is an assumed covenant. Respect is central to the equilibrium. The equilibrium is a positive concept, with Lothar describing it as a 'very nice equilibrium'. He then begins to introduce the event that serves to disrupt the balance (catastrophically). His use of 'as *you* can imagine' again hints that the story is not going to be a surprise for the group. This is partly due to the expectations around the story-telling and partly through the methods Lothar is employing to build up the story. The interaction is developing the frame. This particular moment – something happened - is significant within the story itself. It marks what Wood describes, following De Quincey on Macbeth, as 'the recommencement of suspended life', or 'return to life' (2015). However in contrast to Macbeth, where a knock on the door following Macbeth and his wife's 'awful deeds', marks a return to normality *after* a significant event, here the 'something' is due to mark a change which will be highly significant and set the loss of paradise into motion. The tiny paradise, therefore, acts as a 'suspension of ordinary life', in that the performers understand it is no more. It no longer exists. Moreover, they may have experienced the physical traces of its loss themselves when mountaineering.

6.8.5. Interactional frame 5: Jaak's interjection

12. (...) and that something (...) was a mixture of love and greed (.) there was a young hunter

Lothar introduces the 'something' that disturbs the equilibrium. The something is a composite, a 'hybrid' – a mixture of love, considered a positive 'thing', and greed, considered a negative 'thing'. Greed, as a cardinal sin, and the punishment it generates, is a common folklore theme. Fairytales seek to give us 'universal lessons of greed, lust and cruelty' (Warner, 1995:viii). Mixed together the resultant action is catastrophic. At this point a protagonist is introduced to the tale, a young hunter. At this point one of the performers, Jaak, interjects:

13. your great, great grandfather I'd guess? (all laugh)

Jaak, in jest, implies further ownership of the story by Lothar, suggesting the protagonist, the hunter, might be one of Lothar's family members. This playful interruption makes the group laugh. It draws gently on the way Lothar has previously positioned himself in his telling of the tale and his connections within the story in terms of its spatial provenance. Here Jaak's interjection animates Lothar as a 'Figure', as someone whose historical narrative is bound up in the text. Lothar disrupts this to some extent in distancing himself from the character of the hunter.

14. yeah (laughs) no (.) I wouldn't want that (.) that would be a curse on me as well

Dundes refers to folklore as 'autobiographical ethnography' (2007:55). Lothar responds to Jaak's joke again making reference to the tragic ending of the story which he calls a curse. He implies that any curse of this kind would be passed down through the generations and would therefore also be a curse on him (in terms of his inherited, embodied, historical responsibility for the resultant paradise lost). In distancing himself from the story (to which he has previously connected himself) in terms of a familial connection, despite the generations of his family living in the region, he also emplaces himself through demonstrating his knowledge of the 'curse'.

6.8.6. Interactional frame 6: the story continues

15. (.) a-nd (..) this hunter was in love with a young girl from Trenta from the other side of the mountains which was also part of this national park (..) and (.) he was a modest man (.) but (.) a hardworking man so he took up any work he could get and in the weekends and the evenings he would always go visit this girl and bring her flowers from the mountains (..) and for about a year or two this went nicely (.) they got along

Lothar returns to the story. The hunter is said to be a ‘modest man, quite a hardworking man’. ‘Modest’ and ‘hardworking’ are suggested here as good, solid characteristics to have. Modesty is set out in contrast to greed, which we understand is responsible in part for the imminent catastrophe and destruction. The hunter will take up any work he can, again, adding to the image emerging of a modest and hardworking man. He is a simple man. Lothar explains that Trenta is located at the other side of the mountain. In doing so he continues to narrate the story’s spatial dimension, to emplace it. But Trenta is within the broader boundaries of the national park and is still part of the same broader community. In his day-to-day life, the young hunter does not travel outside the region. This suggests that the story spans a specific geographical area covering two sides of the mountain: a spatial extension. The two lovers are situated on different sides of the mountain but are connected by the Alpine paradise between them. The hunter and the girl live in the world of the people.

16. and then one day (...) you know the world is opening up more and more nowadays and it was similarly back then

Lothar continues to set the scene. Here a change in footing is clearly marked as Lothar signals a shift in the narrative’s temporal dimension. He interrupts the story to return to the present, ‘nowadays’, and to the group, ‘you know’. This indexes the past with the present, linking the story to current ideas around globalization and what he describes as an ‘opening up’. This ‘opening up’ is indexical of globalization and iconic of superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007; 2017). The world is opening up now, he explains, and in the past it was too. In stating this, Lothar implies that the story of what happened then, in the region surrounding the tiny Alpine paradise potentially provides a way to understand what is happening now. It has relevance today and, specifically, to the group. It is talismanic.

The reference to ‘opening up’ has particular relevance in the Slovenian context. In 1991,

Slovenia emerged from the Yugoslav Federation. This is considered to be due in part to Slovenia's view that they were acting to subsidise other parts of the republic (Stavenhagen, 1996:7). Slovenia 'disassociated' itself on 20 February 1991 with 'secession' confirmed on 24 June 1991. Slovenia had sought independence since the mid-1980s, with activists seeking the 'right to self-determination' and as a 'necessary prerequisite to the integration of Slovenia into a united Europe' (ibid). Slovenia acceded to the European Union (E.U.) in 2004.

Slovenia has a complex history of migration; description and analysis of which fall outside the scope of this thesis. At the time of independence, and during the short, ten-day war which followed, Croats, Serbs and Bosnians fled to Slovenia (Vrečer, 2010) when there were no asylum laws in the nascent country at this point. Their movements were restricted and working conditions imposed. Moving forward a few years and during the summer of 2015, a few months after these production workshops took place and shortly after the Ana Desetnica street arts festival had ended, media attention focused briefly on Slovenia. This followed the publication of a series of images of lines of refugees walking through the Slovenian countryside and the announcement of Slovenia's imposition of quotas for refugees and temporary reintroduction of border controls (Guild et al., 2015). Slovenia is considered a 'transit country' between other more popular destinations including Germany. Headlines included 'Migrant crisis: Slovenia moves to 'shut down' Balkans route' (BBC, 9 March 2015), 'Migrant crisis: Slovenia sets limit of 2,500 people a day' (BBC, 18 December 2015) and even 'Slovenia MP says migrant crisis could reignite Balkan conflicts' (Reuters, 3 November 2015).

This 'opening up' is also iconic of the street arts practice in which the performers are being trained. This practice is ostensibly mobile and fluid, with performances staged without borders and boundaries.

Lothar again draws the performers towards the story, developing a shared connection between the group in the spatio-temporal dimension of workshop space and that of the mountains of the past, as depicted in the story. 'Opening up' indexes the present with the past. The performers also made aware that this 'opening up' of the world is implicated in the change or shift within the secluded Alpine paradise. Lothar implies that this fairytale from the past has direct relevance to the present, although the past here continues to be vague and unspecified. Although we do not know the exact historical period for the story's original telling (as a composite of multiple stories) we can make assumptions based on elements of the tale and on its history (Chapter Five).

17. so (..) one evening (..) the hou, the the guest house, the pub where this girl worked at BOOM the door opens and in come visitors from Italy (.) and they were merchants, they were rich (.) and one of them immediatly (*clicks fingers*) had eyes for this girl, the hunter's friend

The world's 'opening up' has a direct effect on the community. The region is part of a trade route between Italy and Austria, and this has introduced new people to the mountains and surrounding area, including the area around the Alpine paradise. These particular visitors are from neighbouring Italy and are passing through the area. Lothar explains that these visitors are merchants and that they are rich. This richness contrasts with the economic situation of the hunter, who is a modest man taking work when he can. One of the merchants sees the girl and is attracted to her. The girl herself is referred to as belonging to the hunter, as 'the hunter's friend'. The 'click' Lothar makes with his fingers marks a further shift in the narrative, a hint to what might happen. An outsider has entered the story and encountered the girl. The 'click' indicates that this encounter is important.

18. and (..) so he started coming more often and he didn't bring her flowers (.) he brought her silk (...) and (..) necklaces and (.) earrings and stuff from Italy that (.) the hunter couldn't get anywhere so (.) he kept bringing flowers and (...) this equilibrium (*uses hands to show 'balance'*) between hunter and the girl was demolished.

The girl's presence leads to the merchant making repeated visits to the inn, bringing her gifts. Lothar explains that the merchant brings 'stuff from Italy'. These are markedly different to the gifts offered by the hunter when he visits from the other side of the mountain. The 'opening up' of the world has opened up opportunities, not only for those passing through the region, but also for those living in the areas around the mountains. These opportunities include exposure to different kinds of artefacts, to different 'stuff'. These artefacts - this 'stuff' - can be obtained through interaction with the newcomers, with those from outside. The silk, the necklaces, the earrings, and the general 'stuff from Italy' contrast with the simple flowers to which the hunter has access. Yet the girl's access to these luxury items is dependent on the merchant and on the increased opportunities for interactions with people from beyond the immediate geographical locality. The introduction of these new objects is symbolic of the imminent disruption to the previous 'equilibrium'.

19. and then (.) one night the hunter came (.) with a lovely bouquet (..) and the girl said

(purses lips) 'pft what is this? flowers? I don't care for flowers, I've got this Italian guy, he brings me jewellery, he brings me gold, he brings me silver (..) I have no use for your flowers (..) so if you really love me (..) you can prove your love GO to the Kingdom of Gold Horn (...) and bring me his treasures'

Lothar continues his narration of the story. The hunter comes, as is usual, with a bouquet of flowers, described by Lothar as 'lovely'. But the girl has changed her mind, having seen the other 'stuff' offered by the hunter's rival. Lothar takes on the role of the girl in interaction with the hunter, voicing her words, as animator. In Goffman's terms the girl is the author of these words (Goffman, 1981; Goodwin, 2009). In doing so, he incorporates a new voice into his telling, adding to the multiple voices within the narrative: his own voice as a Bohinj resident and his voice as teller, as narrator. Lothar, animating the girl, puts these new objects - the new 'stuff' - in direct opposition to the bouquet in terms of their utility: 'I have no use for your flowers'. This device alludes to the disruption of the space. The equilibrium is being dismantled, on a macro level through the 'opening up' of the world, which has led, on a micro level, to the arrival of the newcomers with their jewellery and their desirable 'stuff'.

Lothar animates the girl's frustration. She no longer desires the hunter's bouquets of flowers. She has no use for them. These objects are both material and symbolic. They represent something new, something different to the 'things' brought to her by the hunter. Instead, she requests that he brings her the riches of the Goldhorn: 'GO' and 'bring me his treasures'. Lothar refers to the treasures of the Goldhorn. In doing so he repeats the reference to the 'treasures of nature' in the previous section. The hunter's rival is again referred to as 'Italian', here symbolizing an 'Other' from a different place. He is from the neighbouring country, Italy. The girl has decided that 'love' is demonstrated through the giving of high-value 'stuff' and demands that the hunter must do likewise to prove his love for her. Yet, he must go one step further. He must go to the kingdom of the Goldhorn, leaving the world of the humans. For the girl, the treasures she demands belong to the Goldhorn: 'bring me his treasures'. This suggests that in order to bring these to the girl, the hunter must travel to a different place - the Kingdom of the Goldhorn - and steal them.

Lothar's animation of the girl's laments echo Dežman's description of the girl's speech, in which she states that the hunter, "...despite knowing all the treasures of the mountains, has never even brought me the rose of Triglav" (p.60).

20. because (..) everyone knew he was not only in charge of the herds, he was also in charge

of real gold and silver treasures that were hidden in a cave in the mountains

Lothar shifts back to his teller role, offering additional information about the Goldhorn and the treasures to which the girl refers. In so doing, he further develops the story's contextual framing, describing the landscape and the multiple roles held by the Goldhorn. These roles include being 'in charge' of these treasures. This suggests that the aforementioned treasures belong to the magical kingdom rather than the Goldhorn himself. The Goldhorn is the keeper, not the owner. Lothar's reference to 'everyone' implies a broader spatial and temporal dimension of the story. 'Everyone' here relates to the people living in the world of the humans in the region surrounding the tiny mountain paradise at that time. 'Everyone' includes the hunter.

This signifies that there are different categories of treasures. These are not solely the 'treasures of nature' referred to earlier in the story. These are treasures with tangible, material value for humans. The Zlatorog's powerful presence in the mountains is further described and the reference to the cave in the mountains continues to develop the spatio-temporal dimension of the story. In fairy stories, the cave is frequently considered as the 'heart of the mountain, the symbol of what the mountain represents' (Šmitek, 1999:176). Mountain caves are often the sites in which treasures are stored, and are considered symbolic of 'the Sacred or the Absolute' (ibid). The girl, therefore, is asking the hunter to disrupt the sacred, or absolute. She is requesting that he transgress.

21. and what you had to do was to shoot the Goldhorn, and use his horn as a lock to open the gates (...) to the magical cave with all the treasures in

Lothar shifts again from the main thread of his story to describe the context. He explains to the performers the 'method' for accessing the treasures: 'and what you had to do was to shoot the Goldhorn'. In stating 'and what you had to do', he suggests that this 'method' would have been common shared knowledge for those living in the region. The Goldhorn's power lies in its (golden, magical) horn. The use of 'you' here refers to a generalized understanding of the folk story. It suggests that those living in the area around the mountains would be familiar with this knowledge and these methods. By telling it explicitly within the workshop space, Lothar assumes either that the group (and Bev in particular) might not be familiar with this aspect of the story and the capabilities of the Goldhorn (and the capabilities of he/she who would shoot him) or that they might need reminding. In itself, this is a small

story, adding a layer of contextual information to the larger narrative. It also introduces the event that will unfold: what the hunter will attempt to do. This detour has the purpose of including, or entangling, the other performers in the telling. The performers gradually become enmeshed within the story, as those who know how things work, those who understand the methods. The additional detail of a multi-headed snake character is included in some versions:

The Goldenhorn is the owner of all treasures guarded by a snake with several heads, and whoever can manage to get hold of his golden horn may take his treasures (Kropej, 2012:58).

22. and when the young hunter heard these words (...) he was upset (..) he was hurt (..) a-nd, he felt pain for his unrequited love so he said 'Ok, I'll go, I'll get that (..) for you and then you'll see, serves you right'

Lothar returns to the story itself and the interaction between the hunter and the girl. He again animates the story's characters, this time adding the hunter's voice to his repertoire of authors: 'ok, I'll go, I'll get that, for you and then you'll see'. The hunter is hurt by the girl's words and is moved to act and to do what she says he must do in order to 'win her back'.

23. so he went up (..) (*gestures upwards with right hand*) to the mountains (..) walked for days (..) no sign of the Goldhorn (.) and he was more and more furious and said 'yeah I'll show you (..) (*punches hand*) I'll bring you whatever you want (..) no Italian guy is gonna (..) deprive ME of my love'

Lothar continues to shift between narrating the story as teller and voicing the hunter's words as animator. He is addressing the girl. He uses his right hand to gesture upwards as he describes the hunter's journey. The hunter is now 'up' in the mountains, in the alpine paradise, searching for the Goldhorn. His anger is evident as he speaks to himself, addressing the girl, initially. The girl is now 'his love', belonging to him. The actions of the incomer, the 'Italian guy', in giving the girl the riches and 'Italian stuff' deprive the hunter of what he believes to be rightfully his. This he describes as 'my love': the girl.

24. (...) so when he was walking with his gun, and then suddenly he saw (.) Goldhorn in the distance and he said (.) 'ok (.) I'm coming to get you, I want my girl back'

Lothar brings another material object into his narrative, in this case a gun. This object adds to visual image he creates of the hunter, as he walks across the mountain peaks in search of the Goldhorn. At the point when the hunter suddenly catches sight of the Goldhorn, Lothar switches again to animate the hunter's words. Then, again animating the hunter, as author, who now addresses the Goldhorn directly, he states, 'I'm coming to get you'. No longer addressing the girl, he is now speaking directly to the Goldhorn. 'Getting' the Goldhorn in this case means killing him. The presence of the gun suggests that he will attempt to shoot him. By killing the Goldhorn the hunter assumes he will get his 'girl back'.

25. (..) he took the rifle (...) and he shot (..) the Goldhorn and nearly mortally wounded him but (.) as the Goldhorn was a magical creature, the moment (...) the shot drew blood (*gestures to his chest to signify the blood falling from the Goldhorn's chest*) the blood fell (...) on the grass and a wonderful flower sprung (...) from the blood

Lothar shifts from animating the hunter's words and resumes the role of narrator. In stating that the Goldhorn is a magical creature, it reminds the group that these events are taking place in the world of the magical creatures. Goldhorn is magical and therefore, immortal (Kropej, 2012:58). When the hunter shoots the Goldhorn, a 'wonderful flower' springs up from his blood: 'even if he is struck in his heart, from a drop of his blood blooms the miraculous healing flower of Triglav (*Triglavska roža*)' (ibid, original emphases). The presence of these flowers is symbolic of the 'Garden of Eden' imagery present within this and other Slovene fairy stories from the region, 'flowers with miraculous power grown in the garden' (Šmitek, 1999:172).

26. called (.) Triglavska roža, the Triglav Flower (...) and you can still see it growing nowadays and as soon as the Goldhorn ate the flower (.) his powers were restored (..) and at that moment the sun (.) was passing (.) across the sky and it shone a light on the Goldhorn (...) on the horns, and the light blinded the young man so that when he tried to shot, to fire the next shot, he lost balance and he fell down off the mountain deep into the (...) canyon and he (..) found his death

Lothar narrates the story's first tragedy. In describing the flower that grows with the shedding of the Goldhorn's blood, he introduces the Slovene name: 'Triglavska roža', following immediately with the English translation. The flower is magical, growing as a result of the Goldhorn's blood. Yet, despite its magical qualities it also exists in the present, in 'real life': 'you can still see it growing nowadays'. It traverses worlds. It is a thread. When

Goldhorn eats the flower, he is both restored and renewed. However, for the hunter, the ending is tragic. Nature intervenes, with the hunter's actions the pinnacle of the series of events resulting in the destruction of the equilibrium. This cannot happen without retribution. The horns of the Goldhorn reflect the sun and, in turn, blind the hunter, who falls to his death from the tops of the mountains. Again Lothar connects the present day landscape of the region with the story from the unspecified past, connecting across time through the spatial dimension, making the threads visible.

27. but the Goldhorn was really disappointed with the people so he said 'no, no, I'm not going to stay here anymore (..) I'm going to take my herds and go to a safer place'

The first tragedy is the hunter's death. But there is a second tragedy which triggers lasting environmental consequences for the entire region. Lothar shifts to the Goldhorn's reaction to the events, animating the Goldhorn to explain what happens next. The Goldhorn is 'really disappointed' with the people as a result of the hunter's actions. The hunter, galvanised by his wounded pride, has put into motion a sequence of events with significantly wider implications than his own failed love affair with the girl and rival suitor.

28. but before he did, in his fury and hurt pride, he (..) with his horns, destroyed all the (..) nature's wonders, all the flowers and things there, he just kind of razed it to the ground and left it barren before he left

Lothar, resuming his role as narrator, explains that it is now the Goldhorn whose pride is hurt. He is not only leaving the area, he is destroying it. The tiny Alpine paradise, way up high, is left barren. He destroys the entirety of 'nature's wonders' using his horns.

29. (..) so that was the end of the (..) heaven in the mountains (...) and (...) as for the girl (...)she went washing laundry the next day by the Soča river and (..) as she was sitting there (...) scrubbing her laundry, the body of the young hunter floated by (...) and (...) so she realised that (..) her greed (..) not only brought destruction to her love and to her peace but also destroyed the greater balance of things (...) a-nd she couldn't (...) muster (...) the the energy (..) to be either with the Italian merchant or with any other man ever again (...) and that's it

The balance is disrupted, with lasting consequences. The same horns, with the sun's reflection, have caused the hunter's death. In Lothar's conclusion, he explains that these

actions and the subsequent reaction by the Goldhorn caused the end of the 'heaven' in the mountains. This is the first time the word 'heaven' is used. The hunter is dead and the Alpine paradise has been destroyed.

At this point the girl is unaware of the events that have unfolded. Lothar shifts the story's spatial focus back down to the valleys and the world of the humans, where she resides. The girl, performing a simple act of washing laundry, sees the hunter's body, as it floats along the river. The river is named – the Soča River – grounding the story once more in identifiable geographical locations within the region, as place-bound. On seeing the body, the girl understands what has happened. But, in Lothar's telling, she assumes responsibility for these catastrophic events. Not only is her own relationship destroyed, the entire equilibrium of the region has been disrupted. Irrevocably. In Lothar's telling, the story's moral message is that it is the girl's fault. The destruction was caused by the girl's greed and the hunter's love (a mixture of love and greed). In seeing the body in the river, the girl becomes conscious of her guilt, and the consequences of her greed (in receiving the Italian merchant's gifts and in asking the hunter to take the treasures guarded by the Goldhorn).

6.8.7. Interactional frame 7: reactions to the tale

Jaak responds quickly to the story and its tragic ending, with a light remark. The others laugh.

30. Jaak: always the way

His comment, seemingly throwaway, is significant. It suggests a universality of the story, the predictability of what has happened. Yet it also suggests an absurdity.

31. Bev: do you know this story?

Jaak: ish (...) yes (.)

(silence)

Bev: any other stories?

Luka: there is also a beer in Slovenia called Zlatorog (all laugh)

Bev: what is the name? (...) I didn't catch (..) Zlat o rog. Is that the Goldhorn?

Lothar: yes the Golden Horn

Bev: Zlat o rog (.) ok (.) and there's (.) a (.) beer

Luka: Zlatorog

(all clap)

Bev then asks the group if they already know the story, followed by requesting the next story. Luka responds by stating that there is also a Slovenian beer, Zlatorog, named after the Goldhorn. This comment, following Jaak's, comes in contrast to the tragic endings Lothar has described in his folk story. The performers laugh. Bev wants clarification of the Slovene word, Zlatorog, and how it is pronounced. She repeats, 'and there's a beer'. Luka says the word again: Zlatorog. The story is grounded again in the present, in the material, in a beer. This too links to threads within the story, the girl's location in the inn on the border. Bev repeats the word slowly. She wants to remember it as it signifies authenticity, symbolic of the kind of authentic tale she sought when asking for the stories to be shared.

6.9. Summary of analysis

This analytical chapter focused on the first telling of the story which becomes the focus for the street arts production, marking its first resemiotisations, as it is told orally by Lothar, a performer, in the context of a story sharing activity. Bev jots it down in her notepad. It is recorded for research purposes. It becomes material. It becomes data (Dicks et al., 2006). The analytical focus for the conceptualisation stage is the text as narrative. A three-stage analytical approach was developed, with attention to the story itself, to Lothar and his positioning with regards to the story, its protagonists and the space, and to Lothar as he positions the group throughout the telling of his story.

Lothar, as narrator, or teller, animates the characters (as imagined authors) at points during the story. In doing so he switches between his role as narrator and his role performing the words of the protagonists: the girl, the hunter and the Goldhorn. Themes within the story itself are highlighted as rich points, including the translingual moments in which the Slovene language is used for particular words, despite the transgression from Bev's command. There is also attention to the world's opening up, which is considered in terms of the current socio-political context in which the story is narrated, in addition to within the street arts context. The example is given of a translanguaging space, which is at first glance closed down by Bev

at the beginning of the workshop, but which opens up gradually with the inclusion of key words in Slovene. The telling of the story invokes simultaneous resemiotisations: Bev's notetaking and the video made of the workshop. The story's telling, and the simultaneous resemiotisations, add to the story's gathering 'weight' (Iedema, 2001:25). This weight includes Lothar's own identity as teller, woven into in the narrative, and the spatio-temporal dimension of the tale with its links to the present and to the performers within the workshop space.

6.10. Towards making

The conceptualisation stage continues. The performers draw on their developing puppetry skills to make a series of newspaper puppets (see 7.8.1.). Decisions are made about continuation and the development of a puppetry performance. Bev is contracted to continue working with the performers to devise a production based on the story of the Zlatorog.

In Chapter Seven the analysis focuses on the making processes. The story continues to travel, through multiple resemiotisations, as it is developed into a street arts production.

Chapter Seven: Stage Two, Making, or, *the bodies produced are not all human*

These objects are very much part of the action (Pennycook, 2017a:277).



7.1. Introduction

The first analytical chapter, Chapter Six, considered Lothar's telling of the folk tale of the Zlatorog, or Goldhorn, during the conceptualisation stage of the production process. Here the focus shifts to making. The analytical core is data from the second stage of the production process (May 2015), during which puppets, objects, props and costumes were constructed and sourced by the group.

This chapter concerns in part the objects as they are created during the practice workshops, the production process, and for the performance itself. It also takes into account communication around the objects. Following Facer and Pahl (2017), the approach taken here considers these objects to be not solely the *outputs* or *outcomes* of the processes under investigation, but also as data, as carriers of knowledge (2017:219). As these authors put it:

objects are both the focus of research as well as becoming carriers of different ways of knowing through the creation of joint artefacts and products (ibid).

For the production process under investigation, the objects (the puppets, the props, the costumes, the masks, the scenery) created within the context of training and for the performance are 'carriers'. They carry the 'different ways of knowing' brought together through both the development of what Mortensen and Hazel describe as a transient multilingual community (Hazel, 2017; Mortensen, 2017; Mortensen and Hazel, 2018) around the production activity and through the 'physicality of objects' (Helbo, 2016:347). A transient multilingual community can be understood as:

Social configurations where people from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds come together (physically or otherwise) for a limited period of time around a shared activity (Mortensen and Hazel, 2018:546).

Mortensen and Hazel's definition of a transient multilingual community differs from a more traditional concept of a community of practice in that it considers groups as they first come together to develop a shared activity or project. As a concept, a transient multilingual community takes these configurations in a state of becoming or a state of emergence. The community's characteristics are defined as emergent, heterogeneous and activity-based. The community is captured at a point where a repertoire may not yet be shared. These groups are provisional and not yet stable.

Guided by Bev and Jonny, the puppet-maker contracted to design the puppets and facilitate their construction, the performers work together to create a series of objects to be used within the production. These objects affect how the production develops and, as with the story itself, are enmeshed with the identities of those involved in their creation. Each remaking is a resemiotisation: each remaking an evolving meaning.

As the creating, or 'assembling' process must be considered alongside the material objects, the focus here is therefore on processes and on material objects. As Rowsell states, 'you cannot analyse how modes are put together without an account of the assembling process' (2013:5), or, in this case, an account of the making stage. Following Bennett (2010), the objects – the puppets, props, masks and costumes - are in themselves material conduits for communication. They occupy this role both during their construction and once 'constructed'. Throughout the production process they communicate the identities and the desires of those steering: the authors. During the performance they communicate the story and the themes within the story, as interpreted by the authors. For the audiences, they are symbolic of the story being told. But also of their lived, embodied experience: '*do you remember that time a human-sized goat walked down the street?*'. Therefore, these iterations are considered as multiple texts. Not solely conduits within the context for which they are created, their material form, size, texture, and sensoriality affect the production's emergence and progression. In themselves they perform the story in resemiotised modes. They are also implicated in its subsequent multiple resemiotisations. They – their materiality and the processes embodied within them - affect the selection and inclusion of additional objects within the devising process. Their properties affect the methods of manipulation by the actors and how this manipulation is later incorporated into the performance. They also affect decisions about how and to what extent 'spoken language' is included in the performance itself: the multimodality of the resultant production. These objects, as foci of the analysis, represent what Facer and Pahl describe as the 'connectedness of matter and things' (p.220). They embody the processes within their production alongside the historical bodies (Scollon and Scollon, 2004) and desires of those producing them. But they also have agency – they make things happen (Kell, 2015).

Focusing on the making process and on the objects created and sourced continues to trace the story as the thread across this stage of the production process. Following the Scollons (2004), the story represents a nexus in itself, the coming together of multiple overt and covert discourses, which are brought to the fore. As the story embodied in the original re-telling travels and the thread continues, the story, one for which movement and mobility are

central themes, also moves. In this chapter, the story, as thread and as trajectory, is followed as it shifts and is shifted multimodally and from space to space, often simultaneously, creating overlapping iterations, in preparation for the devising stage.

In contrast to the first analytical chapter which took a broadly narrative perspective as the story is told, the analysis in this chapter takes a multimodal and materially informed approach (MacLure, 2013a), where 'discourse and matter are mutually implicated in the unfolding emergence of the world' (p.660).

The analysis starts with the objects - the masks, the puppets, the props - and develops outwards. The methodological messiness and complexity of combining an ethnographic approach with a multimodal approach (Dicks et al., 2006; Dicks et al., 2011; Kress, 2011; Pink, 2011) are foregrounded within this chapter. It seeks to highlight the 'provenance of the semiotic resources on which social actors draw in the act of 'making meaning' in social situations' (Dicks et al., 2011:227) through fine-grained analysis of aspects of the making process. The social situations in question are planned and programmed 'making' workshops for the performers, now working together as a team to develop the production of 'How Much Is Enough?'. Recentring the objects (rather than the interactions around the objects, which would render the objects secondary) adjusts the gaze. It also questions the centrality of the verbal interactions, the focus of the first analysis, in developing an understanding of communication in place. As MacLure states:

Language is deposed from its god-like centrality in the construction and regulation of worldly affairs, to become one element in a manifold of forces and intensities that are moving, connecting and diverging (2013:660).

It continues to develop epistemological concern within this thesis of what might be gained and what might be lost in analysis, with the ethnographic observations bridging the gap between the 'texts' (or objects in this case) and their making and remaking in a social context.

Across the four stages of production the activities bleed into each other, with multiple actions often co-occurring at each point (see 4.4.). Making takes place in the conceptualisation stage and making continues in the devising and performance stages. Therefore, the first analytical section of this chapter is based on visual data collected during the conceptualisation stage (March 2015) and focuses on a series of practical puppetry workshops based on the stories shared, as documented in Chapter Six.

7.2. Setting the scene

Here the context for the making workshops is described.

7.2.1. Making in conceptualisation: context

The *making* of objects and puppets commenced prior to the making stage, and explorations of different materials and puppetry were initiated during the conceptualisation stage. To illustrate this, I return to the workshops which took place in March 2015 and which preceded and led to the intensive making period for which Bev and the performers reconvened over a long weekend in May 2015. The focus here is therefore two-fold:

- the making processes during the conceptualisation stage as part of the training programme; and
- the design, making and putting together of the puppets, props and costumes for the making stage itself and communicative processes around this.





Figure 12: The streets, residential area and commercial area around the D.D.T.

The above images (Figure 12) show the streets surrounding the Dijaški Dom Tabor (D.D.T.), in which the conceptualisation workshops take place, and which is later the location for the devising workshops (Chapter Eight). This is also the space used as the base for the performers in the street arts festival in July 2015 (Chapter Nine). The first image – Trubarjeva cesta – shows the street connecting the newer town to the historical centre, forming the main artery from the area where the workshops are taking place to the centre of the city. Ljubljana Castle is visible in the distance. The street is narrow and cobbled, dotted with bars, falafel shops and small boutiques. The walls, buildings and railings host graffiti and posters, and groups of young people gather at the different food outlets, bars and cafes. Bundles of shoes, in twos, threes, fours, fives, are tied by their laces to the telephone wires at various intersections. The significance of these shoes is debated in urban folklore (e.g. Clary, 1997; Fernandez, 2005), and the area itself has what might be described as a ‘student’ ambience. The street leads towards the centre of the city and in the other direction is ROG, the large former bicycle factory by the side of the river, currently occupied by artists, performers and community groups amid rising tension with the city council.

The area directly around the Tabor is made up of newer blocks of housing with covered walkways, a small shopping centre, and long, straight roads that lead away from the historic centre to the main railway station and beyond. Tourists would not necessarily linger on these streets beyond the old town, although the city’s ethnographic museum and ‘Metelkova’,

an artistic community and ‘squat’, frequented by the performers for festivals and parties, are located close by. The newspaper puppets are crafted during this workshop taking place immediately after the lunchbreak. This follows the story-telling session in which Lothar first shares the Zlatorog folk story.

7.2.2. The making stage: return to Slovenia

The making stage took place from 27th – 31st May 2015 and was the second visit to Ljubljana for Bev as ŠUGLA programme mentor. We travel together, the four of us: Bev, Bev’s daughter, who is accompanying her as it is the school half term holiday and Jonny the puppet maker. Jonny and I are staying in the hotel next to the DDT, where the earlier workshops took place, while Bev and her daughter are in A.M.T.’s studio flat, used for visiting performers and mentors. In contrast to the first stage, the making workshops are based in the A.M.T. studios, located in the Šiška district to the north of the city. Alongside a number of arts organisations, A.M.T. occupy a number of rooms and a studio space in a tower block next to an arts complex and cinema, Kino Šiška. These are provided by Ljubljana city council for those working in the creative industries, a scheme I learnt more about from a cultural presentation by the council in November 2017 during the Circostrada street arts network meeting hosted by A.M.T.. In March, when I first observed the workshops, Goro showed us round the studios, into which they had only recently moved at that time (Figure 13 below shows the office interiors and exterior):



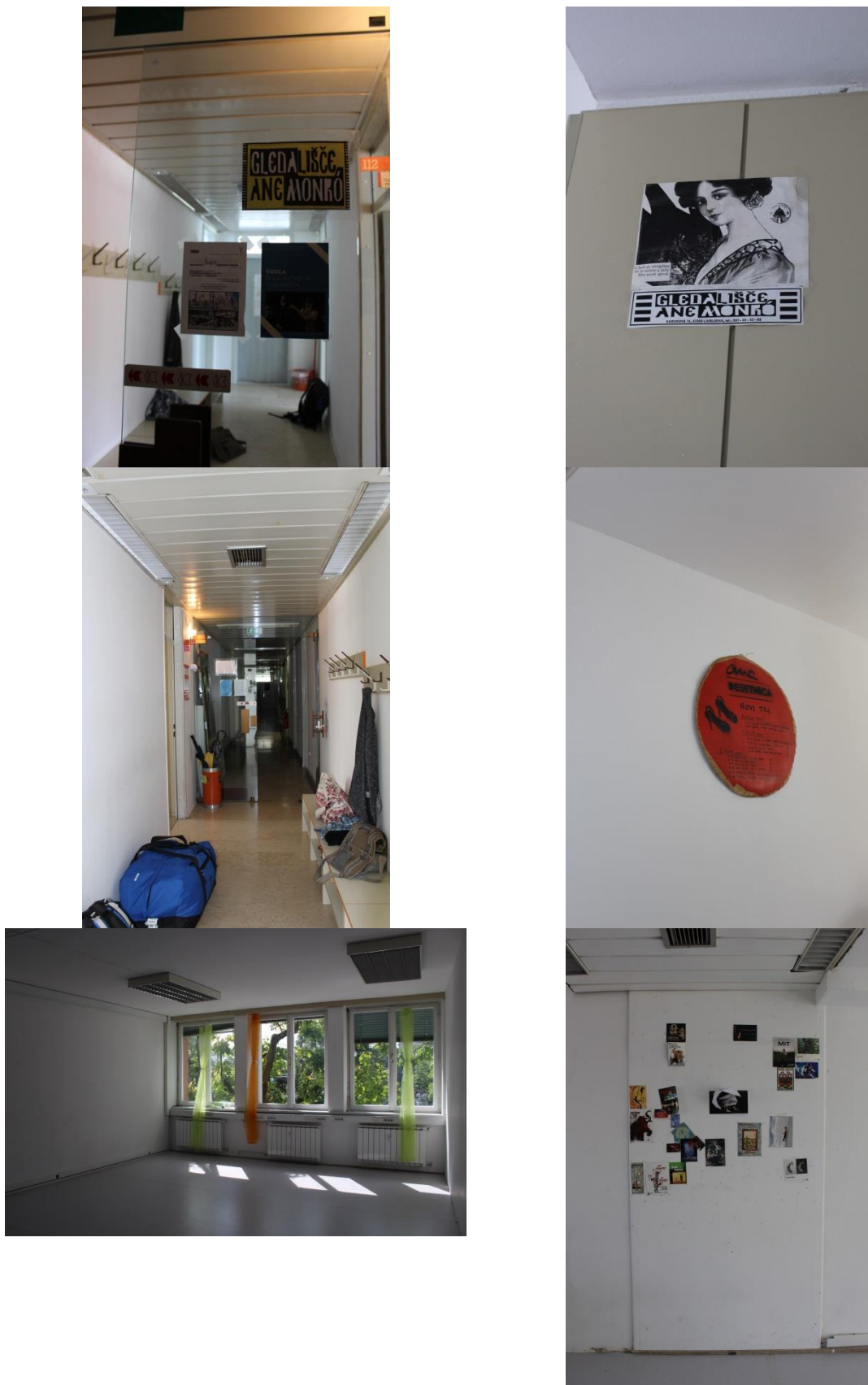


Figure 13: A.M.T. building, office and studios

During the making stage a music festival, Drugagodba 2015, was taking place around the city including at the Kino Šiška. I use some of my fieldnotes in a TLANG blog post (Appendix E):

Intensive period of fieldwork: I spend all day with the group observing and participating in the workshops, filming the performers, taking photographs, conducting interviews and writing notes. I'm staying in the city for six nights and trying to soak in as much of the atmosphere of the making and production process as I can, as well as the wider context, in order to understand as much as possible. As I write this, we've just finished the making process and, after a day to recuperate, we'll be right back into the rehearsal and production stages. I'm sitting at one of the desks in the Ana Monroe offices. To my right is a wide window through which I can see trees and the Kino Šiška arts venue (www.kinosiska.si), quiet for the first time since we got here as it's now Sunday and the Drugagodba music festival (www.drugagodba.si) that has taken place over the last few days has finished. To my left I can see through the doorway of the studio where a handful of people remain, determined to get the heads to attach to the three large puppets, a merchant, a farmgirl, and a hunter, each made from scraps of fabric, watering cans, tent poles and yoga mats (amongst other things), before they can call it a day.

