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…And Death proclaimed 'HAPPY HOGSWATCH TO ALL, AND TO ALL A GOOD NIGHT'*

Intertext and Folklore in Discworld-fandom

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Åbo, Finland, 2018

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* IT IS EDUCATIONAL

Abstract

This thesis is a compilation of four articles concerning various aspects of intertext, intertextual practice, and various 'goings-on' of fandom. Specifically this thesis concerns the folklore of Discworld fandom as expressed in the annual celebration of Hogswatch in Wincanton, Somerset, through the eyes of a folklorist.

The general aim of this thesis is to explore a specific fandom celebration – Hogswatch in Wincanton – using methodology and theory prominent in folkloristics.

The first article is an analysis of the intertextual and contextual construction of fandom in the celebration in Wincanton. This is where I outline the ideas of intertext and intertextual common sense, drawing upon folkloristic, intertextual scholars. The second article is a study of the mercantile part of fandom, through the notion of gift-economy. The third article is a study of the use of narratives in the celebration, more specifically the staged narratives performed during the celebration. This is done by using the narratological concept of qualia. The last article is published in this volume. The article analyses the material manifestations of fandom culture (costuming and handicrafts) through the concept of folk art.

The thesis main theoretical concepts, utilized throughout the article series, are the notions of folklore, fandom and intertext. The main concepts are discussed in the chapters preceding the articles. Also discussed is the field methodology issues of doing participant observation in affectively invested fields, alongside a thorough description of the ethnographic fieldwork.

The thesis show how intertext permeates fandom culture and how by using the notion of intertext one can explore and investigate fandom-expressions of affect; performance events, trading, narrative and material expression. It also shows how using folkloristic methodology and theory and treating the expression of fandom as folklore makes it easier to contextualize.

Keywords: Folklore, Fandom, Discworld, Intertext, Fantasy, Ethnographic fieldwork, Identity, Gift-economy, Narrative, Qualia, Folk art, Cosplay, Wincanton, Hogswatch, Terry Pratchett

Acknowledgements

'Brazenneck College publishes its *Journal of Irreducible Research* four times a year now' said Ponder meekly.

'Yes. Six copies,' said Ridcully.

'No wizard worth his salt tells other wizards what he's up to!' snapped the Lecturer in Recent Runes. 'Besides, how can you measure thinking? You can count the tables a carpenter makes, but what kind of rule could measure the amount of thought necessary to define the essence of tableocity?'

'Exactly!' said the chair of Indefinite Studies. 'I myself have been working on my Theory of Anything for fifteen years! The amount of thought that gone into it is astonishing! Those six-seven pages have been hard won, I can tell you!'

'And I've seen some of those Brazenneck papers,' said Ridcully. 'They've got titles like "Diothumatic Aspects of Cheese in Mice," or possibly it was Mice in Cheese. Or maybe Chess.'

'And what was it about?' said the Dean.

'Oh I don't think it was for reading. It was for having written,' said the Archchancellor

(Pratchett 2012:291-292)

Any and all academic endeavours is a form of discussion, as this faculty discussion from the Unseen University of Ankh-Morpork clearly shows. Writing a thesis, such as the one you currently have in your hands, is not possible without partaking in discussion, whether it be in published form or in seminars with colleagues, coffee breaks and lunches, with supervisors, professors, informants and friends. A wizard might not traditionally tell other wizards what he is up to, but it is a vital part of the process of writing a thesis in Folkloristics.

First and foremost I want to thank the Department of Nordic Folkloristics at Åbo Akademi, for letting me do this thesis[1]. I also want to acknowledge the researchers' seminar at the department and the following representatives of that constellation of colleagues: Professor Lena Marander-Eklund, for letting me knock at the office door whenever I felt confused, had questions or needed to talk about the thesis, papers and articles or just talk in general. PhD Blanka Henriksson I want to thank for being an excellent sparring partner in the seminar and for once naming our office printer 'Hufflepuff' (which shows her understanding of the need for intertextuality in the everyday). Emerita Professor Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, my thanks for pushing me and making sure I knew the (sometimes harsh) conditions of modern day academia, from the get go. I want to thank the PhD-student body of the department of Nordic

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[1] The fact of the matter is that one of the main questions I have encountered when presenting my research, is a display of share astonishment over the fact that I was allowed to conduct the study in the first place.

my bow tie) and Paul Kidby (for letting me use his illustrations) and to Rachel Anthony.Rowlands for the cover picture. Thank you to Nathalie, Helen, Andrew, Naomi, Pete, Beth, Mandy, Dave (the Snake), Dave-in-a, Robin, Henry/Purky, Tom Foolery, Vic, Vicky, Pam Martin, AJ, Peter, Jaqui, Richard, Amy and everyone else who have been along for the ride.

And last but not least… Thank you!
Terry Pratchett
For writing, for inspiration, for all the wonderful stories.[2]

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[2] And for once schooling me on the lack of mustard in Finnish mustard

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Introduction

I was standing in a small shop in a rural market town in Somerset, England. I had just paid the proprietor for a lease on 'part of an attic' on Tin Keys Lane and was looking through the conditions of tenure:

'No consumption of any narcotic substance or alcoholic beverage which might give rise to behaviour likely to cause distress to other residents. No singing, yodelling or mouth music. Trolls only permitted on the first floor.'

- "Fair enough!" I said and paid the £15 to the proprietor. It is Hogswatch after all and I might as well treat myself.

I had now signed a lease on a small attic on Tin Keys Lane (just off Elm Street) in Ankh-Morpork, this ancient metropolis on the shores of the Circle Sea on Discworld, and a question struck me 'Why had I done that'?

The small market town was Wincanton, the small shop 'The Discworld Emporium' and it was 2012 and I had once again travelled to England to congregate with other fans of Discworld. I had been in Wincanton twice before and started to get an understanding of what we fans do. What fans do can be said to be the driving theme of this thesis. Specifically, this thesis is an exploration of a celebration – Hogswatch – held in November in the town of Wincanton, Somerset. Hogswatch is a celebration of all things Discworld and the author behind it all, Terry Pratchett. This thesis is also an exploration of the methods and theories I have learned and teach as a folklorist, applied here to a material concerning a fandom celebration.

The reason for this thesis being on a material collected during a celebration of Discworld fandom is simple. I have, since I was a child, read and enjoyed the Discworld books. Furthermore, as a fandom celebration, the celebration of Hogswatch is relatively small (compared to fandom conventions such as San Diego Comic Con or Worldcon), making it more accessible for a scholar. The reason for my conducting this study within the field of folkloristics is that I have discerned a compatibility between the theories used in the field of folkloristics and the area of fandom. In other words, I have come to notice the need for, and usefulness of, many methodologies and theories used in folkloristics in the field of fandom studies.

The idea for this project came to me when I was studying the intertextual connections between folklore and fantasy literature, a long-term interest of mine during my formative years of studying folklore. Looking for Christmas gifts, I had found the website of a small shop located in Wincanton. I happened to find the shop during

Hogswatch-time and there was a banner on the site asking people to join in the festivities. Having a grasp of what Hogswatch is, and being interested in intertextual connections between folklore and fantasy, the celebration of Hogswatch immediately caught my attention. Having investigated the invitation further, I quickly understood that the celebration in itself constituted an intertextual connection between folklore and literature, where literature was transformed into folklore through the actions of fans (needless to say, I was intrigued). I printed out the invitation and some auxiliary material from the Discworld Emporium website and knocked on my professor's door. I stated that I wanted to do an intertextual investigation into this celebration, illustrating how intertext is used to make literature folklore and that this was to be the topic of my doctoral thesis, the result of which is this volume.

This thesis is a compilation of articles concerning various aspects of intertext, intertextual practice, and various 'goings-on' of fandom. There are several reasons why this study has been conducted in this manner, that is to say why I decided to do an article-based thesis. Firstly, fandom is a complex and multifaceted cultural phenomenon, so writing this thesis in a more conservative form of academic tome (i.e. a monograph), using one or two theoretical tools and concentrating on certain aspects of the fandom, was not practical. I am sure it could have been done but the fieldwork process and the questions that the entire process of writing raised, merited a set of articles, showing the possibility of applying several different theoretical perspectives. Consequently, I decided that a set of articles showcasing different aspects of fandom was the ticket. The main theoretical perspectives that are used throughout the articles are those of a folkloristic view on intertext, as well as a theoretical discussion of fandom. In addition, different notions, terms and theories used in folklore studies have been applied to the material. This is to show how well the field of folkloristics marries with ethnographic material collected within fandom.

There are surprisingly few ethnographic studies done on fandom. Some studies have, of course, been conducted, but usually with the aim to look at what fans produce in the form of fan-fiction and material artefacts. This thesis does not concern itself with fan-fiction and production as such, but rather showcases aspects of what fandom as practice looks like. With a firm base in reflexive ethnographic participant observation, I discuss what happens when fans gather to celebrate their fandom. Based on my participation in the Discworld fandom and in the Hogswatch celebration, I also reflect on the manner in which participant observation is conducted in groups who are affectively invested in literature. Therefore, this thesis can also partly be read as an investigation of ethnographic field methodology.

This thesis is thus a study of a fandom celebration conducted by a folklorist and a fan. The two interlinked pillars of the study are folkloristics and fandom-studies. These two pillars are confidently planted in extensive ethnography. In a way, this dual or combined approach mirrors the duality or twofold aspect of the Hogswatch celebration: one foot planted in Wincanton and the other one on the Discworld. Or, in the words of the Patrician of Ankh-Morpork, Lord Havelock Vetinary:

"My friends… It is with great pleasure this – I believe – very first twinning between one real and one apparently unreal city. I say apparently because here in Ankh-Morpork we are taking firm steps that there is indeed a place called Wincanton and that it hasn't just been made up. ('On the occasion of the twinning of Ankh-Morpork with Wincanton' [Pratchett 2012:281–282])

Statement of Aim

The general aim of this thesis is to explore a specific fandom celebration – the annual celebration of Hogswatch in Wincanton, Somerset – using methodology and theory prominent in folkloristics. By doing this, I also aim to further the theoretical and methodological discussion in fandom studies. Specifically, I illustrate how intertext permeates fandom on several levels and how intertext(s) is used in Discworld fandom in the Hogswatch celebration. In addition to this, I also aim to engage in discussions on fieldwork practice within fandom-studies. By combining folkloristics and fandom studies, the intent is to exemplify how fandom studies can be conducted in ways that shift the focus towards an inclusion of fandom festivities, a so far understudied area.

The queries this thesis contemplate are as follows:
  ➢ How is intertext used within fandom?
  ➢ In which manner can the field of fandom be studied within folkloristics?

The Order of Things

The thesis starts with an introduction to Terry Pratchett and his works. In the same chapter, there is also an introduction to the Discworld as described in the novels, and auxiliary literature written by Pratchett and associates. The chapter is concluded with a plot summary of the book *The Hogfather* (Pratchett 1997), in which Pratchett discusses the meaning of Hogswatch. The purpose of the introduction is to familiarize the reader with Pratchett and the Discworld, giving the reader a rudimentary understanding of what the world that is celebrated in Wincanton entails.

The next chapter presents the fieldwork conducted for this study. In this chapter, I introduce the town of Wincanton and the Hogswatch celebration at large. The chapter also presents the themes of the fieldwork, as well as defining certain key events and notions central to the articles.

After the fieldwork-chapter, the methodological and theoretical framework for the thesis are presented. I briefly introduce the previous research into the field of fandom studies and situate my thesis in the field. After this I discuss the fieldwork method of *participant observation*, after which I contemplate the main theoretical notions *folklore, fandom* and *intertext*. The subsections concerning the main theoretical notions are constructed as a discussion, beginning with a contemplation on definitions and ending in the definition I have arrived at during my research process. The subsection on participant observation is partly a presentation of my understanding of participant observation, and partly a presentation of issues of self-reflexivity when conducting fieldwork in affectionally invested fields (such as fandom).

Following the theoretical and methodological discussion is a presentation of the articles themselves. The presentation is done as a form of summary of the articles' themes and conclusions, followed by an explication of the contributions I have made to the fields of intertextual and fandom studies.

The last chapter before the actual articles is a presentation of the conclusions of this thesis, followed by a discussion of its contributions and potential for further research.

After the conclusions, the compiled articles are published in the same manner as they were published in the respective publications:
- Death and a pickled onion -The construction of fan culture and fan identity in the Hogswatch celebration of Wincanton (*Gramarye* no 3, 2013)
- "Thank you so much for keeping all of us in the Emporium gainfully employed" – The Relationship between Fan and Merchant in the Wincanton Hogswatch Celebration (Fafnir vol 2, iss 3, 2015)
- 'It's a Good Job Nobody Mentioned Hedgehogs': The Use of Narratives in Discworld Fandom (*Folklore* no 128, March 2017)
- "The scythe is the bit that I actually made" – Folk art as expressions of fandom (manuscript)

The note and bibliography apparatus of this thesis works as follows. The notes and bibliography for the articles are attached to the articles themselves (as they were in the

original published version). The bibliography for the section between the introductions and conclusion chapters are presented in a separate bibliography prior to the articles.

The Life and Times of Sir Terry Pratchett and the Discworld

It is difficult to sum up the work and significance of Terry Pratchett, partly because he is more than an author (as will be evident); partly because (I confess) for me, and many others who are fans and have met him in person, the task seems a way too vast an undertaking. This chapter is a brief introduction to Terry Pratchett and his various undertakings. It is short and 'to the point', and serves the purpose of familiarizing the reader of this thesis with the man behind the Discworld. The Discworld novels are a literary world in which Pratchett contemplates, satirizes and makes fun of issues relating to culture, politics and history from our world, at the same time as he satirizes the conventions of fantasy literature. Pratchett is a satirical writer as much as he is an author of fantasy, parodying everything from police procedures,[3] religion,[4] and institutional sexism;[5] to Hollywood,[6] football,[7] and freedom of press,[8] using different parts of Discworld and different main characters to make his points (cf. Butler 2000). Following the introduction to Pratchett is an introduction to the (Disc)world he created, in order to acquaint the reader with the key features of a world floating in space atop a giant Turtle, a world that the Hogswatch celebrations connect to in multifaceted ways. The chapter ends with a presentation of the novel *The Hogfather* (Pratchett 1997), in which the first real description of Hogswatch is made. The information on Pratchett presented here is partly from the official website on his authorship (http://terrypratchettbooks.com/), partly from the BBC-produced documentary *Back In Black* (Russell 2017), which tells Pratchett's life story in his own words.

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[3] For instance Guards Guards! (1989).

[4] Particularly in *Small Gods* (1992).

[5] *Equal Rites* (1987).

[6] *Moving pictures* (1990).

[7] *Unseen Academicals* (2009).

[8] *The Truth* (2000).

Terry Pratchett – Author, Knight, OBE, Professor

> In Britain it has been estimated that 10% of all books sold are fantasy. And of that fantasy, 10% is written by Terry Pratchett. So, do the sums: 1% of all books sold in Britain are written by Terry Pratchett.
> (Butler 2001:7)

Terence David John 'Terry' Pratchett (b. 1948 † 2015) is one of the most appreciated and widely read fantasy authors of all time. Pratchett was also a productive author having written 41 Discworld novels (including the last Discworld novel *The Shepherd's crown*, published post mortem in 2015), numerous Discworld related publications and Discworld companion books, four in the *Science of Discworld* series[9], three anthologies, seventeen Non-Discworld novels, including four novels in the *Long Earth series* together with Stephen Baxter (one of which was published post-mortem) and one collaboration with Neil Gaiman (*Good Omens* 1990). This is not counting numerous adaptations for theatre, TV and graphic novels[10].

In 1971 Pratchett published his first novel *The Carpet People* (Pratchett 1971), which tells about a fantasy world contained within the confines of a carpet. The first Discworld novel *The Colour of Magic* (Pratchett 1983) was published in 1983. The popularity of the Discworld and Pratchett's other novels grew to such an extent in the 90s, that he (as the quote above indicates) alone wrote one percent of all the books sold in Britain in 2001. In the 2010s, his books matched the popularity of Charles Dickens' books; "Terry Pratchett matches Charles Dickens, book for book, as Britain's best loved novelist" (Excerpt from a British literary critique BBC show in Russell 2017 36:33-36:36). In the latter years, he was accepted by literary critics as a highly regarded satirist or "highly satirical" (Idem 36:47; see also Butler 2000). Pratchett's books have been translated into 37 languages and sold (as of 2015) over 70 million copies worldwide http://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-31858156).

In 1998, he received The Order of the British Empire; "Despite initially suspecting it was an elaborate hoax, he did turn up to accept the award." (terrypratchettbooks.com, retrieved 10.5.2017). In 2002, he received the Carnegie-medal for his children's novel (set on Discworld) *The Amazing Maurice and His Educated Rodents* (Pratchett 2001). He was also knighted by the Queen in 2009 for services to literature. He was made an adjunct Professor in the School of English at Trinity College Dublin in 2010, and held ten honorary doctorates, his last, from the University of South Australia, in May 2014

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[9] In which scientific issues are explored and explained using Discworld characters.

[10] Including three mini-series for television, 14 adaptations for theatre so far and 12 graphic novels.

(http://www.unisa.edu.au/Media-Centre/Releases/UniSA-honours-Sir-Terry-Pratchett--International-best-selling-author-humourist-and-humanist-/#.WRLuW3pOIq9, retrieved 10.5.2017). He was also patron of the British Humanist Society (https://humanism.org.uk/2015/03/12/bha-mourns-patron-terry-pratchett/, retrieved May 10, 2017).

In 2007, Pratchett was diagnosed with Posterior Cortical Atrophy (PCA), a rare form of Alzheimer's[11]. After the diagnosis, he "decided to tell the world" (terrypratchettbooks.com), and started a campaign to raise awareness of the disease, raising millions of pounds for research. He wrote and starred in a BAFTA and Emmy-awards winning documentary *Choosing to die* (KEO films 2011), a movie on assisted dying and dignity in death. Pratchett was also invited to deliver the Richard Dimbleby lecture[12] on BBC 1 in 2010. The lecture was titled "Shaking Hands with Death" and was on Pratchett's struggle with Alzheimer and his thoughts on assisted dying. Terry Pratchett died on the 12th of March 2015 at his home in Wiltshire. After his death, his fans started a petition for death to bring him back (http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/article/31867210/petition-asks-death-to-bring-sir-terry-pratchett-back, retrieved May 10, .2017).

