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

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Paper 25

Movement in the city: An overview of sports case studies

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1. Introduction

This working paper provides an overview of the sports phase of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funded project, ‘Translation and Translanguaging: Investigating Linguistic and Cultural transformations in superdiverse wards in four UK cities’ (abbreviated as TLANG, Grant Reference No. AHRC/AH/L007096/1). The overarching research questions of the project concern how people communicate in increasingly diverse urban settings, and what the implications are for policy and practice in public, private and third sector organisations. Specific to the sports phase, we have explored the following three sets of questions around communication, people and culture:

1. What are communicative practices in sports? We are interested in the following questions:
 - What aspects of communication are foregrounded in sports?
 - Do different types of sports demand different communicative strategies?
 - How do these communicative practices contribute to features associated with sports and leisure activities (such as competitiveness, masculinity, international conventions vs local and cultural contextualisations) which in turn orient participants to particular ways of communication?
 - How are culture- or language-specific terms translated or maintained, and why? How are cultural values and philosophical beliefs of sports ‘filtered’ through the way language(s) are handled and practices are carried out?
2. How are people transformed through sports? What opportunities do sports bring to people? What are barriers, if any, for participation and transformation?
3. What implications does our understanding of sports-specific ways of communication and its transformative power have for policy and practice?

These questions are partly shaped by conversations with our non-academic partner, Sporting Equals, a UK-based charity promoting ethnic diversity in sport and physical activity, in the early stage of project planning, and through collaboration with the project interdisciplinary sports phase advisor, Janice L. Thompson, who specialises in public health nutrition and exercise and provides considerable input to the project. According to the Council of Europe (1992: article 2) sport is “all forms of physical activity which, through casual or organised participation, aim at expressing or improving physical fitness and well-being, forming social relationships, or obtaining results in competition at all levels.”

Our research design investigated four key participants, and their extensive networks. These participants were players and coaches, and between them were involved in the following sports and games: basketball, capoeira, football, karate, table tennis, and volleyball. These took place across the contexts of an inner city Leeds gym and community hall, two London community centres, a Birmingham university/city gym and the playing fields and parks of urban Cathays, Cardiff. The key participants worked with particular communities and age groups. They included an Arabic-speaking Sudanese football coach in Cardiff, and a London karate coach who drew on his Roma Polish background to attract children to learn karate. However, his classes were open to all young people in the neighbourhood, and represented the full demographic complexity of inner-city London. In Birmingham and Leeds the sporting activities of volleyball, capoeira and basketball attracted players from across the globe. In Birmingham the volleyball coach, Joe, worked with a volleyball team whose players came from 10 countries. While in Leeds a capoeira player, Tiago, was part of a class which attracted participants from around the world, and a basketball team where social, ethnic, and racial diversity was the norm.

A variable common to each player/coach was a biography of migration, and a language repertoire which extended beyond English to a number of languages. These included Arabic, Cantonese, Changana, Japanese, Mandarin, Maputo, Polish, Romani, Ronga, Portuguese. While these languages were spoken with varying levels of proficiency and varying degrees of use during sporting activity, they were clearly resources to draw on for connecting, teaching, and extending skills. While English was always the primary language of instruction, communication and involvement, having access to additional linguistic resources served as an important tool for involvement and engagement. Indeed in three of the contexts, namely Cardiff, Leeds, and London, access to Arabic, Portuguese and Polish were important as they blended with English in each of the classes for pedagogy and recreation. We term this form of communication ‘translanguaging’, as it involved communicating across demarcated language boundaries (e.g. English and Polish, English and Portuguese, English and Arabic) in ways which responded to, and reflected, local communicative practices. In these multilingual settings in which sport was the primary activity, ‘translanguaging’ provided a form of communication to teach new skills and enjoy leisure. It was a dimension of the multilingual realities of people’s lives.

2. Summaries of case studies

2.1 Birmingham

The KP in the Birmingham case study, Joe, has multiple roles. Based in Birmingham and in his late 30s, Joe owns a hair and beauty salon, coaches a volleyball team and plays for another team. Originally from Hong Kong, he arrived in the UK to attend boarding school at the age of 14. He started playing volleyball while he was studying for a university degree and later took up coaching in Birmingham. He speaks Cantonese, Mandarin and English. His team is highly multicultural and multilingual, consisting of players from a variety of countries and areas and with different lengths of stay in the UK.

The case study applies the notion of translanguaging to understand communication on the volleyball court and by doing so, further theorises and expands the notion. It argues that translanguaging is more than a communicative practice. It is an ideological orientation to engagement with others in changing space. It is a way of being and encountering. It constitutes the process of becoming a team and the mechanism of maintaining and developing social relations of the team. In addition to its ideological and relational dimension, translanguaging is embodied communicative practice. Through the coach's showing and telling, it serves as a resource for teaching. Players communicate and engage with each other through their bodies beyond the verbal. Translanguaging is contingent on space. Inscribed, i.e. physically marked space on the volley court commands bodies, prescribes gestures, routes and distances to be covered. Other notions that the case study has employed in analysing the data are ritual and rhythm.