(Fieldnotes, May 2015)

In between the conceptualisation and making stages, Bev had recruited Jonny, a professional puppet maker and long-time F.A. collaborator, to sketch out initial designs for the production and to start to make the puppets and props. Prior to travelling to Slovenia, the two of them had spent a couple of days preparing and gathering resources together. Alongside other members of the F.A. creative team, these bits and pieces, including puppet parts, watering cans, tent poles and rain macs, had been packed into two large suitcases and into Jonny's estate car. We then took them by plane from London Stansted to Slovenia. As half-made, half-formed objects they formed the starting points for the group to develop the props, puppets and production set for the performance which took place over a long weekend at the A.M.T. studio.

7.2.3. The puppet-maker

Jonny's background is in physical theatre and puppetry, and he had worked and travelled with theatre groups internationally to create and develop puppets, and to perform. Jonny had trained at the Jacques LeCoq Mime School in Paris during the late nineties and had studied devised theatre and acting with Bev at university. He had been involved with F.A. since its beginnings.

7.3. Data collected

The following data was collected during the making period.

Making stage data collection	27-31 May 2015
Fieldnotes	17,032 words
Photographs	375
Interactional Data	c. 4 hours
Video data	c. 15 hours

7.4. Data selected

The data analysed in this chapter continue to follow the thread as it undergoes multiple translations and resemiotising processes. Focusing on the story's resemiotisations informed decisions around data selection and the direction of the analysis throughout this research project. The making stage involved the collection of a large quantity of video data from the workshop spaces as the performers worked together to create the puppets and props. Data include audio recordings and transcriptions, photographs and fieldnotes, in addition to a short summary blog post published on the TLANG blog (Appendix E). Here the data selection focuses on material objects and texts as the thread continues to travel and themes introduced in the Chapters Five and Six are developed further.

7.5. Methodological observations

This was the second of four short, intensive periods of fieldwork, which I conceptualise as 'short-term ethnography' (Pink and Morgan, 2013) but situated within the broader context of a commitment to the group over a four-year period, through prolonged engagement with their work and collaborative projects (as set out in Appendix F).

The following is a short vignette describing how I approached my research at this time, based on my fieldnotes from the making stage.

I continue to try to make myself small. As the groups work together, I weave in and out, joining in, talking, asking what the performers are doing, about the decisions they are marking in terms of materials and making processes. I make three very short films of the interactions, but mainly concentrate on taking photographs, visually documenting the process as the puppets gradually become formed and documenting with fieldnotes.

(Fieldnotes, May 2015)

7.6. The focal points

As with the analysis of Lothar's narration during the conceptualisation stage, the focus here is on key moments of resemiotisation at which the text is transformed, following Li's analytical concept of 'moment analysis' (2011). Drawing from Lefebvre's theory of rhythm analysis, Li defines moment analysis as a focus on 'spur of the moment activities' (p.1224), with the 'moments' in question having 'outstanding significance'. The actions captured through focus on the objects created are semiotically highly significant both to the performers and to the ongoing development of the production. Key to moment analysis are data from multiple sources and of multiple types, in addition to metacommentary on the interaction. In this case, metacommentary is in terms of discussion around the objects, how they are being constructed and how they might be used. The ethnographic approach developed here enables the collection and analysis of a wide range of data and inclusion of multiple perspectives.

The chapter structure centres around four focal points of resemiotisation, or 'trans-semiotic moments'. These trans-semiotic moments are formed by processes of resemiotisation and signify broader episodes of action. Production is a process of trans-semiosis, with deliberate and repeated reiterations, re-workings, and re-presentations of the text integral to the activity. The concept of a trans-semiotic moment signifies points at which these transformations of the text take place, and during which new meanings created by different combinations of performers. The following trans-semiotic moments form the key analytical points for this chapter.

7.6.1. Objects and making processes: newspaper puppets

The analysis starts with the motif of the Zlatorog as constructed into **newspaper puppets** as the focus of a practice workshop during the conceptualisation stage. The puppets are then taken into the streets to 'interact' with the public, manipulated by the performers.

7.6.2. Written pitch, promo and synopsis: communicating ideas

The second point of analysis focuses on the written draft **synopsis** of the folk story which is sent as an email from Bev to Tea as a pitch which forms part of the contractual negotiation around Bev's involvement in the street theatre festival. This takes place between the conceptualisation and making stages.

7.6.3. Planning the making: images and sketches

For the third point of analysis I focus on the **sketchpad** used by the puppet-maker Jonny to design the puppets, props and costumes for the production.

7.6.4. Creating the performance: the construction of the Zlatorog

The fourth point is the gradual creation and construction of the Zlatorog's head and costume.

7.7. Analytical framework

Within this chapter, points of resemiotisation of the thread are the focus, with the analysis considering multimodal (*transmodal*) translanguaging and intersemiotic (*trans-semiotic*) translanguaging (Baynham et al., 2015) at these specific spatio-temporal points. Here, these can be identified across the lifecycle of the project and at key moments. These resemiotisations are deliberate and structured acts to create the production and to build the actors' skills and expertise (the context is street arts education). The processes are represented in the objects themselves as resemiotisations of the story and as pivotal points in the continuing trajectory of the thread. In this sense the objects also operate as meshworks (Ingold, 2011; 2016). In defining meshworks, Ingold seeks to develop an 'ontology that assigns primacy to processes of formation as against their final products, and to flows and transformations of materials as against states of matter' (2010, pp2-3). From these resemiotised objects (or processes of formation made material) *action* then emerges (Scollon and Scollon, 2004). Here, following Lefebvre (1991), the action occupies a third space, one that is both liminal and fleeting.

For Lemke, it is timescale rather than spatial scale that is important in the case of semiotic reorganisation (2000b:102-103). Timescale is implicated in the production schedule. The production process can shift across multiple spaces in the city (and the performance across the country) but the timescale schedules the performers and must be adhered to.

Kell (2015) seeks to conceptualise the meaning-making trajectory over time. She asks:

What does the unit of analysis become when meaning-making is studied as it unfolds over time and across contexts which are not characterised by co-presence and mutual monitoring? (p.425).

The performers convene at key moments to create the production. At other times these contexts are not monitored and the group are located across two or more countries. The processes underway, particularly during the making stage, create a series of objects whose creation and whose use unfold 'over time and across contexts' (ibid). Likewise, the processes of resemiotisation are processes of control (p.426).

7.8. Analysis: The making of the Zlatorog

7.8.1. Objects and making processes: newspaper puppets

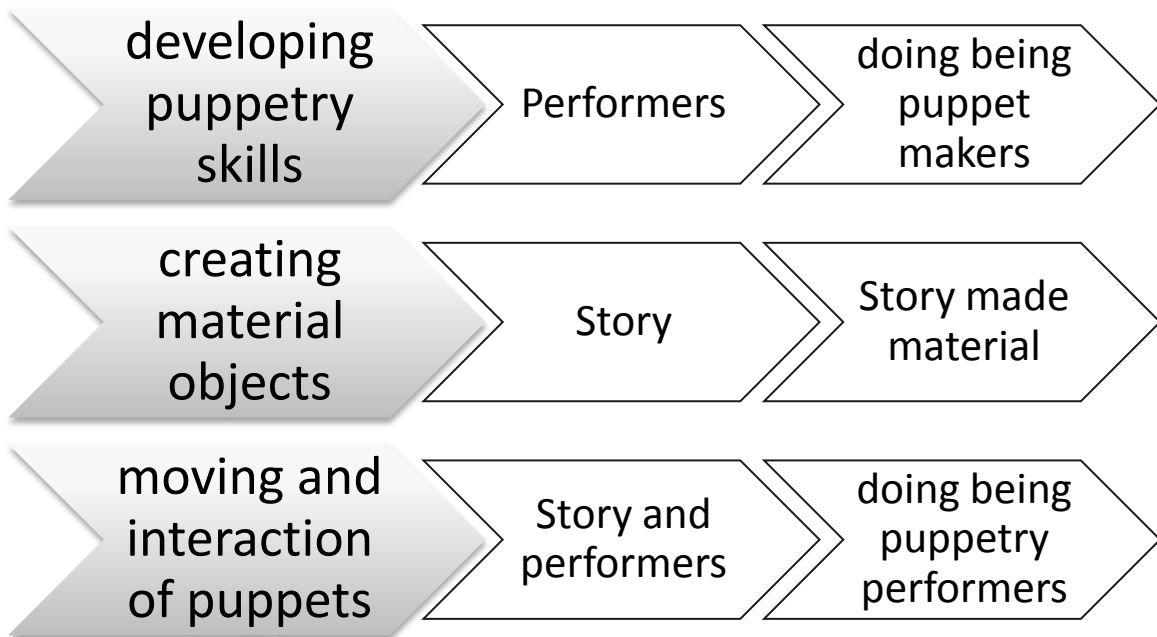
The first point of analysis in this chapter is the making of newspaper puppets during the conceptualisation stage.

The task

Bev follows the story-telling exercise (see Chapter Six) by setting a task to be carried out after the lunch break (Appendix C). She asks the performers to work in groups to create newspaper puppets that represent elements of the five stories shared previously. The performers are becoming more familiar with working with newspaper, having already practised some creative newspaper puppetry work during an improvisation training workshop prior to the story sharing activity. The activity has three main objectives.

- First, it gives the performers the opportunity to practise their puppet-making skills collaboratively, making decisions about how to use the newspaper and tape to create recognisable objects which can move and 'perform'. Bev seeks to start to train the performers in the art of the junk puppetry methods regularly used by her organisation in community visual arts and performance programmes, and in which she specialises. These methods are used within her own practice. It is, in effect, a process of transmission.
- Second, the act of crafting them into being is a deliberate process of making the narratives, or elements of the narratives, 'material'. This enables the story, as told orally by Lothar, to be made material.
- Third, once created, the newspaper puppets represent the stories in material form. They can then move and transport the story into the street, to interact with the public. The material, and therefore the story, is made mobile.

These three objectives are woven into the activity itself, as complex communicative practice.



The performers are split into three groups. Each group chooses a protagonist or icon from one of the stories, selecting a story from the previous session on which to focus. The group then takes responsibility for creating one puppet to symbolise the story they have selected. The stories selected by the performers are the Zlatorog (as told by Lothar), a story about a bowl of porridge and the snake (Natalija's story), and the Ljubljana dragon (Bev's story). Here the analysis focuses on the puppet created for the Zlatorog story, following the thread.

The crafting of the newspaper puppets represents both a moment and a process of resemiotisation. The process involves complex communicative practice (Lee, 2015:3). Likewise, the puppets themselves are central to what will be a complex communicative practice through performance. At this point, the intersemioticity of translanguaging, following Lee, is made visible. Lee considers the interactions between verbal and non-verbal signs as 'formations of translanguaging':

Complex communicative practices are often intersemiotic; they operate not only through the interaction between verbal signs, but also between verbal and non-verbal signs, or even that between non-verbal signs, all of which are formations of translanguaging (Lee, 2015:3).

The purpose of the puppets is to communicate. As 'non-verbal signs' they will communicate the story in the street arts production. But their communicative interaction is only possible through the interaction between performer and material in physical space. It is spatio-temporally bound. Taking a posthuman lens, the puppet can communicate through a process

of intra-action. The puppets operate through human manipulation to create movement. By themselves they cannot move, and, although as static objects they still communicate, as such their communicative affordances are severely limited. The objects have a certain agency in terms of affecting how the performers can move and how the communication succeeds (and fails). But the performers, as authors and narrators, appear to retain control.

As such, the puppets represent an inbetween. They act as material that both supports intersemiotic translanguaging, as described by Lee, and embodies it. They occupy the ‘trans’ in this sense (Jones, 2016), symbolising the non-human, non-verbal and the material in interaction, through direct contact with the human.

The making process

The following figures show the performers as they construct elements from the stories into newspaper puppets.



Figure 14: The performers work in groups to make the puppets

The images above illustrate how imagery relating to the three stories is explored through the newspaper crafting process. In the case of the story of the Zlatorog, the icon chosen is the golden-horned goat.

The group activities mark a shift to translingual practice. As documented in the conceptualisation stage, Bev requests that the main language spoken throughout is English. Therefore it becomes generally assumed that the group communicates in English for the plenaries and when Bev is present. When divided into the smaller groups the performers communicate mainly using Slovene. I comment on this in my fieldnotes and explain how I do not wish my presence (as a non-Slovene speaker) to disrupt the choice of languages that the performers wish to use. I also do not wish to disrupt the communicative practices in any way as I circulate. I want to make myself as small as possible.

Bev also circulates. As she joins each group, the performers sometimes move from speaking Slovene to speaking English. But this is only the case once she has been seen or heard. Otherwise, when the groups are concentrating on their creations, they communicate mainly in Slovene. The translingual space continues to be guided by Bev, albeit non-actively. As she joins each group, she asks them about their choices, their rationale for selecting particular methods, and advises on techniques.

The workshop represents a deliberate and guided act of resemiotisation, led by the performers as authors and, subsequently, as narrators. Crafting the puppets is a slow process. It involves deliberation over decisions around the methods of construction (the materials are limited to newspaper and tape) and the size of the features. Each of these decisions is pivotal in determining the structural design of each puppet, along with its shape and size.



Figure 15: The newspaper goat puppet

Figure 16: Bev advises the performers how to move the puppet

As the workshop progresses, Bev continues to monitor the activity. She advises on how the performers might use the crafting process and the decisions they make to facilitate the eventual movement of the puppet. Once the finishing touches have been made to the puppets, she demonstrates how they can be manipulated. The objective is to show the performers how they can work together to make the puppets move.

Figure 15 shows the finished Zlatorog puppet. As the photograph illustrates, it has spindly limbs, with masking tape bounding them at key connecting points. It is weak. As a result, three to four performers must work together in order to manipulate it effectively and enable it to move, to communicate.

Figure 16 shows the group of performers who have created the newspaper Zlatorog learning to manipulate the puppet, guided by Bev. They must move its limbs in order to enable it to move.

Zlatorog is markedly different from the newspaper puppet. The imagery of the Zlatorog, as suggested by the stories, is of a magical goat who is powerful and who rules over the Alpine paradise. His power is such that his anger destroys the natural riches of the entire area. In newspaper form it is unclear what the meaning is or what the puppet represents. Is it even identifiable as a goat, let alone a mythical goat with a golden horn and supernatural powers? Its size and materiality compromise its ability to communicate. To what extent does it 'embody' the text and how might it communicate and interact with the public in the street? If it is not recognisable as Zlatorog or Goldhorn, can it even communicate? How can it embody elements of the story when its size and structure are compromised? What does this tell the performers about newspaper as medium for puppetry?

The newspaper puppet, as a 'text', is limited, as with each of the texts created over the course of the production process. Kell builds on Kress's conceptualisation of texts as 'punctuation':

the flow and dynamics of meaning in the complex social environments in which I find myself are the basis of text: a constantly shifting flow of meanings [...] texts do not stop the process of semiosis: they provide a punctuation only (Kress, 2000:134, in Kell, 2015:426).

If the text is punctuation, the newspaper puppet with its spindly legs serves to punctuate the coming together of methods and decisions. The puppet is a 'focal formal unit' (Kress, 2000:153, in Kell, 2015:426). The availability of semiotic resources beyond language for people and for communities provides, according to Kell, a key driver for incorporating the material in studies of communication.

This argument has provided a powerful lens for understanding communication differently, for facilitating a turn towards materiality and for relativizing the importance of language in relation to other modes of communication (Kell, 2015:427).

If the creation of the puppets and the puppets themselves are focal formal units, their journey in the street with the performers as puppeteers marks a further resemiotisation.

Moving outside

Once the puppets have been created and Bev has looked at each one, the performers go outside into the courtyard, which doubles as a car park. There are a number of cars, mainly belonging to the performers and the staff working in the hostel. Here, guided by Bev, they practice manipulating the puppet which involves trying out different ways of performing with the puppet outdoors.



Figure 17: The performers practise manipulating the puppet

The performers move the puppets around the car park. In Figure 17, the performers practise their skills, considering how to manipulate the newspaper. The Zlatorog puppet, owing to its spindliness, requires four performers. Yet, paradoxically, the four performers hide the puppet, creating a challenge for the puppet to 'interact'.

The puppet must be controlled. It must move as if it were real. Gaja takes the front right leg and the Zlatorog's head. Doris moves the front left leg. Natalija and Anouk are at the rear, moving each of the legs in turn. Jaak watches and advises how they can work together to move the puppet.

Whenever the puppet is in the street it must move in a certain way. It must always present as Zlatorog. If the group need to adjust their hold or make changes, the puppet must move to a side street or 'backstage' in order to be away from the public. In this sense, whenever present in the street space, the puppet must communicate with the public. But for this to happen, the group must develop a shared way of working which enables the puppet, as Zlatorog, to communicate. The performers must work together, with each other and with the puppet. In doing so, they draw from their resources, in this case their bodies, and to a lesser degree their facial expressions and their voices, communicating with each other verbally to drive the puppet forward. In doing so, a necessary sharedness is enabled: a shared repertoire belonging to the performers, but which becomes necessary to move the puppet. The puppet itself is pivotal. It is a catalyst for the sharedness and for the developing repertoire. Yet, by itself it appears to have little agency. The space created by the action is one in which language is used in coordination with the body and in coordination with the puppet. In this sense, a shared translanguaging space is brought into being, in which the performers, working with the puppet, must draw on all available resources to propel the newspaper goat forward. This mobile space, and its relative success or failure, is made visible through the puppet's movement. It is also visible in the puppet's communication with the public, facilitated by the performers and their coordinated actions. The space includes the material object itself: the puppet goat, as an agent whose movements are aided by the performers' developing repertoire. But the puppet and the necessity for the puppet to communicate – as a core objective of the activity and the very purpose of the puppet's creation - are catalysts for the development of this shared repertoire. Without the puppet, there would be no requirement for the performers to communicate in this way. The performers themselves are intrinsically entwined with the puppet for the purposes of the task. The puppet has more agency than might appear.





Figure 18: The puppets are taken from the car park, to the cafes around the Tabor, along Trubarjeva cesta to the centre of Ljubljana

In the images above, the puppets are then guided around a housing complex, underneath which people are eating and drinking in two small cafes. Outside one of the cafes young people in coats, hats and scarves are smoking Nargile. After a short promenade around the block weaving in and out of the covered walkways by the cafes, the puppeteers and puppets return to the Tabor and start to make their way into the city centre. The performers move with the puppets by a block of flats adjacent to the Tabor car park. They step over a low hedge and walk next to the building. A resident opens his window and shouts to the group that they should move away from the building as the pathway is private property. The performers apologise for their transgression and, stepping back over the hedge, return to the pavement. At the pedestrian crossing we wait for the lights to change although there are few cars on the road. In Slovenia it is an offence to cross the road when the white hand is not showing. I find something incongruous in the group of performers, seeking to subvert public space yet patiently waiting for the lights to change. Tea explains that you can pay a fine if you are caught.

Figure 18 shows the puppets moving slowly towards the city, manipulated by the actors. Each is a 'puppet-performer-complex'. The transformation of the puppets from static objects to moving, communicating objects is aided by the actors as they manipulate the limbs and bodies, assisting the embodied communication with onlookers. The puppet looks. The performers look. This interaction from the body to the puppet to the street is at the centre of a successful promenade and interaction. The Zlatorog's new modal representation offers opportunities and challenges in terms of the material's affordances to represent the story.

The puppet-performer-complexes walk towards the city centre, along the Trubarjeva cesta with its graffiti and hanging shoes. As they travel, they encounter members of the public, shopping or taking an afternoon stroll, engaging in late afternoon flânerie. In mid-March it is still cold and the days are still short. Although it is still before 4pm, it is dusk. The streets are quiet. Passers-by bundled up in coats include a few small family groups, children on scooters. A number of people cluster in hats and scarves on tables outside street cafes lining the river. The performers experiment with the puppets, gradually becoming accustomed to the holding styles and movements required for the puppets to navigate their excursion and the interactions along the way.

The final three images show the puppets 'meeting' and 'communicating' with the public on the 'Butchers' Bridge'. The bridge has glass panels onto the water below and collections of padlocks, 'love locks', have been attached to the sides of the bridge, mirroring practice across Europe. MacDowall refers to this practice of attaching locks to bridges as 'semi-authorised street art activity engaged in by broad publics of non-artists worldwide' (2014:34). The puppets compete with a busker who is playing his guitar on the bridge. Another street artist. A rival street artist. The bridge is a nexus of street arts activities. Some are authorised, others not. There are very few people here to witness the busker or the puppets aside from a handful of brave flâneurs, alone, in pairs, or in small groups. A scattering of family groups walk or stand on the bridge. The puppets, aided by the performers, approach and start to interact with the assorted publics. I note the reactions in my fieldnotes:

The dragon is the most impressive. It's big and obviously dragon-like. The goat is harder to judge. The snake is well received. A number of people kiss it, which I find to be a strange response.

The dragon is introduced to a small white dog. We go to the bridge with the glass floor. And the padlocks. There's a busker by one of the statues in a hat and shades. He carries on as the puppets play around him. The busker mainly ignores what is happening

around him.

(Play is a word that is used a lot. Play, play. The puppets must play.)

The sun is starting to set. The streets are emptying.

The goat walks across the bridge. It has spindly legs. A group of three are sitting on the bridge. The goat comes towards them. Then a family with two children. The snake approaches the children. They are unsure at first. (I wonder what my kids would do?)

We then head back towards Tabor with the puppets. It's almost dusk now. The day is almost over. The group give feedback on taking the puppets out onto the street. They comment on the kissing. Why do people want to kiss the snake? Bev talks about the importance of softness.

(Fieldnotes, March 2015)

The dragon appears to have the most success. It is large and can move with a physical presence that is so lacked by the goat. For the goat, the combination of the four puppeteers required to manipulate the goat with its spindly limbs and small frame makes it difficult for observers to see what exactly might be happening and on what to focus their attention. Its communicative affordances are limited as the manipulation required hides its material being. The dragon, in contrast, is immediately recognisable, and appropriately emplaced close to the 'Dragon Bridge' itself with its iconic imagery. Likewise, the snake in its newspaper form is realistic and clearly serpent-like. We comment on the public's reactions to meeting the snake. A number of observers kiss it. What prompts this reaction, we wonder? The goat however is insufficient in its newspaper form. It attracts little attention and its interactions are therefore curtailed. Nobody attempts to kiss the goat.

Awakening the stories

In making the journey through the city, the puppets and performers, the puppet-performer-complex, work to 'awaken the stories that sleep in the streets...' (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol, 1998:142-3, in Wynn, 2005:118). The processes of interaction seek to create 'speaking places', through movement, through coordination and through shared repertoire. In the case of the dragon puppet, this returns the 'folk stories' to specific soil. For the spindly goat, it is introduced to specific physical locations, in which it exists already as a multimodal trace (see 5.4.6), in other forms; as beer (5.4.6, 6.7.1, 6.8.7), as an icon on tourist objects.

The performers return to the former church. At the end of the puppetry workshops, Bev returns to the UK and the puppets are disposed of. There is no longer any use for them.

7.8.2. Written pitch, promo and synopsis: communicating ideas

During the two and a half months between the conceptualisation stage and returning to Ljubljana to make the puppets and devise the production, communication continues between Bev in the UK and Tea in Slovenia. This consists in part of negotiation of an ongoing contract between the two organisations and planned collaboration over a devised production for the street arts festival in the summer. The negotiation includes an email sent by Bev to Tea on 27th April 2015, a month before the proposed trip to Ljubljana, which details a written draft synopsis as a 'pitch' for a performance, based on the folk story of the Zlatorog.

The pitch is important. As a small-scale community arts organisation, F.A. operates in a context which requires creative practitioners to 'pitch' and 'bid' for contracts to carry out specific pieces of work. Gill describes creative workers as occupying a 'special place' (2011:250). As she explains, the creative worker:

must be flexible, adaptable, sociable, self directing, able to work for days and nights at a time without encumbrances or needs, must commodify herself and others and recognise that – as one of my interviewees put it – every interaction is an opportunity for work. In short, for the modernised worker-subject, 'life is a pitch' (ibid).

McRobbie discusses the paradox of the precarious creative worker as necessitating a rethinking of 'the sociology of employment to engage more fully with entrepreneurial culture and with the self-employment ethos now a necessity for survival' (2016:4). Precarity and self-entrepreneurialism put an emphasis on the 'value of sheer hard work and constant activity' (p.12). Bev must work to both respond to opportunities and to create them herself.

In devising and delivering the puppetry training workshops, a space has opened up for Bev to continue the collaboration with A.M.T., and for her to further her work in this area. It is also an opportunity for income generation for her organisation. A pitch plays a key role in realising opportunities. As a written draft synopsis the text communicates the pitch around a named and scheduled performance for the festival. In this way the email is a performative text. In drafting and sending it, Bev performs her desires to continue the collaboration and to obtain some clarity in terms of a contract. After the conceptualisation stage workshops as I

start to read about Slovenian folklore I send Bev the Fanny Copeland article about Zlatorog (1933b) and ask about the next stage. She replies to me by email in which she sets out some initial dates for the next stages of the production.

Thanks for Zlatorog! I have just chased it up, having sent through details a week ago. They are now looking at the following dates 29-31 May making, 2- 7 June rehearsal. Possible return Thurs 25th June for rehearsal. Show premiere Fri 26th June – touring thereafter.

(Email from Bev to me, 14/04/15)

We arrange to meet to discuss the research and the trip. At this point in my research I am trying to spend as much time with the organisation as possible. But I am also aware that I do not want to interrupt their work too much, that I am highly peripheral. I am trying to keep myself small.

Yes happy to catch up. My availability is below. I have had numerous conversations with Tea and it's all looking pretty firm for the dates I sent below. It's as confirmed as it can be without a contract or an airline ticket.

(Email from Bev to me, 24/04/15)

Although a number of phone conversations have taken place between Bev and Tea, the next stage has not been confirmed by contract or travel booking. She implies that these would offer firmer assurance that the trip was going ahead. An airline ticket would symbolise A.M.T.'s financial commitment to Bev's involvement in steering the production.

I offer a date to meet. Bev replies by email to confirm a time and to tell me that she is struggling to find the time to write the synopsis, suggesting that talking about her ideas will help. Although I am not directly involved in the plans for the production, Bev wants to discuss her developing plans.

I am struggling to get to writing a synopsis for Zlatorog, but hope to have done so very soon. Chatting about it will help on Thurs too.

(Email from Bev to me, 24/04/15)

Bev sends the email with the promo, synopsis, design ideas and the logistical questions on 27th April, three days later, copying me in. The email is split into five parts and twenty-eight lines for the purposes of the analysis. Part one (lines 1-4) is the opening, part two (lines 5-8)

is the 'promo', part three (lines 9-20) the synopsis, part four (lines 21-24) the design ideas and part five (lines 23-28) concerns the logistical arrangements.

In its transformation to an email text, the story shifts its conceptual framework. Bev takes on the role of author. It is now a potential production that Bev will direct. A provisional production. She reworks the text, basing it on Lothar's telling. In doing so she incorporates a new lens: that of the environment. She foregrounds the 'Alpine paradise lost' as a catastrophe caused by greed and want, highlighting the story's allegorical theme. This foregrounding is a reorganisation. It creates a connecting thread to the practice in which Bev specialises: the 'junk puppetry' in which F.A. has historically engaged. At the time of this email, there is an informal understanding between the two organisations that Bev will continue to work with the group to produce a touring show for the festival. But it still needs to be confirmed by both Tea and Goro, as A.M.T. director.

Part One: Opening

1. Hello Tea
2. I hope you had a lovely weekend. It was gloriously sunny in England.
3. Below is a few lines of about the show.
4. And then I have a series of questions. It would be great if you can answer by email so that we have notes, but maybe we can have a skype conversation to discuss them? I am available today and Thursday at 11am if that's any good.

The email starts in a relatively informal way (1 and 2). Bev inquires about Tea's weekend, engaging in small talk through giving a short account of the weather in England. This has a relational function in terms of Bev's mediating of the collaborative relationship with Tea's organisation. She establishes what the email is going to cover: it will give information about the show and sketch out Bev's proposal for the devised performance (3). She then raises a practical concern about discussing the proposal and Bev's questions over Skype, seeking to set a date for a discussion in the very near future (the day on which she sends the email or Thursday of the same week) (4). The email acts to formalise Bev's plans and to gain (written) approval from Tea that will enable her to progress with what she is suggesting ('so we have notes'). It establishes a tangible thread and requests continuation. But in asking that her email is followed up by a Skype conversation with Tea, during which she will outline her plans for confirmation to go ahead, Bev requires an additional communicative mode, speech,

to complement her written text and the 'notes'. The negotiation will be formalised by speaking together.

Part Two: The 'promo'

5. Promo: This is just a couple of lines at the moment as our ideas are still formulating. I hope this translates well. I have copied in Jess, who will be interested in the language. The synopsis and outline design ideas are just for you to understand our thinking so far.

Bev goes on to explain what she is proposing for the 'promo' (5). This is a short text advertising the proposed production. This marketing pitch will eventually form part of a non-formal contract between the two organisations. A.M.T.'s acceptance of this pitch, as communicated in an email, will then enable Bev to recruit and pay a freelance puppet-maker to start work on the puppets and props for the production (24). The notes, as tangible record, are the catalyst for a transaction: the recruitment of an additional artist. She includes the puppet-maker's name as one of the named authors of the production in the 'promo' text (8).

In referring to 'Jess' (5), Bev alludes to this doctoral research project and to my research interest in 'language'. Although she addresses two people - Tea and me as researcher - my role is peripheral as the person to whom the email is copied rather than addressed.

6. **How Much is Enough?**

A tragic story of love, greed and our relationship with the natural world.

7. **Based on a traditional Slovenian folk tale and using puppets made from the objects we have discarded, How Much is Enough is a fun, thought provoking visual street performance suitable for the whole family.**
8. **Devised by Sugla students. Directed by Bev Adams, Faceless Arts (UK) and Designed by Jonny Dixon (UK)**

The promo itself is short. The name of the production has been established: 'How Much Is Enough?' (6). It is phrased as a question. The question is vague and the context is unclear: *how much of what?* Its ambiguity aims to draw an audience. One line follows the title, setting out the proposed production for the potential audience and intended to appeal. Bev has changed the name to reflect the focus of the story, reoriented towards 'greed' and the natural

world. The context for the question is then tentatively explored. The question, *how much is enough?*, is a moral one (see 5.4.2.). Greed implies more than 'enough': too much. 'Our' world implies that the story has resonance for everyone and that we are all implicated. The purpose of the promo is persuasive. It must persuade people to come and watch the production. Bev anticipates that the promo will be used in advertising material for the street arts festival, both printed and online.

The introduction is followed by a second sentence establishing the story's provenance, as a 'traditional Slovenian folk tale' (7). She makes no reference to the Zlatorog or Goldhorn in the pitch. The 'relationship with the natural world' and 'discarded objects' as materials aligns the proposed production with F.A.'s own practice of creating performance from 'junk', therefore shifting the story towards the values held by the community arts organisation, communicating authorship and branding.

Authorship of the proposed production is then established (8) through a list of the individuals and the groups involved. The roles held by each are set out. The performance is *devised* by the ŠUGLA students. They are named as a group. The students, as those devising, appear first. Second is Bev as director. Third is Jonny Dixon, responsible for the design. The street arts festival is international and in this context it is usual for each production to communicate its internationalness through reference to the countries of residence of those performing. The international collaboration within the production team is communicated through the use of 'UK'. Although the project is collaborative, distinctions between the roles are maintained and made explicit. Here again, Bev negotiates her leadership of the project, as invited mentor and with expertise in street arts puppetry. She will direct. The promo communicates the text as one with multiple authors.

Part Three: The synopsis

9. Synopsis:
10. The rich highlands of the Julian Alps are protected by fairies known as the White Ladies and a golden horned goat called Zlatorog.
11. In the lowlands, a hunter travels regularly from the lowlands to the mountains to hunt and, in the valley of Lake Bohinj, a farmer girl tends her crops. He is in love with the farm girl and she with him. The hunter takes only what is needed to feed the valley folk – never more - and he regularly brings the farm girl some of his catch, which she accepts with a kiss.
12. The worlds of the Alps and the Valley live in harmony.

13. One day a rich Venetian arrives. He woos the farm girl with gifts of wealth and riches.
14. The farm girl becomes unhappy with the hunter as he only brings her necessities. She demands he proves his love for her by bringing her some of the riches of the Bohinj mountains.
15. On reaching the mountains, the hunter sees the Golden Horned Zlatarog. Surely these magical golden horns would be the perfect symbol of his love.
16. He takes aim and his arrow strikes Zlatarog, wounding the creature. Where Zlatarog's blood touches the earth, tricolour flowers bloom.
17. The hunter takes aim for his second shot and, as he is about to fire, the sun glints off Zlatarog's horns blinding him. The hunter loses his footing and falls from the mountain.
18. Later that day as the farm girl washes her clothes in the river, she sees the body of her beloved hunter floating.
19. She retrieves him to mourn his death.
20. As she looks up the highlands, Zlatarog returns her gaze and then disappears into the mountain side.

In the ten short paragraphs of the synopsis (10-20) which follows the 'promo', Bev sketches out her ideas for the devised performance. The synopsis represents a simplified version of Lothar's telling. The key motif is maintained in Slovene – 'Zlatorog', which differs from Lothar's translation of Zlatorog to Goldhorn throughout his telling of the story (6.8). Bev spells the word incorrectly, 'ZlatArog' (later on, Lothar corrects the spelling on Facebook under one of Bev's posts advertising the production).

Bev first sets the scene (10). The story is located in the 'rich highlands', denoting abundance of vegetation and of flowers. The tragedy has been foregrounded in the 'promo', it is a 'tragic story' (6).

In the intervening months since the conceptualisation stage, Bev has carried out some additional web-based research into the story. The geographical setting is specified and described: 'The rich *highlands* of the Julian Alps' (10), the *lowlands* (11) and the *worlds of the Alps and the Valley* (12). The supernatural protagonists representing the 'world of the fairies', the White Ladies and Zlatorog, are introduced at the outset (11).

The next paragraph introduces the human characters (11), the hunter and the girl. The girl is now a 'farmer girl' and later 'farm girl', linking to the theme of the natural world, foregrounded in this new iteration of the story. The equilibrium is introduced and described,

using the human characters and their actions: ‘the hunter takes only what is needed to feed the valley folk – never more’. The production title, ‘How Much Is Enough?’, is again evoked. ‘Enough’ here is considered as what is needed to feed the people in the surrounding area. These are simple times in an unspecified moment in history. The word ‘folk’ is used, suggesting a simplicity and vague historicity, situating it further within a village or rural context. Dundes describes ‘folk’ as ‘any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common linking factor, e.g. religion, occupation, ethnicity, geographical location, etc.’ (2007:56). Here the folk are defined by their location: the valley. They are ‘valley folk’, or folk of the valley.

In the place in which the story is set ‘the worlds of the Alps and the Valley live in harmony’ (12). These are two separate geographical places, but part of the same ecology. In the two worlds, the ‘rich’ highlands are home to mythical creatures: fairies and a golden-horned goat, and the lowlands are home to simple ‘folk’. There is what Lothar referred to as ‘equilibrium’. It is an idealised community and a self-sufficient one. The dialogue between the highlands and the lowlands, the non-human and the human, is balanced.

In the synopsis the female character has moved location and occupation. She is no longer an innkeeper’s daughter, as in the version told by Copeland (1933b) and Dežman (in Kropelj, 2010) (see 5.5). In Lothar’s telling her occupation and location are unspecified until the merchants enter the story and it is then explained that the girl works in a guest house (6.8.6.). It becomes significant once the ‘incomers’ arrive. In this new telling, she is no longer associated (and defined) by her location in the inn and her family status (as daughter). Instead, she is now defined by her location on the farm (11) and by what she does (she tends her crops). To some degree she has gained agency, defined by her own activity and by her location and not that of her parents or her relationship. The work she undertakes is the hard, physical work associated with keeping a farm. The ‘enough’ of the production’s title is referred to in this paragraph. The hunter only takes what is needed to feed the people in the community, including the girl. This introduces a moral dimension: he takes *only* what is needed. The harmonious equilibrium is reiterated in paragraph 12.

Bev’s synopsis introduces the ‘Italian Merchant’ of Lothar’s story as a rich Venetian (13). Unlike the girl, he is no longer defined by his occupation. Instead he is described as ‘rich’ and geographical provenance is city-specific. He comes from Venice. Like the highlands, he is rich. There is an implied contrast with the lowlands in which the valley folk lead a modest existence. While the hunter is modest, taking only what is needed, the rich Venetian brings

wealth and riches (to the lowlands, it is assumed). These are, by contrast, more than what is needed.

Each element of the original story is written as an action. The newcomer disrupts the girl's affections for the hunter, who brings her only what is needed (14). The girl asks the hunter to bring her other riches – riches from the highlands.

There is then a gap in the story. In the next paragraph the hunter is in the highlands and he sees Zlatorog (15). He makes the decision to bring back the golden horns as an offering which will rival the Venetian's wealth and riches. It is the horns to which he is attracted, thinking that these would be symbolic of his love for the farm girl. In this case Bev uses both translation and the Slovene word 'Zlatorog'. On seeing the horns, the hunter decides that these will be the riches the farm girl requires.

The narrative leaps again. Zlatorog is a supernatural being. The hunter has a bow and arrow in Bev's telling, in contrast to the gun he wields in Lothar's telling (6.8.6) and in Dežman's version (5.4). To get the golden horns the hunter must shoot Zlatorog. When wounded by the bow and arrow, a 'tricolour' flower emerges from the ground. In Dežman's telling it is the rose of Triglav that the girl requests. He describes it as the 'rose cinquefoil' as often called the "miraculous balm" or the "rose of Triglav" (Kropej, 2010: p.59). Ultimately the hunter is thwarted in his quest, and 'nature' - always in harmony prior to this event – has its revenge (17). The interaction of the sun's rays and the golden horns the hunter seeks to steal causes the hunter to meet his death. He falls from the mountain, from the rich highlands.

The synopsis ends with the girl (18) finding the hunter's body as she attends to her laundry in the river. Again, her labour, as woman washing clothes, is foregrounded. She has additional labour to attend to as she must remove his body from the river herself (19). As she looks up to the highlands she catches sight of Zlatorog (20). His gaze in this final paragraph suggests the girl's culpability in and responsibility for the hunter's death. Zlatorog then disappears.

