



Arts & Humanities
Research Council



Translation and Translanguaging

Investigating Linguistic and Cultural Transformations in Superdiverse Wards in Four UK Cities

Working Papers in

Translanguaging and Translation

Paper 22

Transformations through sport: The case of capoeira and basketball

Mike Baynham, Jessica Bradley, John Callaghan, Jolana Hanusova,
Emilee Moore & James Simpson

A report on Phase Three of the Leeds case study of AHRC-funded Translating Cultures project, *Translation and Translanguaging: Investigating Linguistic and Cultural Transformations in Superdiverse Wards in Four UK Cities*. (AH/L007096/1)

Please reference as:

Baynham, M., Bradley, J., Callaghan, J., Hanusova, J., Moore, E. & Simpson, J. (2017). Transformations through sport: The case of capoeira and basketball (WP. 22).

(<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tlang/index.aspx>)

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM



Executive Summary

The third phase of the AHRC-funded Translation and Translanguaging (TLang) project focuses on the theme of Sport. The Key Participant in Leeds is Tiago from Mozambique who is involved in capoeira and basketball, which gives our case study a dual focus. It should be noted that our analysis of both sets of sessions, capoeira and basketball, while kept roughly in parallel in the report, also reflects the different opportunities and affordances of the activities: capoeira for example provided notable opportunities for participants to learn Portuguese, while there was no such obvious equivalent in basketball. In Section One we introduce the case study, then in Section Two we introduce Tiago and look at the role that basketball and capoeira has played in his transformations and ideological becoming when he was growing up in Mozambique but also since he moved to England. We see how sport has always played a central shaping role in his life. Next in Section Three we introduce the two sports, basketball and capoeira (though as we shall see, capoeira, designated a UNESCO World Heritage treasure, is something more multi-layered than just a sport). In Section Four we review some of the themes that have cut across the TLang case studies so far: the work/home dynamic, the dynamics and politics of space, including borrowed space, entrepreneurship and precarity (finding a place and transforming what one knows, is and can do into something marketable), and finally of course a reflection on sport in relation to the core themes of our project, translanguaging, mobility, globalization and superdiversity. We show how Tiago, caught in the trap of precarious hourly paid work, is striving to transform an activity he loves, capoeira, into something he could earn a living by. The challenge of the Sports case study methodologically lay in the fact that we were dealing with highly visual data which could only really be captured on video. Additionally, due to difficulties in sound recording we were further led to consider the dynamic interaction of visual, verbal and embodied action rather than extensive analysis of spoken data. In Section Five we therefore focus on methodological issues concerned with obtaining and working with such visual data. In the first part of Section Six, we look at the event structure of both capoeira and basketball sessions, then go on to provide more detailed analysis of video data. In the case of capoeira we focus on the *roda* stage, which is the culmination of each session; in the case of basketball, we look at the lead up to an actual game: warm up, practice and strategy setting. In the final part of this section we look at the language learning opportunities afforded by participation in the capoeira group, and interaction both in English and Brazilian Portuguese with a marked Afro-Brazilian inflection. This is both through the songs and chants that are characteristic of capoeira, but also the language of instruction and regulation of the activity, where Portuguese/English translanguaging is often in evidence. In Section Seven we briefly conclude the case study.

Contents

1	Introduction	6
2	Introducing Tiago, our key participant.....	7
2.1	Childhood and the search for identity.....	7
2.2	Township life and initiation into basketball and capoeira.....	8
2.3	Moving back to Maputo and transformation	10
2.4	Moving to the UK and practising basketball and capoeira	12
2.5	Fluidities between basketball and capoeira.....	15
2.6	Tiago's linguistic repertoire	16
	Tiago's Portuguese.....	16
	Learning about other cultures and languages	19
3	History, language and culture of capoeira and basketball	22
3.1	Historical overview.....	22
	Capoeira	22
	Basketball.....	24
3.2	The basics of the sports.....	25
	Capoeira.....	25
	Basketball.....	28
	Language of basketball.....	29
4	Theoretical framing: the sports phase in relation to earlier project phases.....	33
4.1	Situating the study: across the work/home divide	33
4.2	Disrupting the front-stage, back-stage boundary	35
4.3	Defining the spaces: liminality	35
4.4	Basketball and capoeira as multimodal practice.....	35
4.5	Translanguaging across space and place	36
4.6	Entrepreneurship and precarity.....	36
4.7	From entrepreneurship to amateur pastimes to self-organisation	38
4.8	Entrepreneurial affordances.....	39
4.9	Sport, integration and identity: local or global	39
4.10	Capoeira in diaspora	41
4.11	Commodifying Capoeira as Brazilianness?.....	41
4.12	Superdiverse cities and sport: Migrant 'communities' and diasporic 'communities'	42
5	Methodology	43
5.1	Apprenticeship as method	43
5.2	The sites	44
	Capoeira sites.....	44
	Basketball Site: Chapeltown Community Centre	47

5.3	Frameworks for analysing the video data	50
	Multimodal ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, and schema theory.....	50
	Nexus analysis and multimodal interactional analysis	50
	Heuristic scales	51
	Multimodality: ‘modes’ in interaction.....	51
5.4	Questions and procedures for approaching video data.....	52
6	Analysis	55
6.1	Organisation of the activities	55
	Capoeira.....	55
	Basketball.....	73
6.2	Language and communication.....	85
	The language of capoeira	85
	Communication during a game of capoeira	86
	Capoeira as an intangible heritage: Translating historic experience through corporal movement, song and music.....	89
	Basketball.....	90
6.3	Schema, anti-schema and super-schema: the cooperative and competitive production of orderly, goal-oriented action in basketball and capoeira	91
	Schematising action.....	92
	Anti-schema: disrupting schematised action	96
	Super-schema: embracing the anti-schematic action	98
	Unproductive anti-schematic action and the reassertion of the schema	100
	Conclusions.....	102
6.4	Socialization in capoeira	102
	Capoeira: reflection of historical events and symbol of fight for equality	102
	The link with the past: teaching about culture and history in the class	103
	Capoeira as microcosm: knowledge transfer from roda to everyday life	104
	Rules for interaction in capoeira and in the roda.....	106
	Transformation through capoeira	107
	Capoeira and language learning	111
7	Conclusion.....	118
8	Appendices.....	120
8.1	Appendix 1 — Field Notes	120
8.2	Appendix 2 — Audio Data.....	121
8.3	Appendix 3 — Interview Data	122
8.4	Appendix 4 — Video Data	125
9	References.....	126

1 Introduction

In this case study with a focus on Sport we follow the life of Tiago from Mozambique and his life-shaping involvement in two activities, capoeira and basketball. Of the two, basketball falls more clearly into the conventional category of sport, while capoeira is arguably a more complex historicized activity which can be seen at one and the same time as cultural transmission, a dance practice and a martial art. We start by showing the role which capoeira and basketball played in Tiago's growing up in Mozambique and in his identity formation or ideological becoming. We then go on to introduce a brief history of capoeira and basketball. Although we think of capoeira's cultural embedding and historicity as a key characteristic this does not of course mean that basketball has no history. We will see some traces of the history of basketball when Tiago describes what the sport meant to him growing up in Mozambique. In section four we review key themes that inform our case study: space and the claiming of space, economic and social precarity, creativity, pointing out resonances with our previous case studies. We then go on to consider the methodology of our study, briefly reviewing the linguistic ethnographic approach, but concentrating mainly on researching the visual, a focus we found to be essential in researching sport. In section six we present an analysis of the visual/verbal/embodied interaction which goes into coordinating sporting activity, using video recorded data. We look at similarities and differences between capoeira and basketball as embodied activities and the role that language plays, including visual/verbal/embodied translanguaging. In the final section we focus on capoeira, examining how capoeira works as cultural transmission, but also how it provides a focus and opportunity for members of diverse language backgrounds to operate in a context where Portuguese is frequently spoken by the group leader, the Mestre, learn songs and interactional routines in Portuguese and more specifically pick up capoeira related Portuguese influenced by its origins in Africa.

This case study can usefully be read in conjunction with the two previous case studies from the Leeds sites of the TLang project, Baynham et al. (2015) and Baynham et al., (2016). As with the earlier work, authors are referred to by their initials throughout this report. In this case study Jolana Hanusova (JH), John Callaghan (JC) and Mike Baynham (MB) are prominent.

2 Introducing Tiago, our key participant

In this section of the report we introduce our key participant, Tiago. We include an overview of his childhood and his years growing up in Mozambique, of his arrival in the UK and the role of capoeira and basketball throughout his life.

2.1 Childhood and the search for identity

Tiago, our Key Participant in the Sports phase, was born in Mozambique and was 30 years at the time of our observation. JH met him through her social network – they had common friends and JH knew Tiago was a capoeirista, as she had seen him perform at a Latin-American themed festival in Leeds. Later, it turned out that Tiago also played basketball on a regular basis.

Tiago was born in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. He was brought up by his grandmother, as his mother was only 15 years old when he was born. Tiago speaks about his grandmother as one of the most important people in his childhood, and expresses understanding for his mother's decision:

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001

T: (...) I grown up in quite small family in terms of me, my Grandmother she's very important because all my childhood, you know, I've been with my Grandmother, you know, because my Mum, she was young, you know, and as well she need time to for herself.

Something that marked his childhood, and was relevant for Tiago his whole life, was not that he did not grow up with his mother, but that his mother did not reveal the identity of his father to him. This led to Tiago growing up in uncertainty and questioning his father's identity, as well his own:

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001

T: (...) because I didn't know my father and I was all the time ask my Mum, 'Who is my father. Who is my father?' And then I grown up like that.

In Tiago's school in Mozambique, the names of both parents typically appear on school IDs and Tiago was laughed at by other children for having 'unknown' in place of his father's name. But even this did not help him in finding out the answer about his father's identity from his mother, who did not understand what withholding this information meant for Tiago.

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: (laughs) and as well even in school cause on my ID because I didn't met my father before so on my ID the name was Incognite. Incognite.

MB: Incogxxx

T: so dad incognite. So

MB: unknown

T: so kid, you know kids, kids they are very, you know, kids they kids, oh, so your dad's called Incognite? Xxx I was like oh my god, go home and cry and then why this, you know, that's why I'm always say to my mother who is my father you know, it's impossible you know, is you know and my step father I

can't you know just born and she she not was my mother not was understand what I was pass in school

2.2 Township life and initiation into basketball and capoeira

When he was still a child, Tiago was sent to live with the family of his grandmother's brother, who lived in a township at the outskirts of Maputo. There, Tiago had to follow the strict rules of a Muslim household. He started attending a madrasa and learning Arabic. While the rules in the house may have been a bit restrictive, they kept Tiago from picking up bad habits.

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001

T: It was OK, you know. Of course, we you can never choose which line of life you want, but I had-- I've been this place in township, really township where poor people-- But my brother's Grandmother he have little bit of condition of the house, everything, so I was very more kind of disciplined you know, go home, go to Mosque, come home, so I didn't get too much distraction about to drink, when I was young, you know.



Figure 1. Tiago, third from left, back row, on his high school basketball team. “Oh, basketball is like – was my first sport ... as you see that picture, I start very young, you know?” (LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001).

Still, Tiago did not become very attached to the family, feeling there was a difference between how the family treated him, and how they treated their own children. Around this time, he also started playing basketball. “One of the things, of course, because of my higher [height].” (LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001). Tiago had been teased by the other children and nicknamed ‘worm’ because he was slender and tall, but in basketball his unusual height became an advantage. Sport is not just about skill, as basketball coach Sidney Goldstein wryly observed: ‘[H]ow would Magic Johnson, Wilt Chamberlain, or Michael Jordan do if he were a foot shorter? Would we even know their names today if this were true?’ (Goldstein, 1994).

The family did not always allow him to go to his basketball training sessions:

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: yea and then(?) yea and then I move to my my great-, my grandmother brother's house and he's Muslim house and erm I stayed with them like outside of the city, it's like township, and I went you know to madrasa everything and erm in(?) they not was allow me even to play basketball sometimes

Basketball at that time was a welcome occasion for Tiago to socialize and meet with his team mates, who were also his friends:

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001

T: Basketball-- One of the things, of course, because of my higher, and as well in terms of socialise, in terms of friends, you know, it was more easy to me because as I tell you I was living in this house where they are Muslims, so it was excuse to me as well to go out as well, to hang out with friends, from basketball and socialise, you know?

Whereas the family of his grandmother's brother did not encourage Tiago to play basketball, he did have strong support from his grandfather, who saw in basketball a chance to become professional player and move to the United States:

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: Cause basket I did it for long time, I was playing in a club, basketball from in this year from young until, but and then in my club xxx they was not help me to buy trainers, yea, and it's difficult, and and my grandfather he was having this dream I would go to the s- United, to the States, US, to be basketball professional, and I was oh, xxx sure about that (laughs) you know, and he was all the time, you know, oh you need to go, you need to go to the States, it's not easy, you know, it's not easy but yea, I, was his dream you know.

Tiago thwarted his grandfather's dream when he found capoeira, which clearly did not have the same potential in his grandfather's eyes as basketball:

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: When I say I do capoeira, oh, he feel so upset with me. Cause he didn't understand what I was feel you know. And he say oh no, you need do basketball, you could go to US you know, you you xxx gonna be basketball. Then I was say look, my my club even training they wouldn't (?) give me and you know.

This was in 2002, when Tiago was 14 years old. Tiago first heard about capoeira from a cousin who was practising it, and after he had the chance to catch a glimpse of a capoeira training session, accompanied by the sound of the *berimbau* (a musical instrument played in capoeira), he found out where the training sessions were taking place and joined the group.

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: yea because my, one of cousin, he was do capoeira, but he was do capoeira in the city, and when he start, when and this group, the first group in Mozambique capoeira and erm the the venue was in the, in the hospital, you know where people was making physiotherapy (JH hm) so these things, and one day I was walk to the hospital and I s-, I hear the sound and then I look to the window I saw guys training, xxx oh that's very cool you know and then after I found out you know the school

Tiago's family was not supporting his new passion, so he had to find excuses in order to be able to train – such as saying he was going to basketball and then practising capoeira on his own in a dark corner of the basketball court, hiding his practice of capoeira in a similar way to the slaves in Brazil in colonial times:

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: And erm and when I start capoeira I I was doing school in secondary school, but outside like in the basketball place outside and no light but it was xxx capoeira, ginga, was was, yea, I remember this time

MB: after school

T: yea was like erm half 6 until half 7, so what I did, I s-, I was say to them I go to do basketball but not was go to basketball, to go to capoeira. That's why when I found capoeira I I stopped little bit basket, you know.

It is interesting that Tiago tried to convince his family that capoeira was a traditional dance, similar to what African slaves did in Brazil in front of their masters:

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

MB: and what about capoeira, what did they [the family] think of capoeira

T: when I start capoeira was difficult

MB: xxx like it

T: I was, I was run to go and I not was tell them when xxx

MB: so they didn't like capoeira

T: no, no

MB: why why was that

T: cause some people think capoeira is very like violent thing because people doesn't understand, you know, people in, some people in Mozambique doesn't understand, what is capoeira, where it come from, you know. But if I say to them oh, I do kind of traditional dancing from there, xxx ok everyone laughs

Tiago became so passionate about capoeira because it offered to him something he did not find in basketball – it was helping him to deal with the problems in his everyday life. Capoeira helped him to find his identity through self-expression and to build up his self-esteem, as well as offering him consolation in the difficult times of his childhood.

2.3 Moving back to Maputo and transformation

At the age of fifteen, Tiago moved back to his grandmother's house in Maputo, where he carried on practising capoeira. Shortly after, Tiago found out the identity of his father from a person living in the neighbourhood. This was another important event that

contributed to Tiago's personal transformation, which had been initiated through capoeira. The discovery meant not only finding out his father's identity, but also Tiago's own. It marked a beginning of a new chapter in Tiago's life, leaving his unhappy childhood behind.

LeeSpoAud_20150907_JH_001

T: (...) that time all my memories all things you know throw down and I didn't know what I'm gonna do and, but in same time I was happy xxx cause I found out **my identity** (JH yea) **I found out erm who I am where I come from** (JH yea) so that's good thing.

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001

T: You know, when you grown up with something in your head, and as soon as I know who is him, **my life changed**, it just xxx, it's like I clean my hands, you know.

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: (...) some of my neighbours say one day call me, they say oh I know your father, and I start to be more calm. I said, oh really? And as soon as I found out you know who is my father, oh, is like you know relief, all my childhood I just behind (?)

Although by the time Tiago found out the identity of his father he was already dead – he had died of malaria – he had met him once during a trip to the beach. Tiago also established contacts with his deceased father's family.

To capture this new chapter in his life formally, Tiago changed his name, substituting his mother's surname coming from an African language with his father's Portuguese surname¹ – possibly to compensate for the humiliation he went through as a child, when the children at his school made fun of his African surname and the fact that his father's name didn't appear on his school ID card:

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: And as soon as I found out you know who is my father, oh, is like you know relief, all my childhood I just behind (?) **that's why I changed my name** you know. It's

MB: Marques

T: Marques, yea, it's my father's name. Cristóvão de Souza Marques (MB ok). So my name before was erm my mother's name, it's Tiago Pedro Manhiça, so Manhiça is more like African name, yea, yea is... and even in in school people was like say oh tsi, tsi xxx you know when you do oh tsi! So my my surname is Manhiça, so kids were (?) like oh tsi, oh tsi! (all laugh). You know kids they're very bad you know because they not realize they just talk and you know, they touch hard even when they don't know. But and as well since I changed my name, I was like (?) wow that's beautiful name, you know, Tiago Cristóvão de Souza Marques. Cause in Mozambique we have mix of name you can found that proper African name or you can found that Portuguese name you know because some people they not allowed to

¹ It is interesting that although Tiago enjoys speaking local African languages of Mozambique, he finds the Portuguese name more beautiful

register in that name they need to change name that's why old people have like Portuguese name.

The experience of not knowing his father's identity until a certain age has also influenced the way Tiago is bringing up his daughter. Tiago compares not knowing the identity of his own father when he was young to his daughter not knowing the Mozambican culture of her father – a situation he is striving to avoid. Tiago doesn't want her to grow up knowing only her mother's culture, as this could lead to questioning her own identity later on in her life. Tiago therefore makes sure that he passes down his own culture and values to her, as well as language, using Portuguese when speaking to her.

LeeSpolnt_20160416_JC_001

T: Ah, she's mixed race, so it's important to me to pass my culture, my way, my habits, and her Mum of course pass her, you know, because she's mixed race it's kind of important for her to know her identity, you know - OK, my Dad's from Mozambique, where's Mozambique, what they do? You know my Mum is from England, why you know what I mean, **I don't want she just get stuck in one culture and then later when she grow, she will ask herself where's my identity? Because that's what's happening you know for some kids when they grow, they try to find where I come from, who is, you know, try to find my identity, because when I grown up I was as well had that, because I didn't know my father** and I was all the time ask my Mum, 'Who is my father. Who is my father?' And then I grown up like that. (...) So for my daughter like I speak with her Portuguese (...).

2.4 Moving to the UK and practising basketball and capoeira

In the following years, Tiago lived in Maputo. In 2006 he lost the job he had there and took up another job in a charity, which required him to travel to other provinces of the country. On one of those trips to an area popular with tourists, Tiago met an American woman who taught him the basics of English.

Back in Maputo, Tiago met his future wife and they decided to move together to Leeds, which was where their daughter was born. At the time of the observation, Tiago had been living in the UK for about 2 years.

Moving to the UK was an important change in Tiago's life, and establishing himself in the new country was not easy at first for him. In Mozambique, Tiago had a good social life and he enjoyed spending time at the beach. The UK was a complete new environment to which he needed to adapt very quickly. The fact that he did not have a job in the period following his arrival meant he was spending most of his time at home. Tiago was not happy, feeling that he'd lost his inner balance.

LeeSpolnt_20160416_JC_001

T: (...), because was big change for me, it was very emotional moment for me, Mozambique in that time was like summer, I have a lot of things going on, let's do this, let's do that. And then we went to England here in England is where I found out Wow, is that this? Because I was outside for my world, I

was outside for my culture, my environment, my (groovy) time, that's why when I came here I had this time, it's not about being myself, it's everything, you know, when you are different place, you have some place where you are, you can be in desert and then you can find yourself there, you know, but you can be in London, so you're so busy, and that, you have coffee, then that, so you don't – you sleep, even when you sleep you don't have time, because you keep thinking what you going to do the next day, but you know, so here, when I arrive here I have this time, because I no was work, I have more time home, so I start thinking about, and I started questioning myself oh, what's wrong, not certain, you know.

Luckily, Tiago already spoke English when he arrived. As well as having learnt the basics of the language from his American friend in Mozambique, before travelling to the UK he attended classes at a language school.

LeeSpoAud_20150907_JH_002

T: yea. On that time xxx not was speak English. She speak me like write and everything, then I improved myself, and then before I came here to England I make erm I went to English institute to like properly (JH yea) but the school they didn't find which level they can put me because I was so, I was very good, you know (JH yea) and erm but they put me in level 3, because as well of course grammar as well take time (JH hm hm hm) and then and yea and then I very good results and then I came here and now I just switch on

On arrival in the UK, Tiago began looking for places to practise both basketball and capoeira, mainly as a way of providing continuity and to help him adapt to his new environment. As he says, playing sports is “great for integration.”
(LeeSpoFN_20150911_JH_002)

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: I was look for basketball team for long time, since when I arrive here, because I was to, you know, to start my you know my routine you know. I say ok I want to adapt. I want to do what I was doing in Mozambique... and then I passed of this place, you know, and the guy said, you know, they have basketball.

This was how, through a friend, Tiago heard about a basketball club playing in the Chapeltown Leisure Centre in Chapeltown and decided to join.

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

JH: who brought you in the club?

T: no erm I went there myself someone is saying Chapeltown Leisure Centre there, they play, I went there myself and then the the she (?) couldn't see (?) we play there they're playing Wednesdays. And then I went here and I talked with the coach, ok, xxx say yea, and then after a while he say well, you know, you can play in our team xxx but I never I never **I never register to play in the team (laughs) you know not now, I don't know I just erm I just do basketball because I love** you know because I like, I can go in the team but I **just don't want that stress of games or, cause I already do**

capoeira and I understand the the perception(?) of games you know and I s-, I want try to to take up about competitions you know, that's why sometimes the boys in the basketball, they argument a lot. They argument

Tiago went in, talked to the coach and joined the team, although he never registered to become an official member of the club. He did not identify fully with the team spirit, promoted by the team coach, Patrick. He does not share the ambition and competitiveness of the other players, and playing in competitions means stress which he does not want in his life. Tiago's attitude to basketball – doing it for enjoyment – reflects itself on the court, where he does not take part in the arguments that occasionally break out amongst the players.

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001.

T: Then after a while he say well, you know, you can play in our team xxx but I never I never I never register to play in the team (laughs), you know. Not now. I don't know, I just erm I just do basketball because I love, you know. Because I like. I can go in the team but I just don't want that stress of games

After his arrival to Leeds Tiago also got in touch with Leandro, who leads one of the two capoeira schools that were running classes at the time of our observation. Originally from Brazil, Leandro was sent out by his capoeira school to teach capoeira in the UK. Leandro's style of capoeira is *capoeira de rua* (street capoeira) as a considerable part of his learning trajectory was informal – he spent many years learning capoeira in informal groups before joining an official capoeira school. As a result, the style of capoeira he taught in his classes was oriented towards self-defence. At the same time, there was a strong emphasis on teaching the cultural and historic context of capoeira.

There were usually around 7-10 students in the class. In case of Leandro's absence or late arrival, the classes were taught by one of the senior members – usually Sophie or Carolina, who also helped with the organization of the classes and events organized by the school. Tiago trained for a short period of time with Leandro before going back to Mozambique and resumed attending his classes after his return to the UK.

In the extract below Leandro also explains his perspective on the motives for Tiago joining the school. Apart from his desire to 'learn a little bit more', Tiago was hoping that Leandro's school would provide him with a certificate of his skills, as the clubs he was training with in Mozambique did not use formal systematization, e.g. grading. Once in the UK, Tiago wanted to use capoeira to teach children, and he was hoping to be able to set something up through Leandro's established school, or at least obtain a certificate to prove his skills formally.

However, it turned out that Leandro was not the best person to ask for any kind of official proof, as he himself prefers an informal approach to teaching capoeira.

LeeSpoInt_20160114_JH_001

L: Like when we spoke about Tiago, Tiago was a guy I met a few years ago, when I first met him, he just showed up at my school one day. Just showed up with his wife and his erm child, I think it was just a few weeks born child
JH: oh, really!

L: yea! And he came he said, oh, my name is Tiago, I come from Mozambique, and I practise capoeira over there and I heard of your school so just came to visit you. Said yea, you're welcome, so he was training for a while, and suddenly he disappeared. I never heard of Tiago anymore. After maybe two or three years I got a message on facebook saying, hey, hello brother, I'm back to UK (JH laughs) cause I was in Mozambique and I'd like to join your group again to learn a little bit more. [...] oh, come along, and he [...], look, I've been training capoeira for many years erm but back on those days I never graded, like my old fellows, but I'd like to start to teach kids, but I need someone to give me a chance to teach, give me the opportunity, to help me, give me some certificates, and I said look, come along, you wanna teach kids, go and [teach?] them. Oh, but I need a paper, you need a paper, your certificate, there you are [Leandro takes a piece of paper laying on the desk and puts it in front of JH]. You wanna work with capoeira? Work with capoeira. But I'm gonna keep you at this level because I wanna know what you know about capoeira. So so far he's training, he's doing good, he's doing bad, but he's there training when he can.

We observed Tiago during a period of his life when he was working in different low pay casual jobs or looking for work, therefore he was not always available to train with Leandro, but he was making efforts to be present in the classes whenever he could.

2.5 Fluidities between basketball and capoeira

Although both basketball and capoeira can be perceived as sports, the practice of capoeira and basketball varies on many levels. Basketball is based on a competitive points system, whereas the aim of capoeira is not to score, rather to have 'a good game'. Tiago, however, transfers elements of these sports into the other, such as the non-conflictive essence of capoeira into basketball:

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: oh my god, sometimes it's... you can't believe, you know, it's like aah but they get so high emotionally and I just laughing because I'm very chilled and you know **actually I think xxx capoeira that you know bring me this respect and this chilled way and in basketball I just chill**, you know, sometime when you finish I just laughing you know, xxx you guys you very bad you know, xxx why, we just play, you know, it's nothing, xxx (laughs), just a ball, you know, how ball can create a lot of conflicts, a small ball (laughs)

In the above sections, we have tried to demonstrate the role of basketball and capoeira in Tiago's life, both back in Mozambique and in the UK. Capoeira as we have seen is strongly linked with Tiago's personal development, especially during his adolescence in Mozambique, and in the UK Tiago plays it as a leisure activity, as a break from the everyday routine. Basketball was an activity that allowed Tiago to socialize in

Mozambique, as well as to get away from the strict conditions of the household he was growing up in. In the UK, Tiago plays it for fun and to keep fit.

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001

I start basketball and then I found capoeira, I was do both, but then I said look, capoeira is something really, **it's like talk to me**, you know, make me, yeah, and yeah. **I would do basketball, I do for fun**, I play, you know, and in terms of physical and tactic it's same, but not for something when I play capoeira when I song, when I play, **it's like it just take me to other place**, very good, you know, and I just feel well, I just feel different and well because it's like of **celebration**, you know, I just celebration, yeah, it's **bring me to my own roots**, you know, and as well to me to be to be African as well

In the analytical section of this report, some of the other ways that basketball and capoeira are similar, different, and relate to Tiago's social world will be discussed.

2.6 Tiago's linguistic repertoire

Tiago's Portuguese

Tiago was born in Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique. The languages used in his family were the local languages – Ronga and Changana, But Tiago also understands languages spoken in other parts of the country, all of which belong to the Bantu language family and are mutually intelligible. The language used in education in Mozambique is, however, Portuguese:

LeeSpoAud_20160229_JH_026

JH: so in your in your home your home your family they would speak Changana

T: yea, Ronga, Changana

JH: so that's your that's what you grew up listening to

T: yea cause my grandmother when she talked with me, everything in local language. Obviously I speak Portuguese because of school. And then when you go to other province it's another language. The next province it's Gaza and xxx they speak Xitswa, it's another local language. I can understand them because it's a Bantu language. Even Shona, the language in Zimbabwe. I can understand them. Like 'manzi' is water. And my language it's 'mati'.

Changana very rarely was in evidence in Tiago's interactions, and is virtually invisible in his interactions, though it came once into a text message exchange with MB in the context of a playful exchange using their shared languages English, Portuguese and Arabic. He is talking here about writing some poems in Changana which he will then translate into Portuguese and English:



Portuguese is the official language of Mozambique and it enjoys a higher social status in comparison to the local languages, which can be seen as only of local use value. According to Tiago, there is an increasing tendency to use Portuguese for everyday communication especially amongst young people, but Tiago himself enjoys learning and using the local languages.

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001

T: Yeah, but not all people, you know, some people talk-- some young people don't want to talk because they feel 'ah, this language', you know, they feel like it's quite odd you know speak it, they want to speak Portuguese that's why I say how the the posh thing, some people think that we are just Portuguese or if you speak traditional language, they say you know it's like you know -- but I really like because I've always hung out with old people old people than me xxx me, you know, it's nice.

Countries which use Portuguese as an official language are commonly referred to as 'Lusophone countries' and as well as Mozambique and Portugal also include Brazil, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, amongst others. The common language serves as a common bond between these countries and favours cultural exchange between them. In this way, Tiago is familiar with Brazilian culture and language thanks to visits of Brazilian musicians to Mozambique or through TV, broadcasting Brazilian soap operas. Tiago is familiar with the Brazilian variety of the Portuguese language, including slang expressions.

LeeSpoAud_20160205_JH_024

JH: so would you have lots of Brazilian things on TV

T: yea, since the 90s, no, 80s, yea, we have Brazilian channel

JH: so people know what Brazilian Portuguese is like

T: of course, even the slang, because of novelas, series, movies. So I'm doing well with Gabriel [a Brazilian friend] because xxx and I know the difference, because we have some words that mean something in Brazil and Portugal

In a similar way, Tiago is also familiar with the European variety of Portuguese. Although Mozambican Portuguese is similar to the European Portuguese on some levels, Tiago perceives them as two different variants. The differences do not occur only on the level of grammar and vocabulary, but also in the way the meaning is formulated. According to Tiago, Portuguese people do not speak in a straightforward way; they tell a story within another story. Mozambican Portuguese, on the other hand, is very poetic:

LeeSpoAud_20160205_JH_025

T: yea yea because I know how they [Portuguese people] are, so when they talk to you, they talk about another story between the story, ta ta taaaa, ta ta taaaa. But in Mozambique we are very poetic. That's why we're good at writing. We are more calm people in terms of another people in Africa, even Angolans, Guiné Bissau, we are more spiritually more well educated

Tiago suggests that the cultural exchange is not always reciprocal – his Brazilian friend Gabriel would not be familiar with Mozambican slang. Tiago adapts his own language to this situation. When speaking to a Brazilian, he does not use vocabulary from Mozambican Portuguese and sometimes incorporates elements from the Brazilian language variant into his language.

LeeSpoAud_20160205_JH_025

JH: would you use any African words?

T: yea of course like local words, like 'maningue', like slang, 'maningue' actually comes from English, it means many, like lots. Very nice, very good. So we say maningue nice.

JH: that's funny.

T: like I'd eat some food, uhm, é maningue nice

JH: laughs

T: but if I say that to Gabriel [his friend from Brazil], he will say, what? And I would need to explain it to him. Muito [very], it's like: tá bem? Oh, maningue [are you doing fine? Oh, very].

LeeSpoAud_20160205_JH_024

T: it's like Gabriel I speak with him Portuguese. Tiago, você vai ao Sela? [Tiago, are you going to the Sela Bar] It's in Portuguese Brazil

JH: yea because you wouldn't say você, you say tu vais. But do you ever say você?

T: no I just say because he's Brazilian you know

JH: do you think you mix a bit of Brazilian Portuguese

T: yea, for him (laughs)

JH: but also when you're at capoeira, would you say você to Leandro for example?

T: yea

Tiago sees Mozambican Portuguese as easily adaptable, possibly due to the existence of the local languages, widely used by the population. He believes that his own accent is not marked and not easily recognizable:

LeeSpoAud_20160205_JH_025

T: (...) in Mozambique we are very easy to adapt to any language, even to a different style of Portuguese. In Angola it's different. People from Angola or Guiné [Guinea Bissau] need to ask me where I'm from, because they don't get it from my accent

Tiago uses 'proper Mozambican Portuguese' [LeeSpoAud_20160229_JH_026] when speaking to his childhood friend Saulo, who currently lives in Northern Ireland. Our social media data reveals some of this language, which is characterized by:

- presence of vocabulary from local languages – e.g. maningue [very], nicuna madala [old person; term of endearment]
- presence of English vocabulary as a result of contacts between Mozambique and the neighbouring English-speaking countries, such as South Africa and Zimbabwe – e.g. john [an informal addressing – friend; brother], nice
- expressions with a meaning which is different from the one in European Portuguese – e.g. você tava bem boa = lit. you were very good, in Mozambican Portuguese the meaning is 'you were dressed well'
- specific slang phrases and expressions – e.g. tá a ferrari = are you sleeping

We notice that elements of other languages (English, local African languages) is an essential characteristic of Mozambican Portuguese.

