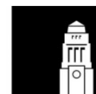

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Chapter 2 Translanguaging across space and place: Concept and context

Jessica Bradley & James Simpson

In C. Mar-Molinero (ed.) (2020) Researching Language in Superdiverse Urban Contexts. Multilingual Matters.

Introduction

In this chapter we track the development of a key and contested concept in the sociolinguistics of mobility and migration, translanguaging. Translanguaging is the term increasingly used to describe how people bring into interaction their different histories, biographies and repertoires as they communicate with one another in linguistically and culturally diverse urban centres. We examine how – over the course of a four-year multi-site team ethnography which took place in the United Kingdom (UK) – methodological innovation and a growing understanding of context supported the progress of our thinking about the concept. We draw upon examples from research undertaken in the course of that project, Translation and Translanguaging: Investigating Linguistic and Cultural Transformations in Superdiverse Wards in Four UK Cities (2014-2018, and henceforth TLANG)[1]. Our starting point for this discussion relates to questions posed by Canagarajah (2017: 10) about scope and focus in the study of language and migration:

- Scope of analysis: What is the scale, scope, or boundary of the interaction that should be analysed?
- Focus of analysis: What verbal and semiotic features should be included in our analysis?

These are significant questions for researchers working in contexts characterised by migration and mobility, and ones to which we returned continually over the course of the TLANG project. They pertain not only to methodology but also to theoretical development. In this chapter we respond to them under the broad question: What could and should be included as context? To address this issue we adopt a dual perspective, describing and explaining how our understanding of translanguaging as a concept evolved over the course of our research and how our methodology, together with our understanding of context, similarly progressed. We consider the dialogue between the methodology and the project's theoretical advancement and suggest how this might inform future research design.

We begin the chapter with an overview of the TLANG project. We then turn our attention to the problematic nature of context in an investigation carried out with participants who are distinguished by being on the move. The TLANG research was located in the sociolinguistics of contact, with an interest in the mobility of people and of their communication. Moreover, working as we were in the paradigm of linguistic ethnography, we - as researchers - remained sensitive to the distance travelled between an original intention and an eventual consequence. Kell (2009; 2011), and subsequently Budach and colleagues (2015), differentiate between a scripted and an emergent trajectory. In the case of our research processes and practices, and the development of our use of the translanguaging concept in response to changing contexts, the trajectory occupies both descriptions, and later we elaborate on the notion of scripted emergence (Bradley, 2018), as applied to the theoretical and methodology trajectories we discuss.

The central part of this chapter has five sections, each one corresponding to a phase of the TLANG project itself. With exemplification from data from across the project, in each section we explain how we extended beyond our logocentric starting point. In each case we then go on to describe the parallel methodological course we have plotted in the course of our multi-site ethnography. In these parts of the discussion we describe the short, intensive periods of observation and engagement with research sites within the broader context of longer-term collaborations (e.g. Bradley, 2020), our increasing attention on and recognition of the salience of the visual, and the participatory turn in our growing understanding of the positionality of the 'researched'.

TLANG project

The TLANG study took place over four years, with case studies located in four UK cities: Birmingham, Leeds, Cardiff and London. In this chapter we refer directly to the research carried out by the Leeds case study team. Leeds is a large city in the northern English county of West Yorkshire. Much of the Leeds-based research took place in the inner-city ward of Gipton and Harehills, a district which binds together two suburbs which are in fact quite different from each other (Callaghan, 2015: 2). We spent much time in Harehills, home to a changing population of over 80 nationalities and a wide range of services catering for new arrivals, including shops, letting agents, law firms and advocacy organisations.

During the project we described ethnically- and linguistically-diverse Harehills as superdiverse (Vertovec, 2007; 2019). Superdiversity, as a key concept or 'summary term'

(Blackledge & Creese et al, 2018: xxiii), seeks to describe a mobility and movement which goes beyond what has been experienced previously. For Vertovec, it is not intended to be a theory (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). Instead it serves to offer a lens through which particular trajectories and movement(s) can be viewed:

> Coined to draw attention to complex patterns in migration, superdiversity entails emerging and specific configurations of, among other dimensions, national and racial or ethnic background, gender, age, language, socio-economic status, legal status, and migration channel.
>
> (Blackledge & Creese et al, 2018: xviiii)

The notion of superdiversity offers insights into the complexity of mobile lives. Vertovec (2019) maintains that while it is sometimes taken up in misleading ways, it nonetheless serves as a highly useful concept for understanding 'new complexities' (2019: 136) and, importantly, focuses attention on inequalities. In a similar way, Blackledge, Creese and colleagues suggest that 'superdiversity requires a political and ethical consciousness' (2018: xli).

TLANG comprised four main phases, with research focusing in turn on specific but sometimes overlapping areas of activity: business, heritage, sport and law. As the project progressed, a further domain became salient, arts practice. This topic was mutually informing and informed by the doctoral research project connected to the project (Bradley, 2018). Working with a specific key participant in each main phase, our research in Harehills and the surrounding area enabled us to conduct detailed observations of the kinds of practices involved in navigating everyday lives at work and in social life. The methodology was designed to allow for the complexity of the everyday in the superdiverse city to emerge. The themes of business, heritage, sport and law served to not only provide a backdrop to the interactions under investigation but, as Blackledge, Creese and colleagues explain, they would 'profoundly structure the project, going beyond background context to become disciplinary foci in themselves' (p.xxxvii, emphasis added). Subject specialists in the four themes participated in the project at strategic points and interdisciplinary partners were also embedded in the project design. These methodological decisions, responsive to the superdiversity on the ground, disrupted traditional views of context. As Blommaert, Smits and Yacoubi (2018) note, and as we discuss further in the next section, ethnographically-

informed studies of social interaction are well-placed to critique the very idea of context, drawing attention to its nature as never stable, always dynamic and not necessarily shared.