A number of the story's elements have been changed, yet this new text retains similarities to Lothar's telling. Bev has reintroduced the Slovene word, Zlatorog, and translated Triglavska roža to tricolour, adding translingual elements to the text, introduced for authenticity and to connect it to place.

The synopsis can be broken down further into specific actions by each character and organised by context (see table below). Here the themes from Hymes' the Sun's Myth (5.2), desire, travel, discovery and staying, are used as an analytical framework for the synopsis text.

Paragraph	Context	Character(s)	Action	Analysis
10	The rich highlands of the Julian Alps	White Ladies and Zlatorog	Protect	Stays
11	Lowlands and mountains, valley of Lake Bohinj	Hunter	Travels and hunts	Travels
	Valley of Lake Bohinj	Farm Girl	Tends crops	Stays
	Valley of Lake Bohinj	Hunter	Loves Farm Girl	Desires
	Valley of Lake Bohinj	Farm Girl	Loves Hunter	Desires
	Valley of Lake Bohinj	Hunter	Takes what is needed for the valley folk	Stays
	Valley of Lake Bohinj	Hunter	Brings Farm Girl some of his catch	Stays
	Valley of Lake Bohinj	Farm Girl	Kisses Hunter	Desires
12	The worlds of the Alps and the valley	The worlds	Live in harmony	Stays
13	The lowlands	Rich Venetian	Arrives	Travels
		Rich Venetian	Woos Farm Girl	Desires
		Farm Girl	Is wooed by rich Venetian	Discovers
14	The lowlands	Farm Girl	Becomes unhappy	Desires
	The lowlands/the highlands	Farm Girl	Demands riches from the highlands	Desires
15	The highlands	Hunter	Goes to mountains	Travels
			Sees Zlatorog	Discovers
			Decides to steal horns	Desires
16	The highlands	Hunter	Shoots Zlatorog with bow and arrow	Desires
			Wounds Zlatorog	Desires
		Tricolour flowers	Bloom	Discovery

17	The highlands	Hunter	Shoots Zlatorog a second time	Desires
		The sun	Reflects from Zlatorog's horns	Travels
			Blinds hunter	Travels
		Hunter	Loses footing	Travels
	The lowlands	Hunter	Falls off mountain	Travels
18	The lowlands, the river	Farm Girl	Washes clothes	Stays
			Sees Hunter floating	Discovers
			Retrieves Hunter's body from water	Discovers
19	The lowlands		Mourns his death	Stays
20	The lowlands	Farm Girl	Sees Zlatorog	Discovers
	The highlands	Zlatorog	Sees Farm Girl	Discovers
			Disappears	Travels

This analysis continues what Bev has started with the synopsis and breaks the text down into each action, and applying Hymes' themes (1975) highlights the alignments between the two folk tales. As explored in Chapter Five, in depicting a tragedy the story aims to warn. Although transported from the inn to the farm, the girl is still positioned at the border, giving her access to travel and to desire.

Part Four: Design ideas

After setting out the proposed synopsis for the production, Bev then describes some of her initial design ideas and explains how she intends to create the story through puppetry, props and working with the performers.

21 Design Ideas:

22 The land of the humans

Hunter, Farm girl, Venetian - Life size puppets (like the puppet I brought with me for the training) X 3 with ability to have reach to about 1.5m high operated by 2 people

Zlatorog – Life size operated by 1 person

The puppets start from different but nearby parts of the city/town and move through the

crowd interacting with the public (promenade/walkabout). We see the Hunter and the Farm girl in love and the Venetian giving her gifts. The goat is mischievous and playful. The puppets draw the audience to the Land of the mountains.

23. The land of the mountains

The boxes, suitcases that we use to transport our show, and maybe even the large puppets, are placed in a design that looks like the mountains. The actors use object theatre to play out the story of the farm girl sending the hunter to the mountain for the riches and the shooting of Zlatarog.

The show concludes here.

24. We will make the puppets from plastic and newspaper and discarded items and manipulate fabric and objects for the storytelling.

The design ideas include the characters themselves and some of Bev's initial thoughts for how the production might be devised. For the purposes of production design, Bev separates the story into two parts by location: the land of the humans and the land of the mountains. Each can be considered an 'act'. The story has three main human characters: the Hunter, the Farm girl (both now capitalized) and the Venetian. Bev envisages that these will be represented by 'life size' puppets. She refers to the puppet made of plastic bags she had brought along to the initial training workshops, with which the performers had played, practising their puppet manipulation skills, as well as working on some initial devising.

The fourth character, Zlatarog, is included in the sketch for the land of the humans, despite being spatially linked to the rich highlands for the synopsis (10).

Bev introduces each of the three characters, 'Hunter, Farm girl, Venetian' (22). Each word is used without a determiner, therefore 'naming' the characters as their occupations (Hunter), location and occupation (Farm girl) and city of provenance (Venetian). Bev explains her developing plan for the production. The three main characters and Zlatarog will promenade in the street, moving along playfully towards the spaces in which the main aspects of the performance will take place (22). As they walk they will interact with the public. The story will be introduced by the three large 'human' puppets, whose actions will represent elements of the context and earlier part of the story, with Hunter and Farm girl interacting and the Venetian interrupting the equilibrium by offering gifts. This shifts the spatial dimension of the story to a series of mobile, transient moments, or enactments of elements of the story. Zlatarog, or 'the goat', as Bev calls him (22), walks with the main characters.

This again shifts the spatial context. In Dežman’s version, Lothar’s telling, and in the synopsis written by Bev, Zlatorog lives in the highlands, while the main characters mostly remain in the lowlands. Placing Zlatorog to interact with the public in the street and the movement of the story within the street act to disrupt space. But only to a certain extent: Zlatorog does not interact with the human characters during the promenade. Instead he is ‘mischievous and playful’. In the design ideas Bev presents, the street and the promenade are the land of the humans. Zlatorog’s role is to embody the supernatural within this space. The movement of the puppets towards the site designated for the performance takes the audience towards the land of the mountains. Here in the design ideas, the themes from Hymes’ the Sun’s Myth (5.2), desire, travel, discovery and staying, are reduced and less visible. They are also disrupted by the proposed production design, as demonstrated in the table below.

Paragraph	Context	Character(s)	Action	Analysis
22	The land of the humans	Hunter, Farm girl, Venetian, Zlatorog puppets <i>Operated by performers</i>	Move through crowd, interacting with the public (10-13 from synopsis)	The puppets travel to show emplaced elements of the story
			Move towards the land of the mountains	The puppets travel to the performance site
23	The land of the mountains	Boxes, suitcases (possibly large puppets) placed in a design that looks like the mountains.	Static objects and puppets	The puppets and objects are static but demonstrate the travelling aspects of the story
		The performers	Use object theatre to play out the story of the Farm girl sending the hunter to the mountains for the riches and the shooting of Zlatorog (14-20)	The objects and the performers remain in the performance site to tell the story of travel to the mountains

Part Five: Practicalities and logistical concerns

In the following section of her email, Bev sets out a number of questions for Tea, relating to the logistics for the performance and for the upcoming making and devising workshops she will lead onsite.

	Questions:
23.	How many people do we have confirmed as performers? I have on my list as definite Gaja, Natalija, Sara, Sara, C and Vesna. And possibly – Ana, D and J.
24.	Can we have discuss the room for the making? It may need to be different to the rehearsal room. It would take a lot of time to clean up and set up each day and Jonny and I might need to work after the students have left to finishing off and preparing for next day. Are we better working at A.M.T.'s base to make the puppets/objects
25.	Is it possible that you could find an extra day and travel expenses from the south, to pay Jonny to come and work in our workshop here to prepare puppet skeletons and heads and also gather materials tools we need? I will work with him here too, but do I will do it for free.
26.	Is there anyone that you know that has some making/technical skills that might want to join the group and not perform so the can help us make over 29,30,31 and join the production as a maker/technician/fixer?
27.	By Monday 11 May, we hope to have some design sketches and a list of materials and tools. We will keep costs to a minimum, use some things that we have in stock here at Faceless Arts.
28.	I hope that's ok for now. Please let me know when you are free for Skype.

(Email from Bev to Tea, 27/04/2015)

The first of Bev's questions relates to the number of performers (23). She lists the names of those involved in the training workshops for the conceptualisation stage, some of whom she has been in contact with through social media in the interim. As she indicates earlier in her design ideas for the puppets (22), the number of performers available for the production will affect the creation of the objects and the devising process. At least seven performers are required for the puppets themselves due to their proposed size. Bev needs to confirm who will perform because she will need to reconsider the production design if not enough performers are available. The puppets, their design, how they are constructed and the proposed synopsis are contingent on the people available to perform.

Bev then asks about the proposed locations for the making of the puppets, the props and the costumes (24) and whether space might be available at A.M.T.'s base. During the

forthcoming visit she hopes to finish sourcing and making the objects, props, puppets and costumes and also to devise the production. Bev is aware that the D.D.T., the former church used for the training workshops during the conceptualisation stage, is also used by other groups. She suggests that these two activities – making and devising – need separate physical spaces. The making processes will be messy and potentially run into the evenings due to the timescales required.

The next question regards funding and the freelance puppet-maker, Jonny, who is based in the south of the UK (25). He needs to travel to West Yorkshire in order to assist Bev with the initial preparations and Bev requests an additional day's funding to pay for his time. An exchange is offered. Bev will work with Jonny to prepare the puppets ahead of the next visit but will not charge A.M.T. for her time. She offers her own time for free, as a 'gift'. This can be framed as the kind of gift that is both 'obligatory and interested' (Mauss, [1954]2011:i). Abbing describes the arts economy as 'exceptional' (2008) with this kind of offer of time existing in an 'imaginary area of voluntary exchanges' (p.39). There is a ritual in the exchange. It is assumed that those working in the creative industries give unpaid labour and that not all labour is costed.

In her critique of the new culture industries, McRobbie describes the artist as human capital (2016). She considers the 'romanticism' of the self-employed artist (p.70) but explains how this way of working, the 'creative multi-tasker', 'anticipates the future of work' (ibid). Both Bev and Jonny are creative entrepreneurs. McRobbie states:

The cheerful, upbeat, passionate, entrepreneurial person who is constantly vigilant in regard to opportunities for projects or contracts must display a persona that mobilises the need to be at all times one's press and publicity agent (p.74).

Bev offers her own time to A.M.T. for free, in exchange for paying Jonny for an additional day. For a small arts organisation, budgets are managed closely. Time is offered and given in return for funding. Time occupies a material space, as something that can be given and taken.

Bev then turns to the planned visit to Slovenia, asking whether A.M.T. might know of someone who might be able to assist with the making and technical aspects of the production (26). She suggests that they do not perform, but instead focus on the objects and materials involved. No costs are discussed for this particular activity which forms an additional act of exchange.

After consideration of the deadlines for the making process, the focus returns again to costs and funding (27). Bev explicitly states that they (F.A.) will 'keep costs to a minimum' through making use of materials which they already have to hand. In this way the production logistics mirror elements within the next text, as devised by Bev. Frugality and making use of whatever is to hand are integrated into practice and performed through the process. This links back to Bev's request for funding for Jonny (25). The message is that they are not overspending, that they are making savings and offering themselves (Bev) without cost. Bev is communicating her commitment to the project and requesting that A.M.T. do likewise.

At the end of the email, Bev repeats her initial request to talk to Tea about the arrangements (4), specifically asking again for a Skype call (28) to confirm the plans. Skype is multimodal, visual and sound, a digital mediator (Licoppe and Morel, 2012; Rowsell and Walsh, 2011). Burnett and colleagues call this '(im)materiality'. They describe this as the 'reflexive and recursive relationship between the material and immaterial' (2014:92). Bev seeks to 'mediate reality', and therefore make concrete her proposed plans, as communicated via email, through Skype. This will then able her to contract the puppet-maker, source the resources required and start to create the puppets. Digital mediation is required before the material objects can be created and costs, both in terms of finances and time (and also to some extent space), can be committed.

7.8.3. Planning the making: images and sketches

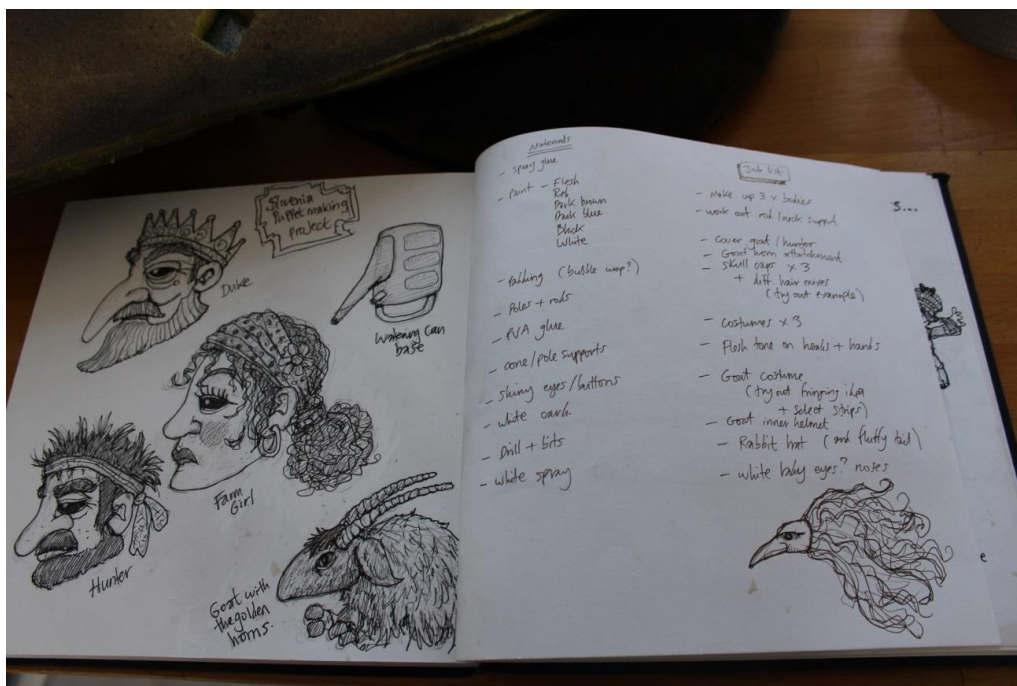
Following Bev's communication with Tea, the funding for the additional time is confirmed. As the project continues, Jonny the puppet-maker is contracted to assist Bev. A couple of days prior to the planned trip to Ljubljana, he travels from London to West Yorkshire to source materials and to start to work on the puppet designs and preliminary puppet bodies with Bev. Here the focus is on Jonny's drawings in his sketchpad.

Prior to his visit, Bev sends him the draft synopsis and her initial ideas, in the same way as she did for Tea. He is assigned the task of designing the puppets, props and costumes, all of which will be used in devising the production and during the performance itself. His sketchbook shows his initial ideas for how the puppet heads might be constructed and what they might look like. He uses a black ink pen and a black canvas-bound sketchbook which includes the ideas and planning for all his freelance puppetry projects. A double-page is committed to the Zlatorog project.

The story has travelled. Core elements have been passed from Bev to Jonny, by email and through phone conversations. From these, Jonny has sketched out some initial ideas for how the puppet heads might look. In Iedema's terms, Jonny's sketches and lists demonstrate a process of resemiotisation which directly serves to develop the emergent community of performers:

the community transposes and reifies its knowledges, techniques and technologies, as well as its interpersonal, social and cultural practices and positionings (2001:36).

Jonny, as freelancer contracted to the project for a few days, adds his own authorship to the process through the specification of objects, the designs he sketches and through his actions. His experience, his expertise and the types of puppetmaking in which he specialises now shape the story as it travels forward. His contribution to the transient project community is one of reification of the 'knowledges, techniques and technologies' involved in puppetmaking.



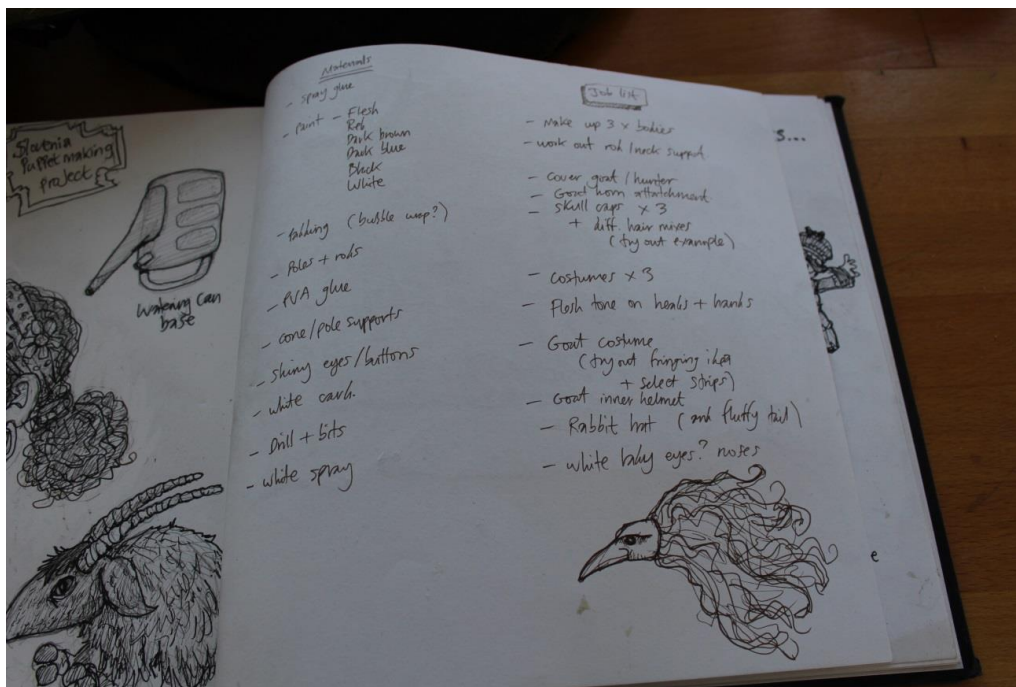


Figure 19: Sketches for puppets

The left hand page is entitled 'Slovenia Puppet-Making project', marked out with a double line border, giving the effect of an emblem. Jonny has drawn the four main characters, as depicted by Bev in the synopsis and design ideas (7.7.2). Bev's ideas include links to natural resources and to waste. Each of the puppet heads is to be constructed using an inverted watering can as the base. The spout of the watering can becomes the puppet's nose. The three human puppets have pronounced noses, to be occupied by the spout once constructed. Each has distinctive headwear.

To the upper left hand side of the page is the 'Venetian' character, labelled as 'Duke' by Jonny, in doing so further elevating his status from merchant. He wears a crown on his head, giving the appearance of regality. A crown implies wealth and nobility: richness. It contrasts with the hunter's headwear, a scrap of fabric wrapped roughly around his head and tied at the back. The hunter too has facial hair, but it is noticeably less groomed than the Duke's, denoting his lowlier status and his occupation. In the centre of the page is the Farm Girl (both words now capitalised at the start by Jonny). She has a ring in her ear and curly hair, tied back, with a headscarf wrapped around her head. Her scarf is larger than that of the hunter.

All three characters have exaggerated features: large noses, large eyes and large mouths. Elements align. The Hunter and the Duke both have facial hair, and solemn expressions. The Farm Girl and the Hunter both have scarves wrapped round their heads. The Farm Girl and

the Duke both have jewellery: the Duke with his crown and the Farm Girl with her earring. All three characters embody an 'historicness', with the features and accessories serving to demonstrate that they are not 'modern'. The story is an old one, from an unspecified historic past.

In the lower right hand corner is a sketch for the Zlatorog, the 'goat with the golden horns'. In the sketch these are long and spiralled. His 'coat', as depicted in the sketch, is roughly drawn. All the puppet heads face in the same direction towards the left of the page. Likewise the watering can.

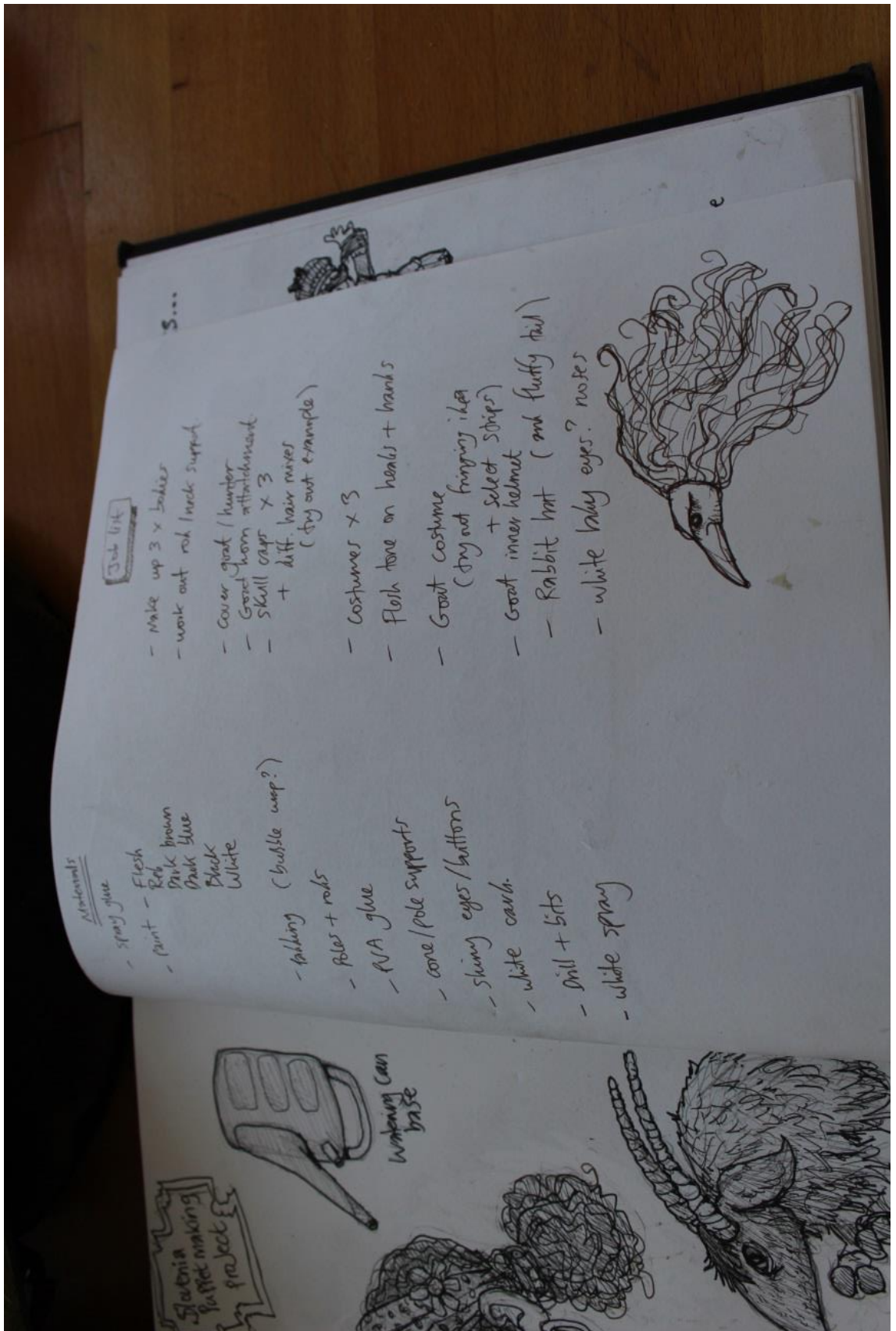


Figure 20: Lists of materials

On the right hand side of the sketchbook, the page is divided into two columns by text. The first column on the left hand side is headed 'materials, underlined twice,' and lists what Jonny needs to create the puppets he has designed.

- Spray glue
- Paint
 - Flesh
 - Red
 - Dark brown
 - Dark blue
 - Black
 - White
- Filling (bubble wrap?)
- Poles and rods
- Pva glue
- Cone / pole supports
- Shiny eyes / buttons
- White cavla
- Drill and bits
- White spray

(list from Jonny's sketchbook, May 2015)

A number of these items must be purchased in advance, although some of the items might be sourced at F.A.'s base as Bev has suggested to Tea (7.8.2).

On the right hand side of the page there is the heading 'Job list'. Jonny has drawn a box around the title and added scribbled shading on the left hand side and along the bottom, giving the words a 3D effect. This list identifies each of the core activities involved in creating the puppets and props for the production.

- Make up 3 x bodies

- Work out rod / neck support
- Cover goat /hunter
- Gold horn attachment
- Skull caps x 3

+ diff. hair mixes

(try out example)

- Costume x 3
- Flesh tone on heads and hands
- Goat costume

(try out fringing idea

+ select strips)

- Goat inner helmet
- Rabbit hat (and fluffy tail)
- White baby eyes? Noses

(‘to do’ list from Jonny’s sketchbook, May 2015)

In the bottom right hand side of the page is a sketch for another character. Although not labelled like the other sketches, it depicts one of the ‘White Ladies’. It has a long beak and a mop of ‘hair’. Like the others, it faces to the left hand side of the page.

The sketchbook is set out on a trestle table by the front windows of the main studio. Tea had been able to provide the use of this space for the majority of the making stage. In addition to the offices for the core A.M.T. staff (Goro and Špela, the administrator) there are two rooms: a large studio with windows to the back and to the front and a smaller side room. The performers are using the entire room as a making space. Jonny uses the smaller room as his own base as he continues to make the puppet heads.



Figure 21: The performers work in the studio with the sketchbook on the table by the front window

Jonny's sketchbook includes sketches for other projects for which he is involved as a freelance maker. He tells me about one of these, an Urdu language oratorio for the Alchemy Festival at the Southbank Centre, 'The Tragic Love of Sohini and Mahival', by the Baluji Shrivastav collective, for which he had created a series of shadow puppets to 'translate' the Urdu language opera for a non-Urdu speaking audience. This offered an alternative approach to surtitles, a visual translation, taking place simultaneously and in dialogue with the main performance. The sketchbook pages for the opera project follow a similar format, with designs for characters on the left hand side and lists on the right hand side.

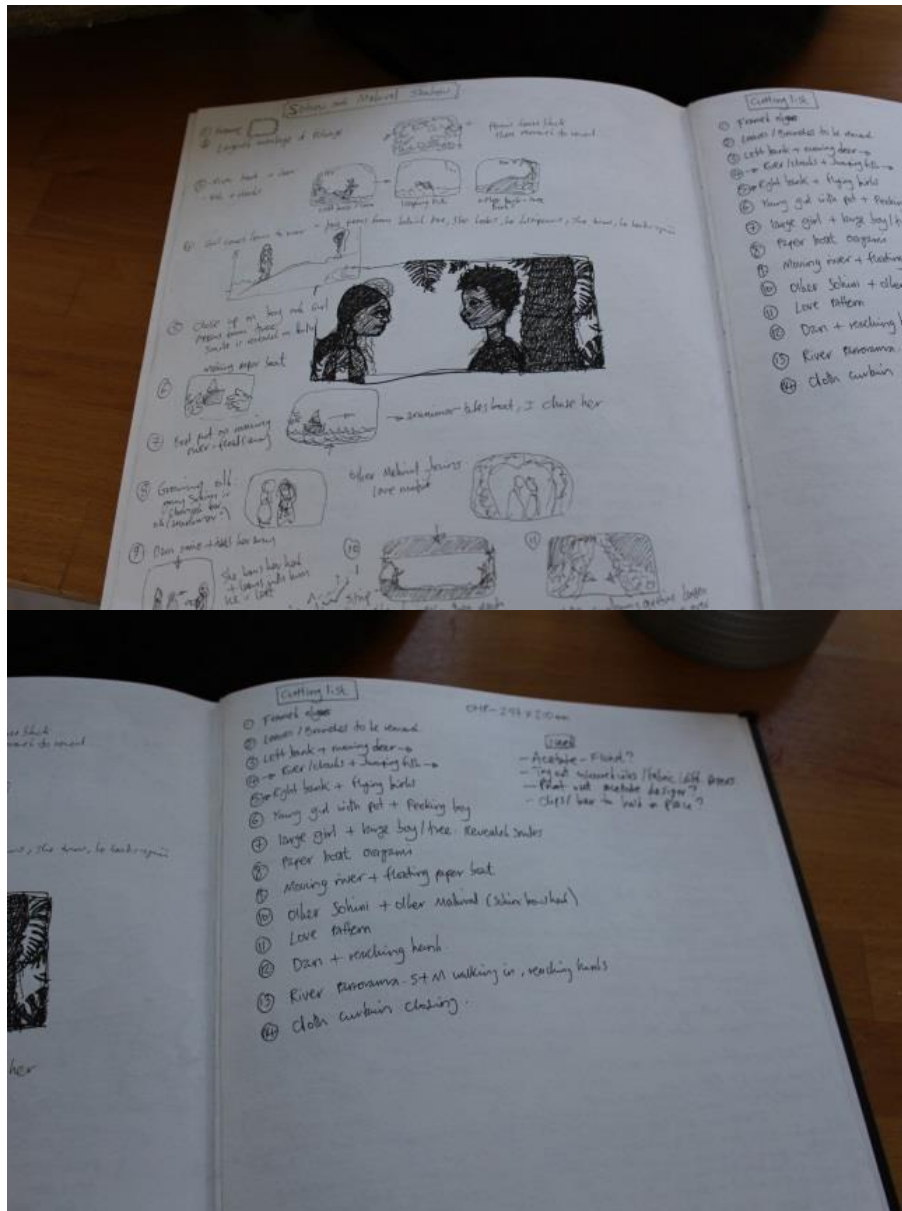


Figure 22: Sketches for the puppetry for The Tragic Love of Sohini and Mahival

Jonny continues to refer to his sketches across the making process. He is in Ljubljana from Thursday until Sunday, leaving on Sunday afternoon, and works intensively throughout this period to build the puppets.

7.8.4. Creating the performance: the construction of the Zlatorog

The final point of analysis in this chapter is the construction of the Zlatorog's head and costume. The head and the costume are built up from the initial watering can skeletons made by Jonny and Bev in Yorkshire. The focus here is on the Zlatorog's head as it is gradually constructed by Jonny, based on his preliminary sketches and on the overall design

for the production, outlined by Bev (7.8.2) as an initial plan and developed further through Jonny's input.

For the objects themselves, in terms of their design and their creation, Jonny is the main actor. Although Bev is directing the production, Jonny is the designer and is responsible for the aesthetics. He has overall responsibility for the successful creation of the main character puppets, in addition to the props and objects that will be used to create and perform the production. Due to Jonny's limited availability in terms of time, he must also ensure that the puppets are usable by the time he leaves Slovenia. The success of the puppets lies not only in their creation but in how they can fulfil their ultimate function: to communicate the story in the street. The production's success hinges on the puppets and what they can do. They must move correctly and the actors must be able to manipulate them successfully. They must communicate fluently as a 'puppet-performer-complex'.

Jonny has worked with Bev on a number of street puppetry projects over the course of F.A.'s existence and they have experience of coordinating their expertise in making and performing. He is also a performer and has experience of constructing puppets and objects to be used in street performance and generally outdoors. The puppets must be finished, or as close to finished as possible. They must be durable as they will be moved around from location to location for the festival and used in different weather conditions. They must also move effectively. The planned puppets are in contrast to the newspaper puppet created during the conceptualisation stage. They must do much more. In their analysis of children's play in a makerspace, Wohlwend and colleagues consider how intra-action 'reframes materiality from design affordance to a cycling interplay produced by the physicality, fluidity and messiness of entangled bodies, things and places' (2017:447). Jonny's design and creation of puppets can be seen as intra-action, with the objects, the puppet heads and Jonny's skills and experience, entangled with each other and with the production process. The intra-action itself enacting agency, with Jonny's emerging through the objects' creation.

The construction of the Zlatorog's head is documented in the following series of images. These are presented in three parts. Part One shows the head as it is gradually constructed. Part Two shows the costume in its development stage and as it is tested out by Gaja, the performer who plays the part of the Zlatorog. Part Three shows the final stages of the creation of the head and costume.

Part One: Constructing the heads





Figure 23: Part One, the Zlatorog head under construction

The images set out in Part One above, show the construction of the Zlatorog's head, a mask which will be worn on Gaja's own head. In the first image three heads are shown: the Farm girl (left hand side), the Hunter (centre), and the Zlatorog (right hand side). These are the heads as created by Bev and Jonny in Yorkshire, UK, and transported over to Slovenia in a suitcase. The Zlatorog head has been constructed from a watering can and a blue yoga mat. The watering can forms the structure of the head and the yoga mat has been shaped to form the shape of the face and the head, then curved around and shaped to form the ears. The eyes are made from pingpong balls fixed onto the front of the face. Foam is used to pad out the features at the front of the goat's head. The image of the Hunter's head shows parts of the watering can (red) not yet covered, above the nose and between the eyes.

The second and fourth images show the head propped up on a stand in the smaller room, painted with shiny black paint, except for the pingpong balls which are kept white. The third image shows the horns, also transported over from the UK. These are sticks, wrapped with foam and bound with wire, painted gold. They are long and pointed. They contrast in size, form, and colour with the horns made for the goat created during the making stage (7.8.1).

In the fifth image the horns have been affixed onto the head. Jonny has improvised a floor stand for the puppet, which he has taped onto the chair back and leg. The horns have been emplaced and white fake fur fabric has been attached to the head from between the

Zlatorog's eyes and over the back of the structure. The fur fabric has been affixed to the front of the face, below the mouth, to create a 'beard'. In the final image brown paint has been added to the goat's head, onto the ears and underneath the eyes. The nose is painted white, with a flesh tone for the nose. The pingpong ball eyes are bright yellow.

Part Two: Trying the head

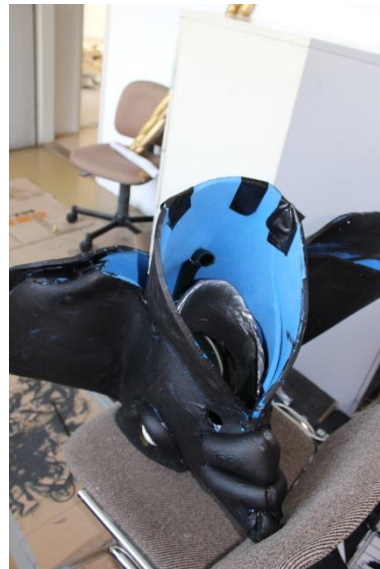




Figure 24: Part Two, the costume is put together

Significant progress is made on the Zlatorog costume and head on Saturday afternoon. Bev and Jonny had visited to the A.M.T. storage space to source materials and objects and found a gorilla costume, left over from a previous performance, and brought it back to the studio. This was to be the costume for the Zlatorog. The costume has implications for the performer who will play Zlatorog. As set out in the synopsis and design ideas (7.7.2) the Zlatorog is played by one performer and is not a puppet. Its size and its thickness mean that any performer who wishes to play the part must be strong and able to withstand some discomfort. Gaja volunteers.

The first two images show Gaja trying on the Zlatorog head, guided by Jonny. He needs to ensure that it fits, but also that there is enough space for the performer to breathe and to

move their head. The Zlatorog should be 'playful and mischievous', following Bev's synopsis (7.8.2) for the beginning of the production. I jot down the activity in my fieldnotes.

It's another afternoon of activity. It's busy. The groups move around, working on different aspects of the making. I interview Gaja while she sews the chest fur onto the goat costume. They found a gorilla costume in the store and it's that which is forming the basis of the main body costume. It looks hot. I don't think I could wear it. Gaja is tall and strong. She says she can handle it. She's trying the mask on, it presses her nose and she can't breathe. Is this a problem she says? Yes. J will work on it.

(Fieldnotes, May 2015)

In the third image Gaja moves around the building, wearing the Zlatorog head mask. Bev and another performer watch and work with her to ensure that she can move the head and that she has space around her nose and mouth to breathe. Adaptations are made to the head, widening the available space around her face. Image five shows Gaja trying on the former gorilla suit, now transformed into goat costume, and moving around the studio space. Another image shows the head at rest, prior to its painting, with the horns positioned in order to dry.

Gaja tries the whole costume, with the head and the body suit. She continues to make adjustments herself to the head, testing it out inbetween adjusting it and fixing it with tape. At the time I am trying to document the diverse activities taking place in the studios, while also working on elements of the props and costumes myself.

Gaja tries the whole costume on and walks round the hallway. The mask is too tall for the ceiling. She can't walk in and out of doors. It seems hard to work out proportions when thinking about being out in the street for the performance. It's a small cramped space full of stuff now. She looks fantastic.

So here's a snapshot:

10.45am. J is working on the goat head. Gaja is sewing the white faux fur onto the goat costume. Bev, Sara Z, Vesna and Beck are making old boots into hooves for the goat. Natalija and Ana are making the white ladies out of mop heads.

+++

Sara is sewing sleeves for the Venetian's costume.

(Fieldnotes, May 2015)

The mask, when placed on Gaja's head, is taller than the height of the room. This makes it difficult for Gaja to walk in and out of the rooms. Jonny and Bev lead her into the stairwell so that she can stand up straight. Different performers are taking responsibility for different elements of the making process. Gaja, as the performer who will play Zlatorog, focuses on the goat costume. She sews the white fake fur onto the front of the costume, linking it to the fur that has been glued onto the head.

Part Three: Putting Zlatorog together



Figure 25: Part Three, the final touches

In Part Three, the images show Zlatorog and costume in the final stages of development, for which Gaja wears the costume while Jonny works to add additional material to it. Zlatorog has a rag cloak, made from black and grey fabric, the same construction as the puppet wigs, aligning with the hair and beard wigs which are made for the Hunter and the Venetian, and with the blonde wig made for the Farm Girl.

The studio space is covered with plastic sheeting and Jonny, after putting on a boilersuit, continues to paint the costume and the head with Gaja still wearing it.