Learning about other cultures and languages

Education, be it formal education or spiritual self-development, is extremely important for Tiago:

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001

T: I work, you know, but the main thing is about education, you know, that's the most important, education in school, education home, you know, education, human being education, is very-. That's why I read a lot about these books, you know

Tiago's collection of books reflects his wide scope of interests – his bookshelf contains titles from the Indian mystic Osho, Ana Vargas (Brazilian author of spiritual romances), Gabriel Garcia Marquez, the Mozambican novelist Mia Couto, the novel Capitães de Areia by Jorge Amado, a novel by Paulo Coelho, a book on Messi, or a book on yoga. The books also reflect the importance of language learning for Tiago, as some of these books are in languages other than English and Portuguese, such as Spanish. There were also language textbooks, on Arabic and Japanese language (figures 2 and 3).

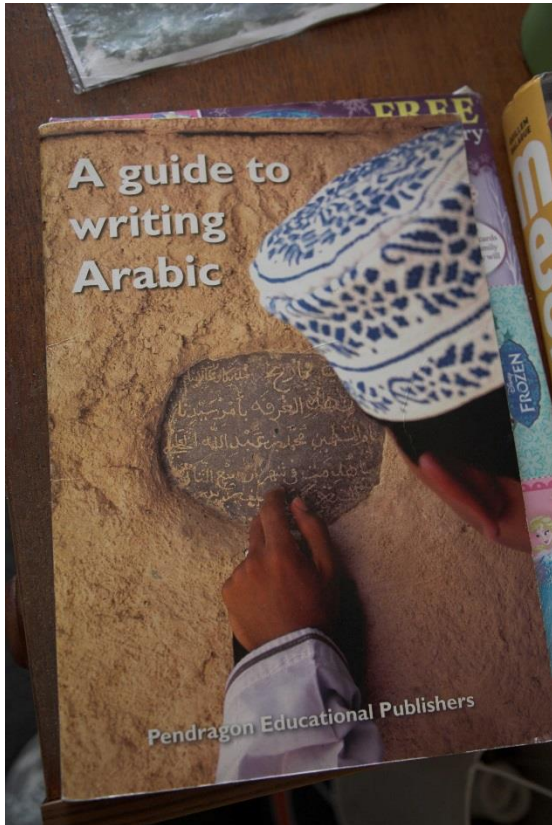


Figure 2.
LeeSpoPho_20160416_JC_032

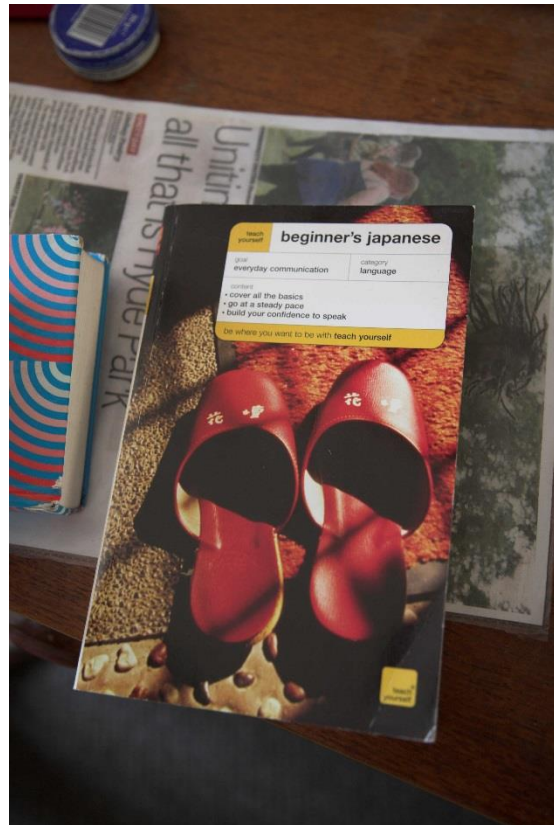


Figure 3.
LeeSpoPho_20160416_JC_036

Tiago's passion for learning foreign languages was inspired by his grandfather, whose picture is hanging on the wall of his flat.

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001

JC: Now, who's this guy?

T: He's my Grandfather. I really like him. You know, he passed away when I had like seven-- sixteen, so. But the few time I had time with him was very, very-- I aspire him lots, he was like speak like 10 language, 10, 12, nearly 15 language.

Also the multilingual environment in which he grew up helped to open his mind to learning more languages.

T: But yeah, and as well the language skills, you know, I've just learned at home, I've learned home two language, you know, Portuguese and-- So the language skills help as well to open more my-- open mind in terms of learn more stuff and learn, you know.

In a similar way, Tiago is making his daughter used to listening to other languages, for example by playing children's songs in French to her. He is also putting a lot of emphasis on teaching her Portuguese. As we saw earlier, having grown up not knowing his father's identity, teaching his daughter about his own language and culture is for Tiago a way of avoiding that she does not find herself in a similar situation.

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001

T: Ah, she's mixed race, so it's important to me to pass my culture, my way, my habits, and her Mum of course pass her, you know, because she's mixed race it's kind of important for her to know her identity, you know - OK, my Dad's from Mozambique, where's Mozambique, what they do? You know my Mum is from England, why you know what I mean, I don't want she just get stuck in one culture and then later when she grow, she will ask herself where's my identity? Because that's what's happening you know for some kids when they grow, they try to find where I come from, who is, you know, try to find my identity, **because when I grown up I was as well had that**, because I didn't know my father and I was all the time ask my Mum, 'Who is my father. Who is my father?' And then I grown up like that. (...) **So for my daughter like I speak with her Portuguese (...).**

Tiago often uses Portuguese when speaking to his daughter, despite the fact that she prefers to communicate in English. He occasionally teaches her Portuguese vocabulary in the middle of other activities, such as drawing:

LeeSpoAud_20151211_JH_013

original	translation
D: it's a road	
T: estrada	road
D: it's a road	
T: estrada em portugues	'road' in Portuguese
D: estrada	Road
T: yea	
D: this is a road	
T: essa é estrada	This is a road
T: good dress, nice	
D: thanks	

Tiago himself enjoys greatly using elements of the languages he speaks with other speakers of these languages. Apart from English, Portuguese and the local African languages, Tiago also speaks French, Japanese, Spanish and Arabic. Tiago occasionally uses elements of French when speaking to his French friend Sophie and as we saw he has exchanged text messages in Portuguese and Arabic with MB.

3 History, language and culture of capoeira and basketball

This section aims to contextualise further the practice of capoeira and basketball both locally and in the broader global context. It starts by historicising capoeira and of basketball, before presenting an overview of how each is played and of their 'language'. The section concludes with a presentation of the sites where Tiago participates in basketball and capoeira in Leeds.

3.1 Historical overview

Capoeira

Brazil was conquered in 1500 by the Portuguese, who started to colonize the North-eastern coast, where the first cities and ports were established. The tropical climate of these areas was suitable for plantations of sugarcane, which became the main export of that time.

Sugarcane plantations required a great deal of manual labour, which was scarce in the recently-discovered territory. The first attempts to use the indigenous population for this purpose were unsuccessful, as the indigenous people were dying in large numbers as a result of the working conditions and the diseases brought in by the Europeans.

Europeans were not willing to cross the Atlantic in large numbers to provide cheap labour, and the Portuguese started importing slaves from Africa. The first slave ships departed from the area of Guinea, but the largest number of slaves came from the area of today's Angola. The slaves were often war prisoners, captured during wars between tribes on the African continent. These were then sold to European slave traffickers in exchange for weapons, cloth, tobacco etc. It is difficult to establish the number of Africans brought to Brazil during the three centuries of slave traffic until 1888, when slavery was abolished, but estimates speak of between 3.3 and 8 million people.

The conditions on the ships were extremely harsh and between 10% and 20% of the Africans died on board as a result of illness, hunger and maltreatment. Once they reached their destination, the slaves were separated from their linguistic group so that they couldn't communicate amongst each other. They became the main labourers initially on plantations of sugarcane and cotton, and later also on coffee plantations and in the mines.

It is important to observe that not all slaves accepted their conditions passively. Rebellions occurred already on some of the slave ships, when the Africans overtook the command of the ships and steered them back to African shores. In Brazil, escapes, revolts and resistance had occurred during the whole period of slavery. The fugitive slaves gathered in *quilombos*, settlements which varied in size, duration and distance from other civilizations, in which they established a political, social and cultural order based on the one in Africa. The most famous of these was the Quilombo of Palmares, which gathered several thousands of people and for a long time resisted attempts to conquer it.

In terms of the routine of slaves living on agricultural properties, they were woken up by the sound of a bell and taken by the landowner to work in the fields, from where they

only returned at the dusk. The slaves were exposed to corporal punishments for every minor transgression. These included lashing, marking the skin with hot iron, mutilations, rape and other often highly elaborate methods of torture.

It was in these conditions that capoeira emerged. It is believed to have developed in the North-eastern state of Bahia, which was the centre of the sugar-based economy, and where the capital city, Salvador da Bahia, was located. At the beginning of the 19th century, the vast majority of the population of Bahia was black - only about 20% of its citizens were classed as white in 1808 (Abreu, 2005) and even in present-day Bahia there is a distinct influence of African culture in areas such as music, cuisine, religion and culture.

The exact time and circumstances of capoeira's origins are much disputed. The earliest mentions of capoeira date back to the 19th century and they have the form of chronicle articles, notices from foreign visitors to Brazil, newspaper articles as well as one engraving, possibly capturing the practice of capoeira.

Still, these leave many questions unanswered. What did capoeira look like? What instruments were used to accompany it, if any? What was the role of capoeira? Was it a dance based on African war dances, a fight disguised as a dance to be later used against the slave-owners, or a pastime connecting the slaves to their African roots, making their everyday reality more bearable?

Similar uncertainties also surround the origin of the word *capoeira*. It is widely thought that it comes from the indigenous Tupi word *caa-apuamera*, denominating a young forest in a place that had previously been cleared. This, according to the theory, was a place in which the runaway slaves practised their fight skills, as well as the place where they would ambush those sent by their master to capture them. However, there is no definite support to confirm this theory.

With the progression of time, some of the slaves got a certain amount of independence from their masters, allowing them to move freely around the city to sell goods or provide services. This allowed them to gather in rare moments of leisure and practise capoeira.

The early 19th century saw a flux of migration towards the South, and with migration, capoeira reached the city of Rio de Janeiro. In this urban setting *maltas* emerged, gangs formed by men of various ethnic backgrounds linked to political parties, which would recruit them for intimidation at the times of election. The *maltas* used an acrobatic style of capoeira, often employing knives and razors. The situation resulted in capoeira being banned by the authorities in 1890, as its use was seen as a threat to the public order. The practice of capoeira was confined to remote places, with sentries to warn of approaching police.

In Bahia, capoeira suffered less persecution than in Rio. There, capoeira was often linked to Candomblé (a religion based on the African cult of Orixás) and rodas could be seen held on public squares. Their form resembled the contemporary capoeira more than the Rio de Janeiro style and it included music, ritual and usually restrained techniques.

Since the 1920s, the practice of capoeira was not as heavily persecuted, but still was officially illegal until 1940. It was in this atmosphere that in 1930s, in Bahia, that Mestre Bimba (Manoel dos Reis Machado) started creating a new style of capoeira by systematizing the techniques already used in capoeira and introducing new ones.

Bimba was frustrated to see that capoeira was considered folklore or street fighting and did not have the same status as other martial arts. To change this perception, he organized a series of public exhibitions, in which he demonstrated the effectiveness of capoeira against other combat sports. As a result, his classes became very popular, particularly with university students. In this way, capoeira reached the Bahian middle class. Mestre Bimba legally registered his sporting academy and his style of capoeira became known as 'Capoeira Regional'. The transformation of capoeira from a clandestine activity to a symbol of Brazilian national identity was completed in 1953, when Mestre Bimba performed capoeira during the official visit of the president Getúlio Vargas, winning the acceptance of public and support of the state. Bimba's school became immensely popular and his students spread his style throughout Brazil and abroad.

The foundation of his academy marked the beginning of the division between two principal styles of capoeira – Capoeira Regional practised by Bimba and his students and Capoeira Angola, which rejects the changes introduced by Bimba, trying to keep it as close to its roots as possible. Capoeira Angola was formally established in 1941, when Mestre Pastinha opened the Centro Esportivo de capoeira Angola (CECA) in Salvador. Capoeira Angola has seen a rise in the number students from the 1980s onwards as a result of an emerging interest in the Afro-Bahian culture.

Although some capoeiristas reject the division between the two styles and claim to be practising *capoeira sem sobrenome*, that is, capoeira without a second name (i.e. Regional or Angola), there is a certain amount of rivalry between these two styles. Whereas *angoleiros* think that Mestre Bimba took capoeira away from its roots and aligned with oppressors, the practitioners of Capoeira Regional may consider Capoeira Angola as ineffective for self-defence.

Today capoeira enjoys a great popularity in Brazil as well as abroad and we can find a capoeira school in every major European city. The four styles today are Capoeira Angola, Capoeira Regional, Capoeira Contemporânea (open to influences from other styles) and Capoeira de Rua (street capoeira, used for self-defence).

Basketball

As basketball is a much better known activity than capoeira, and this section is consequently briefer. Basketball was invented in 1891 at a YMCA school in Massachusetts, USA, by a physical education teacher seeking a suitable indoor activity for his students during periods of bad weather. Today the sport is played and watched across the world, though the US remains the pre-eminent centre of excellence, interest, and influence to which coaches, players, and fans elsewhere orient, thanks in part to an increasingly vast number of TV networks and online outlets, and to social media (Jessop, 2012).

Given its global positioning, it is hardly surprising that the US game now generates enormous amounts of money. Top National Basketball Association (NBA) professionals are now among the best-paid sportsmen in the world, earning salaries up to \$30M a year (ESPN, 2016). The US consequently exerts a strong gravitational pull on aspiring players from other countries (as indeed we saw when Tiago reported his grandfather's ambition for him that he would get a basketball scholarship to the US): in 2016 over 22% of NBA players came from outside the US (NBA, 2015) and 50% of players in the first draft were 'international', a trend which is likely to continue as teams look for the next generation of superstars (Zucker, 2016).

Driven by this commercial imperative, basketball, in terms of race, ethnicity, and nationality, has become one of the most 'open' and therefore diverse sports in the US. As ex-star Larry Bird observed, however, basketball remains 'a black man's game' (Celzik, 2012) with 74.4% of NBA's 2015 roster identifying themselves as Afro American or Black (Lapchick and Guiao, 2015).

3.2 The basics of the sports

Capoeira

Although a game of capoeira may look like an improvised activity at first sight, it is, in fact a highly organized event, in which each participant has their defined roles. These are based on traditions of each school and may vary slightly, but the general pattern is shared across schools and styles.

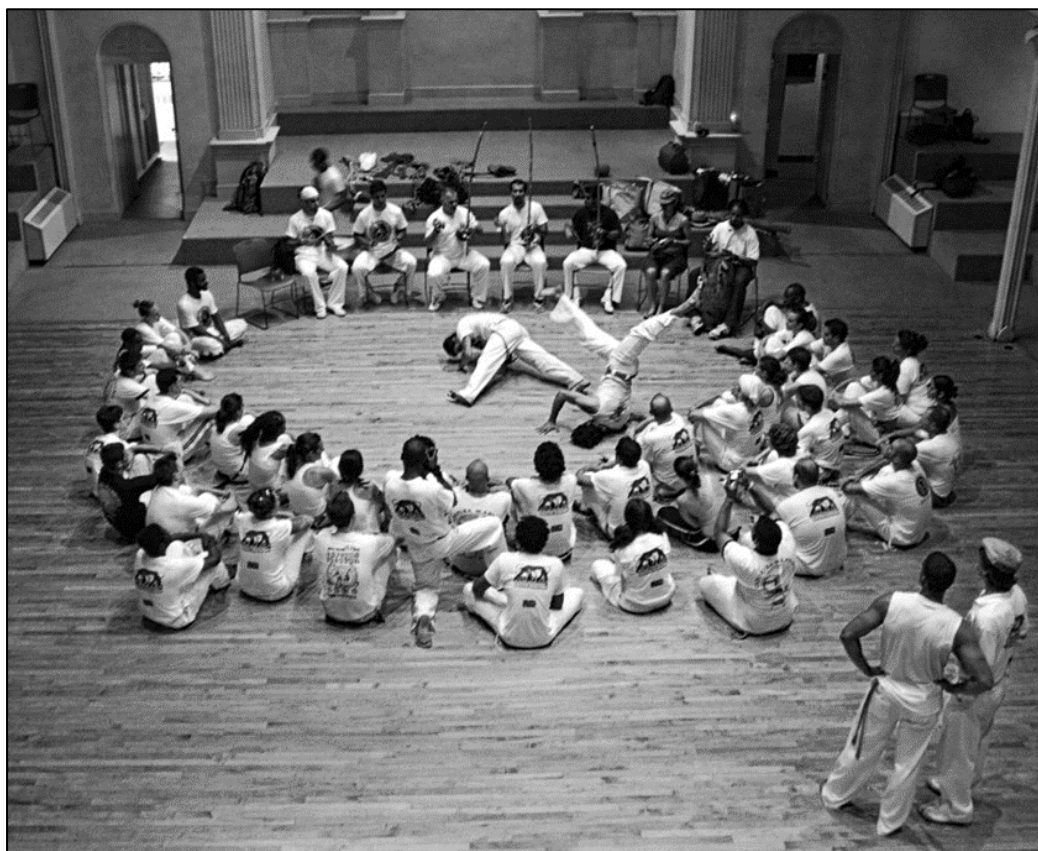


Figure 4. A roda

Source: <http://mulheresnoaikido.blogspot.co.uk/2015/09/do-dojo-deaikido-roda-de-capoeira.html>

Capoeira is referred to as a game (*jogo* in Portuguese), therefore it is played, not fought. The participants are arranged in a circle, or *roda* in Portuguese. The word *roda* can also denominate the social gathering in which capoeira is played. The circle may vary in size, depending on the number of participants or other factors, and it is formed by people sitting or standing at its edge, marking the space for the game taking place inside. Capoeira is played to music, produced by the orchestra, or *bateria* in Portuguese. The orchestra is also situated at the perimeter of the circle, and the musicians sit on chairs or a bench.

The orchestra plays instruments traditionally used in capoeira, but again, the number and type of instruments used may vary on each occasion, depending on the number of participants – for example in a small *roda* at the end of a class, not all instruments may be represented.

The most important of the instruments is the berimbau. Its origins lay in Africa and it is made of a rod and a string, played with a stick (*baqueta*). The person who plays it also uses a stone or a coin (*dobrão*) to change the quality of the vibration of the string and a small wooden basket filled with grains (*caxixi*) for additional sound effects. There are 3 different berimbaus in the orchestra, each with a different note. The one with the lowest note is called *gunga*, and the person who plays it sets the rhythm and factually leads the *roda*. The other two berimbaus are *médio* (medium note) and *viola* (the highest note).



Figure 5. A berimbau and its accessories

Source: <https://esquiva.wordpress.com/musica/musica/>

The other instruments used in capoeira are *pandeiro* (tambourine), *reco-reco* (a wooded serrated instrument played with a stick), *agogô* (cowbells) and the *atabaque* (drum). People who do not have an instrument mark the rhythm by clapping their hands.

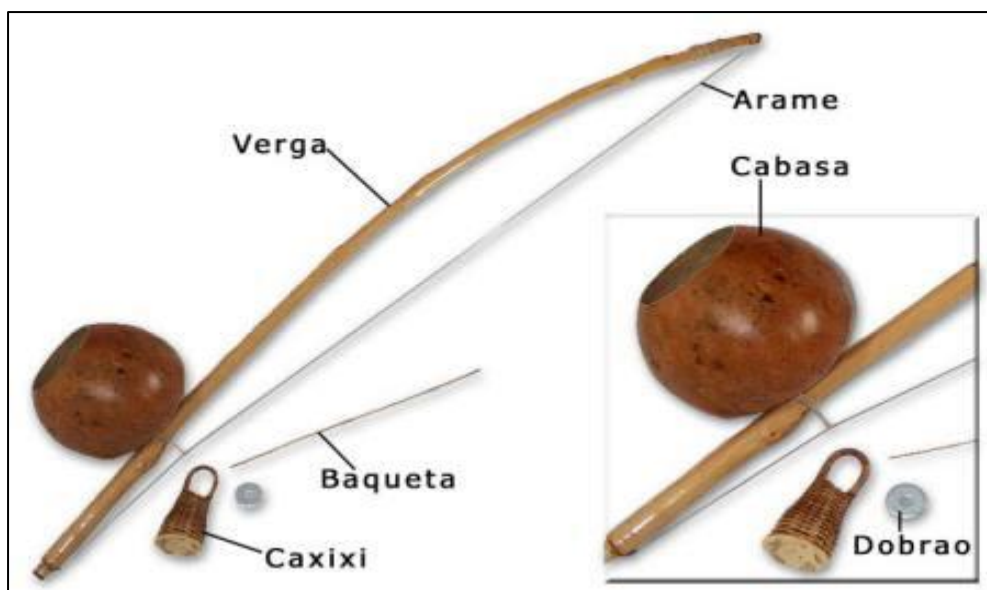


Figure 6. Capoeira instruments

Source: <http://www.capoeirasantander.es/musica-capoeira/instrumentos-capoeira/>

It is in front of the orchestra that each game of capoeira starts and finishes. Two capoeiristas, usually the two people sitting nearest to the orchestra (that is, at the ends of the semi-circle formed by the people who participate in the roda but do not play in the orchestra), come closer to each other and squat down in front of the person playing the gunga, who is the leader of the roda. They often hold each other's hands while waiting for a sign from the leader to start the game. After the sign – usually a nod – they roll in towards the middle of the roda and begin to play.

The game generally follows the attack-dodge dynamic. The attacks usually have the form of non-contact kicks. Head-butts are also popular and highly acclaimed, while hand strikes are used very rarely. The most common kicks are *rabo-de-arraia* (stingray's tail; a spinning kick), *bênção* (blessing; a forward push kick) or *martelo* (hammer; a frontal circular kick). The dodging or defensive techniques include *negativa* (a negative; avoiding the attack by lowering one's body to the side with one leg extended), *queda de quatro* (a fall on all fours; falling backward into a crab position) or *cocorinha* (a squat). The distinction between an attack and a defence is not always clear – while moving away from an attack, for example, a player may at the same time perform a *rasteira* (a sweep). This ambiguity lies at the core of *malandragem*, or trickery, which consists in confusing the opponent by simulating a move and doing something else instead.

Through the choice of their techniques, the players try to get each other into the position of disadvantage or to make them expose a vulnerable part of their body. The actual attack, however, usually has the form of an unfinished technique, rather than being marked by a physical contact. The attack-defence dynamic of the game may be occasionally interrupted by ritualistic performances such as *chamada* or *volta do mundo* or short spontaneous dancing or dramatic performances, often humorous.

While the game is taking place, its pace follows and is regulated by the rhythm of the music produced by the orchestra, the role of the people sitting or standing at the edge of

the roda is to maintain the energy by singing the chorus and clapping hands. In one session we observed the Mestre berated the people around for not being energetic enough in their singing and clapping.

At the end of the game, the players usually return to the point in front of the leader, embrace each other and join the people sitting at the edge of the roda. They are replaced by the two people sitting nearest to the orchestra. For this reason, the returning players usually sit as far from the orchestra as possible, ensuring that everyone will have their turn in playing. The roda should be kept intact at all times and the spaces between the people should be as even as possible. The instruments rotate as well – offering someone to take their place in the orchestra means giving them a chance of playing capoeira. In this way, there is a constant swapping between the functions the people in the roda perform – playing capoeira; playing the instruments; and maintaining the energy by singing and clapping – and a capoeirista needs to know how to perform all of these activities to a certain standard. The berimbaus are, however, usually played only by experienced students.

The duration of the individual games and of the roda can vary considerably. Whereas small rodas set up at the end of a capoeira class may last for only about 15 minutes, the rodas organized as autonomous events may last for over 3 hours.

Basketball

Basketball is played on a rectangular court (see Figure 7) by two teams of 12 players, with five players from each team allowed on the court at any one time and unlimited substitutions.

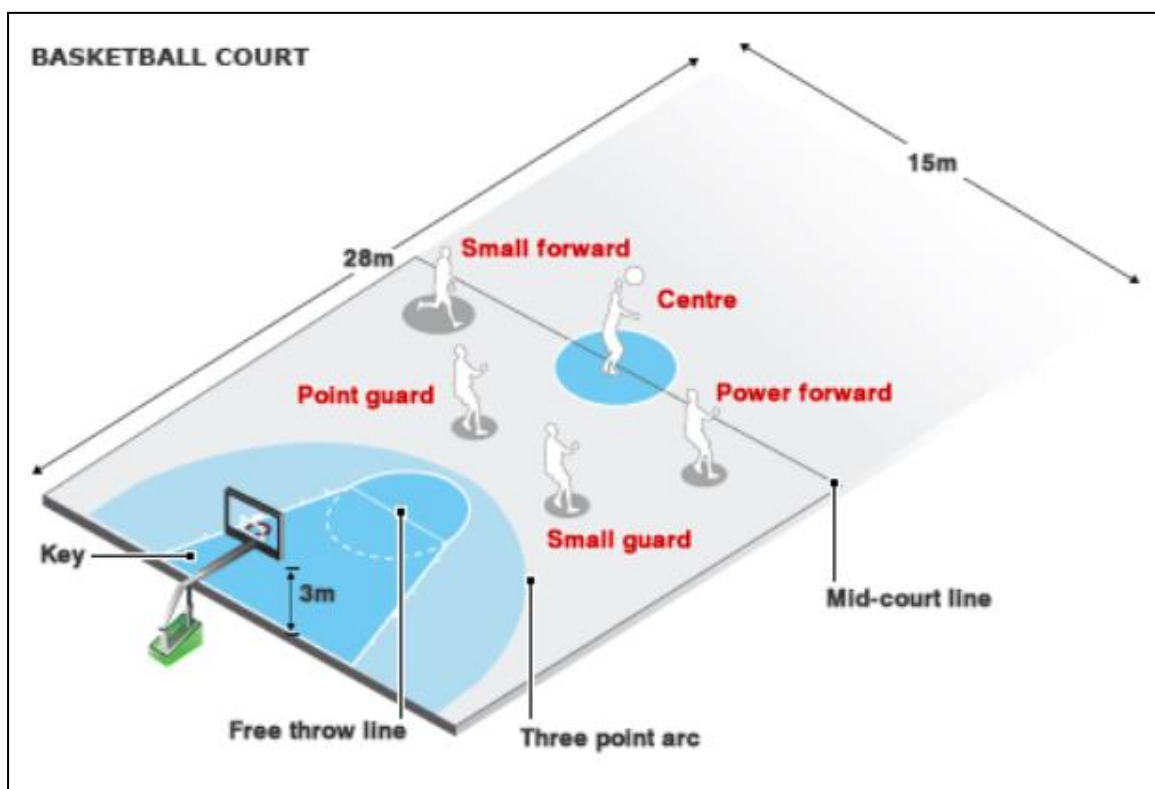


Figure 7. Basketball court (dimensions vary according to code)

http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/other_sports/basketball/4184606.stm

The aim is to score more points than one's opponents by throwing the ball through the opponent's basket. Activity in the game, however, is severely constrained by a great number of rules, many of which turn out to be fundamentally quantitative restrictions on bodily activity expressed in terms of time and space. Overarching constraints are imposed via court markings and the temporal format of the game—play must take place in four quarters of twelve minutes with intervals of two, fifteen, and two minutes. But even at the lower-scale levels of moves and micro-actions, precise constraints continue to apply. Players may only move one-and-a-half steps on the court before having to bounce, pass, or throw the ball. They may not stay within the key area (see Figure 7) for longer than three seconds. A team must move the ball out of their own half within eight seconds of obtaining it and shoot within twenty-four seconds. Specific penalties apply to teams exceeding four fouls in a quarter. And so on.

Success in the game depends on developing the co-operative and competitive skills and strategies to achieve goals within these tight constraints. Perhaps unsurprisingly, coaching in the US and the literature which underpins coaching focus heavily on detailed quantitative—often statistical—analysis. As two mathematics and computer science researchers point out:

In the game of basketball coaches have tried thousands of strategies in an attempt to coax the best possible result from their players. They have designed offenses and defences around specific attributes of the game such as rebounding, shooting percentage, and even time of possession (Britton and Yerger, 2015: 683).

These authors' own contribution to this enterprise comes in the form of a logistical regression model, expressed in the formula

$$F(z) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-z}}; z = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 \cdots + \beta_{10} x_{10} + conf + year$$

The formula is based on a coach's observation that teams seem to have a unique ability to focus on one period of possession (what in this paper we would call a mid-level action) rather than on the game as a whole (the overarching action). Britton and Yerger therefore seek to analyse performance outcomes in terms of game phases or episodes, and the phases they settle on are those created by media time-outs, since 'media timeouts happen every game at similar times, and thus generate consistent game segments to analyze' (p. 684). Britton and Yerger's paper is illuminating because, albeit inadvertently, it makes explicit the intersection between scientific analysis, skills coaching, game strategy, and commercialism in basketball in US colleges and the NBA. Here is a world that is clearly far removed from that of capoeira, with its focus on embodiment, life skills, personal development and liberation.

Language of basketball

Basketball, like any sport, and indeed like most genres of human activity, generates its own terminology. However, as lexical items the terms are seldom if ever exclusive to basketball, though within the confines of the game their meanings may be quite specific and even unique. A simple categorization of terms orients us to key features of the

game, which we explore in our analysis below. These features are: narrowly defined goal-oriented activity which is both co-operative and competitive and performed within the affordances and constraints of both (i) strict though arbitrary spatial, temporal, and interpersonal frameworks, and (ii) an enframing which is not at all arbitrary but directly linked to broader social processes and values. The basketball terms in our data may be categorized as follows. Terms relating to:

- the playing area (the court) and its objects—*midcourt line, foul line, basket, hoop, backboard, three-quarter court, half court*;
- players' actions in relation to the court—*drop, layup, run the floor, halfcourt defence, defend the corner, protect the middle*;
- in relation to space in general—*pivot, jump, reverse the ball*;
- to the ball—*hold, pass, throw, dribble*;
- to other players— *cut, block, overplay, step inside, step up, step around, step across*,
- to the whole playing environment (other players, the ball, the court)—*steal, pick, throw over the top, trap the ball; look* (understood as an aspect of action ordering and communication (Goldstein, 1994)), and *fake* (as a form of intentional miscommunication) ,
- to time—*fast break, up the tempo, walk, run*;
- to the physicality of interpersonal relations—*squeeze, press, put pressure on, move and force, bump*
- and to infringements of the rules—(see Figure 8).