The Discworld

> In a distant and second-hand set of dimensions, in an astral plane that was never meant to fly, the curling star mists waiver and part. See, Great A'tuin the turtle comes, swimming slowly through the interstellar gulf, hydrogen frost on ponderous limbs. His huge and ancient shell pocked with meteor craters. (Pratchett 1983:1)

This is the first description of Discworld. Discworld is a fantasy world that is flat and rests upon the shoulders of four big elephants, which in turn stand on a great turtle (A'tuin) swimming through space. The Discworld is also the name of the book series for which Pratchett is most known. The series of novels that starts with the book *The Colour of Magic* (Pratchett 1987) and ended with the publication of *The Shepherd's Crown* (Pratchett 2015), encompasses a myriad of characters and locations[13], some of

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[11] The PCA was referred to by Pratchett himself as "An Embuggerance" (humanism.org, retrieved May 10, 2017).

[12] An annual lecture: "by an influential and distinguished speaker, delivered in honour of the veteran journalist and broadcaster Richard Dimbleby." (http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006ptbl, retrieved May 10, 2017).

[13] For an extensive list of the novels, characters and plots (up until about 1999) see *Terry Pratchett* (Butler, Andrew M. 2001).

which I present below. On the question of why Pratchett undertook the endeavour of writing about the Discworld in the first place he answered:

The Discworld began as an antidote to fantasy. There is so many clichés in the fairytale-view of fantasy. With the witches and the wizards and so forth – that it might be fun just to treat them as they were real life. (Pratchett in *Back in Black* 09:50-10:01)

Pratchett's Discworld is a world of stories reflecting our world:
The function of story in Terry Pratchett is not just to open the mind onto another world, but to actually create another world, in fact re-create this one too. If it were not for story, nothing would make sense. Although this concept is applied to his very own Discworld, it is a reflection of how humans behave in the "real" world, of how we humans live by the stories we tell. (Schmeink & Böger 2012:228)

The Discworld is also a world with different countries, city states and empires.[14] Some of them I will present briefly in order to acquaint the reader with certain key features.

Ankh-Morpork
Ankh-Morpork is the largest metropolis of the Discworld. It is a city state governed in a "benevolent tyranny" (Pratchett, Pearson, Pearson, Mitchell & Voyce 2015:7) by the Patrician, Lord Havelock Vetinari. Ankh-Morpork is described as a mercantile city, a vibrant metropolis built around an ancient university[15] (which I return to in a moment). Ankh-Morpork is the most advanced society on Discworld, with trains, banking systems, a police department (or watch) and trade guilds, including a guild of thieves[16], a guild of seamstresses,[17] and a guild of assassins[18] as well as guilds for merchants, lawyers, shoemakers, bakers, glassblowers and many more. The city can be said to be a pastiche of big cities on earth, especially London, with a near-Victorian state of development.

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[14] For a complete overview of the different countries, geography, and infrastructures of the Discworld, one can turn to *The Compleat Discworld Atlas* (Pratchett, Pearson, Pearson, Mitchell and Voyce 2015).
[15] See *The compleat Ankh-Morpork* (Pratchett, Pearson, Pearson, Mitchell and Voyce 2012).
[16] A blend between organized crime and tax collectors, thieves are legal in Ankh-Morpork as long as they are registered and educated by the guild. They always have to leave a receipt for anything they steal. They are described as 'organized crime'.
[17] Which in truth is a guild of prostitutes, but that would be too shocking a revelation in polite society (alluding to the alledged Victorian fear of sexuality).
[18] Which can be described as part school, part upper class club facility (where the wealthiest of Ankh-Morpork send their kids for an education).

Havelock Vetinari is the benevolent tyrant of Ankh-Morpork. He runs the city by being clever and knowing everything that goes on in it, and knows everyone who lives there. He rules the city by slowly making it do what he wants it to do.

Moist von Lipwig is a con-man and economic criminal featured in a series of novels alluding to the civil and technological advancements of Ankh-Morpork. Being a skilled criminal, he was sentenced to death by the Patrician only to wake up in the Patrician's office and be ordered to take over the city's post service (Pratchett 2004). Later on, he is also appointed the head of the Ankh-Morpork bank and Railway Company.

(Sir) Samuel Vimes is the head of the Ankh-Morpork city watch. He is described as the reluctant chief of police who loves the city and would rather be a beat cop; he holds the law and the upholding of the law as his chief task in life. No-one is safe from the law, regardless of class, race, occupation and status in Vimes' view. In the novels concerning the watch, we get to follow Vimes' (extremely reluctant) way from a cop of the streets to the head of the watch, and from working class to duke of Ankh-Morpork. In the watch, there are several other prominent characters featured in several novels satirizing crime novels, but the watch is also featured in novels concerning matters of class, immigration, discrimination, and law.

On top of the main characters that Pratchett uses to describe the civilisation process of Ankh-Morpork, there are various characters depicting issues of class, and the curious aforementioned system of guilds. The guilds are often represented by Head of Guild characters (Mr. Boggis/The guild of thieves, Mrs Palm/The guild of seamstresses). The Head of Guild characters are favourites for costuming and interpretation by the fans, alongside more prominent characters from the books.

The Unseen University

> The Unseen University has long been recognized as the most prestigious seat of learning in the world, and the Tower of Art, at its centre, is both the tallest building in the city and the oldest. It is home to a vast library of tomes accumulated over the centuries and extending into space and time. (Pratchett, Pearson, Pearson, Mitchell and Voyce 2012:49)

The Unseen University is an academy for schooling wizards. It can best be described as a pastiche of the Oxbridge universities in England and everything about the Unseen University alludes to that (cf. Butler 2000:26–27). In short, the setting is used by Pratchett to satirize a university institution, complete with class (Professors vs. staff) and gender issues (they only admit men), administration issues, issues of

academic freedom and professors that do not care too much for teaching (basically the popular imagination of Oxford or Cambridge). The university is home to the most powerful wizards in Discworld (and the most dangerous), but they rather squabble about what to eat next than teach classes to undergraduates; when they do teach, the dictum is "If it isn't dangerous, it is probably not interesting" (Pratchett, Pearson, Pearson, Mitchell & Voyce 2012:51)**.** Among the Wizards described are: *Archchancellor Ridcully*, a fat wizard who is the head of UU and knows he is, and an accomplished academic. Being the boss, he delegates all his work and duties to his staff, especially to *Ponder Stibbons*. Ponder is described as a younger scholar with an affinity for natural philosophy. He is the one wizard who actually works at UU, being an overworked lecturer, researcher, having multiple and various tasks to perform within the faculty. *Dr. Hix* is the professor of post-mortem communication (or necromancy). He is described as a figure in a black robe with a skull-ring. Due to his professorship in necromancy, he is also required to make foul comments and be evil. He also has an affinity for amateur theatre. *The Librarian* is one of the all-time favourite characters among the fans. He is an orangutan who runs the UU library; or rather he was turned into an orangutan in a workplace accident. In the books, he communicates by using the 'word' 'oook'.

Lancre & The Chalk – Witch country
The Kingdom of Lancre is a small kingdom lodged in the mountainous region of Discworld. It is a region that is described as a valley: "much of it is forested, none of it is flat" (Pratchett, Pearson, Pearson, Mitchell and Voyce 2015:25). It is described as one of the most rural parts and one of the most magical. Therefore, it is used by Pratchett in books about witches and witchery. The witches and the Kingdom of Lancre are heavily featured in several Discworld novels, particularly parodying folklore, folk magic, superstition and gender issues.

The Chalk consists of rolling green hills, with sheep, small villages and a rural economy. It is, in short, a pastiche of rural England, with connotations to Somerset and Wiltshire in particular. The Chalk is used as the setting for the five novels about Tiffany Aching, in which one gets to follow the upbringing of Tiffany from a girl not believing in the folk tales of her country, to her education as a witch. On the Chalk people are superstitious and therefore afraid of witches (in contradistinction to Lancre where they are tolerated). The Chalk was also the setting of the last Discworld novel**.** Tiffany Aching is also friends with the Nac Mac Feegle (which I describe below).

Granny & Nanny

> Witches are not by nature gregarious, at least with other witches, and they certainly
> don't have leaders. Granny Weatherwax was the most highly-regarded of the leaders
> they didn't have. (Pratchett 1988:4)

Granny Weatherwax is portrayed as the witch in the woods, highly respected by all citizens of Lancre and the most powerful of all witches. She very seldom uses magic and is a firm believer in that witchcraft is hard work. She never gets paid, but she never starves. Granny Weatherwax is featured in many novels and is portrayed as the quintessential witch that nobody dares approach, but needs for help in various situations. *Nanny Ogg* is Granny Weatherwax's oldest friend and colleague. Nanny Ogg likes people, has children, and is a very rowdy character who enjoys drink, knows all the dirtiest songs and is generally a people person. She is featured in most Discworld-novels concerning witches. Granny and Nanny are firm favourites with fandom wearing costume during the celebration.

Death

> The Death of Discworld is a traditionalist, which is appropriate for an
> anthropomorphic personification whose shop floor is a flat world carried on the back
> of an enormous Turtle. He wears a black robe, carries a scythe, rides a white horse
> and TALKS IN A HEAVY VOICE. (Pratchett & Kidby 1999:1)

Death in the novels is portrayed as a traditional Reaper. He collects the souls of all living things on Discworld.[19] However, since he has been delivering his services for such a long time, he has become interested in the people he works with. Therefore, he starts to emulate human life, getting a house and a garden, getting an adoptive son (Mort) and later a granddaughter called Susan Sto Helit. Death makes cameos in many Discworld novels and always SPEAKS IN CAPITAL LETTERS. In the Wincanton celebration Death is the bringer of gifts.

Discworld Races

Like most fantasy literature, the Discworld has several different fantastic races and critters. The style in which Pratchett describes races is one of satire or parody of issues related to known tropes of fantasy literature (cf. Lissauer 2015). All the information on the various races presented here is also given in *The Folklore of the Discworld* (Pratchett & Simpson 2008).

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[19] With the exception of rats, of which there are so many that they have their own anthropomorphic death of rats, 'The grim squeeker'.

Dwarfs & Trolls

> A dwarf is a smallish humanoid (about four foot tall on average), strongly built, bearded, dressed in layer upon layer of leather, plus chain mail and helmet if circumstances warrant it, and never without an axe. This description applies to both male and female dwarfs. (Ibid:39)

Dwarfs on Discworld are the most numerous after humans and have migrated in their thousands to Ankh-Morpork. They are described as culturally conservative and having their own ways of life, customs, taboos and ways that define dwarfishness (cf. Ibid:40). One of the most prominent taboos is that all dwarfs regardless of sex are referred to as male. This is used by Pratchett in various novels to describe a dwarf women's liberation movement, alluding to gender in equality issues. Dwarfs are also described as having an aversion to trolls, which is used to satirize ethnic conflict in *Thud* (Pratchett 2005).

Trolls are a unique life-form because their 'flesh' is composed of silicone in various complex combinations. At least, so it is said. They *look* rocky. Lichen grows on their heads. They have carbon as well as silicon in their make-up – in their teeth which are of diamond. (Pratchett & Simpson 2008)

Trolls on Discworld are part of the mineral kingdom. They are huge lumps of living rock. As they have silicon for most of their make-up, they have a brain that works well in the cold and gets sluggish in heat (alluding to a modern computer). They hate dwarfs and are used in the novels in the depiction of this ethnic conflict. They are also used to describe mafia and drug trafficking issues, since there is a troll mafia selling troll drugs in Ankh-Morpork.

The Nac Mac Feegle

> To humans, they are one of the most feared of the fairy races – indeed they can put a troll to the flight, and even Nanny Ogg's cat Greebo retires under the furniture at the sight of them. They have shaggy red hair, and are covered all over with blue tattoos and blue paint, in patterns which indicates their clan. They wear kilts or loincloths, use feathers and bones or teeth as decoration, and carry swords as large as themselves – though they go in for kicking and headbutting too. They are about six inches tall. (Pratchett & Simpson 2008:73)

The Nac Mac Feegle is a clan of pictsies and they are described in the novel series about Tiffany Aching. They are a fairy-race kicked out of fairy land for being disorderly (fighting, drinking and stealing things). They are described as nearly

indestructible and always up for a fight. In the novels, they speak with a distinct Glaswegian accent. They are used by Pratchett to satirize the customs surrounding little people in English folklore, for instance the custom of putting out a saucer of milk for the little people (in Discworld it should be a bottle of moonshine).

Vampires, Igors and Zombies
The vampires of Discworld are a pastiche of the vampires in romantic literature. However, since many of the vampires described in the books have migrated to Ankh-Morpork and therefore have to conform to 'human society', there is in the novels a reformation and rehab group for vampires who want to kick the habit of drinking blood. In this enterprise they have to substitute one addiction with another, such as coffee or work. Pratchett uses the vampires to discuss issues of addiction.

Igors are a race of Uberwaldian humanoids. They are "heavily built, with a strong tendency to lurch and shamble and they speak with a heavy spluttering lisp" (Ibid: 116). They are used in the Discworld as surgeons and field medics in war. Igors based on Igor a character associated with Frankenstein who appeared in the 1939 film *Son of Frankenstein* . Since they are described, much like dwarfs, as a race that is androgynous, in the sense that they look the same regardless of gender, they are used by Pratchett in satirizing the medical professions but also gender issues.

Zombies are depicted as undead. They retain their individual personalities post mortem. Zombies are represented by two characters in particular; Reg Shoe and Mr. Slant. Reg Shoe upholds a citizen's rights (the joke being that just because you are dead does not mean you do not have human rights) group for the undead and is part of the watch. Mr. Slant is a dreary and dry Ankh-Morpork, upper-class lawyer. This showcases how Pratchett uses the popular imagination, or popular culture versions of a race to say something about society.

The Auditors
The auditors are strictly speaking not a race of people. They are the most destructive force in the universe. They audit and make sure that the universe runs smoothly. Since they want the universe to run smoothly, they hate humans. Humans have imaginations which invent various anthropomorphic personifications. This makes the universe disorderly, and therefore the auditors see it as their duty to put out fantasy and personality. The auditors are crucial for understanding the plot summary of *The Hogfather* (Pratchett 1997).

By showcasing some of the various places, characters and races of Discworld, I have wanted to acquaint the reader with the feel of Discworld. This presentation also shows a pattern of construction of the races in that Pratchett often uses certain fantasy conventions regarding races to satirize political issues; if the dwarfs all have beards, what would a dwarf feminist liberation look like? How do you kick the habit of sucking blood if you are a modern vampire? The 'feel' of Discworld is the basis of much of what is going on during the Hogswatch celebration in Wincanton. But before I account for the fieldwork as such, I will give a plot summary and discuss the book from which Hogswatch originates.

The Hogfather (Pratchett 1997)

The Hogfather is a novel telling the story of how the Auditors, in their struggle to make the universe run according to logic, hire an assassin by the name of Tea Time (pronounced Te-AH TIM-eh), to assassinate the anthropomorphic personification of the Hogswatch Holliday, The Hogfather, the evening before Hogswatch. The Hogfather is described as a boar-faced, fat man in a red suit who delivers presents to children by sliding down the chimney and leaving the gifts in socks by the fireplace.

The problem with this is that due to the nature of the anthropomorphic personifications of Discworld, the gift-giving custom is not what it seems to be. Rather it is the remnants of an old ritual in which one had to slaughter a pig in the darkest time of the year, in order to make the sun come up. However, due to the civilisation process of Discworld, the Hogfather has become a gift-giver during the celebration, rather than a sacrifice (an industrial re-training). The Hogfather's purpose is still the same, the custom of giving gifts will have to be observed, in order for the sun to rise (the purpose stays the same regardless of the custom).

Tea Time and his band of accomplices intend to assassinate the Hogfather by eradicating belief in him. This is to be accomplished by entering the realm of the tooth fairy, stealing all baby teeth collected and by magic make the children doubt. The problem is that if there is no belief in the Hogfather, the sun will not come up on Hogswatch and the end of Discworld ensues.

The one character that realises this is Death. In order to save belief in the Hogfather, Death has to step into the Hogfather's shoes, making the rounds through chimneys, making the kids retain belief in the Hogfather. So, Death and his butler (Alfred) take on this task to save Discworld. Among the different ways of doing this is that Death,

masking as the Hogfather, does a public appearance at an Ankh-Morpork upper-class department store[20].

In the process, Death's granddaughter Susan gets involved. She is working as a governess in an upper-class Ankh-Morpork home, and it is in this setting we get to know details of what is eaten and what customs are observed during Hogswatch: decorations, pork-pies and sausages, sending cards, giving gifts etc[21]. Being afraid of what Death is up to, Susan starts to investigate. This leads her to, among other places, the Unseen University, where the Wizards contemplate the nature of human fantasy and belief; Pratchett uses this setting to discuss the philosophical question of the nature of the belief in anthropomorphic personifications.

In the end, the belief in the Hogfather is retained by a three-year-old Unseen University experimental computer[22], which is instructed by Death (since a computer can think, it should also be able to believe), to believe in the Hogfather. The Hogfather is saved and the sun rises, and Hogswatch can be celebrated.

The themes discussed by Pratchett in *The Hogfather* (1997) are the themes of belief and rationality as well as customs surrounding Christmas, shopping, eating, charities and so on. It has many intertextual connections to folklore, and other literary representations of Christmas. The descriptions of Hogswatch are one of the keys to the celebration in Wincanton. The celebration bears the same name, but also (as will become apparent in the next chapter), features a visit from "The Hogfather" and the menu of the celebration is in common with the literary version (among other things).

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[20] This will become important later on in explaining why the gift-giver in Wincanton is in fact Death and not the Hogfather.
[21] Basically a pastiche of a Northern European Christmas.
[22] Constructed of water wheels, beehives and ants (so not a modern computer).

The Ethnography

> After a long journey I finally rolled into Wincanton by taxi at lunch-time (the 27th). I asked the cabdriver to take me directly to "The Cunning Artificer" shop on Wincanton High Street. The shop is the main hub in all Discworld related activity in Wincanton. (Field report IF 2012/001)

This chapter introduces the field, the themes of the fieldworks conducted and the practical matters surrounding it. I start by describing the key sites, including the Discworld paraphernalia shop 'The Discworld Emporium' and various pubs in Wincanton, used in the celebration and then I explain the celebration of Hogswatch and the fieldwork in more detail. The material for this study is based on ethnographic fieldwork by way of participant observation during The Hogswatch celebration in Wincanton, England. All of the ethnographic descriptions were not used later in the articles, however they do constitute the basis for my understanding of the phenomenon. Therefore I here give a detailed description of the fieldwork findings.