Resemiotisation here, as developing in dialogue with the needs of the performer, continues to imbue authority in the crafting process. The size, materiality and scope of the head and the costume align with that of the three human puppets created alongside Zlatorog. These are larger than Bev had foreseen, their size only becoming evident during the making processes in the studio space. It transpires that the puppets are only able to promenade and cannot perform the story without additional human intervention and assistance. Their communicative affordances are restricted by their size and scale. This has implications for how the production is devised and whether verbal language might be introduced to the story.

The discourses and practices embodied by the Zlatorog costume and head, combined with Gaja in costume and playing Zlatorog and those embodied by the puppets contribute to the transformation of the story, and, ultimately, the inclusion of verbal language. Multiple texts now exist requiring additional texts to be created and anticipated texts to be adapted. As the head and the costume are gradually created, developed and adapted, there is a convergence of discourses of people and things:

- Bev as the director, who is ultimately responsible for the production.
- Jonny, responsible for the making, who must ensure that all the puppets are ready for the devising process.
- Gaja, as the performer who will wear the head and costume to play the part of Zlatorog.
- The 'found' gorilla costume.
- The component parts of the head, including the yoga mat and the pingpong balls.
- The multiple texts now circulating through the production process.

Jonny's experience and expertise in puppetry – giant and street arts puppetry in particular – are woven into the super-sized head of the Zlatorog and the other puppets. The scale of the

puppets and the objects is larger than originally conceived. The historical bodies, the different approaches to puppetry, the making processes and the performer's needs are embodied within the making of the Zlatorog and within its final material hybrid state. But, from an intra-active perspective, there is an interdependence between the elements involved: an 'emergent and transient flow' (Wohlwend, 2017:456-457) is visible between objects and humans.

7.9. Summary of the analysis

Here the focus has been the folk story as it undergoes a series of resemiotisations over the course of the making stage of the production process. Bev communicates with Tea to make arrangements for a further visit to Ljubljana during which she will oversee the making of puppets, props and objects and devise a performance for the international street arts festival taking place that summer. This project involves returning to work with the same group of performers who have participated in the initial training workshop.

Four points of resemiotisation, or trans-semiotic moments, are identified and explored further within the analysis. The first of these is the crafting of newspaper puppets during the conceptualisation stage of the process. The puppets are made by the performers, and then used to practice their puppetry skills and to take out into the city streets to promenade and to interact with members of the public. The second point focuses on the communication between Bev and Tea, and the story as it is set out as a promotional text, a draft synopsis, a series of design ideas and logistical questions. In the third, the transient multilingual community expands to incorporate a professional puppet-maker, Jonny, who is tasked with sketching out initial designs for puppets and props based on Bev's draft synopsis. In the fourth, the construction processes of creating the Zlatorog head and costume are considered.

These multiple resemiotisations gather weight (Iedema, 2001:25). The folk story is made material, made physical and made more durable. Each of those involved interweaves their identities to the objects as they are created. The space of making is a space of negotiation.

7.10. Towards devising

The making stage continues. The performers work with Jonny and Bev, and with members of the A.M.T. team who weave in and out of the studio space. Jonny leaves and the performers keep working on the objects. Bev has a one-day break on Monday, inbetween the making and

the devising stages but the puppets must be as near to ready as possible by Sunday evening. On Tuesday morning the performers will change location, moving back to the D.D.T..

In Chapter Eight the analysis focuses on the devising processes and the street arts production, 'How Much Is Enough?', created by Bev with the performers for the street arts festival.

Chapter Eight: Stage Three, Devising, *or, the story is embodied*

We are generally aware that intact tradition is not so much a matter of preservation, as it is a matter of re-creation, by successive persons and generations, and in individual performances (Hymes, 1975:355).



8.1. Introduction

The third analytical chapter focuses on the devising stage of the production process.

Devising, as a core activity, took place directly after the making stage, during the same visit to Ljubljana by Bev. In practice these stages merged at many points. However, there was a defined temporal pause between the making activities and the devising activities. There was also a spatial pause as the workshops changed location from the A.M.T. studios to the D.D.T.. The two stages were punctuated in terms of time and space. In between, a day's rest was scheduled for Bev.

Jonny leaves Ljubljana on Sunday afternoon, and Bev and the performers work late into the evening to attempt to finish the puppets and props. Time – or lack of it – has been a challenge. The transnational nature of the project and availability of both the UK-based members of the group and the performers means that timescales for production are short. As a result, pressures are high. The objects have to be finished, or as close to finished as possible by the time Jonny leaves. The production must be devised and ready by Bev's departure. It is a time-bound endeavour.

As in the previous analytical chapters, the story's multiple resemiotisations are the focus for the analysis and a series of meaning-making episodes are considered. The production process consists of a 'stream of events / flow of objects' (Iedema, 2001:23). Across each of the stages, the processes, texts and objects created through the 'stream of events' render the production as something that is theoretically more 'durable' (p.24), more 'tangible'. As something more *possible*. The objects themselves embody this tangibility. The concerns held by Bev, Jonny, and the performers, some of which are raised across the process, others of which are kept hidden, entangle with actions and making processes. The same concerns, made material, made into action, then become logistical questions for the devising process. They also become tensions and obstacles.

8.2. Setting the scene

Later on Sunday evening Bev, Beck and I eat dinner on the upstairs terrace of the Mexican restaurant opposite the A.M.T. studios. Bev is tired and concerned about a number of issues arising over the course of the previous four days including a small hole in the studio floor made when drilling together one of the puppet skeletons. The studios have been recently

refurbished and during our first visit in March visit we had been shown round the premises by Goro and Tea, both of whom had been clearly proud of their space.

The puppets are very big and this will affect how they can move, how the performers can manipulate them and how the performance can be shaped. Bev has been aware of this since seeing the initial sketches and the ideas for using watering cans for the heads. Over the course of the making stage I have been aware of these as possible issues, but not directly involved in any discussions. I am present. I am participating and observing. But I am also missing so much. This raises questions for me about the partiality of any kind of observational research, in particular the partiality of ethnography in terms of the 'slice' of experience I am documenting and analysing. It also creates interesting challenges for how I, as researcher, might write about these tensions which are clearly inevitable in any kind of collaborative process. I am conscious of my 'invited' presence. I am also conscious of how important these international links are to Bev. Yet the physical make up of the puppets affects the production and how it might be devised. Iedema describes the ways in which commitments are made to particular meanings, through a series of reconfigurations and involvement of additional people:

Significantly then, with each step the process reconfigures the situation which it posited as its origin: an increasing number of people becomes involved; relevant meanings are committed to (2001:25).

Jonny's designs for the puppets reconfigure the meaning of the process and the production itself. The puppets are now, for the most part, completed. The size of the puppets, their weight, their very materiality, are now committed to. At the moment when the watering can was sketched out on paper, it was introduced and the potential performance reconfigured. In including (and contracting, and paying) Jonny, Bev committed to co-creating the pieces based on his designs and to entangling his voice with the production. Jonny's meaning making is entwined with Bev's meaning making and that of the wider group of performers. In this sense there is no going back and Bev must work with the objects she now has and with the resources she has to hand. The weight, in this case in quite literal terms, and 'institutional importance' (ibid) of the production are continually confirmed and reconfirmed. The processes of making, within the making stage and across previous and forthcoming stages of production, are resemiotisations which propel the production away from the provisional.

Organisationally relevant meanings are relegated from the relatively volatile sphere of embodied semiosis, into the naturalising contexts of spatio-material semiosis (cf. Bourdieu, 1994) (Iedema, 2001:26).

The production process has shifted the meanings to a context of 'spatio-material' semiosis. The email with the promo and the synopsis, and the Skype conversation that followed, marked a trans-semiotic moment at which the embodied semiosis became spatio-material semiosis. Jonny's contract and involvement is integral to the shift towards the spatio-material of the trajectory.

Iedema writes about tensions arising in the planning processes for a hospital planning project and the textual negotiation of conflict (2001). In engaging in this collaborative performance project, Bev is operating in a context in which she must negotiate potential conflicts and act as mediator. Challenges that arise must be communicated with care and sensitivity. As director she must deal with tensions and find solutions for logistical problems, for example those presented by the puppets' size and weight. The reputations of Bev's arts company and the puppet-maker must also be considered, particularly in a context of high competition for arts sector funding. Bev must account for the material consequences of the design choices. Any potential crises, for the production and for the reputation of those involved, must be carefully and sensitively averted.

On Monday we have a rest day. In the afternoon Bev returns to A.M.T. to gather up the puppets and materials for them to be transported to D.D.T. the following morning. I cycle up to Šiška to meet her after a couple of hours of writing. When I arrive, Bev, Tea and Goro are having coffee at a small outdoor cafe by the main road, just to the side of the A.M.T. building, discussing the plans for the production and contractual issues. After coffee we go back to A.M.T.'s offices to finish packing up the puppets for the next day. Bev communicates her relief: the small hole in the floor made during the making of the puppets is inconsequential. As we get to the door, a number of performers, many of whom are ŠUGLA students from previous years, are waiting to rehearse their proposed street arts shows and get feedback from Goro and Tea. They hope that these might be included in the programme for the street arts festival. We are invited to join in and offer our own thoughts on their work in progress. Later on I document the rehearsals in my fieldnotes.

We are invited outside to watch the performers do their rehearsals for T and G. Outside, I ask? Yes, this is street theatre! Says T. Oh yes, I laugh.

Out on the steps I take photos of the performers. L and J are in Alpine style lederhosen. There's a girl dressed as a clown. L is sitting on the step strumming a guitar and making up a song in Slovene about G. There's a box that must be part of L and J's set. They go round the corner to the back of the building.

When we reach the group a girl is running through her performance. She is dressed as a colourful chicken with bits of fabric stuck all over her. She's kind of lying on the ground and encouraging the group to pull them off her. It's quite intense. She then gets people to copy her jumping up and down. It's quite intimate somehow. We watch the performance. I'm not sure I would want to get so intimate with a performer. She resticks her fabric feathers onto someone else who then becomes the chicken and must copy her. L and J are helping her. Then it's feedback time. The group sit in a circle around T and G. I take some photos. There's something about the scene: The wasteland, the post office behind us, the people commuting home from work, the A.M.T. tower block to the right hand side, the 6 lanes of traffic on the Celovska cesta behind them. A man comes past us on a micro scooter.

The feedback takes a long time and is in Slovene. It's detailed. Bev and I are asked for our views. Bev is very diplomatic, 'we're a friendly audience, but others might not be as friendly'.

(Fieldnotes, June 2015)







Figure 26: The street arts festival rehearsals

After watching the performances for a little while we leave the studios and head back to the city on our bikes. The puppets are packed up and ready to be transported to the D.D.T. the next day.



Figure 27: The puppets are stored in the studio, then packed into boxes

8.3. Data collected

The following data were collected during the devising period:

Devising stage data collection	2 –5 June 2018
Fieldnotes	14,842 words
Photographs	78
Interactional Data	c. 3 hours
Video data	c. 6 hours

8.4. Data selected

The data presented in the analysis here trace the story as it continues to be translated, retranslated and resemiotised. The devising stage also incorporated the collection of a wide range of data. I positioned my laptop in various locations in the D.D.T. hall to capture the activity, in addition to using a hand-held video camera at various points. I captured stills using my camera and continued to write fieldnotes after the workshops ended. A small selection of this data is used in this analysis, again following the trajectory. These selection decisions affect the direction of the analysis (4.4, 4.6). As this stage unfolded I became increasingly conscious of the different ways I could start to ‘grapple with’ my data. Alternative choices might have led towards micro-analysis: fine grained multimodal analysis as the performers used the laptop screen to adjust their costumes. These decisions might have led to discussions of power and agency or creative tension within the workshop space being foregrounded in the analysis. These points do, necessarily, present themselves, but the focus remains on the story as trajectory. MacLure (2013b) writes about the wonder and complexity of data, or the ‘glow’ and intensity (2010) that data can hold. She describes the inbetween of data, its liminality, and states that it is through this inbetweenness that ‘the new’ presents itself:

It is this liminal condition, suspended in a threshold between knowing and unknowing, that prevents wonder from being wholly contained or recuperated as knowledge, and thus affords an opening into the new (2013b:228).

Collecting a mass of ethnographic data creates a corpus of inbetweenness, the potentiality of which is, at times, so great it can lead to a kind of stasis. MacLure’s description of engagements with data as ‘experiments with order and disorder’ (p.229) are particularly

apposite for ethnographic research, in which order and disorder are captured across the data in an often non-linear way.

8.5. Methodological considerations

The devising stage followed directly from the making stage. Once it started I was already in situ, immersed in the activities and embedded within the group. There was no need for new introductions or a refamiliarisation with the context and less for me to do in practical terms. I could observe and make myself small.

8.6. The focal points

The analysis here focuses on a series of ‘focal points’. These are trans-semiotic moments at which the text trajectory shifts in meaning making and the text is transformed. These moments, following Li (2011), have ‘outstanding significance’ (p.1224). In this sense, they mark a point of resemiotisation, a point at which the meaning making shifts.

8.6.1. Describing the plans: in the taxi

The analysis starts as Bev explains her ideas and setting out the plans for the following days of making and devising. She tells me her plans while we are travelling in the taxi from the airport to the city at the beginning of the trip to Ljubljana. The data are audio recorded using an iPhone, and later transcribed. The taxi radio is playing in the background.

8.6.2. Acquiring props: in the store

Bev meets the performers to source objects to be used in the devising process and for the production. We go to the underground store in which the A.M.T. team keep props, objects and materials from previous productions. She describes the specific materials for which she is looking. The data here are photographs from the store and fieldnotes.

8.6.3. Buying more props: in the supermarket

Bev and Tea visit the local supermarket to purchase tin cans (from tinned food) to be used to affix the puppets to the performers in a way that enables them to manipulate and move the puppets effectively and without causing too much pain.

8.6.4. Writing the script: Tabor

The analytical focus is a short written script with dialogue for the production. Bev works with the performers to consider questions of verbal language within the production. The group make decisions about which 'named' languages to include in the production and develop a rationale for the inclusion of verbal dialogue, based on the emergent production design.

8.6.5. Setting out the scenario: Tabor

Bev sets out a scenario for the production. This is based on the devising process and represents a collaborative piece of work with input from all members of the team. The data are taken from a written document that is subsequently used as the basis for the production.

8.7. Analytical framework

The process of 'reorganisation' (Lemke, 2000b:103), or multiple reorganisations, continues through these trans-semiotic moments. During these processes, the production increases in durability and materiality (Iedema, 2001:36), building on and using the puppets, props and costumes which have been created and sourced by Jonny, Bev and the performers during the making stage. Although situated within a timeframe that leaves little space for error, the units are becoming bigger and slower (Lemke, 2000b:101). The story trajectory includes at this stage the objects, or interactions occurring at the lower levels. The devising stage and the processes of creating the final production propel the trajectory towards its final objective: the performed piece. Elements of the making and devising processes, for example negotiation of potential challenges and conflicts, serve to push forward the higher-level relationship between F.A. and A.M.T. and, around it, the developing European network for street arts education and training.

Kell suggests the concept of 'recontextualisation' (drawing from Bernstein, 1996; ; Iedema, 1999, 2003; Linell, 1998; Sarangi, 1998) as a way to develop understandings of 'meaning making processes as they traverse social groups, time and space' (2006:149). She uses the framework of activity theory to consider contexts as activity systems in themselves, stating that 'an activity system is an ongoing, object-directed tool mediated human interaction which is historically conditioned' (p.149).

Considering the production processes which propel the story along its trajectory, creating threads and traces as it moves, as ‘activity systems’ enables the contexts to be viewed as entangled with the process and the actors involved. The production process as a whole can be seen as a complex activity system, within which are smaller complexes. Aspects of each stage, and each system, are autonomous and – to some degree self-contained – as they are resemiotised into lines on a CV or images documenting and displaying projects on an archived website.

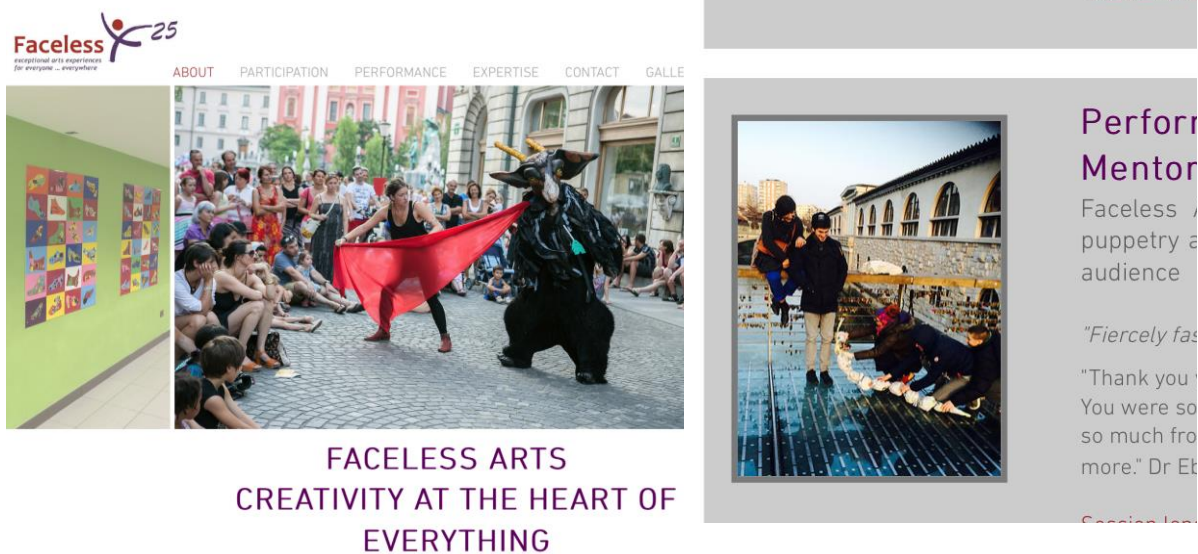


Figure 28: Images of How Much Is Enough from the F.A. website

8.8. Analysis: the devising of ‘How Much Is Enough?’

8.8.1. Describing the plans: in the taxi

Here the analytical focus shifts back in time a few days from the puppets created during the making stage (7.8.4). The data are drawn from a conversation between Bev and me as we arrived in Ljubljana, travelling in a taxi from the airport towards the city centre.

At the time of recording, I had not necessarily considered the transcript of this particular conversation as ‘data’. At this point in the research process I was experimenting with recording conversations during the periods of time I referred to as ‘liminal spaces’. I assumed I would use these for ‘contextualising’ my study and for filling in the gaps, especially because my fieldnotes might be written after the workshops (see Chapter Six).

These liminal spaces included conversations outside of the making workshops, during coffee breaks or lunch, which was mostly taken communally, and as we walked from venue to venue. These are interactions in transit. But as I became more familiar with my data, these moments emerged as more significant than I had originally thought. I wrote reflectively about these spaces for a TLANG project blog post (Appendix E).

One of the most interesting aspects of ethnographic research is the information that we absorb, as researchers, in the spaces and times 'betwixt and between', to use Victor Turner's description of liminality within the context of fieldwork. I consider these periods of hanging around for the next workshop to start or travelling from one place to another as being liminal spaces and I'm starting to understand the importance of these periods of 'waiting'.

(TLANG blog post, June 2015)

In this way, data continually presented themselves in 'surprising ways' (MacLure, 2013b:231) across the entirety of the research process. This often occurred in opposition to the categories I sought to impose on my data. Over the course of this doctorate, and in parallel with my research for the TLANG project more generally and with my other research and evaluation projects, I have gradually learned how to let the data speak and be open to my own engagement with them, to generous attention (Ingold, 2014), or attention and experimentation, as MacLure puts it:

But we need to be attentive and open to surprise to recognise the invitation; and once invited in, our task is to experiment and see where that takes us (ibid).

The taxi journey presented an opportunity for me to ask Bev about how she saw the production developing. I wanted to understand more about the synopsis she had written and her plans for the following few days. The data presented here are divided into five parts. As with Lothar's narrative in 6.8, the analytical framework is three-level with Bev now positioned as author, teller and animator. She is explaining how she has conceived the story as it will be told and animated by the performers. Although an elicited narrative, it arose in natural conversation during the taxi journey and multiple 'small stories' emerge in the conversation.

These levels are conceived as follows, mirroring section 6.8, following the small stories approach (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Simpson, 2011):

- firstly, *narrative interaction*: the story being told, the characters within the story and

their interactions with each other;

- secondly, *spatial interaction*: Bev's own relationship to the story, the process of production and the place in which the story will be told for the production, and;
- thirdly, *group interaction*: Bev's construction of herself as a teller, and the performers as recipients of the story who will then become tellers.

Part One: Bev's rationale for the synopsis

Part One shows the conversation as it begins.

- 1 J: Okay
- 2 B: so when I wrote that little synopsis (..) what was (.) really important for me is to break down quite a complex (..) narrative into a series of action points?
- 3 J: Yeah
- 4 B: so that (.) it's (.) you know it's very simple even there's a there's not a lot of (.) there's a few bits of (.) description (.) as in the character or setting (.) but it's (...) so and so comes and does this (...) and then does that (.) and then (.) this happens
- [it's very] (...)
- 5 J: [okay]
- 6 B: kind of (..) clear (...) so that (..) you don't (..) because when you then perform it you can put loads [into it]
- 7 J: [yeah]
- 8 B: makes it very clear what that (.) action is
- 9 J: [okay]
- 10 B: [action] to action (xxx)

(Data excerpt, conversation in taxi, May 2015)

I start the conversation (*okay*) (1). We had started to talk about the plans already and I had asked Bev whether I could use my iPhone to record. She had laughed and agreed. Bev starts by explaining her rationale for writing the short synopsis (7.8.2.). She had taken Lothar's narrative and, seeking to simplify it, created what she calls 'action points'. The purpose here had been to simplify the story and break it down into actions by each character (4), divided into paragraphs. Bev had worked from a number of sources, including the notes she had made during Lothar's narration of the story (6.8). In addition to sending Bev Copeland's telling of the Zlatorog, I had passed on the film I had made of Lothar telling the story.

Bev explains that creating short actions is a way of making the story 'clear' (6). Clarity of story-telling is important for a street arts production: the audience must be able to follow the story and understand what is happening in a busy street context. The translation of the text into a synopsis also functions to enable the performers to know what they must do at each point and the action they must execute.

Level one: narrative interactions

For level one of the analysis, the narrative interaction, the action points establish how Bev has decided the story should be performed. The actions are also interactions between the three human characters, between the characters and the Zlatorog, between the characters and the natural world. They represent Bev's own engagement with the text and are an act of resemiotisation. Bev's aims for the performance and her historical knowledge of how stories are transformed into outdoor performance (and performed) are recontextualised (Iedema, 2001:24) as a text which serves to facilitate the devising of the performance.

Level two: spatial interactions

For level two and the spatial interactions between Bev and the story, she positions herself as author (2) and as someone with authority to take it and reorganize it (*what was really important for me*). Bev has agency to reimagine the story and orientates herself towards it and it towards her. Her own ideas, as director, about what is really important in this particular version of the story are foregrounded. Iedema describes two project aims as 'complementary and inherent'. These are summarised as follows:

- the abstraction of meanings: moving from 'localised difference and concern' towards 'specialised and technical discourses and practices';
- inscribing and moving towards 'increasingly resistant materials' (Iedema, 2001:24)

The discourse of the synopsis, in the form of action points for each character, shifts towards a production, which although ultimately ephemeral is made from 'increasingly resistant materials'. These materials here are also embodied (the performers). The production itself is the ultimate objective and the end point for the multiple resistant materials.

Level 3: group interactions

In terms of level three and group interactions, Bev uses 'you' (4, 6) as she describes the process to me, as a researcher with no background in performance or street arts. In using

the word 'you', on the one hand she explains what happens with this kind of translation process – developing a story for performance – and on the other hand she implies that this is standard practice. This asserts her own role as director, as narrator of the processes involved in preparing a story for performance. Its trajectory towards the performance requires a manipulation of 'multimodal affordances' for which the story must be prepared. A mediated approach (Scollon and Scollon, 2004) considers the process as carried out by agentic subjects, as explored in Wohlwend and colleagues' study of young children's engagement with a makerspace and focusing on a researcher vignette:

A mediated approach to materiality interprets the opening vignette as multimodal design by agentic subjects who manipulate material objects to realize the meaning potential of materials, produce a cohesive social space, and use these materials to negotiate their cultural and material worlds (Wohlwend et al., 2017:446).

In creating the synopsis and starting the making process, Bev has designed the story for it to be manipulated (through material objects).

Part Two: imagining the performers (human, animal, vegetable)

In the second part, Bev continues to provide a commentary on the process of writing the synopsis and selecting (and inventing) characters from the story.

- 11 J: and at this point (..) how much do you think it will change from what you've (.) written? (...) or do you
- 12 B: I think the basic narrative will (.) it will (.) stay the same but it will have (.) loads more humans
- 13 J: Okay
- 14 B: because it will be what those performers bring to it (...) and you know what we discover (...) you know (...)I think I put in the narrative that she was tending pumpkins and now she might be chasing a chicken (laughs)
- 15 and (..) the-e (..) because that's that's the conversation (..) with Jonny and I (..) as we've been making
- 16 (...) [and] a game of (..)
- 17 J: [uhuh]
- 18 B: It's easier to (...) to have something living then (..) erm you can chase than with a plant (..) the whole kind of thing is a bit static
- 19 J: [yeah]

(Data excerpt, conversation in taxi, May 2015)

I ask about how much Bev envisages the story might change over the course of the making and devising stages (11). This is a question about the next stages of resemiotisation and recontextualisation. What does she think will happen? I make specific reference to the written synopsis (7.8.2.) (*from what you've written*). The draft synopsis has become the recontextualised version of the story that is adopted as a 'working text', as foundation for the production. Bev replies that she does not anticipate changes to the main story (12). Key elements of the folk tale, for example the main human characters and the general sequence of events, will remain within the devised production. Any changes will relate to the 'humans', of which there will be more in number (*loads more*). The 'humans' in this case are the performers. Reference to 'humans' here has two implications. By 'humans', Bev means the human performers (the ŠUGLA students themselves) and the human characters within the production (14). The two are interdependent. The number of performers available for the production, their preferences (in terms of the characters they wish to play) and their physicality (embodied and in terms of strength and mobility) will determine the number of 'humans' in the production (*because it will be what those performers bring to it*). For Bev this is a process of discovery (14).

Bev then starts to describe a change she has already made to what she calls 'the narrative' (14). Originally (7.8.2.3) she had placed the farm girl in the field (*a farmer girl tends her crops*). In the conversation she refers to the farm girl 'tending pumpkins' (14) and explains that she is potentially going to change the pumpkins to chickens. The rationale for pumpkins is linked to Bev's desire to create an 'authentic' production. Pumpkin-seed oil is a Slovenian delicacy. She laughs at the idea of changing the pumpkins to chickens, suggesting that the creative process is one which enables objects to be switched around and played with. A process that appears absurd: from pumpkins to chickens. Bev continues with her explanation for this change, which is linked to movement and visual performance (18). In her preparatory work with Jonny she has been considering the scenography and the translation of the story to a visual performance (15). She contrasts pumpkins with chickens. Pumpkins are 'static' whereas chickens are living. Something 'living' (such as a chicken) is mobile and will enable the farm girl character to move. A 'plant' is static and would be less visually arresting. The performance must move. Movement is integral: each action point depicts a movement. In this case, an agential approach to materiality is implied (Barad, 2007). It shifts from interaction, to 'intra-action':

The concept of intra-action reframes materiality from design affordance to a cycling interplay produced by the physicality, fluidity and messiness of entangled bodies, things and places (Wohlwend et al., 2017:447).

Level one: narrative interaction

For level one of the analysis, the narrative interaction, Bev describes specific micro level shifts in characters – from a plant to an animal – which in turn moves the interactions and creates mobile characters. The farm girl is the subject (14) and is the character tending the pumpkins or chasing the chickens. But the type of object (whether plant or animal) affects her interaction with it and therefore the movement of the character and the potential audience engagement with the story.

Level two: spatial interaction

For level two and the spatial interaction, the suggested change in ‘object’ from pumpkin to chicken, from ‘plant’ to ‘living’ and from ‘static’ to something that ‘can be chased’, has specific implications for the performers’ use of space for the production. In a city street or square, the audience will be made of those who have elected to come to watch it, those whose interest has been piqued by the spectacle, and those just passing by who catch glimpses. The criteria for performing in the open air are different to those for performing inside. Street artists must consider how to work with ‘chance factors’ (Mason, 1992: 5). Mason describes some of the complexities of performing outside:

The difficulty of hearing text outside, means that there is more emphasis on visual image, physical skills and improvisation than on the written word (Mason, 1992:10).

Modal choices are crucial: spoken words cannot necessarily be heard. But beyond this, Bev and Jonny must make choices around objects (animate or inanimate) and the actions around them. These choices are spatially-oriented and relate to the orchestration of space through performance and interaction with space (and people and objects in space).

Level three: group interaction

For level three of the analysis, Bev’s construction of herself as teller (as narrator and author) develops across the stages of her description. She starts by saying ‘I think’, opening to give her opinion (as director, as expert) as someone who has directed multiple productions of this kind (12). She then shifts from ‘I’ to ‘we’, referring to the group of performers as a

collective, working together to devise the production (14). She returns to 'I' to explain what she has potentially changed in the synopsis, and then shifts back to 'we' (15) to refer to Jonny in addition to herself, then clarifying 'Jonny and I' and continuing with 'we'.

Part Three: interactions between humans, animals and puppets

Bev then describes her plans for the production in terms of the characters within the story and the interactions between the puppets and the human performers.

- 20 B: [(xxx)] so the idea is (...) that the (...) prince the Venetian (...) has (.) a Page er like a character (.) a (..) servant character (.) a-and the hunter is hunting a rabbit
- 21 J: Okay
- 22 B: which is a hu a character and (.) the (.) farm girl is (.) tending the chickens which is a character so there are three giant puppets and three (.) human characters plus Zlatorog
- 23 J: okay so (..) the puppet characters will be the animals the
- 24 B: the humans are the animals
- 25 J: the humans [are the animals aahh]
- 26 B: [with with with head-dresses] and the puppets are the humans
- 27 J: okay okay
- 28 B: and the and Zlatorog of course is a is a (.) is like a costumed masked character actually he's going to be quite spectacular
- 29 J: is he?

(Data excerpt, conversation in taxi, May 2015)

She starts by explaining what 'the idea' is (20). The merchant is now a prince (*the (...) prince the Venetian*). An additional character linked to the Venetian has been added (*a Page er like character*) who is a Page, or servant. The hunter is 'hunting' and an additional character is added here: a rabbit, hunted by the hunter.

Bev continues to describe the different characters, their actions, interactions and intra-actions (22). The rabbit is played by a human, in the same way as the chicken and the Page. I suggest my own understanding of the interplay (23) but I am incorrect. Bev explains (*the humans are the animals*) (24) (*and the puppets are the humans*) (26).

The description of the proposed devised production is linked to the potential size of the puppets, which Bev has gauged after working with Jonny over the previous couple of days.

She understands that the puppets are likely to be too big and heavy to move with agility and has, therefore, considered how she can start to devise the performance in a way which mitigates their 'inagility'. This new resemiotisation of the story seeks to work around the size of the puppets, introducing new characters and shifting the 'human' performers towards these incidental characters, who then narrate the tale. The three large puppets (the human characters) will be mostly static during the production.

She then turns to describe the Zlatorog himself as something quite different (*like a costumed masked character*) (28). He will be played by a human performer in a costume with a mask. He is not a puppet. He, Bev suggests, will be 'quite spectacular'.

Level one: narrative interaction

Bev sets out the interactions between the characters and how she plans these to take place as interactions between the puppets themselves (portraying the three human characters) and human actors, playing the roles of the additional characters (the Page, the rabbit and the chickens). It is through the additional human and animal characters whose agility and mobility is in contrast to the staticness and immobility of the main human characters. Each of the three humans requires a lesser character to communicate the story on their behalf, to represent them through action. The puppets, although different in size and weight from the original newspaper goat (7.8.1), require human engagement and mobility to balance their (im)mobility.

Level two: spatial interaction

Bev's current ideas for how the production will be devised and which characters will be played by human performers and which will be embodied by giant puppets respond to how she understands the street space as a stage. The giant puppets will be engaged in specific actions related to the secondary characters (*the hunter is hunting a rabbit*) (20) (*farm girl is (.) tending the chickens*) (22). The choices Bev is proposing affect how the characters will interact and use the space. Bev's proposed ideas are a form of improvisation. She is responding to the size and materiality of the giant puppets (and their subsequent inability to move unaided in a way which can enable the details of the story to be made clear to an audience). It also further explains Bev's change of object for the farm girl from a pumpkin to chickens (14). An animal character can move. A vegetable cannot.

Level three: group interaction

Bev recounts the story through her description of each of the three main characters, their partner characters and the Zlatorog. She describes the Zlatorog as a character who is not like the three main humans or the three additional characters (*and the and Zlatorog of course is a is a (.) is like a costumed masked character*) (28). Zlatorog in progress is spectacular (*actually he's going to be quite spectacular*). Zlatorog is therefore positioned as unique, as visually arresting, and as pivotal to the production (*of course*). The production is devised by the ŠUGLA students, yet significant thought has already been given to the characters, the puppets and how the production will unfold.

Part Four: how to tell the story in the street

Part Four establishes Bev's ideas for how the story will be told through the performance. This narrative orients towards the future.

- 30 B: (laughs) (..) you'll be very surprised at how these things have fitted into those suitcases it's quite remarkable
- 31 J: I can't wait to see
- 32 B: what we managed to fit in those suitcases (...) (laughs)
- 33 J: and how much is left to make?
- 34 B: erm we (.) have brought skeletons so we've just got cross pieces arms (...) that's all we've got (.) so far (.) so there's the bodies to make (...) the heads made out of watering cans
- 35 J: Ahuh
- 36 B: are (...) not covered (..) not all of them only one's covered one's partially covered (...) erm so we've got (.) bodies to make (...) hair (...) and painting and final bits of covering to do (...) costumes (...) and then (.) you know we might not even get to that we've got to start to think about (.) then (.) how we tell the actual story and and how the blood (.) comes from the mountain and
- 37 J: Yep
- 38 B: you know (.) all of those kind of poetic bits
- 39 J: and the flower
- 40 B: the flower the tricolor
- 41 J: Hmm
- 42 B: yeah (...) but the (..) plan (...) is to have these giant puppets which are quite spectacular or they will be quite spectacular (.) they will move through the street with their games like (.) chasing the chicken (.) the chicken hiding and (.) trying to feed the chicken things like that and (.)

and then (.) erm I'm hoping (.) that this will work we see see some of the roman romance between the farm girl and the hunter and the Venetian and the hunter (..) and then the puppets are going to put like in a (...) kind of an arena shape (...) and then we tell the rest of the story through kind of a storytelling (...) but (...) more visual and physical but there will be bits of narration but almost a bit like (..) the mechanicals on *Midsummer Night's Dream*?

- 43 J: okay
 44 B: you know where they kind of are almost making it up as they go along
 45 J: [yeah]
 46 B: [but] they won't be
 47 J: [yeah]
 48 B: [but that's] how it will seem so the (.) you know (.) the it has to (...) the flowers the blood and we can stick a flower through a cloth you know it's all very kind of happens (..) in front of (.) the audience rather than it being (.) very orchestrated because we don't have the time to orchestrate it
 49 J: [okay]
 50 B: [also] I think that it will be far more fun
 51 J: yeah (.) yeah
 52 B: (..) more playful and it helps us as Jonny says it's more forgiving (.) you know (.) if things go (..) wrong (.) you can just make it up
 53 J: [yeah]
 54 B: [you] know you can (..) take things from the audience and whatever so it makes it more playful

(Parts One – Four, data excerpt, conversation in taxi, May 2015)

Bev starts by talking about the puppet bodies and their transportation. She says, 'you'll be very surprised at how these things have fitted into the suitcases' (30), describing it as 'remarkable'. Bev and her company have been involved in street arts for twenty-five years and their work frequently involves packing and unpacking bags and boxes. In explaining the packing of 'these things' into 'suitcases' she articulates her own (and Jonny's) practice and expertise in doing this. She repeats again (*what we managed to fit in those suitcases*) (32) and laughs.

I ask how much is left to make (33). Bev lists the pieces that she and Jonny have brought with them – all work in progress. As she lists each item she describes what needs to be done next. The skeletons (34) are the puppet bodies and at this stage are made up of the cross pieces. The bodies themselves need to be created. The heads of the puppets are made from watering cans. Bev explains that these are not yet covered (neither the heads nor the bodies)

and that this will need to be completed (36). She lists the body parts (*bodies to make (...)* *hair(...)* and later *costumes*). The narration of the tasks serves to both offer information to me and act as an inventory of jobs which need completing.

She differentiates between the puppets (and the tasks remaining) and what she describes as 'how we tell the actual story' (36). This is what will be developed during the devising stage, working with the ŠUGLA performers. Bev is expressing a fear that they might not get to this stage. She describes a specific element in the story 'how the blood (.) comes from the mountain', linking this specific action (by the blood) to the act of telling the actual story. She then refers to these elements as 'all of those kind of poetic bits' (38). I ask about the flower (39). Bev repeats (*the flower the tricolour*) (40). She then moves on to consider the 'human' characters again – the giant puppets. She refers to 'the plan' (42). She describes the puppets as 'quite spectacular', correcting herself to state that they 'will be' (spectacular). She sets out what the 'spectacular' puppets will do (*they will move through the street with their games*). The puppets, though large, will be able to promenade, even if they cannot move in an agile way. She gives examples of the games the three puppets will play in interaction with the 'non human' characters, played by (human) performers (*games like (.) chasing the chicken (.) the chicken hiding and (.) trying to feed the chicken*). Bev establishes her rationale for setting it out in this way and in doing so expresses the provisionality of what she proposes (*erm I'm hoping (.) that this will work*). She hopes that the audience (we) will be able to see the 'romance' between the farm girl and the hunter. She then refers to the Venetian but mis-speaks, instead linking the Venetian to the hunter. Once the puppets have finished their promenade, they will be emplaced on the 'stage' to create an 'arena shape'. Bev explains that the rest of the story will be told 'through kind of storytelling', a 'riff' on the original story. She refers specifically to the 'mechanicals' for a *Midsummer Night's Dream* as a reference, returning to this to clarify for my benefit (*you know where they kind of are almost making it up as they go along*) (44) and adding '[but] they won't be'. She describes the storytelling that will take place as 'more visual and physical'.