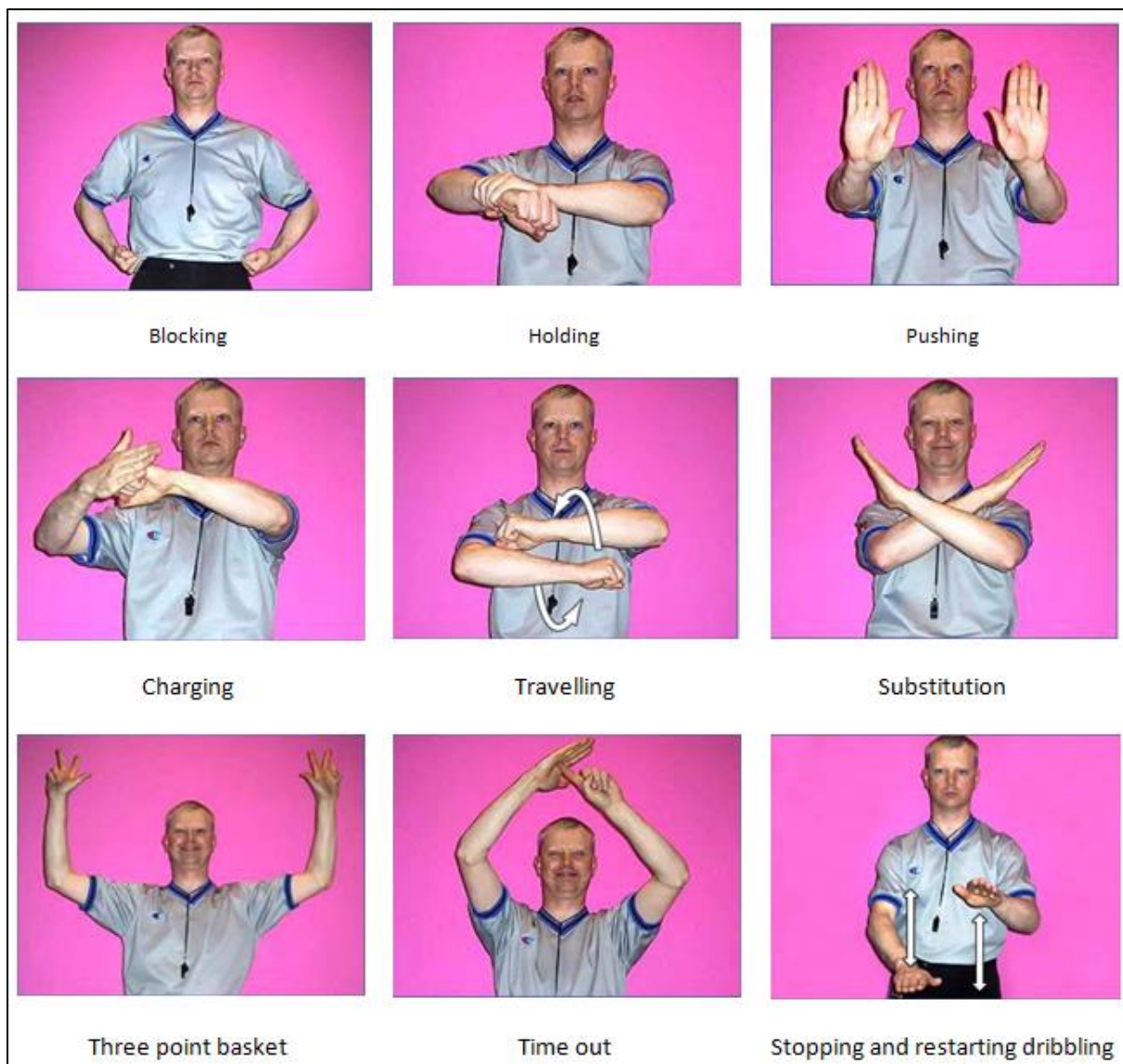


Figure 8. Because of the constraints imposed on verbal modes of interaction by the environments in which basketball is played referees use embodied signs to communicate their decisions to players and spectators.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/other_sports/basketball/4282648.stm

Beyond the playing of the game itself (in coaching, for example), there are terms relating to attitude, fitness and conditioning, and skills (individual and team—tactics/strategy, offense/defence), and so on. There are also ways of speaking about the game (*play a bit of basketball*, *play ball*, or just *ball*) which point to the origins of basketball terminology in the USA. Indeed, in our data we saw little adaptation of US basketball language in local use (e.g. *offense* has not become the otherwise locally preferred *attack*), which suggests, perhaps, the value attached by players and coaches to the centring institution and the power of mass media to transmit social practice intact; though the language spoken during play, as we shall see below, is strongly influenced by what have now become local varieties and styles and by individual personal histories. The discourse of basketball is also subject to wider influences, principally those of Afro-American culture. These include music (e.g. hip hop), clothing, hairstyle, and personal adornment, and capitalist discourses of financial reward, liberation from poverty, and

making it big. The latter we see expressed in the aspirations Tiago's grandfather, and less explicitly in coach Patrick's personal history.

4 Theoretical framing: the sports phase in relation to earlier project phases

In this, the third Leeds-based TLang case study, our focus was sport. We worked with one key participant, but we drew from across two sites – basketball and capoeira – two sites in which the key participant was fully engaged as a player of each sport. In this section we situate the present case study in the context of the work we have done so far, identifying common themes which cut across the case studies: the work/home dynamic, the dynamics and politics of space, including borrowed space, entrepreneurship and precarity (finding a place and transforming what one knows, is and can do into something marketable), and finally of course a reflection on sport in relation to the core themes of our project, translanguaging, mobility, globalization and superdiversity.

4.1 Situating the study: across the work/home divide

In contrast to the first two case studies (Baynham et al, 2015; Baynham et al, 2016), our sports phase was very much centred on the social spheres of our key participant's life. Tiago played basketball in an amateur team. He practised capoeira and he was embedded in the Luso-Brazilian community of the city and beyond. His working life, that is to say, his economic day-to-day work, was not the focus of our study. No data collection took place during his working hours in his place of work. However his low paid, hourly rate work impacted continually on our fieldwork, as he strove to fit in his other commitments, round the precarious business of earning to live. This represented a change to the research design from the previous sites. The data that would have been collected in the 'workplace' was collected in the basketball court of the Chapeltown Leisure Centre and in the community centres and other venues that the capoeira group used. Typical spaces for capoeira include kickboxing gyms in inner-city neighbourhoods, according to Delamont and Stephens (2008). These spaces, halls, gyms, courts are all borrowed spaces (Tsolidis, 2008). These are spaces hired by the hour. These are timetabled activities and therefore timetabled communities. Yet, although timetabled, as communities they are not transient (Hazel, 2016), although transiency might characterise the participation of some of those involved. They are built up over time. The spaces in all three case studies have had this feature of *borrowedness*, which we also observed in our heritage case study. This has meant as researchers our epistemology has evolved, as Tsolidis suggests, 'to develop creative methods that align to spatiality rather than remain restricted by site' (2008: 281). Tsolidis describes the borrowed spaces of an after-hours complementary school as having:

a feeling of perpetual non-belonging and transience – small classes in large rooms, someone else's artwork on the walls, notices that refer to other people, times and irrelevant events (2008: 276).

This theme is echoed in Baynham and Simpson's work on liminal spaces for ESOL teaching, in which they describe English classes that take place in the borrowed space of a college entrance hall (2010). In the basketball site the team are well established. Yet, research undertaken by TLANG postdoctoral researcher Emilee Moore in the same physical location – a Chapeltown community centre, recently-built, a land-mark building emblematic of the city's commitment to regeneration of inner city areas, which also houses a library and a doctor's surgery – with an entirely different group, demonstrated

the ease with which an activity (and therefore community of practice) can be evicted. A change of ownership, of management, of strategic priority – or a rent hike – means a community can find itself suddenly homeless, of no fixed abode. This is a spatial dimension to precarity, often seen as economic. There is a hovering question mark over the legitimacy of the occupancy.

In our second case study this search for space took the central thread of our analysis (Baynham et al., 2016) and we investigated the role of space for emergent communities – in this case the Czech and Slovak Roma communities in Harehills – in superdiverse cities. Here, drawing from the work of Henri Lefebvre and Tim Cresswell, we considered space to be ‘a way of understanding the world’ (2016: 15 [Cresswell, 2015:18]), intrinsically linked to human relationships and behaviours. We asked,

What does it mean to search for a place, a place in which to plan and carry out cultural activities, a place in which to meet and to be together, a place in which to build a community? How is our understanding of the world shaped by social space? (2016: 16).

In the heritage phase, following the thread of the business plan, we observed how a space was produced around the business plan, a space that was built up around our key participant Monika’s desires and dreams (see Bradley and Simpson, forthcoming). For Tiago, in one sense these spaces are already identified, booked and marked out, yet there is as well a constant search for suitable spaces for one off activities such as weekend workshops. Finding a space to be and do is part of the process of *becoming*. A very significant factor we observed in Tiago’s becoming, was the desire to find work that aligned more closely with his artistic and creative talents, for example working with children, music, capoeira workshops. And, despite the growing embedded nature of capoeira within the city, we still observe spaces and places being sought as an ongoing endeavour. Tiago for example asks us if we can host an event on campus - he would like us to try and find a venue for him. And just as we saw in the heritage case study, an owned space, a named space - no longer borrowed or hired - requires capital, both economic and social. But economic capital is crucial. As Baynham and Simpson put it in their spatial analysis of liminality in English classes, spatial practices ‘involve relationships of power and inequality’ (2010: 428). Put more simply, space is power. Space is iconic. We described Monika’s plans as being attempts to ‘build a heritage for the future, to take what is important and pass it on’ (2016: 17). These attempts have ultimately to be housed somewhere. In this sense, the spaces of the sports activities we observed carry a similar function. They pass on what is important. They are sites of apprenticeship, of practice, of pedagogy (Downey et al., 2015). And they create what could be described as a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). In this framework however, we can view the basketball and capoeira activities (established communities of practice) as characterized by a more advanced stage of settlement than the Roma heritage activities (which can be understood as in a kind of set-up phase, as nascent communities of practice). We see Tiago exercising his considerable agency and flexibility in using his network to source additional spaces for capoeira practice and display, part of a project which form part of Tiago’s life project to find creative work.

4.2 Disrupting the front-stage, back-stage boundary

Shifting away from the 'work-place' as a focus in our research also shifted the focus of the home data, as when the 'work' data is in fact related to what might be considered to be 'social' activities (or pastimes) it overlaps with the 'home'. It also, as we see Tiago trying to juggle and transform them, raises the question of definitions, and of perceived boundaries and borders between work-life, social-life and home-life. It problematizes that which we perceive to be *work*, that which is *social*, and that which is *home*. The Goffmanian framework of front- and back-stage is arguably subverted – when that which is usually behind closed doors and open only to members of that particular community of practice is opened up as a site of ethnographic enquiry. The private sphere. To what extent do we see sporting pastimes as private, as 'back-stage'? The answer, naturally, varies widely depending on the sport itself and the nature of the participation. It is the contrast between a private yoga practice and a Saturday morning 5-a-side football league. A lone run at 6 a.m. or the London Marathon. A weekend swim or training for a triathlon. In both Tiago's capoeira and basketball there is no audience (except temporarily us as researchers). Tiago doesn't play the competitive basketball games, though he does perform capoeira to audiences, giving demonstrations at street festivals and various performance spaces across the city. None of the activities we observed were performed for an audience, except of course ourselves as researchers and in capoeira at least (not in basketball!) we were easily drawn into participating.

4.3 Defining the spaces: liminality

These spaces become liminal activity spaces in one sense, not one thing and not another. Following Victor Turner (1969), these are 'betwixt and between' problematizing the relationship between would be defined as work and what would be defined as social, or pastime, the sense that the sport or past time can reveal the potential to be transformed into paying work. For Tiago we observed the liminal spaces of the sports themselves with the capoeira site in particular. Capoeira is an activity entangled with his heritage – with his upbringing, with his life-trajectory, with his becoming (in a Bakhtinian sense). But also with his wider heritage in terms of his home country, in terms of being a Portuguese speaking Mozambiquan - albeit in a topsy-turvy way – a non-linear trajectory. Likewise with basketball, although the two activities are considered quite differently by Tiago, as we saw when Tiago talked about them in section two.

4.4 Basketball and capoeira as multimodal practice

Thus a focus on sport, and the questions such a focus continues to raise about *superdiverse* identities, about *superdiverse* interactions and about sports' role in, culture, heritage, identity, community and resilience, opens up a rich and multi-faceted site. Not least one that affords a micro-analysis of multimodal interactions (see section six). Delamont and Stephens describe capoeira as a 'fertile research site for cultural sociology in general, and for the exploration of embodiment and habitus in particular' (2008: 70). Bourdieusian habitus, or specifically, *bodily habitus*, is developed by Blackledge et al. (2016) in their linguistic ethnographic study of Birmingham Library that formed their heritage case study. They argue, drawing on the work of the Scollons (as we do likewise here, see section five) and their work within Bourdieusian and Goffmanian frameworks, that 'people's life experiences, their goods and purposes, and their unconscious ways of behaving and thinking are key features of social action' (p. 6).

Embodiment, therefore, of life experience and of what is being learnt within any particular activity and community, becomes a central consideration.

Our analytic framework of translanguaging (cf. Garcia and Li Wei, 2014; Otheguy et al., 2015) enables us to consider the multimodality of translanguaging practices as well as its affordances for social justice. The sports case study opened this up further for our ongoing translanguaging research and because of the focus on sporting activity compelled us, even forced us, to extend our thinking about translanguaging to consider multimodality and the language of the body. But we also observe transformation. Sport transforms: it transforms physically, no doubt, but with its pedagogy and training and the development of new communities, new alliances, new memberships, it also transforms identity and social relations. This is very powerfully expressed by Tiago in relation to capoeira. What new understandings can we develop when considering these affordances of translanguaging and of sport together? How do the two co-inform?

4.5 Translanguaging across space and place

The meshing of work and life recurs as a theme across our Leeds work to date. In our first case study (Baynham et al., 2015) we observed translanguaging as a practice that crossed over the key participants' work and home identities. At work, in her role as interpreter, Klara would use translanguaging practices to assist the interactions between the advocates and the clients. At home, Klara created a pedagogical translanguaging space, in which her children were encouraged to use Czech and Punjabi. The core practices were constant, but their application and rationale within each space – the formal and the informal, as well as in her use of social media – to some extent differed. Using the concept of transformation, as one of the ontological aims of translanguaging, we can see that in the work place, the bureaucracy and administration of clients' lives were navigated through building a translanguaging space. In the home, we see translanguaging as pedagogy, but also as continuing a thread linking the past with the present, and looking to the future. We can consider this as heritage as repertoire, linking to recent scholarship into repertoire by Brigitta Busch, for example (2012; 2015) and to Ana Deumert's concept of 'heritaging' (forthcoming). The following description by Deumert, drawing from Stroud (2015), provides a compelling theoretical framework for heritagizing, which we can consider in terms of this case study:

... while it is enacted synchronically in the moment, it also evokes the past and the-future-to-come. Heritage - once it moves beyond nostalgia – is about the potentialities of becoming, and as such carries with it utopian – as well as, at times, dystopian – traces (Stroud, 2015).

The traces are both utopian and dystopian, as illustrated in Section Two in the connections Tiago makes with his covert capoeira practice in Mozambique and its suppression in the slavery period in Brazil. The act of *becoming* bears traces of loss. And the scars of histories which, although not experienced personally, remain threads and traces (Ingold, 2015) in our key participant's life.

4.6 Entrepreneurship and precarity

These problematizations of the categories of work, the home and the social (research findings in themselves) lead on in particular from our findings in the second case study

– ‘heritage’ (Baynham et al., 2016) – in which we worked with a Roma community activist, Monika, as she developed a business plan for work with the Roma community in Harehills and the surrounding areas. In this endeavour she was supported by various actors, including an enterprise and small business advisor and employees of Leeds City Council, tasked with working with migrant communities. In his unpublished thesis (2012) practice-based artist and researcher Andrew Abbott sets out the precarious space of the ‘artist’ (a word selected deliberately for this context for reasons that will be explained). He divides this into two spheres, starting with the ‘collapse of life into art and art into life’ (citing Marcel Duchamp as one of the forebears of this), going on to cite David Harvey and Guy Standing’s (inter alia) writings on precarity as weaving a description of the new ‘precariat’. We see Monika from our second case study in one sense within this category – as being led and encouraged towards entrepreneurship by policies, by strategies both local and national, and by the wider socio-political, socio-economic setting in which she is situated. But in our business case study this is also evident. Likewise, Klara fits into this paradigm. A self-employed interpreter, she changed careers after having children, wanting something that would fit round the school day, providing an income and flexibility. Both women therefore engaged deliberately in economic and social activities which linked to their heritage and language. These were routes that were open to them and which fit with their broader situations. Klara with interpreting for the mainly Roma communities in Harehills, using her Czech language skills. Monika with developing a social enterprise application to provide services to the same Roma communities, using her Slovak language skills and her status within the community. Our key participants are situated within the broader paradigm of self-employment as both an economic necessity but also as a lifestyle choice (albeit with the ensuing precarity). Within the context of the fashion and creative industry sector, Angela McRobbie 2016: 4) raises the following question, which is important in all three case studies to date:

how to develop new forms of community and cultural economy, which produce some sort of income streams and which produce livelihoods, allowing people to contribute to neighbourhood and locality, including taking care of children, the elderly and the vulnerable?

Part of what we are observing, therefore, is the development of new community and cultural economy in superdiverse wards. These represent new forms. In some ways these replace services that may previously have been provided by the local council. We see localism and the Big Society as some of the contributing factors here (Wills, 2010). In contrast to Klara and Monika’s situations however, and more relevant to Tiago’s is the concept of the creative *precariat* in the way that Abbott describes here as:

creative freelance, multi/interdisciplinary worker who is notionally liberated, self-managed and ‘free’ but is in reality both always looking for and engaged in work (the boundaries of ‘work’ and ‘life’ having become almost irrelevant) and dogged by a total lack of stability (2012: 10).

As we have pointed out, the struggle in Tiago’s case is to transform his artistic, creative and sporting passions into something through which he can earn his living, rather than having to rely on hourly paid work as an office cleaner which he was doing in the first part of our study.

In all three sites therefore we observe the entangling of business, enterprise and heritage activities within a localised environment. The overall framework of precarity – a ‘lack of stability’ – was a particularly strong feature for both previous sites and activities. In the sports phase we moved geographically, to Chapeltown, a ward situated to the west of Harehills, close to the city centre and the site of the city’s African Caribbean communities. We also moved to Burley, a suburb close to the University of Leeds and home to a large student population. In doing so we also moved somewhat away from these precarious spaces of advocacy and third sector engagement. Precarity is not foregrounded in this case study in the same way that it was in the earlier phases. Yet, although not explicit, it is still continuously present as we observe (and participate in) our KP’s life and community in the city. Tiago’s precarious hourly paid working patterns affect data collection. He arrives at his capoeira or basketball often late from work and tired. It also places this and our previous work within a shifting paradigm, which can be further understood through literature around the creative and cultural industries. For example, McRobbie describes the evolving employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for those working in the cultural and creative industries as ‘middleclassification’ (2016: 11), that is, ‘self-entrepreneurship’ giving the illusion of aspiration while simultaneously cutting off access to welfare and to employment protection. She sets out the slow shift from this being a (lifestyle) choice, to being an (economic) necessity.

4.7 From entrepreneurship to amateur pastimes to self-organisation

Tiago struggles, perhaps not as obviously as with Monika in our second case study, to find a space for his development and to transform what he loves into work that can sustain him financially. The shift towards a freelance existence *precarite* movement, the ‘incitement to be creative’, as McRobbie puts it, would present him with a new way of working – one that entangles the spheres of work, social and home, combining his passions with the possibility of making money from them. This is entrepreneurship that is pushed in one sense by the ideal of doing work that one loves and accepting the ensuing precarity, but also by a neoliberal governmentality that, according to McRobbie, drawing from the work of Isabell Lorey (2015), then has the effect of decreasing welfare rights. This presents a way to understand a general shift in employment in post-modernity.

Practice and research-led community arts and self-organisation literature provides a useful way to conceptualise Tiago’s work-, social-, home- complex and his aspirations to work creatively. For Tiago, his main hourly paid employment represents a means to an end. It is boring, repetitive, hourly-paid. Abbott’s research and practice (2008) investigates the concepts of pastimes and recreation. He refers to ‘those pursuits that occupy time outside of the necessary labours of life; that supersede passive consumption and become engaging activities undertaken for little other reason than for the pure novelty, enjoyment or fulfilment of the instigator and participants’ (2008: 5). Yet, arguably, our data demonstrate that for Tiago, although his work fits Abbott’s definition quite neatly, capoeira and basketball are not merely ways to occupy his time. As pursuits, they are integrated into his life, his history and his future, his becoming. In this way, parallels can be drawn with Monika, our aspirant entrepreneur whose business plan represented more than simply a way to pay her rent and bills. Both these case studies (and elements of the business case study too) demonstrate the merging of social and professional spheres, in addition to highlighting the entrepreneurial

possibilities for heritage and language. Abbott goes on to provide more framing definitions: 'the term that refers to activity performed for its own sake, but that generates income as a by-product is 'vocational' (2008: 6). Yet this too as a term does not seem to accurately define what is happening in our case study with the two sports, although, as already stated there are entrepreneurial elements around capoeira. Abbott posits that the 'professional world' would benefit from adopting the role of the 'amateur'. This category is an interesting starting point for considering our two sites and Tiago's participation in each. For Abbott, the realm of the amateur is 'the area where tasks are undertaken purely for the enjoyment of doing so, as a form of recreation and creative relaxation, and as an antidote to the alienating effects of work' (2008: 13). The extent to which we could categorise Tiago's activities as amateur is questionable. He is arguably a strong, capable basketball player and a skilled and masterful capoeirista. However, with capoeira, it is possible that he would not be able to become a mestre. As Delamont and Stephens explain, 'diasporic capoeira is not a sufficient basis from which non-Brazilians can become instructors or masters; only in Brazil can one become an authentic expert' (2008: 66). Tiago may therefore be trapped in one sense as an amateur due to his *non-Brazilianness*. But the word takes us usefully to the realm of self-organisation. What is interesting here is the concept of agency. As an 'amateur', freed from the requirement to earn a living from a particular activity, freed from 'professionalism' (in the way we have defined it earlier in this text), the amateur is able to define the parameters of their participation themselves.

The amateur activity is also, perhaps, an activity of escapism. As Delamont and Stephens state, 'the *roda* at the end of each class is an escape from Tolnbridge' (2008: 63). To what extent are the capoeira classes, the *roda*, on Tuesday evenings at the Burley Community Centre an 'escape from' Leeds? Tiago himself echoes this idea in an extract quoted earlier:

T: when I play capoeira when I song, when I play, **it's like it just take me to other place**, very good, you know, and I just feel well, I just feel different and well because it's like of celebration, you know, I just celebration, yeah,

4.8 Entrepreneurial affordances

Nevertheless, in both sites – the basketball team and the capoeira community – people were working. Employment was provided through these spaces and through these communities. Entrepreneurial opportunities were created and evolved. For Tiago, for example, who was a prominent figure in the capoeira movement in Leeds, teaching offers arose. A Saturday morning capoeira class for children, for example. A course in a community centre. This too exemplifies the shifting boundaries between an amateur sport, a hobby, a pastime and work, which we connect with Tiago's project of becoming to earn his living this way and express himself creatively. In the next sections we will consider how sport can operate as a practice of identity making, becoming and integration into a community of practice, but also a resource that can be transformed into a possibility of making a living.

4.9 Sport, integration and identity: local or global

Lian Madsen's study of young Taekwondo-fighters in Copenhagen (2008) and the ways in which they construct identities focused, as ours will, on the microanalysis of a small

segment of interaction. In Madsen's study this took the form of linguistic competition. The participants in this study practised Taekwondo at a high level and competed. Madsen draws comparisons between the sport and the language as 'disciplines' (p. 198) in which the young people were competing. Madsen describes the taekwondo club thus:

The club forms a complex social space of Taekwondo traditions, Buddhist philosophy, and Danish leisure community culture combined with various cultural, social, linguistic and educational backgrounds (2008: 199).

Physically, the 'complex social space' of the capoeira class also nestles within a more general community space, likewise with basketball. Madsen, as we do, uses Wenger's concept of a community of practice (1998) to describe the group and the activity taking place. Her work builds on that of Anderson (2003) whose work seeks to understand ideas of 'social integration'. Importantly for this case study, drawing from Anderson, Madsen seeks to understand 'The idea of the significance of global martial arts identity and local urban identity instead of ethnic identity in multi-ethnic community sports clubs described as 'open to everyone' (2008: 200). The two sites explored within our data allow for a focus on the question and indeed problematic of integration. In a short blog post Jan Blommaert (2016) opens up the notion of integration, suggesting that we should no longer consider it in the Durkheim-Parsons tradition, that *superdiversity* (Vertovec, 2006; 2007), which describes how 'new modes of diaspora result in new modes of integration', forces us to rethink what it means to belong, what it means to integrate or to be integrated. In the context of her study Madsen, quoting Anderson, describes how 'categorisations such as 'Danes' and 'immigrants' appear to be insignificant' (2008: 200). The category towards which the group gravitate aligns with what Madsen describes as a 'local urban identity' and a 'global martial arts identity' (p. 200). We can take the basketball site, for example, and consider how the sport, in its location, becomes a community in itself. We can take the capoeira site(s) and consider the 'global capoeira identity'. The community of practice, therefore, is situated within a broader, national, and international community of practice. Integration, therefore, becomes a more complex matter than simply integration to the local geographic community (of LS4, of Leeds, of Yorkshire, of the UK). Participation in the community of practice, apprenticeship in capoeira grants access to a wider identity: a global identity of capoeirista. Tiago for example describes arriving in Cape Town and fortuitously finding a capoeira group to locate him, make him feel at home. Is the capoeirista iconic, therefore, of the superdiverse individual whose mobility and movement across borders surpasses that of previous generations (taking Vertovec's description)? McRobbie, drawing from the work of Lorey uses Deleuze's 'line of flight' as 'movement away'. She states:

I envisage this as a mobility that carries within it the traces or memories of the familial point of departure...It endeavours to perform a work of historical translation so as to ensure a connectedness in the process of becoming creative (2016: 16).

The 'connectedness', or thread which tracks Tiago's childhood and life trajectory, is evident in both his sports activities. Tiago's 'line of flight' carries the traces of his childhood, upbringing and journey to the UK. How he spends his time further weaves these traces into his everyday practices. Of course it is not just Tiago himself, but the

historical diasporic trajectory of capoeira in space/time that can be seen in this way. In the next section we will therefore explore the idea of capoeira as diaspora.

4.10 Capoeira in diaspora

The global and local in terms of diasporic capoeira is further explored by Delamont and Stephens (2008), who write about diasporic capoeira as ‘embodied habitus’, drawing on Bourdieu. The authors describe capoeira as ‘an escape from ordinary urban life, a metaphorical rooftop where cares float into space’ (p. 58), using the Drifters’ hit ‘Up on the Roof’ as a metaphor. Framing their analysis within debates around ‘globalisation’ and ‘diaspora’, the authors make two very prescient points, which inform our own study:

A capoeira discipulo is acquiring a state of mind and *a state of bodily being*. The way he or she plays capoeira is shaped by *the group the student belongs to* and by their *individual biology and biography* (2008: 70; our emphases).

Tiago’s physicality – his height and his flexibility – inform his capoeira and his basketball. And, as we have already stated, both sports occupy historical spaces in his narrative. This is developed in more detail in section six. The group identities, ways of playing and the different mestres are also described in more detail in section six. But Delamont and Stephens’ theoretical framing of the practice within Bourdieusian habitus allows us to understand more about the interactions between that which is taught and that which is absorbed. As the authors explain,

Capoeira too is an embodied social practice that its adherents embrace as they acquire the habitus (as Achilles calls it, ‘the way *de capoeira*’) during formal pedagogic instruction (2008: 70).

Using and drawing from ethnographies of boxing (Wacquant, 2004) and ballet (Wainwright et al., 2006), Delamont and Stephens situate capoeira as sitting between ‘pugilistic’ and ‘balletic’ habitus (2008: 59). As we shall see in section six, there is the fight, but also the dance. There is also evidence in our conversations with Leandro and others that capoeira has lost some of its rough edges in the transition to this new place.

4.11 Commodifying Capoeira as Brazilianness?

What makes the capoeira of LS4, of Burley Park Community Centre distinct to that of, for example, Islington (if indeed it is)? And at what point does something that is to a certain extent subcultural, on the borders, on the periphery, become mainstream? At what point does it become commodified, commercialised - *hipsterfied* even? Delamont and Stephens (2008: 66) describe the materiality (and the commodifiable materiality) of capoeira:

Capoeira teachers can earn income by selling clothing, shoes, instruments, jewellery, CDs and DVDs to students: the attraction of these items is that they are Brazilian. Students buy, for example, flip flops or bikinis from a *capoeira* teacher, as well as *capoeira* clothing, because they are genuine Brazilian beachwear.

Capoeira's *Brazilian-ness* is something that can therefore be commodified. Thus opportunities arise. And in other ways too. Downey et al. describe the elements of manipulation by the mestre that Downey experienced when conducting fieldwork in a capoeira group in Brazil (2015: 184). The risks, therefore, of embodied discipleship in ethnographic research are evident. Conversely, at a different level, local policies and strategies can look to community activities including capoeira as ways in which to develop their outreach and engagement (see Baynham et al., 2016).

4.12 Superdiverse cities and sport: Migrant 'communities' and diasporic 'communities'

In this case study, we observe Tiago as a migrant, within a general framework of superdiversity. (Blommaert et al., 2015) But the capoeira is one of diaspora – diaspora linked to a global capoeira diaspora (Delamont and Stephens, 2008). Returning to Madsen and the Copenhagen-based Taekwondo group, in which she describes a shift in identity alignment to that of a 'global martial arts identity' (2008: 200), we can start to conceptualise this study differently. As Tsolidis states, of her studies of a formal and non-formal educational setting, the latter a Greek-language complementary school in Australia:

One of the arguments being mounted here is that diasporic communities are more complex than those understood as 'migrant' and that the resulting fluidity that characterises them is reflected in social and material structures that challenge how we understand the relationship between ethnography and site (2008: 276).

What we observe in our sports case study, therefore, mirrors what Vertovec describes as a 'diversification of diversity' (2006: 3), intersecting with a complex diasporic community – that of capoeira. Delamont and Stephens posit that capoeira itself is a form of globalisation. Its presence in Brazil at all is due to the slave trade – itself a diaspora (2008: 60). Capoeira tends to be taught by Brazilians who, according to Delamont and Stephens 'express *saudade* (nostalgic, homesick longing) for Brazil, and present themselves as self-exiled, nomadic Brazilians' (p.60). The diaspora in once sense is Brazilian, but then becomes something linked more to the 'global capoeira identity' we explained previously. It also contrasts it with the concept of 'glocalisation'. Delamont and Stephens argue for capoeira as a diaspora, and not a process of glocalisation, which might be observed in rap or hip hop (see also Alim, Ibrahim & Pennycook, 2008). Blommaert and Varis suggest that contemporary identities are 'organized as a patchwork of different specific objects and directions of action' (2015: 4). In our case study we see this patchwork of identities, objects and directions of action embodied in Tiago as he juggles his complex daily life, comprising work, childcare commitments, leisure and social life. We see his ambition to transform his leisure activities into something that he can live on, enabling him to let go of the precarious hourly paid work of office cleaning and the like. We have however also seen how creative work produces other kinds of precarity. We thus can see, as in the other case studies, new interactions between work, the social and home, embodied in Tiago and his different activities and spaces.

5 Methodology

5.1 Apprenticeship as method

Our basketball data collection as in previous case study fieldwork, took a structured linguistic ethnographic approach. John (JC) and Jolana (JH) would observe the weekly matches, write fieldnotes, record the interactional data as well as making video recordings. (For full details of data collected see Appendices 1–4). Our capoeira data collection followed a different course. Our focus and our methodology here comes in part from our researcher's involvement in the Luso-Brazilian scene in the city. A fluent Portuguese speaker, Jolana had spent three years living and working in Brazil. She herself was practising capoeira and the fieldwork of observing Tiago took place in capoeira classes she attended as a participant. Another example of the merging of work, social and home spheres therefore presents itself methodologically. It also builds on the engaged methodologies which have characterised our research in Leeds (Baynham et al., 2015; 2016). Co-Investigator Mike (MB) also attended the classes. Methodologically, this mirrors Delamont and Stephens' study in which Delamont would attend, observe and take notes and in which Stephens would 'develop an embodied knowledge of play and music' (p. 63-64) through active participation. He himself sought to acquire the habitus of capoeira, in the same way as Jolana. Mike also at times participated peripherally in the capoeira sessions, for example in playing a berimbau. Downey et al. describe their ethnographic research as apprenticeship, acknowledging the epistemological shift and the emergent risks:

Our ethnographic practice parallels local pedagogical practices, instead of asking our subjects to do potentially unfamiliar tasks. This role comes at a price: an apprentice is often constrained in ways that do not affect less deeply embedded ethnographers (Downey et al., 2015: 276).

Having two researchers in 'the field' in this way mitigated to a certain extent the risks Downey et al. articulate about immersion as research. Jolana would write fieldnotes after the workshops. Mike, from his position to the side, on the periphery, was able to jot down notes on his iPad as well as take photographs and videos. Yet, the apprenticeship elements of the immersive participant observation (or observing-participant) methodology created new forms of knowledge. JH as prior participant, or member of the community of practice, provided an ongoing emic perspective – one that deepened as the fieldwork progressed. Downey et al. present apprenticeship (drawing from Loic Wacquant's work, 2011) as 'an ideal site to understand *what cultural learning actually is*' (2015: 185). We explore this in more detail in section 6.4.6). Some level of 'mastery' of capoeira may be ultimately Jolana's aim but it was a by-product and not the aim of this case study. Instead, an epistemology grounded in apprenticeship offers what Downey et al. describe as 'a more intimate knowledge of the paths that lead to mastery' (2015: 185). Yet our 'sites' were not spatially bounded. Working collaboratively with a key participant means becoming embedded in their broader lives outside the sports activities. We therefore observe different layers of engagement and ethnographic study. Jolana as a capoeira apprentice. Mike as participant observer, on the boundaries but slowly becoming part of the group. John, as observer. Jolana and Mike both began to socialize with the Luso-Brazilian community, and in this sense the fear that 'a community of practice may dissolve in the intervals between training sessions or performances' raised by Downey et al. as a possible risk (p.187) was not realized.

Adopting this methodology takes us back to what Tsolidis suggests about developing new, creative methods that align to spatiality.

In the reports for the previous two stages of the project we have described in some detail how linguistic ethnography and linguistic landscaping methods informed our research. In this section of the report we introduce additional methodological approaches that became relevant to our analysis in the sports stage, in which video data was prominent. We start by discussing different methodological frameworks that have informed how we have engaged with the video data, including ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, nexus analysis, multimodal interactional analysis and visual methods. We then briefly discuss how we understand the 'modes' in multimodal interaction, before turning to some of the questions we asked in embarking on the analysis and to a description of the methods used for analysing the video data.

5.2 The sites

Capoeira sites

We observed a total of six classes of capoeira, taking place at the Burley Community Centre. The classes were taking place once per week on Thursdays, from 7.30 to 9.30, and were sometimes followed by a drink in the nearby Brudenell Social Club.