Ethnographic fieldwork is first and foremost a practical matter in that there is a lot of travelling, planning, conducting, photographing, writing and observing to do. It is also a matter of being in a certain place at a certain time. In this case study, my fieldwork has been conducted by participant observation at the Hogswatch celebrations of 2010–2014. The fieldwork has been directed by using a form of Nordic cultural analysis, in which the field is guided by a key concept (cf. Ehn & Löfgren 2001) decided upon before the fieldwork itself. The length of each fieldtrip has been three to five days and they were done as follows:

- Hogswatch 26–29 November 2010
- Hogswatch 25–29 November 2011
- Hogswatch 22–29 November 2012
- Hogswatch 29 November–1 December 2013
- Hogswatch 27 November–2 December 2014

The trips were made by flying to England and then getting to and from Wincanton with public transport, and in the latter years by car. In 2010 and 2011, I stayed in various hotels at the outskirts of Wincanton, in 2012 I lodged with a fan and in 2013–2014 I stayed at the Bear Inn.

Hogswatch 26-29 November 2010

The initial fieldwork had the theme of intertextual connections, since I suspected that the entire celebration would be intertextually constructed. It has to be said that to list

all of my encounters with intertextually linked cultural artefacts of both material and performance/oral nature, is nothing short of impossible. Everything during the celebration does have a distinct Discworld feel to it; the fans, the performances, the shop and the town itself. The fieldwork the first year turned out to be a first contact situation, slowly becoming "a potential friend of a peculiar sort" (Agar 1996:138):

> I had promised myself that in the capacity of being at this event as an observer I would try to stay incognito as long as possible. I had also promised that if someone directly asked me why I had bothered to travel from Finland to Wincanton for this event I wouldn't lie. Well... all but two minutes into my stay a lady dressed as a member of the Ankh-Morpork guild of assassins (bearing the rank of "Corporal Punishment") engaged me in small talk, enquiring about what I do for a living. I told her that I'm a folklorist currently working on my PhD thesis. She asked me what the thesis was about and I had to reply: "It's about the Hogswatch celebration tradition of Wincanton Somerset". This elicited the response: "That's BRILLIANT! Terry will love this!" Five minutes after me entering the shop I was being presented to Terry [Pratchett] and explaining to him the purpose of my trip, getting a response of: "That's BRILLIANT" and a firm handshake. Now the cat was out of the bag, and as I later were to understand it was all the better for it. It would've been impossible to hide the fact that I am a folklorist to the guests of this event. This is because of the huge interest many of the people have in folklore. Many of the people I met were also members of the Folklore Society. So trying to stay incognito as a folklore-researcher amongst this particular group of people would have been as easy as trying to hide an elephant behind a flagpole. In retrospect, I believe that this was all for the better. I relaxed and could engage in people watching and small talk mingling in a relaxed way. What I learned from this episode was: Don't expect to be able to stay incognito amongst people that have a genuine interest in what you are doing. (Field report IF 2012/001)

Beyond the intertextual connection of the celebration and its various cultural displays, performances and artefacts, this fieldwork came to define my role within the celebration throughout the subsequent fieldworks. In that sense, it was the first contact with the field as much as it was a fieldwork about intertext. I must point out that the reason I could discern what was intertextually linked and what (as I discussed in the subsequent article) was contextually derived, is contingent on me being a fan and having read Pratchett's books.

In practice, the fieldwork was conducted as a set of informal talks and discussions and participation in the events. Since I had been 'outed as a researcher' I could freely take notes and photograph events without the other fans thinking much about it. Usually if someone saw me taking notes, there were jokes or a follow up question about what

I found especially interesting. In that sense, I became an inside joke of the celebration in itself, a role that stuck with me during my stays.

Hogswatch 25-29 November 2011

The second fieldwork was conducted on the theme of trade and economics. I had concluded the year before that the economic benefits to various tradesmen in Wincanton were in need of investigation, due to the trade taking place and the familiarity between the fans and tradesmen in Wincanton. Talking to the crew of the Discworld Emporium, spending more time in the shop and speaking to the proprietors of the pubs, tradesmen such as the local butcher as well as the fans, quickly had me realizing that the trade in question was conducted in order to form and uphold relationships. One specific example of this was the pub proprietors who get an economic boost during the Hogswatch-celebration, most noticeably so the proprietor of the Bear Inn, because of the special relationship between the fans and said establishment. In a follow-up interview done online, the proprietor of the Bear stated that the Bear gets a huge part of the yearly income from the celebration and that it is a significant boost to the trade:

"We love the atmosphere and fun that the celebrations bring to our pub and it is vital financially to our business" (IF 2012:2).

Since this was the second fieldwork, it was also crucial for building the understanding of what parts of the celebration were repeated (see the list on page 32ff.). The benefits of repeated fieldwork mean that one can build upon earlier engagement, prompting not only the understanding of what is repeated, but also (in this case) what the rich points[23] (Agar 1996:31) were as well as helping to decide the key concept, for subsequent fieldwork. My repeated fieldwork in combination with my understanding of the intertextual connections helped me discern what the main events and goings-on during the celebration entail. In that sense, this combination helped me see new things (be surprised) at slight changes in events, such as the changes made for the last open mic evening party I attended.

Hogswatch 22-29 November 2012

The aim for the 2012 fieldwork in Wincanton was to discern the costuming traditions of the fans celebrating Hogswatch. In short, I was to ponder the question of "dress codes", the how, why and what of the different costumes involved in the celebration. It was also an initial fieldwork into storytelling performances and various staged

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[23] The points encountered in fieldwork that "surprise the ethnographer" that are contingent on previous understanding of the field (Agar 1996:31).

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narratives (due to the costuming often being used on stage). Thus, the fieldwork was about different forms of performance.

It is impossible as a folklorist to ignore the active storytelling tradition when speaking of the performance element in Wincanton: the event is full of different kinds of platform storytelling. The storytelling performed is a kind of stage storytelling, of which there are three distinct types:

1) Radio theatre adaptations of Pratchett's works performed live on stage before an audience (on Sunday noon)
2) Hired professional storytellers who do not tell stories related to Discworld
3) "Spontaneous" radio theatre, in which a group sits down and composes a story during the Hogswatch event that is later performed on the open mic night (Saturday evening)

During this year's fieldwork, I also identified various key informants. Being in Wincanton for the third time, I had learnt who organizes what and who the annual participants were. Since I knew who the key informants were, I could also understand more of the jokes in the storytelling performances, which was crucial for the argument in the article about the staged narratives.

Hogswatch 29 November –1 December 2013

The plan was to observe the celebration through the lens of carnivalism and gender. However, the carnivalistic aspect (i.e. breaking the rules of normal society or turning it upside down) was prominent in a wide range of activities during the celebration:

1) Gender
   The most showing breach of "norm" is the Hogswatch gender swapping quality and an emphasis on sexuality during the event. The Discworld fandom sees men wearing corsetry and women beards. Due to various descriptions in the Discworld novels[24], gender swapping is not uncommon and viewed as part of the intertextual common sense.

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[24] About the Guild of Seamstresses (Pratchett 2005) and female dwarfs being bearded (2009).

2) Age

The turning upside down of the norms of age is perhaps best described by one of my informants:

"What's fun about Hogswatch is that one (meaning her) is allowed to play, the adults of Hogswatch have rejected the usual rules for what it means to be adult in that we all play and have fun, most of us have real jobs you know but during Hogswatch we are allowed to behave like children" (Written down during conversation at the Bear 13:12 Friday 29 November 2013). (IF 2012:3)

3) Law (not in the sense of breaking the laws of the UK)

The understanding and play with the concept of law is best illustrated by the popularity among the fans of the thieves' guild (of which I will give a more extensive on page 32).

4) Life and Death

The character Death in the novels is one of the most cherished and beloved by the fans. This is because of his on-going personal mission to become more humanlike in order to understand what life entails. When visiting Hogswatch, you see many people dressed up like Death and his companion The Death of Rats. Another play on characters between life and death is the presence of un-dead characters such as zombies, Igors and vampires.

5) Religion

There is some play on religion in the Hogswatch celebration. Firstly (again), in the costuming derived from the Discworld books. One of the more carnivalistic features when it comes to the understanding of religion is the use of Nugganite leaflets. The God Nuggan in Discworld is a fairly new one (described in the book *Monstrous Regiment* [Pratchett 2003]) and since he is a new one he needs to assert himself by banning stuff. In the books, the holy text of the Nugganites is described as the only religious text that amends itself continuously, since Nuggan constantly amends his own prohibitions. Therefore, the Discworld Emporium used to sell post it-notes with a text declaring that "It is an abomination unto Nuggan to..." and the rest is up to the fans to fill in themselves.

6) Academia

When it comes to the subject of academia, it should be pointed out that the fans often ridicule the stereotype of British Oxbridge-type academics. This is

done by the use of and dressing up like Wizards. One example of the play with the academic stereotype was the play *A forecksian forum*, which was a re-appropriation of a short story by Pratchett depicting a committee meeting at the Unseen University of Ankh-Morpork, published in the collection *A Blink of an Eye* (Pratchett 2013). Since the fans doing the play were Australian in origin they had re-made it to depict a committee meeting at the University of Bugarup, Bugarup being the capital of Forecks, the Discworld equivalent of Australia. The play told about a committee meeting in which the Wizards discussed the economic situation of the university. The state of Bugarup wanted to have insight into what the university staff actually does and slice their budget, rendering the staff without proper snacks and beer. The committee did manage to put together another committee trying to answer the state's questions in a couple of years or so. This play shows the Discworld view on the British academic system.

7) Fiction and reality
It is evident that the Hogswatch-celebration plays with the boundary between reality and fiction. This is not in itself a carnivalistic characteristic. The intertextual connections to Discworld are used as a filter through which the ordinary is turned extraordinary or put upside down. Whether we are talking about gender, age, death, religion or academia, the notion is sifted through the satirical writings of Pratchett. Pratchett's writings can be interpreted as having carnivalistic features in themselves; stealing becomes legal, prostitution is viewed as a career choice, Death is studying life, religion and academics constitute the domain of slightly mad people and so on. The writings of Pratchett set the ethos for the celebration, making it acceptable to play with other cultural taboos and rules. In this sense, the intertextual connection to Discworld becomes a way to turn ordinary life upside down.

8) Reason
The participants in the celebration cherish and highlight the fact that they are all a bit crazy. It is not uncommon to hear comments on how the gathering people are all nuts, crazy, mad or fools. The celebration is viewed as a special kind of folly based in the mutual sense of humour derived from the Discworld books. This means that when the fans endorse the madness of the celebration, they do not mean madness in a clinical way or that everybody in the celebration is de facto mad (in any negative sense). What is expressed by the use of epithets such as loony, nuts or mad is the special form of folly based on the mutuality of reading Discworld-novels. This special folly comes with its

own common sense and set of rules based on the Discworld. Rules and sociofacts from regular society can be played with and broken because of the satirical nature of the Discworld. This is why you get carnivalistic characteristics in the Hogswatch-celebration; Discworld is an upside-down world and therefore the celebration is used to turn certain aspects of regular society on their head. The celebration allows people to be loony in a world that is otherwise deemed ordinary and boring.

Hogswatch 27 November–2 December 2014

The aim of the fieldtrip in 2014 was to discern and describe the changes the celebration has been going through since the beginning of my field studies in 2010. The report also serves as contemplation on the evolution of my role within Discworld fandom.

The major difference to previous years was that the celebration had grown. In fact so much that the main events took place in Wincanton's memorial hall, rather than the back room of the Bear. However, some of the events, for example "The Pink Pussycat Club Cabaret" on Saturday was still based in the Bear, alongside minor events, the reason being that there was not room enough to fit everyone into the Bear at any given time. This meant that the organization of the event itself became more organized and spread throughout Wincanton in order to accomondate everyone. It also meant that more events had to take place during the weekend. Hence there was more events planned; more than anyone could possibly attend.

Since the amount of people was staggering this year compared to earlier years, it had an effect on where the events were staged (i.e. the place of the celebration), but also resulted in a better timetable (i.e. time of the celebration). The joke of past years of "there is only one thing certain of the Hogswatch program, and that is that it may start before set time or, usually, past the set time, but never on the set time", seemed to have been dealt with. Surprisingly, many of the events in 2014 actually started on time. I interpret it as a consequence of the sheer number of events in 2014, which in turn was a consequence of the number of people attending. The increasing number of attendants as well as an extended program led to that keeping the time was more important than previous years. The celebration was, as stated earlier, spread out on several locations throughout Wincanton. This meant that the visibility of the (often costumed fans) was greater this year, with the fans having to move about more. It also meant that there was no chance to get all of the fans in one place at any one time, which would have been possible in, for instance, 2010.

The principal change over the years has been in my own relation vis-à-vis the fandom. The first couple of years, I was more of an observer in that I did not know what to expect. I was always welcome to observe and people were very helpful in providing answers to any and all questions I may have had. However, the more I got to know people and the event, the more I have been asked and volunteered to participate. This might seem a "natural cause of events", the more you know the easier it is to participate, since you have the context. Yet the intertextual knowledge of the books has been with me since I could read, which means that I during fieldwork had the kind of knowledge needed to participate and to assess what would be the ethos of the event. In 2010, when I started my field studies, I did not know how people would react to my writing a PhD-thesis on the subject. Before I entered Wincanton, I decided to keep quiet about it as long as anyone did not ask me directly. The next couple of years I have endured jokes about me and amicable fun in the form of "Ahh, you're that guy that actually gets paid to be here", or "How the hell did you dupe your university into paying you scoundrel", or "Since the university is paying you, you get the next round"; all in the spirit of having fun. In 2013, I was asked by Reb Voyce (of the Discworld Emporium) if I would be willing to give a speech on the folklore of Hogswatch. Since I now had become more of an insider, I thought I could do so. The hall was packed to the brim and there was I, giving an explanation on what I was doing. People seemed to enjoy it at the same time as they made jokes at my expense. For instance, one of the fans pointed out that the lecture now constituted a tradition which I needed to take into account when writing my thesis on Hogswatch-traditions. I was also approached by a fan afterwards, explaining to me that I "used to be a little like Jane Goodall, you know her with the apes, well after the lecture I just want to say welcome to apehood". When I was approached with the question of whether I would consider doing a Hogswatch/Christmas-folklore speech together with Professor Simpson for the 2014 celebration, I could not do otherwise than accept. Because I now knew that the entertainment during Hogswatch is offered on a you-bring-what-you-know-and-turn-it-into-a-form-of-entertainment-basis, and what I knew that could be turned into an event during Hogswatch was my knowledge of folklore. In 2014, 10 o' clock on Sunday, I held a conjoint speech on various bits of folklore concerning pigs and pork, and following me was Professor Simpson speaking on traditions concerning the scaring of children. The lecture was attended by (about) 70 people.

The Materialization of the Material

I have hitherto described the themes and some of the observations made during the fieldwork. My extensive fieldwork has yielded a lot of material in the form of field reports, photos, printworks (such as tickets and program sheets) and audio recordings. It should be said that it was a conscious choice not conducting traditional

ethnographic interview, due to the situation studied being a celebration. If I would have interrupted the flow of the celebration for any chosen informant, and introduced a level of formality, which in this case would have been alienated me as an observer. Besides the practical matter of conducting interviews would mean finding a suitable spot for doing the interview itself, which would have been difficult seeing that the observations where taking place in the situation of an ongoing celebration. A vast amount of material is archived in the Cultura archive at Åbo Akademi University's Department of Folklore. I want to briefly describe the manner in which I have collected this material, as well as briefly touch upon the subject of netnography, since some auxiliary material has been collected and sent to me online from fellow fans and informants.

Both cameras and audio recording equipment have been used as a complement to field notes and observations. By this, I mean that audio recordings and photos have been used to remember a certain performance or scenario within the fieldwork. Since there have been instances in which I deemed the scribbling of notes to be counterproductive or disturbing, audio recordings or photographs have been useful. An example of this is a recording of a storytelling session in 2013, when the entire storytelling session was caught on tape. The following tales were recorded:

Friday 29 November "Cautionary tales before bedtime'-event
1) *The computer that believed in Father Christmas* (Pratchett 2013)
2) *A Theatre of Cruelty*(Pratchett 2013)
3) *The man without a soul* (Belgian folktale)
4) *Witches' Christmas* (a story of the witches of Discworld visiting Earth during Christmas)

Rather than sitting and trying to participate and do notes at the same time, an audio recording better captures the whole event. I deemed using audio recording equipment instead of taking notes a far quicker and subtle way to work. The audio recording also better captures language and audience reactions.

Some of the material was also collected using netnography[25]. Netnography, which descends from an anthropological understanding of culture, adapts ethnographic methods to study cyber cultures of online environments such as personal websites, online/virtual communities, discussion forums, chat-rooms and blogs (Rokka 2010, Kozinets 2006). In this case, I have done a first stage netnographic search as described by Rokka: in "the first stage of netnography the researcher has a set of potential [...]

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[25] Specifically the part on the memorial mural

topics specified before the online research journey begins. Thereafter, various online search engines (for example, those designed for blogs) can be used to sample related online communities with most traffic or specific subject areas" (Rokka 2010, 384). The netnography has been conducted on the Discworld Emporium website forum and by having pictures sent to me by fans. Some discussions have also been conducted using Facebook.

Having said this, I should also point out that all recordings and photos used in either the publication of the articles or in this thesis have been produced with the expressed consent of the persons involved. I also want to point out that no recordings have been done covertly and that, since the participants have been informed of my project, there have been no problems in obtaining the rights of people portrayed in photos and on audio, should I have needed them.[26] This is also true of the netnographic material. All names of fans in either the articles or in the thesis have been published with their consent. The informants in this case study have rather been eager to participate in my study, wanting to pose for pictures, taking time to answer questions or chat, sharing pictures and video content and so on. In that sense this study is in collaboration with the informants on, perhaps, a more elevated level than in, more conventional fieldwork, requiring immersion of me and the informants and a mutuality, in a sense making us work together. This is of course one of the key strengths of participant observation, and is not unique to this study (cf. Agar 1996:16).

Having explained the themes and practicalities of the fieldwork, I will now describe the sites, the celebration and demography of the Hogswatch celebration as observed. This is necessary in order for the reader to understand the argumentation in the articles and consequently of this thesis.

Seeing the Sites – Wincanton

First mentioned in the Domesday Book[27], Wincanton is a small town in Somerset with about 5,000 inhabitants. It is situated on the extreme southeast of Somerset almost on the borders of Dorset and Wiltshire, in the Blackmore Vale. The town is known for the local racecourse and is an important stopover on the main route from London to

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[26] The case has rather been the opposite, with people posing for photos as they wanted to be part of this project.
[27] "The Domesday Book was commissioned in December 1085 by William the Conqueror, who invaded England in 1066. The first draft was completed in August 1086 and contained records for 13,418 settlements in the English counties south of the rivers Ribble and Tees (the border with Scotland at the time)." (Doemsday book online accessed 6.11.2017)

Exeter. Prior to the connection to Discworld, the town was also known as a market town and for its dairy industry (Wincanton Town Council website 24.4.2017).