Level one: narrative interaction

For the first part of the production the puppets will move through the street in interaction with the performers to tell the story of the relationships between the hunter and the farm girl and the Venetian and the farm girl. The romance will be shown visually through the objects offered and received by each character. The human performers, in interaction with the puppets, demonstrate the characteristics of each of these. Both the valley-based humans

are connected to animals. The farm girl chases chickens. The hunter hunts a rabbit. The Venetian, by contrast, has a servant, with whom he interacts. The rationale is that it will be 'playful', which is a strategic move (*as Jonny says, it's more forgiving (.) you know (.) if things go (..) wrong (.) you can just make it up*) (52).

Level two: spatial interaction

The puppet skeletons have been packed into suitcases to travel from the UK to Slovenia (30). That so much has been crammed into the bags is considered by Bev as particularly noteworthy, and she makes reference to it again (32). The puppets are 'quite spectacular' (42) and, once unpacked and finished, will move through the street. They will then form a stage, a 'kind of arena shape' (42) which then creates the space for the second part of the production. Their size and materiality allow them to create a mobile space within the street in which the performance can unfold. In turn, these enable a static space for the less mobile aspects of the devised piece. The space creates challenges for the other aspects of the story and how they are told. The objects required to explain small details of the story, 'the flowers the blood' (48) will appear and will not be 'orchestrated' (*it's all very kind of happens (..) in front of (.) the audience*). The audience, anticipated by Bev, will also present opportunities for objects to be integrated into the performance (*you can (..) take things from the audience and whatever so it makes it more playful*) (54). The provisional space, created by the puppets, by the audience, and by the interactions between the puppets and the audience, will enable the emergence of additional 'stuff'.

Level three: group interaction

The interactions between the performers, puppets and objects are foregrounded in Bev's description of the first part of the production. The interactions narrate the story, specifically the relationships and tensions between the three human characters. To do this, Bev envisages of complex of human characters depicted by puppets, additional characters (animal and human) played by human performers, objects and space. The intra-actions between these components, and the playful 'motion and flux' (Wohlwend et al., 2017:459) are necessary to narrate the story.

Part Five: time limits

In the fifth part there is a marked shift in the subject of the conversation away from Bev's ideas for the production itself, as the focus returns to the logistics and plans for the following few days.

- 55 J: okay (...) so how far? so you're going on Sunday?
 56 B: next Sunday
 57 J: Sunday (.) how (.) far do you think you'll have [got with the]
 58 B: [needs to be done]
 59 J: [completely finished] by Sunday
 60 B: [needs to be done]
 61 B: yes (...) yeah

(Data excerpt, conversation in taxi, May 2015)

I ask when she will be leaving Ljubljana (55). Bev confirms that she will leave the following Sunday. I follow this by asking how far she thinks they will have got with the making and devising processes (57). Before I have finished, Bev interjects (*needs to be done*) (58), repeating it again (60). It is at this point that Bev articulates some of the tension around timing. The puppet-maker is there for a short period of time and Bev herself must leave the following Sunday. There can be no slippage.

The taxi takes us to the studio apartment in Bežigrad in which Bev and her daughter will stay. Jonny and I get out too, gathering our bags (and the semi-made puppets in suitcases), and we meet Tea outside in the driveway. The building is a mixture of commercial and residential units. There is a school housed within it and the children have finished for the day, with parents arriving to collect them. We sit on the wall outside as Bev moves her bags into the apartment. Tea then leads us down Dunajska cesta into the city centre to our hotel. We walk. Tea wheels her bike (a new one, the last one was stolen). The weather is warm and it is no more than a couple of miles. Tea tells me about Slovenia as 'suppressed'. She explains that the country was barely independent before it became part of the European Union. After unpacking we meet in the hotel restaurant and Jonny tells me about his work creating shadow puppetry for an Urdu-language production at the Southbank Centre (7.8.3).

The following analysis moves forward five days to the start of the devising process. From F.A., only Bev remains in Ljubljana.

8.8.2. Acquiring props: in the store

On Tuesday the devising stage ‘proper’ starts. The puppets and costumes are mostly completed, although adjustments and readjustments continue to be made throughout the devising and performing stages. Prior to heading to the D.D.T to start rehearsals, we meet with a few members of the group to go to A.M.T.’s store to source additional props and materials. The analysis that follows is based on fieldnotes and photographs.

Bev has arranged to meet the performers close to the store, including Vesna who has a car and can assist with the transportation of things to the hall. Bev and I meet earlier in a cafe underneath financial services offices, located between Bežigrad and the city centre, just north of the railway station. The area is a mixture of commercial and residential properties, with some large houses surrounding a small park and play area, adjacent to tower blocks housing businesses.



Figure 29: The cafe underneath KPMG

We have coffee and breakfast together and discuss a proposal she has been working on overnight for a street performance based on the lobster quadrille, or ‘The Mock Turtle’s Song’ from Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland*. She has just sent the draft project proposal to a colleague at F.A., who will now edit and submit it. We then turn to talk about the production and Bev’s plans.

Bev has identified a number of objects that she would like to source from the store for the production. She is looking specifically for objects that can be given as gifts to the farm girl by

the hunter and by the Venetian. These map closely to those within the synopsis (7.8.2.) and as described in the taxi (8.8.1.). The Venetian will give 'riches' and the hunter will give 'things he has hunted'. The objects will serve as a material representation of the difference between the two male characters and what they can offer. Giving gifts to the farm girl is significant, linking to the theme of the production and the concept of 'enough'. Riches imply surplus. Bev wants to find materials which can be used to represent the Triglav flowers which, she states, need to be tricolour: red, white and blue. She has reconsidered elements of the original synopsis and wants the puppets to perform in dialogue with one ground-based person. Each ground-based character will be played by one of the performers and will link in costume to their 'partner' puppet to enable the audience to identify the couples.

The size and weight of the puppets requires further consideration of how they might be moved around and perform. Goro has suggested that he can make a system (a basket, wheel and pulley system). How the performers can physically move the puppets while continuing to perform effectively is a central issue and further objects must be sourced or created.

Bev turns to talk about the devising process and developing the script and scenario, suggesting that this is the stage that I will be most interested in, as a linguist. Together with the performers she will make decisions about how much verbal dialogue is necessary within the production and in which language that dialogue should be. She offers two options: Slovene and English.

The performers start to arrive. Tea is next, pushing her bike. She reports back on the previous night's rehearsals, which had finished at midnight, specifically recalling the chicken performance. The activity had been formative, she explains, with performers and acts only accepted for the street arts festival if they met the desired quality. There is a reputational issue for the theatre in terms of who represents at the festival.

We leave the cafe and go to the store. A few of us travel in Vesna's car, although the store is only round the corner from the cafe, in a nearly complex of residential flats. We drive into the underground car park. The store is through a door in the car park. It is large and full of objects, costumes, and props.



Figure 30: Inside the store

There is a shopping trolley, and it is unclear as to whether this is for productions or to transport objects to and from the store to cars. A metal bin is piled high with boxes, taped up and stacked on top of each other. Boxes with wheels are loaded with objects. Some of these objects are old, found or 'sourced', and would not look out of place on an antique stall. Other objects have been made specifically for particular productions. A garden gnome stands on a shelf. There are cardboard boxes here and there, some taped down, others overflowing.



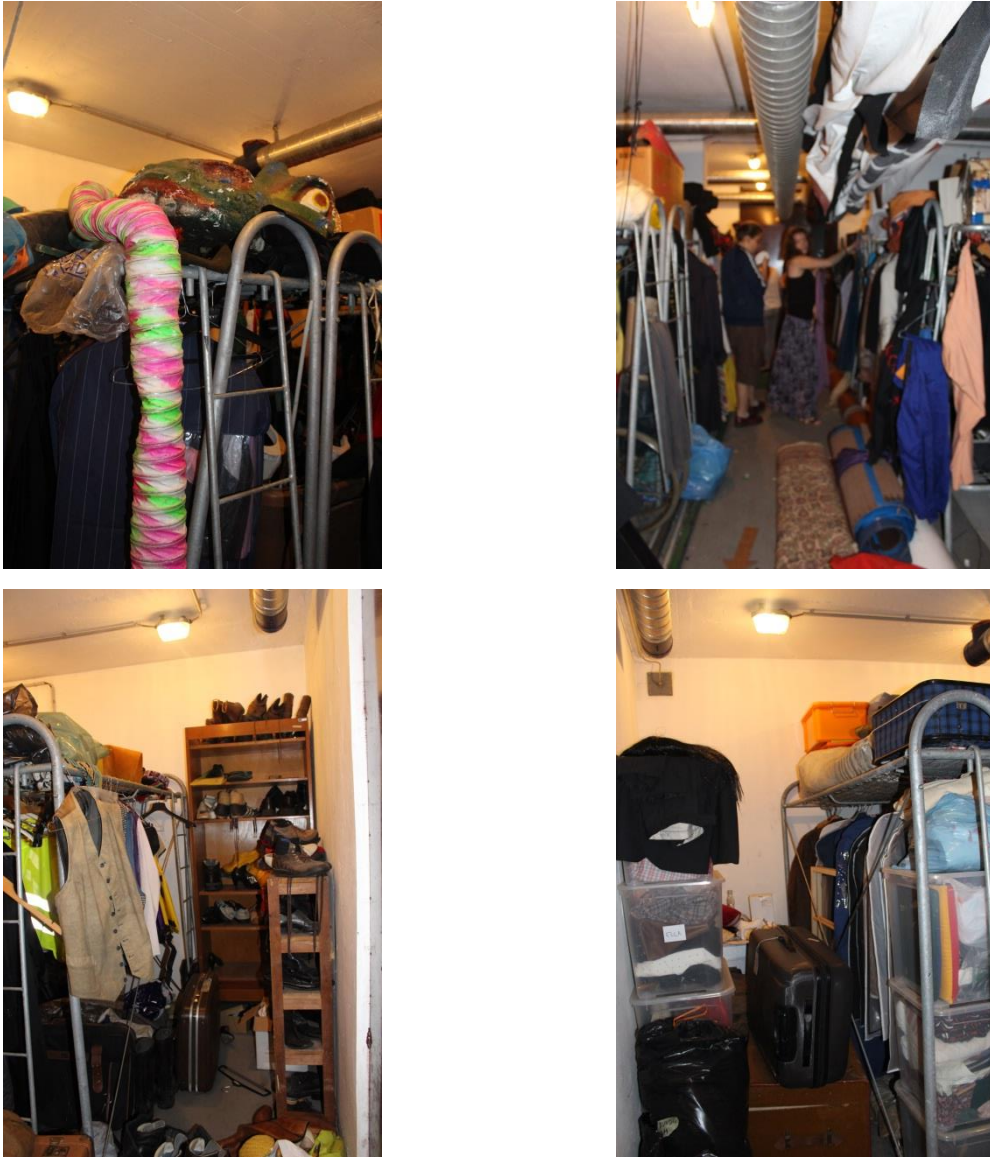


Figure 31: The store

At the far end of the store are rails of clothing, costumes. Various suitcases and bags are scattered around, piled up on top of the rails. There are plastic boxes, stuffed with fabrics. Some have their contents referenced by stickers with names. Dustbin bags full of the unknown. All these items were critically important at some point in the past.



Figure 32: Inside the store

Each has been used in one of A.M.T.'s productions previously or for the street arts festival. Tea points to a pile of objects and material and explains that this is 'Mother Courage'. Bertolt Brecht's 'Mother Courage and her Children' is one of the productions with which A.M.T. had recently toured with an international team over the previous few years, including for the Maribor Cultural Capital of 2012. Tea's identification of 'Mother Courage' implies there is an order to the storeroom, which would be understood by A.M.T., if not by outsiders. Coming from outside, the space seems an entangled mass of things with little coherence although there is certainly attempted order, as demonstrated by the labels. The objects are a legacy from years of performances, from multiple groups and acts. Items are kept to be reused and repurposed. But not all can be recontextualised. Some, including the 'Mother Courage' entanglement, will be taken out and used again for the same purposes. With adjustments made for different bodies.

The scenes in the store are playful. The performers try different items on. I record bits and pieces of conversation and take photographs with my camera. One of the performers, Sara G, finds a pair of rollerboots and tries them on, asking me to take a photograph of her feet. It is a crowded space, with every possible corner and shelf crammed with things, with 'stuff'. There are no windows; it has the smell one would expect in a space of this kind with its histories of performance, bodies, objects, streets, stuffed inside.



Figure 33: Bev talks about the kinds of props and objects needed

The photograph above shows Bev explaining to four of the performers the kinds of objects she wishes to find. She has a list, jotted down in her notepad, from which she is working. One performer, Sara G, to the right hand side of the photograph, wears a string of large beads she has found. These beads become the golden jewels given to the farm girl by the Venetian. Some high-heeled court shoes are also found and they too become gifts for the farm girl.

The performers must look for objects which will link each puppet to the ground-based character. The visual mode of these is pivotal to the comprehensibility of the narrative, as it will be performed through the street. The store yields a number of objects with which Bev is reasonably happy. She finds jewels for the Venetian (which he will give to the farm girl alongside the pair of high-heeled shoes). The ground-based character linked to the farm girl will wear wellies with a pink dress. Other items include some shiny blue material for the 'stage', and baskets and bags are also sourced.

We pack the items into the car. After calling into the A.M.T. studios to drop off a borrowed drill, I travel back to the city with Vesna, and she gives me a short tour of Ljubljana including pointing out the puppet theatre at the foot of the castle hill. Major construction and city works are taking place and have been for some time. Many roads are closed and we seem to need to circle round until we can get to the centre. Vesna complains, *it is getting impossible*, she says. Vesna is a journalist, invested in learning how to become a clown. In March when we first met she told me that she wants to tell her own life story, but through performing as a clown. She has performed previously in an individual show, in which she wears a wedding dress and carries flowers, offering to marry passers-by, and she also works as a clown for

children's parties. Each of the performers I meet has an arts-based entrepreneurial sideline of some kind.

8.8.3. Buying more props: in the supermarket

We take the sourced objects to the D.D.T. ready to start the workshops. Over the following few days the puppets and the props continue to be made, re-made and adjusted, in dialogue with the devising process. How the story might be told relies on the relationship between puppet, performer and prop, or the puppet-performer-complex. The performers experiment with manipulating the puppets and moving with them. How the three human character puppets (farm girl, hunter and Venetian) can be attached to the performers is important due to their bulkiness and size. Each of the three giant puppets has a pole (formerly a tent pole) attached to its back and a second one affixed to the arm that the performers hold to carry and to move them. The puppets must be fixed to the performers using the poles. The first pole should attach to the performers' waists and the second is held in their hand. Bev tries different ways to do this and compiles a list of the extra objects she needs to buy, including some kind of cup or tin which attaches to a belt. This could be worn round the performers' waists with the pole connecting to it, enabling them to retain control of the puppet as they move along the street

As the group leave to take a lunch break I walk to a nearby supermarket with Bev and Tea. Bev thinks a tin can will work to attach the puppets and she chooses a small tin of vegetables to try out. She will then work to build this into the harness that the performers will wear around their waists to hold the pole in place.

Tea tells me about the festival and the provenance of its name. She explains that *desetnica* means the tenth daughter, and that it comes from a traditional folk tale of the tenth child having to go into the world and earn a living. Copeland (1933c) contextualises the tradition, as a 'curious popular custom':

Speaking of inevitable destiny of innate fate...the curious popular custom – it amounted to a law – which decreed that if ten sons, no daughter between, are born to the house, the tenth, i.e. the youngest, was turned out into the world to shift for himself. The same thing applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the tenth daughter. That such *desetniki* or *desetnice*, compelled to lead what is more or less the life of a pariah, should eventually develop a roving and eccentric disposition was only natural. The result is that a person of restless temperament is often spoken of as a 'tenth brother' (p.641).

The street artist then is conceived as a tenth brother (or sister in the case of the Ana Desetnica street arts festival). That 'type', the restless, the eccentric, the bound to wander, is linked by Copeland to 'immigrants and colonists' (ibid). Copeland translated and published 'Desetnica' in 1933, at the same time as her translation of 'Zlatorog'. She explains that the tenth child is 'compelled to leave home', that the temperament was 'the result of the custom, not the cause of it' (p.651). Naming the street arts festival after this traditional tale (and custom) suggests that artists perform in the street because they, like the tenth child, are compelled to leave the walls of other performance spaces. This theme arises in subsequent workshops with A.M.T., including the practicum I attend later the same year (Appendix E).

8.8.4. Writing the script: Tabor

Back at the D.D.T., the majority of the puppets and props have been delivered although a couple of bits and pieces remain in Goro's van and Bev has to find a way to retrieve them. I have set up a partial recording studio, using my laptop computer and the video camera. I am experimenting with different ways of recording in large spaces and reflect on this in my fieldnotes.

I put my MacBook to the left hand side of the room and film. It feels significantly less intrusive in this larger space and I feel less awkward filming and recording as a result. Is this because I've been here quite a while now and I am starting to feel more comfortable, I know the group more, we're getting on and I'm very much part of it. Or is it because we're in this bigger theatre space? Maybe both. I wonder how much of each.

(Fieldnotes, June 2015)

The script-writing process is integral to devising the production in part because the puppets and their size mean that dialogue must be introduced. The production cannot be non-verbal and the process of devising is therefore also one of integrating verbal dialogue. This involves selecting language(s) and selecting words. The performers consider which elements of the story cannot be told purely through visuals and action. It is during this stage that the translingual affordances of the performance itself start to be contemplated and subsequently confirmed. Its *translingualness* is made more durable, more tangible.

Once back together in the hall after lunch, Bev begins with some warm-up exercises. This marks a further change in pace from the making stage as the devising workshops will be physically demanding in a different way. After the exercises, she starts to describe her ideas

for the production, setting out some initial questions, one of which is whether to have one voice or multiple voices for the narration. The narration, Bev decides, is pivotal to performing a coherent story. It is at this stage that the performers consider which parts they might like to play, although Gaja has already been confirmed as Zlatorog with the costume and mask adapted to fit her (see 7.8.4). Sara G has expressed her interest in playing a chicken. Bev and the group share out the parts.

Character	Performer
Zlatorog	Gaja
Farm Girl	Vesna
Hunter	Natalija
Venetian	Sara G
White Ladies/Narrators/Animals	Ana, Sara S

The three main characters (Hunter, Farm Girl, Venetian) are the giant puppets, with the performers playing 'ground-based characters'. As planned, each ground-based character works in tandem with a puppet with their costumes linked in colour and style.



Figure 34: Farm Girl puppet moved by performers



Figure 35: Farm Girl and Venetian puppets



Figure 36: Adjusting the puppets

Bev has already made a number of decisions about the script. Introductory words will be spoken once the performers have convened in the stage area, after the promenade towards the site with the puppets. This narration has an important purpose to explain the scene and contextualise what will unfold in the performance. The fabrics, the puppets, the props and the performers will be present in the stage area. The characters – human and animal, puppet and performer - will have already interacted with the audience. But some explanation is required before the story can be told visually. The scene must be set and a thread with the

story's geographical location established. Each line of the introduction situates the tale in its spatial dimension and introduces the characters.

1	In the rich highlands of the Julian Alps, the White Ladies and Zlatorog protect the forests.
2	In the lowlands of Lake Bohinj lives a Hunter and a Farmgirl.
3	The Hunter goes to the mountains every day to hunt. He takes enough, and never too much.

The story (about to unfold) takes place in the Julian Alps. The two geographical areas are introduced (1, 2) and the interactions between them, through the characters (3). The areas are differentiated as high (1) and low (2). In the highlands, the non-human characters live (the White Ladies and Zlatorog). These are unique characters (*the*) and their action is to 'protect the forests'. In the lowlands the human characters live (a Hunter and a Farmgirl). These characters are less unique (*a* rather than *the*) and could be interchangeable with people living in any similar area populated with humans. It is through action (3) that the highlands and lowlands are linked, specifically the actions of the Hunter, who travels to the mountains every day. When he does this, he contributes to an equilibrium (*He takes enough, and never too much*). Each of the three actions is simple. The non-humans protect. The humans live. The Hunter goes, hunts and takes. The Farm Girl is now 'Farmgirl'.

The performers decide that the narration should be bilingual, with Slovene and English both used. There is discussion over which language should be first, with the consensus being that it should be English, due to the international audience for the street arts festival. This assumes certain language hierarchies. By contrast, the bilingual paper booklet for the street arts festival reverses the order, with Slovene followed by English. Led by Gaja, the group work on the translation. Bev sits on the floor, jotting down notes on a pad. Gaja sits on the the stage, and Natalija, Ana and the two Saras stand and sit around the two of them.

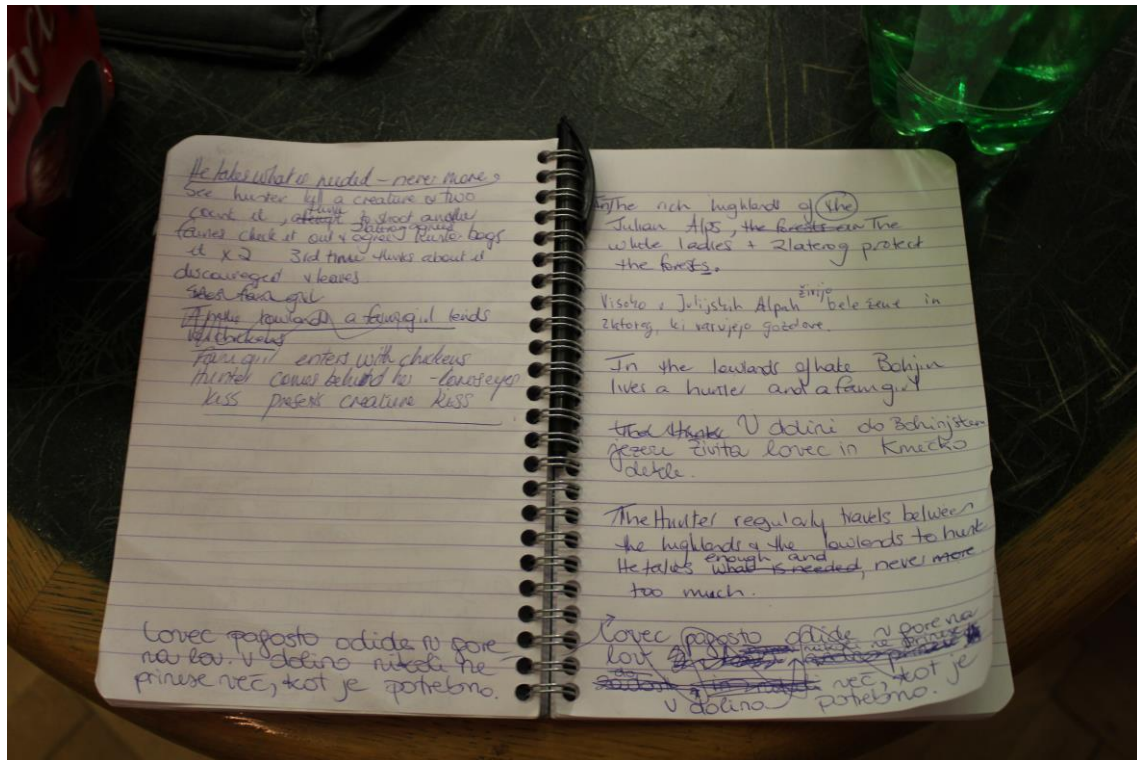


Figure 37: Writing the script, the notebook



Figure 38: Working on the translation



Figure 39: Writing the script

Together the performers work to translate the English text and Bev writes it up. It is then built into the scenario. At this point, multilingualism is integrated into the production as a deliberate act. Slovene is incorporated for authenticity: to perform the geographical context in which the story is set. English is incorporated to enable a wider audience to understand key aspects of the story.

In the rich highlands of the Julian Alps, the White Ladies and Zlatorog protect the forests.

Visoko v Julijskih Alpah živijo bele zene in Zlatorog, ki varujejo gozdove.

In the lowlands of Lake Bohinj lives a Hunter and a Farmgirl.

V dolini ob Bohinjskem jezeru živita lovec in kmečko dekle.

The Hunter goes to the mountains every day to hunt. He takes enough, and never too much.

Lovec vsak dan odide v gore na lov. V dolino nikoli ne prinese vec, kot je potrebno.

(Script, June 2015)

It is decided that the two narrators will alternate. The first narrator will speak the line in English, the second in Slovene. Each language is assigned to a performer. The casting decision is based on the performers' perceived ability in English. Ana is confident to say the English lines.

Other languages are brought into the production. Sara, as the Venetian, uses Italian, highly exaggerated as she plays with the development of her role. The Venetian's Italian is stereotyped and clichéd: *'buongiorno principessa'*. As such the affordances of the production space as one for language play and translinguaging are simultaneously built up and shut down. The one character who uses a language other than Slovene or English is the 'baddie', the incomer, his 'foreign' language marking him as such. It is a translinguaging space, built for and by translinguaging (Li, 2011). But the creative language play is reserved for the incomer.



Figure 40: Playing with the Zlatorog headpiece

8.8.5. Setting out the scenario: Tabor

The devising process involves intensive collaborative work, using Bev's initial scenario as a starting point. As the performers try out their costumes and work together to develop the production she continues to add to it, changing elements and adapting to the ongoing negotiation of bodies, puppets and words.

At the end of the devising stage, Bev produces a final 'scenario' which establishes what will happen at each point in the production and who is responsible:

HOW MUCH IS ENOUGH

Devised and Performed by Sugla 2015 - Ana, Sara, Sara, Vesna, Natalija and Gaja

Puppets and Masks by Jonny Dixon

With Thanks to Tea Vidmar & Goro Osojnik (Ana Monro Theatre) and Sawka

Directed By Bev Adams (Faceless Arts)

Prologue

Giant Puppets: Venetian, Hunter and Farm Girl walkabout. Venetian with servant, Hunter with Rabbit, Farm Girl with Chicken.

Triglav Song as giant puppets are walked to performance space comprising Zlaterog USC, Triglav mountain with triglav flowers USL and Lake Bohjin DSR. Performers remove puppets and place them USR. White Ladies join Z USC.

Oj, Triglav, moj dom, kako si krasan,

Kako me izvabljas iz nizkih ravan!

V poletni vrocini na strme vrhe,

Da tam se spocije v samoti srce!

Kjer potok izvira v skalovju hladan,

Oj, Triglav, moj dom, kako si krasan!

Oj, Triglav, moj dom (3x), kako si krasan (2x)!

Oh, Triglav, my home, how splendid you are,
How you call me from the lowlands
In the Summer heat to the steep summits,
So that the heart can rest in the solitude there!
Where the cool brook springs from the rocks,
Oh, Triglav, my home, how splendid you are!
Oh, Triglav, my home (3x), how splendid you are (2x)!

WHITE LADIES	In the rich highlands of the Julian Alps, the White Ladies and Zlaterog protect the forests. Visoko v Julijskih Alpah živijo bele zene in Zlatorog, ki varujejo gozdove.
	TRIKLAV PEAKS REVEALED. A SMALL ANIMAL SCURRIES ACROSS THE SUMMIT. ZLATEROG GREET THE AUDIENCE SC AND WHITE LADIES INTERACT BOSSILY WITH AUDIENCE. . Z CALLS WL BACK. Z & WL TAKE POSITION USC. THE ANIMALS ON THE MOUNTAIN FIGHT. THE WL TELL Z. Z TELLS WL TO SORT THEM OUT. WL STOP FIGHT. ANIMALS RETREAT.
WHITE LADIES	In the lowlands of Lake Bohinj lives a Hunter and a Farmgirl. V dolini ob Bohinjskem jezeru živita lovec in kmečko dekle.
	ENTER FARM GIRL WITH A BAG OF CHICKEN FEED. WHITE LADIES BECOME CHICKENS AND EAT. ENTER HUNTER, HE SURPRISES HER AND SHE HUGS HIM. HE GIVES HER A MOUSE. SHE THANKS AND HUGS HIM.. HE SAYS HE IS GOING, KISSES CHEEK. 1 CLIMBS TO FG SHOULDER. FG SHOES CHICKENS AWAY. FG AND H HAVE A LONG WAVE GOODBYE.
WHITE LADIES	The Hunter goes to the mountains every day to hunt. He takes enough, and never too much. Lovec vsak dan odide v gore na lov. V dolino nikoli ne prinese vec, kot je potrebno.
HUNT	HUNTER SEES FIRST ANIMAL, SHOOTS ARROW, KILLS, TAKES TO SHOW ZLATEROG. ZLATEROG APPROVES, HUNTER BAGS IT GOES TO LEAVE, SEES ANIMAL NO 2, ZLATEROG

	STOPS HIM KILLING AGAIN, AND KEEPS EYE ON HIM, HUNTER LEAVES MOUNTAIN.
FG WANTS MORE	<p>FARM GIRL WASHES CLOTHES IN LAKE. ENTER VENETIAN WITH 2 SERVANTS.</p> <p>VENETIAN SEES FARM GIRL, STOPS AND COUNTS HIS MONEY. FARM GIRL TRIES TO MAKE HERSELF LOOK PRETTY.</p> <p>V GIVES SERVANT 1 A ROSE TO GIVE FG AND DEMANDS A KISS ON THE CHEEK. FG GIVES SERVANT 1 A KISS WHO TAKES IT TO V. FG EXITED</p> <p>V GIVES SERVANT 2 HIGH HEELED SHOES TO GIVE TO FG AND DEMANDS A KISS ON THE LIPS. FG GIVES S2 KISS ON LIPS WHO TAKES IT TO V. FG VERY EXCITED AND DANCES AROUND IN SHOES.</p> <p>V WANTS TO LEAVE. FG WANTS NECKLACE. V GIVES THE NECKLACE TO S1. S1 GOES TO HUG FG PUSHES S1, JUMPS ON V AND KISSES LOT..V CHECKS WATCH PUTS FG DOWN AND MOUNTS HORSE TO LEAVE. V AND ENTOURAGE CIRCLE AUDIENCE AND EXIT.</p>
HUNTER RETURNS	HUNTER RETURNS, SURPRISES FG AS USUAL. SHE IS DISAPPOINTED THAT IT IS HIM. HE GIVES HER A RABBIT, SHE DISGUSTEDLY DISCARDS. FIRST A MOUSE, NOW A RABBIT. SHE ASKS FOR A FLOWER WHICH HE DOES NOT HAVE. H ASKS "A FLOWER FROM WHERE?" SHE POINTS TO THE MOUNTAIN. HUNTER LEAVES COMPLAINING. HE DECIDES TO GET THE FLOWERS FOR HER AND HEADS BACK TO THE MOUNTAIN.
Z & WL SING	<p>SONG STARTS ON HUNTER'S DECISION. LAKE IS REMOVED.</p> <p>High on a hill stood a lonely goat, Yodel hey Yodel hey Yodel hey hee hee</p> <p>With golden horns and a furry coat. Yodel hey Yodel hey Yodel hee</p> <p>Yodel hey hee, Yodel</p> <p>WL AND Z PAUSE LOOK AROUND, H FREEZES. WL & Z DECIDE IT'S OK AND CONTINUE ...</p> <p>hey hee, Yodel hey Yodel Hey Yodel Hey hee hee</p> <p>Yodel hey hee, Yodel hey hee, Yodel hey Yodel Hey Yodel</p> <p>WL AND Z PAUSE LOOK AROUND, H FREEZES. WL & Z DECIDE IT'S OK AND CONTINUE ...</p> <p>Hoo</p>
STEALING 1	HUNTER STEALS THE FLOWERS. MOUNTAIN CREATURE SOUNDS THE ALARM. Z CHALLENGES H AND HUNTER RETURNS FLOWERS. WL WATCH. HUNTER SNEAKS BACK AND SNATCHES FLOWERS. Z CHALLENGES H. CIRCLE EACH OTHER. Z CHARGES AND H SIDE STEPS, STANDS GROUND AND RAISES BOW.. H FIRES ARROW AND WOUNDS Z. Z'S BLOOD PRODUCES TRIGLAV FLOWERS.
HUNTER	WL CHASE H AROUND AND UP THE MOUNTAIN. H HITS WL WITH HEADBAND AND

DIES	FLOWERS, LOSES BALANCE AND FALLS TO DEATH.
SAD SONG	HUM SONG LAKE RETURNS. WL BRING H'S FLOWERS AND HEADBAND TO THE LAKE.
WHITE LADIES	From that day forward, no flowers or animals thrived in the mountains. The high Alps became barren. Od takrat naprej v gorah ni bilo ne roz ne zivali in Alpski vrovhi so postali goli.
FARM GIRL DESPAIRS	AAH SONG. FARM GIRL ENTERS TO WASH SHOES IN LAKE. SHE FINDS FLOWERS AND LOOKS AT HERSELF IN THE LAKE. SHE FINDS HIS HEADBAND. SHE LOOKS BACK TO THE MOUNTAIN AND SEES HIS CORPSE. SHE CRIES.
	THE END

(Scenario and script, June 2015)

The document is split into two parts. The first includes the details of the production and who is involved, followed by the prologue. The second sets out the actions for the main performance, once the stage has been created by the puppets and props during the prologue and the Triglav song has finished. The document provides the basis for the production which the performers will learn and follow. It also provides durable and tangible evidence of a production, although still provisional and potential. It shows that devising has taken place and a 'thing' has been created. It represents the more "resistant materialities" (Iedema, 2001:24) which develop across processes of resemiotisation and recontextualisation.

Part One: 'they will move through the streets with their games'

The scenario is based on the initial written pitch, promo and synopsis, sent by Bev to Tea prior to the making stage (7.8.2).

1. HOW MUCH IS ENOUGH

Devised and Performed by Sugla 2015 - Ana, Sara, Sara, Vesna, Natalija and Gaja

Puppets and Masks by Jonny Dixon

With Thanks to Vidmar & Goro Osojnik (Ana Theatre) and Sawko

Directed By Bev Adams (Faceless Arts)

2. Prologue

Giant Puppets: Venetian, Hunter and Farm Girl walkabout. Venetian with servant, Hunter with Rabbit, Farm Girl with Chicken.

Triglav Song as giant puppets are walked to performance space comprising Zlaterog USC, Triglav mountain with triglav flowers USL and Lake Bohjin DSR. Performers remove puppets and place them USR. White Ladies join Z USC.

3. Oj, Triglav, moj dom, kako si krasan,

Kako me izvabljas iz nizkih ravan!

V poletni vrocinii na strme vrhe,

Da tam se spocije v samoti srce!

Kjer potok izvira v skalovju hladan,

Oj, Triglav, moj dom, kako si krasan!

Oj, Triglav, moj dom (3x), kako si krasan (2x)!

4. Oh, Triglav, my home, how splendid you are,

How you call me from the lowlands

In the Summer heat to the steep summits,

So that the heart can rest in the solitude there!

Where the cool brook springs from the rocks,

Oh, Triglav, my home, how splendid you are!

Oh, Triglav, my home (3x), how splendid you are (2x)!

In this resemiotised text, the question mark has been removed from the production title (1). For the list of names credited for the production's creation, those of the performers involved in the devising stage and who will subsequently perform have been added after ŠUGLA (1). They are, unlike the other names of those involved, listed without surnames. Jonny is credited with the puppets. Two members of A.M.T., Tea and Goro, are thanked, alongside another maker, Sawko, who assisted with adjusting props and puppets after Jonny had left.

The first part of the piece, conceptualised as a prologue, is the walkabout element of the production (2). The first characters listed are the puppets (*Giant Puppets: Venetian, Hunter and Farm Girl walkabout*). They are then listed again with their linked characters (Venetian with servant, Hunter with rabbit, Farm Girl with chicken). At this stage the focus is intended to be on the giant puppets, made to this size and proportion to gain the attention of the crowd.

The Triglav song is then listed before the action returns to the puppets. The giant puppets 'are walked' (as they cannot move by themselves). Those who walk are not listed; it is assumed that each of the performers who plays a human character is responsible for 'walking' the puppet. The walkabout performance moves towards the stage area (*performance space*) in which the Triglav flowers and Lake are situated. Bev uses stage acronyms (DSR, USR, USC) to describe where each of the geographical features are located (*Zlaterog USC, Triglav mountain with triglav flowers USL and Lake Bohjin DSR*). The positioning of the puppets, objects and performers sets out the stage and the song marks the end of the prologue and the beginning of the play itself. It defines the action spatially.

The words to the song are written in Slovene (the language in which it is performed for the piece) but also translated to English (although at no point is it performed in translation). The song is a traditional Slovenian poem dating from the late 1800 and accompanied by a melody, celebrating the mountains (*Oh, Triglav, my home, how splendid you are, How you call me from the lowlands*). The inclusion of a traditional song of this kind is intended to add authenticity, to draw from the geographical location from which the story comes and which is recreated by the production and by the stage. The song is known to the performers and they suggest that should be included in the production. Performing it in Slovene foregrounds the story's geography: it is situated within a specific nation, defined by a particular language.

Part Two: 'how we tell the actual story'

The second act is then described in a series of steps, following from and expanding the actions described by Bev (8.8.1).