We also had the opportunity to observe two capoeira workshops delivered by visiting mestres invited by Leandro, one of which took place in a community centre in Leeds and one in a church hall in York. The workshops occupied the whole afternoon, starting around 2pm and lasting until approx. 6 pm. One of them was followed by a drink and a dinner in a nearby pub, the other one by a party in one of the student's house, where Brazilian food was served.

We have also observed one roda, organized during the weekend and attended mostly by Leandro's students from Leeds and York. The roda took place in a drumming studio, whose director and Leandro know each other as they have organized events together in the past.

Burley Community Centre

During the time of our observation, the regular classes of capoeira were taking place at the Burley Community Centre, located in Burley, an inner-city neighbourhood in North-West Leeds, only about 1 mile from the Leeds city centre. Originally a village that expanded during the Industrial Revolution, most houses are red brick back-to-backs. In the late 20th century, the growth of the two of Leeds' universities has brought student population to Burley, as well as the neighbouring areas of Hyde Park and Headingley. There is also a significant Asian population. The centre's website describes the neighbourhood as 'deprived'.

One of the ways the centre generates income is room hire. Leandro's classes were taking place on Thursday evenings, from 7.30 to 9.30. They usually took place at a large room located on the ground floor, on the right from the reception. The room was spacious, with wooden floor and windows facing to the street, and with furniture (desks, chairs) moved to one side of the room to create a space of around 7x9 meters.



Figure 9. Screenshot from the video LeeSpoVid_20151201_MB_002

On two occasions, the classes took place in a slightly smaller room located on the first floor, arranged in a similar way as the room on the ground floor.

LS6 Youth Centre

The LS6 Youth Centre was the location of the workshop delivered by Mestre João. The centre is located a short distance from the Burley Community Centre.

The centre works as a hub, offering services to the local community in areas such as leisure, wellbeing and education. It hosts a range of regular activities, such as Community administration office, a Hindu women's group, taekwon-do or aerial training.

The rooms that the centre offers to hire are two meeting rooms and a hall, which was where the workshop took place. The hall is located on the ground floor and it is a spacious space with wooden floor. It is considerably larger than the room used for the regular classes at the Burley Community Centre.



Figure 9. Screenshot from video LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_007



Figure 10. Screenshot from video LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_009

York Methodist Church Hall, York

The workshop delivered by Mestre Axé took place at the York Methodist Church Hall in York. The hall is also used by Leandro for his regular classes in York. It is a spacious and light hall with wooden floor and is also rented out for other activities such as dancing classes.

AfroCuban Drumming Studio

AfroCuban Drumming Studio is a musicians' and dancers' collective offering drumming classes and workshops, with focus is on Cuban and Brazilian percussion. Leandro and Tim, the AfroCuban Studio director, know each other and have organized joint

performances in the past. In fact, their website features a picture taken at one such occasion, with Tiago performing *maculelê* with Carolina, another student of Leandro's school, and AfroCuban Studio percussionists providing the music in the background. The AfroCuban Studio website even contains a section with information on Leandro's capoeira school.

The studio is located in the city centre, on the second floor of an old red brick building. The room is about 5x7 meters big. There are shelves with drums and percussion instruments, some of which are also hanging on the walls. There is also a bench, on which the orchestra was sitting. The rest of people sat on the floor, near the walls, due to the limited size of the room.



Figure 11. Source: AfroCuban Studio website

Basketball Site: Chapeltown Community Centre

The origins of the Chapeltown Community Centre are rooted in conflict and the resolution of conflict. In April and May of 1981 Brixton, then Southall (London), Toxteth (Liverpool), Moss Side (Manchester), and Chapeltown (Leeds) were engulfed in what the media chose to call 'riots', in which shop windows were broken, premises fire-bombed and looted, and policemen and stations attacked (Farrar, 1981). Whether these events—which in Leeds were initiated "mainly but not exclusively by black youths" (Farrar, 2002: 231)—were the result of purely criminal activity, reaction to poverty and deprivation, or the radical response of alienated and politically marginalised people to perceived injustice (Benyon, 1987, in Farrar 2002) remains disputed, though it's probable that to some extent all these factors were involved. Whatever the case, in Leeds the 'riots' had a significant impact on the Labour-dominated, left-leaning City Council, which over the next few years oversaw the construction of new housing in Chapeltown and Harehills, as well as a new Health Centre, Training Centre, and Law

Centre, and the extension and development of the Boy's Club on Chapeltown Road (Farrar, 2002: 237).

It was around this time, says Patrick, the current coach of Tiago's basketball team, that the basketball club was formed—the product of a history of which he is well aware.

I think, yeah, it was 1981 that we were established, and that was after the so-called riots in Chapeltown and other parts of the UK. (LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002)

The Chapeltown Warriors, as they were called, played in the Leeds League. They were the only black team, made up of Afro-Caribbeans who had a neighbourhood solidarity, 'guys mainly from the local area', who 'would have sort of known each other growing up', 'back in the day' (LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002). However, even in those days the team was never exclusive.

There was a couple of [white] guys who were sort of from outside of the area, who—. I don't know, I actually don't know why they—. I don't know how they ended up at the Chapeltown Community Centre, but they came and they played and they enjoyed it. ... If you can ball you can join, you know. That's how it went. (LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002)

The game was always more important than the player's background. Nevertheless, shared history and blindness to skin-colour notwithstanding, the players had problems working together as a team, as the coach recalls.

I think in terms of a skill level the guys from the Chapeltown Warriors, they were probably individually more skilful but as a team weren't as skilful as some of the other teams. (LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002)

And then there was the racism.

I think they had their difficulties [laughs] at that time in terms of the way that they were treated by opposition teams and referees ... I think that we had certainly had a bit of a reputation about us, and I think a lot of it was unjustified. We were a team that didn't—. We just—. We didn't stand for any nonsense ... but there were stories about the Chapeltown Warriors that went around, you know, about players carrying knives, and tuh hh. You know. All sorts of—. That was just completely nonsense. But [laughs] but there were a lot of stories that went around. (LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002)

Today, says Patrick, the team is still made up of Afro-Caribbeans, either 'directly from the Caribbean' or 'local'. i.e. 'children of people from the Caribbean' (LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002). But now there are also Africans, Eastern Europeans, Filipinos, and one white player. Most are working. Few have cars. Most walk to the Chapeltown Leisure Centre or travel by bus. When JC asked Patrick why they went to the Centre, he laughed: 'Probably because it's free.' (LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002)

Patrick believes basketball attracts the disadvantaged.

There's lots of hoops in the parks and stuff like that, so you need a ball really to play basketball. You don't have to go out and buy a racket and special shoes and join a club and pay. (LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002)

Patrick grew up half a mile from what was then the Chapeltown Boy's Club, though juvenile territoriality excluded him from the place. Later he did play basketball there and had such good coaching that he won a scholarship to a college in the US, though a broken ankle prevented him from taking it up. Now he's the Chapeltown Warriors' coach, trying 'to incorporate a lot of what I've learned from coaches in to my sessions' and 'to minimise the costs' (LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002).

There's plenty of other clubs around. A lot of them charge because they have to hire the hall and pay for coaches and stuff like that. We do it on a voluntary basis. (LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002)

In terms of status and economics, Patrick and his team are a world away from the commercialism and glamour of the NBA, although in terms of the culture of basketball, the coaching and play, the link is still strong.

5.3 Frameworks for analysing the video data

Multimodal ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, and schema theory

Our analysis in this report builds on the ethnographic approach taken by the Leeds team in previous reports, though here—because sport tends to decentre talk and forces us to take a more holistic view of social interaction—we have given primacy to the fine-grained analysis of the video recordings. This analysis is strongly influenced by ethnomethodology (EM) and the multimodal programme arising from conversation analysis (CA), which find their roots in the work of Harold Garfinkel (e.g. 1964, 1967). In particular, our analysis here is guided by Garfinkel's idea that ordinary people are not sociological fools but knowledgeable agents who draw on *common-sense knowledge* to normatively build intersubjectivity and work cooperatively with others to accomplish every-day goal-oriented activities. Studies within the area of EM/CA which are relevant to our own work include Evans and Fitzgerald's (2016) video analyses of basketball coaching sessions, which examine how participants negotiate the context of 'training' to make players' actions accountable, Haddington, Mondada & Neville's (2013) work on the dynamics of language, embodied conduct, and spatial and material orientation, in interaction in *mobile situations* involving both micro moves (see below) and the movement of people's whole bodies from one position or location to another ('co-ordinated mobility'). Also relevant were studies of other kinds of creative practice, such as dance, e.g. Lan Hing Ting, Voilmy, Büscher and Hemmentor (2013) and Keevallik (2013).

In line with Garfinkel's ideas about the common-sense knowledge of social actors, we also draw on the notion of mental and bodily *schemata* (Piaget, 1923; Bartlett, 1932; Anderson, 1977; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992)—that is, of patterned organisations of thought and/or action which categorise and relate experiential 'knowledge' and play a role in perception and interpretation—and of the involvement of schemata in teaching, learning, and playing sport.

Finally, in our study of multimodal interaction, we draw on another collection of theories and constructs, themselves strongly influenced by EM and CA. These come under the headings of Scollon and Scollon's (2004) nexus analysis (NA) and Norris's (2004) multimodal interactional analysis (MIA).

Nexus analysis and multimodal interactional analysis

Nexus analysis is a systematic and theoretically sophisticated form of ethnography designed to situate semiotic actions within their social and cultural processes and histories. It sees social life as constituted at the micro-level of social interaction, the level at which social categories and structures are enacted (Scollon and Scollon, 2007). NA—and MIA, which applies the Scollon's theories to the study of multimodal data—thus take the *mediated action* (Wertsch, 1998) as their focus and unit of analysis, and see action functioning at a range of 'levels' or 'scales' of time and place, from the micro to the macro (Russell, 1967[1912]; Ryle, 1949, Lemke, 2000). As anyone who analyses video data will quickly realise, action flows continuously, while analysis arrests to dissect, and heuristic devices, such levels of scale, are inevitably arbitrary in definition, number, and scope. Bearing in mind this arbitrariness, we have used a version of these heuristic scales in analysing the video data in this report, one adapted to the playing and pedagogy of the sports we are studying.

Heuristic scales

At the lowest level (*micro level*), sequential structures of social action are seen to be constituted by the smallest interactional units of meaning — audible in-breaths and out-breaths, u(h)ms and uhs, small bodily movements (including preparation, stroke and retraction), and so on. *Lower-level actions* or *moves* such as blocking, kicking, passing, shooting are made up of multiplicities of enchainned micro-level actions, and in turn enchain themselves to create *mid-level actions* or *sequences of actions* (such as those called *plays* in sports). *Higher-level actions* (*phases* or *episodes*) created by actions at the levels below, ultimately cohere to constitute overarching actions or *events*, such as a capoeira session or a game of basketball. This hierarchical relationship between the scales is illustrated below.

The event	The overarching action
Phases	Higher-level actions: components structuring the event (esp. In training) made up of mid-level actions
Plays	Mid-level actions (set plays, mid-level actions in open play) made up of ‘moves’
Moves	Lower-level actions (blocking, kicking, passing, shooting) made up of chains of ‘micro-level actions’
Micro-moves	Micro-level actions (raising an arm, stepping forward, directing one’s gaze, etc.)

Overarching actions have been seen by analysts working in a range of traditions as orienting frameworks—situation definitions, frames, scripts, schema, genres, membership categories, inferential procedures, etc.—which help define, for interactants and analysts, the nature of the action in course. This orientation involves linking concrete actions with ‘abstract’ templates existing on longer timescales (Lemke, 2000; Scollon, 2005), i.e. with multisensory procedural memories which synthesize previous actions of similar types or genre. Overarching actions are thus ‘sustained both in the mind and in activity’(Goffman, 1997[1974]: 158) and are, according to some anthropologists, the principle units for encoding and transmitting cultural material (Blommaert, 2008: 2), which is what makes them such fruitful objects of study.

Multimodality: ‘modes’ in interaction

In Multimodal Interaction Analysis (MIA), a *communicative mode* is seen as ‘a heuristic unit that is loosely defined without clear or stringent boundaries and that often overlaps (heuristically speaking) with other communicative modes” (Norris, 2003: 101). That said, modes are culturally shared systems of representation (i.e. semiotic systems) “with rules and regularities attached to them’ (Norris, 2009: 79). As such, they are abstract ‘grammars’ (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001: 22) realised by the use of material resources or media. The ‘rules’ of this grammar are dependent on use, rather than being determined by the medium (eyes, vocal chords) or the mode (gaze, speech) themselves. Approaches we draw on in our analysis, such as MIA, do not distinguish between medium and mode, using the term ‘communicative mode’ to encompass both. Moreover, ‘there is no notion of a modal system outside of interaction’ (Jewitt, 2009a: 34). Each mode in a multimodal ensemble is seen to realize different communicative

work and to have been shaped for this purpose by its cultural, historical, and social use. People orchestrate meaning through their selection and configuration of modes (Jewitt, 2009b: 15) as semiotic resources. Meanings are ‘shaped by the norms and rules operating at the moment of sign making, influenced by the motivations and interests of a sign maker in a specific context’ (Jewitt, 2009b: 15-16).

Consequently, any given mode is contingent upon fluid and dynamic resources of meaning, rather than static skill replication and use [...] modes are constantly transformed by their users in response to the communicative needs of communities, institutions, and societies. New modes are created and existing modes transformed (Jewitt, 2009b: 22)

The conventions used for representing multimodal aspects of interaction in this study are adapted from different conventions found in recent EM/CA literature, NA and MIA (e.g. Goodwin, 2007; Mondada, 2014; Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Norris, 2004), with screen shots from the video data being prioritised over symbolical descriptions of actions for ease of transcription and interpretation by the analyst and by the reader.

5.4 Questions and procedures for approaching video data

Informed by these perspectives, in approaching the data collected in this phase of the TLANG project, some of the more general questions that we have been asking are:

- How do individuals from diverse ethnic, linguistic, and cultural (etc.) backgrounds work together to produce orderly social action in capoeira and basketball?
- What role do (trans) languaging, transpractice, and the use of other embodied and disembodied (e.g. space, music) resources play in coordinated action?
- What underlying methods for achieving intersubjectivity, or what “web of practices that is so deeply rooted that it can transcend linguistic and cultural diversity” (Schegloff, 2007: xiii) are in play?
- Which methods or practices have to be taught or learned? How are they taught or learnt? What are the wider implications for pedagogies of language and communication in contexts of diversity?
- What meanings do these methods or practices have for our participants in everyday life beyond sport?

The following images help exemplify the method we followed in analysing the video data in this report. In the first instance, we watched the videos from a stance of ethnomethodological indifference, simply describing in layman’s terms, the different ‘things’ that we saw happening on our screen. We paid attention to identifying the rules of the game, to interactional patterns, to how transitions took place between actions, to when trouble emerged and how it was resolved, to different strategies or tactics used by participants, to tricking and humour, to emerging social and moral values, to meta-commentary such as clapping and cheering, and to moments that were more explicitly pedagogical. Figure 12 is a screenshot from ELAN, the program that we used in some instances to digitalise this initial process of unmotivated looking.

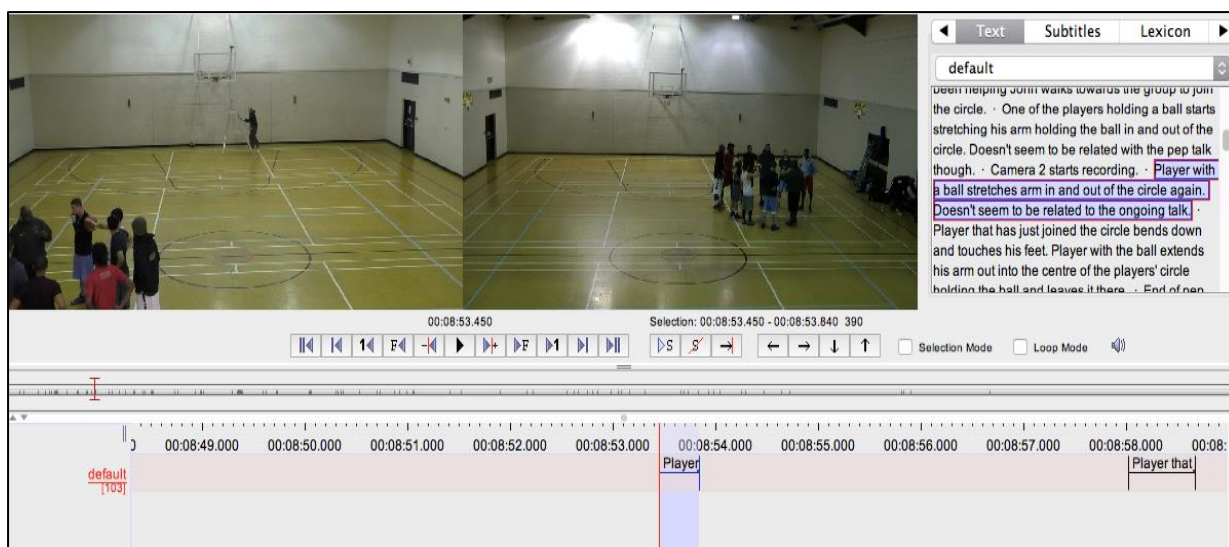


Figure 12. A first description of actions

Having completed our descriptions of different ‘things’ making up the event, e.g. a basketball training session (see column 3 in Figure 13), we grouped them into different phases or episodes, as can be seen in column 2 of Figure 13. In this process of organising our initial observations of the data into more analytically manageable data extracts, we asked questions like:

- Which mid/lower/micro-level actions help constitute this event?
- How do these mid/lower/micro-level actions fit together to construct the phases or episodes of the overarching action?

00:10:33.639		Players start running with knees up high, without the ball, from one length of the court to the other, starting at the camera 2 end (the opposite end to the pep talk).
00:11:15.829		Players switch to a side/crab like run, still from one length of the court to the other, changing sides when they get to the centre of the court.
00:11:55.899		Players start skipping from one length of the court to the other.
00:12:41.559		Players relax at camera 2 end of the court, hands on head, pacing, getting ready for next activity.
00:12:49.530		Peter, who is standing on the left-hand side of centre court (from camera 1) demonstrates lunge, then players lunge from the camera 2 end of court until the middle of the court, then they lunge backwards to the same end of court, most have arms wide open.
00:13:40.625		Audio from Bruno's recorder kicks in.
00:13:47.440		Peter demonstrates and gives instructions for a side squat, players start squatting to the side, until middle of the court and back again to the camera 2 end of court.
00:14:27.350		Peter gathers a ball from court-side.
00:14:32.835		Players are thrown some balls by Peter.
00:14:38.380		Players throw ball one from another as they run in threes, criss-crossing, all the way down to the opposite end of the court. When they get to the end the last one to hold the ball shoots at the hoop.
00:16:49.715		Drill stopped by Peter, he calls players all together again, at the camera 1 end of the court. He is thrown the balls and takes them off court, when he had got them from before, he seems to tell players to "face the wall" and they do. He gives instructions for the next drill.
00:17:08.940		Shuttle runs begin - facing the wall at the camera 1 end of court, players run back and forth, to a further distance on the court each time. The distance seems to be determined by the lines on the court. When they get to that distance, they touch the ground with one hand.
00:18:48.215		Players relax, hands to head, walking from one end of the court to the other. It is worth noting that there hasn't been any talking yet expect for Peter's. Some grunting and puffing can be heard.
00:19:22.860		One player has a ball (not sure where it came from), he bounces it, walking towards the centre of the court.
00:19:27.340		Bruno shakes hands with the player with the ball and says something like "you ok?"
00:19:37.230		Peter is back in view, in centre court, facing the players. He is throwing a ball up and down, letting it bounce (it makes a loud noise). A player is leading stretching, counting 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 as the players follow him. Peter's bouncing is heard over this.
00:22:30.445		Peter bounces the ball, then he goes off court to get a second ball, coming back on court with two balls under his underarms. He seems to be preparing to take to lead again.
00:23:03.530		Peter had left the court but now comes back on, now with no balls.
00:23:20.240		Peter has made his way into the court centre-circle. Perfectly off cue with the last 7, 8, 9, 10 from the stretching, he starts giving the players instructions, pointing, distributing the players to different parts of the court.
00:23:28.990		At the end of the instruction, Peter is heard saying "right lets go", then there's a clap.
00:23:35.530		They players are doing a shooting drill, one runs to the hoop and shoots, another catches, then takes a turn. They seem to be counting 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6...

Figure 13. Breaking down event → phases

From there, we identified certain lower and mid-level actions or sequences of interest for further in-depth analysis, as can be seen in the highlighted sections in Figure 14, and proceeded to transcribe them, as can be seen in Figure 14, transcription involving the selection of analytically significant screenshots.

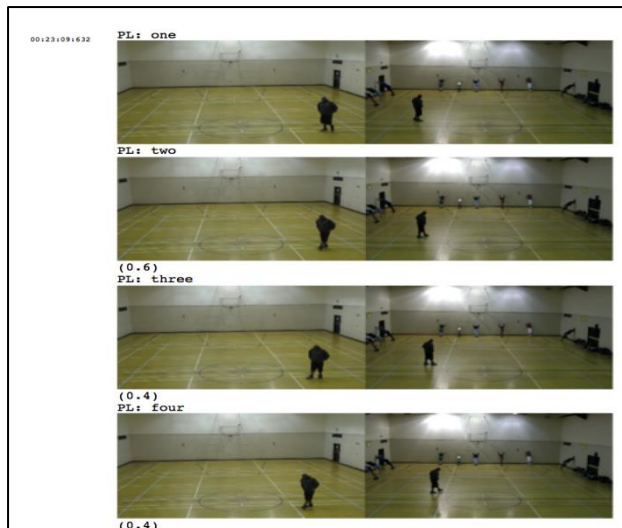


Figure 14. Breaking down phases → micro, lower and mid-level actions

Following this interactional analysis, we also asked broader questions which required bringing in more of our ethnographic data, such as:

How is all of this known, taught and learned? What else is taught and learned in these interactions and beyond them? What are the relationships between the coordinated actions we are seeing and the broader social worlds of the interactants?

In the analytical section of this report, although we focus in parts on the video analysis, given its importance to the project in the sports phase, other sections are of a more ethnographic nature and draw on the methodological approach developed in previous stages of the project.

6 Analysis

A large part of this analytical section will use video data, given its novelty to the project in the sports phase and its importance for understanding capoeira and basketball. In doing so, as we have established in the methodological discussion previously, we look at capoeira and basketball as interactional events of an institutional nature. We seek to understand how they are co-constructed by interactants, through language and other embodied and disembodied resources. At the same time, we show how they are contingent on membership norms or schemata into which participants are socialised and which can be mobilised in subversive ways for successful play. Finally, we discuss processes of socialisation, specifically in the case of capoeira, that can be traced in, but extend beyond the here and now of the training sessions.

6.1 Organisation of the activities

As was discussed in the methodology section, in initiating our video analysis, we focused on how the training events were built up by sequences of actions at lower scales. This necessarily involved paying attention to *chronotopes*, or to time-space relationships (Bakhtin, 1981). Erikson's (1982) use of the ancient Greek terms *kairos*, to refer to the sequential logic of activities, as opposed to the *kronos* or the measurable time, is also insightful for understanding how actions take place in sports in the right place and at just the right moment, in both sequential and chronological terms. This part of the analysis begins with a discussion of the organisational logic of the activities in capoeira, including the resources (e.g. language, music) that come into play, and follows with a similar discussion of basketball.

Capoeira

Capoeira and the role of music

Music is central to the practice of capoeira. Capoeira rodas are always accompanied by live music, but even when the students were just practising isolated movements during Leandro's classes, there was always a recorded music playing in the background.

The capoeira music is very monotonous, it could be even said, hypnotic:

LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002

Sophie: just the fact there is music involved, rhythmic music which **makes you forget (JH yea) about the movement** erm a bit like trance-like

When Sophie says that music 'makes you forget about the movement', she might suggest that it makes a person unconsciously synchronize their moves with the music.

Music determines not only the speed, but also the characteristic of the game to be played. For each rhythm, there is a corresponding style of capoeira to be played. For example, the rhythm called 'Angola' is played for an internal game (jogo de *dentro*), a slow game performed with one hand touching the floor.² Leandro teaches his students to recognize the type of the rhythm and to know what game corresponds to them:

²http://www.arteculturacapoeira.com.br/site/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=101&Itemid=88

LeeSpoFN_20151009_JH_008

Leandro explained that the next rhythm was going to be 'iuna'. I was doing my best to remember the name for the purpose of the fieldnotes, but later had to check it on the internet. L: This tune is played to experienced fighters. It is not played for a hard fight, but for a game when people should connect with each other and show respect to each other.

The speed and style of the game can be also regulated through the lyrics of the song:

LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002

Sophie: like sometimes that I was so angry to be like (JH laughs) caught in front of everybody and I started just being really fast and play very aggressive game and at this point the teacher or the master would call me with the instrument and and to the to the pe do berimbau, the feet of the berimbau, and sing a song which is [sings] devagar, devagarinho, so, slow down, slow down you know, or he has the power to also say to carry on and to xxx sing another song which is [sings] quebra gereba, quebra which is like about beating people up and breaking them you know

The tempo and style of the game are therefore fully in the hands of the leader of the roda. If a student is not in line with the style of the game that is expected of them like in Sophie's case above, he can remind them to adjust their speed through a song. He can also increase the dynamics of the game by choosing a song with a faster rhythm and a message in the lyrics inviting to a more aggressive game.

Following the music: capoeira and dance

Capoeira can appear as a dance to an external observer due to the fact that the moves follow the music and the two players move in a synchronized way. But can we understand capoeira as a dance?

The origins of capoeira are believed to lie in the African war dances, such as the Zebra dance. These dances contained elements of fight, such as kicks. The boundary between dance and fight is therefore not as clear-cut as it might seem. The elements of fight also survive in some types of samba, which also has its roots on the African continent:

LeeSpoInt_20160114_JH_001

Leandro: well as Mestre João Grande explained, and Mestre Ananis (?) mentions a few times, capoeira, samba and candomblé, they work together. They are, they all came from Africa. (...). Candomblé was the religion and samba was the dance they could enjoy the time, but samba also used to be taken as a self-defence. Samba-de-coco, samba duro, for men pernada, there were some on the street and they take people down with the [rasteiras?].

According to one of the theories, in the conditions of colonial Brazil, the slaves brought from Africa disguised practices that could be used for fight as a dance, so that they could pass unnoticed by the masters:

LeeSpoFN_20151006_JH_006

Leandro: so, is capoeira a dance? Is it a martial art **disguised** as a dance? Or is it a dance **disguised** as other dance?

LeeSpoFN_20151020_JH_010

Student: so how would you describe it?

Leandro: it's Brazilian culture. We fight too. **We pretend a fight into a dance.**

This notion of using the dance as a disguise is present in the present-day capoeira as well. Leandro liked to challenge the idea that capoeira is a dance by saying – 'if capoeira is a dance, then dance with me!' The difference between capoeira and a dance is that capoeiristas are in a state of alertness; they know that an attack can come at any point. There is a sense of a potential violence.

One of the moves that can easily be confused with dance is the ginga, which is also performed to the rhythm of the music and following the other person. However, the constant movement of the ginga is aiming to confuse the opponent, making it an ideal base for an attack.

Although the players are moving in a synchronized way, mechanical following is not desirable in capoeira, as it leads to being predictable. Experienced players will break the pattern of the ginga from time to time – but even when they do so, it is done rhythmically, in line with the music.

The *chamada* is another move which is performed in a synchronized way. Literally 'a call', it is a strategic, ritualistic sub-game, in which one of the players 'calls' the other one through the gesture of raising his hands. The other player joins him and they walk forwards and backwards in a close distance – which is the source of a potential danger. Although chamada can appear as a friendly break in the game, its purpose is to test the opponent's alertness, and either of the players may try to take their opponent down. In this video, Mestre João invites Tiago to a chamada, but within a few seconds tests his alertness with a feigned cabeçada (head stroke) (00:26:45).

Video 1: LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_011 26:30 – 26:45

Link for video: <https://vimeo.com/205044136>

Password: TLANG

Temporal arrangement of Leandro's classes and capoeira workshops

We observed a total of 6 classes of capoeira and 2 capoeira workshops. Both the classes and the workshops consisted of different phases, summarized in the table below. We were not able to determine the exact duration of the class due to participating on the class/workshop.

Classes

	Main activity(ies)	description
	LeeSpoFN_20150929_MB_002	
1	Before the beginning of the class	People chat as they arrive; Leandro stringing the berimbau; students arrange chairs, chat

		and warm up.
2	Theoretical part: Music; learning songs	Leandro hands out instruments, people practice playing them. Leandro introduces a song, teaches the students the lyrics. Playing the instruments while singing
3	Practical part: exercises	Ginga, sequences – practised individually
4	Roda	Playing instruments; playing capoeira
5	Socializing	a drink at the Brudenell Social Club
LeeSpoFN_20151006_JH_006		
1	Before the class	Leandro arrives late (traffic). Students wait and chat at the reception area, after he arrives they move to the main room. Arranging chairs. Leandro playing tricks on people
2	Theoretical part: history of capoeira; Brazilian history	Discussing use of razors in the history of capoeira; relationship between fight and dance – many dances contain elements of fight; talking about Lampião (a historical figure)
3	Theoretical part: singing and playing music	Singing several songs based on a printed handout; playing instruments at the same time – beginners learning to play them
4	Practical part: exercises	Practising individual moves (e.g. cartwheel) from one side of the room to another. Then sequences. Then in pairs.
5	Roda	A quick one – about 10 minutes. Singing, playing capoeira
6	Socializing	Drink at the Brudenell Social Club. Speaking in English and Portuguese.
LeeSpoFN_20151020_JH_010		
1	Before the beginning of the class	Some students already in the room, sitting on chairs and chatting. Leandro already there. Showing an advanced student how to play a berimbau; discussing the rhythms with him
2	Theoretical part: talking about songs, old masters, language,	Leandro: let's talk about old songs; the language of the songs; old masters; meaning of the songs
4	Practical part: exercises	Leandro asks students to get a chair. People doing an exercise individually – a sequence, avoiding an attack while sitting on the chair. Then a sequence without a chair. Then the students get paired up.
5	stretching	In pairs; moving from one side of the room to another
6	Informal practice in pairs	Leandro playing with Tiago, JH practising with another student. No roda as there is not enough people.
LeeSpoFN_20151201_JH_013		
1	Before the class	Leandro and most of the students already in

		the room when JH arrives.
2	Theoretical part	Students sit on chairs arranged in a circle and start playing the instruments – Leandro instructing the students how to play. A break, then playing again, this time with singing. After the end of singing, S asks – any questions? Then practising playing the instruments again.
3	Practical part	Performing individual moves and sequences moving from one side of the room to another (Leandro demonstrating, students following). Then exercises in pairs (mirroring each other), moving from one side of the room to another. Then Leandro divided students in 2 groups – beginners and advanced. Beginners practising a sequence on their own, advanced students practising in pairs
4	Roda	Forming a circle; playing instruments; advanced students playing capoeira
5	Socializing	Drink at the Brudenell Social Club. Chatting; watching capoeira videos; Leandro and JH discussing capoeira
LeeSpoFN_20151208_JH_014		
1	Before the class	JH arrived with Angela. Angela chatting to one of the students about the project and about capoeira. Students stretching and chatting.
2	Theoretical part	People gathering in a circle; sitting on chairs. Playing instruments and singing. Leandro: any questions? Discussing the rhythm ('gegê'). Leandro pretending to hit Tiago with the berimbau when he gets distracted.
3	Practical part	Individual exercises – everyone facing the same direction; Leandro in front, students following him. Leandro breaking the movements up so that they can follow. S explains the application of the exercise. Then practising in pairs. Then individual moves moving from one side of the room to another. Then Leandro divided the students in 2 groups – advanced students practising the 'tombo da ladeira', beginners practising 'rabo de arraia' kick over a chair
4	Roda	Only singing and playing instruments; no capoeira (no time?)
LeeSpoFN_20151215_JH_016		
1	Before the class	??? (JH arrived late)
2	Practical part	Individual exercises with chairs. Leandro using a wooden stick, asking the students to

		defend against it and attack with it. Then doing exercises (e.g. bridges) from one side of the room to another. S sits down on the floor, legs spread in front of him in the V shape, explains why this is a trap. Practising kicks (individually).
3	Playing instruments + singing + theory	Students playing instruments. Leandro correcting one of the students. Then asking them for the name of the rhythm. Then teaching the students a song; explaining the meaning. Discussing rhythms again.