Scripted emergence

Returning to Canagarajah's questions, we consider here the central issue of context. In established understandings of language in use in sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, the meaning of language is not fixed or autonomous but is contingent upon context (Cook, 1989; Brown and Yule, 1983; and Widdowson, 1984). Context however is a slippery thing. For sociolinguists the 'community' has, in the past, served as a useful contextual basis. Hymes notes that for an adequate approach to language:

> one cannot take linguistic form, a given code, or even speech itself, as a limiting frame of reference. One must take as context a community, or network of persons, investigating its communicative activities as a whole, so that any use of channel and code takes its place as part of the resources upon which the members draw.
>
> (Hymes, 1974: 4)

This perspective, however, assumes a certain stability of community, and does not do justice to the relative position of text and context when the text is on the move – as it inevitably is in the conditions of migration and mobility which characterise the lives and trajectories of the TLANG participants. Here, communication happens in social spaces which Pratt (1991) calls contact zones, 'where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power' (1991: 34). In the UK, as elsewhere, rapidly altering patterns of migration and mobility have affected the composition, distribution and status of migrant and settled communities alike. In the contact zones where the TLANG research took place, we witnessed what Blackledge & Creese (2010), drawing on Vertovec (2007), describe as the 'meshing and interweaving of diversities'. In these contact zones, factors including ethnicity, nationhood, social class and, of course, language, intersect and influence the highly differential composition, social location and trajectories of various groups (see also Blackledge & Creese et al., 2018). An alternative way of thinking about context therefore is to regard it in relation to mobilities and trajectories, both of participants and of texts. As Blommaert has it, a sociolinguistics of mobility recognises that 'communication is shaped by mobile resources not immobile languages' (2010: 49).

Budach, Kell & Patrick (2015), citing Kell (2009, 2011), describe an unfolding communicative event as following either a scripted or an emergent trajectory. They suggest that in public institutions, communication follows a particular path: it is in some sense scripted. Emergent trajectories, on the other hand, 'tend to occur in domains of activity where processes are not yet formalised and genres are flexible' (2015: 392). In our research, parameters existed but were not all pre-defined: our focal domains of practice were decided at the outset, as were the details of the time-bound stages of our fieldwork and analysis. However, our partnerships with participants were not determined in advance, and - this being a naturalistic study - nor were the types of interaction we would observe and examine. The trajectory of the research was in equilibrium, emergent but controlled and therefore necessarily bounded. The space afforded by this scripted emergence (Bradley, 2018) enabled us to develop the central concept of translanguaging in relation to new and different partners with practices and purposes which we had not foreseen at the outset of our work.

Translanguaging: The trajectory of concept and methodology

For the TLANG project we observed interactions typical in the contact zones of the UK's urban spaces. Our prior conception of translanguaging led us to focus initially on how speakers deploy their multilingual repertoires in their meaning-making, but over the course of the study and beyond, our understanding of translanguaging evolved. In this section we discuss and demonstrate this trajectory with reference to examples from the five phases of the project, and explain how our relationships with our Key Participants (KPs) in the sites and settings of their interactions contributed to the development of the concept. The project underwent full ethical review at the University of Leeds and names of people and organisations have been anonymised.

Business

The first phase of TLANG (2014-15) focused on the domain of Business and Enterprise (Baynham et al, 2015; Creese et al, 2016). The KP was Klára, a self-employed Czech-speaking community interpreter working with advocates primarily concerned with assisting Czech and Slovak Roma migrants in Leeds with their settlement in a new country. Their living conditions are often precarious: like many others, both new arrivals and established residents alike, they are dependent upon low-pay employment and - in many cases - financial benefits provided by the state. Our study extended into Klára's home and

social life, and we also examined her electronically-mediated communication, much of which exemplified the blurring of boundaries between work, family and social interaction in online communication.

Our data demonstrated how recent migrants facing challenging circumstances engage with support provided by bodies such as local government authorities and the National Health Service. Our analytical focus in Klára's workplace interaction was on the interpreter-mediated support she gave. We witnessed many examples of the typical pattern in a triadic interpreting event (Li, 2011). Here, movement between languages was predictable, associated as it was with the purpose of the interaction and the respective aims that each participant might have. The two data extracts below are from interaction between Klára, clients and employees of the advocacy organisation Migrant Counsel. In the first extract, M is the advocate, K the interpreter and N the client. The basic structure of this mediated interaction is: M, who doesn't share a language with N, communicates with N by means of K, who shares both M and N's languages:

M: do you intend to claim reduction of your council tax?
K: zažádala ste si o snížení council tax?
N: ne
K: ne nežádala ste si když ste si žádala o housing?
K: she says no

(Baynham et al, 2015: 43; see also Simpson, 2017)

M asks a question, which Klára interprets in Czech. N replies and Klára relays her answer in English. In the Czech utterances, the key bureaucratic lexis, council tax and housing are in English, unsurprising because they were learned by both K and N in the UK. Borrowings of this kind are - as Auer (forthcoming) points out - one of the best-known bilingual practices of migrants. He contends that these and other types of linguistic behaviour familiar in the literature on code-switching 'certainly do not require a new terminology'. We would concur if indeed our prime attention was upon linguistic codes, and on language systems. However, our focus was on the KP and her communicative practice (including but not restricted to languaging), and this distinguishes it from studies of code-switching. We oriented our empirical gaze ethnographically to Klára, her ways of knowing, how these were evident in her communicative practice, and how in turn they enabled her to carry out her work, as well as operate in social and home life.