The game is played out in ritual practice. It is communal; it abides by set rules and practices which must be undertaken at specific times and in a set order; it occurs in a limited time and space which is free from the normative social structure. And the social order of the volleyball court relies on rhythm. Not one rhythm, but multiple rhythms, all different but interwoven, all in play. The analysis considers the players as they become a team, developing their knowledge and understanding of each other through a rhythm of becoming. The focus of analysis is on the coach, and the repetitive structures of teaching and learning, encouragement and reward, organization and instruction, evaluation and sympathy. A salient dimension of activity on the volleyball court is the rhythm of the players' movement as they jump and dive, block and retrieve, raise arms aloft in celebration and shrug with disappointment. In volleyball, as in other sports, there is no separation of verbal and non-verbal, or embodied

and non-embodied communicative acts. They are integral to each other, rely on each other, and are complementary. The repetition of small rituals and ceremonies oils the wheels of social interaction, as the coaches and players praise and reward, encourage and chastise, support and tease. All this takes place in time and space, in cyclical and linear rhythm.

The Birmingham sports case study is available on the project website as

WP 19. Blackledge, A., Creese, A., and Hu, R. (2017). Translanguaging, Volleyball and Social Life (<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tlang/documents/translanguaging-volleyball-and-social-life.pdf>)

2.2 Cardiff

The Cardiff case study features a KP, Ahmad, who originally hailed from Sudan and has also lived in Holland before coming to Wales. Ahmad is passionate about sport, particularly its benefits in promoting health and social cohesion. He organises his time in Wales around a number of part-time jobs and volunteering all involving sports coaching. In his free time he also regularly attends a gym. He lobbies for support for sports in Sudan whenever the opportunity arises. The observation took place in three locations and two sports, football and table tennis. These are: a football class attended by pupils of 6 to 11, during the school day in a small park in the Splott area of Cardiff; a weekend football club which involved boys of 6 to 16 playing during their leisure time in a large park in Roath; and a table tennis site in the Butetown area of the city at a Friday night youth club for local teenagers. In the various locations, within our dataset, English, Dutch and Arabic with a little Welsh were used by the participants.

The report organises its analysis according to two broad themes: interactional and multimodal themes. It examines and compares the interactional accomplishment of a range of high-level and local practices across the two football sites. These include disciplining and encouragement, the delivery of tasks and instructions on their accomplishment, the allocation of roles and team memberships as well as the negotiation and constructions of expertise. The interactional analysis also scrutinises the coach's use of players' names and of set phrases (such as "what a goal"), providing a different vantage point on some of the practices examined above by using specific linguistic practices as the point of departure, rather than the consequences or framings of these practices. This interactional angle shows how communicative practices grounded in translanguaging facilitate participation and the way that the work of this facilitation is spread across players and not confined only to the coach.

Under the multimodal themes, the report considers the communicative use of space by the coach who accomplishes different interactional tasks in different spaces on the sports pitch and around the table-tennis table. In doing so, the report considers the way that various spatial arrangements come to hold communicative currency for the players over time. The use of space by the clubs' players, while they are responding to the coach's instructions, could potentially erode his power. The report explores this dynamic, across different training sessions. The case study also finds that the number of players present at particular sessions influenced the talk and activities at those sessions. It indicates the vitality and flexibility of multimodal practices in children's sports training. The matter of the volume of talk also proved to be relevant to this aspect of the report and in including it here the Cardiff team problematises the boundaries of multimodal analysis. In this section of the report too, some of the physical rituals of play are explored. For example, the celebration and commiseration as goals were scored were frequently highly physical and included some of the only instances of deliberate touching in the site.

2.3 Leeds

The Leeds team worked with Tiago as their KP. Born in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, Tiago, aged 30, has lived in Leeds for several years at the time of data collection. Tiago is a speaker of multiple languages including Ronga and Changana (the local languages in Maputo), Portuguese (the language of education there) and English, which he started learning as an adult. As a child, Tiago was sent to live in a strict Muslim household and started playing basketball as his first sport as 'an excuse to go out and hang out with friends'. He received mixed reactions from his family. While the family he was living with did not approve his involvement in sports, his grandfather saw it as a chance to become a professional player and to move to the United States. At the age of fourteen, he discovered capoeira, a martial art that combines dance, acrobatics and music, through a cousin and started training, using basketball as a disguise, 'hiding his practice of capoeira in a similar way to the slaves in Brazil in colonial times'. He tried to convince his family that capoeira was a traditional dance, not violent. He persevered with capoeira practice and it was through capoeira, he met his future wife who was working in Mozambique as a volunteer. They decided to move together to Leeds and start a family. On arrival in Leeds, Tiago looked for places to practise both basketball and capoeira as a way of providing continuity and adapting to a new place. He joined a basketball team in the Mandela Centre in Chapeltown, Leeds, and started capoeira training with Leandro who runs capoeira classes.

The observation of one KP in two sports gives the case study a dual focus. The report offers rich insights into dynamic interaction of visual, verbal and embodied action in capoeira, and the synchronisation of time and space in basketball. Apart from multimodal analysis, it explores another important analytical notion, i.e. schema. Various referred to as frames, and scripts, the terms such as schema, anti-schema and super-schema prove useful in understanding how goal-oriented actions in basketball and capoeira are coordinated, disrupted and embraced.

One KP and two sports also offer an interesting comparative dimension. There are different philosophies, opportunities and affordances of the activities: for example, capoeira downplays competitiveness by emphasising respectfulness, while players train both cooperative and competitive skills in basketball; Capoeira provides ample opportunities for learning Portuguese, while there was no such obvious equivalent in basketball, although there are plenty of technical terms that players need to familiarise themselves. The rhythms of the two games are different too: in capoeira, the rhythm is controlled through the music - the cyclical, trance-like rhythm created by not only instruments but also singing, clapping and bodies. Basketball is episodic consisting of a series of attacks and defence in matches and the stages of warming-up, practice and strategy setting in the lead up to an actual game. It is interesting to see how Tiago copes with differences between the two sports. He tries to bring non-conflictive elements of capoeira into basketball, but he finds it difficult to align himself with the competitive team spirits.