In 2000, Bernard Pearson and his associates opened the Discworld Emporium on the High Street in the town. The shop trades in Discworld paraphernalia and artwork made by Mr. Pearson and his crew. Soon after the shop was established, Wincanton gained a reputation among Discworld fans as a destination worthy of a visit. The town takes its connection to Discworld seriously. The Town Council twinned Wincanton with the Discworld city of Ankh-Morpork in 2002, and on 5 April 2009, a number of roads were retitled with names taken from Ankh-Morpork, such as *Peach Pie Street* and *Treacle Mine Road*, after a short-list was voted upon by fans. Councillor at the time and former Mayor of Wincanton even got quoted by the BBC saying:

The association with Discworld works extremely well for our town, helping to boost the local economy. I even know of three families who moved to Wincanton because of this quirky connection. ("*Roads named after Discworld books*", BBC Somerset, retrieved 5 April, 2009)

The town itself is a quaint market town located in "a countryside of diversified and unspoilt scenery which ranges from the lush pastures of the Blackmore Vale, through orchards and richly wooded combes to the hills with panoramic views over Somerset and adjacent counties" (Wincanton Town Council website, retrieved 24 April, 2017). Wincanton town also marks every Hogswatch by flying the Ankh-Morpork flag on the Town Hall, and during the 2012 celebration, the town also chipped in with a performance of their own: the 10-year celebration of the twinning ceremony. This entailed the Wincanton Council House sporting the Union Jack and the Ankh-Morpork flag side by side and a ceremony at which the Mayor of Wincanton, The Patrician of Ankh-Morpork (portrayed by Stephen Briggs), Pratchett and Bernard Pearson all spoke. Bernard was also awarded (by the former mayor of Wincanton and the town council) a "Day Hood", seeing that (in contrast to Pratchett) he will never get a Knighthood. In the speech delivered by hon. Mayor Colin Wilder, the fans were thanked by the town of Wincanton for their loyalty to the town. Wilder spoke of an article in *The Times* that had named Wincanton "a market town without a market, twinned with a town that doesn't exist". Wilder also underscored the economic benefit to the town of Wincanton in that the fans visit every year.

Seeing the Sites – The Discworld Emporium

> Why Wincanton, you may ask... well, on signing the deeds Terry said that we would be close enough to work with, but not too close as to be a nuisance, and we couldn't argue with that! (Discworld Emporium website, retrieved 24.4.2017)

The Discworld Emporium crew[28] may have started the collaboration with Terry Pratchett in 1991, but in 2000 the shop known as The Discworld Emporium (and sometimes the Cunning Artificers) was founded. The shop itself is located in a Victorian brick building in the town center of Wincanton, a few hundred meters south of the market place. The collaboration between the crew and Pratchett started off in a smaller scale business of making Discworld-related figurines in a company called Clarecraft, growing into a business that includes publishing books as well as making and selling merchandise connected to Discworld. The store is decorated in a Victorian style and the entire endeavour is (rightly) described as more of a cottage industry-type of effort, run by personal friends and associates of Pratchett:

Throughout Terry Pratchett's career Discworld merchandise remained very much a cottage industry. Not being one for grand commercial pursuits, Terry entrusted his merchandise to a small band of close friends and associates including ourselves, Paul Kidby, Josh Kirby, PJSM Prints and Stephen Briggs. (Discworld Emporium website, retrieved 24.4.2017)

This is in line with Pratchett's view on how he wanted to conduct and control his franchise: "Usually when people have a really big series they franchise it, which I thought is a bit of a no-no, so I thought what I'd do is I'd franchise it to myself" (Discworld Emporium website, retrieved 24.4.2017). In the later years and since his death, the intellectual property is controlled by the production company *Narrativia*, run by Terry's PA Rob Willkins and Pratchett's family. In a 2012 press release, the mission statement of Narrativia stated: "NARRATIVIA will ensure that projects stay true to the author's intelligent and empathetic vision, while diversifying into the formats that will introduce the work, both old and new, to new territories and audiences." (Narrativia Press release 1 October 2012)

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[28]Bernard Pearson (Founder and Company Janitor), Isobel Pearson (Founder and Designated Grown-up), Ian Mitchell (MD and Creative Scrote) and Reb Voyce (Director and Chief Cat-herder)

The Discworld Emporium staff was part of a system of what I can only describe (or agree to their own description) as a "cottage industry" surrounding the works of Discworld. Everything produced by the store (and the store itself) was done in close collaboration with Pratchett (and later on with the current owners of the intellectual property). The store itself is filled with books, prints, handmade figurines, sculptures and games, and the customers are often treated to a cup of tea and candy from the jar on the desk. The entire ethos of the store is to be a shop dedicated to the Discworld where fans can meet and greet, in a brick and mortar shop that brings to mind a Victorian post office. (Discworld Emporium website, retrieved 24.4.2017)

Seeing the Sites – The Pubs

Since the celebration takes place in several pubs and eateries in Wincanton, I want to describe these places. There are (mainly) three pubs involved in hosting the celebration: The Bear Inn, the Dolphin and The Nog Inn. These are the pubs that both host an annual dinner and serve as the scene of much of the goings-on during the celebration. They also accommodate the fans, making it difficult for other travellers to book rooms during Hogswatch weekend, or as the proprietor of the Bear told me:

Many of our customers are repeat trade. That is of course due to the program of events that are organised for us but we also try to put on Hogswatch food and entertainment. We refer to the b&b trade that weekend as "dead men" shoes as the rooms are booked from one event to another. (IF 2012/004 4)

The Bear is a pub between the market place and the Discworld Emporium on High Street[29]. The Bear served as the central stage for most of the Hogswatch-related ceremonies until 2013, when the venue grew too small. The 2010–2012 celebrations were largely held in the 'Sweetman Hall', which is a larger room in the back of The Bear Inn containing a stage. The later celebrations were moved to the Wincanton Memorial Hall[30], due to the increase in participants. The Bear also sports a special Hogswatch lunch menu, consisting of a pork pie from a recipe in the books. The pie is called "Mrs. Whitlow's Artery-Hardening Hogswatch Pie". They also have a special Friday night curry and a special Sunday night quiz as part of the program. The Bear enjoys a special status among the fans, and this was explicitly shown by the fans in 2011 when they gave the proprietor a placard stating: "The Bear is the official Hogswatch pub and is frequented by Discworld fans as well as Sir Terry Pratchett

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[29] The location of the Bear and the Discword Emporium means that during Hogswatch one can see the fans ambulate between the two locations.
[30] A community gathering hall commemorating the Great War.

himself" (IF 2012/ 004). The Bear Inn was also voted the top pub in Britain later the same year in the Famous Grouse-sponsored list of top 30 British pubs (*Western Daily Press*, 2 November 2011, retrieved 28 May, 2013).

The Dolphin was partly used during the celebrations to host a gaming room, and in the earlier years for hosting a 'makers market'. The makers market is a market of handicrafted goods and fan-made paraphernalia relating to fantasy at large and to Discworld. This market was later on moved to the Wincanton Balsam Centre[31] hall, due to the increase in vendors. The Dolphin also sells a special "Nanny Ogg's cider" (named for the Discworld Witch Nanny Ogg) during the celebration. In addition, the Dolphin sports a skittles lane and the Ankh-Morpork crest mounted on the wall.

The Nog Inn is the smallest of the venues. In the earlier years, it served as the host for storytellers telling stories, and lectures. The lectures in the later years (some of which I myself held) were either in the Memorial Hall or the Balsam Centre.

There are a few other places worth mentioning as hosts for Hogswatch, in relation to food and drink. There is a yearly curry event held at one of Wincanton's curry houses. The venue for this has changed from year to year. One should also mention the cider house "Uncle Tom's Cabin", just up the road from the Discworld Emporium; after Pratchett's death, it has a new sign put up with an intertextual connection to Discworld (BBC Somerset 23.03.2015). The sign depicts a man bearing a resemblance to Pratchett, sitting by a mended drum, alluding to a bar with the name the Mended Drum in the Discworld (Pratchett, Pearson, Pearson, Mitchell & Voyce 2012:27). The sign was unveiled just a few days after Pratchett's death.

Hogswatch – a Gathering of Loonies

In the bleak midwinter, frosty winds make moan. People, on the other hand, makes as much loud and cheerful noise as they can […] It's a way of telling the sun what you expect of him – 'Rise and shine, Sun, start to grow strong again, drive back the Ice Giants, bring us the warmth of Spring'. The Sun needs a bit of encouragement, whatever astronomers may say. (Pratchett & Simpson 2008:340)

Hogswatch, as pointed out earlier, is the annual midwinter festival on the Discworld. Described at length in the 1999 novel *The Hogfather* (Pratchett 1999), it is an appropriation in literary form of various customs and traditions related to Christmas

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[31] A center for social gatherings and healthy living and social interaction next to the Memorial Hall.

in Europe; with trees and holly being brought inside, pork being eaten and gifts exchanged (Pratchett & Simpson:340 ff.). Hogswatch has its own anthropomorphic personification in the gift bringer "The Hogfather". The Hogfather is a boar-faced, fat man in a red suit who "gallops across the skies in a sledge drawn by wild boars" (Ibid:341), and delivers gifts by descending through the chimneys of Discworld and stuffing stockings.

The Hogswatch celebration in Wincanton takes place during the last weekend in November. The celebration started around the same time the Discworld Emporium store was founded.[32]

Having conducted fieldwork, I can confidently say that the celebration has certain parts that need to be there in order for it to be Hogswatch. These are as follows:

(1) *A kick-off ceremony/Initiation*
The kick off ceremony is held at the Bear and consists of an initiation of those who have not been to Hogswatch before. This takes the form of an initiation ritual of the Ankh-Morpork Guild of Thieves (Wincanton Branch), in which a Guild oath is read and memberships distributed. It is accompanied by a sketch and the "Head of the guild", Mr. Boggis (the name is that of a character from the books) asking if there are any "virgins" in the house. Then all newcomers must stand up and wave after which the guild oath is taken by everyone in the room:

I (INSERT NAME HERE) hereby pledge my loyalty and allegiance to the Guild of Thieves. Do willingly give 15% of all monies from my trade to support the brotherhood of Larceny. Promise to abide by the articles of appropriation, smite the unlicensed and ALWAYS LEAVE A RECEIPT! Else my Figgins may be rent asunder over hot coals (IF 2012/4, 1)

This might strike the reader as a peculiar way to start the celebration, but it makes sense when put in relation to how the Guild of Thieves is portrayed on the Discworld:
 If you are accosted by footpad, sneak thief or cut purse, then politely ask to see their badge and identification. When this is proffered (and all guild thieves are obliged to do so without complaint) you will know that the service will be fair and equable and of the highest standard. You should always receive a receipt, which you need to keep on your person as proof you paid your dues. (Pratchett, Pearson, Pearson, Mitchell & Voyce 2012:46)

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[32] When asked about it, the fans and crew of the Discworld Emporium seemed to count from different years, or give answers like 'it was probably in…'

The ceremony is a form of inside joke, setting the tone or ethos of Discworld into the celebration. The ceremony is voluntary and no-one must participate, although it is the official kick-off of the celebration.

(2) *The Hogfather (or rather Death masking as the Hogfather) giving out presents*
The Hogfather's visit is the Hogswatch equivalent of Father Christmas's visit on Christmas. It is organized as a secret Santa kind of event. The members of the Emporium internet forum set up a list of participants some time before Hogswatch and then draw a 'secret Santa' (or Hogfather as it were) to buy and wrap a gift for another participant. All the gifts are put in the Hogfather's bag, and the Hogfather distributes them at an event during Hogswatch. The gift does not necessarily have to relate to Discworld and are often the same kind of gifts you would get for Christmas.

If you are not familiar with the books it may look odd when the giver of gifts is the Grim Reaper cloaked in a Santa Claus outfit. It is interesting to see that also children (there are a lot of them around) that participate in Hogswatch (it is a family holiday) do not care that the jolly gift giver has a skull mask on. One could think that it would be scary, being five and getting holiday-gifts from Death, but no.

(3) *Hogswatch sausage supper*
Another intertextual "bridge" between Discworld and the celebration in Wincanton is the food. Both in the book *Hogfather* (Pratchett 1997) and the celebration in Wincanton they have pork on the menu, pork-sausages and pie. "The name 'Hogswatch' makes perfectly good sense for the Discworld, where the festive fare at midwinter is centered on pigs-meat in one form or another" (Pratchett & Simpson 2008:341).

The sausage supper is the official Hogswatch meal. It consists of sausages and mashed potatoes, followed by a dessert. The meal itself needs to be pre-booked and is consumed at one of the pubs in Wincanton.

(4) *Open mic evening*
The open mic evening takes place after dinner and is an event at which anybody can take to the stage in *The Bear*'s back room and entertain with songs, dance, sketches, poetry and so on.

There are other types of performances with intertextual connections to Discworld. For instance in 2012 there was a Mr. Miss. It. Discworld contest, where the first Miss Discworld was crowned. There is also a traditional 12 days of Hogswatch song performed during the event that goes like this:

On the twelfth day of Hogswatch, my true love gave to me...
12 - Watch Proceedings, 11 - Feegles Stealing, 10 - Trolls a stomping, 9 - Dwarves a Digging, 7a - Wizards Chanting, 7 - Hippos swimming , 6 – Beggar's Begging, 5- Skull Rings, 4 – Elephants, 3 – Witches, 2 – Vampires. And a turtle Swimming through Space!

The song is performed to the tune of 12 days of Christmas. And everyone sings it as a kind of sing-along. Noticeably the number 8 is missing in the text as the number 8 is considered unlucky on the Disc.

(5) *The charity auction*

Another tradition surrounding Hogswatch is the annual charity auction. Discworld paraphernalia and whatever people put in the auction box are for sale. The money is donated to Alzheimer's research as well as to other local Wincanton charities, giving money to the local school library to buy books for example. The auction is always a spectacular event hosted by Pat Harkin as auctioneer. Harkin has hosted many auctions on several Discworld events, and as such knows how to joke about the reoccurring bidders (including myself):

In the auction I was also forced to bid on a hat with a duck on it. The joke being that the character having a duck on his head in Discworld novels is a very smart beggar with academic knowledge who happens to have a duck on his head and does not realise that he does, being insane. I bid on it until the price reached £12 and then stopped, but since my rival bidder also had taken her hand down I was asked by Dr. Pat Harkin (the auctioneer) if I would keep on bidding ending in Harkin raising the price to £15 since "You have a bloody research grant anyway". (Field report IF 2012/003)

(6) *The traditional sendoff*

The last part of the traditional Hogswatch celebration is the sendoff, where Bernard Pearson holds a long thank you speech, followed by the words: "And now ladies and gentlemen ... PISS OFF!" This annual speech is usually delivered in the Sweetman Hall at the Bear, and is accompanied by cake. The fans bring baked goods specifically made for this ending ceremony, swapping recipes and enjoying various forms of cake. In the

speech, Bernard sums up his thoughts about the fandom, the celebration and gives bits of news of what is going on at the Emporium.

Dressing up

A yearly theme derived from the novels always dictates some of the events: themes of sketches performed and dress up. There are roughly six types of costume bearers on Hogswatch:

1) The ones that dress up in Victorian dress
2) The ones that "make up" their own plausible Discworld character
3) The ones that come dressed up as a character from the book
4) The ones that are the original inspiration for either Terry's characters or Paul Kidby's famous illustrations of Terry's characters
5) The ones that Terry himself has designated as a certain character and therefore dress up like said character
6) The burlesque crowd

Surprisingly many participants do not dress up at all. Professor Jacqueline Simpson pointed out that she does not come to the event dressed up because it is not a Discworld convention, nor is it meant to be. In her words: "The people of Ankh-Morpork don't dress up as fictional characters on Hogswatch, so I don't". It should be worth noting that the ones that do not dress up are usually the people that have been with the celebration the longest. They do not feel the need to dress up during the celebration. In contrast the ones who dress up like characters directly from the books are usually the newcomers to the event. Most of the participants, however, do invent their own Discworld-character.

Due to the Victorian feel of the town Ankh-Morpork in Pratchett's novels, there is also a large crowd dressing up in Victorian get-up. Much of the overall ethos of Ankh-Morpork is re-situated from descriptions of Victorian London. Therefore, it makes sense that there is a large number of the participants that dress up in Victorian clothes. These are, however, not dressed up as any Discworld character at all, but are rather just clothed in Victorian clothes. The same goes for the burlesque-themed dressers. In the books, there is a guild called "The Guild of Seamstresses", they are a pastiche on Victorian prostitutes mixed with a modern burlesque feeling. Therefore, some of the more exhibitionist participants do dress up in corsets. Here I want to point out that all dressing during Hogswatch is not at all divided along any kind of gender lines. It is not unusual to meet men in their forties wearing corsets and stockings, and women in beards is not unheard of either. Moreover, nobody is shocked or makes an issue of any

cross-dressing costumes, and I mean nobody, not the bar staff, not the locals and certainly not the participants. It is viewed as normal procedure to see at least four or five cross-dressers at Hogswatch.

Intertextually speaking, there are two really interesting forms of costumes in the Hogswatch-celebration. First, the one that is designated the original inspiration for either Terry's characters or the illustrations of those characters. This entails that either Terry Pratchett has used a certain person as a template for a specific character in the books or Paul Kidby for the illustration of a character in the books. This means, in short, that they are the original character. This is the case with Sane Alex. He is not in costume per se but rather comes as himself. In such cases, the facial features of this person might look familiar. In a sense, these persons 'dress up' as the characters they are the original inspiration for. But Sane Alex, for instance, is described as himself in Terry's books, and does not need to dress up like anything. He is Sane Alex, plain and simple.

The other group that is of significant intertextual interest is the one that was told who they look like, and therefore should dress up like, by Terry Pratchett himself. There are several people that dress up according to what Terry has designated them as. One prime example is Andrew, who always dresses up like the wizard Ponder Stibbons. This is because he was once dressed up as a generic wizard from Discworld in front of Terry Pratchett, but had what Terry thought was a pair of glasses that matched Terry's image of the wizard Ponder Stibbons. Terry then exclaimed: "Ponder! Get out of those robes!" and explained to Mr. Tucker that Ponder Stibbons under no circumstances uses the traditional Wizard robe of Discworld, but rather uses a leather jacket. Now, Andrew was not trying to look like Ponder Stibbons at all, he was only dressed up as a wizard, but since that day he is always dressed up like Ponder Stibbons. He told me that Pratchett would not have it any other way, so now he is Ponder Stibbons.