1.	WHITE LADIES	In the rich highlands of the Julian Alps, the White Ladies and Zlaterog protect the forests. Visoko v Julijskih Alpah živijo bele zene in Zlaterog, ki varujejo gozdove.
2.		TRIKLAV PEAKS REVEALED. A SMALL ANIMAL SCURRIES ACROSS THE SUMMIT. ZLATEROG GREET THE AUDIENCE SC AND WHITE LADIES INTERACT BOSSILY WITH AUDIENCE. . Z CALLS WL BACK. Z & WL TAKE POSITION USC. THE ANIMALS ON THE MOUNTAIN FIGHT. THE WL TELL Z. Z TELLS WL TO SORT THEM OUT. WL STOP FIGHT. ANIMALS RETREAT.
3.	WHITE LADIES	In the lowlands of Lake Bohinj lives a Hunter and a Farmgirl. V dolini ob Bohinjskem jezeru živita lovec in kmečko dekle.
4.		ENTER FARM GIRL WITH A BAG OF CHICKEN FEED. WHITE LADIES BECOME CHICKENS AND EAT. ENTER HUNTER, HE SURPRISES HER AND SHE HUGS HIM. HE GIVES HER A MOUSE. SHE THANKS AND HUGS HIM.. HE SAYS HE IS GOING, KISSES CHEEK. 1 CLIMBS TO FG SHOULDER. FG SHOES CHICKENS AWAY. FG AND H HAVE A LONG WAVE GOODBYE.
5.	WHITE LADIES	The Hunter goes to the mountains every day to hunt. He takes enough, and never too much. Lovec vsak dan odide v gore na lov. V dolino nikoli ne prinese vec, kot je potrebno.
6.	HUNT	HUNTER SEES FIRST ANIMAL, SHOOTS ARROW, KILLS, TAKES TO SHOW ZLATEROG. ZLATEROG APPROVES, HUNTER BAGS IT GOES TO LEAVE, SEES ANIMAL NO 2, ZLATEROG STOPS HIM KILLING AGAIN, AND KEEPS EYE ON HIM, HUNTER LEAVES MOUNTAIN.
7.	FG WANTS MORE	FARM GIRL WASHES CLOTHES IN LAKE. ENTER VENETIAN WITH 2 SERVANTS. VENETIAN SEES FARM GIRL, STOPS AND COUNTS HIS MONEY. FARM GIRL TRIES TO MAKE HERSELF LOOK PRETTY. V GIVES SERVANT 1 A ROSE TO GIVE FG AND DEMANDS A KISS ON THE CHEEK. FG GIVES SERVANT 1 A KISS WHO TAKES IT TO V. FG EXITED V GIVES SERVANT 2 HIGH HEELED SHOES TO GIVE TO FG AND DEMANDS A KISS ON THE LIPS. FG GIVES S2 KISS ON LIPS WHO TAKES IT TO V. FG VERY EXCITED AND DANCES AROUND IN SHOES. V WANTS TO LEAVE. FG WANTS NECKLACE. V GIVES THE NECKLACE TO S1. S1 GOES TO HUG FG PUSHES S1, JUMPS ON V AND KISSES LOT..V CHECKS WATCH PUTS FG DOWN AND MOUNTS HORSE TO LEAVE. V AND ENTOURAGE CIRCLE AUDIENCE AND EXIT.
8.	HUNTER	HUNTER RETURNS, SURPRISES FG AS USUAL. SHE IS DISAPPOINTED THAT IT IS HIM. HE GIVES

	RETURNS	HER A RABBIT, SHE DISGUSTEDLY DISCARDS. FIRST A MOUSE, NOW A RABBIT. SHE ASKS FOR A FLOWER WHICH HE DOES NOT HAVE. H ASKS "A FLOWER FROM WHERE?" SHE POINTS TO THE MOUNTAIN. HUNTER LEAVES COMPLAINING. HE DECIDES TO GET THE FLOWERS FOR HER AND HEADS BACK TO THE MOUNTAIN.
9.	Z & WL SING	SONG STARTS ON HUNTER'S DECISION. LAKE IS REMOVED. High on a hill stood a lonely goat, Yodel hey Yodel hey Yodel hey hee hee With golden horns and a furry coat. Yodel hey Yodel hey Yodel hee Yodel hey hee, Yodel WL AND Z PAUSE LOOK AROUND, H FREEZES. WL & Z DECIDE IT'S OK AND CONTINUE ... hey hee, Yodel hey Yodel Hey Yodel Hey hee hee Yodel hey hee, Yodel hey hee, Yodel hey Yodel Hey Yodel WL AND Z PAUSE LOOK AROUND, H FREEZES. WL & Z DECIDE IT'S OK AND CONTINUE ... Hoo
10.	STEALING 1	HUNTER STEALS THE FLOWERS. MOUNTAIN CREATURE SOUNDS THE ALARM. Z CHALLENGES H AND HUNTER RETURNS FLOWERS. WL WATCH. HUNTER SNEAKS BACK AND SNATCHES FLOWERS. Z CHALLENGES H. CIRCLE EACH OTHER. Z CHARGES AND H SIDE STEPS, STANDS GROUND AND RAISES BOW.. H FIRES ARROW AND WOUNDS Z. Z'S BLOOD PRODUCES TRIGLAV FLOWERS.
11.	HUNTER DIES	WL CHASE H AROUND AND UP THE MOUNTAIN. H HITS WL WITH HEADBAND AND FLOWERS, LOSES BALANCE AND FALLS TO DEATH.
12.	SAD SONG	HUM SONG LAKE RETURNS. WL BRING H'S FLOWERS AND HEADBAND TO THE LAKE.
13.	WHITE LADIES	From that day forward, no flowers or animals thrived in the mountains. The high Alps became barren. Od takrat naprej v gorah ni bilo ne roz ne zivali in Alpski vrovhi so postali goli.
14.	FARM GIRL DESPAIRS	AAH SONG. FARM GIRL ENTERS TO WASH SHOES IN LAKE. SHE FINDS FLOWERS AND LOOKS AT HERSELF IN THE LAKE. SHE FINDS HIS HEADBAND. SHE LOOKS BACK TO THE MOUNTAIN AND SEES HIS CORPSE. SHE CRIES.
15.		THE END

(Script, June 2015)

Each action is set out, with the story explained. Bev deploys two different fonts to differentiate between the spoken dialogue, song and the scenario(1, 3, 5, 9, 13). She uses the Slovene word for Goldhorn, Zlatorog, but mis-spells it (*Zlaterog*). As a text this will be used only by the performers, any mis-spellings here are of no consequence. It is not a public text.

The scenario maps closely onto the one sent by Bev to Tea (7.8.2.) and to the description of the synopsis given by Bev in the taxi (8.8.1.) but adaptations have been made, as Bev had anticipated, for example with the addition of the two songs: *I think the basic narrative will (.) it will (.) stay the same but it will have (.) loads more humans* (8.8.1.2. (12)).

On the left hand side she lists either the characters who lead the dialogue or the action, or the action itself. The White Ladies are also the two narrators, used to tell the story and to guide the audience towards particular actions.

The White Ladies open the act (1) (*in the rich highlands of the Julian Alps, the White Ladies and Zlatorog protect the forests*). In the second section the scene is described, written in capital letters. The mountains are revealed (2), and the appearance of an animal character indexes that this is a rural countryside setting. The Zlatorog character is then introduced and 'greeted the audience' from the centre of the stage (SC). The White Ladies, the narrators, also communicate with the audience (bossily). Zlatorog calls back the White Ladies, demonstrating that he is the character who rules over the highlands and, with the White Ladies, has power over the animals.

The third paragraph commences with the second line of the narration (3) (*In the lowlands of Lake Bohinj lives a Hunter and a Farmgirl*). The characters come into view to interact with each other (4). The Farm Girl indexes her role and location through feeding chickens. The performers playing the White Ladies also play the part of the chickens, and therefore, the white mopheads traverse the divide between the human world and the supernatural world. The Hunter has an animal – a mouse – indexing his occupation. Their relationship is made visual through the giving of gifts.

The next part of the script introduces the daily actions of the Hunter (5). This is followed by the Hunter both hunting and interacting with Zlatorog, in a line entitled 'hunt' (6). He traverses the lowlands and the highlands and is permitted to do this by Zlatorog, who also polices what he can and cannot take from the mountains.

The next section (FG wants more) is a longer, more detailed scene in which the third human character, the Venetian, is introduced (7). He, like the Hunter, gives gifts to the Farm Girl. His gifts are a rose, high-heeled shoes and a necklace. The Hunter then returns to the Farm Girl, but his gifts of small animals (a mouse, then a rabbit) are rejected.

The next section (9) is set to a second song. This time, 'High on a Hill Stood a Lonely Goatherd' from *The Sound of Music* (and a song which will be well-known to a large part of any audience, and which, like the Venetian's Italian, represents a stereotype) is performed by the White Ladies as props are removed (the lake in this case, to show a movement from the lowlands to the highlands). The word 'herd' is removed from the song, referencing Zlatorog. Yodelling is added. In this scene the White Ladies and Zlatorog are watching the Hunter as he approaches, checking that it is still safe.

In (10), entitled 'Stealing 1' the Hunter takes more than he needs (*how much is enough*) in this case flowers. The action is described in short sentences:

Mountain creature sounds the alarm

Z challenges H and Hunter returns flowers

WL watch

Hunter sneaks back and snatches flowers

Z challenges H

Circle each other

Z charges and H side steps, stands ground and raises bow...

H fires arrow and wounds Z

Z's blood produces Triglav flowers

These actions serve to produce the story's dramatic climax, which ends with the Triglav flowers, produced by Zlatorog's blood when wounded by the Hunter.

The Hunter's death is then described (11): he attempts to wound the White Ladies, tripping and falling to his death. This – in the highlands – is punctuated with the performance of a 'sad song' during which the lake is returned, shifting the scene back to the lowlands. The White Ladies continue their narration (13), which describes the current state of the mountainous region, as a result of the tragedy. In the final scene, the Farm Girl returns with the shoes given to her by the Venetian which she washes in the lake. As the Hunter's

headband floats by in the lake, she realises what has happened. The piece ends with her tears.

The scenario is the culmination of the devising stage of the production process. It is produced by the end of the workshops and is necessary to demonstrate that the production is ready to be performed.

8.9. Summary of analysis

This chapter has focused on aspects of the creation of the piece during the devising stage, as the story continues to undergo multiple resemiotisations in its trajectory to street arts performance. During the devising workshops, Bev works with the performers to develop the story into something that can be taken and performed in the street. The analysis started with Bev describing her plans for the visit to Ljubljana and her ideas for the production. It then encompassed the purchasing of additional objects to enable the puppets to be manipulated and to process in the open air. Verbal dialogue is introduced to the story and it is resemiotised into a scenario, a document setting out the performance, step by step. These trans-semiotic moments, of description, of acquisition, of co-writing and of producing a tangible document setting out the actions for the performance, continue to propel the trajectory. At the end of the devising process the production is ready for the performers to perform at the festival, the props, puppets and objects all identified, made and tweaked.

8.10. Towards performance

At the end of the devising stage Bev returns to the UK. Before she leaves, the group performs a preview, or dress rehearsal. She sends me an email shortly afterwards, attaching the finalised scenario, in which she describes the walkabout and identifies the link between the prologue and the performance as needing attention. They had been rushing and not all the performers had been able to get to the preview. Adding to this, the weather had been very warm and the performers nervous. However the puppets themselves worked well and they were able to perform the walkabout.

'How Much Is Enough?' is now ready to be performed at the Ana Desetnica festival 2015. The details are printed in the festival programme. The flights are booked, hotel rooms are reserved. Chapter Nine focuses on the performance.

If ten sons be born successively of one mother, then the tenth of these brothers must leave home to shift for himself in the world.

And a tenth sister is in a like case (Copeland, 1933b:654-655).

Part IV Performance

Chapter Nine: Stage Four, Performance, or, *a slice of a slice*

The tenth sister went out into the world again – and her home and her people saw her no more (Copeland, 1933c:658).



The Tenth Daughter

Bev returns to Ljubljana for the final time at the end of June 2015. Over the course of June and early July, she and the performers perform 'How Much Is Enough?' across Slovenia. They carry and wheel bags and suitcases stuffed with puppets, props and costumes. Their props include a mountain made from green curtain fabric and a lake and river of shiny blue satin. The suitcases (and performers) are booked onto coaches and trains by A.M.T.'s administrator to enable them to make their way across the country.

The performers, and the festival audiences, follow a schedule, printed in folded up programmes and published online. Made visual and made tangible. The schedule lists the times and location of each performance.



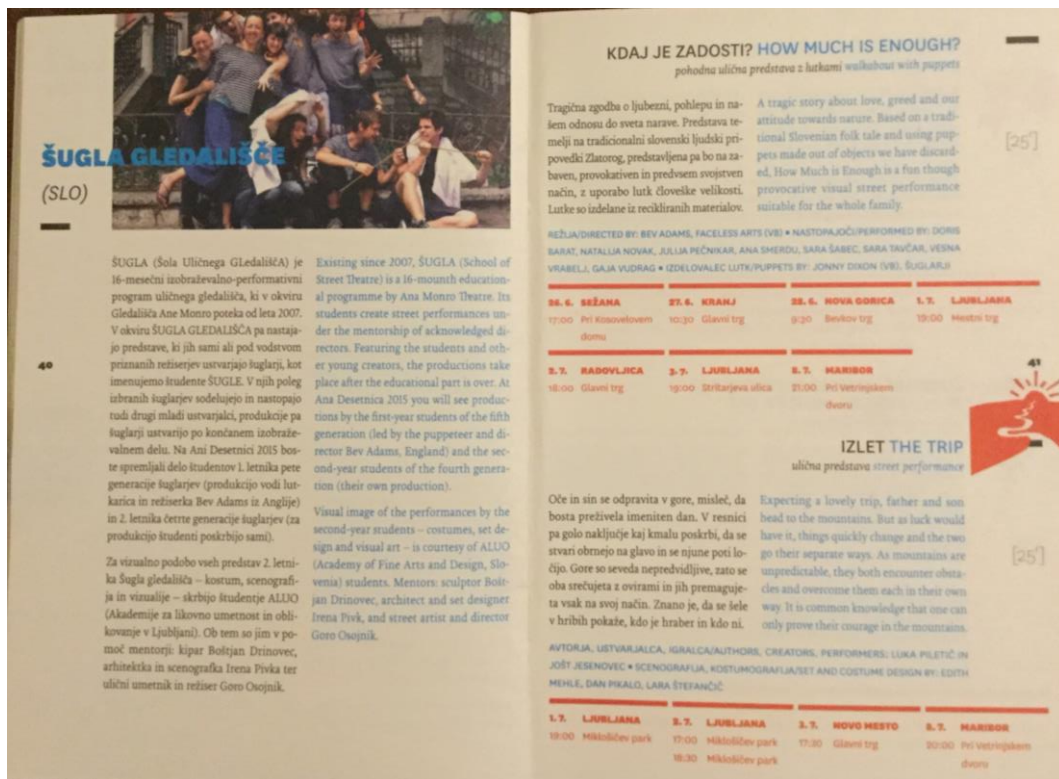


Figure 41: The printed programme (cover and 'How Much Is Enough?' page)

During the festival, audiences gather at the listed time and place, holding their programmes. They gather up foam blocks with the appearance of giant sweets, wrapped with orange voile fabric, piled up next to each performance site by the festival team. They then arrange these around the sites, the stage created as an absence in contrast to the audience presence.



Figure 42: Stacks of festival mats piled up on a trolley

For the purposes of this thesis the festival performances mark a finale, an end point. They are the main objective of F.A.'s and A.M.T.'s collaboration and the reason for which the two organisations have been working together over the course of the previous five months. The performances, as meshworks, are the culmination of the workshops over the course of the past few months:

Here, organisms figure not as externally bounded entities but as bundles of interwoven lines of growth and movement, together constituting a meshwork in fluid space (Ingold, 2018:1796).

The production is the trajectory. But it is also the output. As a multimodal artefact, it is ephemeral. Yet the tangible materialities constituting it continue afterwards, as traces. The puppets are re-housed in the store. They remain the property of A.M.T., as commissioner of the work. The costumes and props might be repurposed. The beads, the high-heeled shoes used for future productions. But it is unlikely that it will hold a space in the store in the same way as 'Mother Courage'. It is not intended to continue after the street arts festival.

The story is now in a resemiotised form enabling it to be told in the street. De Certeau describes space as 'practiced place' (1984:117), stating that the street 'geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers' (ibid). For the performance, the

street has been pre-defined by Ljubljana's city planning department, the sites determined by A.M.T., negotiated with the city council and the festival legitimised. If city streets are transformed into space by those within it, street arts performance plays a particular role. Street arts performances are interventions in 'public' places, making what P.Simpson describes as 'significant interventions into the everyday life of cities' (P.Simpson, 2011:416). The spaces 'created' by street performers are liminal, like the practice itself, and as the festival title implies. The prevailing image of the street performer, *performing outside*, as a busker, as a juggler, as someone blowing giant bubbles contrasts with that of the performer *performing inside*, as an actor in the theatre, as a dancer in the ballet.

The custom after which the festival is named is explored in writings about Slovenian folklore (e.g. Copeland, 1933c, see 8.8.3.). The tenth daughter would be cast out and forced to make their own journey in the world. The festival is named after this tradition, with the 'Ana' implying a daughter (or sister) and linking to the 'Ana' in the theatre name. Each of the festivals organised by A.M.T. has 'Ana' in the named. This year marks the eighteenth year of the festival. 'Ana is a teenager', announces Goro, as he introduces one of the festival's headline acts.



Figure 43: One of the Ana Desetnica festival sites, decorated with fabric

The street performer appears nomadic, without borders. Yet, complex licensing systems combined with the complex privatisation of public space can inhibit the street performer's opportunities to 'intervene in the spatiotemporal organisation of a space' (P.Simpson,

2011:416). The street is not necessarily a public space, free for performance, free for expression, free from borders. In the case of the festival, staging the performances and accommodating the performers is a bureaucratic and administrative process. To 'perform' in the street, unannounced, uninvited, is not permitted if unadministrated. Their transience must be approved and legitimised. Their belonging is negotiated and contractual.

At the time of the street arts festival I am keeping a regular diary. Like the boundaries established and performed in the production, those within my own life are being defined and redefined. After all, 'there is no spatiality that is not organised by the determination of boundaries' (de Certeau, 1984:12). I am also writing to create a habit, a *writing habit*, and to develop and improve my academic writing. I write to familiarise myself with the genre in order to gain entry into that particular world. Earlier that year I had a small piece of my creative writing published, having won a prose competition for an independent publisher. It is the first piece of writing that I have submitted for publication and it has given me mixed feelings about whether I want it to be 'out there'. I am also editing the TLANG project blog at this stage and becoming interested in different kinds of ethnographic writing and (re) presentation. Writing seems to extend the context of my research into my own life. I do not consider this autoethnography (Behar, 1996) but I am orienting myself within this area of work, often questioning what it is I bring to a particular activity or group. I have decided to take my eldest daughter, then aged 5, with me to the street arts festival.

The performances have already started in Slovenia for the Ana Desetnica festival. B flew over on Thursday and said the first one went extremely well. I was originally planning to be over there now, but then it made more sense to be there 1-5 July as I'd be able to stay in Ljubljana rather than travelling round the country. Not that travelling would have been a problem, but the logistics were getting quite tricky and I felt that I was wasting S's time with too many questions. Easier to have one base, although it means that I won't get the full picture and experience it in different settings. For the performances I miss, I hope to use Bev's accounts and reflections as a different viewpoint. Then I'll have my own observations, photos, videos of the 2 performances I get to see next week. In addition we'll try to get to as much of the other acts and shows as possible and take notes, photos, videos of these too.

It occurred to me that my eldest's view will provide a very different perspective.

And this is how I'll view the street performances next week, as accompanied by a 5-year old, and partly through her eyes.

(Extract from fieldnotes, June 2015)

The work-life blurred boundaries are more tangible at times. I start to read about ethnographic fieldwork with children (e.g. Hackett, 2016) and participatory research. I am conscious that having my daughter with me will change my perspectives both on what I observe and how I interpret it.



Figure 44: Writing fieldnotes

With my daughter present it is difficult to write fieldnotes as I am occupied with looking after her. I decide to adopt a strategy of writing a short summary blog post every day, to sketch out what we have seen and to document. I accept I will miss certain aspect of the ‘immersion’ in which I have been able to engage for other stages of my fieldwork. However, I also start to find that I can access different aspects of the performances and the festival through her presence. We interact differently with the performers. Having a child accompanying me enables me to see things from alternative perspectives. It also forces me to take rests.



Figure 45: Stacks of mats and the street in preparation for a late afternoon performance

At the time of the festival, Ljubljana is hot and busy, teeming with tourists. In addition to the street arts festival there are performers, balloon makers, bubble-blowers, musicians. Each jostles for space in the city streets. Who gets to be here and define the space? Due to time restrictions I am able to see only two performances of 'How Much Is Enough?'. I do not travel with the performers, although doing so would have afforded different insights into how the performance moves and shifts and I am conscious of what I might be missing. I reconcile this gradually over the course of my data analysis and writing. There is so much that is missed for so many reasons: the restrictions imposed by the participants in my research – the elements that performers do not wish to be recorded, the impossibility of being in multiple places at the same time. My fieldnotes often reflect my own negotiation of research and home commitments. Each fieldtrip requires significant scaffolding put into place back home.

The first time we see 'How Much Is Enough?' performed, we arrive from the airport and the audience have already gathered to watch. Lothar is there – not part of the production but supporting. He grabs us cushions to sit on and gives my daughter a lollipop. I film the performance using my video camera. My daughter is distracted by the street and what is happening around us. I am distracted by her. She is also tired and starting to show it. The

performance unfolds. We feel quite distant from it. The street is busy with people and sounds and the dialogue is difficult to hear. *Does he die?* My daughter asks. At the end the puppets and performers pose for photographs.



Figure 46: The puppets post-performance

After the show finishes we go to talk to Bev and the group. The performers are unhappy. It has not gone as they planned. The complexity and challenge of performing in public spaces seem acute: the 'lack of conducive conditions', 'a static crowd, a degree of quietness and an absence of interference by dogs, children and weather' (Mason, 1992:5).

Bev suggests that this is because the performers are too busy and not communicating with each other between the shows. Some of the group are also involved with other productions. Others are fitting them in between part time work or studying. There is a communal space set out at the D.D.T. for those involved in the street arts festival.

The places or sites of performance are transformed into spaces through the performance, through the complex interaction and intra-action of performer, puppet, object, audience. Stories do this in multiple ways. But stories performed in public spaces make traces. These traces change the relationship that we have with these geographically defined places, as de Certeau states:

Stories thus carry out a labor that constantly transforms places into spaces or spaces into places. They also organise the play of changing relationships between places and spaces (1984:118).

How Much Is Enough?

A day later we race to the location of the second performance, positioning ourselves to the left hand side of the stage area. As we arrive the audience is already gathering, placing themselves on the foam blocks arranged in a semi-circle.

The lake, made from shiny blue fabric, is centre stage. The mountain sits further back on the back right hand side, a triangle peak of green fabric over an umbrella stand. Three more umbrella stands, those used for parasols in pavement cafes are in a row: two brown and one white. Bicycles pass by. Some cyclists ride directly through the stage area, while others change direction to avoid the spectacle. The puppets move from the left hand side of the stage from the direction of the three bridges, led by Zlatorog. A small child stands, faces Zlatorog, who roars and jumps. She flees, back to her parents. Zlatorog performs, dancing and swaying, then retreats behind the mountain. The Venetian puppet follows, carried by the ground-based Venetian, who bows to the audience. The Farm Girl puppet is next, carried by the ground-based Farm Girl, playing with a chicken. The Hunter puppet and ground-based character stay close to the Farm Girl, with another rabbit who plays with the audience. They form a line: the Venetian to the left hand side, the Farm Girl in the centre, the Hunter on the right hand side. The chicken and the rabbit stay close to their puppets. Music has started and Zlatorog is behind the mountain playing a melodica. A traditional sounding tune. As the music plays, the puppets are placed one by one into the umbrella stands until each assumes a seated position, presiding over the stage area. The Venetian first, his right arm crossed over his chest and supported by the pole. Then the Farm Girl, her long yellow hair made from rags arranged and set out in front of her. As the Hunter is emplaced, the ground-based Venetian with a long string of golden-coloured beads, now free from the Venetian puppet, greets the crowd, (*buongiorno, come sta? Ciao, ciao ragazza!*). Meanwhile, as the final arrangements are made to the three puppets in their umbrella stand seats, the Farm Girl enters the stage, waving and carrying a hessian sack. She moves to the right hand side of the lake, with the Venetian remaining on the left hand side. The Hunter strides forward on the Farm Girl's right hand side with a bow and arrow set over his head and shoulder. The Venetian continues to speak to the audience in Italian, (*bah no, perche?*). He is the

pantomime villain, the arrogant incomer. Zlatorog remains at the back of the stage by the mountain, the humans now positioned around the lake.

The music slows and stops. As it ends, the three humans start to sing the Triglav song. A passer-by stops at the back of the stage to listen. As they sing, Zlatorog moves forward, dances in a circle. The White Ladies (formerly a chicken and a rabbit) are to the far right hand side of the stage, the mop heads waving as they sing. As they sing the word *Triglav* they point towards the green fabric mountain. The song finishes and the audience claps.

As the main characters step backwards from the stage area, the White Ladies move forwards. The performers, both clad in black, wear beige fabric drapes over their heads and arms. Each has a white mop head in each hand. Ana is first with the English narration. As she speaks she moves the mop heads, to simulate them speaking. Julja is next, the Slovene narration. As they change places they dance around each other. Once Zlatorog is introduced, they move backwards. Behind the top of the mountain are animal puppets who dance and screech. Zlatorog moves to interact with them, and then prances up and down by the mountain. The White Ladies step forward again for the second line of the script, introducing the Hunter and the Farm Girl. The Farm Girl steps forward, pulling invisible food from her sack to feed chickens. The White Ladies crouch down and the white mop heads become chickens, scuttling along the ground. As the Farm Girl feeds the chickens, the Hunter creeps around the lake, his finger on his lips, motioning to the audience that they should not let the Farm Girl know he is there. He walks around the lake, behind the Farm Girl and puts his hands over her eyes. She jumps in surprise, screams and hugs him. Her movements are exaggeratedly feminine. She is a clown. The Hunter motions to his bag and the Farm Girl waits in anticipation for what he will present to her. He offers her a mouse, she feigns delight, then quickly casts it aside. The audience laugh. She hugs him again, then holds the mouse up to show the audience. The Hunter kisses her hand and leaves. The Farm Girl holds her hand to her chest and dances behind the seated puppets.

The White Ladies move forward again and narrate (*the Hunter goes to the mountains to hunt every day. He never takes much. Always enough*). They move back again towards the mountain. The Hunter prepares to go to the mountain and marches purposefully around the lake, bowing to the audience and tipping his cap. As he does this, he sings (*lalalala*), a tune in a minor key. The Hunter walks the full extent of the stage area, facing the audience and interacting with the crowd through smile and gesture. He motions that he is tired – it is a long way up to the top of the mountains. As he gets closer, the singing slows down. An

animal noise distracts the Hunter from his hike and he turns to face the mountain top, then running towards it. He crouches to shoot an arrow. One of the White Ladies takes the arrow and moves it towards the mountain top, slowly. The singing continues. The creature, also played by the white mop heads of the White Ladies and the chicken, falls from the top of the mountain. 'Yes' shouts the Hunter. He walks to the animal, puts the arrow back in his bag, picks up his prey and offers it to Zlatorog who watches from the side of the mountain. Zlatorog motions to him that he permits him to take it. Satisfied, the Hunter puts the animal in his sack. The singing continues as he walks away, pleased with his spoils. Another animal noise and he pauses to shoot another arrow. This time Zlatorog intercepts, jumping in between the Hunter and his prey and shaking his head. The Hunter protests, moving from side to side. A child laughs. He then gives up, shakes his fist and walks away. Zlatorog resumes his position next to the puppets. The Hunter walks away.

The Farm Girl moves forward to the lake with a piece of fabric. She begins to perform clothes washing in the water. With a triumphant shout the Venetian leaps into view on the right hand side of the stage, followed by his Page (*buongiorno, hey, buongiorno!*). Like the Hunter, he too walks the full length of the front of the stage area, facing the audience. Addressing the audience he points to the Farm Girl, (*ma, che bella ragazza!*). He claps (*ma bellissima!*). The Farm Girl stands, happy that he has noticed her. The Venetian motions to his Page who gallops over to the Farm Girl with a long-stemmed rose. Both jump. As the Page presents the rose to the Farm Girl she clutches her chest and screams in delight. She holds it out to show the audience. The Venetian has moved to the other side of the stage. He struts, legs bent. He calls his Page back over. The Page is a clown, walking with legs held apart and bent. Another Page appears as the Venetian calls. This one brings a pair of black high-heeled shoes, placing them in front of the Farm Girl and helping her take off her wellington boots and put on the shoes. Meanwhile the Venetian stays close to the audience, pointing at the Farm Girl as she puts on the shoes (*Italiani, si!*). The Farm Girl is delighted with the shoes. She gasps and points at her feet. The Venetian continues to address the audience (*la mia principessa, bellissima, si? Si? Ahhh*). The Farm Girl starts to walk in the shoes, floundering and tripping, as a child trying on 'grown-up' shoes, still carrying the rose. The Venetian watches and claps. She walks towards him. The Venetian continues his monologue to the audience (*ragazza, bacco, bacco*) motioning to his lips. The Farm Girl moves towards the second Page. She kisses him. The second Page moves towards the Venetian, passes the kiss to the Venetian. The Farm Girl jumps up and down. During this whole interaction the lake is between them. The Venetian turns again to the audience and motions to the golden beads he is wearing around

his neck. He looks at the audience, then looks back at the Farm Girl. She jumps up and down on the spot, nodding her head, (*certo!*). The Venetian takes off the beads and holds them outwards in his right hand, motioning for the first Page to take them. The Page trots towards the Farm Girl who shouts (*WOW!*), continuing to jump from foot to foot. The Venetian stays at the front, orchestrating. He shouts over to the Page, but in the meantime the Farm Girl runs over to embrace him. He shouts (*no, no, no, no*) but she is too fast for him and leaps into his arms, her legs and high heels sticking out at a right angle as she kisses him repeatedly on each cheek. She jumps down and composes herself. Meanwhile the Venetian motions to his Pages (*andiamo*). They run towards him, one carrying the Farm Girl's wellington boots. The other replaces the crown which has fallen from the Venetian's head. The audience laughs. He shouts for it to be straightened, then turns to the audience to check (*si?*). They gallop away (*andiamo, ciao!*).

They leave the Farm Girl admiring her feet, practising walking in her new high-heeled shoes. Meanwhile the Hunter approaches. Again, he puts his finger to his lips. He will surprise the Farm Girl, as is their ritual. He creeps around the lake and, as last time, puts his hands over her eyes, then stepping back to announce his presence. She appears less than happy to see him. He runs around the puppets to pick up a white mop head, then presents it to her. She squeals in false delight and holds it far away from her in her right hand before discarding it to the ground. Using mime, she re-performs his actions, demonstrating her disgust with what he offers her. She then holds the long stemmed rose and brings it towards her face to smell it. She points to the mountain and shouts (*Triglavska roža!*). He repeats with a questioning tone (*Triglavska roža?*). She nods. He turns to the audience, suggesting he wants their views on what he should do. The dialogue is partial, mainly through noises, but with Slovene words. In the busy street it is almost unintelligible. Yet the exaggerated actions clarify the story. He agrees. The Farm Girl dances with delight.

As the Farm Girl steps back behind the seated puppets, the Hunter begins his long hike to the top of the mountains. Meanwhile Zlatorog dances forward. Church bells ring in the background. The song begins, (*high on a hill lived a lonely goat, yodel-ay, yodel-ay*). The Hunter crouches down by the mountain, and the White Ladies and Zlatorog step forward, conscious something is awry, then step back to continue their play. The White Ladies continue to sing. The Hunter creeps around. The mountain creatures step forward again, sensing the Hunter's presence. The Hunter steps backwards, then turns to grab a piece of red fabric from the mountain (the Triglavska roža). The screeching gets louder and more frantic. Zlatorog steps backwards to face the Hunter, who is walking towards him, holding the red

fabric aloft in surrender. He puts the red fabric back on the mountain top, his hands raised above his head. Zlatorog returns to his position at the back of the stage.

The Hunter curses in anger and frustration, gesturing to the audience. Using shrieks and gestures he points backwards and to the ground. He then turns to run back towards the mountain and grabs the red fabric again, putting it into his bag. Zlatorog runs forward. The Hunter pulls out his bow and arrow. Zlatorog paces with one of his hooves. The two move round in a circle as they face each other and prepare to fight. Zlatorog leaps forward, the Hunter escapes. They turn to face each other again. The Hunter stands by the side of the lake, his bow and arrow drawn. He shoots. A performer carries the arrow, slowly through the air, towards Zlatorog. The performers sing a long high note, like a cry but also like the sound of the arrow as it travels. The arrow is placed in Zlatorog's chest. The performer moves to his right hand side and pulls red fabric from his body. It flows out. It is placed on the ground. Zlatorog falls. The red fabric in a line next to his body. The White Ladies gather by Zlatorog, tending to him. The Hunter steps backwards, his hands to his face. He shuffles slowly towards the audience, his bow in his hand. He drops his bow. The White Ladies jump up and move towards him, the white mop heads pecking at his head. He tries to fend them off. They move towards the mountain and he climbs at the back of the fabric, waving his arms aloft as the White Ladies continue to attack him. He then falls from the mountain top, twisting and turning, emitting a long cry as he falls. He tumbles to the ground and lies flat on his back. He twitches once. Then lies still.

The White Ladies slowly move forward for the final narration (*from that day forward, there were no animals and no flowers in the park, the peaks were bare*). A sad song begins, the melody similar to the Triglav song and to the tune played by Zlatorog on the melodica at the beginning of the production. One of the White Ladies takes the red fabric and hat from the Hunter and carries it, as if floating, towards the lake. The other stays with Zlatorog. The fabric and the hat are placed at the left hand side of the lake. She then returns to Zlatorog.

Meanwhile, the Farm Girl comes towards the lake in her golden beads and high-heeled shoes which she stoops to polish. She then stops by the lake, takes off her shoes and starts to wash them. A performer in black shakes the fabric and the red fabric, which is now visible as a flower, moves towards the Farm Girl. She sees it and lifts it with glee! She has what she wanted. The performer continues to ripple the fabric. The Hunter's hat now moves towards the Farm Girl. As she sees the hat, she stops and picks it up. She drops the flower. She gasps. She turns to the mountain and then back again to the hat. She takes off her golden beads and

throws them to the ground. She starts to sob. One of the White Ladies comes towards her and takes the flower. She brings it to Zlatorog who eats it. The Farm Girl drops to her knees, her head bowed.

Zlatorog is restored by the Triglavsko roža. He stands. One of the White Ladies moves backwards, gestures to the other White Lady and Zlatorog. As they travel Zlatorog bends down by the Farm Girl. She stands. The performers then sing the refrain of the Triglav song together. A pram is pushed behind the stage area. The audience claps. The performers bow. A space is left in the line for the three puppets. They bow again. The Farm Girl steps forward with the hat and leaves it, suggesting that the audience can donate. The performers stand grouped with the puppets, then move behind the mountain. The performance is finished.



Figure 47: The performers and the set after the performance

The people perish, in the myth, but the world of the myth, their world, rules and remains (Hymes, 1975:359).

Chapter Ten, Discussion, or, *the meanings are communicated*

Perhaps we could think of engagements with data, then, as experiments with order and disorder, in which provisional and partial taxonomies are formed, but are always subject to metamorphosis, as new connections spark among words, bodies, objects, and ideas (MacLure, 2013b:229).



10.1. Introduction

The main research question of ‘*how do street performers communicate throughout the process of producing a piece of art (street arts performance)*’ is addressed in this thesis. This chapter offers a summary of how the study answers this question, but also how it poses additional questions. I present my interpretation of the data analysed in the previous four chapters - conceptualisation, making, devising, and performance - with reference to the research questions and literature discussed in Chapter Two. Using the theoretical concept of *resemiotisation*, I consider how the performers, with creative practitioners Bev and Jonny, work together to create a devised production, and how the objects, found and created, propel the trajectory. I focus on the story as *trajectory* as it undergoes a series of multiple resemiotisations over the course of the production process. With translanguaging as the central theoretical concept for this study, I suggest how, as a lens, it offers an important, yet bounded way to understand the complexity of multilingual, multimodal, multisensory and multimaterial communication.

In this thesis, using examples from multiple data sets, I have made deliberate attempts to centre myself as researcher within the data collection. In doing so I demonstrate that the interpretations I offer arise not only from my engagement with the data but also from the personal orientating frame with which I come to the research and which continues to develop alongside it and in dialogue with it. I consider, following Barad, that ‘we don’t obtain knowledge by standing outside the world; we know because we *are* of the world’ (2007:185). The process of data collection and data analysis is one of order and disorder (MacLure, 2013b). It is necessarily experimental. The quantity of data and the richness of the data provided sufficient material for a number of studies and a significant challenge lay in how to narrow the scope of the thesis and how to account for the data selection and the choices involved in the narrowing process.

Qualitative writers are off the hook, so to speak. They do not have to play God, writing as disembodied omniscient narrators claiming universal and atemporal general knowledge. They can eschew the questionable metanarrative of scientific objectivity and still have plenty to say as situated speakers, subjectivities engaged in knowing/telling about the world as they perceive it (Richardson and Adams St Pierre, 1998:348).

As a qualitative writer I am off the hook to some extent – but also very much accountable. My own documentation of the trajectory, and the interactions around it and intra-actions within

it, is interpretation, and, following Heller, I tell a slice of a slice of experience. It is my interpretation. In discussing my research findings and setting out their implications, I also demonstrate my commitment to articulating the evidence for my findings and my claims (Miller, 2017). But these are interpretations, and interpretations arising from intra-action (Barad, 2007:33). From my being in the world. I use the term intra-action as it describes more fully the practices under investigation, as ‘the mutual constitution of entangled agencies’ (ibid) (see also Chapter Two). These agencies ‘emerge’ through intra-action. And yet, the writings presented in the four analytical chapters are interpretations of these agencies, as considered through particular lenses, each one partial. As Geertz puts it, ‘in short, anthropological writings are themselves interpretations, and second and third order ones to boot’ (1973:317).

This chapter therefore offers a discussion of a number of contributions of this study. In the conclusion that follows in Chapter Eleven, future directions for further research are set out.