The Leeds sports case study is available on the project website as

WP22. Baynham, M., Bradley, J., Callaghan, J., Hanusova, J., Moore, E., and Simpson, J. (2017). Transformations through Sport: The Case of Capoeira and Basketball (<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tlang/documents/transformations-through-sport.pdf>).

2.4 London

The London team observed a karate coach, SK, in two venues. The KP, Sensei SK, was born into a Polish Roma family. He started learning karate in his teens in Poland and is now a 6th Dan (rank) karate coach teaching in karate clubs in London. He speaks Polish, Polish Romani and English and is highly proficient in specialised Japanese karate terms. The participants in the two karate clubs speak a variety of languages. In both venues, SK makes use of a range of linguistic and semiotic repertoires, including multiple languages and embodied

communication. In going about communication, he assigns different functions to different languages and at the same time, is adept at mobilising and blending his linguistic and non-linguistic resources in communication. He has tried and tested strategies to make up his English inadequacy through using ‘simple’ words, embodying instructions, and translation.

Similar to the Cardiff and Leeds reports, one KP and two venues give the London case study a comparative dimension. In both venues, multiple languages are used in coaching but for different purposes: the use of Japanese is limited to performativity and rituals and, along with white karate gi (karate uniform), hierarchy of ranks, kneeling and bowing, is part of the discourse that ‘Japanises’ the karate practices. In contrast, Polish, English and other linguistic and semiotic forms are used collaboratively as languages of instruction, elaboration, disciplines or information. However, the study finds that the roles and status of the same languages can vary significantly according to the context. In one venue where SK has a greater sense of ownership, he has the tendency to use more Polish rather than English to discipline, explain, feedback, correct, inform and build a good rapport with the children. Romani is used not just as a convenient choice for SK and his assistant to keep their conversation to themselves, but a symbol of solidarity and shared heritage. In the other venue where SK is one of several coaches, English is used predominantly as language of management and organisation. The study also finds that the hierarchy and karate expertise are entangled with one’s linguistic expertise. SK’s competence in specialised Japanese karate terms cements his status and authority as the most senior karate coach. However, he finds himself ‘downgraded’ in one club as his command of English is considered insufficient.

The London sports case study report is available on the website as

WP 20. Zhu, H., Li, W., & Jankowicz-Pytel, D. (2017). Translating Culture in Multilingual Karate Clubs

(<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tlang/documents/translating-culture-in-multilingual-karate-clubs.pdf>)

3. Methodology

The TLANG project employs linguistic ethnography as an umbrella methodology and epistemology, as discussed in the first Working paper in Translanguaging and Translation by Creese, Baynham & Trehan (2016). As an emergent research method, Linguistic ethnography is an interpretive approach to studying the local and immediate actions of actors from their

point of view, and to examining how these interactions are embedded in wider social contexts and structures (Copland & Creese, 2015). Combining linguistics and ethnography helps researchers to ‘open up’ linguistic analysis through embracing messiness of ethnography and to ‘tie down’ ethnographic insights through an orientation towards small instances of everyday life and access to a wide range of linguistic analytical tools (Rampton, et al. 2004). Beyond these direct advantages resulting from a meeting of two different orientations, what makes linguistic ethnography particularly appealing is that it sees interactions as social actions, shaping the context while at the same time being shaped by the context. Thus it ‘links the micro to the macro, the small to the large, the varied to the routine, the individual to the social, the creative to the constraining, and the historical to the present and to the future (Copland & Creese, 2015, p.8).

For the sports phase, we followed the same approach as the previous business and heritage phases. Rather than using topic-oriented ethnography (see Shaw, Copland and Snell, 2015), we adopted key participant-oriented approach, i.e. observing the key participants’ practices in everyday life with a focus on, but not limited to, their engagement in a chosen sport. Our observation is not tied to a place and a time but rather focuses on where and when the KP turns up to practice his sports. We shadowed, observed and participated in their everyday practices when accessible. The Leeds team followed their KP from capoeira to basketball. The Cardiff and London teams chose three and two sites, respectively, where their KPs coach and observed different dynamics in two sites. The Birmingham team collected data from two teams, one coached by their KP and the other in which their KP is a player. We have encouraged the KPs to share social media data (the topic of which may or may not be related to sports) and to record communication at home at a time of their choice without researchers’ presence.

Searching for key participants (KPs) who can work with us (observation, recording) took time and required perseverance, and a bit of luck. The Leeds team found their KP through the Research Fellow Jolana’s social network. They have common friends and Jolana had seen him perform capoeira at a Latin-American themed festival in Leeds. The team found out later that Tiago also played basketball on a regular basis. The London team has got to know their KP through the contacts they have established in the business phase two years before the data collection. They were invited to an annual event in which their KP led a karate demonstration with a group of children. During that event, their KP’s portrait as part of ‘Outsiders in London’ project was on display. Li Wei’s hunch at that time was that the coach would be an