Workshops

	Main activity(ies)	description
	LeeSpoFN_20150919_JH_005; LeeSpoFN_20150919_MB_001	
1	Welcome speech	Mestre Axé speaking to the students gathered in a circle in Portuguese. He occasionally bursts into a song. Leandro translating into English
2	Warming up	Students warm up individually for about 10 minutes
3	Practical part - exercises	Students practising moves individually. Mestre occasionally calling them to a circle to make comments/ corrections. Leandro translating into English
4	Practical part - stretching	Sitting and stretching legs
5	Theoretical part - singing	First practising only singing tones, then lyrics as well
6	Break	Some of the students get changed. Space arranged for the roda (benches moved forward for the orchestra)
7	Roda	Students playing; mestre sometimes interrupting the roda to make comments
8	Closing speech	Leandro thanking the Mestre for coming; Sophie interpreting
9	Socializing	Going to a nearby pub to eat. Discussing capoeira. Mestre and Leandro singing a few capoeira songs.
	LeeSpoFN_20151212_JH_015	
1	Welcome speech	Mestre Joao's initial speech. About capoeira. Leandro translating, students asking questions
2	Practical part - exercises	Mestre first demonstrates the exercise ('chamada') and then asks students to pair up to practise. Leandro translating. Then splitting students in 2 groups; beginners doing the exercises individually

3	A small roda	A roda which was to be followed by a 'proper' roda at a different venue.
4	Socializing	Cooking a feijoada at Sophie's place. Dancing. Mestre – closing speech

As we can see from the table describing the progress of Leandro's classes, despite certain differences, there is a general pattern of their temporal arrangement, which can be summarized as:

1. stretching and chatting before the beginning of the class
2. theoretical part – teaching music, singing and theory
3. practical part – practising moves individually
4. practical part – practising in pairs
5. roda (optional)
6. socializing (optional)

Below, we will look at each of these phases more closely.

1. Stretching and chatting before the beginning of the class

People were arriving at different times for Leandro's classes; Leandro himself was often late as he was commuting from York. For this reason, there was a considerable amount of time before the official beginning of the class. When the students meet before the class, they greet each other warmly, usually with a hug and a kiss on the cheek. This reflects the fact that some of them had known each others for years – however, newcomers receive a warm welcome as well. The same can be said about the workshops, where the greetings may be warmer as the students may see each other after a long time.

The students usually spend the time waiting for the beginning of the class stretching individually, some of them chat – usually catching up how they'd been since the last time. These conversations are usually in English; those who had grown up speaking Portuguese would use Portuguese to speak among themselves and some of the students who are more fluent in Portuguese. In this way, Tiago uses Portuguese to speak to Mariana, Leandro (Brazilians), Sophie and Carolina (fluent speakers of Portuguese).

After Leandro arrived, he usually prepared the instruments (including the strenuous process of stringing the berimbau) and classes started shortly after. To mark the beginning of the class, Leandro usually asked the students to get a chair and sit in a circle, as a preparation for the theoretical part of the class.

The communication between the participants of the class at this point is therefore mostly verbal and through gestures, similar to everyday communication in an informal context.

2. Theoretical part – teaching music, singing and theory

The class starts with the moment when Leandro gathers the students into a circle, asking them to grab a chair when these are available. In the first part of the class, the culture of capoeira is usually discussed. The songs serve as a perfect starting point as

some of them had been evolving for centuries and they contain many historical and cultural references. As the songs are in Portuguese, they also open up a discussion on language.

The students learn how to sing the melody as well as the lyrics in Portuguese. Leandro usually says out a line of the song in Portuguese several times and the students repeat it after him. He also provides a translation and explains the meaning of the song. The translation is sometimes helpful even for expert users of Portuguese, as some of the songs contain archaisms, argot or dialectic expressions:

LeeSpoFN_20151020_JH_010

Leandro: let's talk about old songs. There are a lot of different songs, but people don't pay attention to them. The language in them is different – when Mariana comes, and she's Brazilian, I can down the lyrics of the songs and she won't understand them. It is the language of the people from the dark side of the society. There are songs about a guy called Pedro Mineiro, lots of songs about him. The language is full of dialects, words with different meanings. For example 'vapor' – for most people, it means just 'steam', but the word used to mean a steamboat. People these days will think of 'steam' and not 'boat'. People speak different than they used to. Therefore, if people don't study the meaning of the songs, they won't understand the old masters. (...) when you say 'tabibeira' (?) Piauí', and Piauí is a state in the Northeast of Brazil, people think you are speaking a different language. But that's how people really used to call a boat.

The student then practise singing the song, sometimes accompanied by the instruments. Singing a song they have just learnt, in a language they may not be familiar with, and playing an instrument at the same time may prove a challenge, as both Mike and Jolana observe in their notes. Leandro sometimes comments on the process of learning to sing and play:

LeeSpoFN_20151006_JH_006

Leandro started playing and singing, then we joined when the moment of the chorus came, sometimes struggling with the singing and the melody, which could be quite funny. Leandro was shouting: Tá desafinado!/ it's out of tune! Or: Tá ruim demais mas assim é que se aprende!/ it's horrendous but that is the way to learn!

The extract above is an example of a verbal comment happening simultaneously with singing, but speaking and singing normally exclude each other in the capoeira class. This is notable in our audio data, and we will use the recoding LeeSpoAud_20151208_JH_008 to illustrate the dynamic between the different modes used during the theoretical part of the class.

When Leandro starts playing the berimbau (18:22) at the beginning of the class, it serves as a signal and the students stop chatting. Soon after, he also starts singing the leading lines of the opening song ('ladainha'), with the students joining him, singing the chorus. Then another song is sung ('Zum zum zum' - 21:05), without a pause in the music.

After the second song is sung, a short break follows (22:38). Music and singing cease and are replaced by speaking, with Leandro updating his students in an informal tone on his recent trip to a workshop in Scotland. He then changes the topic of the conversation (23:35), asking each of his students whether they have any questions. Angela, who had been present to the session, asks about the meaning of the songs, which are sung in Portuguese. Leandro provides her with details of their structure as well as historical-cultural background and Tiago and Sophie provide additional details. In this particular break, speaking occurs in the form of an informal chat between Leandro and his students; Leandro encouraging the students to ask questions related to capoeira; Leandro answering their questions; and the students providing additional details/ observations.

In order to change the topic of the discussion, Leandro strikes the berimbau again (26:30). He proceeds to play a new, highly elaborated rhythm (26:39). This time music is not accompanied by singing and it is played with the purpose of demonstration. The students perceive this and do not join, listening quietly. After the music ceases, Leandro explains to them the structure and origins of the rhythm he has just played (27:22) and invites them to practise it. This time, the rhythm is played by all instruments, as well as being accompanied by a song ('Angolinha Angola', 29:38).

While the music is still playing, Tiago explains and demonstrates to one of the beginner students how to play a pandeiro (30:39). Tiago's verbal instructions ('one, two, three') are happening simultaneously with the music.

In another brief break (31:00), when the music and singing ceases shortly, the gap is filled with the students' informal chatting. The music re-starts again (31:06) and three more songs are sung (Beira Mar – 32:10; Aruandê, é Faca De Matar, Aruandê - 34:41; Quando eu for pra Angola - 36:25). After this song, the instruments are put aside, with students' occasional comments heard in the background. Tiago uses this time to sing his own variation of the last song, changing 'Angola' in the original lyrics ('quando eu for pra Angola, vou levar minha viola' - when I go to Angola, I will take my viola) for his own country, Mozambique. On this occasion singing occurs outside the 'dedicated' time; this is, however, common in Leandro's classes. In fact, shortly after (41:49), someone can be heard whistling the same melody.

Recorded music is turned on (42:35), serving as a background for chatting and stretching, and the practical class begins.

The interactions described above are summarized in the table below. We see that there is a constant shift between modes in the capoeira class, and some of them occur simultaneously:

LeeSpoAud_20151208_JH_008

time	Description of the action	Modes employed
18:22	Leandro starts playing the berimbau. The chatting stops. Other instruments join in	Leandro – music (leading) Students – music (following)
19:3	Leandro starts to sing the first song – a 'ladainha'	Leandro – music, singing

0	The students join in with the chorus while playing the instruments	(leading) Students – music, singing (following)
21:05	Leandro starts to sing another song – ‘Zum zum zum’ The students sing the chorus + play the instruments	Leandro – music, singing (leading) Students – music, singing (following)
22:38	singing and playing stop abruptly Informal chatting in between songs – Leandro complains he’s losing his voice, tells his students about a workshop in Scotland	Leandro – speaking (informally) Students – speaking (informally)
23:35	Leandro asks the people sitting in the circle whether they have any questions Angela asks about the meaning of the song, Leandro answers her question, explaining who Lampiao was, as well as giving details about the 1 st song that was sung	Leandro – speaking (instruction) Angela – speaking (asking a question)
25:30	Tiago provides additional information	Tiago – speaking (instruction)
26:02	Sophie provides additional information	Sophie – speaking (instruction)
26:30	Leandro strikes the berimbau a few times	Leandro – music
26:39	Leandro plays the berimbau – only music, no singing	Leandro – music (demonstration)
27:22	Leandro provides comments on the rhythm he’s just played	Leandro – speaking (instruction)
27:55	Leandro asks the students to practise the variation on their own	Leandro – speaking (instruction)
28:26	Leandro starts playing the same variation again, other instruments join in	Leandro – music (instruction) Students – music
29:38	Leandro starts singing a song – ‘Angolinha Angola’ The students play instruments and sing the chorus	Leandro – music, singing Students – music, singing
30:39	Tiago explaining to another student how to play the pandeiro. Tiago: one, two, three, four, one, two, three, four (speaking and playing at the same time) The students play instruments and sing the chorus	Tiago – speaking (instruction), music Leandro – music, singing Students – music, singing
31:00	The music stops Tiago and other people speaking over each other	Leandro – speaking (informally) Students – speaking (informally)
31:06	Berimbau starts playing again. Then other instruments join Leandro shouts out something through the	Leandro – music (leading), speaking Students – music (following)

	music, Tiago laughs	
31:5 3	Tiago: xxx one, two, three, one, two, three. Agogo playing synchronized with T's words The students play instruments	Tiago – speaking, music (instruction) Students – music, singing (following) Leandro – music, singing (leading)
32:1 0	Leandro starts singing – Beira mar The students play instruments and sing the chorus	Leandro – music, singing (leading) Students – music, singing (following)
34:1 0	Leandro starts singing another song The students play instruments and sing the chorus	Leandro – music, singing (leading) Students – music, singing (following)
34:4 1	Leandro starts singing another song – Aruandé é faca de matar The students play instruments and sing the chorus	Leandro – music, singing (leading) Students – music, singing (following)
36:2 5	Leandro starts singing another song – Quando eu vou pra Angola The students play instruments and sing the chorus	Leandro – music, singing (leading) Students – music, singing (following)
37:1 6	Music stops Short inaudible comments in the background. Instruments can be heard as they are put aside	Leandro – speaking (informally) Students – speaking (informally)
37:2 0	Tiago sings: quando eu for pra Mocambique, vou levar minha viola	Tiago – singing
37:2 6	Tiago: Ah, Mocambique, I love, is very nice my country. I love it. I miss it In the background – Leandro asking people about any health problems. Asking how they were feeling after the class last week	Tiago – speaking Leandro – speaking
40:2 5	people chatting Leandro singing a tune in the background 41:49 Somebody starts whistling a melody – ‘Quando eu vou pra Angola’	Students – speaking (informally) Leandro – singing Somebody – music (whistling)
42:3 5	Occasional chatting Recorded music starts playing in the background	Leandro – speaking (informally) Students – speaking (informally) Recorded music
43:0 7	Leandro: stretch on your own, guys, take your time recorded music playing in the background (this marks the end of the theoretical part and the beginning of the practical part)	Leandro – speaking Recorded music

3 & 4. Practical part

Before the beginning of the practical part, Leandro or one of the students turns on recorded capoeira music. The practical part sometimes starts with a warm-up, with the ginga moves performed individually, the students following Leandro and facing the same direction. The students also spend a lot of time practising in pairs.

In the practical part of Leandro's classes we notice a shift from a predominantly vocal communication used in the theoretical part to a greater use of communication through physical movement. The spoken communication is also used, mostly for instruction, when it is often accompanied by the demonstration of the physical movement.

In the extract below, Leandro instructs Sophie through demonstration as well as verbally.

Video 2: LeeSpoVid_20151201_MB_002 00:09:42 – 00:10:07

Link for video: <https://vimeo.com/205048960>

Password: TLANG

The exercise is broken down into parts to make it easier to follow and the verbal instructions follow the exercise. Leandro's first verbal instruction (*troca* – change) is followed by a pause, in which he stays for a moment in a position he wants his students to imitate. The next verbal instructions (*rola* – roll, *troca* – change) are immediately followed by the movement. They are deictic and can be only correctly interpreted when accompanied by the action.

At this occasion, the instructions are in Portuguese. This does not impede the understanding even for those who don't speak the language thanks to the fact that the movement is demonstrated as well.

But spoken language might be substituted by the demonstration of the movement completely. On one occasion (LeeSpoVid_20151201_MB_002 00:02:18 – 00:02:37), Leandro gathers his students at one side of the room and starts performing a movement in silence, moving towards the other side of the room, with his students following him shortly. Leandro does not need to explain verbally what he requires from his students – they know it as the activity is a habitual one.

Verbal communication is used mostly for instruction during the practical part, but pieces of information on the history of capoeira might get thrown in the middle of the exercises to illustrate certain moves. In the extract below, the information on the historical context gives the students an idea about what the movement should look like; apart from serving as an example of the malandragem of the old masters:

LeeSpoFN_20151208_JH_014

Leandro explained that the movements should be fluid, almost as if when you are drunk. 'The old mestres would sometimes pretend that they are drunk, that they are harmless. People would come to them and say – come and play with me, I'll give you money! So they took the money and then destroyed them.' Leandro was staggering around the room, then all of a sudden performed a few highly precise attacks.

Practising in pairs often follows the practice of individual movements, and it can be seen as a step between the exercises performed individually and the actual game in the roda. Unlike in a real game in the roda, however, practising in pairs is an opportunity to learn and practise the moves, leaving space for discussion between the two students. The exercises in pairs are usually synchronized and practised at a close distance, therefore coordination and communication are essential for the successful performance of the sequence. The students use both spoken language and body movement to communicate to each other. Spoken communication is likely to be significant especially when beginners are involved. Our video data (LeeSpoVid_20151201_MB_001 00:00:03 – 00:00:35) shows an instance when a lot of speaking is taking place between Sophie and JH, who had just started doing capoeira, whereas Tiago and another advanced student are training mostly in silence.

These patterns of communication may be different at capoeira workshops, as each Mestre may prefer a different way of running the class. Mestre Axé in his welcoming speech at the beginning of his workshop outlined the behaviour he was expecting from the students:

LeeSpoFN_20150919_JH_005

The Mestre said – during the class, please don't speak. This is my way of running a class. You practise, but don't speak. Also, do not leave the class for a sip of water or anything until the class is over.

Verbal communication between the students was restricted by the Mestre, possibly to encourage them to focus on other forms of communication (e.g. corporal) and paying attention to the recorded music playing in the background. In the other workshop we have observed, however, a lot of verbal communication was taking place during the practical part, similarly to Leandro's class.

Due to the fact that both Mestres spoke limited English, Portuguese language was more prominent in the workshop. Leandro was interpreting most of their speech, but there were several occasions when the translation was not provided and the students had to gather the meaning from the Mestre's instructions in Portuguese.

The video recording taken at the occasion (LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_008) shows Mestre João speaking in Portuguese during the whole duration of the demonstration. He is using gestures and demonstrations to complete his verbal instructions, which may not be understood by all the students in the class.

5. Roda

The roda typically occupied only about last 15 minutes of Leandro's class and it did not always happen due to time constraints or low numbers of people. It was, however, a prominent part of the workshops, where it also took place at the end.

The roda is an opportunity for a spontaneous game of capoeira. It is not a time for learning, but putting in practice one's skills and enjoying and expressing oneself, whether through singing, playing instruments or playing capoeira.

6. Socializing

Socializing is an inseparable part of capoeira practice. In Brazil, capoeira rodas often finish with dancing 'samba de roda'. In a similar way, both capoeira workshops and some of the classes we observed ended with socializing, either in a bar or the house of one of the students. On those occasions, capoeira and African/ Brazilian culture is often discussed and Portuguese language spoken, therefore they represent another occasion for the students to expand their knowledge. The students also get to know each other better, which supports the cohesion and friendly atmosphere of the whole capoeira school.

Focus on Roda phase

In this section of the analysis, we will focus on the roda phase and go into more analytic detail. The roda, meaning a circle, can mean a social occasion at which capoeira is played either at the end of a class/workshop or organized independently, or the actual people who form the circle.

Depending on their position, each participant has a distinct role in the roda, as can be discerned from the observational data:

'A bateria' (the orchestra). The orchestra typically consists of 3 berimbaus, an atabaque drum, a pandeiro (tambourine), an agogo (cowbells) and a *reco-reco* (serrated wooden instrument played with a stick). The composition of the orchestra depends on the number of people, however, the *gunga* (a berimbau with the lowest note) is indispensable. The person playing the gunga is the leader of the orchestra, therefore it needs to be an experienced capoeirista (in the picture below, it is Leandro), as he is the person who chooses the rhythm and the song to be sung. This further determines the style of the game, as certain songs are linked to a certain ways of playing capoeira. He is the lead singer as well, singing the main line of the songs. The position of the other instruments in relation to the gunga is set – e.g. the other berimbaus are situated on the left in relation to the gunga. The other members of the band sing the chorus of the songs.

'A roda' (the circle). These people demarcate the limits of the space in which capoeira is played. A smaller roda can result in a more dynamic game. They are usually sitting on the floor and do not have instruments, but they can clap hands to the rhythm and they also sing the chorus. Together with the 'bateria', they maintain the energy of the roda. The two people sitting closest to the bateria from each side of the roda are usually the two who play in the next round.

'Os jogadores' (the players). They play within the boundaries of the roda – they should not kick or touch anyone sitting in the roda.



Figure 15. A roda. The orchestra is sitting on the bench, with Leandro playing the 'gunga' and leading the roda. The two players are Mestre João and Sophie. The rest of the people sit in the circle around (Tiago in yellow shirt).

Not anyone can take any position in the roda. Only a very experienced capoeirista, usually the mestre, can play the gunga and lead the roda. During a workshop with Mestre Axé, he insisted that only the people who know how to play the instruments play them (as opposed to learning how to play them during the class). People with very little experience in capoeira do not usually play in the roda. Changing one's position within the roda is possible and frequently happens – e.g. if a player is tired, he will take the instrument from someone from the orchestra to allow them to play.

The pattern of capoeira moves in the roda

A game in the roda often has the pattern of alternating attacks and escapes. If one person attacks, it is likely that the other person will attack in the next turn. Just like in a polite conversation, it gives both participants of the game to express themselves. Sometimes a few gingas are inserted. The pattern is typically as follows:

Person 1: attack
Person 2: escape
(both: ginga)
Person 2: attack
Person 1: escape
(both: ginga)

The turn-taking is apparent from the game between Tiago and a visiting Mestre, Mestre João:

Video 3: LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_011 00:24:32 – 00:25:19

Link for video: <https://vimeo.com/205044020>

Password: TLANG

The turn-taking in this extract could be transcribed as below:

00:24:33	T does a tesoura, MJ escapes	T attacks
00:24:38	MJ does rabo de arraia, T escapes with an au	MJ attacks
00:24:41	T does the 'meia de lua de frente' kick, MJ avoids it, they both go to ginga	T attacks, ginga
00:24:42	MJ feigns a meia de lua de frente kick	MJ attacks
00:24:43	T moves away from the kick and counterattacks with rabo de arraia	T attacks
00:24:46	MJ avoids the kick by rolling away from it, attacks with a kick	MJ attacks
00:24:48	T avoids the kick, MJ moves away from him by turning around him	
00:24:50	T kicks, MJ feigns a rasteira	T attacks
00:24:52	MJ feigns a kick, moves away from him	MJ attacks,
00:24:55	MJ moves away from T, does a bananeria	
00:24:57	T - rabo de arraia	T attacks
00:24:59	MJ – rasteira	
00:25:02	T moves away with an au	
00:25:03	MJ feigns a kick; a headstand	MJ attacks
00:25:06	T performs a kick while standing on his head	T attacks
00:25:10	T performs a kick while standing on his head. MJ in front of him; ginga	T attacks
00:25:13	T does rabo de arraia	T attacks
00:26:16	MJ falls in negativa, marks rasteira, feigns a kick	MJ attacks
00:25:19	T escapes (negativa), feigns a cabecada	T attacks

Despite the fact that Tiago performs several attacks following each other towards the end of the extract, we can see a regular pattern. However, it needs to be observed that

this pattern is simplified – for example, it does not take into account counter-attacks, such as a rasteira (a sweep) performed while escaping.

The ginga represents the moment of a relative peace, when, however, the capoeiristas are evaluating the weak points of their opponent and preparing an attack. This alternates with action – attacking or escaping the attack. When practising the movements in the class outside the roda, both Leandro and Mestre João like to mark the transition between the ginga and the action with a clap of their hands:

Video 4: LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_009 00:02:57 – 00:03:05

Link for video: <https://vimeo.com/205049488>

Password: TLANG

Video 5: LeeSpoVid_20151201_MB_002 00:06:17 – 00:06:28

Link for video: <https://vimeo.com/205049947>

Password: TLANG

Similarly, Mestre João likes to mark with a clap the transition between the theoretical part of the class and practical one:

Video 6: LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_006 00:03:56 – 00:04:01

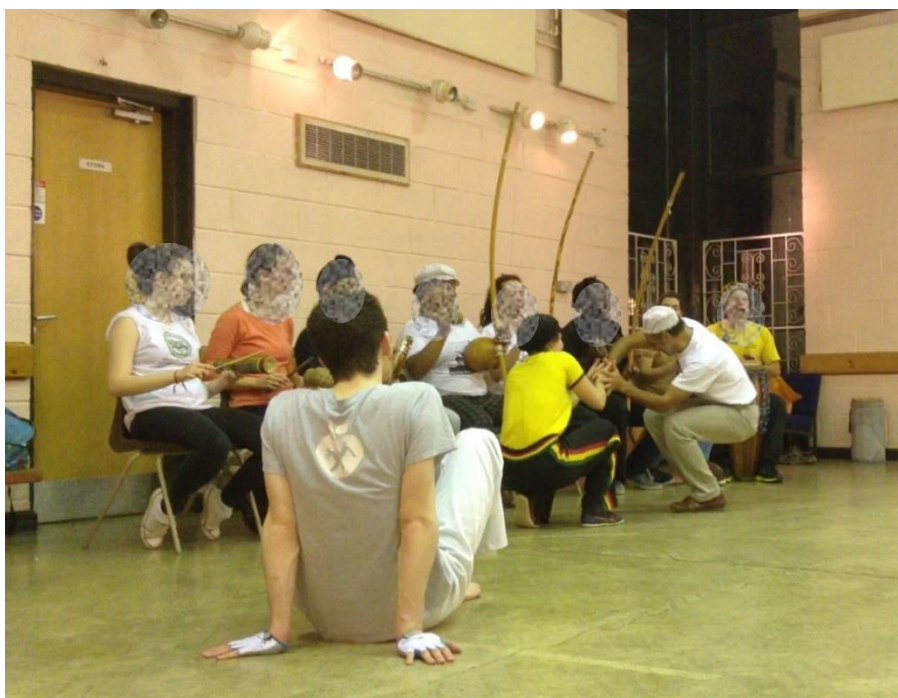
Link for video: <https://vimeo.com/205050385>

Password: TLANG

Through the video extracts we have demonstrated that the action follows the music – especially in the moments between attacks, such as when performing the ginga. The transition from ginga to an attack is the moment of an increased dynamic, which both Leandro and Mestre João occasionally like to accentuate with a clap of the hands.

Space: position of the players within the roda

It is in front of the leader, ‘ao pé do berimbau’, literally at the foot of the berimbau, that every game of capoeira begins:



Figur16

It is the place where the two players greet and often embrace each other before the beginning of a game; some capoeiristas pray. It is the 'soul' of the roda, and a place where the players also occasionally return during the game to re-start. When the game begins, the two players move towards the centre of the roda:



Figure 17

This is a tactical space, as being pushed towards the limits of the roda (delimited by the people sitting) puts a capoeirista into a disadvantageous position, as he/she is able

to perform only a limited range of moves. When pushed towards the boundaries of the roda, a capoeirista will usually try to find a way to escape and find a better position.

During the actual game, the players are trying to find an exposed or unguarded place on the opponent's body. In this way, they might attack the exposed belly of their opponent doing an aú (cartwheel) with a cabeçada or they might try to sweep the leg of the other player while he/she is performing a kick. Unlike in other martial arts, attacks are avoided rather than blocked.

In a normal circumstance, an experienced capoeirista will know how to move in a way that he/she is not exposing any vital points on their body, therefore their opponent may have to perform several moves until they spot an opportunity for an attack.

Although there may be differences between styles, capoeira is played at a relatively short distance. The two players are very close to each other, however they hardly ever touch. Instead, they avoid each other's attacks, while at the same time looking to put themselves in an advantageous position from where they could perform an attack themselves. Most of the times, the attacks are deliberately unfinished.

In the video extract below (Video 7), Sophie performs a kick which she believes has hit Mestre João. She apologises (verbally and through a gesture – a common-place gesture rather than one specific for capoeira), then offers him her hand in an invitation to perform a 'volta do mundo', after which they crouch at the 'pé do berimbau' to start a new game.

Video 7: LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_011 00:17:25 - 00:17:43

Link to video: <https://vimeo.com/205044095>

Password: TLANG

If physical contact is not desirable during the capoeira game, it is present in the greetings (the capoeiristas often embrace each other at the beginning and end of the game) and in ritualistic movements such as 'volta do mundo' and 'chamada'.

Basketball

To frame this analysis, we recall that the Chapeltown Leisure Centre, where the basketball sessions take place, is located in Chapeltown, a multicultural neighbourhood in inner city Leeds associated with certain stigma suggesting social disorderliness. This is reflected in the following interview extract published by BBC Leeds in September 2014, in which a young man from Chapeltown speaks about where he lives.

A lot of people relate Chapeltown with violence and gangs, but in my opinion, it's no different to other inner city areas in Leeds, like Halton Moor and Gipton. There's stigma attached to Chapeltown. People think they may get robbed and bad things may happen to them, which is not true. I'm not saying bad things don't happen but the probability I think is not any more than if you went to any other inner city area in Leeds or throughout the UK (BBC Leeds, 2014, September 24).

Venturing into the Chapeltown Leisure Centre, certain disorderliness is also suggested in the linguistic landscape. The following photograph was taken at the reception to the Centre. The hand drawn sign on the mid-left reads “STOP GUN CRIME, HELP SUPPORT PEACE”, with the image of a fighter. There is a “NO SMOKING” sign at the bottom-left with warnings of a fine. To the right we are warned that “DOGS ARE NOT ALLOWED”. And in the background, Mandela looks on.

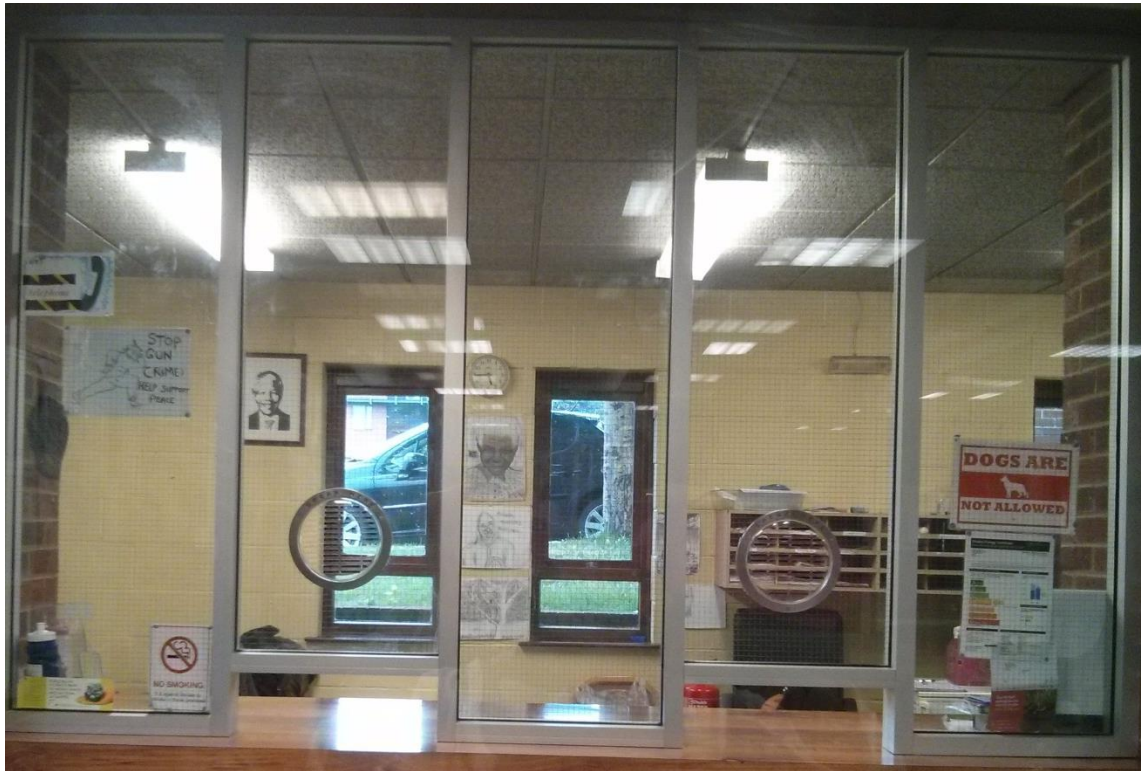


Figure 18. Chapeltown Leisure Centre

In rooms at the Centre devoted to work with local youth, signs prohibiting drugs, weapons, fighting, inappropriate dancing, and general aggressive behaviour, are also prominently positioned.

Against this backdrop of supposed disorderliness, in this section of the report, we show how highly orderly interaction emerges in the basketball training sessions held at the Chapeltown Leisure Centre in which our KP takes part. The following reflections noted down by JH in her field notes the first day she observed a basketball training session, are illuminative in this regard:

LeeSpFN_20150911_JH_002

At this point I had already realized that this was going to be a much more structured and organized training than a game between friends that I was imagining. The players – there was about 10 of them now – were tying their shoelaces and chatting to each other, some of them were already at the court practising, each with their own ball.

The analysis of the fieldnotes collected, and also of the video data, allowed the following episodes constituting the macro organisational structure of the basketball sessions to be identified. The episodes marked in parenthesis occur in only some of our data, and are

thus considered optional elements of the training sessions. The episodes marked in italics are those in which speech, usually led by the coach, is more central to the organisation of the activity (i.e. episodes in which long stretches of talk are heard). Other times, spoken language is used, but it tends to be mainly short exchanges between players, calls for the ball during play, counting during stretching, etc.

1. Players arrive and informally warm up
2. *Beginning of the training: short pep talk by coach*
3. Drills: running or shooting
4. Stretching led by a player
5. Drills: running or shooting
6. Warming into the central part of the session: final running or shooting drills
7. *Coaching of a strategy*
8. Practising the strategy
9. *Feedback on the practising of the strategy*
10. *(Making of teams and instructions for a game of basketball)*
11. (Game of basketball, with *pauses for coaching*)
12. (End of game)
13. *(Feedback from coach on the game)*
14. End of session

Coordinating bodies in time and space

Therefore, for most of the training session, spoken language plays a secondary role to other embodied forms of communication. The ways language is used in both basketball and capoeira will be discussed in more depth in the following section of the analysis. However, in analysing the basketball data at a more micro level, one of the aspects we have focused on is how bodies coordinate with speech and other semiotic resources, in extremely orderly ways, in organising transitions between different episodes that make up the basketball-training event. The video data has been central to this analysis; the following excerpt is a telling example of how bodies in space coordinate with spoken language in accomplishing these transitions.

The excerpt takes place in the basketball-training session that was video recorded, at the point of changeover between a stretching episode, led by one of the players and a shooting drill for which the coach gives instructions (episodes 4 and 5 in the list above). The session was recorded using two cameras placed at each end of the court. In the first screenshot, the coach, Patrick, who is not an active participant in the stretching episode, is circled. The players are positioned around the walls of the court, and are stretching to the count from 1 to 10 by one of the players, who is acting as leader. The counting has been transcribed, with pauses (in tenths of a second) marked in brackets, and the image below each utterance is a screen shot taken at the precise moment when that utterance begins. The images reveal how the coach takes a step towards the centre of the court each time a number is called out. The entire fragment lasts just under 15 seconds.

Video 8

Link for camera 1: <https://vimeo.com/204225866>

Link for camera 2: <https://vimeo.com/204226739>

Password: TLANG

00:23:09:632

PL: one



PL: two



(0.6)

PL: three



(0.4)

PL: four



(0.4)

PL: five



(0.7)

PL: six



PL: seven



PL: eight



PL: nine



PL: ten



(0.8)

PL: ok



(0.7)

PE: well done guys



((P starts giving the players instructions, pointing, distributing the players to different parts of the court))

00:23:25:310

This short extract from the video data highlights at least two aspects that are of interest to our analysis. Firstly, it shows how despite not being an active stretcher in the stretching episode of the training session, the coach synchronises his walking activity with the players, by taking a step with each new number. Secondly, the extract shows how this orderly walking is also goal-driven, in the sense that it is oriented to arriving at the centre of the court, at precisely the sequential moment (the *kairos*) at which the stretching episode is due to end and the coach needs to give instructions for the next episode. As a walking rather than a stretching subject, we argue, the coach is nevertheless an important participant in the organisation of the activity, in a similar way to Goodwin and Goodwin's' (2004) listening subjects were important to the maintenance of oral interaction. Through the intricate coordination of bodies, space and talk – semiotic resources that participants mobilise and interpret in achieving intersubjectivity moment by moment – the structural organisation of the event emerges in a highly orderly and cooperative manner. Such orderliness, we argue, is quite a distant reality from that of the violence and other antisocial behaviour suggested by external accounts of Chapeltown and the Leisure Centre and by its internal linguistic landscape.