I myself had a similar experience during 2012 year's Hogswatch. I had my normal cheap shonky-shop three-piece suit on, and the lady I was staying with suggested I should wear a hat with it. I went up to Kris's hat collection and chose a stove pipe hat (thinking that it would turn me into a little bit of a Victorian character). When I met up with Terry at the Wincanton Town Hall he pointed at me and said "Now, that's a Dodger if I ever seen one". Dodger is the protagonist in Terry's latest non-Discworld novel named *Dodger* (Pratchett 2012), on the cover of which there is a young Victorian scallywag in a shonky-shop suit and a stove pipe. Everyone who heard Pratchett proclaim this later told me that I am now "designated by the creator" and therefore

must dress up like Dodger on future Discworld-events. My hostess Miss Kriss Russel, gave me the hat as a Hogswatch-gift.

The Fans

Last but not least, I want to say something of the concoction of fans travelling to and participating in the celebration. I have met fans from all socioeconomic backgrounds, between the ages of 6 months to their late eighties. There is a wide variety of nationalities represented (from UK and Ireland, to Thailand, Australia, the Nordic countries, Europe, the United States). Having said this, there was an increasing number of international participants during the latter years, due to the overall increase in visitors. In 2010, there were about 100–200 participants in the celebration, in 2014 there were 1000–2000. The result of this is that after the 2014 celebrations, the celebration has been down-tuned a bit. There was a hiatus of an "official Hogswatch-celebration" (meaning that the Discworld Emporium staff could no longer partake in the organization of the celebration) due to the increase in workload and people, as well as the death of Terry Pratchett in 2015.

The fans, however, keep gathering in Wincanton for Hogswatch or "A winter gathering of the loonies" or "definitely not Hogswatch", and organize the celebration yearly in much the same way as before. The name has changed partly as an inside joke, meaning that the celebration is going on as usual. But in part the organisation of the event have shifted more to the fans, since the Discworld Emporium staff had an overflow of work following the Death of Pratchett in 2015.

Within the group, one can see different subgroupings related to what people participate in. For instance, as previously stated, there are those who dress up and those who do not. Since nothing during the celebration in the strictest sense is mandatory, people tend to participate in different things and some fans participate in more events, some are simply enjoying the company of other fans without necessarily partaking in most of the events.

The, perhaps, most striking understanding of the fans and their definition of the celebration is the use of the word family and family gathering to describe the event. It should also be said that the fans also describe themselves as loonies in the sense that any local gathering of people who have participated in the Wincanton celebration is referred to as "a gathering of loonies".

Methodological and Theoretical Contextualization

This chapter is an outline of the methodological and theoretical concepts used in this thesis. The chapter starts with a discussion on previous studies in the fields of intertext and fandom, from a folklorist's perspective. After the previous research the field methodology of reflexive participant observation is discussed. Subsequently the three main theoretical concepts/tools utilized in the research process are presented and defined in subsections: "Folklore", "Fandom" and "Intertext". The theoretical tools that are more specifically used in the articles are published in the articles themselves.

Previous Studies in Fandom, Previous Studies of Intertext

In the subsequent section, I will outline previous research on fandom and intertext. I touch upon the previous research into respective fields that I find interesting from a folkloristic point of view. I do this is order to position myself within the field of both schools of thought and consequently explicate my view on what this thesis project is contributing to both fields.

The Study of Fandom

Much like the study of folklore, the study of fandom is largely interdisciplinary, drawing upon both social sciences and schools of thought in social psychology. This is so because of previous understandings of audiences and the break with the view of the passive consuming audience, spearheaded by media scholars such as John Fiske (1990)[33]. Earlier audience scholars had viewed audiences in terms of gratification or fulfilment of a need by consuming media (cf. Lamerichs 2014:4) and many studies were largely quantitative. Fiske inserted a qualitative element to the study of media and audience, making him a precursor to modern studies into fandom, and injected semiotics and audience ethnography into the field of media studies (Fiske 1990). The socio-psychological roots of audience studies and the qualitative studies on audience have led to a development of two schools of thought in fan studies, best illustrated by the two scholars Matt Hills (who adheres to a sociopsychologist school) and Henry Jenkins (who adheres to a social constructivist view). I will discuss their contribution more extensively later on.

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[33] *Understanding Popular Culture* (2nd ed.). London & New York: Routledge.

There is also a divide in the aim of studies of fandom. On the one hand, there is a form of fandom scholarship that is primarily concerned with the definition of fandom, on the other there is the study of what fans do and produce. An early example of fandom studies is the 1992 anthology *The Adoring Audience – Fan Culture and Popular Media* (ed. Lewis), in which various scholars present their view on what fandom entails, by describing the various debates surrounding fans at the time.[34] The anthology contains both ends of the fandom studies spectrum. Most noticeably, the more theoretical views on fandom (in a more sociopsychologist respect) is Lawrence Grossberg's contribution on affect and affective sensibility (1992:50–68), which was further developed by Matt Hills, whereas Jenkins' more constructivist view is represented in his contribution on the notion of an interpretive community (Jenkins 1992:208–236). The entire volume is primarily concerned with descriptions of fandom in the light of an emerging field of study of the cultural phenomenon known as fandom. It is also noteworthy that the volume contains studies on everything from media franchises to sports fandom and music, and that it is an audience studies based work altogether, highlighting the turn to studies of actual audiences around this time.

A highly influential work in the study of fandom and its texts is Henry Jenkins' work *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture (1992), now considered a classic. It outlines Jenkins' idea of fandom as participatory culture and, more importantly, his idea of textual poaching, a term developed from the thoughts of Michel de Certeau. The point of the study is to illustrate* "the ways readers' attempts to reclaim media materials for their own purposes necessarily transform those 'borrowed terms' in the process of reproducing them" (Jenkins 1992:227). Jenkins' work can be seen as the first combining a certain intertextual knowledge perspective with the construction of community (although it is not an explicitly intertextual study). It is also a study based on ethnography, with the purpose of collecting and describing fandom texts, such as fanfiction.[35] In addition, it is the first ethnographic study, where fandom was studied from "the inside", prompting a debate ever since about fandom scholars' involvement with their material.[36]

Jenkins' study has been most influential when it comes to the material of study in fandom research, i.e. the textual production of fans. Following Jenkins, a lot of research has been made on fanfiction, for instance *The Fan Fiction Studies Reader*

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[34] The pathological fan (Jenson), Cultural economy and the habitus of fans (Fiske), Production (Jenkins).

[35] Fanfiction is the appropriation or poaching of franchised characters, by writing new stories in a pre-existing narrative universe (e.g. new stories about Luke Skywalker set in the Star Wars universe).

[36] A debate this thesis will contribute to for sure.

(Hellekson & Busse 2014), *Adolescents and Online Fan Fiction* (Black 2008) and *Enterprising Women* (Bacon-Smith 1992), to name a few. Moreover, the more theoretical works on fandom of latter years tend to have significant parts of the material collected in the form of fanfiction, for instance the 2012 anthology *Fan Culture* (Larsen & Zuberis 2012a) or *Fandom At The Crossroads* (Larsen & Zuberis 2012b). The ethnographic/netnographic material collected for fandom studies also tends to be concentrated on the textual production of fans and the textual expressions of fandom. It is also noteworthy that a lot of the material discussed when discussing fanfiction (also in the titles mentioned above) is on a specific genre of fanfiction, namely Slash fiction[37] and through a gender/queer theoretical perspective.

At the other end of the spectrum is the more socio-psychological school of thought, stretching from Joli Jenson's discussion on fandom as pathology (Jenson 1992) to Grossberg's discussion on affect, and to the discussion on the psychology and psychoanalyzing of fans (Hills 2002:95). This kind of research, especially into notions such as affect and emotions (since fandom is affective) is needed in order to discuss the attachment fans have to the text. This discussion is indeed conducted at length by Matt Hills in his influential book *Fan Cultures* (2002), discussing notions such as affective play (Ibid:93) and fan-psychology (Ibid:43). Hills' discussion on various notions of affect is often combined with a different source material than that of the more fanfiction centered scholars, having done research on TV-franchise fandom (Doctor Who[38], 2010 and 2014 respectively) and the affective play and responses (cf. Hills 2010:195) of fans travelling to the "Doctor Who Experience"[39] in Cardiff. This choice of material (the experience of the fans) and theoretical approach (affect) has led Hills to often coming across as a critic of cultural studies and/or ethnographic interpretation of fandom, arguing that it is "assumed to productively combine elements of fandom (passion/knowledge) and academia (critical detachment)" (Hills 2012:14). The point of Hills' critique concerns the debate of maintaining 'proper distance' to the material studied, and is essentially a critique of the lack of proper distance between the fandom scholar and the fandom. Hills often goes into methodological discussion on reflexivity or lack thereof within the field of fan studies, and I do agree with him on many levels; there is a lack of serious reflexive discussion

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[37] Slash fiction is the name for the genre of fanfiction that depicts erotic meetings between characters from a franchise (or between franchises. Not seldom with a homo-erotic undertone. It gets its name from the Slash (/) because it is often categorized according to the two (or more characters) involved in the erotica; e.g. Harry Potter/Ron Weasly.
[38] Classic English science fiction TV-show.
[39] An multimedial, immersive museum and experience center and gift shop upheld by the BBC.

within the field. With that said, I see the divide and debate between the two schools of thought[40] as more of a hindrance than a help.

The fandom ethnographical work that I see as breaking with this pattern is of a kind that looks upon the experience of fans using primarily cultural studies and/or ethnographic folkloristic theories and methodology. One such example is Nicole Lamerichs' 2014 dissertation on the intermediality and productivity of fandom (Lamerichs 2014). Lamerichs uses fieldwork material to discuss a wide spectrum of fandom activity, through the lens of productivity. There are a few folkloristic articles on fandom as well. One such article is Matthew Hale's article on adornment and cosplay, in which the material discussed is collected through fieldwork at a fandom convention (Hale 2014). What these two examples have in common is the use of proper ethnographic fieldwork to study expressions other than fanfiction which is overrepresented in the field (cf. Hills 2012:20).

My Contribution to the Field of Fandom Studies

Looking at the state of current fandom research, I argue that my main contribution to the field is a case study of fandom based on solid ethnographic fieldwork. Since I am schooled in the context of Finnish folkloristics (in which issues of self-reflexivity are constantly reviewed and discussed), the thesis should be of value in the discussion on reflexivity and the closeness of scholars to a fandom material (a field of discussion that is sorely lacking). By using folkloristic theory in my articles, I have wanted to bridge the gap I perceive between the schools of thought. This has been done by combining thoughts on affect with those on participatory culture; the one (affect) cannot be expressed without the other (participation). My thesis also contributes by giving fandom studies a "new set" of theoretical tools. This is done by using theories common in the study of folklore.

The Study of Intertext

In this section, I contemplate earlier research on the notion of intertext. I will particularly account for the understanding presented by folkloristics. I do this in order to be able to properly present my contributions to the understanding of intertext, and to position myself as an intertextual scholar.

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[40] Perhaps best illustrated by the chapter in Henry Jenkins' 2006 work *Fans, Bloggers and Gamers,* in which a scholarly discussion on fandom between Jenkins and Hills is presented (Jenkins 2006:9–36).

The notion of intertext was coined by Julia Kristeva in 1969 (Allen 2000:1). Since then it has largely been developed and used within literary studies[41]. However, it has had a profound impact on the field of folkloristics, and it is that discussion I will briefly touch upon here. The main works used to define intertextuality in this thesis will be discussed more extensively in the chapter on intertext.

Intertext and intertextual scholarship have largely been used within folkloristics to show a lot of different processes taking place between narrative genres, performances and conversation (cf. Bauman 2004). One of these processes that have been described is the flow of folklore texts into literature. Indeed, one of the two main theories on intertext discussed later in this thesis are on this topic: *Re-situating Folklore* (de Caro & Jordan 2004). The other main theory used in this thesis (that of Susan Stewart 1979) is another folklorist use of the notion, which is to study the sense making made in the relation between texts; how texts make sense. This use of the notion is also present in works of prominent folklorist Richard Bauman who studies how intertext is created and used in conversation, rather than just being a meeting point of meaning between texts (cf. Bauman 2004:5)[42]. Bauman views intertextuality as "the relational orientation of text to other texts" (Ibid:4), and he uses the term to open up the concepts of genre and performance. With Charles Briggs, Bauman has also done earlier work with intertext to discuss the notion of genre (Briggs & Bauman 1992), using the notion of intertext as a tool.

Within Finnish folkloristics, the use of intertextual theory has been prominent as well, both in describing intertextual relations between different genres of text but more importantly the use of text to create meaning. One example is the study of the use of intertext in the performance of stories about trolls in the Swedish-speaking parts of Finland (Asplund Ingemark 2004), in which the notion of intertext is used to analyse the construction of the image of the troll. Intertextual theories have also been used by Finnish folklorist Lotte Tarkka in describing communication through performance between a narratee and narrator, forming an intertextual universe (Tarkka 1994:293–294). Furthermore, Finnish folklorist Laura Stark-Arola contemplates intertext as a research method. Pointing out the scholarly use of certain key texts and the understanding of text in a large corpus of material, Stark-Arola (1998:68) discusses intertext in the light of finding keys to describe a larger cultural thought complex (ibid.; cf. Asplund Ingemark 2004:27).

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[41] As an excellent introduction to the notion's history and development, I recommend Graham Allen's book *Intertextuality* (2000).
[42] The meeting point between texts is often referred to as generic intertext (Bauman 2008:5 ff.) or intertext proper (Asplund Ingemark 2004).

In addition to this, what I call a folkloristic understanding of intertext, there is of course a vast amount of other scholarly uses of the notion. The difference is that for instance literary intertextual scholars seem to regard intertextual connections, and intertext as interpretation, whereas folklorists seem to use the term to explicate various processes[43]. It has to be said that a lot of literary scholars also use the notion of intertext to describe what parts of Shakespeare come from what source of inspiration (Lynch 1998) or how for instance quotations, references and allusions are used in Roman poetry (Edmunds 2003:134); i.e. the stylistic use of intertexts in which the meaning of a specific text is built on the understanding of another.

The reason for me bringing this to attention is that there is a large body of work concerning this kind of intertext alluding to fantasy literature. This is not surprising, since writers like J.R.R Tolkien and, of course, Pratchett readily used folklore, mythology, history and language to construct their worlds (as discussed and presented by Pratchett & Simpson 2008, Lee 2014, or the annual scholarly review/journal 'Tolkien Studies', eds. Drout et al. 2004 ff.). This kind of work is perhaps the largest scholarly endeavour presenting and discussing intertext in conjunction with fantasy literature.[44]

The study of intertext that influenced me, then, is of two distinct uses of the term. On the one hand, there is the use by literary scholars describing intertext or "intertext proper" (Asplund Ingemark 2004:21–22); intertext as a text which builds its meaning on the relation to other texts. On the other hand, there is the intertextual scholarship of the various processes described as intertextual stemming from folklore research. Indeed, this entire thesis was based on my understanding of the intertextual use of Pratchett, and my 'scholarly upbringing' in the many uses of intertext in Finnish folkloristics in particular.

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[43] In itself not a surprising idea since literary scholars are (rightly so) interested in literary texts.

[44] On top of this, there is fandom discussions, debates and panels on the intertext between mythology, folklore and fantasy-literature conducted at various conventions, meetings and gatherings. Some of them I have myself, in my capacity as a folklorist and a fandom scholar, partaken in as invited expert, both during the Hogswatch celebration and at various conventions in the Nordic countries.

My Contribution to the Study of Intertext within Folkloristics

This thesis is in line with the folkloristic use of the notion of intertext in that it uses the term to describe a process of sorts. However, whereas earlier scholars of the intertextual connections between folklore and literature have concentrated on the folklore becoming literature, this thesis describes how literature becomes folklore, in a fandom setting. This leads to a further understanding of how intertext is used in practice, which should be of interest to folklorists who are intertextually inclined.

A Brief Scholarly Positioning

In light of the foregoing discussion, I want to briefly summarize my position as a scholar and present a picture for the reader of what schools of thought are in focus in this thesis. As one can conclude, this thesis is built upon two different schools, one based in *folkloristics* and one based in *fandom studies*. This means that the theories and methodological approaches to the Discworld fandom described in this volume are predominantly folkloristic. On top of the use of theories derived from folklore studies, theories from fandom research have been used throughout the process. Next I describe my methodological approach, as well as the theories and notions that have been central for my research in greater detail.

Participant Observation

Participant observational studies, a mode of ethnographic fieldwork, are a key methodology of folkloristic inquiry, "by means of which 'feeling' and empathy for the research field or issue should be achieved" (Schmidt-Lauber 2012:562), or "to grasp the native's point of view" (Malinowski 2007 [1922]:25). This chapter is an examination of my use of this method collecting the material for this thesis. The questions one is to pose when embarking on participant observational undertakings are:

- What does observing mean?
- What is my level of participation or immersion in the field?
- What does the field consist of?
- What are the practicalities of fieldwork?

To any reader having a rudimentary understanding of ethnographic, folkloristic or anthropological fieldwork, the posed questions should seem familiar. They are the most basic questions you have to deal with when conducting fieldwork, in order to self-reflectively give an account of your position in the field, establish academic accountability, and depict the manner in which the empirical material for your study has been collected. This self-reflexive description is usually done by contemplating the researcher's role, background and personal connection to "the field": displaying and admitting "biases" (cf. Gallagher 2008:67).

The language traditionally used to contemplate the role of the researcher vis-à-vis the field includes the terms of distance or closeness. Various forms of distance and closeness, such as taking the "native's view", levels of participation (from "non-participation" to "full participation") or inside and outside have been discussed (cf. Dewalt & Dewalt 2002:20–21). Since the conception of the method, said to be fieldwork by going native, taking part in everyday life (Malinowski 1922, 1935; see also Dewalt & Dewalt 2002), it seems that the modus operandi of participant observation has been to diminish the distance between the observer and the observed. In short, this means immersing oneself as a researcher into the field and thus closing a gap between field and researcher. To do this reflexively, various safe-guarding techniques to eliminate any "biases" on the part of the researcher, describing the researchers awareness of the research situation and hence their effects upon it (Aull-Davies 1999:7), have been put in place. This is partly done in order to conform to the idea and claims of scientific objectivity. This claim of objectivity has led to an understanding that fieldwork is to be conducted by "maintaining distance […] in which interaction is kept to a minimum" (Ibid:4). In my own fieldwork experience,

the concept of distance or outside simply had no place. In order to explain how my material has been collected, I had to become a familiar within the fandom, immersing myself into the field. In order to maintain a reflexive positioning, I have therefore had to figure out a way to describe my participation, reflexively, through terms of levels of immersion.