Our knowledge of Klára's life history was important in making sense of her ability to translate not only across languages but across discourses - what we came to call trans-discursive translanguaging. Here, we saw how she used the fullness of her own understandings, gained through experience, of how things are done in the UK. In our second example, the discourse of Equal Opportunity Monitoring needs to be negotiated. Klára is interpreting for Mr T. Because Mr T is a new client, he is asked (by the manager, S), to complete the Equal Opportunity monitoring section of the registration form, which includes a question on religion:

S: religion Christian, yea?
K: máte ňáký náboženství, nebo ne? (do you have any religion, or not?)
T: tak, normální (well, normal)
K: (laughs) tak, normální je? He said 'normal'. ((laughs) well, normal is? He said 'normal')
T: Žádný... katolík. (none... Catholic)
K: Katolík. Tak žádný nebo katolík? (Catholic. So, none or Catholic)
T: Katolík, nó… (Catholic, yea)
K: (still laughing) he said normal, which one is normal?

(Baynham et al, 2015:56; see also Baynham and Hanušová, 2018)

Religiously Mr T is 'normal', which appears to mean somewhere between 'nothing' and 'Catholic', the unmarked religion in the Czech Republic. Mr T is not within the discourse of Equal Opportunities Monitoring in the UK third sector, but the other participants are. This triggers Klára's mediating work we see in the extract. So trans-discursive translanguaging can be understood as mediating or interpreting a discourse, that of Equal Opportunities Monitoring, to someone who is outside it.

Working with KP Klára

In the first phase of the project we established our pattern of working closely with one Key Participant, and of orienting the fieldwork around that KP. Our relationship with Klára was professional, and as with all our KPs, she received a fee for her work with us. The main affordance of working with one KP is that they become an access point for individuals and organisations. In the case of Klára we were able to establish links with the charity with which

she worked, Migrant Counsel, and also the Local Authority-funded Roma Advice Service. To capture records of her interactions we drew upon established methods of linguistic ethnography and the sociolinguistic study of institutional discourse, including observational fieldnotes, open-ended interviews and informal conversations, and audio recordings of interaction. On this last point however, we encountered an ethical issue. In one of Klára's two workplaces, a community centre which hosted the Roma Advice Service, we were allowed to observe but not audio-record, despite our requests to the managers of the local authority's translation service. The sensitivity around audio-recording might be explained at least in part by moves in the UK's immigration policy around that time. A set of legislative measures collectively known as the 'hostile environment policy', including a new Immigration and Naturalisation Bill (2014), were designed to make staying in the UK as difficult as possible for people without official permission to be in the country.

As we progressed through the project, we understood more clearly that our attention was not code-focused (upon hybridity or the mixing of different languages within the same exchange, for example), but oriented toward our participants and the places and spaces where they live, work and interact. This became clearer still in the next phase, taking place in the domain of Heritage.

Heritage

In the second phase of our project (2015-16), we considered how visibility and voice are enabled, or not, in particular spaces and at particular times. We posed the question: What constitutes heritage - that is, what do people value, protect, and wish to preserve - in a time and space characterised by complexity, mobility, and unpredictability? In our examination of heritage practices through a linguistic ethnographic lens we worked closely with Key Participant Monika, a young Slovak Roma woman living and working in inner-city Leeds (Baynham et al, 2016; Creese et al, 2017; Bradley & Simpson, 2019). Monika aspired to setting up cultural spaces for Roma people in Harehills. We followed Monika as she attempted to bring her ideas into being. With the support of others, Monika tried to transform her available cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) into something that would preserve and consolidate heritage but would also earn her a living. She did this by starting to set up a socially beneficial business called a Community Interest Company, for which she needed to write a business plan. As her plan moved through stages of transformation, she experienced her dreams and aspirations becoming tangible and at the same time constrained.

In our study of Monika's movement through the third sector funding system, we became interested in how communication is enabled, disabled or constrained across languages and discourses, and within and between different spaces. We viewed her business plan form and its completion as a nexus, a point in spacetime 'at which historical trajectories of people, places, discourses, ideas, and objects come together to enable some action which in itself alters those historical trajectories in some way as those trajectories emanate from this moment of social action' (Scollon, 2001: viii). Scollon's Nexus Analysis thus introduced both historical and spatial dimensions into our study, allowing us to connect one event with many others at different scales of time and place.

Early in the process of developing the business plan, in the course of an interaction with a local authority advisor, Monika suggested a long list of activities that she might carry out:

> a dance school; some office where I can support clients with my advocacy; do some parties; people will come to me and I can help them call job seekers; I will do like drop-ins; my job's gonna be get them some ESOL classes; zumba classes; carnival; advising them; take them somewhere; support them to go to GP; to be their hand.
>
> (Baynham et al, 2016: 39; see also, Bradley & Simpson, 2019)

These ideas represented different aspects of her past, her present, and her perceived future, and followed her own trajectory, a physical movement from Slovakia to the UK. The business plan would help her to make at least one of these many ideas fundable. She faced immediate constraints: the plan not only had to be written in standard English and in a specialised register, but it also had to be communicated and discussed in English. This threw light on the relative valuing of her communicative resources. Following Bourdieu (1991), Blommaert (2005) notes how the linguistic resources built up at some expense in one place are valued very differently in other places. In relation to this, the mobility of superdiversity was problematic for Monika, immobile not necessarily in geographical terms, but certainly in socioeconomic ones. In our analysis, we saw how Monika's linguistic and discursive resources were not the ones privileged in the bureaucratic spaces of local government and third sector support offices, or in the discursive spaces that emerge in the unfolding interactions that take place there. The communicative resources that she brought with her on her migration trajectory, and had accrued since coming to the UK, were found to be adequate

for some things but not others. She was therefore constrained as she struggled to achieve the socioeconomic stability that she needed for herself and her family.