The interactional significance of centres

The analysis just presented points to another aspect that stood out in the analysis of the video, being the symbolic significance of different spatial centres to the organisation of activities and to transitions between them. The following data is taken from the beginning of the recorded basketball training session, at the moment when players arrive and begin to warm up. It illustrates the transition from informal warming up into an initial team pep talk, after which players start on the drills. Again the focus is mainly on Patrick's spatial and temporal positioning in relation to the players, as he initiates actions aimed at getting the players' attention and having them group together.

Video 9

Link to video: <https://vimeo.com/204228086>

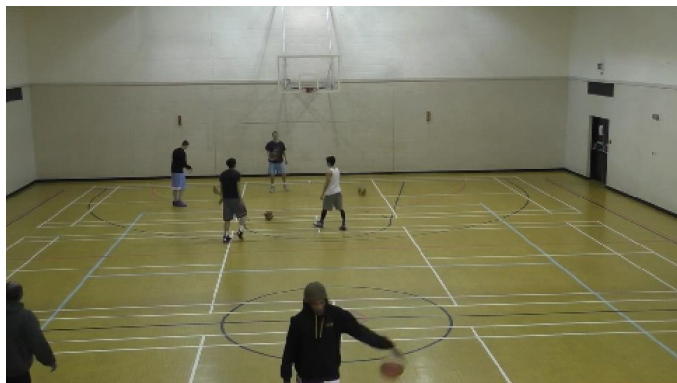
Password: TLANG

00:01:20.460



Patrick comes into the left hand (from camera 1 view) centre of the court, somebody seems to say 'alright', then Patrick walks around the centre of court a little, before moving off screen. Players are still shooting hoops.

00:01:47.100



Patrick comes back into view, pacing the left-hand (from camera 1 view) centre of the court. Players are still shooting hoops.

00:03:12.610



Patrick comes back into view on the left-hand side of the centre court (from camera 1 view). He is moves right into the centre court and looks towards the players at the opposite hoop and then towards the players at the hoop where camera 1 is. Players are still shooting hoops. Patrick stays watching the players at the end where camera 1 is.

00:03:54.840



Patrick starts to move back to the left-hand side of the centre of the court (from camera 1 view), then stops, moves back to centre court, and keeps watching players at end where camera 1 is.

00:04:18.475



Still in centre court, Patrick turns to look at the players at the opposite end of the court from camera 1.

00:04:35.625



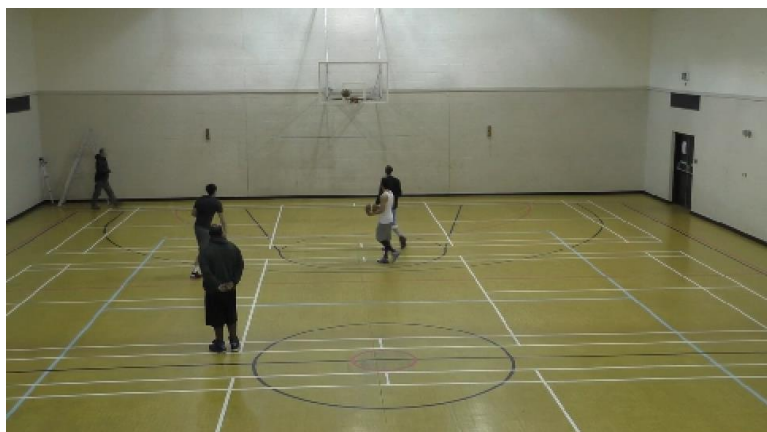
Still in centre court but just outside the centre circle and orienting his body to walking to the left-hand side of court (from camera 1 view), Patrick looks again to the players shooting hoops at the end of the court where camera 1 is, then back to the players at the opposite end, fixing his gaze for a while on that end of the court. He then looks back and forth.

00:04:49.600



Patrick steps outside of the centre circle as though he is going to walk to the left-hand side of court (from camera 1 view)

00:04:57.825



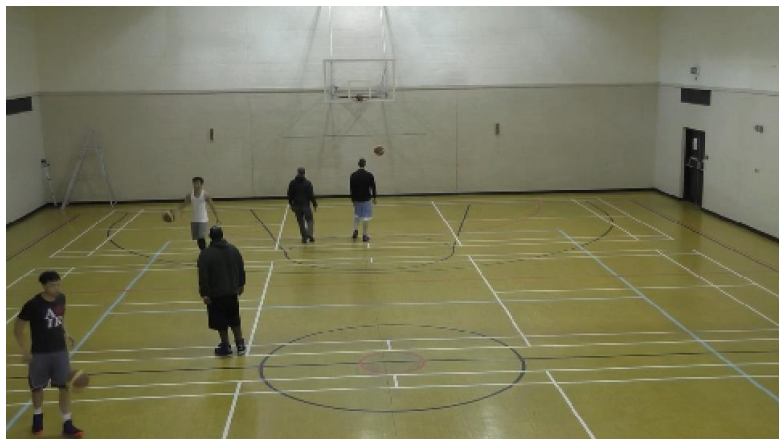
Patrick takes a couple of steps towards the players at the opposite end of the court from camera 1 and stays watching for a bit.

00:05:02.685



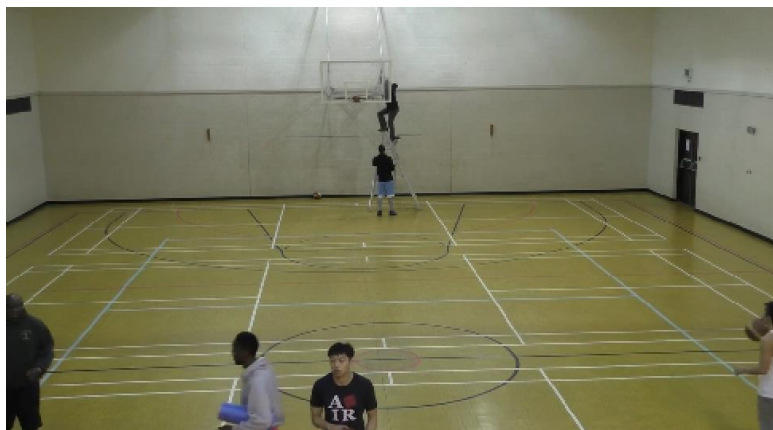
Patrick says something to the players at the opposite end of the court from camera one, raising a hand. After that, the players start to walk towards the opposite end of the court, bouncing balls as they do, shooting some hoops at the other end.

00:05:10.710



John appears on screen at the opposite end of the court from camera 1 and seems to ask a player for help fitting camera 2. All the other players are now making their way down to the camera 1 end of the court. They are all now shooting hoops at that end of the court.

00:06:03.660



Patrick reappears on the screen, on the left of the camera 1 end of the court.



He calls players together for the start of a sort of pep talk and they all make a circle.

In the sequence of screenshots, the following actions can be observed. First, in the fourth image, Patrick positions himself at centre court, having paced there from the left hand side of the hall. In the following three images, it can be observed how he stands on the blue line delimiting the edge of that centre, and orients his body firstly towards the players warming up at one end of the court, and then at the players at the other. Possibly because he failed to receive the expected response from the players at the far end of the court – being to form a circle ready for the pep talk – Patrick steps outside of the centre circle, takes a couple of steps towards the players and initiates a verbal exchange with them which is inaudible to the researchers. From there, the players group to the left of the near end of the court to the camera, Patrick places himself in a new centre both spatially and in terms of the orientation of the players' bodies and vision towards him, outlying players take their place and the pep talk begins.

Transpractising

While this analysis has tried to show how basketball and basketball training sessions have endogenous orders, it also needs to be pointed out that they are by no means strictly bounded practices. Furthermore, for our key participant, Tiago, the frontiers between what constitutes basketball training and what constitutes other sporting activities is quite fluid. For example, in the following extract from the session we held with Tiago at the university in we – Tiago and all of the Leeds research team members – jointly viewed and commented on the video data, the following exchange took place. It occurred while watching the basketball video, at the point where one of the players was leading the stretching, as we have seen above. The fragment begins with a question posed to Tiago by one of our team members about how the player that will lead the stretch is selected, after which Tiago explains that that role is open to anyone.

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

EM: and who leads the stretch, because

T: sorry

EM: it's not the coach leading the stretch, is it

T: yea like the coach send some when it's stretch a- one of us can go there and xxx stretch so it's

EM: ok

JC: is it always the same people who lead xxx

T: do the stretch? No! sometime change, yea
EM: and how do you choose
T: uhm?
EM: how do you choose
T: yea
EM: how?
T: ah! Just go, you know
EM: ok (laughs)
T: ya! (laughs) ya just you know... I like go as well because sometimes I do some capoeira stretch and they say oh no, we can't do that (laughs) xxx (laughs). cause they know I do capoeira, so when I do something difficult, they say oh no!

Tiago explains that when he leads the stretching, he incorporates capoeira moves, thus transgressing the boundaries of what belongs, a priori, to the space and time for basketball training. In our previous working paper (Baynham et al., 2016) we spoke of 'transcooking', inspired by Otheguy, Garcia and Reid's (2015) metaphor for translanguaging, while here we might talk of 'transpractising' more generally. Tiago's embodied, transpractising repertoire in basketball includes resources from other physical activities, such as the bodily movements that make up the yoga downward dog, or an acrobatic handstand, as illustrated in the following two screenshots taken from the video data.



Figure 19. 00.44.13.920: Tiago does a downward dog during shooting practice



Figure 20. 1:07:31:980: Tiago does a handstand at a moment of transition between episodes

6.2 Language and communication

The language of capoeira

Use of Portuguese language in capoeira

Capoeira is a cultural practice which has spread all over the world thanks to the Brazilian diaspora. Similarly as in karate, for example, the names of the techniques are in the original language, i.e. Brazilian Portuguese, but expressions in this language are used to denominate also other concepts related to capoeira (see also section 3.1). These include:

- Names of the techniques: *ginga* (the basic position), *negativa* (a defence position), *meia-lua* ('half-moon', a kick), *rabo de arraia* ('tail of the ray fish', a kick), *cabeçada* (a head strike), *au* (a hand stand), *tesoura* ('scissor', a kick), *chamada* ('the call', a ritualistic sub-game)
- The instruments: *berimbau*, *pandeiro* (tambourine), *atabaque* (drum), *agogô* (cowbells), *reco-reco*
- Capoeira events: *roda* (a social gathering where capoeira is played), *batizado* ('baptism', an initiation ceremony), *formatura* (a graduation ceremony).
- Position within the capoeira hierarchy: *mestre* (master), *contra-mestre* (the leader of a concrete capoeira group)
- Concepts related to capoeira that are not easily translated into English: *malandragem* (trickery), *mandinga* (knowledge/ witchcraft)
- Nicknames: students of some, but not all, capoeira schools are given a nickname, which is generally in Portuguese. Names of most Mestres are nicknames as well. The origin of nicknames lies in the time when capoeira was illegal and revealing the capoeirista's identity could lead to his arrest.

These expressions of Portuguese seem to be used internationally and they are incorporated in the language of instruction of the particular capoeira school.

Capoeira songs represent another important area of use of Portuguese language in the context of capoeira. It needs to be observed that although most of these songs are in Portuguese, there is also a small number of songs in other languages, such as Yoruba. The students are required to sing the songs during the class, which means they need to memorize them so that they are able to actively reproduce them. The songs are also extremely rich in terms of references to the history and culture of capoeira and of Brazil.

In terms of use of language for instruction, English language prevailed at the capoeira classes we have observed, some of the short instructions were in Portuguese (*rolê* – roll, *troca* – change, *desce* – go down). Also, Leandro was using Portuguese to communicate with the expert users of Portuguese, and occasionally with the whole group.

In addition to regular trainings, capoeira workshops are frequently organized by the schools, some of which are organized into associations with a scope across several countries. Workshops are often delivered by visiting mestres, coming either directly from Brazil, or another country where they have moved to from Brazil, often with the purpose of teaching capoeira. In either case, they may not speak English or their English may be limited, so Portuguese is likely to be the main language of communication. At the two workshops we have observed, the mestres communicated with the students mostly in Portuguese and Leandro interpreted some of their speech into English. As a rule, lot of socializing is taking place at the end of the workshop, and Portuguese language is often used for informal communication.

Communication during a game of capoeira

In capoeira, the word *roda* is used to denominate the circle of people surrounding the two capoeiristas playing inside. These people are either a part of the orchestra and play one of the instruments traditionally used in capoeira, or they stand or sit at the edge of the circle, delimitating its boundaries. ‘Roda’ can also refer to the activity of playing capoeira in the circle – at the end of a class, a master may say – ‘let’s do a roda!’

As an activity, roda is highly complex and organized. Each of its participants has a different role, which requires communicating with others on different levels and using different modes, such as singing, music, gestures and body movement. The interactions between the participants of the roda are summarized by the following graphic:

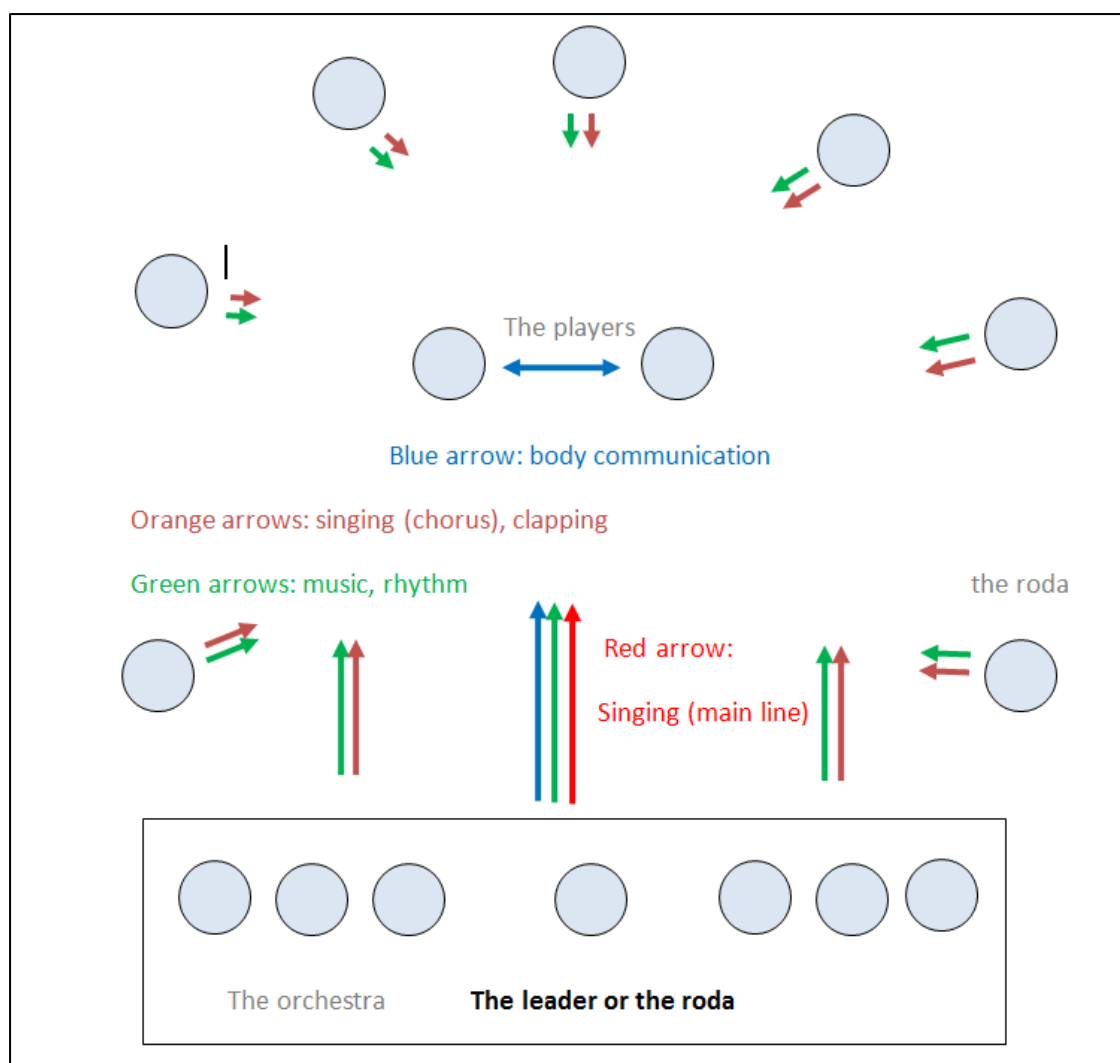


Figure 21

The roda is led by the person playing the berimbau with the lowest note (*gunga*), usually the master or another experienced capoeirista. He leads the roda through the choice of a song and its corresponding rhythm, determining not only the speed or the style of the game, as certain songs may correspond to a particular way of playing capoeira. He also sings the main line of the song. In this way, the leader communicates through song and rhythm with the two capoeiristas inside the roda (red arrow and green arrow).

The leader also has the authority to control the progress of the roda, and to decide when it starts and when it is going to end. This is done mostly through gestures (blue arrow), which we will describe in more detail below. But also certain songs indicate that the roda is about to finish.

The rest of the orchestra plays the other instruments (the other berimbaus – médio and viola, pandeiro, atabaque, reco-reco and agogo) and sing the chorus. The people sitting at the edge of the roda also sing the chorus and clap their hands. Through singing, music and rhythm, they maintain the energy of the roda. This is a very important role – at one of the workshops we have observed, the mestre interrupted the roda as he felt that the indifferent singing and music was letting the whole roda down.

The attention of the roda is turned towards the two players inside. The roda does not comment on their performance verbally, with the exception of the leader of the roda, who may sneak a comment on what is happening in the lyrics of the song he is singing. The two capoeiristas keep their eyes fixed on each other as they are trying to read and anticipate the movements of their opponent. They are using their bodies to move their opponent into a position in which he will be more vulnerable to an attack. Tricks and sub-games are also used to reach this aim. While playing, the two players follow the instructions of the leader of the roda, sent through the channel of song and music.

Communication through gestures. Gestures and ritual

In the roda, communication through gestures plays a key role. Gestures are used to mark a transition from one thing to another (such as when starting or finishing the game) or they serve to show respect to the leader and other participants of the roda. Some of the gestures follow an established pattern and they resemble a ritual, believed to have origins in the Afro-Brazilian religion of candomblé. The connection with religion is also reflected in some terminology (*bênção* – lit. blessing; a name of a kick; *batizado* – lit. baptism; a grading ceremony).

In a capoeira roda, actions follow each other in an established order. The opening song is always a *ladainha*, sometimes translated as *litany*. It is a monotonous song praising capoeira, the old Mestres and God. It is sang by the leader of the roda; the other participants of the roda wait and listen before joining the chorus, while the two capoeiristas are waiting at the feet of the leader of the roda, holding hands. They are waiting for his blessing to start the game, which he grants them by tilting the berimbau slightly over their heads.

To leave a roda, capoeiristas often extend an arm towards each other, and the two players often hug before leaving the roda, through the same place from where they entered it.

These rituals may be interpreted in connection with candomblé, but many capoeiristas interpret them more broadly as a way of acknowledging the authority of the leader of the roda and showing respect towards each other. For Tiago, these gestures capture the spirit of respectfulness and non-competitiveness in capoeira.

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: So before we play we shake our hands and after as well. It's the way to **respect to, to others**, you know. That's why it's it's the way as well to see **how capoeira is not kind of a competition** like other arts like taekwondo, you know where you have points, capoeira no. It is (?) fun. That's why we need to have the permission for who playing, ya.

There are other instances of communication through gesture, which serve to mark a transition. Apart from entering the roda through the space in front of the leader of the roda, described above, a capoeirista can 'buy' the game. To buy a game, any person standing in the roda can replace one of the players by indicating that they want to join the game by stretching out their hand towards the centre of the roda, with the palm

facing the person they want to play with. This way of entering the game is usually used in more dynamic rodas.

Gestures are, therefore, essential for establishing the order of action in capoeira roda, as well as showing respect towards each other. Although these gestures may be considered universal, slight variations between styles or schools may occur.

Body communication during the game

During the game of capoeira, the two adversaries watch each other closely, trying to read and predict each other's movements and to respond to them quickly – either by an attack or escape, using the techniques in their repertoire. They may also decide to perform a few ginga movements, when their movement are synchronized to mirror each other. However, even during this moment there is a sense of an imminent attack that may come at any point from either of the capoeiristas.

At other times, the players may break the attack-escape dynamic by introducing a ritualistic sub-game such as Chamada or Volta do mundo, or even introduce dance or a small dramatic performance. These moments favour playfulness and self-expression, however even a seemingly harmless and friendly gesture may serve as a guise for an attack. In fact, this ability to confuse the adversary by pretending, known as malandragem, is highly valued in capoeira.

Just like spoken conversation is characterized by a certain tone, the same can be said about a game of capoeira. The way the game is played depends on different factors, such as occasion or personality of the players. A friendly game at the end of a class will be different from a game played in a roda where people may want to impress students from different schools. During public performances, there is usually a focus on non-conflictive playfulness and acrobatics.

It needs to be observed that physical contact is rare in a game of capoeira, and is generally seen as undesirable. The techniques, such as kicks, are left deliberately unfinished. The communication between the two players happens on the visual level, and operates with the imagined consequence of the technique rather than the movement that was actually performed.

Capoeira as an intangible heritage: Translating historic experience through corporal movement, song and music

In 2014, capoeira was listed by UNESCO as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. According to the representative of UNESCO Brazil, capoeira is “one of the most expressive popular manifestations of the Brazilian culture and gives value to the African influence inherited in our history and culture.”³ This discourse emphasizes the historical continuation of capoeira, which is seen as a manifestation of African influence on Brazilian culture. If we read these words from a political perspective, capoeira is a tool for promoting African heritage in a society that is still perceived by a great part of it as racist.

³ http://www.unesco.org/new/en/brasil/brasilia/about-this-office/single-view/news/capoeira_becomes_intangible_cultural_heritage_of_humanity/

In capoeira, the corporal movement, songs and music serve as a medium of communicating the different historical and cultural reality to the students.

The techniques in modern capoeira are based on the movements used by the slaves during the colonial times. We cannot say that they are the same, as records to document what capoeira looked like in its early days are very limited. Still, the movements in modern capoeira embody their original purpose and context – that is, slavery and resistance against it. In this way, the movements serve as a link between the past and the present.

Also songs and music are a powerful way for communicating a different historical and cultural experience. Some capoeira songs are hundreds of years old and speak about the conditions during the times of slavery. Others are more recent, as new songs are emerging constantly. The language of the songs reflects the time and place of their origin. Some songs may contain archaic or dialectic expressions. Their meaning may be expressed through symbols, and they may be referring to concrete people and historic events. For this reason, they may not be immediately comprehensible even to someone who had grown up using Brazilian Portuguese, and a further research from the student's side is needed to understand them fully.

Basketball

In their work on a subject suffering from aphasia, the Goodwins have shown how the body may become 'a site for visible meaningful action by being embedded with the participation frameworks used to build relevant action within endogenous settings' (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2000: 27). In so doing, they have provided a corrective to 'a Bakhtinian, textually biased theory of language practice' which focuses exclusively on the spoken (p. 26). Sport in general, and basketball in particular, provide further opportunities for us to look beyond speech for the mechanisms underlying the production of complex social action by groups—not only to the mental and embodied, but to the spatial aspects of the environments in which and with which social agents interact. Because of the particular demands of basketball in terms of embodied action in space, and because of the constraints it imposes on verbal modes of communication due to the acoustics of the environments in which it is played (see Figure 8), the game removes speech from its normally central position within researchers' concerns, and pushes us to explore more holistically the complex of embodied practices, cooperative and competitive, which in concert build the temporally unfolding activity which constitutes a particular game.

This is not to say that speech is not important in a game of basketball. As the coach, Patrick, explained to players at the end of one training session—and as we were somewhat surprised to hear—speech can play a crucial part in the organisation of activity in basketball.

Communication's key. When we started talking to each other, right, and telling each other where it— where we want players, that's when we started to improve the game. The spacing got better. The passing got better. Running the floor got a lot better (LeeSpoAud_20151028_JC_001).

But in a game there are limitations to the appropriateness of speech, as Patrick later explained.

I think when people speak, particularly on defence it's a lot easier as a team to have that success. On offense, there's lots of different ways of communicating. Yeah, you can talk, but in a lot of sense then if you do say what you're going to do, then it tells the defence what you're doing. So you use eye contact. You can use your hands (LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002).

So speech is productive in defence, where co-operation and co-ordination are key; but potentially counterproductive in offense, where surprise is key. Moreover, as we began to see, the more expert players become—and the more environmentally aware—the less reliance there is on speech, though experts can often be heard coaching novice team mates during the course of a game. So it is in coaching, then, that speech, and issues of speaking and understanding, come to the fore.

Patrick: I think cultural and ethnic differences can make it difficult because I think there's a level of understanding that if everyone speaks English, then the level of understanding that you can convey as a coach, that people will automatically get. But I think that when there's language barriers, I think that, yeah, there is... you see that by when you've explained something to them, they go and do what they were doing before (LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002).

The use of speech, however, is seen more in the coaching of larger-scale actions (plays) as opposed to lower-scale actions (moves, micro-actions), which are often more successfully taught through modelling, with speech being once again subordinated to embodied action.

6.3 Schema, anti-schema and super-schema: the cooperative and competitive production of orderly, goal-oriented action in basketball and capoeira

As mentioned above, our inquiry is driven by a number of key questions. The first is that of how individuals from diverse ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds work together to produce goal-oriented action in capoeira and basketball. Secondly, we are interested in the parts languaging, translanguaging, and other embodied and disembodied (e.g. space, music) resources play in the production of this action, and in how these elements work in concert. So far, we have made some initial observations about the role of spoken language vis-a-vis other forms of action in basketball. We have also noted the probably unconscious synchronisation of different kinds of actions (in this case vocal and non-vocal, see also Erickson, 2004: 35) in a basketball stretching exercise—underlying which, perhaps, is that 'web of practices' of which Schegloff speaks, 'that is so deeply rooted that it can transcend linguistic and cultural diversity' (Schegloff 2007: xiii). However, there is also ample evidence in our data of practices which have to be learnt/taught, and whilst some of these come into the categories of micro-actions and moves (throwing, catching, 'laying up') many take the form of 'generic orders of organisation' (Schegloff, 2007), those building blocks of social life, variously called frames, scripts, or schemata, which help orient social actors and allow them to organise lower-level actions into meaningful and productive social events. Such mental and bodily schemata, functioning as templates for conduct, thoughts, feelings,

perceptions, judgements, and so on, derive from the collective representations of the group which transmits them (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 7). What makes sport such a fruitful field of study for these kinds of organising frames is that their transmission—and indeed analysis—by practitioners, coaches, and others, is purposefully explicit. Thus, ongoing evolution of schemata (driven by the creativity and/or ignorance of participants, or by hybridization resulting from diverse histories of practice, etc.) is often in plain view. In what follows we present an example of how one kind of schema, a defensive formation in basketball, is introduced into novices' repertoire. This illustration incidentally highlights the flexible and contingent nature of schemata as adaptable templates offering a range of options for relevant action. Following this we go on to sketch in some of the mechanisms which drive evolution in schemata.

Schematising action



Figure 22

Gathering the players together in what is neither the changing area nor the basketball court but a liminal space dedicated to preliminary instruction (Figure 22), the coach explains the defensive system he wants his players to use in an upcoming league game. To help them visualise the schema he uses a magnetic board holding blue and white discs.

... Okay, the defence that I want us to work on next week is the one-three-one. But we're gonna play effectively three-quarter court one-three-one to put pressure on the ball. This is wherever the ball is these two guys [moves two disks] are gonna come and trap the ball and make him throw that pass over the top. This guy steps up [moves another disk]. We're looking to squeeze wherever we can. So we're looking to either make him pass that ball across and then we can steal or trap him in the -- trap him at half court so he's got nowhere to go. It's even better to trap him at this side of half court so he can't step back. Alright? ...

Following this verbal and graphic demonstration, the coach gets five of his players (Team A) to take up positions on the court in the particular defensive formation (one-three-one) called for by the schema, thus providing an embodied experience of the schema's spatial requirements. Other players look on (Figure 23).



Figure 23

Dispensing with his magnetic board, the coach now takes up a ball, modelling the actions of an attacking player, thus giving his charges chance to perform defensive actions which they have already mastered to a greater or lesser degree. The schema is thus seen to enable players to organise existing skills into more effective action during a period of non-possession of the ball (Figure 24).



Figure 24

The coach now takes up a variety of positions (as suggested by an orthodox offensive schema) from which to model passing the ball, and provides instruction to his players on their most advantageous responses in terms of actions and positioning. In other words, he lets them experience the various options provided for by the flexible and contingent nature of this schematically ordered mid-level action (Figures 25 & 26)



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27

Following this, the coach invites five other players (Team B) onto the court to take up positions according to a previously learnt offensive schema and attack the basket defended by Team A. This allows Team A to put into practice the new defensive schema (one-three-one) which they have just been introduced to, this time in more realistic and demanding conditions (Figure 27).



Figure 28

From time to time, the coach stops play and comments on satisfactory and problematic aspects of the players' realisation of the schema (Figure 28).



Figure 29

Finally, the coach brings the exercise to an end (Figure 29) and provides some final advice on incorporating the schema into the higher-level schema of defensive play and that of the game as a whole, relating this to a 'real' and, for the players, high-stakes game to be played at the weekend. Thus we see the complete trajectory of the transmission of a template for mid-level action, though it will be some time before the flow of constituent actions and the decision making which gives rise to them become automatic, unconscious, and cognitively effortless as the practices become 'hard-wired' in what used to be thought of as 'muscle memory' but is now known to be neural tissue, first in the brain, then later in the spinal cord (Eagleman, 2015).

Anti-schema: disrupting schematised action

The effect of schemata is, among other things, to enable social actors to identify events and choose, consciously or unconsciously, from a range of appropriate actions, all the while anticipating and responding to the actions and responses of other participants who are orienting to the same schemata. Because schemata provide shared templates for the co-production of action, underlying their smooth functioning is the principle of cooperation. Schemata rely on and facilitate teamwork. In sport, however, though opposing teams must co-operate in orienting to a master schema in order to produce a game (at a given time and place and following given rules), within the schema of the game itself opposing teams are motivated by competition, and to be successful competitive action must be performed with either greater speed or greater power than one's opponents', or they must introduce the element of surprise or deception. Gameplay, particularly offensive gameplay, calls for the unexpected, which means

something from outside the prevailing schema, thus something which will disrupt it. Figure 30 provides an example of such disruptive, anti-schematic action.



Figure 30

The role of gaze in organising social interaction has been extensively studied (Argyle and Dean, 1965; Argyle and Cook, 1976; Exline and Fehr, 1982; Kendon, 1967; 1978; Goodwin, 1980; 1994; 1995). However, it requires little reflection to conclude that under normal circumstances the direction of an actor's gaze indicates (i) their intended direction of their action, and (ii) where relevant, the intended 'recipient' of the action. Here in Figure 30, however, we see a basketball player (on offense) exploiting the expectations normally triggered by direction of gaze to immobilise his opponents and thus increase his chances of successfully completing a pass. 'Giving the eyes' one way (i.e. providing a mis-cue) and throwing the ball another (doing the unexpected), the player in green must anticipate the likely responses of his opponents in order to subvert them. He thus demonstrates that to disrupt a schema—purposefully, at least—one must first have mastered it and its constituent actions.

No matter how long a sport has been played there is always, it seems, the possibility of the introduction of new and unexpected action. We have only to think of the 'Fosbury flop' in high jumping, the 'slam dunk' in basketball, the 'reverse sweep' and 'reverse swing' in cricket, the 'Cruyff turn' and 'sweeper-keeper' in football, or Chris Froome's 'super-tuck' downhill technique introduced in this year's (2016) Tour de France. Such anti -schematic actions, functioning at various scales from micro-actions to higher-level strategies levels, may be the products of imagination and creativity or the effects of hybridization of practice (sport to sport, region to region, culture to culture, etc.) resulting from global processes, including the increasing mobility of people and ideas, and the influence of global media. In this report we have already alluded to Tiago's

importing of practices (including attitudinal practices such as non-competitiveness and emotional detachment) from yoga and capoeira into basketball games and training sessions. Later we shall look at evidence of his importations which are seen by his teammates as unproductive and consequently challenged by them. In view of these things, it seems, that in the domain of sport we must begin to consider a broader category of practice than is normally encompassed by ideas of translanguaging, even inter-discursive translanguaging. These forms of transpractice—game to game, region to region, (sub)culture to (sub)culture, etc.—will include actions which involve, simultaneously, mental, embodied, and spatial action, and a view of space in which the boundaries between so-called endogenous and exogenous environments are collapsed to allow exploration of the free interaction of phenomena. Such a category of practice we have called transpractice (see 6.1 *Basketball* on transpractising).