ideal KP for their case study. Two years later, the coach remained the most feasible choice. The team found out later that he also coaches in other venues, in addition to the club where he works as a sole, and subsequently secured access to a West London venue. The Birmingham team found their KP through Angela Creese. One of Angela's PhD graduates, Ildegrada da Costa Cabral, was a coach at the university volleyball club. The club was open to non-student members from the local community, as well as to students of the university. Ildegrada introduced the researchers to Joe Ng. Joe was coach of another team in the club, and also a player in Ildegrada's team. Joe was very willing to participate as KP in the research project. The research team observed him as he coached volleyball on Friday evenings, and as he played in Ildegrada's team on Sunday evenings. The research team observed him at work in his city centre hair and beauty business on several occasions. Joe's involvement in the project extended to speaking as a member of a panel at the project's Network Assembly event, participating in analysis of data, and taking a short course in research practice. Looking back, what underlines our working relationship with our KPs is the trust and common ground that developed and emerged during the contact. The Cardiff team met their KP very early in the Tlang project. Research Fellow Amal Hallak met Ahmad when she was searching for a business KP in the first few weeks of the research. She kept in touch with him during the subsequent months. The Cardiff team also bumped into Ahmad during their business fieldwork. This happened once when he came into the Business site, a shop, to buy food whilst we were observing on a Friday and once when the research team were not present but where the business KP was video-recording. The Cardiff team found it quite strange to look back at their business data and see the sports and business KPs unwittingly in conversation. The business KP also told Amal that Ahmad asked him about his experience of the project before agreeing to take part, indicating the importance of social networks to our work and the importance of building strong relationships with KPs.

In an attempt to make 'the strange familiar' (Hymes, 1996, pp.4-5) and the familiar strange, the teams tried out different ways of embedding themselves as participant observers in doing linguistic ethnography. Some team members (Jolana and Mike from the Leeds team with capoeira, Daria and Zhu Hua from the London team with karate and Frances and Amal in Cardiff with both table tennis and softball which was a "wet weather activity" at one of the Cardiff football sites) took part in the sports and experienced practices from a dual learner/researcher perspectives. Defining this kind of participation as 'apprenticeship' after Downey, Dalidowicz & Mason, (2015), the Leeds reports reflected on how the different

depths of engagement provided an emic perspective, one that deepened as the fieldwork progressed. For the London team, becoming a student legitimatises the researcher's place of observation from a corner of the training hall to an active zone of participation. For the Cardiff team, participation facilitated a new understanding of the functionality of encouragement and instructions and a new perspective on the diverse responses to such talk. The opportunity to participate also enabled the team to experience first-hand the coach's passion for involving people in sports.

A novel methodological development occurred in the Cardiff team under the influence of the KP. Charged with audio-recording naturally occurring data in the home and in other social environments, he began to interview his social and professional contacts about the place of sport in their lives often as new arrivals in Wales. His work on this aspect of the project was independent. It evidenced his creativity and engagement with the project and produced valuable additional interview data which would not otherwise have been accessible to the team. His selection of interviewees and the questions he asked also provided a vantage point on the Cardiff's project. "I love it", Ahmad told us of this aspect of the research.

In reporting, which is an important component of ethnography just as looking, asking, and recording, reflecting and comparing (Hymes, 1980), the Birmingham team took on the challenges of trying out a new approach. Conventional ethnography reports distinguish field notes (the observer's voices) from the interview data (the participant's voices), and acknowledge multiplicity of voices within the same category of data (who noted or said what). However, these are the very boundaries that the Birmingham case study report tries to delineate, as the conventional way of reporting presupposes an established hierarchy, one 'privileges scholarly text above field notes and field notes above interview transcripts'. In order to flatten the hierarchy, the Birmingham report adopts a seamless format in presenting the data. The texts are not broken up to acknowledge the sources. No quotation marks are used around interview data or the quotes from the literature. The data are weaved into the researchers' comments and interpretation. The report has become a collection of stories which are told from the perspective of 'I'.

Compared with the previous business and heritage phases, there are challenges specific to the sports phase. One of them is recording, including the quality issue of recording when there are constant movements, running and jumping; the safety issue of wearing an audio recorder in sports; and the position and coverage of cameras. The working arrangements are: a portable voice recorder is Velcro taped or attached to the KP's clothes or placed in a

specialised pouch worn by players if it is safe to do so; audio and video recording are both used when possible. In Leeds, two cameras were placed at the opposite side of the basketball court; in London, the KP tucked the audio recorder inside his karate gi (costume) just above the belt and pinned the microphone close to the chest. In Birmingham, the microphone was clipped to the coaches' clothes at the neck. Although the players' voices were often indistinct, the microphone was able to pick up the coaches' voice clearly. A video camera was introduced later to allow the researchers to capture physical actions. In Cardiff a hand-held video recorder enabled the researchers to focus the subsequent viewer/analyst's attention strategically as they followed players around the pitch sometimes getting caught up in the game quite physically. There too, multiple players wore audio-recorders along with the coach, which allowed access both to the main thrust of the business of sport but also to the "backstage" conversations of the boys. The biggest challenge when transcribing was the clanging of the coach's whistle on the recorder and the rapid shifts in volume of talk.

A summary of the data collected during the sports phase is provided below in Table 1.

	Sports			
	B'ham	Cardiff	Leeds	London
Fieldnotes (no. & words)	30 76,000	40 67,953	22 43,654	23 45,997
Video/film (no. hrs/mins)	8:00	12:00	4:04	4:19
Audio (no. hrs/mins)	8:00	61:00	18:18	28:25
Interviews (no. hrs/mins)	12 5:00	2 2:00	10 12:23	8 5:19
Photos	400	728	82	446

Table 1 Summary of data in the Sports phase

4. Communications in sports

Sports are about the body and body movement. Communicating in sports relies on embodiment. In the capoeira roda (circle), gestures and body movements are essential for establishing the order of actions and to communicate respect. Some of them follow an established pattern and become part of 'rituals' (see below). For example, shaking hands before the play to emphasise the non-competitive nature of the game; holding hands while

waiting to start the capoeira; stretching out hand towards the centre with the palm facing a player to seek the permission to replace the player; hugging before leaving the roda.