Working with KP Monika

Working with Monika was a highly participatory endeavour, bringing us into contact with her family and many others supporting her. Moreover, the range and extent of our data collection reached its peak in this phase, with extensive fieldnotes, interviews, audio-recordings and photographs in work, social and home environments, along with social media (principally Facebook) posts. The situation in which she found herself – that of having to prepare a business plan – entailed a compatible way of working with researcher Jolana Hanušová. Over the observation period, Jolana attended meetings with Monika, socialised with her and her siblings and spent many hours in the family home. Jolana's role became one which moved from that of observer to that of an advisor. Wills (2012), writing about her research on London Citizens, talks of an 'epistemology of engagement' (2012: 120), and of the insights she gained from her insider positioning. Jolana's increasing involvement allowed for what Wills describes as a 'more emotional style of learning', which, in turn, also characterised our own team discussions around and analysis of the data.

Jolana's shift in role extended to assisting, advising, making suggestions towards, and even typing up Monika's business proposal, as we see in the extract below. Here, Monika is grappling with a question on the form which asks her to articulate her 'personal aims and objectives.' She is speaking to Jolana, who is typing the responses into the form on her laptop:

1	and I wanna show them they can change (.)
2	they can be same like me working
3	look after family and be strong (.)
4	I mean this way I don't mean like me
5	I'm not good role model (.) some ways (sighs)
6	((typing, muttering)) community and
7	you know what I mean

8	((typing)) manage to find my way to employment
9	((reading out what she's just written))
10	I have been in in a similar situation like many people
11	in the community and I managed to find my way to employment

(Baynham et al, 2016; see also Bradley & Simpson, 2019)

Jolana (10-11) translates Monika's talk into the language of the business plan (similar *situation … many people in the community… managed to find my way to employment*).

For Wills, the epistemology of engagement is aligned with that of Gibson-Graham and their call for 'performative ontological' projects (2008: 613), which seek to explore our own resources and methodologies as researchers and the possibilities for these when conducting research outside the academy. Our close work and insider positioning with Monika aligns with this call, as does our involvement with Tiago, the KP in the third research phase.

Sport

As we encountered new types of interaction in different domains of practice, so our view of translanguaging extended to encompass interconnectedness beyond the spoken and written language, acts of languaging, and the linguistic repertoire, to the multimodal. In the third phase of our research (2016-17) the focus was on sport: we observed the interplay of spoken and written, visual and gestural, and we encompassed in our analysis the embodied and spatial practices which are an inherent part of communication. In a domain where the visual is so salient, we used video to research the visual/verbal/embodied interaction which goes into coordinating sport activity.

We followed Tiago, a young man originally from Mozambique, and his life-shaping involvement in two activities, basketball and the Brazilian martial dance Capoeira (Baynham et al, 2017; Callaghan et al, 2018). In this chapter our main attention is on Capoeira, a complex activity which can be seen simultaneously as cultural transmission, a dance practice and a martial art.

In our more recent theorisation of multimodal spatial practice, and informed by our study of arts practice (see below), we drew upon the concept of the assemblage as a means of accounting - conceptually and analytically - for the fullness of communication. Capoeira

relies on the body, language, training, music, objects, and spatial positioning of the participants. In other words it is an activity that depends upon a deployment of the spectrum of the communicative semiotic repertoire. The assemblage refers to the non-hierarchical constellation of human and non-human bodies, materials, actions, enunciations, signs, and the dynamic relationships between them (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Bennett, 2010), which exists at any point during a practice. We identified focal assemblages through close examination of data via thematic analysis of fieldnotes, linguistic and multimodal interaction analysis of audio, photographic and video data, and narrative analysis of interview data. Here we link to a short extract of archived video data from an observation of a Capoeira session in Leeds, chosen for inclusion because it demonstrates how music, song, dance, rhythm, movement and spatial arrangement come together in the practice. In the extract, Tiago is playing with a visiting Capoeira leader, Mestre João.

Link for video: https://vimeo.com/205044136
Password: TLANG

Capoeira sessions, rodas, are always accompanied by live music. Music determines not only the speed, but also the characteristics of the particular game to be played. For each rhythm, there is a corresponding style of Capoeira. Capoeira can appear as a dance to an external observer because the moves follow the music and the two players move in a synchronised way. Capoeira, though, originated in colonial Brazil, and in the story of its origins slaves brought fighting practices from Africa that could be disguised as a dance, letting training in the techniques pass unnoticed by colonial masters. This notion of dance as a disguise is present in today's Capoeira. The difference between Capoeira and a dance is that Capoeiristas are in a state of alertness; they know that an attack might come at any point, and there is a constant sense of potential violence.