10.2. The research questions as trajectory

As established in section 2.9, my original research questions were different to the ones I finally addressed within this thesis. An ethnographic approach is necessarily inductive, with data allowed to breathe and to speak (MacLure, 2013b). The questions with which I started aligned closely with those for the TLANG project as a whole and were developed around the concept of translanguaging as ‘observable’.

But, as my research continued, the questions were continually refined from ‘evidence towards theory’ (Copland and Creese, 2015) and through being within the world I was seeking to understand. I worked outwards from the data. My research questions are also shaped by my embodied experience within the field, my additional collaborative projects, and my engagement with and contributions to the broader TLANG project. Over the course of this process, and in dialogue with theories of translanguaging developing more widely in the field over the course of my research (e.g. Mazzaferro, 2018; Sherris and Adami, 2018), including through the TLANG project, I moved away from viewing translanguaging as something that might be tangible or ‘observable’ and towards what Li describes as ‘more than descriptive’ (2017:26).

The research questions therefore necessarily evolved with the research, having been created for and by the research, and are defined as follows:

1. How do performers deploy *translanguaging* practices in drawing from their communicative repertoires across the processes of producing a piece of street theatre?
2. What is the relationship between translanguaging and resemiotisation and how do these lead to semiotic transformation?
3. How do performers go beyond language, bringing in their own communicative and practice-based repertoires, to create the production?
4. How are *translanguaging spaces* opened up and closed down across the production process?

10.3. The contribution of this study to theories of translanguaging

My immersion in these data and with the field more generally led me to consider translanguaging as an orientation to communication that enables the multimodal and the material to be taken into account, alongside and with 'language'. Street arts emerged as a field that offers a particular and unique lens on communication, one that disrupts and challenges understandings of the centrality of language (Thurlow, 2016) and pushes towards the incorporation of the material and the embodied. It 'provincialises language' (ibid). This responds to the question raised by Pennycook of what translanguaging might be:

if it incorporated an expanded version of language and questioned not only to the borders between languages but also the borders between semiotic modes' (2017:269).

In this thesis I argue that translanguaging is created by and created for intra-action, with spaces created through these intra-actions of bodies and matter. Like Pennycook, I suggest that translanguaging has its own borders and limits (p.280) but consider that a translanguaging approach enables purposeful attention on what is gained and what is lost.

Li (2017) describes translanguaging as a practical theory of language, with *language* conceptualised as a 'multilingual, multisemiotic, multisensory, and multimodal resource' (p.26). Street arts production involves processes in which these multiple resources are deliberately and actively invoked. Li goes on to suggest that focusing on *different* languages

is 'uninteresting and insignificant' (ibid). As such, as my research unfolded, the *different* languages spoken by the performers became less significant. In part this reflects my own linguistic repertoire and its limitations (1.9). The objects, the puppets, the props became more prominent. They were no longer a backdrop, or context, but instead became the 'focus on research', as 'carriers of different ways of knowing' (Facer and Pahl, 2017:219), 'non-human' bodies (Barad, 2007:34). But the question remained to what extent the material can be brought into a 'translanguaging lens', when it risks that 'any practice that is slightly unconventional could be described as translanguaging' (Li, 2017:9). Jaspers and Madsen describe translanguaging as 'capricious' (2016:241), in the sense it has taken on different meanings for different researchers, as *ontological* and as *pedagogical*:

Translanguaging thus appears to function as an ontological and descriptive term, and to name a pedagogical and language-political project the success of which depends on making room for bilinguals' multiple discursive practices at school (p.242).

So here translanguaging is presented as onto-epistemological, as 'knowing in being' (Barad, 2007:185). Collaborative street arts production and performance serve to enable deployment of performers' full resources, pushing them to working with whatever is to hand. In practice, as demonstrated in the analysis in the preceding chapters, this is bounded and restricted in multiple ways. But, I argue that translanguaging possibilities emerge through intra-action. If bodies emerge through intra-action, translanguaging spaces emerge too. Likewise, intra-action occurs through translanguaging. This has implications for arts-based and arts-informed practice as well as for language education, more broadly configured (see Bradley, 2017c, for a discussion of translanguaging, modern languages and engagement).

If translanguaging is not 'observable' and, rather, is an ontological perspective on dynamic communication, innovation in analysis to incorporate 'people, semiotic resources and objects' (Pennycook, 2017a:280) becomes highly necessary, moving beyond the established code-switching models. The analyses presented in the core of this thesis therefore aim to demonstrate how a series of different lenses within a broadly ethnographic approach might be used to extend a translanguaging approach, one that does not rely on the description of different bounded languages, instead offering a holistic translanguaging approach (Bradley and Simpson, 2019 forthcoming). Each snapshot of data shows what might be lost - and also what might be gained - when using different approaches to analysis (see also Bradley and Moore, 2018). Crucially, I argue that for the production processes under investigation, translanguaging as a conceptual framework allows for the communicative repertoires (or,

following Kusters and colleagues (2017), semiotic repertoires) of the performers to be foregrounded as they are deployed over the course of the production process.

The story, as trajectory (Kell, 2015; 2017), becomes a unit of analysis (Kell, 2017:351, also Lemke, 2000) which brings to light translanguaging practices, as enabled and as disabled across different points, shifting the gaze towards the more macro level processes within which the trajectory operates and those more micro decisions, and intra-actions, which affect its travel and final shape.

Despite moving beyond 'language', '(L)anguage' and 'languages', I still chose to retain a focus on an expanded notion of *translanguaging practices*, as encompassing a broad view of the deployment of multiple elements from the performers' communicative repertoires.

Extending this, I consider how *translanguaging* can enable specific points of resemiotisation, and therefore moments of shifts in meaning-making to be identified. The extension away from language, towards the multimodal, the multisensory and the material, is then considered in terms of the ongoing development of the production. The final question concerns translanguaging spaces and how these are enabled and disabled at different points across the process. I offer an alternative lens on the concept of a translanguaging space, suggesting trans-semiotic spaces encompass the multiple modes of communication more fully.

This thesis expands the scope of translanguaging as a notion to include the material - in the form of objects found and props and puppets created for a largely non-verbal production. It extends translanguaging to encompass non-human objects, as 'dynamic and shifting entanglements of relations' (Barad, 2007:35), their creation and their subsequent deployment in devising and performance. It seeks to foreground objects, for example the 'How Much Is Enough?' puppets, as created for and by the action, and as extending the performers' repertoires.

10.4. Overarching themes: contributions and implications of this study

In this discussion, I also seek to present additional theoretical contributions of this thesis, asking how does this research contribute to understandings of communication in contexts of community arts. I do this by considering each of the research questions in turn.

In the conclusion which follows this chapter I set out methodological contributions, areas for further investigation and the potential impact beyond academia. In the appendix are

examples of the projects I developed alongside my thesis and with the TLANG project. These also serve as entanglements, and although I have sought to keep my thesis distinct and discrete, they inevitably intra-act and cannot be fully disentangled.

10.5. Resemiotisation: extending the translanguaging lens

As Barad states, 'to be entangled is not simply to be intertwined with another, as in the joining of separate entities, but to lack an independent, self-contained presence' (2007, xi). To commit to produce street arts is to commit to entanglement. In this thesis, Kell's concept of trajectory (e.g., Budach et al., 2015) is employed to enable an analytical focus on the intra-actions between people and objects. Kell (2009; 2011), and subsequently Budach and colleagues (2015), differentiate between a scripted and an emergent trajectory. In the case of the street arts production, the trajectory occupies both descriptions, representing the interplay between emergence and scripting. As Bev re-works the synopsis, starting with Lothar's narration, developing the draft synopsis that is emailed to Tea to create an informal agreement to continue the 'intra-action', contracting the puppet-maker to design and lead the creation of the puppets, props and objects, then devising, scripting, and finally producing a document which outlines the performance, she engages in scripting. However, the scripting actions attempt to pin down emergence.

Iedema's concept of *resemiotisation* centres on the flow of events and objects (2001:23), enabling the focus on different semiosis and their material affordances. He considers a 'resemiotising logic' as underpinning processes of design and building (p.35), and how the processes of resemiotisation are also processes of 'embodying assumptions about the world' (p.36). This thesis therefore argues that focusing on processes of resemiotisation allows new understandings of translanguaging as an ontological perspective on communicative practices. But it also argues that resemiotisation is non-linear, with multiple transformations occurring and multiple bodies emerging, both human and non-human. These multiple, multiplying resemiotisations of the story have implications for the continued trajectory. As new meanings are committed to, and made material, the opportunities for the directions of the trajectory, and the opening up/closing down of translanguaging spaces, are transformed.

In the analytical chapters, significant points of transformation, as points of resemiotisation, or *trans-semiotic moments*, are identified and analysed. However, within these periods of intense creation, there are multiple trans-semiotic moments, too numerous to be analysed here. I have taken key points, in an attempt to identify what has been the catalyst for each

transformation. But, as with all research, the partiality of the ethnographer's gaze and of any analysis must be taken into account. And as MacLure puts it, data here are emergent. The points here are 'hot spots' (MacLure, 2010). Rather than answering a particular question, they ask 'what next' (2013b:228).

Scripted emergence

In street arts production and performance, the emergence of trajectories cannot be neatly categorised as 'scripted' or 'emergent'. Budach and colleagues (2015) describe 'scripted' trajectories as those following particular paths, using the examples of public institutions. 'Emergent' trajectories, on the other hand 'tend to occur in domains of activity where processes are not yet formalised and genres are flexible' (p.392).

In the case of the street arts production considered here, the parameters are less clear and there is a necessary opacity. This is an emergent collaboration, and the production itself is one that must appear to the audience as if it *emerges*. However, there are clearly demarcated activity structures and time-bound stages. Over the course of the production process, the trajectory is marked by a series of resemiotisations that seek to script. Bev controls the emergence through its scripting. The emergence is therefore necessarily scripted, and, therefore necessarily bounded.

10.6. How do performers deploy *translanguaging* practices in drawing from their communicative repertoires across the processes of producing a piece of street theatre?

The street arts production aims to appeal to a diverse audience in the street. The wider context is an international street arts festival, attracting visitors from across Europe and beyond. Extending outwards, the European street arts network acts as an emergent, yet also scripted, framework to which the production process connects and to which it contributes. The photographs of the puppets and performers in action – or the festival ephemera – provide a visual trace of the affordances of transnational collaborations.

The stage is the street. It must be made and re-made for each performance. The production translates. The performers must create a production which takes into account a large number of variables, some of which can be predicted (general city street activity at particular times of day, interactions with the public) but not all (the weather, the public's reaction, even the presence of a public). Over the course of the production process, the

performers use their communicative resources to devise and subsequently stage a production. The performance, described in Chapter Nine, is highly visual, involving puppets, sound and noise. It also includes verbal language and is multilingual, incorporating English, Slovene and Italian, at various points.

The street is always a multilingual space, or semiotic repertoire (Pennycook, 2017a). A performance of entangled puppets and bodies, unfolding into and with the street adds multiple, multiplying modalities to the street. But the opportunities for *translanguaging practices* across the course of the production, defined here as spaces in which the performers can draw from their full communicative repertoire, are not assumed.

During the conceptualisation stage (Chapter Six), a story-telling activity takes place. The performers are asked to tell stories: traditional stories. Yet they must tell these stories in English. Bev explains that it is for her benefit as a non-Slovene speaker, but links language to context, suggesting that sharing stories in Slovene would enable a more 'authentic' telling. In this way, what will be a multilingual performance is determined by monolingual practice. Yet the restrictions here are acknowledged. The performer who narrates the story ultimately used as the basis for the production uses English, translating the story and elements within it. The affordances of storytelling in this context are multiple. The story is one of place and, in telling it, Lothar sets out the tale itself, a traditional folk story (Copeland, 1933b), one that concerns travel and fear of the outsider. The interactions between the characters are outlined, forming the basis for subsequent resemiotisations. The interactions between Lothar and the story, and therefore his relationship with the place in which the story takes place are foregrounded. In telling the story and in Bev's selection of the story as the one that will form the basis of the production, Lothar is positioning himself and his historical body centrally within the production process. He is entangled. However, ultimately he cannot perform in it. Instead he comes to watch as a spectator: still entangled but in a different way. Telling the story also builds a space for interaction with the other performers around and with the story, opening it up for 'sharedness' (Shuman, 2005). Lothar, although restricted to one named language, translates the story and himself into the production, weaving his own narrative into the trajectory.

In the subsequent activity (7.8.1), a crafting workshop in which puppets are made from newspaper to represent elements of the story, new opportunities are opened up for performers to draw from their communicative repertoires. Whilst the story telling exercise requires performers to use only English, now the performers work together in groups to

create puppets together, using newspaper and masking tape. Around the activity, they use Slovene, moving to English when Bev circulates. The puppets themselves embody the practices that are being shaped during the activity. Bev is training the performers in junk street puppetry, and making, and making *quickly*, is an important facet of this. They must create the puppets not solely to then perform, but as a way to develop their understanding of the text. They then work collaboratively to propel the puppets through the street. In itself, the movement of bodies in space, working with a puppet, is one of trans-semiosis. The performers must not only draw from their communicative repertoires, aligning their use of their bodies with that of the puppet, but they must also work together to develop a shared repertoire to communicate within the group and to communicate to the wider public. The shape and form of the puppets guide their abilities, both enabling and restricting their movements. Intra-action with the non-human puppets, created by the performers, affects the movement and communication in the street. Ultimately, the Zlatorog puppet's form affects to what extent they can communicate, as a complex body, or entanglement of bodies and matter. Likewise the performers' bodies and the ways in which they must move to manipulate the puppet affect the puppets' abilities to translate themselves. The entanglement of bodies and objects is a complex. The trajectory is emergent. The performers and the puppet engage in drawing from their individual repertoires and also the repertoire emerging through intra-action.

While humans play a role in designing space, attributing functional meaning to objects and regulating their use and circulation, there is evidence that human intentionality and motivation does not fully control object-centred activity (Budach et al., 2015:393).

The puppets and props, although designed and made by humans, also control the activity. In the email Bev sends to Tea inbetween the two stages (7.8.2), she seeks to script the trajectory and the translingual affordances of the text are reintroduced. Zlatorog, translated to Goldhorn by Lothar, is retranslated to Zlatorog for the production. The non-human – the mythical golden-horned goat - regains and retains his Slovene language name. As the trajectory continues, new bodies are brought into the group. The possibilities for the visual representation of the story are sketched out by a puppet-maker, drafted in and contracted to design the puppets and lead the performers in their creation. In doing so, he establishes certain material affordances for the puppets, scripting emergence. Jonny draws from his communicative repertoire, his embodied knowledge and experience to script. The puppets are giants, their heads made from watering cans, their limbs from tent poles and bodies from

vinyl raincoats stuffed with newspaper. These objects with which the puppets are made are theoretically 'found'. But in some cases the 'found' objects must be purchased. They are not necessarily 'to hand'. It is scripted 'foundness'. They are added to the emergent repertoire of objects, practices that are entangled within the project itself and with the matter. The performers work together to make the puppets. As they do, they communicate across languages, playing and using different elements of the room as their own sketchpads. The making process crystallises the characters, objects and themes from the story. New meanings are committed to, and the production shifts in content and scope to accommodate these new meanings. The inclusion of an additional creative practitioner, and therefore an additional repertoire, requires the performers to reconsider and rethink how they can work together, and which resources they need to draw on in order to communicate the folk story through the production.

Prior to the devising stage there is a commentary on the scripting process (8.8.1). In this commentary, Bev also establishes the emergence, as embedded in the script. Again, the interplay between what is planned and what will emerge is foregrounded. In terms of language, the script includes words of Slovene. At this point these words pertain to characters and objects. These, as non-humans, retain their names. These non-human characters enable and build opportunities for translanguaging. At the store, objects and props are sourced and gathered together, a deliberate act of repertoire development and a point of trans-semiotic possibility. As the script is drafted, the performers debate the use of language and the inclusion of particular words and phrases. Inclusion of two languages here has particular communicative aims. Inclusion of English ensures that an international audience will be able to grasp what the story is. Inclusion of Slovene situates the story within a particular nation-state, anchoring it to a specific history and a specific folkloric tradition. This process also suggests that even for a fluid piece of devised theatre, bounded languages have meaning. The performers can draw from their full (and multiple, multiplying) repertoires in creating and devising, but these are then shaped into a bounded production. In the bounded production, languages are also bounded.

However, taking translanguaging and extending it towards the material, to include the non-human, shifts away from assessing which languages might be used within each stage. Instead, the performers' deployment of translanguaging as dynamic practice is demonstrated at each trans-semiotic moment. The spaces are made open for creativity and exploration. As Bev explains her choices in scripting the trajectory (8.8.2), she states that it will shift, that it will emerge, based on the performers (*because it will be what those performers bring to it (...) and*

you know what we discover (...) you know (...) I think I put in the narrative that she was tending pumpkins and now she might be chasing a chicken (laughs)). The deployment of resources from the performers' repertoires, as brought together and entangled for the production process, will determine the trajectory to some extent. What happens within a bounded period of time and at particular stages will shape and mould the resultant object, the production, and its performance. This includes the objects.

Once the scenario is drafted (8.8.5) it makes material the processes of devising. It is a more durable, more resistant materiality than the promo and draft synopsis (7.8.2). It incorporates the objects, the materials, the puppets and the performers, as entangled. At this point the production is ready to be performed. It provides evidence of the process, of the bodies involved and the puppets created for and by the production process. In the scenario, the distinctions between material and human, between mythical creature and person, are taken away.

Trans-semiotic practices

The performers deploy translanguaging practices in multiple ways across the processes of production. An analytic focus on different ways in which this might happen sheds light on the necessity of extending the translanguaging lens, beyond 'language' to include semiosis in addition to the material and the embodied. As such the findings here suggest a move towards **trans-semiotic practices** to conceptualise these processes of meaning making.

10.7. What is the relationship between translanguaging and resemiotisation and how do these lead to semiotic transformation?

When actions are resemiotised, new meanings emerge. With resemiotisation as a constant and emergent process, the question is how considering *translanguaging* might enable specific points of resemiotisation to be identified, and therefore key moments of transformation to be highlighted. Moment analysis is conceptualised by Li (2011) to account for these particular points of transformation. He describes these as '*critical and creative moments* where a specific action leads to a transformation of a cycle of actions' (García and Li, 2014:29). Here the concept of intra-action describes the entanglements at each particular point of resemiotisation, or *trans-semiotic moments*.

Translanguaging enabled key points of transformation to be identified. During the conceptualisation stage, closing down the opportunities for the narration to incorporate

different named languages led to the sharing of stories within the group. Ostensibly an opportunity lost, it was also an opportunity gained. Its telling in the workshop space was recorded by video camera, as 'data'. It was written down in a notebook. Its introduction into that particular space enabled an element, a non-human, to be created from newspaper. Its narration led to it being taken as the main focus for the street arts production – it becomes the trajectory. However, the teller, Lothar, draws from his own repertoire in telling the tale. He translates his own history, as someone whose family comes from the mountains and valleys in which the story is set. He translates a space, a geographical area, into the workshop, connecting to the present and connecting with the other performers' knowledge and understandings. He draws from his known experience and equally from his own understanding of what Bev is looking for. As a performer, as a story-teller, he brings his own embodied knowledge and history to the space. He translates the story, the space, Bev's requests and himself, and, in doing so in one bounded language, allows the story to be resemiotised.

Adopting an ethnographic approach to the study and drawing on multimodal data reconsiders the question of 'which language?'. Li's argument that a focus on which language is used becomes uninteresting and insignificant' (2017:26) is highly relevant. It became clear during the making stage of the process that a focus on *which* language is deployed is to some extent redundant. Action emerges from the intra-actions of performers, puppets and props, as the trajectory is propelled along. Objects here - the puppets in different stages of creation and development, the objects as they are sourced and selected, then brought into the production - act as a 'prism to understand how people practice space in different contexts and 'domains'' (Budach et al., 2015:393). Translanguaging here – in the ways that the performers draw from their repertoires - incorporates the objects and their gradual shaping and development. Translanguaging expands to include the process of deliberately creating a shared repertoire of entangled objects and performers, of non-humans and humans. In this sense the trajectory is 'scripted emergence'. And the concept of translanguaging becomes simultaneously meaningful and redundant. For, of course, the performers must use whatever there may be to hand and *what is to hand* involves its own trajectory:

- the puppet bodies, built in the UK and transported over in suitcases;
- the gorilla costume, repurposed for a magical goat;
- watering cans and other supposedly 'found' objects but bought to a specific size and scope.

The golden-horned goat, Zlatorog, and the White Ladies make the ultimate decision for what happens to the tiny paradise at the top of the mountains, whilst the humans have significantly less agency.

The devising stage incorporates multiple resemiotising processes. The making continues, as objects, props and puppets are reshaped, honed, added to and also reduced. They must be able to communicate with the performers, and the puppet-performer-complex must communicate with the initially imagined and subsequently real audience. Their making and remaking entangles with the creation of the production. The puppets and performers need to be able to move in a certain way. When they cannot, the story is reshaped and new actions committed to which allow for the size and bulk of the puppets and the possibilities of the puppet-performer complex. Across devising, trans-semiotic points arise. The script is sketched, discussed, resketched. The scenario is reworked. But, the point at which the devising stage ends marks a key moment of resemiotisation with the production of the synopsis. At this point theoretically the humans - the performers - could each be replaced, with the form of the objects and puppets taking precedence. These puppets and objects are made and they can move with a puppeteer.

Trans-semiotisation

The process of resemiotisation is in fact a process of multiple and multiplying resemiotisations, emerging through intra-action and, therefore, through the creation of trans-semiotic spaces. Focusing on a trajectory, the folk story as it is developed and created for performance, brings forth the multiple resemiotisations created. These do not replace each other, they overlap and co-inform. The key moments of **trans-semiosis** transform the trajectory, developing multiple new meanings and multiple possibilities.

10.8. How do performers go beyond language, bringing in their own communicative and practice-based repertoires, to create the production?

Lothar tells the story, as requested, in English (6.8). As he says Zlatorog, he translates his words to an English equivalent. In narrating the story, he draws not only from his own family history and lived geographical spaces; he also pulls in perceived alignments from the others present. By introducing the story he also introduces a trajectory. A narrative analysis sheds light on the small stories within the larger folk story and on the spaces he creates for others to join in with the telling. In requesting that the stories are told, Bev invited the

performers to bring the outside in (Baynham 2006; Simpson, 2011). The assumption is also that she can collect them and use them. The fact this story is told at all relates to its material traces within Slovenia. Any focus on a story of place must be accompanied by a sojourn into the history of that story and that space (Chapter Five).

In an analysis of interactions in a Sydney shop, Pennycook demonstrates the significance of the ways in which different elements are entangled, in terms of 'material artefacts, the spatial layout, the people moving about, the affordances of the spatial repertoire' (2017:273). He states:

The linguistic resources matter, but it is the way in which they are interwoven with the rest of the action, the dynamic relations between semiotic resources, activities, artefacts and space, that are of interest (ibid).

In street arts production, the script is important (8.8.4) and performers must make decisions about language, using language. Language is, perhaps, more important than first anticipated. Which elements of verbal interaction will be included? Which parts of the story require a narrator 'speaking words'? Which languages should be incorporated? Which order should they be in? At what points should these verbal elements be introduced? Who should speak them? In the case of 'How Much Is Enough?', the verbal dialogue is introduced for a number of reasons, as arising through the production process. The puppets are big, too heavy to hold for extended periods of time. Although physically impressive, particularly in comparison to those created in the newspaper workshop, the communicative affordances are limited. So, language is important, as are the language choices. But, it is a process of bricolage of which a characteristic of the material – the puppets' size and unwieldiness – that causes shift in the verbal aspect of the assemblage. A focus on language is therefore necessary, but as part of a larger whole.

The embodied resources, verbal and non-verbal, brought by the performers are significant. The performers draw from their linguistic repertoires when negotiating language choice (8.6.4). They use Slovene. Gaja seeks to make the Slovene poetic. Sara G, as the Venetian, draws from her communicative repertoire as she develops the character. The Venetian speaks Italian - an exaggerated, stereotyped Italian. The Farm Girl, played by Vesna, an aspiring clown, uses noises and sound effects. The choice of narrator is ultimately defined by the performers' own confidence in a particular named language.

The performers are pushed to go beyond language as the production process unfolds. As soon as the story is introduced through verbal language, the groups must work to draw out and make elements from the story from newspaper. These newspaper objects then communicate in the city street, beyond language. They must deal with the challenges of communicating outside. The challenges are diverse and often unanticipated: while passers-by kiss the snake nobody wants to kiss the goat. These processes are ones by which the performers not only must draw from their bodies (Blackledge and Creese, 2017) to communicate but develop a shared repertoire from which to draw. This shared repertoire belongs not solely to the performers as they work together but to the performers with the goat puppet. The shared repertoire from which they draw, and continue to draw, emerges through intra-action, a puppet-performer complex.

The context of street arts production and performance therefore problematises the notion of language as a central concern (Thurlow, 2016), as concentrating on verbal interactions would miss significant slices of what is happening. It serves to provincialise (ibid).

Trans-semiotic practice as shared

Otheguy and colleagues consider the idiolect as a key concept for translanguaging approaches to communication (2015). Here the practices under observation demonstrate how a shared repertoire develops through intra-action. The performers go beyond language, incorporating both the processes of making the objects in the trajectory but also the objects themselves. In this way, the concept of an idiolect only illuminates a small part of what is happening. **Trans-semiotic practice** is by definition a shared endeavour. As Barad states:

humans do not simply assemble different apparatuses for satisfying particular knowledge projects but are themselves specific parts of the world's ongoing reconfiguring (2007:184).

In this sense, the creation of a shared repertoire through shared tasks propels the objects quite literally but also the trajectory itself.

10.9. How are translanguaging spaces opened up and closed down across the production process?

As the story of the Zlatorog is shared during the conceptualisation stage, the translanguaging space appears to close down, if translanguaging is defined solely in terms of *language*.

However, in other ways it opens up, as the space is developed to encourage sharing. The sharing here is not solely in terms of known folk stories but about connections to place and connections to each other. This suggests that points in production processes in which possibilities for translingual practice are closed down also form a necessary creative catalyst. The requirement for Lothar to tell his story in English closes down the space momentarily, only for multiple spaces to open up and re-emerge, created through scripted emergence. Later on, as the production develops, its multilingual affordances are re-opened. Different stages of the trajectory enable and disable different translanguaging practices. They also enable and disable different extensions of the concept of translanguaging and therefore the notion of translanguaging space. Li defines a translanguaging space as one of creativity and criticality, built *for* translanguaging and *by* translanguaging (2011; García and Li, 2014). Here the notion is problematized and extended towards trans-semiotic spaces, extending towards the material and embodying the intra-actions through which translanguaging is enabled, focusing on the '*by*'. This thesis argues that translanguaging spaces emerge through intra-action. But it also argues that the act of translanguaging *is* intra-action.

The performance itself (Chapter Nine) is a multilingual piece, with multiple languages deliberately woven into the script. The narration is both English and Slovene, linking the story to its geographical provenance in the Julian Alps. Yet there is a tension. The Farm Girl – as performed by a clown – uses only non-verbal interaction, sound, noises, exaggerated movements. The Hunter has a handful more, but also uses mainly mime and sound. The Venetian is, by contrast, highly verbal. He converses with the audience in exaggerated, stereotyped Italian. The use of Italian positions him as outsider, as incomer. He is a pantomime villain, come to steal from the land and seduce the local women, demonstrating his contempt through using his Page to seduce the Farm Girl. Therefore, despite the openness of the workshops and the multilingual spaces across the process of production, the performance itself reproduces stereotypes of a 'foreign villain'. These are, however, embedded within the folk story itself, the context for which is explored more fully in the context of folklore literature (Chapter Five). The performers retain fidelity to this pantomime-esque tragedy. However, the blame for the destruction of the mountain paradise is laid at the Farm Girl's feet, whose greed and choices have had lasting consequences. It is the Farm Girl and the Hunter who incur the wrath of Zlatorog and the White Ladies. It is the local people, the 'folk', who have transgressed, disobeying the rules which are enforced by the mythical creatures of the mountains. The story tells of a place and time. The area itself formed a trade route for merchants travelling from Italy to Austria and has a tempestuous

history of occupation by different neighbouring countries. A folk story, a cautionary tale, an allegorical tale telling of the dangers of those coming from outside, is timeless. Yet, in positioning the Venetian through language as an exaggerated stereotyped character, the difference between him and the 'local' humans is foregrounded. The translingual, exploratory, creative spaces serve to create a production that, through language, reinforces boundaries and barriers. Paradoxically, this production is situated within a street arts festival that celebrates movement and the transgressive. This raises multiple questions for performers, particularly when recreating stories of place.

Trans-semiotic spaces

Translanguaging spaces are created for and by translanguaging practices (Li, 2011). Following this, if multimodality and materiality are integrated into an understanding of translanguaging, a shift to **trans-semiotic spaces** is required. These spaces, created by and for trans-semiotic practices, open up and close down across processes of resemiotisation.

10.10. Theoretical contribution

In this section I summarise how this research contributes to understandings of translanguaging and communication in contexts of community arts, building on the initial discussion in 10.3.

As documented in Chapter Two, this research was conducted as part of a larger programme for research, TLANG, which focused on translanguaging and translation practices in inner-city wards, in places of work and in the home. My research was to follow a similar rhythm and the thesis would develop in tandem with and interaction with the research carried out by the Leeds case study and by the wider project. As my research design evolved and I developed my methodology, my research shifted. Originally intended to focus on multilingualism, my observations and interactions with the people with whom I worked opened up new areas for analysis. It became clear that to research translanguaging was not solely to research how people use different named languages, instead, it opened up to consider the wider semiosis involved in street arts production and performance.

The analysis offered through this thesis demonstrates the value of translanguaging as a theoretical concept which has an important role in broadening the scope of research into communication in creative arts contexts. On the one hand, it captures the dynamic communicative practices of performers as they work together to create pieces of art - in this

case, street arts performance. These practices *de-centre* language. They are, as Li puts it, ‘multilingual, multisemiotic, multisensory, and multimodal’ (2017:26). But on the other hand, broadening its scope enables a refocusing on language or *Language*. The performers embody the translanguaging paradox: the piece of art created is one which simultaneously traverses borders and builds them up.

My research demonstrates that translanguaging, although widely critiqued and in some cases misinterpreted (as shown in the clarifying articles, e.g. Li, 2017 and Otheguy et al, 2015), has a significant role to play in understanding dynamic multilingual communicative practices. This is not only the case in the creative arts contexts in which I carried out my research, but has a wider application than has been considered previously. For example, it has significant potential as a theory of language in UK ‘modern languages’ education in schools, a point I argue for in a published article (Bradley, 2017c) arising from my doctoral research. I suggest that a translanguaging approach to languages engagement, the area of my professional practice, can make an impact on language policy in UK schools, for example in rethinking the ways in which languages are taught. As Li explains in the context of L1 and L2 acquisition, ‘questions should be asked as to what resources are needed, available, and being exploited for specific learning tasks throughout the life span and life course’ (p.26). This process is one in which the creative practitioners engage as part of the collaborative process of artistic production. But these questions extend far beyond the creative contexts in which this research takes place. There is scope and a need for a translanguaging approach to modern languages education in the UK, for example. The implications are far-reaching and cross disciplines and sectors.

My research contributes to the current shift towards new analytical approaches when working within a translanguaging ‘lens’ (Bradley and Moore, 2018). In focusing on key moments of resemiotisation and the interaction with ‘translanguaging practices’, I identified these as *trans-semiotic moments*. These are points in time and space at which the trajectory undergoes a specific change in meaning making. These changes in meaning making can be catalysed by the introduction of a new communicative element, for example in the case of the puppet making processes themselves, the images and proposed designs of the puppets, the making of the carcasses. These are embedded in translanguaging space, defined spatially, temporally and by activity. I bring translanguaging into contact with theories of ‘intra-action’, extending towards the non-human, the material, the objects created.

10.11. Summary

In this chapter I have focused on a wider discussion of the data analysed in this thesis, centred on the four main research questions. It has brought together, or entangled, the research questions, the guiding literature and the data. It does not simply present answers to the questions, it also suggests how new possibilities emerge and how each lens offers ways of seeing and ways of knowing, but also limitations and challenges. These questions lead to further questions and 'possibilities for new imaginings':

Possibilities for new imaginings happen in the slippages among discourses, people, practices and interaction patterns that circulate through trajectories that run on different scales, both temporal and spatial, with historical and imagined, global and local, coming together in a here-and-now experienced mediated action (Wohlwend et al., 2017:449).

Chapter Eleven concludes the thesis and sets out its contributions to the field. It does this in terms of impact beyond academia and methodological contributions. It then establishes avenues for further research and the limitations of this study.

Chapter Eleven, Conclusions

In modern Athens, the vehicles of mass transportation are called *metaphorai*. To go to work or come home, one takes a 'metaphor' – a bus or train. Stories could also take this noble name: every day, they traverse and organise places; they select and link them together; they make sentences and itineraries out of them. They are spatial trajectories (de Certeau, 1984:115).



11.1. Introduction: thesis review

This study has considered the sociolinguistic concept of translanguaging in the context of street arts performance. Over the course of a longer-term research relationship with an arts organisation and through ethnographic research conducted over an intensive production process, it has asked how people communicate across languages and cultures in street arts production and performance.

In Chapter One, I set out the areas of focus for the research, based on notions of speaking and ethnography. This was followed by a discussion of the guiding literature in Chapter Two, in which I established how this particular research contributes to the growing research field of dynamic multilingualism, as it extends to multimodality and towards posthumanism. Chapter Three describes the context for the study within the broader umbrella of the TLANG project, a multi-site ethnography focusing on translation and translanguaging practices in superdiverse urban areas. The methodology for this research, as orienting to ethnography and long-term collaboration, is explored in Chapter Four, while Chapter Five situates the story of the Zlatorog, or Goldhorn, in its historical and folkloric context, enabling themes to emerge through the analysis. The four core analytical chapters - conceptualisation, making, devising and performance - set out a series of data which follow the story in its trajectory. Chapter Ten presents a discussion of this data and the conceptual contributions made by this research.

In addition to the theoretical contributions, I now articulate the wider implications of this research in terms of impact beyond academia and methodological contributions. This chapter is structured around these particular areas of contribution.

11.2. Impact beyond academia

Here I describe a number of implications of this research for practitioners, particularly for those working within community arts and street arts and in contexts of grass-roots arts activity. I consider this broadly and make reference to the areas in which my thinking, developed over the course of this thesis, has contributed to my additional projects and areas of my work, in addition to broader contexts.

Understandings of stories of language and place

The focus of this thesis is a trajectory, a story undergoing multiple resemiotisations. In using the story and gathering and analysing a range of data as the trajectory continues, it sheds light on what happens when stories are told in contexts of community arts, foregrounding the histories that come together as these are requested, shared, and subsequently used to underpin artistic creations (in this case street arts production). But, focusing on stories also sheds light on intra-action, on bodies created through intra-action. Ethnographic approaches to research of this kind mirror the ways in which artists generate stories from communities, and working in this way can highlight alignments and differences.

The findings from this thesis suggest that community arts contexts are rich sites for the sharing of histories and understandings through story telling, and that the implications of this go beyond a simple reconstruction of a particular story. Practitioners using these methodologies in community arts can dig deeper into how stories of place and belonging are drawn out, the methods used, and what happens beyond these stories as they continue to travel. There is creative scope for practitioners to consider these understandings at trans-semiotic moments and how meaning-making is constructed through arts-based and arts-informed practice.

How groups work together, interact and intra-act

The trajectory is shaped by communication around the production process, as artists and performers work together. It is shaped by and through intra-action. This thesis contributes to understandings of how people (and things) do this and how different histories are threaded into the trajectory. People work together through creating. In this case they create the puppets and props used in the performance, in addition to devising the production. But, the puppets and props and the processes of their creation also create the community of practice around them and imbue significant meaning. Shared spaces enable shared communication and a sharedness which emerges across space and place. Spaces of creativity enable people to draw from their communicative resources in innovative ways, although boundaries emerge, often unexpectedly.

The ideas emerging from my research were further crystallised through the projects 'Migration and Home: Welcome in Utopia' (2016) and 'Migration and Settlement: Extending the Welcome' (2017) (see Appendix F). Through these activities emergent findings from my

doctoral research were recontextualised and vice versa. New traces exist. For creative practitioners the affordances are multiple, as objects and materiality are embedded in and foregrounded in performance of stories. This is demonstrated through collaboration between applied linguists and artists, and building arts-based projects together, using ethnography as a guiding approach and focusing on emergent intra-action.

Affordances of transnational and translingual production

The production process under investigation brought together creative practitioners from different countries and with a wide range of practices to develop a piece of street theatre collaboratively. At times the spaces were seemingly closed down in terms of translingual affordances, with participants asked to speak English. But, at other points, the spaces were re-opened and different languages within the group were embedded in the production itself. Translanguaging therefore extends beyond the idea of going across, through, and beyond bounded languages, instead shifting across, through, and beyond modes and materiality. When translanguaging is opened up and re-considered through intra-action, the very objects being created (and found) are also part of the action under investigation.

This opens up understandings of how creative practitioners might communicate beyond language when working together transnationally and translingually in spaces where languages may not be shared. This understanding enables a rethinking of arts pedagogy in multilingual contexts and a greater awareness of what artists do in these contexts and the role of (and potential role of) the arts.

Focus on trajectory for research and evaluation

Questions of research and evaluation, and the intersections and overlap between these often discrete activities, are highly prominent in the current arts climate. As Raw and Robson explain, in arts evaluation there is a disjuncture between the need for a 'balanced exploration of project outcomes and the quest for advocacy material to support and justify the work' (2017:125). In undertaking this doctoral research I was often torn between roles. To what extent did working collaboratively and engaging in co-produced research mean I was acting as an advocate? To what extent did those with whom I was working want or need me to publicise their activities? In many ways this was one of the most challenging aspects of my doctoral research and my own positioning and my own boundaries around advocacy

were developed in negotiation with the work I was undertaking and with the people with whom I was working. These positionings are also emergent.