Embodied communication, or in other words, showing, is essential to coaching. On the volleyball court, Joe shows and demonstrates as much as telling. He shows the correct ways of serving, digging, or passing the balls while talking these through. His embodied communication intermeshes with his spoken instructions and commentaries. Similarly, in the karate training hall, SK blended embodied and verbal repertoires in coaching. His embodied repertoires include touching, hand-holding, head movement, pointing and eye contact. To move children into their spots, he puts his arms around their shoulders, holds their hands, points at the floor, establishes eye contact, nods at them and gestures at them. These different repertoires are seamlessly integrated: assigning a number to the students takes place at the same time as he walks them to the right spots and he says 'like this' before he gives demonstration.

Interactions and practices in sports are highly ritualised, both in narrow and broader definition of rituals. Rituals are 'prescribed formal behaviours' and 'having reference to belief in mystical beings or powers' as defined, in its narrow sense, by Turner (1982). But rituals are not just confined to traditions and religions. Common activities can be 'ritualised' as flexible and strategic ways of acting (Bell, 2009). Goffman's interaction rituals (1956/1967) foreground the symbolic implications of interactions and extend the analytical power of rituals to everyday conversations. Seeing sports interactions and practices through 'rituals' help us to understand many aspects of activities in training halls, sports centres and courts. In the karate clubs in London, we saw ceremonial, embodied opening rituals, in which karateka, in their white gi (karate costume), kneeled down and gave three deep bows, firstly to the portrait of the master, secondly the coach and thirdly to each other. These rituals are highly elaborate and 'traditionalised' (Bell, 1997). They evoke a sense of traditions and possibly, some degree of mystical aura. In capoeira, the roda constitutes a ritual circle linking combat to ancestor worship (Assunção, 2004). There are ritualised 'games within the game' (Assunção, 2004, p.111), such as 'chamada', best translated as 'calls', combining performative and formalised dimensions of rituals. In this subroutine, one player 'calls' the other player through one of the conventional poses (e.g. the gesture). The called player then gives a solo performance before coming closer to the caller. While 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. On the volleyball court and the football pitch,

we saw ritualist celebration in matches. Players' ritualistic clapping and chanting transformed the space from time to time. The end of the match is marked by ritual courtesy.

Language(s) play an important role in sports. Each sports and activities have their own specialised terms. In volleyball, there are terms such as serve, dig, set, spike, block, etc. In karate, the names of various stances, moves and commands are available in Japanese: for example, *mosubi dachi* for heels together / feet apart stance, *age uki* for upper block. In capoeira, Brazilian Portuguese are used for key terms and commands: *malandragem* for cunning; *meia-lua* for spinning kick; *ginga* for swing movement. In football, highly repetitive pseudo-technical terms interwove with sophisticated naming practices which had elements of the terminological in their connotations. Learning these terms is an integral part of learning the sports concerned. Mastery of the specialised terms becomes a marker of expertise. Elsewhere, Bergh & Ohlander (in press) discuss the potential of football language as a resource, connecting people and cutting across traditional sociolinguistic concepts such as speech community. Drawing a parallel argument here, language of sports can contribute to the sense of sharedness and belonging among participants and create a community of practice (Wenger, 1998). In the case of 'culturally transmitted' sports such as karate or capoeira, specialised or formulaic Japanese or Brazilian Portuguese terms are often part of rituals and serve the ceremonial purpose of rituals. They remind participants of the origins of these sports and convey a combined sense of authenticity and exoticness.

Communicative features specific to each sport observed emerge from the case study reports. We shall focus on three features in this summary. These are integration of music, lyrics, body and space in capoeira, communicating and performing hierarchy in Karate and mock abuse discourse style in basketball.

Music is central to the practice of capoeira. It adds a further mode and dimension, music, to multi-modal practices in capoeira. The music making involves the orchestra who play traditional instruments, chorus and hands-clapping by the players sitting or standing at the edge of the roda. Music communicates and regulates pace of the movement. It also determines the characteristic of the game to be played. For each rhythm, there is a corresponding style of capoeira to be played. The leader of the roda manages and coordinates the game through music and songs, which take the place of commands and instructions. If a student is not in line with the style of the game that is expected of them, he can remind them to adjust their speed through a song. He can 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. He may also ‘sneak’ a comment on what is happening in the lyrics of the song.

The key to understanding the relationship in karate dojos (training hall) is the notion of hierarchy and how it is strategically marked, celebrated and performed to create a social order in the karate world. While such a hierarchical social order might have been part of attempts by founders of karate to strategically essentialise the Japaneseness of karate historically, hierarchy in dojos has become part of karate traditions and values to be learned, socialised into and performed among karateka. Hierarchy in dojo (training hall), as the pillar of the social order in the karate space, is performed and reinforced in a number of ways in communication. The sense of hierarchy is interwoven into routine practices in the clubs. Detailed analysis in the London report shows that hierarchy is manifested through different modalities and channels including colours of belts; spatial allocation of members; right to speak, gestures, forms of addresses (sensei are reserved for karate instructors and trainees with black belts).