In the video extract, the move being carried out is chamada. Literally a 'call', chamada is a strategic, ritualistic sub-game. The two players walk back and forth close to one another, which is the source of the potential danger. Although chamada might look like a friendly break in the game, its purpose is to test the opponent's alertness, and either of the players may suddenly try to take their opponent down at any point. Mestre João invites Tiago to a chamada, but within a few seconds tests his alertness with a feigned cabeçada (head stroke).

The close analysis of videos of repeated activity over time was complemented by another facet of our ethnographic approach, whereby we participated in the activity itself and came to know Tiago and his fellow Capoeiristas informally.

Working with KP Tiago

Through getting to know Tiago, we came to understand the role of Capoeira in the trajectory of his own life history. To study Tiago's communicative practice, TLANG researchers Jolana Hanušová and Mike Baynham attended his weekly Capoeira sessions, audio- and video-recording the activity on an iPad, and carried out informal interviews with the group's regular leader Mestre Leandro, Tiago himself and the other members of the group. Jolana and Mike joined in and socialised: many of the informal interviews took place in bars after the sessions. Through this ethnographic approach we came to know not only the details of the practice of Capoeira itself, but also the importance of Capoeira in Tiago's identity formation in his Mozambique childhood.

He first encountered Capoeira in the capital, Maputo, as a 14-year-old: his cousin was a member of the first Capoeira group in Mozambique. 'I hear the sound and then I look to the window I saw guys training … oh that's very cool you know.' Some members of Tiago's family had hoped he would become a professional basketball player, and in their own imagined future for him, he might even have moved to the US to pursue a lucrative career. Capoeira however won out. In this transcribed interview extract, we gain a sense of Tiago's passion for Capoeira. We see how the activity had a relevance to his everyday life as a teenager in Mozambique, helping him to deal with the difficulties he was experiencing when he was growing up, and in particular with his sense of loss as a result of not knowing who his father was, and his loneliness after moving away from his early home.

> T: So I just erm but capoeira was very first love for me because on my story and my you know my childhood in terms of how I was live because on that time didn't know which my father and I was live with the other family so it's it's different when you when you live with other family, the way how they treat the kids from their house is different how they was treat me so, capoeira was kind of, hmm, consolo? Consolo in English... consolo
>
> M: consolation
>
> T: consolation yea

(Baynham et al., 2017: 107)

Through our prolonged engagement with the research site, and through working closely and informally with Tiago, we gained insights into how he felt he discovered his own identity as an individual and as a Mozambiquan, gained confidence and developed an interest in cultures and languages. So while the affordances of visual methods are clear when we describe Tiago's practice, the benefits of our ethnographic approach are likewise evident in that they give us an insight into the trajectories of the individuals who take part in the practice.

Law

In the final phase of the TLANG project, the domain of legal advice (2017-18), we worked with KP Lucy. Lucy, a trained immigration lawyer, ran a weekly drop-in immigration legal advice session at City Mission Leeds, a charity which (from its website) 'provides practical assistance to those in need – irrespective of ideology, faith, ethnicity, age or gender' (Baynham et al, 2018: 22; Simpson, 2019). In the absence of government provision for initial immigration advice other than that relating to asylum claims, City Mission stepped in to fill the gap.

Because of the sensitivity and confidentiality of Lucy's advice sessions we had no access to visual data (unlike with Tiago or Monika), and worked with transcribed audio-recordings of Lucy's interactions with her clients. Each one was a short bounded interactional space where Lucy supported meaning-making using a range of shared communicative resources, including informal interpreting and translation tools on mobile apps. Hence we re-oriented towards the importance of language, discourse and ideology to consider translanguaging on the frontline of language ideological debates. The data for this aspect of the TLANG project comprised fieldnotes documenting sessions over three months, short informal and longer extensive interviews with Lucy, her colleagues and her managers at City Mission, and audio recordings of 49 consultations,

Studies of interaction in immigration law settings (courtroom hearings, appeals, interviews with lawyers) typically highlight the power relations between participants, and how language and literacy are implicated in asymmetrical encounters. Blommaert (2001), for example remarks on the complexity of interactional inequality in the Belgian asylum system, where administrative procedures require highly developed literacy skills as well as access to a

standardised variety of language. In this phase of the TLANG project, clients' interactions were with a cooperative lawyer in a welcoming and informal space. The power asymmetry between advisor and client was nonetheless evident in terms of language and of knowledge. A characteristic of Lucy's interactional behaviour with her clients lay in her attempts to flatten these inequalities through the flexible use of her linguistic and discursive repertoires and other communicative resources available to her. She adopted a particular stance towards her clients and the themes of their concerns, whereby she opened up interactional spaces within which the potential for meaning-making was enhanced (see Simpson, 2019).

In the extract below, we see how Lucy shifts between legal language and more everyday language to communicate a complex matter effectively to a client. Lucy is explaining to Cara the consequences of her son's deportation order for his chances of re-entering the country. Cara is from Malawi and speaks fluent English, drawing attention to a factor identified in the Business phase of the research: that a communicative repertoire comprises not only societally-recognised languages but language varieties and registers, as well as the array of non-linguistic resources required for meaning-making. Translanguaging as meaning-making is a feature of all communication, including but not restricted to that between expert and non-expert users of a particular language.

Cara's son had come to the UK aged 12. At 16 he was arrested and charged with attempted robbery, for which he received a prison sentence. Upon his release, aged 18, he was deported to Malawi where he has been for three years, and Cara wants to know if there is any way of him being allowed to return to the UK.