Following the trajectory of the story and collecting a wide range of multimodal data has affordances for evaluation, in part due to the focus on systematic documentation in ethnography. Over the process of conducting my doctoral research I have been involved in multiple projects, including those with an evaluation focus. For example, in a recent project for the Refugee Council in collaboration with artist-researcher Louise Atkinson, I used the ethnographic-based research methodology from my thesis to develop a co-produced approach to evaluation. The transdisciplinary opportunities of working in this way, in focusing on multiple data and on foregrounded trans-semiotic moments, can contribute to richer understandings of what happens (to bodies, to humans, to objects) in creative spaces.

11.3. Methodological contributions

Here the focus is on the methodological contributions of this thesis and I discuss what this study contributes to communication-based research with artists and creative practitioners.

An ethnographic approach

Pennycook suggests that approaching communication in a way which incorporates the material, the sensory and the multimodal requires new and innovative ways of conducting ethnographic research. For him this has important implications:

This is important not just to accomplish better and more complete urban ethnographies but also to redress an historical imbalance that has placed language and cognition in the head, while relegating the body and the senses to the physical (2017:279).

In this way, research must go beyond the multilingual and the multimodal to incorporate the sensory (Pennycook uses the example of smellscape here) and the material. But in practice this is highly complex and not without challenges.

As a process of *becoming*, therefore, this thesis also sets out a model for bridging and theorising practice and research. In considering practice through a researcher lens – and in particular in considering practice through a *translanguaging* and an *ethnographic* lens, new ways of understanding open up. The ideas continue to travel and entangle, as shown in Appendix F.

Incorporation of the visual, material into study of language and communication

In this thesis, a magnifying glass is placed over a specific, bounded period of time and over a production of a piece of street theatre. It sheds light on the processes of conceptualisation, of making, of devising and of performing a piece of street theatre – the folk story of the Zlatorog. Methodologically it extends the scope of linguistic ethnographically informed research, led by the data and by the arts practice in which I was immersed. It makes the case for attention to ‘more than language’ in research and also for more research in the arts and creative sector, using theories of dynamic multilingualism as conceptual starting points.

I considered my research methodologies using Zygmunt Bauman’s concept of ‘liquidity’ (see Bradley 2017a) as applied to the research process itself and the methodologies under development. Liquidity, as underpinning research, enables not solely the opening up of new potential collaborations and creative partnerships but also the opening up of methodologies and the extension of accepted approaches.

How to embed a bounded and focused ethnographic study into a broader collaborative project

Much can be taken from the methodological puzzles of conducting a bounded study with the open, unbounded approach of ethnography, as presented in this study. And much can be learnt from how this develops in dialogue with a larger research project. There are implications for researchers for how research questions are negotiated within a larger entanglement, retaining distinctions and developing independence for new researchers. In many ways and at many points in time, the research seemed to extend into different directions, leading far away from the broader TLANG project and its questions. An interdisciplinary approach and the openness of ethnographically-informed research enabled me to present my work widely, and it provoked questions across broad fields, including the arts, as exemplified in the publications arising from this thesis and from associated projects. Its findings and the research process itself are embedded into my current activity and research which are currently grounded in education, and have a broader application than I could have envisaged at the beginning.

This has useful application for researcher training and how new researchers might be embedded in research projects in addition to how small research projects can form the catalyst for new entanglements.

11.4. Avenues for further research

An ethnographic approach to research dictates everything is important, and everything gathered is useful. It dictates that data collection or fieldwork be unbounded (for how else can we purport to have ethnographic knowledge?). Yet, a thesis, a life, and a thesis situated within a life, dictate that data collection and fieldwork must be – eventually - bounded. That the researcher’s sideways glance must be - eventually - guided gently forwards. In this way, a strength of this study lies in the development of a researcher. One of the most challenging and most important lessons of this study in terms of researcher development has been the importance of patience. That is, the importance of waiting, and the importance of understanding that research involves space and time to consider and to reflect on what is being observed. That is, also, the importance of giving time and space to possible side roads and detours.

Many avenues of further research have opened up, including projects at the intersection of practice, engagement and research, working in collaboration with artists and arts organisations (Appendix F). Theoretically, the orientation of applied linguistics research towards posthumanism and intra-action which this thesis documents, opens up new ways of looking (and re-looking) at my data (for example, as shown by Hackett, 2017).

11.5. Limitations of this research

The methodological and analytical approach which bounds the ‘official’ data collection period as March 2015 – July 2015 limits the study in its potential scope. The time-bound nature of a thesis dictates that only a small proportion of what has been gathered (‘across, through and beyond’ fieldwork) can be represented. And yet, that which has been gathered, synthesised, analysed, and, more generally pieced together to produce this thesis can be considered an entanglement of these lines and threads (Ingold, 2016), which then lead off into different places and into different entanglements. In this way, a limited study of this kind offers a way of understanding more of these entanglements. Its strengths, therefore, also lie within its limitations and the acknowledgement of these limitations. There is strength in focusing on the micro, while remaining conscious of and actively attending to the macro.

11.6. Summary

The implications of this doctoral research have been discussed with regards to their impact beyond academia. These were organised broadly in terms of understandings of stories of language and place, how groups work together, the affordances of transnational and translingual collaboration, and the focus on the trajectory for research and evaluation. The methodological contributions of this work were also set out, including their application in wider practice and avenues for further study.

This thesis is offered, therefore, as a story. A story of stories. It is a narrative which describes the processes of knowledge-making and a narrative which describes the processes of *becoming scholarly*. It also marks a starting point and the beginning of my research in this area.

There are no solutions; there is only the ongoing practice of being open and alive to each meeting, each intra-action, so that we might use our ability to respond, our responsibility, to help awaken, to breathe life into ever new possibilities for living justly (Barad, 2007:x).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Participant information sheet

<p>Participant Information Form: TLANG</p> <p>Community Arts</p>
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Translation and Translanguaging in Production and Performance in Community Arts

I am a Postgraduate Researcher in the School of Education at the University of Leeds working as part of the AHRC funded project *Translation and Translanguaging: Investigating Linguistic and Cultural Transformations in Superdiverse Wards in Four UK Cities*. My research focuses on the use of language in the context of multilingual community arts settings.

Further information about the main project is available here:

<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tlang/index.aspx>

The research will enable us to understand more about how people live in superdiverse areas and multilingualism in the UK and overseas, the role of community arts in this context and how people communicate with each other in creative settings.

You are free to take part or not to take part in this research project. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and asked to sign a consent form. Even if you agree to take part you can still withdraw from the research at any time—up to the time when you give your final consent (see consent form). If you decide to withdraw you will not have to give a reason.

I will conduct ethnographic research during the training workshops, rehearsals and performances. I will write notes based on my observations. I will take photographs. I will record interactions using video and audio recorders. I may also like to interview you about community arts, street theatre and about the languages you speak. You will be given the option to not have your name or image featured in the research and to remain anonymous.

Some of the material I collect will be made available to an academic audience through books and articles. Some will be made available to a wider audience through our project website and through public engagement events.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Contact details

If you would like further information about this project or to give feedback please contact:

Professor Mike Baynham: (phone number and email address)

Dr James Simpson: (phone number and email address)

Jessica Bradley: (email address)

Appendix B: Participant consent form

<p>Participant Consent Form: TLANG</p> <p>Community Arts</p>
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Consent to take part in the research project

Translation and Translanguaging: Investigating Linguistic and Cultural Transformations in Superdiverse Wards in Four UK Cities (TLANG)

Community Arts

- I have read/had read to me [delete as appropriate] and understand the Participant Information Sheet explaining the **TLang research project: Community Arts** and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
- I understand that my participation in the research is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.
- I consent:
 - to the researcher Jessica Bradley filming the workshops, rehearsals and performances
 - to the researcher taking photographs
 - to talk to the researcher: Jessica Bradley, Postgraduate Researcher
 - to the researcher making notes on the conversation and taking audio/video recordings
 - to the researcher making notes on the workshops, rehearsals and performances taking place
- I understand that if I do not wish to answer any particular questions or talk about any particular subjects I am free to decline.
- I understand that later, together with a friend or advisor of my choice, I will have the chance to look at the researchers' notes and transcripts and at this point I will be free to withdraw consent for any part of the material to be used in the research.
- I understand that information collected from me may be used in conference presentations, lectures, teaching materials, and academic publications, as well as in relevant future research.
- I understand that where possible the data will be anonymised, that my name will not be linked with my data, and I will not be identified in the report(s) that arise from the research if I do not wish to be. I do also have the option to be named in the research.

Name of participant		
Participant's signature		Date
Name of person taking consent		
Signature		Date*

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the information sheet, and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be kept with the project's main documents in a secure location.

Appendix C: Puppetry workshop plan (March 2015)

Puppetry/Animating the Inanimate Workshop plan

DAY 1 Friday 16:30pm – 19:30 pm 3 hrs – Bauhaus blocks and Clothing puppets

Time in mins	Exercise	Function	Equipment
16:30pm	Intro/Bev's background	Context. Use play and games in warm ups and to create material	
16:40	Ball of wool/The Sun shines on	Get to know you	
16:50	Ball name game	Icebreaker	
17:00	Walk around	Looks, nods, jumps, groups of	
17:10	Grandmothers footsteps with blocks and lycra	Working with objects	Blocks & Bags
17.20	Hot Potato Secret hot potato Hot potato in groups	Working with objects Freeing up Imagination Exploring Possibilities Basic Object manipulation	With blocks
17:35	Make me	Ljubljana, a log chopping machine, a ship, a dragon	
17:45 Break			
18:00	Clothing puppets	Basic puppetry skills Breath, Gaze/Focus, Gravity, Articulation/Locomotion	Participant's jackets, cardigans, shirts etc
18:20	Explore	Exploring & Sharing the world of puppets	
18:35	Meet & Greet	Basic interaction between puppets	
18:50	Tell a story with a clothing puppet	Going away/leaving somewhere Lost something Building/Making something Arriving somewhere	Blocks, Lycra, Jackets
19:10	Share		
19:20	For tomorrow. Bring newspaper Begin to think of a		Slovenian Folk stories

	Slovenian folk story		
	Questions?		

DAY 2 pm Saturday 10am-1pm, 3pm-6pm 8 hr –Newspaper and Dragons

10am	Intro & Discussion	Intro to pm work and reflection on yesterday's work	
10.15	Can I sit next to you	Awareness icebreaker	Chairs
10.30	Camels	sensitisation	
10.40	Blowing	Physical warm up, Working in pairs, trust	
10:50	A sheet of newspaper (Let us in) – Audience, Space, artist, content	Animating the inanimate Allowing material to find its own way Exploring the world of inanimate objects	Newspaper Tables
11:30	Break		
11:45	Folk Stories	Share stories	A3 paper Pens
12:30	The newspaper dragon (Let us in) (Let us in) – Audience, Space, artist, content Jason or George	Making a giant puppet operated by many and explore its movement & character	Newspaper Coloured card String Masking tape
1pm	Lunch		
3pm	Storyboard	Choose story for puppets	
3.30pm	Other characters & Objects in the dragon scenario	Make the other characters , settings, operated by 1 or 2 people	Newspaper Coloured card String Masking tape
4.30pm	Devise & Rehearse	Rehearse the storyboard with puppets	
5.30pm	Explore outside		
5.50	Bring some carrier bags,	Critique work in progress & reflection	

	Think of stories about bags, waste, carrying, Journeys, Leaving, migration willow/fibreglass rod	of the day's work.	
	Questions?		
6pm	END		

Zmaj or Pozoj - Dragon

Ljubljana Dragon, who benevolently protects the city of Ljubljana and is pictured in the city's coat of arms.

Husein-Kapetan Gradašćević, a successful Bosniak general who fought for Greater Bosnian independence from the Ottoman Empire. He is often referred to as "Zmaj od Bosne", meaning "The Dragon of Bosnia". The Serbian Despot Vuk Grgurević was also known as 'Zmaj-Ognjeni Vuk' (Vuk the Fiery-Dragon) because of the viciousness of his reign and victorious battles he waged against the Turks.

DAY 3 pm Sunday 10am-1pm, 3pm-6pm 8 hr – Biomechanics & Bags (Lycra and plastic)

10am	Intro	Intro to the day's work	
10:10	Heal toe	Solo Physical warm up	
10:20	3 points on the floor Into partners & Groups	Articulation and group work	
10:30	Biomechanics: Otcas, Posyl, Tormos, Tochke	Signalling in solo then Ensemble work	
10:45	Biomechanics to Present yourself	Audience interaction, playfulness, covering mistakes	
10:55	The point	Precision	
11:00	Major & Minor sculpting	Taking and conceding focus	
11:15	Group of 3 Lycra Bags	Try out Moving as a team	Lycra Bags
11:45	Break		
12:00	2 People Plastic bag Puppet	Intro to puppet	Large Plastic Bag Puppet
12:30	Story Share	Stories for puppet - Journey	
1pm	Lunch		
2pm	Meeting about show for Ana Desetnica Festival		

3pm	Story board	In groups of 3 or 4 weave a story around the rod puppet characters	
3:30	Other characters & Objects in the dragon scenario	Make the other characters , settings, operated by 1 or 2 people	Bags, masking, tape. Fibreglass rods
4:30	Devise and Rehearse	Rehearse the storyboard with puppets/Objects	
5:00	Explore in street		
5:45		Critique workshop in progress & reflection of the last 3 day's work.	
6pm	END		

Appendix D: Circostrada network meeting report

Circostrada General Meeting, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 7-9 November 2017: short research synopsis and report

Jessica Bradley* and Spencer Hazel**

**University of Leeds, **Newcastle University*

This short document summarises our research interests and our motivations for attending the Circostrada General Meeting in November 2017. It also outlines the areas of focus for this research trip with a short summary of our initial observations. Links to related project work and academic articles, in addition to our contact details, are provided at the end.

Research interests and motivations

Spencer Hazel's research interests are in multimodal communication in international workplace settings, including in contexts that are linguistically dynamic. He has a background in theatre as a practitioner and as a researcher he has worked in diverse creative workplaces, including with international theatre ensembles. Spencer is currently working on a project with colleagues in Denmark investigating transient multilingual communities across a wide range of settings. For this research, these include spaces in which groups of individuals come together to work on a collaborative project for a short period of time and are characterised by *fluidity* in how people might interact (http://cip.ku.dk/english/research/research_activities/transient-multilingual-communities/).

Jessica Bradley's doctoral research focuses on the processes involved in producing a short piece of collaborative street arts theatre in an educational context. She focuses on how narratives are developed and explored in different ways and across different modes, including through puppetry, and the role of language and material objects in the interactions within these spaces of production. Her particular interests are in processes of collaboration and interdisciplinary research methodologies. In her research she draws from visual and linguistic ethnography, and she has published on these areas of her work. Her research is linked to a project investigating multilingual practices in contexts of 'superdiversity' (www.birmingham.ac.uk/tlang).

Circostrada General Meeting November 2017

We attended the Circostrada general meeting in November 2017, which was hosted by the Ana Monro Theatre in Ljubljana, Slovenia, within the context of Spencer's research with the 'Transient Multilingual Communities' project (funded by the Danish Council for Independent Research, Humanities) and Jessica's doctoral research (funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council) working with a UK-based arts organisation (West Yorkshire) who had collaborated with Ana Monro Theatre for a street arts production for the Ana Desetnica Festival in 2015.

During our time with the CS general meeting, we have become particularly interested in how the network brings together professionals from across diverse street arts and circus contexts and how collaborations develop over the course of the three days. The meeting is a convergence of networks in itself, a 'meeting point', with a number of delegates representing networks elsewhere, for example in Finland, Italy, and the UK. Our general questions over the course of our time with CS are around how languages are used and how language is negotiated in a transient multilingual space of this kind. In addition, we observed how shared vocabularies begin to develop. It has also drawn out for us some interesting questions about the idea of 'transience' in this setting and how useful it might be as concept which enables understandings of fluidity in a changing context. The performances and shows themselves (which the networks and meetings facilitate in terms of providing a space, physically, administratively and in terms of policy) are transient and fleeting. The projects and networks surrounding them can be considered as developing a more permanent structure around them, which, in turn acts to formalise and create legacies. The meeting itself, therefore, over the course of the three days, can be considered as an interactional space in which transience is negotiated and managed. For Jessica, her initial reflections on the meeting are centred around communication within institutional and organisation networks, in particular the negotiation of terminology and translation zones. She is also interested in exploring the multilingual practices within the meetings. Spencer was particularly interested in the way participants from a diverse range of backgrounds accomplish a sense of being members of a shared community. Also, with his interest in non-verbal communication, he was inspired by the creative outputs of the week, including the outdoor street art activities, the mask workshop and the Circus Balkana performance. His reflections are on how by studying such practices, we can further our understanding of the role of the body and the setting in communication.

As explained during the plenary session and our introduction, we have carried out the following research during the meetings: video recordings of the workshops (we can share these with the network), participation in the meeting, workshops, and social activities, and conversations with delegates. We are working with Circostrada to ensure that members have access to our research and our writing about the meeting and we will continue to update you on our progress. We hope that our work on interactions, networks, and communication within creative arts contexts will be useful and relevant for members of the network in your practice and your own research.

Contact

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions – we would love to hear from you. Faces and names can be anonymised in academic publications arising from this research. You can also contact us if you would prefer not to take part in this research.

We would also like to take this opportunity to thank all involved for allowing us to participate as researchers in the meeting.

Spencer Hazel, School of Education, Communication and Language Studies, Newcastle University, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE1 7RU.

E: spencer.hazel@ncl.ac.uk

More information: <http://www.ncl.ac.uk/ecls/staff/profile/spencerhazel.html#background>;
www.spencerhazel.net; <https://newcastle.academia.edu/SpencerHazel>

Jessica Bradley, School of Education, University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT.

E: J.M.Bradley@leeds.ac.uk

More information: [@JessMaryBradley](https://twitter.com/JessMaryBradley); www.bricolagearts.org.uk;
<https://leeds.academia.edu/JessicaBradley>; <http://www.education.leeds.ac.uk/people/research-students/bradley1>

Links

Transient Multilingual Communities (TMC):
http://cip.ku.dk/english/research/research_activities/transient-multilingual-communities/ (for Spencer's current research project)

Translation and Translanguaging: Investigating linguistic and cultural transformations in superdiverse wards in four UK cities (TLANG): www.birmingham.ac.uk/tlang (for Jessica's doctoral research)

Appendix E: TLANG blog posts

Ethnographic fieldwork with an arts organisation: the betwixt and between (June 2015)

Jessica Bradley

(<https://tlangblog.wordpress.com/2015/06/16/ethnographic-fieldwork-with-an-arts-organisation-the-betwixt-and-between-2/>)

I am a PhD student on the TLang project, researching translanguaging and translation in production and performance in community arts. I approached a local community arts organisation, Faceless Arts (www.facelessco.com) earlier this year with a view to working alongside them on their creative projects with local community groups. This then led to me being invited to accompany them to Ljubljana, Slovenia, to work on a street theatre production with a group of multilingual performers.

One of the most interesting aspects of ethnographic research is the information that we absorb, as researchers, in the spaces and times 'betwixt and between', to use Victor Turner's description of liminality within the context of fieldwork. I consider these periods of hanging around for the next workshop to start or travelling from one place to another as being liminal spaces and I'm starting to understand the importance of these periods of 'waiting'. I'm currently in Ljubljana documenting the production of a street puppetry performance, which is a collaboration between the Ana Monro theatre (www.anamonro.org), based in the city, and Faceless Arts. The production will then be toured around Slovenia at the end of June and beginning of July as part of the Ana Desetnica street theatre festival, which is in its 18th year.

Intensive period of fieldwork: I spend all day with the group observing and participating in the workshops, filming the performers, taking photographs, conducting interviews and writing notes. I'm staying in the city for six nights and trying to soak in as much of the atmosphere of the making and production process as I can, as well as the wider context, in order to understand as much as possible. As I write this, we've just finished the making process and, after a day to recuperate, we'll be right back into the rehearsal and production stages. I'm sitting at one of the desks in the Ana Monro offices. To my right is a wide window through which I can see trees and the Kino Šiška arts venue (www.kinosiska.si), quiet for the first time since we got here as it's now Sunday and the Drugogodba music festival (www.drugagodba.si) that has taken place over the last few days has finished. To my left I can see through the doorway of the studio where a handful of people remain, determined to get the heads to attach to the three large puppets, a merchant, a farm girl, and a hunter, each made from scraps of fabric, watering cans, tent poles and yoga mats (amongst other things), before they can call it a day.

I have been reflecting on the betwixt and between of fieldwork and its central role in this process. It lies in the 3-mile cycle ride from the centre of the city to the studio. It's in the evening meal at

a Lebanese restaurant and a stroll around the city with the arts group with whom I am working for this research project. It's in the conversations in the corridor in which one of the performers tells us we should visit the area of Metelkova, a squat district close to where we're staying which is a hub for artists and musicians. The research doesn't stop when the camera does: far from it.

It was during a lunch break back in March, as we ate falafels by the Ljubljanica river, that the performers talked about their languages, the dialects of the country and their history. When chatting with one of the freelance artists who has travelled over from the UK to work on the puppets, I learn about how shadow puppetry can be used to make opera and theatre performances in a particular language accessible to audiences who do not speak that language (more information about this at <http://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whatson/baluji-shrivastav-and-dario-ma-91492>; www.baluji.com; <http://www.jonnydixon.co.uk>). One evening, after a meeting mid-project, we were able to watch rehearsals from other groups of performers who will be part of the festival and to give our own feedback on these. The conversations that flow when the voice recorder is switched off and the camera stays inside its bag are the ones that provide the rich context, the three-dimensional and complex backdrop for linguistic ethnographic research.

With thanks to Bev Adams, Artistic Director at Faceless Arts for allowing me to be part of this, Goro, Tea and Špela at Ana Monro for their fantastic hospitality, the ŠUGLA students for being so accommodating in letting me tag along and Jonny Dixon for letting me intrusively record our conversations over coffee and lunch. Also to Anni Raw, whose research seminar on liminality in community arts first got me reading Victor Turner.

The street art of observing street arts...(January 2016)

by Jessica Bradley

[\(https://tlangblog.wordpress.com/2016/01/21/the-street-art-of-observing-street-arts/\)](https://tlangblog.wordpress.com/2016/01/21/the-street-art-of-observing-street-arts/)

In mid December I was back in the studio of the Ana Monro theatre in the Šiška area of Ljubljana. This time I was observing a series of practical street arts workshops organised by the European Federation for Education and Training in Street Arts (EFETSA). These workshops were part of a practicum, the first of its kind for this collective.

For the practicum, street arts practitioners – known as mentors – across different disciplines and from different countries (Slovenia, UK and Belgium in this case) were delivering lectures about their practice. These were followed by practical workshops based on their own street arts methods.

Thomson and Gunter (2011) write about the fluidity of researcher identity when conducting ethnographic fieldwork in schools. For me, although my work is in the street and in the theatre – not in a school – this seems to be particularly apposite. As I arrived at the studio, the group were waiting for me, and my role had been assigned: I was an observer. Officially. Of course, as a researcher drawing from ethnography, I'm used to this role. Observing. But generally I am an observer for my own research project. My observations are jotted down in notebooks, interactions are recorded onto my iPhone, my videos and photographs are stored into my own folders. But in this case, my outsider status (I'm not a street arts practitioner, I have had no practical experience in this area) was one that positioned me as someone who could document the workshops and produce a factual account of what was happening.

The studio was set up with two video cameras. I was observing alongside a group of 'observers': academics, dramaturgs, dancers and performers... Two of us followed the group and the mentors leading the sessions round the icy cold streets of Ljubljana, our iPhones held up to capture the 'language'. We were, in turn, followed by an official photographer, creating visual records of the training and the performances. These were uploaded to Facebook almost immediately. The other observers held notebooks and pens in gloved hands. Observing. Scribbling.

Throughout the activities, the groups moved in and around each space – from Ana Monro's white rectangular studio space – to the former church at Tabor just outside the historic centre – to the flea market packed with tourists, in and amongst the Christmas market stalls – to the black box studio in the school for performing arts – and then back again onto the street.

We would always start indoors and move gradually outdoors.

Evaluating the performances inside the 'black box'

I was asked to document and note the following for the practical workshops: the focus, sidecoaching, evaluation and any points of observation that I had. Yet, I found myself noting the

language. I jotted down each word for short periods of time during the workshops, trying to not miss anything. Here I'm noting what John Lee (University of Winchester) says during his practical workshop on space which took place while I was in Ljubljana (like the Leeds team as we are now putting together our Heritage stage case study, he draws from Lefebvre). The italics are my observations of what the group is doing.

I like this happy group

you're so full of mirth

(Knocking on the wall. A group is moving chairs and looking at a small piece of tape on the wall. Carefully they bend down and look at it intently. They explore the tape)

and because we're short of time

we'll stop for a moment

this group found themselves

outside the groups

having a great time

but actually

they are the passengers

that sit there and go

what idiots

it's always nice to have

that person in a public space

as they make us look at things differently

ok let's go for a walk again

we're driving this workshop through the space

in theatre

we think about time passing

in outdoor arts

we think about space

The aim of John's workshop is to explore how street artists can explore space, and in doing so, create space.

so our aim today

is to explore this space

and we're going to explore

another space

and then another space

I'd like people to stand on the edge

and some people to be in the centre

the others keep walking

walk closely in the centre

walk closely together

and stop

people on the edge

feel

what they have done to the room

what has it done?

does it feel heavy?

make eye contact

no big thing

make contact with people on the edges

you see them

just look

The group had been given homework. This homework involved an observational task: To go into a public place. To sit down. To order a coffee. And to observe. To observe the people and the place. The street artists themselves were learning how to observe.

So, in a way that I had never expected, my experiences as a 'now official' *observer of street arts* in Ljubljana back in December of last year (and as a researcher conducting investigations into translanguaging in street arts) turned out to also be practical training in the art of observation.

Thanks again to all those involved in the Practicum, to the Ana Monro Theatre and to all those involved with EFETSA.

References

Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Thomson, P. and Gunter, H. 2011. Inside, outside, upside down: the fluidity of academic researcher 'identity' in working with/in school. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*. 34(1), pp. 17-30.

Appendix F: Projects arising from this research

Migration and Home: Welcome in Utopia (AHRC, Connected Communities, 2016)

This project (Simpson and Bradley) emerged through the collaboration with Faceless Arts, themes from my doctoral research and through the TLANG project. It focused on the idea of 'welcome' in utopia and explored how arts-based practice and performance can develop understandings of movement and belonging (McKay and Bradley, 2016).

Migration and Settlement: Extending the Welcome (ESRC, Leeds Social Sciences Institute, 2017)

Following from the methodological questions arising from the Migration and Home project, the Migration and Settlement project (Simpson and Bradley) considered how arts-based and arts-informed practice might be used in adult ESOL.

LangScape Curators (University of Leeds Educational Engagement, 2015-)

The LangScape Curators project (Bradley, Atkinson, Moore and Simpson) was created in response to research into the linguistic landscape, including through the TLANG project (Bradley et al., 2018; Bradley and Atkinson, 2019 forthcoming). It has developed a series of workshops for young people grounded in collaborative ethnography and arts-informed practice. It forms the focus of my current research activity and is funded by the AHRC through its Open World Research Initiative Cross Language Dynamics programme 2019-20.

Belonging in Times of Change

With colleagues from across Education, World Cinemas and Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies (Simpson et al.) I developed a transdisciplinary project for submission to the AHRC which uses some of the ideas emerging from this thesis and associated projects to inform theoretically and methodologically.

AILA Research Network (2018-)

I am co-convening a network for applied linguistics and creative inquiry, having been successful in applying for support from AILA for 2018-2021. This network brings together researchers working on creative topics (and in the creative industries) from a broadly applied linguistics perspective.

Appendix G: Publications and talks

As a member of the TLANG project team and the Leeds case study I have sole authored and co-written a number of papers in addition to contributing to larger writing projects with colleagues. These include papers about research carried out by the wider team and research affiliated with the project, for example the arts-based learning and engagement projects linked to research methodologies and findings of the TLANG project (see Appendix F). These writing projects co-inform and interact (or intra-act), which is the rationale for listing in full. Those relating directly to this thesis are marked with an asterisk.

Edited volumes

*Moore, E., Bradley, J. and Simpson, J. eds. 2019, forthcoming. *Translanguaging as transformation: The collaborative construction of new linguistic realities*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Refereed journal articles

*Moore, E. and Bradley, J. 2019, forthcoming. Resemiotisation from page to stage: The trajectory of a musilingual youth's poem. *Journal of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education, special issue*.

Bradley, J., Moore, E., Simpson, J. and Atkinson, L. 2018. Translanguaging space and creative activity: Theorising collaborative arts-based learning. *Language and Intercultural Communication, Special Edition, Bridging across languages and cultures in everyday lives: new roles for changing scenarios*, **18**(1), pp.54-73.

*Bradley, J. 2017c. Translanguaging engagement: Dynamic multilingualism and university language engagement programmes. *Bellaterra Journal of Teaching & learning Language & Literature*, **10**(4), pp.9-31.

Simpson, J. and Bradley, J. 2017. Communication in the contact zone: The TLANG project and ESOL. *Language Issues* **27.2**, pp.4-18.

McKay, S. and Bradley, J. 2016. How does arts practice engage with narratives of migration from refugees? Lessons from 'utopia'. *Journal of Arts and Communities, Special Edition Arts, Activism and Human Rights*, **8**(1-2), pp.31-46.

Book chapters

Bradley, J. and Atkinson, L. 2019, forthcoming. Translanguaging and bricolage: Meaning making and collaborative ethnography in community arts. In E. Moore, J. Bradley & J. Simpson. eds. *Translanguaging as transformation: The collaborative construction of new linguistic realities*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Bradley, J. and Simpson, J. 2019, forthcoming. Translanguaging in the contact zone: Mobility and immobility in inner-city Leeds. In K. Horner and J. Dailey-O'Cain (Eds), *Multilingualism and (Im)mobilities: Language, Power, Agency*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

*Bradley, J. and Moore, E. 2018. Resemiotisation and creative production: Extending the translanguaging lens. In A. Sherris and E. Adami (Eds). *Making signs, translanguaging ethnographies: Exploring urban, rural, and educational spaces*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

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Bradley, J., Moore, E., Simpson, J. and Atkinson, L. 2017. *WP27 Translanguaging space and creativity: Collaborative ethnography and arts-based learning*. [Online]. Working Papers in Translation and Translanguaging. [Accessed 1 September 2018]. Available at: <https://tlang.org.uk/working-papers/>

Simpson, J. and Bradley, J. 2017. *WP24 Communication in the contact zone: The TLANG project and ESOL*. . [Online]. Working Papers in Translation and Translanguaging. [Accessed 1 September 2018]. Available at: <https://tlang.org.uk/working-papers/>

Atkinson, L. and Bradley, J. 2017. *WP23 Meaning making and collaborative ethnography in transdisciplinary arts*. . [Online]. Working Papers in Translation and Translanguaging. [Accessed 1 September 2018]. Available at: <https://tlang.org.uk/working-papers/>

Baynham, M., Bradley, J., Callaghan, J., Hanusova, J., Moore, E., and Simpson, J. 2017. *WP22 Transformations through sport: The case of capoeira and basketball*. . [Online]. Working Papers in Translation and Translanguaging. [Accessed 1 September 2018]. Available at: <https://tlang.org.uk/working-papers/>

*Bradley, J. 2016. *WP18 Liquid Methodologies: using a linguistic ethnographic approach to study multilingual phenomena*. . [Online]. Working Papers in Translation and Translanguaging. [Accessed 1 September 2018]. Available at: <https://tlang.org.uk/working-papers/>

Baynham, M., Bradley, J., Callaghan, J., Hanusova, J., Moore, E., and Simpson, J. 2016. *WP15 Heritage With No Fixed Abode: Transforming Cultural Heritage for Migrant Communities in Inner-City Leeds*. [Online]. Working Papers in Translation and Translanguaging. [Accessed 1 September 2018]. Available at: <https://tlang.org.uk/working-papers/>

Baynham, M., Bradley, J., Callaghan, J., Hanusova, J., and Simpson, J. 2015. *WP4 Translanguaging business: Unpredictability and precarity in superdiverse inner city Leeds*. [Online]. Working Papers in Translation and Translanguaging. [Accessed 1 September 2018]. Available at: <https://tlang.org.uk/working-papers/>

Non-academic publications

Atkinson, L., Bradley, J., McKay, S. and Simpson, J. 2018. *Migration and Settlement: Extending the Welcome*. LSSI/University of Leeds.

Bradley, J. and Simpson, J. 2017. *Translation and Translanguaging: Leeds City Report*. AHRC/University of Leeds.

Bradley, J. 2016. *What is welcome in utopia? Migration and Home Project 2016*. AHRC/University of Leeds.

(with James Simpson) coordination and editing of four TLANG City Reports (Birmingham, Cardiff, Leeds and London).

Editorship of TLANG Project research blog (2015 - present). [Online]. Available from: www.tlangblog.wordpress.com.

Research reports

Bradley, J. and Simpson, J. 2017. *Migration and Settlement: Extending the Welcome*. Report from impact acceleration responsive mode research project. Leeds Social Sciences Institute/University of Leeds.

Simpson, J. and Bradley, J. 2016. *Migration and Home (M&H): Welcome in Utopia. TLANG project and Faceless Arts. AHRC Connected Communities Festival 2016: Community Futures and Utopias*. Report from research project. AHRC/University of Leeds.

*Bradley, J. 2015. *Social Audit of a Community Interest Company: ToastLoveCoffee (TLC)*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.lssi.leeds.ac.uk/lssi-placement-fellowship-scheme/>.

Invited talks

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|---------|--|
| 06/2018 | 'On the border of art and teaching in the multilingual world'.
<i>University of Glasgow, UK.</i> |
| 05/2018 | *'HaBilNet': first colloquium. <i>Harmonious Bilingualism Network, La Hulpe, Belgium.</i> |
| 05/2018 | *'Multilingual landscapes: planning, policy, and contact linguistic perspectives'. <i>Multilingual Manchester, University of Manchester, UK.</i> |

- 04/2018 *'Introduction to Ethnographic Research: Southampton, Ethnography of a City'. *University of Southampton, UK.*
- 03/2018 'Multimodality in teaching and research with refugee-background language learners'. *Invited colloquium, American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL), Chicago, USA. (with James Simpson).*
- 11/2017 *'Ethnography and Modern Languages workshop'. *AHRC Open World Research Initiative, Cross-Language Dynamics: Reshaping Community and AHRC Translating Cultures workshop, Institute for Modern Languages Research, London, UK.*
- 09/2017 *'Creative Inquiry and Applied Linguistics'. *Invited colloquium co-convenor, British Association for Applied Linguistics Annual Meeting 2017. (with Lou Harvey).*
- 06/2017 *'Multilingual and multimodal realities: Translanguaging across space and place'. *Researching Language in the City: exploring methodological and theoretical concepts, Open World Research Initiative Multilingualism: Empowering Individuals Transforming Societies, University of Southampton, UK. (with James Simpson).*
- 05/2017 'How does arts practice engage with narratives of migration from refugees and asylum seekers? Lessons from 'utopia''. *Performance and Cultural Industries Postgraduate Research Seminar, University of Leeds, UK. (with Sam McKay).*
- 02/2017 *Panellist for 'Englishes – A Conversation, Nicoline Van Harskamp'. *RADAR, University of Loughborough Arts, UK.*
- 12/2016 *'Beyond Language: Co-production and collaboration in language research'. *APPLANG, University of Jyväskylä, Finland.*
- 11/2016 'Co-production as transcreation? Mediating ecologies in visual arts and language research'. *Lancaster Literacy Research Centre, University of Lancaster, UK.*
- 10/2016 *'Liquid Methodologies: Using a linguistic ethnographic approach to study multilingual phenomena'. *Seminar Series, University of East Anglia, UK.*
- 06/2016 *'Translanguaging from studio to street: Resemiotising the narrative in production and performance'. *Translation, Translanguaging and Creativity, AHRC Translating Cultures and IMLR seminar, Senate House, London.*

Conferences (selected)

- 07/2018 'Embodied belonging: attention to the sensory in migration ethnographies'. *Part of the colloquium 'Embodied perspectives on innovative research methodology, led by Jennifer Leigh and Nicole Brown, ESRC Research Methods Festival, Bath, UK.*
- 09/2017 *'Performing belonging in collaborative street arts production'. *Annual Meeting of the British Association for Applied Linguistics. University of Leeds, UK.*
- 07/2017 'Bauxite and shadow puppetry: Sensoriality and visuality in migration narratives'. *Valuing the Visual in Literacy Research International Conference. University of Sheffield, UK.*
- 05/2017 *'Translation and translanguaging in production and performance in community arts'. *Research workshop on multimodality with Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen. University of Leeds, UK.*
- 05/2017 'Packaging heritage: Language, space and the business proposal'. *WUN Symposium, The role of heritage in migration and displacement, UMASS, Amherst, USA.*
- 03/2017 'Meaning making and collaborative ethnography in transdisciplinary arts'. *National Association for Fine Art Education Conference, University of Coventry, UK. (with Louise Atkinson).*
- 03/2017 *'Resemiotisation and creative production: Extending the translanguaging lens'. *AAAL2017, Portland, USA. (with Emilee Moore).*
- 11/2016 'Translanguaging creativity: Creating spaces for the visible and the audible'. *International Association of Language and Intercultural Communication, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain. (November 2016).*
- 11/2016 'Co-production as transcreation? Mediating ecologies in visual arts and language research'. *International Association of Language and Intercultural Communication, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain. (November 2016). Colloquium co-convener.*
- 06/2016 'Ethical entanglements: Collaboration and co-production in language/arts research/practice'. *Language, Literacy and Identity International Conference, Sheffield, UK.*

- 06/2016 'Translanguaging in the contact zone: Language use in superdiverse inner city Leeds'. *Sociolinguistics Symposium, Murcia, Spain*. (with James Simpson).
- 04/2016 *Writing as Practice, Practice as Writing: Conversations between Art, Linguistics and Ethnography in Digital Space'. *Society for Artistic Research, The Hague, The Netherlands*. (with Louise Atkinson).