Several discourse styles in sports are reported in the literature. For example, ‘signifying, sounding, boasting & bragging’ styles are identified among some preadolescent African American males involved in basketball games (Mahiri, 1990). Other studies talk about ‘trash’, ‘insult’ talk in sports (Eveslage & Delaney, 1998). Mock abuse characterises the discourse style in social interactions of the team as observed by the Birmingham report. Sexual innuendo, stereotypical teasing (‘serve like a man’), questioning another player’s resilience, abuse, curses, and profanities are in play as the coach and his players engage in teasing of each other. While they breach every rule of civility and political correctness, among others, they serve to strengthen the bond of the team on the volleyball court. They ‘stand in for friendly, even affectionate discourse in the largely all-male environment’. These transgressive styles are highly performative, producing a stereotypical masculinity and competitiveness out into the open.

5. Transformation

Sports have long been perceived in the public discourse, policy and scholarly discussion as activities that brings benefits on a number of fronts:

- At the individual level, sports are well recognised as a form of exercise that can contribute to physical and mental health for children and adults, promoting wellbeing,

reducing stress, and fostering values such as ‘fair play’ and achievement (Eime et al., 2013; Pate, Trost & Levin, 2000). For young participants, engaging in sports can support the development of self-esteem, provide opportunities for modelling appropriate behaviours, learning discipline, as well as bonding with other players and coaches.

- Membership in a sports club contributes to members’ sense of community and their identities. It brings to members social capitals and the capacity to build support networks, opening access to resources such as networks, social support, job opportunities and expert advice (Tacon, 2013). The key is to provide space and opportunity to encourage and support people to take part in sports. This includes providing accessible, affordable, and inclusive opportunities to engage in sports clubs.
- At the society level, promoting tolerance, society and community cohesion, and active citizenship (Smith and Waddington, 2004, Coalter, 2007; Collins, 2003).

One of our key findings is that learning and improving in sport creates learning opportunities beyond the physical. For example, in learning karate students are exposed to cultures, histories and languages from Asia, while learning capoeira links African and Portuguese histories through the slave trade to South America and Europe to central Leeds. We gathered ethnographic evidence that communication styles and patterns in community sport build community cohesion. For example, although there are some studies on effectiveness of coaching or roles of coaches (e.g. Becker, 2009; Jones, 2006), the language of coaching has been rarely investigated and little has been documented on community coaching. Our data illustrate the crucial role language and communication play in creating individual and team motivation, inclusion, respect, solidarity, competition, and collaboration. In addition, our case studies have provided further evidence to support the above views and additional benefits sports can bring. These include:

- Our findings indicate that migrants or those from marginalised groups who take part in sports are provided with a means of integration and building resilience towards being undervalued or stereotyped, in addition to deriving the associated health-related benefits.
- In addition to learning about the sport in which one participates, culture and language learning takes place. This learning involves gaining a deeper understanding of the culture of sports, historical-cultural origins of sports (which in turn can lead to learning about a country’s cultural and political history), values promoted by sports,

languages of instructions, as well the opportunities to get to know other cultures and languages of co-participants from a range of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

These benefits are clearly illustrated by the KPs in our research. Seeing our key participants through analysis of ‘timespace’ (borrowed from a literary device called ‘chronotype’ which views human life as always concretely situated within specific time-place relationships in Bakhtin, 1994, Blommaert, 2015; discussed in Blackledge et al, 2017) helps us to understand the significance of the chosen sports in the KPs’ life trajectories and biographies. In particular, it illustrates how their beliefs and visions on their sports of choice are shaped by their life experience and imagination about the future and how their life, in turn, is transformed by their sports.

For Tiago, sports offer a way of escaping the strict home rules when he was a child back in Mozambique, a way of adapting to the new environment and an opportunity to make a living in the UK. Sports changed his life trajectories. Amid all the potentials that basketball could offer including his grandfather’s dream of being a professional basketball player in the US, he decided to take on capoeira. It was through capoeira that he met his partner. After they got married, they moved to the UK to start a new chapter in life. Between the two sports he takes part in, he clearly feels more connected with, and transformed by, capoeira. Basketball is for fun and to keep fit and as a way of socialising. However, capoeira seems to ‘talk’ to him and brings him to his own African roots. He tries to transfer the non-conflictive, the ‘chilled’ essence of capoeira into basketball. Once in the UK, he wants to develop a career in teaching capoeira to children.

Joe sees coaching and pushing his team to success as a way of ‘achieving things he would not be able to achieve himself’. He arrived in the UK with his younger brother to join a boarding school at the age of 14. He completed a degree at a UK university and it was during this time that he took up volleyball as a hobby. After working for a while in Manchester, he moved to Birmingham to start a hair and beauty salon to make a living, while he continued with volleyball. He took up coaching volleyball in Birmingham, and, according to the interview, pushes his team to achieve things he would not be able to achieve himself. Joe came across as a different person in the volleyball court: authoritative and strategic. He sets about the tasks of developing his players’ skills, the team’s cohesiveness and organising training, matches and social events.