1.	L:	(.) the grounds for revoking a deportation order
2.		are that something in the situation
3.		is now significantly different
4.		to warrant the Home Office opening that (.) [that up
5.	C:	[back up
6.	L:	so if nothing is changed if he's if he's
7.		still in the same situation and you are (.)
8.		it's not gonna be successful (.)

(Simpson, 2019; see also Baynham et al, 2018: 40)

Throughout the extract, Lucy uses specific legal terms as she explains the consequences of the decision: a deportation order; revoke; grounds for; warrant. This language needs to be

manageable for Cara, who is an expert user of English but not necessarily of specialised legal discourse. At points, Lucy's mediational work across registers involves rephrasing the legal language in more everyday language. In (4) for example, she uses a technical phrase ('warrant the Home Office'), then makes a shift to more everyday language, explaining what the result or consequence will be using terms which Cara will understand, in an everyday register. She does not avoid using complex legal language when she is confident (through listening to Cara's responses) that her client understands what she means; when she is unsure, she still uses these terms, but uses a more informal register to rephrase them.

As with our work with Klára in the first phase of the project, we noticed how translation occurs not only between societally-defined languages but also between discourses (the formal and informal registers that are associated with legal and everyday discourse). Lucy's talk was rich with examples of trans-discursive movement between specialised registers and discourses and everyday English, in an endeavour to render the complex language of the immigration law process in language that clients could understand.

Working with KP Lucy

Our fieldwork with Lucy happened to straddle the pivotal point in June 2016 when the people of the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union. The Brexit referendum gave the content and tone of many of Lucy's interactions with her clients a very particular flavour, and raised the question of how people navigate the very fast-moving immigration law to which they are subject. The relevance of the political moment was clear to Lucy's clients before the referendum, as was Lucy's fear of its consequences. We interviewed Lucy three weeks before the Brexit vote. In this previously unpublished extract she described how she felt about the implications of leaving the EU:

> disastrous in a word disastrous as as a human rights lawyer our human rights (   ) (convention) of human rights which is a separate matter to being in EEA but from what we've heard from the Brexiteers they what they want is to change it to a British bill of rights so to essentially revoke the human rights act which brought the European convention into a law and replace it with like America has a bill of rights erm but the- there's no legal precedent in the UK for that 'cause we don't (have a) constitution it's it's all very very scary-shaped ground and for somebody that you know 70 80 percent

> of the work I do for people who claim asylum (once they've) failed is relying on human rights so if I didn't have that mechanism to use I don't know what I'd do.

The day-to-day interactions which Lucy has with her clients relate in the most immediate way to political moves at various scales. For Lucy and her clients, the context of the interaction - navigating immigration law in a hostile environment - is far from a background issue. This again suggests the affordance of the ethnographic approach, which makes visible the relationship between an interactional event, the life history trajectories of participants, and the broader socio-political milieu.

Extending to the arts

We now consider research in arts and creative practice which developed alongside - and in dialogue with - the main study. The impetus for this strand of activity was a doctoral research project funded by a studentship attached to the project. The TLANG team included two doctoral researchers, one based at Cardiff University (Piotr Wegorowski) and one at the University of Leeds, Jessica Bradley, co-author of this chapter. Her research focused on community arts, and she considered translanguaging and translation processes across stages of production and performance in street arts (Bradley, 2018; Bradley & Moore, 2018). Themes arising from the TLANG project and the doctoral research underpinned a number of associated extension projects, including Migration and Home: Welcome in Utopia (see McKay & Bradley, 2016), a follow-on project Migration and Settlement: Extending the Welcome, and LangScape Curators, an educational engagement project (see Bradley et al, 2018; Bradley & Atkinson, 2020). Here we describe the doctoral research, and how it informed and was informed by the developing concepts of the main project.

Jessica's research was with street arts performers in West Yorkshire who were developing collaborative projects with a street arts theatre in Ljubljana, Slovenia. During this time, the performers were developing a production based on a traditional folk story from the Slovenian Alps. As with the TLANG project as a whole, the doctoral research was conceived as linguistic ethnographic in approach, with a focus on translanguaging practices. In attending to street performance Jessica observed the following:

- The performers deployed multiple languages from their wide-ranging communicative repertoires as they worked together to make puppets, props and to devise a production.
- Being highly mobile was crucial for the performers and they needed to be multilingual to be able to traverse the festival circuit, to move across country borders and to collaborate with other street performers.
- The languages spoken by the performers were not considered by them as bounded - translanguaging was normal and unremarkable (see García, 2009).

Language, or languaging, was therefore central to the doctoral study. However, language was not considered by the performers to be at all important in the context of the arts practice under investigation, i.e. theatre in the street. The artistic director even suggested that there was not much of interest in their art practice for a language researcher as they did not really use language as such. Questions which arose therefore included whether a sociolinguistic study focusing on spoken and written language could account for the diversity and richness of the communicative practice being observed. It seemed that so much could and would be potentially lost.

Despite language being considered inconsequential by the arts organisation, the PhD data-set (audio recordings, video recordings, photographs, emails, and observation notes) documented rich use of spoken and written language. Over the course of the production process the performers talked (face-to-face or by phone or Skype), they communicated by email, they wrote scripts and scenarios, which were then shared and adapted by others within the group, and made notes in sketchbooks and notepads. These multiple and multiplying texts, as traces of communication, circulated and travelled and propelled the production towards its end point: the performance. But for the performers, language was not foregrounded in the way that their (non-spoken and highly visual) performances were. The visual and sound production – and its performance across multiple sites – was the goal. Language was secondary, decentred and backstage, used in the studio during the preparation period, with the performance itself intended to be without (spoken) language.