Fandom and the Reflexive Process

The reflexive process is essential when conducting observation within fan communities, such as this study. Fan-research, more often than not, begins with the researcher's own affective investment in a particular fandom. Within fandom studies the question of participation and immersion in a field is continuously scrutinized. Because of the dichotomy of the field of fandom studies, one side chiefly being social constructivist-inspired and the other adhering to a more psychologist view on fandom (cf. Hills 2001 and Jenkins 2006b respectively), the question of immersion is debated in terms of "can" or "should" fandom be separated from an academic role, or can it be integrated into serious academic study? Jenkins describes his standpoint as "aca-fen" or "people who are both academics and fans, for whom those identities are not problematic to mix and combine, and who are able to write in a more open way about their experiences of fandom" (Jenkins 2006b:12). Hills, in his critique of fandom-ethnography and autoethnography studies states that: "it cannot be assumed that (as is often the case in cultural studies) fandom acts as a guarantee of self-presence and transparent self-understanding" (Hills 2001:65). This, in Hills's view, leads to a process of auto-legitimisation in that fan-ethnography scholars are presumed to retain a "(supposedly) pre-existent form of audience and interpretive skill" (Ibid.:66), pressing an endless self-interrogation that in Hills's opinion is not all that interesting (cf. Ibid.:73). Hills's critique of the ethnographic observation of fans can seem overly harsh, yet it can also be perceived as dated, in that Hills seems to argue that ethnographers overlook the passion a fan has for a given text or somehow reduces passion, feeling and affect. For instance:

Fandom is largely reduced to mental and discursive activity occurring without passion, without feeling, without an experience of (perhaps involuntary) self-transformation. This ethnographic version of fan culture seems to have no inkling that discursive justification might be fragile constructions, albeit socially-licenced and communal ones. (Hills 2001:66)

The view presented by both Jenkins and Hills shows the desire of a discussion on participant observation, discussing terms of involvement in the field. The discussion marries well with modern ethnography. Ethnographic fieldworkers tend to see the

informants as co-writers, or co-constructors of the material (Agar 1996:16-17, 245; Okely 2012:125ff.), rather than see observation as merely a form of researcher activity. Malinowski, of course, was part of a generation of methodological thinkers for whom the barrier between scholar and the object of study was greater than today. Malinowski was talking in terms of the natives' view, implicating a distinct barrier between scholars on the one hand and some sort of native on the other. Within fandom studies this barrier need not be pronounced, hence the debate between Jenkins and Hills. This is because fandom as a scholarly subject, more often than not, seems to spring from various scholars' own affective investment. Hills has a point in that purely social constructivist ethnography can produce a reductionist view on fandom, as he suggests. Within contemporary ethnography, however, a discursive practice such as fandom would probably not be discussed without taking the passion or feelings of fandom-practice into consideration.

The Fieldwork

As already discussed in the chapter "The Ethnography" in this volume, the fieldwork for this study has been conducted during the annual Hogswatch celebrations, during the years 2010–2014. Being myself trained in Nordic-style cultural analysis (cf. Ehn & Löfgren 2001), as presented earlier, I opted to go into the fieldwork situation with pre-decided themes to guide my observations. The chosen themes were: Intertextuality (2010), Trade (2011), Costuming (2012), Carnivalism and Gender(2013) and Change (2014).

The choice of themes has been closely linked to the articles, and is therefore a methodological issue. Firstly, the choices guide the manner in which one observes, in a way actively searching for clues to depict a complex phenomenon, such as fandom. Secondly, with a theme, one undoubtedly gets a more targeted fieldwork, leading to exclusion of other themes. Having said that, observation through key terms does not mean that a researcher blatantly disregards everything outside the framework of the term. It merely means that the observation is guided, opening up the observer to see the field through different approaches. The method was originally designed to open the ethnographer's eye to the complexities of everyday life, by means of challenging the preconceptions of the researcher. Using conceptual key terms like, for instance, "time" or "boredom", is an intellectual experiment leading to observation of everyday life in a new light, theoretically distancing the researcher from a familiar subject so that new knowledge can be produced. In my fieldwork, and I would argue in modern ethnographic fieldwork at large, the key terms were not chosen in this manner. Rather, the themes where chosen in concurrence with my participation as fan. The observational part of participant observation in this case study, and in others like it, is

based upon the level of participation in the field; therefore, it is a question of immersion. The theme "intertextuality" for example, and the observation thereof in the Hogswatch celebration, was not posed as a term with which to open up my ethnographic eye to a field to be observed. Rather, the choice of the term was decided upon due to my previous engagements with fandom at large, and particularly via my experience with the writings of Terry Pratchett. After the 2010 fieldwork, I had developed a sufficient comprehension of the field to pin-point that-which-is-important within the fandom itself, to be able to conduct and describe the empirical material through relevant key terms, in the sense of relevant to building an understanding that depicts expressions that are important within the fandom (narratives, cosplay and so on). Building an understanding, in turn, is important in order to give an apt academic analysis of the fandom as a cultural sphere.

Critics will say that this system leads to an exclusion of many things, which might otherwise be observed. However, I argue that my role as a researcher is to construct a coherent, logical argument, in this case built upon material collected by participant observation. The collection of that material is one link in the understanding I present in the argument that is my research. Not to consider the collection as part of the argument would be a mistake in folkloristic research, due to the issue of self-reflexivity[45].

The problem with ethnographic studies, folklorists say, is that academic writing can be said to be a discursive practice neighbouring fandom, especially if taking a notion of passion and immersion into a field of study into account. Studies performed by folklorists (and indeed by scientists and academics in all fields) often spring from some amount of personal interest in the subject matter. In order to strive for objectivity or examined subjectivity within ethnographic disciplines, we have learnt to continuously self-position and reflect on our role as researchers, the crux of the matter being that we do so with a foundation in a scholarly tradition that posits the existence of a rift between scholar and object of study to begin with.

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[45] "Definitions of reflection (which are often implicit) focus on the individual's internal thought processes and responsibility for their actions. The individuals – and what they did/thought/felt – is emphasized […] The popularity of reflective practice in the education of professionals has also derived from public tensions between professional autonomy and professional accountability" (Bradbury, Frost, Kilminster & Zukas 2010:3–4).

From "Stranger" to "Familiar"

Participant observation is a key method in ethnographic fieldwork today. However, the scholarly debate and the instruction in the method still comprises self-reflexive discussion in terms of detachment or a professional rift (cf. for instance *The Professional Stranger (2ⁿᵈ edition)* 1996 or *Reflexive Ethnography* 2002), by instructing on matters pertaining to the problematization of the scholar's background. Fandom studies, as stated, and indeed other forms of studies where ethnographic fieldwork is used, usually start in personal interest and voluntary immersion. Therefore, accountability by means of explaining one's background can be perceived as naïve (i.e., I am a fan of x therefore I am best suited to study x). Furthermore, the self-reflexive positioning of the scholar has become more of an auto-legitimisation than we care to admit. We have been taught to be professional strangers in the participant observation situation, as a mechanism to obtain academic accountability. The reflexive process in itself is not a bad thing, quite the opposite. More fields of study would benefit from a more self-reflexive way of thinking[46].

However, the professional stranger leitmotif of ethnography could benefit from an equal amount of examination of a *professional familiar*: actively trying to be as informal and as close/immersed to the field as possible, reflexively contemplating your participation. We are still taught to achieve academic accountability by *positioning ourselves as a stranger*, or explaining prior association with a field in order to say "I know I can be accused of being deeply involved with my field of study, but since I admit it, I have achieved professional stranger status and therefore I have academic accountability". This is especially so since the raison d'être of using participant observation as a method is to get a "growing familiarity with the field" (Schmidt-Lauber 2012:66). Therefore, it seems to me that one should try to problematize one's standpoint of immersion into the field by explaining the benefit of one's involvement. In my case, being a fan doing studies of fandom can be interpreted as both beneficial, in that I have prior involvement and knowledge, and naïve in that my study can be interpreted as a fan conducting a study to legitimize the fandom itself. But in my own experience, my fieldwork could not have been conducted by standing on the side and not plunging into the fan activities. Hence my fieldwork is contingent on immersion. Since it is, the participation in the various fandom activities have influenced the way in which I have conducted my observations, and ultimately the way in which I depict the fandom in my various articles.

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[46] Also fandom studies as such could in my opinion be more self-reflexive.

The Field and Me

In practice, my fieldwork has been conducted by going to Wincanton, Somerset to celebrate with other fans. This means that I have been spatially displaced to a "far away" geographical location during my fieldwork (cf. Caputo 2000:19). In a sense, this is one of the more classical fieldwork situations (Ibid:21). However, since I am a fan of Discworld myself, I never looked upon the fieldwork situation as one I would "enter" or "leave". In a sense, having read and interacted with fans [47] sharing the same intertextual common sense (Löfgren 2013), means that the different roles[48] one is supposed to uphold with professional detachment were blurred in my fieldwork experience, which is not in itself uncommon (cf. Pink 2000:98–99). Finding the celebration in the first place was a happenstance based on my own interest. I have been part of the program myself during the celebration on two occasions (as mentioned in the chapter on the ethnography). Participation was the key with which I could enter the field[49].

With folkloristics being a scholarly endeavour in which we contemplate the diverse expressions of "what we know, think, believe, and feel in wide-ranging and varied ways" (Georges & Jones 1995:10), we ought to discuss participation in a field of study thoroughly. American anthropologist Michael Agar states that "[n]o understanding of a world is valid without representation of those members' voices" (Agar 1996:27); with 'members' Agar refers to those who are members of the group the ethnographer studies. In a sense, in order to describe what any group of people think, believe and feel, their intragroup expressions of how they interpret the world, the group's voices must be a part of that analysis. Otherwise it is pointless. Practically this meant that in both my role as fan and as researcher, I felt obliged to participate in any way I could during fieldwork. This is of course a conscious choice. I could have conducted a more detached form of observation, leading to a different description, and another depiction of the event.

Furthermore, the other fans were very interested in what I was doing and in my level of fandom knowledge connected to the Discworld. In return for sharing my fandom with the others, I got access to part of the field I would not have otherwise. As an example, my discussions with the Discworld Emporium staff and viewings of private

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[47] It should be said that I had not had prior experience of celebrating Hogswatch before my fieldwork experience.
[48] Often described in dichotomies such as emic/etic, professional/personal, and so on.
[49] I have also on occasion been thanked by other participants for my willingness to participate.

homes and collections in Wincanton can be mentioned. This reciprocity is not an exclusive situation to my fieldwork, but rather a methodological point of informal ethnography (Agar 1996), or as Judith Okely puts it: "In contrast to many social science approaches, the anthropologist interacts, indeed must interact directly and daily with people as subjects" (Okely 2012:125). In participant observation one reciprocates in both the short and long term (Ibid:149), becoming familiar with one's informants. In my case the reciprocation is of methodological value, since I as a scholar built on my reciprocation as a fellow fan: my immersion into fandom.

I could also have considered giving an autoethnographic account of the events. Auto-ethnography is "[u]sually written in first person accounts, the researcher's personal experience is used to illuminate a particular culture, event and/or institution" (Skott-Myhre, Weima & Gibbs 2012:xiii). This might seem a natural procedure, especially given that I was part of the fandom. But since the aim of this study is, in some sense, to give snapshots of a fandom celebration and examine these through the analytical tools of folkloristics, a purely autoethnographical description did not serve my purpose. Autoethnography answers questions concerning the researcher's own feelings in a fieldwork situation, making the object of study primarily the researcher her/himself. In this case, the object of study is the cultural expressions of a fandom group, not my own feelings towards my own fandom. Nevertheless, I will not shy from the fact that I have an affective investment in both the field and in this thesis project that merits considering autoethnographic accounts in the future. Being part of the fandom, the pictures taken during fieldwork, the soundscapes recorded and items bought and so on, serve multiple purposes, simultaneously being a way for me as a researcher to remember the field *and* constituting fandom-mementos.

I consider the participants in my field as a form of collaborators (cf. Agar 1996:16), striving to give me an account of what it means for them to be part of, and participate in, fandom. Fieldwork is a special type of situation and, due to my standpoint as part of fandom, a lot of informal discussions were conducted. Indeed, this is one of the strengths of participant observation as a method (cf. Shmidt-Lauber 2012:556), not constricting the researcher to the formality of an interview, being freer to conduct research by means of casual conversation and observation. Furthermore, "[I]f you take away all the informal ethnography, you are left with anthropologists that do the same things as psychologists and sociologists" (Agar 1996:245). In a way, the informality of my fieldwork was conditional on my participation in the various parts of the celebration. This informality also served to let me act freely: taking photos, doing sound recordings, chatting to people, having people coming to chat with me; all this because I was welcomed as a fellow fan and a familiar. That my role as a researcher

was known by people, also made it easier to get permission to use photos and get permission to record narratives. My role as researcher was made informal by the fact that I was seen as a familiar, someone you could talk to about fandom. Of course, one has to be observant of the fact that one can be utilized as a way to authenticate the field: the possibility exists that my informants talked to me because I was writing a thesis. But it is my opinion that one should strive – if one is to conduct participant observation in affectively invested groups – towards a more informal approach, i.e., for becoming a professional familiar. I argue that by becoming a professional familiar, a researcher has a better grasp of what his/her informants think, believe and feel. By aiming at familiarity and closing the distance between researcher and subject, one can better represent the voice of any given informant. In its simplest form, one can think about how often one shares any type of information with a stranger (even a professional one).

This is not a new thought. Participation and membership in a field have been described by Adler & Adler (1987) and Spradley (1980), although in a system that is based still on inside and outside[50]. By using immersion, one accepts that participant observation includes an understanding that you ought to strive to close the gap between scholar and field. In the process, you become more of a familiar than a stranger, becoming more informal than formal, which in my view is the strength of participant observation in the first place (cf. Schmidt-Lauber 2012:556). Not acknowledging this strength will lead to us ending up with folklorists doing enquiries in a style akin to that of sociology.

Towards Immersion

Immersion into a field suggests that one builds an argument by letting one's involvement in the field help develop the theories and ideas which are there due to previous engagement with the field (cf. Skeggs 1997:23). Rather than looking on a field as interesting, posing questions to it, one's involvement in a field influences the research question posed. Describing immersion then becomes crucial when conducting fieldwork, especially if one defines one's role as a professional familiar, but not only from a self-reflexive standpoint. "To be immersed is to be involved in the context, not only physically but also mentally and emotionally" (Hua, Rau & Salvendy

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[50] "Non-participation " to "complete participation" (Spradley's continuum)/ "No membership role" to "Full membership" (Adler & Adler's membership roles). See Spradley 1980; Adler & Adler 1987; also Dewalt & Dewalt 2002.

2009:112); therefore, both from a methodological standpoint[51] and a reflexive[52] one, we should speak of levels of immersion. To describe the levels of immersion here, I borrow the language from videogame-narrative research, in order to depict what I mean when I speak of participation. My reason for borrowing terms from videogame research is that participant observation is a practice that has a certain kinship with immersing oneself in a videogame. Both fieldwork and the interactive narrative of a videogame is a situation in which one is supposed to plunge into a context that differs from one's everyday life. Furthermore, both situations include dimensions of exploration, empathy and comprehension (cf. Ibid:117).

The levels of immersion into a videogame narrative are in the article *Measuring Player Immersion in the Computer Game Narrative,* described with six terms, highlighting the flow of learning the game world. The terms are (Hua, Rau & Salvendy 2009):

- Curiosity – the term used to describe interesting content: "Interesting content makes players eager to discover new things and explore their surroundings."
- Concentration – the ability to concentrate on the narrative and maintain attention: "Ability to concentrate on the game narrative. Like flow experiences, player immersion also requires focused attention, not divided attention."
- Comprehension – the "understanding of the structure and content […] Comprehending the story is a process of careful observation, hypothesis formation, and testing of hypotheses. Then players obtain and understand information, and they can thus make a plan or reason out a strategy."
- Control – "To be immersed, players should be able to translate their strategy and intention into the story world. If players can feel a sense of control over the character and feel free to play games and solve problems in their own manner, they will feel they are exploring a real environment."
- Challenge – "Challenge is consistently identified as the most important aspect of flow experience. Challenges are also important factors in the immersion of game players to help focus the user's attention."
- Empathy – "Players often have a high level of emotional investment, provided that they are immersed. If players lack empathy, they will not feel total immersion in the story world."

I argue that these terms could be made into a set of questions aiding in the description of ethnographic fieldwork. I now describe my own levels of immersion in my

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[51] Seeing that participant observational studies is meant to yield an empathic understanding (Shmidt-Lauber 2012:556).
[52] Acknowledging that the level of participation in a field needs to be described.

fieldwork-situation by using this scheme. I do this in order to open up my position as a researcher that have participated in the field.

Curiosity

The first step towards an empathic understanding of one's field in terms of immersion is curiosity. Throughout my fieldwork experience, there has never been a lack of "interesting content". As a field, even if you were to conduct a study without the affective investment as a fan, Wincanton and the Hogswatch-celebration is a place worth exploring. If I am to ask why I was curious, I have to admit to distinct positions; that I am a fan, and that I already had been interested in folklore and intertextuality on a scholarly level[53]. The reason I found Hogswatch worth exploring was that I could see an intertext in which the books of Pratchett were turned into folklore by fans, and the fact that I could see this was of course contingent on me having read Pratchett in the first place, and also having contemplated intertextual connections before. These two roles of folklorist and fan together made me find this particular field interesting to investigate in the first place. Curiosity also played a major role in my decision to participate in as many activities as possible during the fieldwork itself. Simply wanting to explore and experience the various programs during the celebration was not only a scholarly decision. The perception of that-which-is-important-to-describe depends on what you are curious about, and is contingent on my role as a researcher (and fan). What I find important to depict might not be the same as in some other ethnographer's view. In short, the immersion into any field (and your subsequent ethnographic description) is conditional on your eagerness to explore.

Concentration

Once one has established why one is curious about a field, the question of how to maintain concentration in the fieldwork situation is in order. How did I maintain a level of concentration on my field? This step and the next one have more to do with my role as a researcher than the first. If concentration and maintenance of attention is the next step on the immersive scale, that was upheld by my role as a folklorist/ethnographer, through my theoretical and methodological approach. To put it succinctly, maintaining attention to that-which-is-important in a field in which you are affectively invested, is done with a certain set of tools. The tools I used were the aforementioned cultural analytical-style targeted fieldwork terms, leading me to impose a certain gaze on the field, which was learned in my role as a folklorist. Furthermore, the questions I posed to the material later on also narrowed my attention. It should be said that the questions I posed during fieldwork and in the

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[53] Having written my MA-thesis on the intertextual connections between folklore and fantasy literature in 2010.

process of writing articles have been a process of finding the question; the more familiar I became with the field, the easier it became to narrow down the research. The methods and theoretical approaches of a folklorist functioned as that which drew my attention to certain aspects of the fieldwork situation and helped to maintain attention during the fieldwork. As an example of this, I'll mention the second fieldwork theme, trade. Having trade as a key term not only guided me to certain places in Wincanton, making me concentrate on them, rather than on other places. But this also made it easier to concentrate on different practices within the fandom that had to do with exchange, such as the collection and trading of stamps. Concentration also drew my attention to the jokes and other vernacular expressions within the fandom that could be interpreted as part of a fandom economic discourse. This concentration with the help of key terms helped me in building comprehension.