Super-schema: embracing the anti-schematic action

Since the purposeful anti-schematic action depends for its success on surprise, it can only be performed a certain number of times before it gains the status of expected action and gives rise to effective counter-action or negation—in other words, before it becomes absorbed into the schema. In video 10 we present an example of this process of absorption and counter-action, which we observed in one of Tiago's capoeira sessions. Here the mestre is warning the class not to be taken in by an apparently discomfited and vulnerable opponent and make the mistake of stepping between his legs, since oftentimes the opponent will perform a leg sweep and bring them to the ground. The mestre thus teaches his students to notice the tell-tale signs of a trap (an anti-schematic action) and to alter their expectations about the possible meanings of these signs.



Video 10

Link to video: <https://vimeo.com/205361885>

Password: TLANG

Leandro: Abriu [open], stop. Guys, most of times you're gonna see people do this movement in front of you, don't [steps between D's legs] put the foot there. It's just a trap [D sweeps him]. Ok? As Mestre Pastinha used to say, I

xxx against no one, but I always put a web and I wait xxx. Like xxx spider who puts a web in the corner and wait for the fly to catch it later.

This embracing of the anti-schematic action results in a more highly-evolved schema, a 'super-schema', and is an ongoing process in the life of a sport. However, while this embracing of a schematically disruptive action goes some way to countering it, it cannot always entirely negate the action since the performer now has two viable alternatives. For example, in basketball an offensive player may now throw the ball in a direction other than that of his gaze, or throw it in the direction of his gaze, as per the original schema. The new, super-schema may embrace both these possibilities, but if the initiating actor alternates randomly between his options, his opponents will struggle to anticipate his actions, even though they know what his options are. This is why, in Figure 31 Tiago's team mate is exhorting him to 'mix it up'—in other words, to exploit the possibilities of unexpectedness within the expected.



Figure 31

LeeSpoVid_20150601_JC

1: 1:29:00.5 [The coach stops the game.]

Anderson: It's the same move you do all the time. They know you gonna do it.

Tiago: Yeh.

Anderson: You need to change it. You need to mix it up.

In passing we should note that this incident also illustrates the ongoing transmission of schema, this time during the course of a practice match, and by a more expert team mate rather than by the coach.

In the next example (Video 11) we show how schemata can function—and be disrupted—at a range of scale levels.



Video 11

Link to video: <https://vimeo.com/205385631>

Password: TLANG

In this clip the mestre is demonstrating a move to the class with the help of a volunteer. First he encourages the volunteer to take up a vulnerable position so he can model a capoeira 'trick', a sudden reverse kick to the chest. The cries of the onlookers at the point of impact display their surprise—i.e. the abrupt confounding of expectations, which, we suggest, derives from schemata functioning on at least three different scale levels. The first is the level of 'the fight'. Some class members may not have seen this 'trick' before and are surprised by its cunning. The second is the level of coaching. When a mestre asks a pupil to take up a vulnerable position, he is not then expected to take advantage of this to land a blow or kick; he is expected (to use a boxing term) to 'pull his punches'. The third schema functions at a much higher scale level, ordering actions in a much broader range of social situations, specifically those involving embodied interaction between males and females. This schema involves expectations that males will not touch, much less kick, females with whom they don't have close relations and/or in public in this part of their anatomy. Underlining the social 'impact' of the mestre's anti-schematic action are the cries of the onlookers and his own profuse apologies, marked by high modal density and intensity (Norris, 2004), viz. the verbal apologies to volunteer and onlookers, the crouched posture, the open palms. Nevertheless, thanks to expectations embedded in the schema of the sport, capoeira, such tricksterish actions *are* to be expected and indeed highly approved. And this approval, we suggest, tempers both the onlookers' responses (laughter) and those of the Mestre (his smiles suggesting a certain self-satisfaction in his accomplishment).

Unproductive anti-schematic action and the reassertion of the schema.

We have suggested how anti-schematic action may be absorbed into a prevailing schema to create what we called a super-schema, which in time becomes once again just

the prevailing schema—before it is challenged by further anti-schematic actions and forced to embrace them. And we have suggested that this is how the schemata ordering generic social behaviour evolves continuously over time. We have also observed that in contexts of diversity or super-diversity, due to the creative possibilities of hybridization, the evolution of schemata may be expected to speed up. However, our data also suggest some negative effects associated with the hybridization of schemata, and we will finish this section by providing two examples of this. Both these examples hinge on the mismatch between the kinds of specialised visual practice (Goodwin, 1994) cultivated in the more individualistic sport of capoeira and that encouraged in basketball, which is fundamentally a team game. In capoeira, one's field of view may be narrow, to include one's opponent. In basketball it must be panoramic and all inclusive. In his *Basketball Coach's Bible*, Goldstein observes that

Looking is something that coaches figure will just come naturally. Not so. It needs to be taught. All players must know where the ball is at all times as well as where the other players are. This includes dribblers, (especially) and passers, knowing who is behind them as well as in front. (Eyes behind the head are helpful.) **Looking** both to pass or before cutting involves much communication: it is not random. I've seen championships lost because players were not **looking** in the right place (Goldstein, 1994: 40).

And again.

On offense *looking* means more than watching the ball: it is directed, not random. Players evaluate situations ... Communicating to another player a cut or a pass to a particular spot are other *looking* skills incorporated into many lessons (Goldstein, 1994: 51)

In our first extract, Patrick, the coach is engaged in teaching looking—or what has previously been called 'educating attention'. He is trying to counteract Tiago's tendency to rely on modes of looking developed in capoeira, where one focuses, albeit generally, on the 'centre' of action.

LeeSpoAud_20151028_JC_001 (1:11:46.7)

P: Never turn your back on your man.

T: No, to control where is the ball.

P: Yeh, but where's the ball xx? You don't know do you?

T: No.

P: Face your man.

T: Yeh.

In the second extract, during the course of a practice match, Tiago is taken to task again for his individualistic style of play, this time by one of his more expert team mates.

LeeSpoAud_20151118_JH_007 (0:03:10.7)

Charlie: You losing the head in the game.

Tiago: Uh. huh.

Charlie: Ah no tell again.

(1.0)

Tiago: OK.
 Charlie: If yuh if yuh if yuh wanna play for yourself play for yourself.
 Tiago: No:: no:
 Charlie: Play-- No:: I know you you want play (.) BUT (.) when we had the ball yous ruining e- everybody's day. If a man's there don't run to him.
 Tiago: Yeh.
 Charlie: He's bringing a man with him.
 Tiago: OK
 Charlie: Poor Johnny was waiting. Come on! [Claps hands] Let's go!
 Tiago: OK

Charlie's turns are delivered at great speed and with Caribbean pronunciation, the volume and intonation being so forceful they might in other contexts be considered belligerent. Indeed, as we have seen, such practice sessions often boil over into verbal and even physical confrontation. These are practices which Tiago, with his capoeirista's flexibility and accommodation, disapproves of, as we have already seen. In these last two extracts we see how the importation of embodied—and their associated attitudinal—practices from one sport to another is not always productive and tends to lead to the reinforcement of the prevailing schema.

Conclusions

In this section we have shown how individuals from diverse ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds can work together to produce goal-oriented action in capoeira and basketball by orienting to shared schemata. We have suggested that, because of the particular nature of sports as a form of social action and because sports make their ordering frameworks so explicit, they are fruitful fields of enquiry for this kind of study. We have noted how, due to the competitive aspect of sport, prevailing schemata are often disrupted for goal-directed purposes, but that schemata have a tendency to embrace the disruptive and that this is a key mechanism in their evolution. We have also made the suggestion, based on our data, that the hybridization of schemata which arises from the superdiversity of their contexts tends to accelerate their evolution. And finally, we have suggested that anti-schematic practice which is based on ignorance may disrupt without leading to development, and that this may lead in turn to the (sometimes forceful) reassertion of prevailing schemata.

6.4 Socialization in capoeira

Capoeira: reflection of historical events and symbol of fight for equality

Capoeira surged as a reaction against the hardships the African slaves were experiencing in the hands of the European slave-owners. It is based on the actual moves used in those days and therefore it *contains* a part of Brazil's history, seen from a particular perspective – that of the slaves who invented it. It is this aspect of capoeira's history – the fight for freedom and racial equality – that capoeira became to symbolize, despite the fact that during the years of its existence, it was used not only to fight against oppression but also for intimidation and street fights.

Capoeira does not only denounce the conditions in the slavery time; it is being used to criticize the conditions also in the current days, as the problems of the Brazilian society in the times when it surged (racism, exploitation) can be felt even today:

LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002

Sophie: Mestre Morais who started like with erm you know black power revolution you know in Brazil saying well no we want to kind of keep capoeira for us and **we want to keep it erm as a symbol of our resistance** (...)because actually since slavery was abolished **nothing really has changed in Brazilian society**

A similar political stance is expressed by Tiago, who compares the lack of freedom of the slaves in the colonial times to the lack of freedom of a person living in a society in which they need to spend all their time working:

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001

T: I don't want work, take me all my time, all my--you know what I mean? I just want--**I don't want to be slave again**, sorry because of the word but it's like work, only that, it's not fair sometimes because you can work, work, until end. Work's not going to finish. **The world is now designed for work and that's it. It's not designed to-- for freedom, you know.**

JC: You said, just then you said 'I don't want to be a slave again'?

T: Yeah.

JC: What did you mean again?

T: When I said 'again' I talk about 500 years ago, you know, **because it's what's happening, it's like that time no option, can just come for you and work**, even money no and just work, you know, and I can see they say that when they was in the ship and the (bid) to go that place days and days, some people sick (...)

The symbolism of capoeira can therefore be regarded as universal, a fact that would explain its popularity all over the world.

The link with the past: teaching about culture and history in the class

Being able to make links between capoeira and external events requires knowledge of the origins and history of capoeira. Leandro, whose classes we were observing, is keen to pass capoeira to his students in its complexity, putting a lot of emphasis on teaching the music and historical-cultural background of capoeira. Concretely, the theory Leandro was teaching his students included the origins of capoeira; its development; the lives and deeds of the great masters; teaching the songs; explaining the meaning of the songs (both language and content); playing berimbau and other musical instruments; and recognizing the rhythms of the music and linking them to the corresponding style of game. Leandro himself defines capoeira as 'Brazilian culture' [LeeSpoFN_20151020_JH_010]. In Leandro's view, capoeira is therefore a cultural practice involving a physical activity rather than a sport.

Passing on the whole story of capoeira and linking it to its historical roots is essential for the practice of capoeira in Leandro's group. Many capoeira schools, however, only study their own history since when they were founded. Leandro suggests a class and racial division between these two approaches to the history of capoeira – some upper-class Brazilians might still be uncomfortable with the African roots of capoeira, whereas for Leandro, being black, it is his own history as well:

LeeSpoInt_20160114_JH_001

Leandro: Cause what people study about capoeira in these days is about 1950s, 1960s, when the new style of capoeira contemporânea started back in Brazil (JH hm, hm) **but I'm going back far in the history, because I came from the slaves, it's my, so when I say about my history, because I descent from slaves, so I can say it's my family history. But there's a lot of people who comes from rich, rich families and they just want to know what happens on the 1960s or the 1970s about capoeira, and they are fine with that**

In Leandro's classes, theory and cultural background was usually discussed at the beginning of the class, and it usually included teaching about the history and culture of capoeira and of Brazil, learning songs, learning the language and learning to play instruments. These aspects were not taught separately but in an organic way – through a song, a student will also learn about the Portuguese language and the culture:

LeeSpoInt_20160114_JH_001

Leandro: It's not that thing, oh, you need to learn it [**Portuguese language**], **no, it comes itself** because there's a music behind it and sometimes **you sing something but you wanna know what you were singing**. It's not only, o-la-la-iê, ola, **what the o-la-la-iê mean**. And you go and you read about it.

Capoeira as microcosm: knowledge transfer from roda to everyday life

As we have demonstrated above, the scope of capoeira goes far beyond the boundaries of the roda. Capoeira is not self-contained; it is not a physical exercise that starts and finishes with the end of the class. It goes beyond the actual practice; it interacts with and reflects the surrounding environment. It is often described by practitioners as a way of life and certainly one that gives skills for living. Sophie compares capoeira to a mirror of Brazilian society and human interactions:

LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002

Sophie: so there's all that complexity of capo- society is a bit of like erm capoeira is a bit in capoeira you will see the whole society in Brazil erm and I think that's really really interesting so for me as a person I find it it's so rich in on so many levels that I didn't understand at first how rich it was but for me it's a kind of a mirror of society a mirror of human behaviour within roda and a mirror of what a group can do together as you know erm can build an energy positive energy together so it's it's very very rich for on so many levels that's why I'm really passionate about it

A roda works as a microcosm, reflecting the macrocosm of the world. The emotions present in our everyday lives, such as anger, respect and conflict, are present in the roda in a concentrated form.

Sophie claims that the skills one learns in the roda are transferrable to real life. After she learnt how to manage her anger in the roda, she knew how to manage it in her real life as well [LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002]. Also Leandro's trajectory of learning capoeira is a clear example. Leandro learnt capoeira as a means of self-defence and

applied the skills he learnt within his capoeira group to defend himself in his everyday life:

LeeSpolnt_20160114_JH_001

Leandro: I come, well, I come from a place, on the time it was fifteen thousand people living on that place, erm... the reason why I started capoeira was to avoid bullying at school

However, in most styles of capoeira, the techniques are unfinished – unlike in other martial arts. There is a tension between the actions actually performed and their potential impact - what would happen if? Capoeira goes beyond what one can see; there is a gap between what is implied and what is actually happening. This perspective emphasizes the performance element of capoeira. The roda can be understood as a stage where these encounters occur. In the extract below, Tiago uses this stage to teach an aggressive opponent a lesson with a potential validity also outside the roda:

Tiago: Because I'm not violent, that's not my way how to play, so what they do is, **I play with him and I show to him I can do that, or to put down, but I'm not going to do that.** I just, you know, sometimes work in kick, but not at him, just to put my legs like that and take off and then he going to-- that thinks **he will switch on and say, 'Oh, why didn't he beat me, but I beat him, why didn't beat, oh', you know, we help him as well to change his way,** to deal his way, to play, it's like life, you know, you find a lot of dodgy people, you know, but you not going to show the same way how it works, no, you try to show the opposite and that thinks will-- it's like his own violence will come to his self, you know what I mean, it's the way how we avoid things, you know

There are numerous occasions in the fieldnotes when Leandro tests their students' attention to what is currently happening around them – such as pretending to strike them with a berimbau when they are not paying attention to the roda. This is a way to make them more aware of what is happening around them, not only in the roda but in their everyday lives as well. As Leandro says – 'I don't teach you to be violent, I teach you to survive in a violent world'.

The skills that is highly valued in capoeira is malandragem, which is usually translated as trickery. It is the ability to outwit the adversary without the use of physical power. It often employs pretending something in order to confuse the opponent:

LeeSpolnt_20160114_JH_001

Leandro: there's what we call 'malandragem', which is the trick part, when I'm gonna try it and use my tricks to fool you before I can get you. (JH: hm, hm). Like it's just showing something to get somewhere else, it's like showing you the palm of my hand but the razor is coming to your belly, it's breaking your attention before I can come into the movement against you, that's more my tradition side of capoeira.

Leandro has narrated numerous stories when he escaped the danger in real life through his creativity and 'malandragem'.

Rules for interaction in capoeira and in the roda

The interactions in capoeira follow different rules than those in the real life. Certain behaviour is expected from the students of a capoeira school. Some behaviour is acceptable, some is unacceptable and some is required.

A student is required to show respect to the other capoeiristas as well as the mestre/contramestre. In Leandro's school, the atmosphere was very relaxed; still, the hierarchic structure could be perceived on occasion where a workshop was delivered by a visiting mestre:

LeeSpoFN_20150919_JH_005

I noticed that Leandro uses very formal addressing to speak to the Mestre, 'o Senhor' rather than 'voce'. It struck me, as this addressing is quite rare in Brazil in my experience, usually reserved to very senior people (in age or position), and S and Mestre were about the same age. I noticed that Mestre did not finish his Thai green curry and Leandro finished it for him – so they were quite close friends while still keeping the hierarchy.

This hierarchical order can be interpreted as respect towards wisdom and experience. Respectfulness towards the old teachers is captured in one of the old songs whose meaning Tiago explained to JH:

LeeSpoAud_20150907_JH_001

T yea. It's very nice songs. I can give you some ex- ex- examples, it's like erm (starts singing) *por favor nao maltrate esse negro*,
esse negro foi quem me ensinou,
esse negro de calca rasgada,
camisa furada,
ele e o meu professor
[please, do not mistreat this black man,
this black man is who taught me,
this black man with torn trousers
and holes in his shirt
is my teacher] (...)

So this, when you look for this song and you analyse well it's the song from that slaves' time. *Por favor nao maltrate esse negro*, is, is a, is a black person. Don't treat bad this this slave, 'cause this slave is my teacher, he taught me something, he teach capoeira. Doesn't matter what he wear, you know, doesn't matter ho- what yo wear or if you you your trousers or if have holes I I need treat you well. You know.

The behaviour that is expected and required from the students is the active participation at the rodas – singing, playing the instruments and playing capoeira. This behaviour helps to create the cohesion in the group – if the singing is not happening, for example, it will affect the two players in the roda.

In Leandro's school, violent or aggressive behaviour is not acceptable, in the roda or outside it. This means that despite the adrenaline that is caused by the game, one has to be able to control their emotions – although getting 'caught' can be a humiliating experience.

LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002

Sophie: sometimes you xxx so carried away by the game and so embarrassed to kind of being caught that you will bring into use some anger and that happens to me like sometimes that I was so angry to be like (JH laughs) caught in front of everybody and I started just being really fast and play very aggressive game and at this point the teacher or the master would call me with the instrument and and to the to the pe do berimbau, the feet of the berimbau, and sing a song which is [sings] devagar, devagarinho, so, slow down, slow down you know (...) so you realize when I was getting really you know angry and he sings this I knew like as a person my emotions of anger were overtaking me and xxx wasn't right so for me it was a good lesson to learn, ok, I've been caught but let let's not make a big deal out of it (JH yea yea) you are here to play capoeira and you are here to play well and a nice game not not an aggressive game cause that's not erm capowhat capoeira is about.

Transformation through capoeira

Capoeira seemed to be an important part of the lives of many of the students of Leandro's school. The people we have interviewed talked about capoeira as something that has changed their lives.

When Tiago discovered capoeira during the time he was living in the township, he became immediately passionate about it – it was his 'first love' [LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027]. Unlike basketball which he was already playing at that time, capoeira had a relevance to his everyday life, helping him to deal with the difficulties he was experiencing when he was growing up – feeling lost as a result of not knowing his father's identity and loneliness after moving away from the house where he grew up.

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

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

MB: consolation

T: consolation yea

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: yea because I moved when I have like eight years old. I remember actually because it didn't I didn't I need move even school because the school where I was before was like erm erm the the city school you know and I was like because xxx city but I need to move when I had eight years

old. That's why I lost one year in school. Cause in Mozambique, our system, we start when we have six, seven, not here like four you know, yea, and I need to go to another school in this township you know, local school, it's where xxx I start making friends again and and erm **I was quite sad because I was far away from my grandmother and from my friends where I grown up** you know and and that kind of style of life erm I need to adapt as well to see you know xxx and then I out there when I was in secondary school yea and erm **capoeira was very important to me because I was always a little sad always because my mother, I not go and see my mother for, for a while**, and then this time(?) she was young and she was xxx you know but sometimes I always in the night I was always sad you know **cry always, where(?) is my father, I wish I have that, I wish you know, when when I started capoeira, capoeira give me you know something I didn't have before you know the confidence**, yea that's why I I came to live in this town(?) you know

Through capoeira, Tiago and discovered his own identity

[LeeSpoAud_20150907_JH_001] – as an individual and as an African

[LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001]. It turned him into a confident person

[LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027], as well as sparking his interest in culture and language

[LeeSpoAud_20150907_JH_001]. Later in his life, capoeira also changed him physically, teaching him to support his tall, slim body better. However, Tiago speaks of this physical change as a result of the inner transformation, that is, the confidence capoeira gave him.

[LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027].

LeeSpoAud_20150907_JH_001

T: yea. Then I just fell in love with capoeira and **capoeira helped me to find myself** you know to forgot all you know my sad childhood and bring me up you know and as well **open me mind my and language and be interested in language people** you know, so capoeira just you know **give me esteem**, yea

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: when I started capoeira, capoeira give me you know something I didn't have before you know the **confidence**, yea that's why I I came to live in this town(?) you know

LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001

T: when I play capoeira when I song, when I play, it's like it just take me to other place, very good, you know, and I just feel well, I just feel different and well because it's like of celebration, you know, I just celebration, yeah, it's **bring me to my own roots, you know, and as well to me to be to be African as well**

LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027

T: and then and then when I back to the city to my grandmother I start a new school you know I start, and xxx I start and people start call me worm xxx (others laugh) because I was very slim and erm you know someone we call molengão, when you saw, when you don't tell xxx you know, you know

when you you when you tall but you not erm support well you you you know you xxx now I'm more like I support because I've been doing exercise and training you know and erm **as well physically capoeira changed me you know I know I I'm still slim you know (laughs) but you know give me like confidence** and you know yea

To summarize - it is evident how important and life-changing capoeira was for Tiago on the following levels:

- it was his consolation and refuge in the times of his difficult childhood, allowing him to escape from the reality
- it helped him to build up his confidence and self-esteem
- it helped him to find his identity and his African cultural identity
- it was something he was passionate about – 'his first love'
- it opened his mind and sparked his interest in language and people
- it helped him to support his body better

We can find similarities between what capoeira meant for Tiago and the stories of the other members of Leandro's school. Leandro himself learnt capoeira out of necessity to defend himself. He was once 'a fat, black kid from a poor family', therefore a target of bullying from other kids.

LeeSpolnt_20160114_JH_001

L: I come, well, I come from a place, on the time it was fifteen thousand people living on that place, erm... the reason why I started capoeira was to avoid bullying at school

JH: yea

L: erm because I was the only black person at the school and the only fat person in the community (...) and I was all the time getting beaten from children at the school, and the reason erm one day I was selling ice-cream on the streets on the trolley and I saw some guys playing on, just, the neighbourhood, just the small park, just kicking around, doing some back flips, doing some cartwheels, and I asked what that was and they said, oh this is capoeira. But who is the teacher? Oh, there are no teacher, we just get together here (JH: hm), so a person who knows a little bit more help teach each other.

In the capoeira group, Leandro found people who accepted him and became his friends, protecting him against the physical attacks of the much older kids. Also for Leandro, mastering capoeira marked a transition in his life – he became able to defend himself, without having to depend on others:

LeeSpolnt_20160114_JH_001

L: yea, yea and I found like kind of people protecting me

JH: yea

L: because all the time when I was having trouble, I didn't have friends to talk with, I was coming back to them and they were teaching me what to do when situation was [...], people trying to beat me up (JH: hm), cause they were grown-ups, or, at the time I was ten eleven years old, they were seventeen eighteen years old. So they kind of protected me against them,

when they could, and teaching me what, how I could protect myself or at the school or against those kids, when my parents had to come to the school to pick me up and take me home, and everybody was taking the piss of it as well (JH: yea) and then from the time I just started to protect myself

Sophie summarizes capoeira's contribution to her life in the following way:

LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002

S: for me it actually it really helped me to erm to come out of my shell and express cause I had I was very angry before and I was I felt very my emotions were overcoming me quite a lot and I needed I knew I needed sport but I just needed culture and needed knowledge and for me it enabled me to kind of really dive into a culture rich culture and feel at ease and because of all the elements of capoeira it made me feel complete really

How concretely can capoeira help to overcome shyness? One of the activities a student of capoeira is supposed to master is singing and playing instruments, about which Sophie says: 'I was absolutely terrified and very withdrawn about it' [TR LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002]. At a capoeira class, however, the students have no choice – the singing and playing the instruments are one of the fundamentals of capoeira, as they generate the energy of the roda. The friendly environment of the capoeira class, however, helped Sophie to overcome her fears:

LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002

S: I was very very shy actually when I first joined erm capoeira or generally I was xxx shy person erm I would never sing (JH yea) or things like that but for me **it was just a safe place for me (JH hm) to kind of start doing these things** and it didn't come easy at first but (JH hm) it kind of became easier and easier with with time

Tiago, Leandro and Sophie describe capoeira groups as a safe, welcoming, accepting a non-judgemental spaces. Capoeira serves as a bond in the group – both Leandro and Sophie speak about the role a shared experience of a physical activity:

LeeSpoInt_20160114_JH_001

L: that was actually first time I saw people get together, not being compared for the social life they had, or money or the colour or the [...]. So **they were just getting together doing something**, and they were helping each other, and everybody else was trying to beat me and they just accept me in the club

LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002

S: so for me it was really open that way and it kind of **straight away there was a strong bond** and I think **through physical activities you know through sport and it's really hard sometimes**, like in sport xxx the training can be really hard, there's a certain bond that s- that establish that is established between by the end of the class you know

Capoeira and language learning

Much of the teaching and learning that happens in the capoeira sessions is explicit teaching and learning of the physical moves of capoeira. But to the extent that capoeira is a cultural activity, the learning of capoeira is also a learning of language and culture. Learning the rules, learning the moves and learning the songs entails learning the language. Moreover a good deal of the talk that takes place in and outside the sessions particularly in the first phase of the session but also at other times (e.g. in the bar afterwards) involves the Mestre, Leandro, teaching, and participants learning, about the language and culture of capoeira and shifts between English and Portuguese. 'Culture' is broadly understood, and encompasses the teaching and learning that happens around the musical instruments: Leandro and the participants teach (and participants learn) how to play the capoeira instruments. As for language learning, an integral but problematic dimension of cultural learning, this happens in a number of ways. The songs of capoeira are mainly in Portuguese, and also have to be learned. Portuguese is used incidentally throughout the sessions by the Portuguese-speaking participants, so the others are exposed to Portuguese as a matter of course during the sessions. Teaching and learning Portuguese also happens more explicitly, sometimes informally and sometimes when key words and phrases associated with capoeira are translated. The Portuguese that is learned is closely oriented to capoeira and to Brazil generally (*malandragem*; *meia-lua*; *ginga*, etc; the origin of Leandro's capoeira name). As well as English/Portuguese, interlingual translanguaging is evident in the use of Afro-Brazilian terms (*Axe*): Leandro himself has an interesting perspective on the use of languages other than Portuguese in capoeira, as we find below. Participants also practice Portuguese, again in quite formal interactions or more informally. There is also some informal teaching and learning of English vocabulary items. The roles of teacher and learner on these occasions are somewhat flexible: who precisely is doing the teaching-and-learning of language-and-culture (Byram, 1994) at any one time is quite fluid. Moreover, when using the language of capoeira, participants are adapting to a socially constructed ecological niche (Steffensen, 2011). Ecological niches, as we noted in the Heritage case study, have 'their own complexes of communicative activity (genres) regimented in patterned forms (registers) which function to encode cultural phenomena such as attitudes, modes of argumentation, positioning, and so on' (Baynham et al., 2016: 50).

What is clear is that the teacher and the participants regard the teaching and learning as taking place in a community of sorts. For this reason, we can consider whether the capoeira group could be considered a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998; see 4.1): a community whose activities are dedicated to learning of some kind. The community of practice model would seem to be particularly apposite when considering the learning undertaken by the participant Sophie (below).

Moreover the study of the fieldnotes in particular, in relation to language learning, can extend our understanding of translanguaging as a description of practice that encompasses communicative modes beyond the linguistic. Crucially, much of the teaching and learning of Portuguese, the learning about music, and the cultural learning that happens during the sessions, goes on within the play, as part of the play, and in combination with the play. Together the moves, the singing, the music and – in the background – cultural knowledge and knowledge of the historical hinterland, are all components of a multimodal semiotic repertoire. The cultural learning that takes place

involves developing this repertoire. The shifts from one dominant mode to another, and the use of multiple modes simultaneously, can be understood as a form of translanguaging. Indeed the fluid and fluent interplay of the multiple semiotic modes working together (body movement, multiple language use, playing instruments, singing in Portuguese) is key to the practice. Many if not all elements are always present. Learning one thing is therefore nearly always bound up in learning or practising something else. Action accompanies language and music, and accompanies learning too. In this sense translanguaging of different sorts is fundamental to the practice of capoeira.

This section focuses primarily on the explicit and implicit teaching and learning of Portuguese (formally and informally); the practising of Portuguese; and teaching and learning other languages, e.g. English or Yoruba. The Portuguese in question is Brazilian Portuguese with a distinct Afro-Brazilian flavour. We inevitably touch here on other aspects of the practice of capoeira: the teaching and learning about the culture of capoeira and its history, formally or more informally, in and outside the session; and the teaching and learning of the music: learning to play the instruments and learning the songs. It draws upon the fieldnote data, and also on the interviews with Leandro, teacher or contra-mestre of Tiago's capoeira group (LeeSpolnt_20160114_JH_001), Tiago himself (LeeSpolnt_20160416_JC_001 and 002) and Sophie, a capoeira participant (LeeSpolnt_20160412_JH_002). We see how Leandro's background and training influence his approach to teaching and learning capoeira in this particular group, what he feels the learning purpose of capoeira should be, and how he views languages and language learning in capoeira. Sophie, from France, is, like Tiago, a member of Leandro's capoeira group. Her introduction to capoeira was through seeing it on TV in the mid-1990s, and she found it instantly appealing. When she came to the UK she actively searched out a capoeira group, and eventually found – in Leandro's group – a community.

Capoeira as community

When Sophie found the capoeira group, she recognised it as a social 'oasis' of like-minded people who were interested in learning about the culture of capoeira and of Brazil. For Sophie, the sense of her capoeira group as a community is very strong. Capoeira offers group identity, and she recognises it can even be so tight-knit as to appear cult-like to outsiders. She notes how music and singing make the bonding and community aspect of capoeira easier. Singing for her was daunting at first, but it helped her build confidence, and as she says, what you gain from capoeira is confidence. Her learning of Portuguese needs to be understood with this in mind: all the learning that goes on – language learning or otherwise – is, for Sophie, part of practice within the community. For Sophie, capoeira is certainly not about aggression or violence: she uses the Portuguese words to a song to explain:

LeeSpolnt_20160412_JH_002

you are here to play capoeira and you are here to play well and a nice game not not an aggressive game cause that's not erm capo- what capoeira is about. And erm there's this song it's about it says that you can sing whilst whilst if something like that happens it's called oh bujao bujao bujao, capoeira de Angola nao e agressao, bujao. So, bujao is like a gas erm thing

that's gonna explode (JH ok ok ok laughs) so you you you say that you know capoeira is not aggression you know so you need to calm down

It is interesting to contrast this stance towards capoeira with her mestre Leandro's early experience of the practice of *capoeira do rua* or street capoeira. Leandro now clearly imparts a non-aggressive message about capoeira to his students, judging by Sophie's comments, yet for him its street-fighting origins were formative. For Leandro in his childhood, capoeira afforded a means of escaping the local bullies: 'the reason why I started capoeira was to avoid bullying at school. ... because I was the only black person at the school and the only fat person in the community ... and I was all the time getting beaten from children at the school' (LeeSpoInt_20160114_JH_001). He found a group of people who were practising capoeira informally: 'there are no teacher, we just get together here (JH: hm), so a person who knows a little bit more help teach each other. This was an accepting, non-judgemental group: they were helping each other, and everybody else was trying to beat me and they just accept me in the club [...] and I found like kind of people protecting me' (LeeSpoInt_20160114_JH_001). So for Leandro the self-defence purpose of capoeira was and always has been at its heart. In fact he views capoeira in Brazil as principally a martial art:

LeeSpoInt_20160114_JH_001

when I started capoeira today at least the place where I came from, I learned capoeira for fight, when I joined the club of capoeira, my teacher was teaching us how to fight, I started learning capoeira when I left the school to go to the countryside. Then I started learn the elements of the capoeira, the traditions, the music, but before it was mostly fight part of capoeira that I learnt.

Despite what Sophie says, the fighting tradition of capoeira in Leandro's tradition is evident in the practice, as we see from this extract from the fieldnotes:

LeeSpoFN_20151006_JH_006.docx

Leandro took out 2 razors and put them down on the floor, in the middle of the circle. They were old-fashioned steel razors, which folded like a knife. S: Razors were used in capoeira in the 30s and 40s, when capoeira was still illegal. You can't talk about capoeira without talking about these. It was very common that people would carry razors. That's why unlike in jiu-jitsu and other sports which usually end up with people wrestling on the floor, this wouldn't happen in capoeira – because people would take out the razors by then. They would carry them in their shoes, for example.

The sense of community is over-riding for Sophie, however, who talks about language in relation to everything else that capoeira offers her: culture, knowledge, physical activity, and connection. capoeira is central to her life and has contributed hugely to improving her wellbeing and sense of self:

LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002

for me it actually it really helped me to erm to come out of my shell and express 'cause I had I was very angry before and I was I felt very my emotions were overcoming me quite a lot and I needed I knew I needed

sport but I just needed culture and needed knowledge and for me it enabled me to kind of really dive into a culture rich culture and feel at ease and because of all the elements of capoeira it made me feel complete really

Learning Portuguese

Teaching and learning the culture of capoeira goes hand in hand with the presence and the learning of Portuguese. Much of the teaching and learning about the music, integrated with cultural learning, co-exists in the presence of Portuguese, and hence participants are exposed constantly to Portuguese: the teaching and learning of music and exposure to Portuguese are intertwined. For example, the music which always runs alongside the play is often if not always accompanied by singing in Portuguese.