Posthumanism, and in particular the work of Karen Barad (2007) and Maggie MacLure, helps to account for this analytically, and to enable the research to respond to the performers' movement beyond language, decentring it, rethinking its place:

> 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.
>
> (MacLure, 2013: 660)

As far as the street performance was concerned, language was deposed. This presented a methodological quandary: language was the focus but at the same time considered irrelevant by participants. The performers held strong ideological positions about street arts as art without language and about street arts as language. How could these ideas, integral to street arts puppetry, be incorporated into a linguistically oriented analysis? The initial linguistic ethnographic approach had felt insufficient and partial (see Bradley, 2020) and raised other questions about the extent to which the frameworks used to analyse spoken and written language might support analysis of communicative practices that do not involve language. Any approach risked being reductive, with the material, embodied and sensory nature of the research seeming in some ways at odds with the perceived necessity of isolating words from the circumstances of their production for the purposes of analysis. The framework had to extend to incorporate the multimodal, the material, the embodied, while not losing the focus on language, which is itself always embodied and personal (see also Harvey, 2019).

The performers conceptualised the street performance as completely non-verbal, with the story narrated by puppetry with visuals, sound and movement. They worked with a professional puppet-maker to design and create giant puppets made from found and junk materials, including tent poles and raincoats. The complexity of the story, the giant puppets, the street spaces of the setting, and the performers' own physicality were all entangled. The performers decided it was too complex to be told (and understood) without dialogue, and during the devising process re-introduced spoken language. Language was no longer 'deposed from its god-like centrality', but still not entirely central.

A script was negotiated, drafted and written, and through this script spoken language(s) were woven into the production. Discussion took place over which (named) languages should be used (English? Slovene? Italian?) and with these questions when, where, by whom and why. Eventually the words of only one of the three central characters, the Italian merchant, traversed languages other than the English and Slovene used by the narrators. Another central character, the Farm Girl, used no words at all, only exaggerated gestures and sound.

Pink & Morgan (2013) describe how ethnographic research takes on characteristics of the people and places under investigation, following the rhythm of what is being observed. The performers' practices mirrored the theoretical development of Jessica's study, where she extended the lens of translanguaging to incorporate wider semiosis, building on its multimodal affordances and drawing upon work by researchers including Blackledge & Creese (2017), Kusters and colleagues (2017), Li (2018) and Pennycook (2017), as well as the TLANG project in Leeds. Considering translanguaging through the lens of the Baradian concept of intra-action enabled this expansion to incorporate objects, spaces and non-linguistic items – the multimodal and also the embodied – while also retaining a focus on language(s).

Discussion: Scripted emergence

In this chapter so far we have considered the four phases of the TLANG project research, as undertaken in the Leeds case study. We then turned our attention to an arts-based project, also part of TLANG activity, which both informed and was informed by the core research. We have described the dialogue between the theoretical development of translanguaging - from observable multilingual practice to conceptual framework - and the methodologies guiding the project. Earlier we introduced the concepts of scripted and emergent trajectories (Kell, 2009; 2011; Budach et al., 2015), bringing them together as scripted emergence. We return to these now.

In her research into production processes and creative practices, Bradley (2018) observed how the creative practitioners she worked with made space for emergent trajectories through scripting. The idea of a scripted and an emergent trajectory enables us to attend to the participants' lives in an analysis and the ways in which they negotiate predictable (scripted) trajectories in bureaucratic encounters and more emergent ones. We see scriptedness across the phases of the main TLANG study. Klára's work involved interpreting in a bureaucratic encounter, a practice which would be familiar to all the participants, as she mediated the interaction of clients navigating the benefits system and advisors supporting them. Likewise Lucy's familiarity with both immigration law and the nature of the concerns which her clients brought to her enabled an efficient and rapid advice-giving session: sometimes she would see as many as 20 clients in a three-hour period. Tiago's sport of basketball is played to strict rules; Capoeira, though more fluid, is also bound in terms of the tight connection between music, singing, and the symbolic purpose of a type of dance. And Monika's institutional interactions entailed the completion of a form with spaces for her to complete, and her future

direction was subject to funding constraints: a grant to start a small business would pay for some things but not for others.

Yet in some interactions, what is scripted and 'well-worn' for some is emergent for others, and spaces in emergent trajectories can be observed even in what might appear to be highly scripted contexts. Newcomers are new in many ways, and certainly do not share knowledge of the intricacies of third sector funding, or of the UK's complex and arcane immigration law. We discussed the difficulty of getting things done when one is 'outside' a particular discourse, when we introduced the concept of trans-discursive translanguaging. Klára's client Mr T knew, in broad terms, what type of advice he needed, and that he would be able to find it in an interpreter-mediated interaction at Migrant Counsel. He was not, however, prepared for the Equal Opportunities monitoring form: when this was introduced, the interaction took - for him at least - an unexpected turn. Monika, constrained by the expectations of funding regimes and (inevitably monolingual) bureaucratic literacy practices, was unable to articulate her argument for a business grant in a way which would be audible, without the support of the more bureaucratically-aware Jolana. Tiago's family had attempted to map out a career path for him as a professional basketball player. He rejected their script, turning instead to his 'first love', Capoeira. And the nature of the advice that Lucy's clients received depended not only on her knowledge of immigration law and of their concerns. The accuracy and utility of the advice was contingent upon her knowledge of the unpredictable and rapidly changing detail of immigration law in a time of socio-political change and uncertainty, as well as her ability to mediate that knowledge to those outside legal discourse.