Comprehension
The next step is to build and describe the comprehension that stems from the curiosity and maintained concentration during the fieldwork. Comprehension is where my two roles (fan and folklorist) begin to meet. The comprehension I have built up is contingent on my understanding and investment in the field as a fan (the curiosity), and my analytical tools as a folklorist. The themes of the articles are very much a test of applying folkloristic theoretical concepts on fandom material: intertextuality, gift-economy, narratology and folk art. Building comprehension of your field is contingent on how much you participate and in what manner you allow yourself to participate. My comprehension was contingent on me sharing an intertextual common sense (Löfgren 2013) with the field itself. The comprehension springs from my already having a prior engagement with the writings of Pratchett, making it easier to understand the intertextual connections.

This understanding of involvement in the field, in a reflexive language of inside and outside, may lead to discussion of various pitfalls and difficulties, due to over involvement. Clearly in such an understanding of 'insideness' of the researcher, being too familiar can be considered an issue of self-reflexivity. The language used in describing inside/outside observations is in a sense inadequate in explaining involvement and issues of self-reflexivity in immersed participate observation. This because the layers of involvement is described in language that brings with it an inherit dualism. I am aware that there is pitfalls in becoming overly immersed into a field. For example, in this case study, the emergence of informants wanting to be in the articles is such an issue. Informants where actively seeking me out in the hope that there comments, pictures and their understanding of the celebration would be accounted for in the articles. This can be viewed as problematic, that I was a familiar in a sense

that informants could ask me and want to insert themselves into the research. When similar situations arose, I had to make a choice based on the observations conducted. In short, make a decision whether or not an informants account where relevant to the theme of the fieldwork, or an expression stemming from a fan talking to another fan type account and a want to be quoted in an article.

On my part, it was clear that in order to comprehend and further the research on fandom I had to participate as a fan; shifting the focus more towards what fans actually do when they meet rather than analysing textual production. To do observation in another way is pointless; observing covertly or somehow from "a distance" does not create sufficient comprehension of what fans do, leading to issues with description of affective investment. My ability to, or perhaps my understanding of how to participate, stems both from the commonality with the other participants as well as my folklorist education. As mentioned above, at points I even participated as part of the program, because of the comprehension I had gained that the celebration is built by everyone bringing something that they are good at. To deliver lectures was for me to participate in full in the celebration. At the same time, by doing so I got a further comprehension of how the celebration worked, became more of a familiar within the field, more approachable and got new information. Much of my fieldwork and the themes for them are dependent on my insight as a fan, and my comprehension of the situation was dependent on immersion. In order to achieve a viable comprehension of any given field one has to include the voices of it. In order to give an apt representation of my field, and comprehend it, I had to use my previous engagements with this particular fandom; becoming a familiar within the group, eliminating any notion of distance between the scholar and the fandom.

Control
Once one has established what one's comprehension of the field looks like, one has scholarly speaking the ability to assert a level of control. The control one has as a scholar is over the representation of the field in field diaries and subsequent publications; posing and solving questions that the comprehension has led to. It should be evident by now that throughout the field process and publications, both my role as fan and the role of folklorist have played its part. The formation of the research questions springs from my dual roles. The role of "fan" or "familiar" was used to discern that-which-is-important from the fans' point of view: meeting other fans, dressing up, sharing stories and 'having a laugh', the role of scholar or folklorist, pose the relevant questions and theoretical standpoints. For instance, the article on the use of narratives started with me as a fan understanding that stories are important within the celebrations, because they make a bit of the Discworld "real", within the context

of a celebration. That is a comprehension based on the affective investment (Hills 2002) of a fan and on the comprehension of the context of the celebration. To explain this, and thus make the voices of the field heard in an academic manner requires me to assert the control of a scholar. The question I posed when investigating "the process of evoking a representation of Discworld through staged narratives during the Hogswatch celebration in Wincanton" (Löfgren 2017), is an example of asserting scholarly control over the material, or doing an academic investigation based in a certain research tradition. The control stems from how I pose questions, what theories I use, and the choice of where to publish and so on. In a way, the control could be said to be translating intentions of the participant observation into academic analysis.

With a scholarly control comes another reflexive issue, the choice of theory and material depicting the celebration. It is not uncommon within folkloristics that one let the empirical material be in focus. In order to depict a given situation one, however, need to assert control through the theoretical framework. With that, I mean that the material collected, in this case, also pointed towards what theories would be used in the articles. This means that the control asserted is one in which my immersion to the field and the reading of the collected material was a precursor to theoretical choices. For example, it was clear that staged narratives was a big part of the celebration. That realisation lead to the article on staged narratives, and subsequently a narratological approach. However, whenever you choose one angle another one is left out. This can be due to the material collected (e.g. the voice of the field does not point towards a certain issue) or a perceived lack of knowledge in any one particular field. As an example of a theoretical choice (and assortment of scholarly control), for instance the issue of gender has not been studied in the articles. This is not because gender issues are not present in the celebration; one of the fieldworks conducted collected material on gender. Rather a lack of sufficient theoretical knowledge to depict gender issues, on my part, was present.[54] The control of studies conducted, and the self-reflexive issue thereof, lies in an understanding of where your limitations lie, in relation to theoretical angles applied. One has to make a choice, and therefore at the same time deprioritise other theoretical angles.

Before I explicate the next step on this immersive scale, I want to point out that the three preceding steps already constitute the immersion needed for academic analysis, albeit not to fulfil the requirements of participant observation as stated. In order for an analysis to be academically sound within ethnography, one has to at least immerse oneself so that a comprehension is built of the field, in order to give a representation

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[54] In short, I am not a gender scholar and the issues depicted in the celebration of the fluidity of gender, would have merited a more considerable theoretical knowledge on my part

of the voices of the field. One can of course use various terms to explicate the levels of immersion and can describe it as degrees of immersion; for example I am just curious, or I have reached a level of control. Representation and "control" do not necessarily require the same degree of involvement in the field as in this case. But I argue there has to be some degree of field contextualization and comprehension based on immersion in order for any analysis within folkloristics to be valid. This mirrors the understanding of social sciences and the philosophy of it as explained by Peter Winch:

> In the course of his investigation the scientist applies and develops the concepts germane to his particular field of study. This application and modification are 'influenced' both by the phenomena to which they are applied and also by the fellow-workers in participation with whom they are applied. (Winch 1990:85–86)

Challenge

The next immersive step builds upon the notion of challenge. In a game world flow experience, the notion of challenge is used to describe a set of increasingly difficult encounters[55] (Hua, Rau & Salvendy 2009). The point is that the challenge is both challenging and challenges the gamer to immerse. The question one can pose using the notion of challenge within the context of a fieldwork situation is twofold: What challenges have I experienced in trying to immerse myself into the field and what challenged me to immerse further?

Since I had the intertextual common sense of a fan and am part of the fandom, I found it easy to engage with the field. It should be said that I never had any challenge in gaining entry to the field (cf. Dewalt & Dewalt 2002:35) or having access to either the fans, the staff of the Discworld Emporium or other merchants, or to Terry Pratchett. Since I am a familiar, I also have had continuous contact with some key informants who keep sending me auxiliary material: pictures from celebrations, comments on questions I posed after the fieldwork and so on. The challenges I have experienced have to do with my role as a folklorist, and not in the way that might be expected. The fans have a rudimentary understanding of folklore and folkloristics, partly because Pratchett published *The Folklore of Discworld* (Pratchett & Simpson 2008) together with the renowned English folklorist Jacqueline Simpson. The book is a description of the intertextual connections between the folklore described in Discworld and their counterpart or the inspiration for them on Earth. Professor Simpson has also become a fan-favorite, and many fans read her work. Furthermore, Professor Simpson also attended all the celebrations and was a personal friend of Pratchett. This means that the challenges I experienced when engaging with fans was often on an academic level, discussing matters of folklore. The fans also rigorously read, collect and comment on

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[55] Puzzles, fights, decisions.

the articles I have published. In short, this has led to me having the aforementioned control challenged, by various academically educated fellow fans. Furthermore, in matters of representation in fieldwork, my dual role got tested. For instance, in the field reports it is customary to give your informants assumed names. However, since I am a familiar within the field, all my informants have asked to be cited with their real names; putting a level of trust in me as a fellow fan as well as a researcher. Or as one informant put it "Our pet folklorist. He observes us and *takes notes*, you know..."[56]. At the same time, my being a scholar who was working during the celebration became a subject of jokes, from being asked to deliver lectures on how to scam a university in the north out of fieldwork money[57], to bidding for me at the annual charity auction, to, at one time, suggesting I should sell the right to appear in my thesis for charity[58], all part of a fandom humor. The humor I interpret as just a part of my familiar position within the field.

What then challenged me to keep engaging with the field? First and foremost, the field is not one I can exit, since I do count myself as a fan of Discworld. Secondly, I want to be able to give an ethnographic account of a fandom celebration, using Hogswatch as an example. In the role as a fan, I want to keep engaging with the celebration, for personal amusement, and the role of a scholar prompts me to do so because of the lack of sufficient ethnographic accounts of fandom as a cultural phenomenon. The main challenge, of course, with both standpoints is that I have to stay updated with both the field and the fandom scholarship, but also that I, in my role as fandom scholar, will be asked to deliver popular lectures in the fandom context, as well as deliver academic lectures. This is of course not uncommon when conducting research within the scope of popular topics. With that said, the challenge in this case consisted of immersing myself as a scholar and a fan simultaneously, due to the expectations of fans bringing and showcasing 'what one know' during Hogswatch. The field of folkloristics suits the celebration very well, since there is an audience interested in folklore in general. At the same time, I did deliver lectures that was part of the programme I was studying, which can be considered reflexively problematic. The challenge is part of the immersion in that one has to be conscious of what challenges one is subjected to in field, but also to what extent one is prepared to immerse oneself into the field studied. So in order to get a more empathic understanding of the celebration of Hogswatch, I made a conscious decision to partake in the celebration by adding to it; knowing full

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[56] Facebook tag 29th of November 2014.
(https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10100993460060239&set=t.1711432292&type=3&theater)
retrieved January 1,.2017.
[57] Which I declined.
[58] Also declined.

and well that this can be considered overly problematic in a reflexive language that stems from the duality of inside as opposed to outside observation-practice.

Empathy

So where does the empathic understanding that "should be achieved" (Schmidt-Lauber 2012:562) appear and what does it look like in my fieldwork experience? The situation that perhaps best describes achieved empathic understanding is when I was asked to deliver a lecture on my own research during the celebration. I had to take in fandom's common knowledge of how an academic researcher ought to be (intertextually)[59], and combine it with actual academic research on fans; to become a familiar within the group, so as to make my fieldwork easier and to bring what-I-know and thus contributing to the celebration itself. The challenge was to balance comprehension and control. The comprehension of what was expected of a Discworld-style academic lecture, meant for instance dressing up in tails and stovepipe, being overly courteous to the various professors of various fields of science and academia that were in the audience, and to add all my actual titles (however insignificant) that I at that time held at my own university, and so on. The control of my own research was in the presentation of my research process, and all the theoretical standpoints I had developed. In order to do it in a Discworld style I had to present, and to participate by presenting; at the same time, I had to balance my curiosity, maintain concentration, add to my comprehension of how the field works and still maintain control of my theoretical framework. In that process, I challenged myself to participate and bring something to the overall program of the celebration, furthering my empathic understanding of the field but not compromising my role as both scholar and fan. This is the empathic understanding of the field, perhaps best explained by my informant David who after the lecture said: "Before your lecture I didn't understand what you were doing. I thought you were a bit like Jane Goodall watching the apes. Now I welcome you to apehood". The quote illustrates my own process vis-à-vis the field. My immersion has led to an empathic understanding of the fandom. At the same time, it illustrates that the fans also go through a similar process, building an empathic understanding of me as a researcher. The system described then, can be said to work for me as a researcher as well as for members of the field. It is at the meeting point between me as a researcher (being a fellow fan) and the other fans that an empathic understanding is achieved.

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[59] There are several books by Pratchett that includes a university and various faculties of it, parodying the academic world. See for instance *Unseen Academicals* (Pratchett 2009).

Academic Biases

What I have tried to do is reflexively explain my participation in the fieldwork conducted for this study. I have done this because reflexivity is key within the ethnographic/folkloristic research tradition. Where does this leave the age-old question of bias? The empathic understanding builds on the preceding steps and two roles. One can imagine a ladder that one is climbing downwards, with the frame being (in this case) fandom on the one side and folkloristics on the other. In the frame are six steps beginning with curiosity and ending with empathy, empathic understanding being the point of participant observation. If one subscribes to the understanding that the initial curiosity is part of a ladder of immersion, academic curiosity for the field itself brings subjective choice (hence bias). This means that once one has decided that a field could be studied by participant observational studies, one has already made a subjective choice and a choice to immerse oneself into the field. I argue that once one has made the choice of using participant observation as the main method of collecting material, it is a choice of an "inside view". Or to put it a bit bluntly, since the point of participant observation is an empathic understanding of the field that is studied, there cannot be an outsider's view. If folkloristics is the study of "what we know, think, believe, and feel in wide-ranging and varied ways" (Georges & Jones 1995:10), based on fieldwork conducted in order to show the voices of any given field and, "[n]o understanding of a world is valid without representation of those members' voices" (Agar 1996:27), then I argue that the modus operandi of participant observation fieldwork is to become a professional familiar; thus, empathic understanding can be achieved. In order to still be academically accountable, there needs to be a language for reflexively describing immersion. The concepts discussed above and borrowed from the field of videogame research is one possible starting point for such a language.

Having explained the main methodological approach of participatory observation and immersion I will now tend to the three main theoretical keys of this thesis, starting (as a folklorist) with the notion of folklore.

Folklore

The notion of folklore is crucial to understand in order to comprehend the issues addressed in this thesis. Consequently, I begin this explication of my main theoretical framework with this exposé of the term *folklore*. My understanding of the term has changed during the writing of my thesis, and the article publication process. Hence this chapter is part an overview of various definitions of folklore, part a contemplation of the term that has been done during my process.

The term "folklore" was coined by the English writer and antiquarian William Thoms in 1846 (cf. Mc Neill 2013:2 and Thoms 1965 [1846]). Thoms' original definition was made in the context of the mid-nineteenth century, describing the character of folklore as "the manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs etc. of the olden time" (Hultkrantz 1960:135). This view of what folklore entails still tends to be common in popular/vernacular thought, not least so within fantasy-fandom circles. By this, I mean that in popular view, the understanding of what folklore "is" has a tendency to lean towards a descriptBution of different folklore genres: fairytales, myths, riddles, folksongs and so on, all of which have been utilized as inspiration for writers (cf. de Caro & Jordan 2004; Schön 1987).

Within folkloristics the question of the definition of what folklore entails is, however, an ongoing matter of debate. The first issue at hand is that the term itself contains two distinct parts: 'folk' and 'lore'. As a rudimentary concept of folk often quoted in folkloristics, I want to draw attention to Alan Dundes' definition of a folk as "any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor", with a lore that "help the group have a sense of group identity" (Dundes 1965, 2). "Folk" in this sense is at least two people that share something, and express this commonality. The concept of "lore" is more elusive. Thoms described lore as "the learning of the people" (Thoms 1965:5). Lore has been described as "what gives form to folklore" (McNeill 2013:5) and as expressive forms, processes, and behaviors in (1) face-to-face interactions, that is (2) judged to be traditional (cf. Georges & Jones 1999:1). The term folklore is thus a conglomerate of the various expressive forms (lore) that are used in communication between at least two people (folk).

All definitions of the term folklore are likely to be a combination of some sort of expressive cultural form, "oral and verbal forms ('mentifacts'), in kinesiological forms (customary behaviour, or 'sociofacts'), and in material forms ('artefacts')" (Brunvand

1997:8–9)[60], and a social aspect, as "common" or "communal" (cf. Bronner 2016:12)[61]. These various communal forms of communication are aesthetic or aestheticized modes of communication (Ibid:16). This leads to the definition of folklore as "artistic communication in small groups" (Ben-Amos 1971); artistic being the modifier on what kind of communication is shared. Furthermore, in a recent re-examination of the term by Simon Bronner, the notion of practice was discussed. Bronner defines folklore as "traditional knowledge put into, and drawing from, practice" (Bronner 2016:15). This insinuates that folklore is not only traditional knowledge[62], but more importantly that folklore is a form of practice. I still subscribe to the idea of folklore as a form of aesthetic communication in a group, defining the group, but the addition of the notion of practice opens the term folklore up to an understanding of the usefulness of folklore[63]. "Folklorists want to know how tradition is expressed and how people behave when it is enacted" (Ibid:21). In short, this means that folklore is not only a mode of communication that is aestheticized and surfaces in face to face interaction within a folk, but also that the term folklore encompasses the practice in which communication takes place, or indeed the practice of communication. Hence, the organization of artistic communication for a group or within one can also be considered a part of folklore. This organization can be deemed traditional, or an artistic display on its own. Take for instance a maypole display and the accompanying dance[64]. It is a form of artistic communication within a group, e.g. a display of folklore. However, the organization of the whole display, music, decoration and so on is as much a part of folklore as is the display of dancing or games surrounding the event; the practice put into practice by practice. The same goes for the use of various genres of folklore in other contexts than the sociocultural context it is usually practised in. Having said this, folklore is not merely or only practice. Practice or organization is also a form of communication; practice, aesthetics and communication in face to face interaction are all intertwined. The practices that we talk of as folklore is not *any* practice but rather a form of practice that is formalized. The organization of a maypole event is part of what makes the artistic communication possible. Creating and organizing a maypole can be viewed as folklore, creating and organizing a telephone pole is not. This is why the form of practice that Bronner considers folklore has the modifier traditional.

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[60] It should be said that the idea that folklore encompasses material culture as well as immaterial is predominantly an American definition. In the Nordic countries, it is more common to leave the material culture out of folklore definitions.

[61] Commonality in turn leads to an understanding of folklore as that which defines 'us' juxtaposed to 'them', a discussion I will not consider further since the 'them' that are juxtaposed to 'us' also have a folklore that defines 'us' and 'them' in return.

[62] Not in itself an uncommon thought, see for instance Brunvand 1997.

[63] The aforementioned use in literary contexts is an example of this.

[64] Either in the Scandinavian or British form.