Karate helped SK to deal with stigma associated with being a Gypsy and prejudice he has encountered as he was trying to find a way to make a living. SK was born in one of the tabors (the term used by Gypsies to describe their settlement, a camp) in Poland and soon after his birth, his family was forced by the Polish government to settle on the outskirts of Żary, among other Roma travellers' families. He struggled with learning in a local primary school in Nysa and had no friends as the 'odd one out', but he managed it without being sent to the school for children with special education needs for being 'Gypsy', where many of his friends were sent. SK wanted to study sport sciences after a secondary school to further his education, but he was told that his place was 'in the woods' for being a Gypsy. SK started his karate lessons at the age of 15 in his beloved town Nysa, which he still perceives as 'home' today. When he was 23 he earned his black belt, and continued his learning and later teaching karate practice throughout his life. He moved to London in 2006 to join his sister who was already living in London, aiming to find a better life for his family and better future for his children. In London, SK started off working with young children teaching them karate, and gradually expanded his professional engagement to teach adults in other clubs. In 2015, SK is chosen as someone from 'Historically Vilified Ethnic Group - Roma (Gypsies)' to appear in Milan Svanderlik's photographic exhibition 'outsiders in London' in St Martin-in-the-Fields, London, as an example of successful immigrants.

For Ahmad, sport is a vocation. It has provided a thread of continuity throughout his life across continents and times and given him a focus and identity in each location, notwithstanding these materialising and figuring differently in each time and place. Training in coaching in Wales has enabled him to professionalise incrementally in order to further develop an identity as an expert across his sports (football and table tennis which we observed as well as tennis which we did not). His different abilities in the different sports also provided him with a life as a player which played out differently according to his prowess in each area. All of these aspects of sports – sports as a way of fitting in and finding purpose, qualifications as a coach and quality as a player reflected facets of the potential of sports as a marker of identity for those arriving in a new country.

The potential social benefits of sports and beyond are further demonstrated in the purpose of the various sports clubs and the visions of the coaches involved, as well as the social interactions in and beyond the clubs. Originally set up to support Roma children outside school hours, the East London Karate club has an inclusive open-door policy and is open to children and parents from other communities. For the coach, SK, karate is a way of getting

the kids engaged into something appropriate and constructive for their age other than anti-social behaviours. Additionally, as observed by the London team, it gives parents an opportunity to socialise with and support each other and to get involved. Some of the families are new arrivals in the UK. They talk to each other in the corridor and are invited to watch the children's demonstration from time to time. SK also uses the opportunity to develop the children's resilience towards stereotypes associated with Roma people. Once he was heard, while coming to the end of setting up the floor mats, saying 'they (referring to the mats) are gone. The Gypsies stole it'. Borrowing circulating discourses about Roma people through the act of 'ventriloquising' (see Tannen, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2017) allows SK to confront the stigma head-on. When asked about this in the interview, SK said that he used these 'jokes' to help Roma children to 'say who they are'.

Sports connect and bring people together. The players in the two volleyball teams observed by the Birmingham team are a diverse cohort: they are from a variety of countries and areas, a mixture of international students and members of local communities, are old hands and newcomers, and have various reasons to join in clubs and different degrees of the commitment to the club. For Graham, who is from the UK, is a psychologist by education and had worked in University previously, the ability to play and coach volleyball brings not only symbolic, but also economical capital. He was being paid to coach a team. For Lambert, from Taiwan, who started playing international matches in primary school, his talent in volleyball helps him to gain access to higher education in Taiwan. The social interactions on the volleyball court are not just limited to sports. People talk about their lives and experiences in the UK. The club offers them a space to meet and socialise with other people.

Sports are deeply rooted in history and culture, and learning the history of sports can inform learning about the cultural and political history of a given country (Naison, 2017; Hook, 2012). In addition to these individual and social benefits, sports also bring transferrable skills and become a space for learning language and culture. Described by its participants as a 'safe, welcoming, accepting and a non-judgemental space', the capoeira club has a lot to offer to its participants. These include transferable life skills, for example, the ability to control emotions and aggression and develop a clear awareness about what is happening around them. What is intriguing about capoeira is its philosophical stance on teaching to fight without being aggressive. The techniques are unfinished. The attack and defence are more of a performance rather than real contact. Equally, if not more importantly, learning capoeira requires getting to know the historical-cultural origins of capoeira, how it was invented by African slaves who

had to endure the hardships at the hands of the European owners, and how it evolved into a symbol of fight for freedom and racial equality. This cultural knowledge is an important part of teaching in Leandro's capoeira classes. As the Leeds team observed, 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, although many other capoeira schools may choose not to do so, perhaps out of uneasiness with the African roots. In addition to origins of capoeira and its development, Leandro defines capoeira as 'Brazilian culture' and teaches the lives and deeds of the great masters, explains the meaning of the songs (both language and content), demonstrates capoeira musical instruments and hence his classes become a space for cultural learning. There are ample learning opportunities for Portuguese. The key words and phrases in capoeira are in Portuguese. Songs are mainly in Portuguese and the players are expected to understand and to learn the words. There are also Portuguese-speaking participants who use Portuguese while participating in classes.

In Cardiff, football provided a way for children from a range of places to hook into joint participation in an activity which they enjoyed. The players and coach hooked their local practices into the wider globalisation through the world of professional football which was referenced in various ways. As in London, sports became a way to draw the children in and to give them something constructive and valuable to do after "Saturday School" at local Mosques. Parents also became involved in the play and the sessions became a way for them to "develop" their English.

6. Policy Contributions

In relation to our study and its focus on sport in the four cities of Birmingham, Cardiff, Leeds and London there are two key English and Welsh policy documents worthy of mention as a backdrop to the points we have raised. These are:

- 'Sporting Future: A New Strategy for an Active Nation', published in December, 2015 by the UK Government which sets out five key desired outcomes. These are described as physical wellbeing, mental wellbeing, individual development, social and community development, and economic development.
- 'Climbing Higher' published in July 2005 by the Welsh Assembly Government setting out its 20-year strategy for sport and physical activity under the broad themes of health, economy, culture, society, environment and world stage.