Our understanding of translanguaging itself was also one of scripted emergence, developing as it did in response to our methodology, which in turn unfolded responsively to the new practices, spaces and places of interaction which we were privileged to observe. The TLANG project as a whole provided a clear time-bound, aim-driven framing structure in which the research was to be undertaken. But within this structure, across the four stages and the doctoral research described in this chapter, we observed multiple practices, met participants with varied life experiences, and learned about domains of activity that had hitherto (for us) been unfamiliar. We adjusted and extended our ways of seeing accordingly. We paid increasing attention to the visual, recognising its salience in much communicative practice. We followed a participatory turn with regard to the positionality of the 'researched', enabling the activities of our KPs to shape our fieldwork and analyses. This contributed to how we grew in our understanding of translanguaging. We began by considering it as a means of describing the fluid multilingualism of the UK's urban spaces. Our work on Klára's

institutional interpreter-mediated interaction led us to encompass translation not only between languages but across discourses as translanguaging practice. Observing Monika's attempts to get her social enterprise off the ground enabled us to recognise heritage as repertoire, to be deployed - as with any other communicative resource - to get things done. Watching and becoming involved in Tiago's sport practice obliged us to account for the visual in our analysis, and to consider the assemblage of multimodal as well as multilingual resources as constitutive of meaning-making. Lucy's legal advice-giving sessions at a time when life was difficult, politically, for migrants suggested to us that she adopts a translanguaging stance: the space she opens up in interaction to explain the complex processes and practices of immigration law also becomes an interactional space where translanguaging is allowed and enabled.

Moreover our partnerships with our KPs were formed through a similar pattern of scripted emergence. The design of the project required us (in Leeds) to work with a Czech and Slovak-speaking multilingual researcher, but we did not know the identities of our KPs at the outset. TLANG researcher Jolana Hanušová also happened to be an expert user of Portuguese, which allowed us to research multilingually with not only Klára and Monika (in Czech and Slovak), but Tiago (in Portuguese). In a similar way, the project design dictated the four focal domains of activity (business, heritage, sport and legal advice), but not the details of the particular occupations, interests and concerns of our individual KPs: these became relevant only after we had met and started working with them. Finally, doctoral researcher Jessica Bradley's doctoral thesis was shaped, as her project progressed, by her interest in arts practice and her decision to work with street arts performers.

Conclusion

To conclude, we make some comments about the TLANG project research in Leeds. First, we return to Canagarajah's questions about the scope and focus of analysis. The ethnographic approach underpinning the TLANG project enabled us to identify key interactional moments. These are the nexuses, the points in space and time where individual historical trajectories, practices and discourses come into contact, where something is enabled or constrained, where the communication is both scripted and emergent, and which has significance for the future of the trajectories. At the same time, we worked on close analyses of these points, taking into account the participants' life stories, and broadening out our understanding of translanguaging as we did so.

There are many affordances of a large-scale, multi-site ethnography of this kind. The project formed a catalyst for other projects stemming from the work, opening up other possible directions and new collaborations. Additionally, there were also opportunities for the theorising associated from one phase of the project to feed back, iteratively, into other phases. So, for instance, the understanding of the assemblage which was so helpful in the analysis of the Sport phase data was informed by Bradley's doctoral research and our other work in arts practice (see Bradley et al., 2018).

Over the course of the research, our ethnographic approach enabled us to develop a growing acknowledgement of the visual and the multimodal, and therefore the decentring of language as the prime matter of concern at any one point. This is particularly evident in analyses of the spatial and musical practices of focal interactions in our work with Tiago, and in our visual analyses of the linguistic landscapes of our KPs' lives (Callaghan, 2018).

There is an obligation in ethnography to be flexible in terms of methods and techniques. This requires researchers to adopt a post-modern stance that is responsive to different and potentially novel and emergent types of interaction and social groupings. It also means that analytical approaches are selected carefully and contingently, as we have sought to demonstrate above. Examples of these are multimodal discourse analysis, a focus on the assemblage, and nexus analysis to complement the more predictable interactional sociolinguistic analysis of institutional talk and narrative analysis of life history interviews.

Finally, it is important to underline that researching the superdiversity of communication 'requires a political and ethical consciousness' (Blackledge, Creese et al., 2018: xli). Our work highlighted for us that the emancipatory affordances of superdiversity might be a little over-stated. To an extent we might justifiably take a celebratory position, for example when we work with the multilingual, multimodal, culturally diverse Capoeira practice and participants and the street arts performers. However, so much of our research brings us into contact with those subject to severe economic precarity and experiencing the withdrawal of government services and support associated with a policy of austerity: linguistic and cultural diversity maps closely onto various and multiple indices of social deprivation. It also foregrounds the way that mobile, transnational people in the UK, along with everyone else, are caught up in the uncertainties of political belonging in the run-up to the EU referendum and its chaotic aftermath.

Endnote

1. Translation and Translanguaging: This research was supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, as a Large Grant in the Translating Cultures theme, 'Translation and Translanguaging: Investigating Linguistic and Cultural Transformations in Superdiverse Wards in Four UK Cities' (AH/L007096/1) The project was led by Angela Creese. The Leeds-based team comprised Mike Baynham, Jessica Bradley, John Callaghan, Jolana Hanušová, Emilee Moore and James Simpson.

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