So for the crucial understanding of the songs, participants need access to Portuguese. If you cannot understand the message in the song (in Portuguese) you will not understand what is happening in the play, as this extract from the fieldnotes demonstrates:

LeeSpoFN_20150919_MB_001

The message in the music is work hard to fill the basket, work hard age capoeira and in your life. Keep the pães close....."because when the fox coming, don't take at way, be aware". So this section is about the philosophy and practice of capoeira as a way of confronting life? Awareness very important. Nessa música o mais importante é aprender o português/ in the music the most important thing is to learn Portuguese. If you can translate you get the meaning.

Leandro is certainly highly aware that the inter-relationship between the music (the songs) and their words, and the play itself is inextricable. In his interview he explains how a lack of knowledge of Portuguese can get you into trouble:

LeeSpoInt_20160114_JH_001

If you sing a song, you need to put a fundament on the song, a meaning on that, sending a message to people on the song. A lot of people in these days they get challenged by a singer and they don't know what that means. I come to you and I sing a song to you, you don't really bother of what I'm singing, and I come to the roda and I kick your head. Oh, why did you kick me? I told you I would. How? I sang the song telling you I would, you didn't listen to me, you didn't pay attention on the song. You got beaten.

Leandro regards a knowledge of Portuguese as important and integral; during sessions he is mildly censorious of those who cannot, will not or have not learned it adequately, as this fieldnote extract demonstrates:

LeeSpoFN_20151201_JH_013.docx

We started singing. The first song was: avisa a Maria que eu já tô indo, já já chego lá/ vou matar a saudade antes que ela me mate, pode me esperar [let Maria know I'm coming, I'll be there soon, soon/ I'm going to kill my longing before it kills me, you can expect me]. Leandro was singing the song and we were singing the chorus. Our singing was not too great, it's not an easy

melody (for me at least), it was our first song and there wasn't any strong leading singer in the group.

Maria, who was new, said, laughing – can I make the words up? Leandro looked at her: there are people who've been coming to this group for three years and they still don't know the words!

Leandro values highly the fact that his students in the UK are open to learning capoeira, and indeed dedicated to learning it in its fullness, its culture, its language, not the case – he maintains – with learners in Brazil. He attributes this to the novelty of capoeira in the UK. The centrality of Portuguese in capoeira is in contrast to languages and language use in other martial arts. He maintains for instance that you do not need to know Chinese to practice Kung Fu, or Korean to learn tae kwondo: in capoeira you have to know the language because you have to know what you are singing. He often uses Portuguese when explaining a move or an aspect of technique. He almost always uses Portuguese when speaking to participants from Brazil or Portugal, and sometimes to others as well.

The use of Portuguese is also central to the practice for Sophie: you need to be able to understand the song (in Portuguese) to comprehend the message that you need to calm down. For Sophie the link between the Portuguese language, music and culture is completely self-evident: even before she encountered capoeira she had learned some Portuguese through music and learning the lyrics of songs. She is therefore very sensitive to the fit between the songs and the physical practice: 'you need to learn Portuguese and learn the meaning xxx at least the meaning of those songs so that you don't sing a song that's really completely inappropriate' (LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002).

Portuguese for capoeira: a specialist variety

Sophie also recognises that the repertoire learned in capoeira is limited to that which is relevant to the practice: Portuguese learned through capoeira is essential but is not enough to get by in daily life, there is more to Portuguese than capoeira, and you cannot learn Portuguese 'just by capoeira music' (LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002). In addition the Portuguese learned in capoeira is not standard Portuguese, 'wouldn't be your typical like traditional Portuguese lesson' (LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002). Her early experience with capoeira led to difficulties with her (Portuguese-speaking Brazilian) boyfriend, who originally felt that the Portuguese she was learning was not correct enough, was somehow not valid:

LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002

it wasn't pure Portuguese you know it wasn't it they were lot of mistakes in the songs so his idea was like oh well they're saying this but they're not making and and it's not how it should be said you know

Yet this was the Portuguese she wanted to learn, for interaction within this particular community, for belonging and for aligning with this ecological niche. The notion of authenticity is also relevant here: Sophie's Portuguese is the authentic Portuguese that she needs for the practice of capoeira.

The very specific variety of Portuguese can be seen in the practitioners' nicknames: Leandro is Negoteta- Black Tit, a visitor from a Newcastle club is Mago – Magician. As

noted in the fieldnotes (LeeSpoFN_20150919_JH_005) 'the vocabulary in capoeira is quite specific.' The fieldnotes continue: 'I then talked to Mike and Tiago and the a couple with the nicknames 'Dragao' (Dragon, for his dreadlocks) and Borracha (Rubber, for her flexibility), and their baby-girl.' We have encountered malandragem, the trickery and cunning involved in the play. Tiago himself talks about another type of cunning, and another capoeira-specific term: 'how we say 'mandinga', mandinga's like you need to be very smart erm clever, you know, clever in terms of the important things you can show that person you want, or you are afraid of that person or you want to--, you not, you know, you need focus in yourself and try to smile and try to do that game' (LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001).

The specific nature of the Portuguese being used, and taught/learned explicitly or implicitly, is evident in this extract from the fieldnotes where Leandro is talking to Sophie and Jolana.

LeeSpoFN_20151208_JH_014

Leandro to Sophie: você vem [you come], don't miss the opportunity! Some of the instructions were in PT: cair, chutar o joelho! [fall, kick the knee!] Leandro was showing a technique called 'tomo da ladeira', which he translated as the 'fall of the hill'. 'Hill' is often used as a synonym to favela, which are often located on hills and other areas unfavourable to construction, so I believe the meaning is rather the conquest of the favela. S: It is a very risky one. Leandro demonstrated it – it consists in going towards the opponent's kick, and then using it to sweep the person to the floor. JH: could that person attack you while you are holding them? L: come here and try. There was no chance, Leandro swept me on the floor, luckily I know how to fall safely from karate.

Clearly the development of a very specific linguistic repertoire relating to the moves and music of capoeira is central to a practitioner's success.

Learning languages other than Portuguese

Capoeira's origins are varied, but in their interviews Tiago and Leandro are clear about indexing its African as well as its Brazilian roots. Likewise, although Leandro recognises the importance of knowing (and hence learning) the words of the songs, which are mainly in Portuguese, he does have a nuanced view about the importance of learning Portuguese, and the potential and rationale for learning other languages associated with capoeira, e.g. Yoruba. He is aware that its linguistic heritage likewise derives from a number of sources, including African ones.

LeeSpoInt_20160114_JH_001

Lot of people say you need to learn Portuguese to practise capoeira, you don't need to learn Portuguese, that will help you understand much better the culture if you learn Portuguese, but some others say, oh, you're not a great capoeirista if you don't speak Portuguese. So, you could say the same to him, can you speak French? No. Can you speak Crioulo? Can you speak Yoruba? No. Why should I? Cause the Afro-culture came from all these languages. Some places in Africa speak French, some places they speak Yoruba, some places speak Crioulo, Portuguese. Completely different

languages and they created the capoeira, so why you don't learn their language [...] capoeira, why only Portuguese. Oh, because comes from Brazil, yea, but it was, a lot of masters these days put Yoruba in their capoeira, six songs in Yoruba. If capoeira is so much Brazilian, why is not all in Portuguese?

The traditions and the music of capoeira – what he calls its *elements* – are what he has to pass on. He is rare among capoeira teachers in the UK because he has knowledge of the traditions, which are what practitioners in the UK wish to learn. He also maintains that the rich history and cultural depth of capoeira is associated with other Afro-Brazilian cultural phenomena such as samba and candomblé (*'the religion part of it'*), with which it has links and a shared history.

Sophie too realises that in learning about the culture of capoeira you will encounter languages other than Portuguese:

LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002

you need to learn about the culture and why you know obviously there's there's culture of African culture and there's you know slavery and you sing about quilombos and xxx you sing some songs in Yoruba so it's not just Portuguese, it's a mix, it's it's Brazilian Portuguese with all its erm roots erm in Africa erm so it could be Yoruba it could be a different African languages

In this extract the participants are in a circle, on chairs, as Leandro explains to participants the name and origins of a particular rhythm:

LeeSpoFN_20151208_JH_014.docx

We took the instruments and started playing and singing. I was playing the pandeiro, but I did not know the lyrics of the first song. ... Leandro: 'I'm just thinking why was it that I chose that particular song... it just came to my head.' Sophie then explained (for Angela's sake) that the capoeira songs are often but not always connected to what is going on in the roda (the way the game is played, its rhythm etc). Then only Leandro and Sophie played the berimbau, with others just listening. Leandro: This rhythm is called Gegê. It's actually a variation of a rhythm. Gegê is also the name of a tribe living in Africa. It can also mean 'a foreigner' in Yorubá Portuguese(?).

7 Conclusion

In this case study we have shown how his involvement in capoeira and basketball has impacted on Tiago's life, both growing up in Mozambique and since coming to Leeds as an adult, seeing how they have been crucial to his identity development or ideological becoming. We have presented the history of capoeira and basketball and the dynamics of both activities, which share some similarities as well as notable differences and have gone into some considerable detail as to the cultural backstory of capoeira, less so in the case of basketball. We did this to capture the complex, multi-layered, historicized character of capoeira, which goes alongside the dynamic reaction in the moment which characterizes both capoeira and basketball. We were able to do this through video-recording and analysis of capoeira and basketball sessions. We have shown how for non Portuguese-speaking capoeiristas participation in a capoeira group is an informal immersion not just in the cultural concepts, many of them of African origin, preserved and transmitted in the Afro Brazilian diaspora, but also the Portuguese language. This is both through songs and the terminology of capoeira itself, and the instructional use of Portuguese in capoeira sessions. It is an Afro Brazilian variety whose distinctiveness can often be traced back to Africa. There is an interesting irony in the fact that Tiago, born and raised in Africa, yet through his early life with a feeling of being displaced, among strangers, finds in the diasporic capoeira a community and a discipline that brings him back to himself. It is a commitment which puts him in some ways at odds with the mainstream, represented by his grandfather who wants him to follow the basketball path and get a scholarship to an American university. Through Tiago we get an insight into the role of sport in the making of a life and the role that language plays in that life. At this stage of the TLang project as we suggest above, we are beginning to see many resonances across the cases. Particularly in its capoeira dimension, this case study could easily be taken as a contribution to our heritage theme.

8 Appendices

8.1 Appendix 1 — Field Notes

name	description	length (word count)
LeeSpoFN_20150907_JH_001	chatting to Tiago	192
LeeSpoFN_20150911_JH_002	basketball	3082
LeeSpoFN_20150915_JH_003	capoeira	2207
LeeSpoFN_20150918_JH_004	basketball	1630
LeeSpoFN_20150919_JH_005	capoeira workshop York	3826
LeeSpoFN_20150919_MB_001	capoeira workshop York	1689
LeeSpoFN_20150929_MB_002	capoeira	1386
LeeSpoFn_20150931_MB_003	basketball	946
LeeSpoFN_20151002_JC_001	basketball	4180
LeeSpoFN_20151006_JH_006	capoeira	2538
LeeSpoFn_20151007_JC_002	basketball	1419
LeeSpoFN_20151007_JH_007	basketball	1323
LeeSpoFN_20151009_JH_008	capoeira roda at Tim's	3407
LeeSpoFN_20151014_JH_009	basketball	2161
LeeSpoFN_20151020_JH_010	capoeira	2027
LeeSpoFn_20151028_JC_003	basketball	1367
LeeSpoFN_20151118_JH_011	basketball	1946
LeeSpoFN_20151121_JH_012	conversations with Tiago	663
LeeSpoFN_20151201_JH_013	capoeira	2321
LeeSpoFN_20151208_JH_014	capoeira	1582
LeeSpoFN_20151212_JH_015	capoeira workshop Leeds	2103
LeeSpoFN_20151215_JH_016	capoeira	1659
total		43654

capoeira:	11 sets of FN
basketball:	9 sets of FN
other:	2 sets of FN
total	22 sets of FN

8.2 Appendix 2 — Audio Data

name	description	type	duration	status
sports recordings				
LeeSpoAud_20151014_JH_003	basketball	audio	1:52:25	transcribed (where intelligible)
LeeSpoAud_20151020_JH_004	capoeira	audio	0:46:45	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20151001_JH_005	basketball	audio	0:32:11	3 of 30 mins have sound but unintelligible
LeeSpoAud_20151028_JC_001	basketball	audio	1:14:24	transcribed (where intelligible)
LeeSpoAud_20151118_JH_006	basketball	audio	0:54:00	transcribed (where intelligible)
LeeSpoAud_20151118_JH_007	basketball	audio	0:06:00	transcribed (where intelligible)
LeeSpoAud_20151208_JH_008	capoeira (Angela's visit)	audio	2:02:18	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20151212_JH_009	capoeira workshop	audio	1:49:13	not transcribed, to be analyzed as part of video analysis
LeeSpoAud_20151215_JH_010	capoeira	audio	1:08:29	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20150106_JC_002	basketball. recorded at same time as video: Tiago's recording	audio	1:51:37	transcribed (where intelligible)
LeeSpoAud_20150106_JC_003	Basketball. recorded at same time as video: ambient	audio	1:24:57	transcribed (where intelligible)
total sports audio			13:42:19	

8.3 Appendix 3 — Interview Data

Interviews

LeeSpoInt_20160114_JH_001	interview with Leandro	interview	1:02:06	transcribed (full transcription)
LeeSpoInt_20160412_JH_002	interview with Sophie	interview	0:37:43	transcribed (full transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20150907_JH_001	talking to Tiago in front of Brudenell	interview	0:25:24	transcribed (full transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20150907_JH_002	talking to Tiago in front of Brudenell	interview	0:07:38	transcribed (full transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20151216_JH_011	PRP with Tiago	interview	1:15:36	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20151220_JH_029	talking to people at a dinner at Sophie's house	interview	0:36:44	transcribed
LeeSpoAud_20160205_JH_024	JH talking to B about social media data	interview	0:16:17	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20160205_JH_025	JH talking to B about social media data	interview	1:05:18	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20160229_JH_026	3rd part of PRP with Tiago	interview	1:44:22	transcribed
LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027	audio of the video session with Tiago at the University	interview	1:37:28	transcribed (full transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_028	audio of the video session with Tiago at the University	interview	0:14:24	transcribed
LeeSpoInt_20160416_JC_001	LL interview at Tiago's flat	interview	2:10:27	transcribed (full transcription)
LeeSpoInt_20160421_JC_002	Interview with Patrick at his place of work	interview	1:10:25	transcribed (full transcription)
total interviews			12:23:52	

domestic recordings

LeeSpoAud_20151210_JH_012	Tiago and his daughter	domestic	0:03:40	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20151211_JH_013	Tiago and his daughter	domestic	0:53:18	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20151216_JH_014	a call to a friend in Portuguese	domestic	0:02:09	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20151217_JH_015	a call to a friend in Portuguese	domestic	0:37:51	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20151220_JH_016	talking to a friend in Portuguese	domestic	0:59:18	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20151221_JH_017	a very short audio, noone speaking	domestic	0:01:03	not transcribed (lots of background noise)
LeeSpoAud_20160102_JH_018	short recording, lots of background noise	domestic	0:02:14	not transcribed (lots of background noise)
LeeSpoAud_20160103_JH_019	Tiago and his daughter	domestic	0:29:35	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20160105_JH_020	Tiago's daughter, lots of background noise	domestic	0:02:53	not transcribed (lots of background noise)
LeeSpoAud_20160107_JH_021	Tiago and his daughter	domestic	1:12:33	transcribed (rough transcription)

LeeSpoAud_20160108_JH_022	Tiago and his daughter	domestic	0:09:56	transcribed (rough transcription)
LeeSpoAud_20160109_JH_023	a call to a friend in Portuguese	domestic	0:02:12	transcribed (rough transcription)
total domestic			4:36:42	
total			30:42:53	

8.4 Appendix 4 — Video Data

name	matching FN	description	type	duration
LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_011		capoeira workshop with Mestre Joao	video (capoeira)	0:37:12
LeeSpoVid_20151009_JH_001		the capoeira roda at Tim's studio	video (capoeira)	0:01:23
LeeSpoVid_20151201_MB_001		capoeira class at Burley Community Centre	video (capoeira)	0:00:44
LeeSpoVid_20151201_MB_002		capoeira class at Burley Community Centre	video (capoeira)	0:16:48
LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_003		capoeira workshop with Mestre Joao	video (capoeira)	0:08:37
LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_004		capoeira workshop with Mestre Joao	video (capoeira)	0:06:15
LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_005		capoeira workshop with Mestre Joao	video (capoeira)	0:00:33
LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_006		capoeira workshop with Mestre Joao	video (capoeira)	0:07:31
LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_007		capoeira workshop with Mestre Joao	video (capoeira)	0:05:30
LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_008		capoeira workshop with Mestre Joao	video (capoeira)	0:03:26
LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_009		capoeira workshop with Mestre Joao	video (capoeira)	0:04:09
LeeSpoVid_20151212_MB_010		capoeira workshop with Mestre Joao	video (capoeira)	0:03:46
LeeSpoVid_20160106_JC_001	LeeSpoFn_20160106_JC_004	basketball	video (basketball)	0:53:00
LeeSpoVid_20160106_JC_002	LeeSpoFn_20160106_JC_004	basketball	video (basketball)	1:36:00
	audio:			
LeeSpoVid_20160302_JC_005	LeeSpoAud_20160302_JH_027	workshop with Tiago at the University	video (other)	1:26:03
total				5:30:57

9 References

- Abbott, A.D.A. 2008. *Recreation; or, Life Outside Work*. Leeds: Significant Pursuits Press.
- Abbott, A.D.A. 2012. Radical Resonances: Art, Self-organised Cultural Activity and the Production of Postcapitalist Subjectivity; or, Deferred Self-Inquiry of a Precarious Artworker. Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds.
- Abreu, F.J. 2005. *Capoeiras: Bahia, Século XIX*. Salvador: Instituto Jair Moura.
- Alim, H.S., Ibrahim, A. & Pennycook, A. (eds.) 2008. Global linguistic flows: Hip hop cultures, youth identities, and the politics of language. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Anderson, B. 2006 [1983]. *Imagined Communities*. 4th edition. London: Verso.
- Argyle, M. & Cook, M. 1976. *Gaze and mutual gaze*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Argyle, M. & Dean, J. 1965. Eye contact, distance and affiliation. *Sociometry*. 28, pp.289-304.
- Bakhtin, M. 1981. *The dialogic imagination*. Austin: Univ. Texas Press.
- Baynham, M. & Simpson, J. 2010. Onwards and upwards: Space, Placement and Liminality in Adult ESOL Classes. *TESOL Quarterly* 44(3), pp.420-440.
- Baynham, M., Bradley, J., Callaghan, J., Hanusova, J. & Simpson, J. 2015. Language, Business and Superdiversity in Leeds. *Working Papers in Translanguaging and Translation* (WP. 4). <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tlang/index.aspx>
- Baynham, M., Bradley, J., Callaghan, J., Hanusova, J., Moore, E., & Simpson, J. 2016. Heritage With No Fixed Abode: Transforming Cultural Heritage for Migrant Communities in Inner-City Leeds. *Working Papers in Translanguaging and Translation* (WP 15). <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tlang/index.aspx>
- Blackledge, A., Creese, A., & Hu, R. 2016. Protean heritage, everyday superdiversity. *Working Papers in Translanguaging and Translation* (WP. 13). <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tlang/index.aspx>
- Blommaert, J. 2008. Genre (lecture notes). ESRC Researcher Development Initiative: key concepts and methods in ethnography, language & communication. St. Anne's College, Oxford University. 7-11 July.
- Blommaert, J., Spotti, M., Arnaut, K. & Rampton, B. Introduction: Superdiversity and sociolinguistics. In K. Arnaut, J. Blommaert, B. Rampton & M. Spotti (eds.) *Language and Superdiversity*. New York: Routledge.
- Blommaert, J. 2016. New forms of diaspora, new forms of integration. 3rd February 2016. [Online]. [Last accessed 4th September 2016]. Available from: <https://alternative-democracy-research.org/2016/02/03/new-forms-of-diaspora-new-forms-of-integration/>
- Blommaert, J. & Varis, P. 2015. Enoughness, accent and light communities: Essays on contemporary identities. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies* (139). https://www.academia.edu/13098214/Enoughness_accent_and_light_communities_Essays_on_contemporary_identities
- Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L.J.D. 1992. *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bradley, J. & Simpson, J. (forthcoming) Translanguaging in the contact zone: mobility and immobility in inner-city Leeds. In Horner, K. & J. Dailey-O'Cain (eds). *Multilingualism and (Im)mobilities: Language, Power, Agency*. Multilingual Matters.

- Basketball. *International Journal of Sports Science & Coaching*. 10(4), pp.683-698.
- Britton, P. & Yerger, C.R. 2015. A Boxing-like Round-by-Round Analysis of American College Basketball. *International Journal of Sports Science & Coaching*. 10(4), pp.683-698.
- Bruhns, H. 2000. *Futebol, Carnaval e Capoeira: Entre as Gingas do Corpo Brasileiro*. Campinas: Papirus Editora.
- Busch, B. 2012. The linguistic repertoire revisited. *Applied Linguistics*. 33 (5), pp. 503-523.
- Busch, B. 2015. Linguistic repertoire and *Spracherleben*, the lived experience of language. [online]. *Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies* 148. Available at:
<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/sspp/departments/education/research/ldc/publications/workingpapers/abstracts/WP148-Busch-2015--Linguistic-repertoire-and-Spracherleben,-the-lived-experience-of-language.aspx>.
- Byram, M. 1994 *Teaching and Learning Language and Culture*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Celzik, M. 2012. *Race has nothing to do with NBA's success*. [Online]. Available from:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basketball#cite_ref-51
- Chalfen, R. 2007. *Studying how people look: A viable paradigm for the visual social sciences?* Course Materials: 'Visual Culture in Japan'. Temple University, Japan. May-June 2007.
- Chalfen, R. 2011. Looking two ways: mapping the social scientific study of visual culture. In: Margolis, E. & Pauwels, L. eds. *The Sage Handbook of Visual Research Methods*. London: Sage, pp.24-48.
- Clemente, I. 2013. Conversation analysis and anthropology. In: Sidnell, J. & Stivers, T. eds. *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 598-700.
- Cresswell, T. 2015. *Place: An Introduction* (second edition). Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Da Matta, R. 1991. Carnivals, Rogues and Heroes. An Interpretation of the Brazilian Dilemma. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame.
- Delamont, S. & Stephens, N. 2008. Up on the roof: The embodied habitus of diasporic capoeira. *Cultural Sociology* 2(1), pp.57-74.
- Deumert, A. Forthcoming, 2017. The Multivocality of Heritage – Moments, Encounters and Mobilities. In Blackledge, A. et al., (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Superdiversity*. London: Routledge.
- Downey, G., Dalidowicz, M. & Mason, P.H. 2015. Apprenticeship as method: embodied learning in ethnographic practice. *Qualitative Research*, 15 (2), 183-200.
- Drew, P. & Heritage, J. 1992. *Talk at work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duranti, A. 2009. The relevance of Husserl's theory to language socialization. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*. 19 (2), 205-226.
- Eagleman, D. 2015. *The Brain*. Edinburgh, London: Canongate.
- Erickson, F. 2004. *Talk and Social Theory: Ecologies of Speaking and Listening in Everyday Life*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- ESPN. 2016. *NBA Player Salaries - 2016-2017*. [Online]. [Accessed 22 August 2016]. Available from: <http://www.espn.com/nba/salaries>
- Evans, B. & Fitzgerald, R. 2016. 'It's training man'! Membership categorization and the institutional moral order of basketball training. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 36 (2), pp. 205-223.

- Exline, R. & Fehr, B.J. 1982. The assessment of gaze and mutual gaze. In: K. R. Scherer & P. Ekman (eds.) *Handbook of Methods in Nonverbal Behaviour Research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Farrar, M. 1981. (aka Paul Holt) Riot and revolution: The politics of an inner city. *Revolutionary Socialism, the journal of Big Flame*. Winter 1981-2.
- Farrar, M. 2002. *The Struggle for 'Community' in a British Multi-ethnic Inner-city Area*. Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellon Press.
- Freyre, G. 1986: *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- García, O. & Li Wei. 2014. *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Garfinkel, H. & Sacks, H. 1970. On formal structures of practical action. In McKinney, J. C. & Edward A. Tiryakian, E. A. eds., *Theoretical sociology: perspectives and developments*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, pp. 338-366.
- Garfinkel, H. 1964. Studies in the routine grounds of everyday activities. *Social Problems*, 11 (3), pp. 225 – 250.
- Garfinkel, H. 1967. *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Goffman, E. 1997 [1974]. Frame analysis. In: C. Lemert & A. Branaman (eds.) *The Goffman Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp.149-166.
- Goldstein, S. 1994. *The basketball Coach's Bible*. Philadelphia, PA: Golden Aura Publishing.
- Goodwin, Charles (1977/1981). *Conversational Organization: Interaction Between Speakers and Hearers*. New York: Academic Press.
- Goodwin, C. 1980. Restarts, pauses, and the achievement of mutual gaze at turn-beginning. *Sociological Enquiry*. 50 (3-4), 272-302.
- Goodwin, C. 1994. Professional vision. *American Anthropologist*. 96 (3), 603-633.
- Goodwin, C. 1995. Seeing in depth. *Social Study of Sciences*. 25, pp.237-274.
- Goodwin, M.H. & Goodwin, C. 2000. Emotion within Situated Activity. In: Duranti, A. ed. *Linguistic Anthropology: A Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Grasseni, C. 2007. Looking good: Learning to be a cattle breeder. In: Grasseni, C. ed. *Skilled Visions*. Oxford: Berghahn.
- Haddington, P., Mondada, L. & Neville, M. 2013. Being Mobile: Interaction on the Move. In Haddington, P., Mondada, L. & Neville, M. eds. *Interaction and Mobility: Language and the Body in Motion*. De Gruyter, Berlin and New York, pp.3-64.
- Hall, E.T. 1982[1969]. *The Hidden Dimension*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Hall, E.T. 1990[1959]. *The Silent Language*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Hazel, S. (forthcoming). Mapping the landscape - developing multilingual norms in a transient project community. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*.
- Heritage, J. 1984. *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ingold, T. 2016[2007]. *Lines. A Brief History*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Jessop, A. 2012. *The Surge of the NBA's International Viewership and Popularity*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.forbes.com/sites/aliciajessop/2012/06/14/the-surge-of-the-nbas-international-viewership-and-popularity/#37cef2df7369>
- Jewitt, C. 2009a. Different approaches to multimodality. In: Jewitt, C. ed. *Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 28-39.
- Jewitt, C. 2009b. An introduction to multimodality. In: Jewitt, C. ed. *Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 14-27.
- Keevallik, L. 2013. Here in time and space: Decomposing movement in dance instruction. In P. Haddington, L. Mondada & M. Neville (eds.) *Interaction and*

- Mobility: Language and the Body in Motion*. De Gruyter, Berlin and New York, pp. 345-370.
- Kendon, A. 1967. Some functions of gaze-direction in social interaction. *Acta Psychologica*. 26, 22-63.
- Kendon, A. 1978. Looking in conversation and the regulation of turns at talk: a comment on the papers of G. Beattie & D. R. Rutter et al. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*. 17, pp.23-24.
- Kraay, H. *Afro-Brazilian culture and politics : Bahia, 1790s to 1990s*. London: M.E. Sharpe.
- Kress, G. & van Leeuwen, T. 2001. *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Lan Hing Ting, K., Voilmy, D., Büscher, M. & Hemment, D. 2013. The sociality of stillness. In P. Haddington, L. Mondada & M. Neville (eds.) *Interaction and Mobility: Language and the Body in Motion*. De Gruyter, Berlin and New York, pp.371-408.
- Lapchick, R. & Guiao, A. 2015. *The Racial and Gender Report Card: Natiational Basketball Association*. [Online]. Available from: <http://nebula.wsimg.com/6e1489cc3560e1e1a2fa88e3030f5149?AccessKeyId=DAC3A56D8FB782449D2A&disposition=0&alloworigin=1>
- Lave, J. & Wenger, E. 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lefebvre, H. 1991. The Production of Space (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.). Oxford, England: Blackwell. (Original work published in 1974)
- Lemke, J. 2000. Across the scales of time: Artifacts, activities, and meanings in ecosocial systems. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*. 7 (4), 273-290.
- Madsen, L. 2008. Un Deux Trois – Speak English! Young Taekwondo-Fighters’ Identity Constrcution Through Linguistic Competition. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 5 (3), 197-216.
- Mamigonian, B.G. *The Human Tradition in the Black Atlantic*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Mauss, M. 1979 [1950] ‘Body Techniques’, in M. Mauss *Sociology and Psychology: Essays*, 97–123. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- McRobbie, A. 2016. *Be Creative*. Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press.
- Merrell, F. 2007. *Capoeira and Candomblé: Conformity and Resistance through Afro-Brazilian Experience*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.
- Mondada, L. 2008. Using video for a sequential and multimodal analysis of social interaction: Videotaping institutional telephone calls. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 9 (3). <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/viewArticle/1161/2566>
- NBA. 2015. *NBA rosters feature 100 international players for second straight season*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.nba.com/2015/news/10/27/nba-rosters-feature-100-international-players/>
- Norris, S. 2003. Multimodal discourse analysis: a conceptual framework. In: Levine, P. & Scollon, R. eds. *Discourse and Technology: Multimodal Discourse Analysis*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Norris, S. 2009. Modal density and modal configurations: Multimodal actions. In: Jewitt, C. ed. *Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis*. Oxford: Routledge, pp.78-90.
- Norris, S. & Jones, R.H. 2005. Introducing mediated action. In: Norris, S. & Jones, R.H. eds. *Discourse in Action*. London, New York: Routledge, 17-19.

- Otheguy, R., García, O. & Reid, W. 2015. Clarifying translanguaging and deconstructing named languages: A perspective from linguistics. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 6 (3), 281-307.
- Psathas, G. 1995. *Conversation Analysis: The Study of Talk-in-Interaction*. California: Sage.
- Rampton, B., Tusting, K., Maybin, J., Barwell, R., Creese, A. & Lytra, V. 2004. *UK Linguistic Ethnography Forum: A Discussion Paper*. Available at <http://www.lingethnog.org/docs/rampton-et-al-2004-uk-linguistic-ethnography-a-discussion-paper/>
- Russell, B. 1967[1912]. *The Problems of Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ryave, L. & Schenkein, J. N. 1974. Notes on the art of walking. In Turner, R. ed. *Ethnomethodology*. Middlesex: Penguin Education, 265- 274.
- Ryle, G. 1949. *The Concept of Mind*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Sacks, H. & Schegloff, E. A. 1971/2002. Home position. *Gesture*, 2, 133-146.
- Sacks, H. 1992 *Lectures on conversation*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A. & Jefferson, G. 1974. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language*, 50 (4), 696-735.
- Schegloff, E.A. 2007. *Sequence Organization in Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scollon, R. 2005. The rhythmic integration of action and discourse: Work, the body and the earth. In: S. Norris & R. H. Jones eds. *Discourse in Action*. London, New York: Routledge, 20-31.
- Scollon, R. & Scollon, S.W. 2007. Nexus analysis: Refocusing ethnography on action. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. 11 (5), 608-625.
- Seedhouse, P. 2005. *The Interactional Architecture of the Language Classroom*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Snell, J., Copland, F., & Shaw, S. 2015. *Linguistic Ethnography: Interdisciplinary Explorations*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Steffensen, S. V. 2011. Beyond mind: An extended ecology of language. In S. J. Cowley (ed.), *Distributed Language*, 185-210. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Stroud, C. 2015. Multilingualism as an Utopian Project. Plenary lecture delivered at the WUN Meeting Multilingualism and Mobilities/ Understanding Globalization, Cape Town 15-16 October 2015.
- ten Have, P. 2002. The notion of member is the heart of the matter: On the role of membership knowledge in ethnomethodological inquiry. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 3 (3). <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/834/1813>
- Tsolidis, G. 2008. The (im)possibility of poststructuralist ethnography – researching identities in borrowed spaces. *Ethnography and Education*. 3 (3), = 271-281.
- Turner, V. 1969. *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.
- Vertovec, S. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 30 (6), 1024-1054.
- Vertovec, S. et al. 2006. *The emergence of super-diversity in Britain*. Oxford Centre on Migration, Policy & Society.
- Wacquant, L. 2004. *Body and Soul*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wainwright, S.P., Williams, C. & Turner, B.S. 2006. Varieties of habitus and the embodiment of ballet. *Qualitative Research*, 6 (4), 381–397.
- Wenger, E. 1998. *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Wertsch, J.V. 1998. *Mind as Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wills, J. 2012. The geography of community and political organisation in London today. *Political Geography*, 31, 114-126.
- Zucker, J. 2016. *2016 NBA Draft Sets Record for Most International Players Selected in 1st Round*. [Online]. [Accessed 22 October 2016]. Available from:
<http://bleacherreport.com/articles/2648221-2016-nba-draft-sets-record-for-most-international-players-selected-in-1st-round>

Online sources informing Chapter 6

- <http://capoeira-cecab.eu/capoeira/contemporary-capoeira/>
- http://www.unesco.org/new/en/brasilia/about-this-office/single-view/news/capoeira_becomes_intangible_cultural_heritage_of_humanity/