While there are significant differences across these two documents reflecting the local challenges and opportunities of English and Welsh settings in relation to sport and physical well-being, there are also significant overlaps highlighted as relevant to the nation as a whole. In particular there is a good deal of emphasis placed on coaching in both strategy documents. For example Climbing Higher (HE) mentions harnessing ‘the enthusiasm of a small army of coaches’ (p. 4) for ‘increasing the level and quality of participation in communities’ (p. 17), while Sporting Future (SF) speaks of coaching as a recurrent theme, arguing that good coaching requires more emphasis on “soft skills” as well as technical skills (p.82).

Our research has documented the linguistic and social practices of coaches and players. We have described the importance of everyday communication between people as they participate in sport and physical activity and the power of language to support and include but also to discourage and exclude. In this final section we take the UK Government’s policy document Sporting Future (2015) and apply its framework in relation to our data. Although our own questions were not conceptualised in relation to this document we believe we can contribute to conversations about strategy particularly in relation to diversity and inclusion.

Findings

physical wellbeing

- In all settings communication played an important role in enhancing physical well-being. For example, coaches who combined verbal instruction alongside physical demonstration produced appropriate pedagogy for learning new physical skills. Over-lengthy verbal instructions, on the other hand, did not always retain the players’ or participants’ attention.
- A sense of physical well-being in one sport was transferable to other sports. Participants talked about how learning skills for one sport, e.g. capoeira, was relevant to successfully improving in other sports, e.g. basketball.
- Migrant communities and their enthusiasm and commitment to particular sports served to encourage participation and interest across diverse groups of people.

mental wellbeing

- In migrants' biographical interviews they spoke of the importance of sport for combatting the potential for isolation. For example, the karate coach talked about how karate provided a means to connect to wider networks, while capoeira player Tiago described how the game gave him ambition and purpose.
- For the migrant coaches and players in our study sporting activities contributed directly to their well-being through an enhanced sense of worth, as they were able to contribute to their local neighbourhoods, improve their own skills, and improve the skills of others through their hard-earned expertise.
- Analysis of the language of sport illustrates the importance of structure, ritual and hierarchy as means of creating progression in people's lives. For example, taking part in karate, with its structure of 'Dans', ranks, levels, and hierarchies, gives participants a sense of achievement. Capoeira provides a non-competitive environment for supporting self and others. And the language which comes with winning at football, volleyball and basketball gave a sense of camaraderie, team spirit, and success. In other words, the language of sporting success gave a sense of progression, achievement and advancement.
- The language of encouragement, respect and hierarchy, accompanied by physical movement, mobility, and change, gives people a positive sense of well-being.

individual development

- There was a connection between physical and mental well-being, as confidence in the physical self-generated confidence in the mental self. For example, karate was a route to creating success beyond martial arts, to competing successfully in wider areas of life. And the team-building skills necessary for creating a good volleyball team was carried over as to the knowledge required for running a successful business.
- Each sport offered a range of individual development opportunities for both coaches and players. For example,
 - Each sport has a specialised communicative repertoire, and successful coaches are knowledgeable in communicating this effectively to others. For example, in capoeira the game leader must coordinate the 'fight' through music, rhythm and song, in which a faster rhythm invites a more aggressive game. These different sporting specialisms add value to the individual coach's expertise, and to the players who participate

- All sports, both team and individual, pay attention to both the individual and the social environment of the club/activity, and communication strategies are important in this endeavour. In particular, the language of humour and clowning, but also respect and hierarchy, is important in managing successful sport and physical activity.
- All sporting activities face issues of the inclusion of newcomers and the management of old-timers as people join, leave, and maintain their involvement in the sporting activity. Communication is clearly important in managing and leading these processes, and is crucial in managing fairness, so that all participants feel included. This is true in both adults' and children's sports.

social and community development

- The multilingual lives of the migrant players and coaches were important resources for keying into the lives of the people they taught and played with. Translanguaging contributed to social and community engagement and was a resource for communicating and learning in a context of linguistic and social diversity where participants shared a desire to engage in sport. Translanguaging was an important tool in developing 'levels of social trust' (p. 75)
- The importance of tradition in sport was apparent. Karate and capoeira have long histories, cultural resonances, specific languages (e.g. Japanese and Portuguese) and rituals. These traditions were of great interest to those who participated in and taught karate and capoeira. An interest in the history of volleyball, football and basketball was less apparent in the voices of coaches and players of these sports.
- The language of rules, commands and procedures was crucial to all the sports and activities in our study. This language produced a sense of membership and ownership and made the individual part of the larger group, which extended beyond the immediate environment to wider networks involved in the sport.

economic development

- The research demonstrated that people either directly benefited economically by coaching sport, or drew on skills developed from sport in their work. For example, the karate and football teachers were employed by community or education organisations to run sessions; and the volleyball coach drew parallels between running his successful business and coaching a volleyball team.

Conclusion

Sports are rich with conventions, specialised terms and unique discourse styles. The case studies in the sports phase of the TLANG project examine how people are transformed and communication is manifested through movement in the city. They demonstrate how translanguaging, as a dimension of the multilingual realities of people's lives, provides a form of communication to teach new skills and enjoy leisure. The findings highlight the role of embodied communication, the need of synchronisation between different modes of communication, and relevance of rituals and illustrates how sports bring together people who learn from, interact with, and bond with each other.

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