A Note on Folklore and Tradition

"The word tradition is itself traditional in folklore studies" (Oring 2013:22). Even in this brief discussion of the concept of folklore the notion of tradition has been mentioned several times. In a recent anthology (Blank & Howard 2013), American folklore scholars have tried to open up the term. Tradition does not equal folklore. Rather tradition is one of the main tools for folkloristic enquiry. The three main theoretical tools or notions that folklorists consider are genre, transmission and tradition (cf. McNeill 2013:175). Genre "serves as a framework for the production of and interpretation of communication" (Ibid), and transmission is the term for how folklore is transmitted through time and space (ibid:176). Tradition in turn is (according to McNeill) the notion to describe where genres and transmission come together, when a certain framework is transmitted in a social setting. Tradition also "serves to reinforce the importance of continuity within groups" (Ibid.). Thus, tradition is a social term rather than a temporal one. Folklore describes the various modes of artistic or practice-based communications, whereas tradition, genre and transmission serve the purpose of describing the mechanisms or workings of folklore within a group. When one states that folklore (in one form or another) is traditional, one indicates that it is a form of communication that serves the purpose of establishing continuity within a group or folk, at the same time defining who is part of the group and who is not. Furthermore, to say that folklore is deemed traditional within a group also states that there is some mentifact, sociofact or artefact that is actively used within the group, strengthening the group identity. Since tradition is where a certain genre and a mode of transmission meet, the notion describes a cultural entity in use, being traded forward to create continuity. To recapitulate the notion of folklore as "traditional knowledge put into, and drawing from, practice" (Bronner 2016:15), the understanding is one of folklore as a form of knowledge that is deemed to represent a continuity of the identity of a certain folk group. Folklore is then a form of artistic communication that is put into practice in order to strengthen a group identity by drawing upon an idea of continuity, that is displayed in communication between at least two people. Therefore, folklore is also a matter of affect.

A Note on Affect and Folklore

During my research process, in which I have dealt a lot with definitions of fandom as well as definitions of folklore, and done fieldwork in a fandom setting, I have come to see how much the folklore matters for those participating in Hogswatch. I suspect that

folklore as practice or as formulaic forms of communication matters a great deal to any practitioner of it. There is an affectional investment in and around folklore.

Affect is "any state of feeling or sensation" including "desires, emotions, pleasures, moods, and all manner of feelings and sensations" (Platinga 2009:29). Since folklore is a form of communication that might be said to serve the purpose of displaying and communicating a group identity, or communicating an "us", folklore elicits affect. Much like a narrative can be said to serve a purpose of transmitting emotions by way of qualia (Herman 2009; Löfgren 2017), showing how things seem to be by provoking affect and transmitting affect, folklore helps to create an affective response that binds together people as "us" or "we". This means that folklore is an artistic form of communication and practice that furthermore also defines a group as a folk by means of affect.

Take for example the genre of jokes. If I tell a joke to you and you find it humorous, you laugh. The laugh is a form of affective response. The laugh is an affective response that communicates to me that you and I share a type of humor; we both find the joke funny. Since we both find the joke funny, we are, however momentarily, a folk since we share that in common. The same goes for other types of affect: disgust, joy, pleasure, sadness and their bodily responses.

Folklore is a way to display and communicate affect, moods and emotional content between people, cementing an idea that "we belong to the same group". Furthermore, these affect-sharing practices display affect between the members of a group. If folklore can be said to elicit affect, moods, sensations and emotions, it is not only an artistic communication or a practice. It is that which defines a group as a group, by means of an aesthetic form of communication whose practice is to elicit affective responses that ultimately leads to an "us" or "we". The aforementioned joke is a form of artistic communication, it might well be a form of practice but it is also a transmission of affect: humor and laughter. I would argue that practice, aesthetics and affect together amalgamate the notion of lore to the notion of folk. "Lore" is various forms of aesthetic communications and practice causing an affective response; in this case laughter that indicates a humorous mood. "Folk" is at least two people that have the aesthetic communication and practice and affects in common; i.e. the artistic communication elicits similarities in affective response (e.g. laughter). This also means that "lore" defines "folk" and "folk" defines "lore". Lore is what any folk have in common and folk is defining what the lore for this particular group is, by communicating and displaying the mood and aesthetic conventions of the group. To define ourselves as a folk we have displays of lore that communicates that-which-we-

have-in-common in a form of practice. However, lore is also the-knowledge-that-is-deemed-common within the group; a communication of what we have in common. To be able to set folklore to practice or to display it in the first place we need to have a definition of what a folk considers their lore. This is partly done by similarities in affect, as well as textual and contextual recognition. We laugh, cry, experience pleasure or feel the same way about a form of artistic communication, or expect a certain genre of folklore to set a certain mood to a context.

A Brief Note on Various Forms of Authenticity of Folklore

Throughout the history of folkloristics there has been a debate about what is "real" juxtaposed to what "is not real" folklore. This has led to the introduction of various terms to define folklore-like cultural expressions; such as "fakelore" (Dorson 1950) and the recent "folkloresque" (Foster & Tolbert 2016). Since this study can be viewed as a form of study into a popular culture phenomenon (fandom) and terms like "folkloresque" and "fakelore" often tend to be about the use of folklore in popular culture settings, the fans' folklore could be viewed in these terms. I, however, since the understanding of the term folklore also encompasses the use and practice of folklore – and I subscribe to this understanding – argue that any notion that describes folklore in terms of authentic or non-authentic is pointless. The notion of folklore encompasses a practice that draws from knowledge; therefore, the acts of using folklore are also a part of the definition of folklore. In short, I do not view any of the cultural expressions in my fieldwork as folkloresque or fakelore. To do such a distinction between real and fake is utterly pointless. The term folklore can be viewed as a research historical term for the study of popular culture, "[t]he first concept of popular culture was invented with the 'discovery' of the folk" (Storey 2003). Since folklore has been defined as a form of practice and terms like folkloresque and fakelore are juxtaposed to popular culture, at the same time as popular culture scholars view folklore as part of a discourse that later leads up to the invention of the term "popular culture" (cf. Ibid.), the inventions of terminology on what is "real" and "fake" are unnecessary.

A Definition of Folklore in the Context of this Thesis

So what is meant by the term folklore in this thesis? Folklore is a kind of communication that is defined by a group of people (a folk), and simultaneously it is a form of communication that defines a group of people. In short, there is no such thing as a folk without a lore, and there is no such thing as a lore without a folk. Folklore is a form of communication that is aesthetic, it builds and draws from

practice, and it is transmitted between people. It is deemed traditional by the group it defines and defines a group not only in a textual manner or in practice but in affect.

Folklore is: aesthetic, affect-evoking communication and practice that defines a certain group as a folk.

The term folklore is used in this thesis to describe the various cultural expressions within the Discworld fandom, using various scholars to discuss why the expression is folklore. By doing this I hope the notion of folklore can be inserted into fandom-scholarship, and it is my hope my definition will assist fandom-scholars to do so in the future. With that said, what is fandom?

Fandom

This study can be viewed as approaching fandom via the methodological and theoretical approach of a folklorist. The material in this study happens to be material from a fandom context. Hence, in order to explicate the reasoning in the subsequent articles, and to explain what I have learned by the fieldwork on the issue of what fandom entails, this section is a contemplation on theoretical approaches to the notion of fandom with a particular emphasis on concepts of affiliation and affective investment.

Fandom and Affect

Fandom has been contemplated by using the term affect in several ways since the nineties: "affective sensibility" (Grossberg 1992:50ff.; Grossberg 2002) and "affective play" Hills 2002:90), or as that which propels fandom productivity (cf. Lamerichs 2014:8). Affect is, as stated earlier, a form of mood and/or emotion (Platinga 2009:2). It should be mentioned that the idea of affect used in this thesis is derived from the understanding of media studies and fandom studies, rather than psychoanalytical studies, in which affect can also be viewed as a bodily function of being affected (cf. Anderson 2014:9) and a physiological function (Brennan 2004:6), the basic tenet being the combination of an affect such as "sad" and the physiological response of "crying" (cf. Ibid:4).

 "Affect is what gives 'color,' 'tone' or 'texture' to our experiences" (Grossberg 2002:56). According to fandom scholars of the more psychological school of discussing fandom, fandom can be viewed as a form of map or organization of affect. Within fandom then, affect "operates within and, at the same time, produces maps which direct our investments in and into the world; these maps tell us where and how we can become absorbed" (Ibid:57). This idea is explained most easily by a colloquial idea of "what it is to be a fan is to like something and invest time in that something". The usefulness of terms derived from the discussion on affect is evident in trying to assess what this liking looks like. Grossberg argues that to be a fan is to have the sensibility of fandom which is based in affect that guides or binds the group together, in "affective alliances" based in affective sensibilities (cf. Ibid:59), sensibility being defined as "the particular relationship that holds any context together, that binds cultural forms and audiences" (Ibid:54). Affect is used to explain the investment one can have in popular cultural material; i.e. why one cares, invests time and money in any given franchise, music, sports and so on, showing how and why things matter.

Matt Hills has elaborated on this idea, stating that fandom has an inherent playfulness about it (Hills 2001:112) in "that the [fans] become immersed in non-competitive and affective play" (ibid.). Hills considers the notion of affect as a playful component of fandom "capable of 'creating culture' as well as being caught up with it" (Ibid:93). The idea that fandom creates culture rather than just enjoys culture is due to this playful potential of fandom. Hills suggests that fandom's ability to create cultural convention is due to affective playfulness (cf. Ibid:112). Fandom is not merely being affected or feeling affection for a certain text. Rather fandom uses the affective investment to create cultural convention in a playful display with the particular franchise/text. A social group liking the same TV-show is not a fandom, to actively play or use the text you have an affective investment in is.

Affect can be used to describe the emotional ownership fans feel toward a franchise text (cf. Lamerichs 2014:8). The ownership is expressed in the creative practices of the fans, purchasing of memorabilia and upholding social ties to likeminded individuals: "That is to say, fandom is a way of making sense of the world through felt and shared experiences" (Ibid.); i.e. in an affective environment. Fandom can be viewed as a phenomenon that springs from affect for a text: an affective reception of text (Ibid.:20) that is expressed in affective play. Affect can therefore be viewed as a sense-making mechanism (cf. Ibid:24), linking viewing, reading and consuming with expression, creating, producing and constructing.

Fandom as Affiliation

"[F]andom is simply one form of social affiliation alongside others" (Jenkins 2006b:19). To be a fan is to interact with other fans, transforming a personal viewing of a TV-program into cultural activity, creating, joining and upholding a community as one does so (cf. Ibid:41). Furthermore, this means that fandom can be described as a participatory culture (Ibid.)[65], both in the sense that the "translating" from text to activity is a form of participation in a text, and that these activities constitute participation in a group[66]. One can think of fandom as an evolution of audience-ship. Say one is watching a certain show regularly and invests time and affection in it. That act, alone, is not a fandom. If one participates in a discussion on the show, or debates it, writes a short story based on the characters in the show, one is part of a fandom.

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[65] It should be said that due to the development in social media, participatory culture, or participating with text, has become an increasingly widespread phenomenon (cf. Lamerichs 2014:5): producers and audience share space and have a dialogue.
[66] Here one can see a parallel to the notion of communality in the term folklore, in that it has a community and therefore there are, at the same time, other communities that one is choosing not to belong to.

Fandom is a social affiliation based on communality and participation (cf. Ibid.); i.e. fandom is a community.

In a sense, fandom is a kind of knowledge community, a community in which "a sense of affiliation emerges from an active process of self-definition and reciprocal knowledge transfer" (Jenkins 2006a:259). This reciprocal knowledge transfer, I argue, stems from a common knowledge based in intertext (Löfgren 2013). In short, that-which-is-common within a fandom group is a reading and mutual affect and admiration for a text. In this case study, the text that the reciprocal knowledge transfer is based on is the writings of Terry Pratchett. Furthermore, Lamerichs argues that "[l]iterary competence is not a given but is learned as codes within these groups, resulting in specific interpretive strategies" (Lamerichs 2014:61). Consequently, the group that we call fandom is participatory also in the manner of creating and upholding codes for the group, and to be part of a fandom one needs to understand what particular interpretive strategies are expected to be applied within said group. This happens in dialogue with other fans. The pattern that emerges is one of affiliation of commonality, based on a stock of knowledge at hand a domain of meaning (Stewart 1979:14-15) based in intertextual knowledge.

Say one enjoys a particular literary franchise, for instance the writings and characters of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes series; one has a certain affectional investment in said series. You have a stock of knowledge at hand based in your reading of the books. That knowledge is now part of something one may want to share with other individuals having an affinity for Sherlock Holmes. Additionally, one's reading influences how one thinks and reacts to other texts with the characters of Sherlock Holmes (say a TV-series). When one engages in discussion with another person who shares the affiliation, one defines oneself as one-that-has-an-affective-investment in Sherlock Holmes. Say that the discussion is on the discrepancies between the writings of Conan Doyle and a TV-series interpretation of the relationship between Sherlock Holmes and John Watson. Within this two person group, knowledge transfer occurs in discussion, debate and conclusions drawn from a shared stock of knowledge. These deliberations become code within the group as they are sharing and consolidating interpretive strategies for how to construe the relationship between the two characters. This results in a shared commonality based on and expressed by a common stock of knowledge of one's reading of Sherlock Holmes, but since it is shared in face-to-face discussion, the mere affinity for the literature becomes a participatory action, as one engages in discussing the relationship between characters. Imagine that one also engages in writing a story based on the characters, explicating the relationship

between Sherlock and Watson[67] as a homoerotic work of fiction[68], this is another level of participation with the texts and subtexts of Sherlock Holmes. This participation by creativity is also based in shared learned codes[69] a knowledge of content, interpretive strategy, genre recognition and so on, also becoming part of the stock of knowledge at hand for the group describing themselves as fans of Sherlock Holmes[70].

Fandom is a form of social affiliation based in an affective investment. The difference between the two (unreasonably) posed schools of thought surrounding the study of fandom, the social constructivist and the physiological, tend to be in their stance on what part of fandom is studied. The more social view tends to study fandom as community, posing questions to the material of how fan-fiction, cosplay and conventions are community building and upholding practices. Whereas the notion of affect tends to be used in the study of the relationship the fans have to the text they are fans of. I argue (concurring with Lamerichs 2014:193) that the notion of affect and social affiliation cannot be dissociated from each other in the study of cultural phenomena such as fandom, i.e. phenomena in which affective investment or play is crucial for building a social group[71]. As Lamerichs puts it, "the affective reception of fans cannot be divided from the social community that thrives around these texts" (Ibid.).

Fandom as a Form of Practice

As soon as one shifts the focus from the various forms of text produced in fandom (fanfiction) and the debate on what fandom entails, to a focus on what fans do as a social group, the notion of practice becomes central. This comes with a methodological choice of ethnographic, participant observation. In short, an ethnographic shift within the study of fandom shifts the focus to the practice of fandom.

Fandom contains many forms of practice: material, textual and socio- and mentifacts. Fandom is both a participatory practice, a practice shared within a group, and an

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[67] This is regularly done within fandom groups and is called fan fiction (see for example Hellekson & Busse 2006) which is a form of fan creative practice (Lamerichs 2014:3) with its own genres and subgenres.
[68] So called slash fiction or stories "based on a perceived homoerotic subtext" (Hellekson & Busse 2006:6).
[69] i.e. the perceived homoerotic subtext and genre-knowledge of what slash entails and/or looks like.
[70] E.g. Being Sherlocked or a "Sherlockian" (cf. fandom nicknames Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_fandom_nicknames, retrieved 16.2.2017).
[71] Another neighbouring phenomenon could be said to be sport supporters.

affective practice (cf. Lamerichs 2014:185), in that the practice is based in an affective investment.

The definition of practice begins with the identification of knowledge gained or learned typically from phemic (i.e., stylized, culturally situated, or expressive) processes of repeated, perlocutional communication in visual, oral and written means as well as imitation and demonstration (often for social and material traditions). (Bronner 2016:15)

Since I argue that fandom has its own form of folklore, I borrow the definition of what practice entails from folklorist Simon Bronner. Much like Bronner explicates it in the context of folklore, fandom is a form of phemic practice in process. The social affiliation that is fandom is a scene for repeated communication, much like any other "folk". Within fandom, and maybe especially within fandom, intertext and practice is key to understand what fandom entails. Intertext because any given fandom is intertextual, in the sense that the fandom takes for granted that you have read, watched, consumed and affectively invested in a text, later put into various forms of practice (writing fanfiction, cosplay, celebrations and so on). But also in the form of various practices within, for example, the Hogswatch celebration, that not only serve to express the fandom as such, but also is when and where "competence is not a given but is learned as codes within these groups, resulting in specific interpretive strategies" (Lamerichs 2014:61). Practice is the means by which fandom expresses and ascribes affective investment in a text, and upholds affiliation (again like any other "folk"). "Their fan practices and discussions show sympathy for the characters and often defend particular interpretations" (Lamerichs 2014:9).

Fandom as a Form of Identity

Fandom can be described as a form of identity (Grossberg 1992; Hills 2002 & 2012; Lamerichs 2014). "Identity is people's source of meaning and experience. [...] By identity, as it refers to social actors, I understand the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes" (Castells 2009:6). Fandom identity is based on the affective investment a fan has in any given text, actively constructing their own identity. Affective "investment constructs the places and events which are, or can become, significant to us. They are the places at which we can construct our own identity as something to be invested in, as something that matters" (Grossberg 1992:57). The identity constructed within fandom is a creative one (cf. Lamerichs 2014:220), in that fans are engaged in a constant creative practice. Furthermore, fandom is a "ludic identity" (Raessens 2010); the identity is expressed in an ongoing playfulness. "They are players even if they are

writing or drawing art because they engage with the content through their fantasy and playfully recreate it within a social group" (Ibid:221).

I view fandom as a kind of project identity or "when social actors, on the basis of whatever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society" (Castells 2009:7–8). The affective investments, creative practices and celebrations all redefine the participants in a fandom as fans. Investments, practices and celebrations define participants as part of the same small group, a form of *collective identity* (Castells 2009; Löfgren 2013). The process and constructed "own identity" is a form of project in which one appropriates text, in which you are affectively invested, to redefine yourself as a fan, becoming/building something else on cultural material available.

A Note on Fandom and Folklore

Why should one attempt a folkloristic analysis on fandom? If folklore is (as defined) *aesthetic, affect-evoking communication and practice that defines a certain group as a folk,* the term folklore may be used to bridge the social constructivist and psychological schools of thought, as well as combining the notions of identity and practice, group and text, affiliation and affect.

Fandom as a phenomenon marries well with folkloristic inquiry on both a methodological and theoretical level. As one clearly can discern, fandom has been studied as both groups (or folk) expressing themselves in various creative forms, and lore. Furthermore, fandom has its own codes, transfers of knowledge and genres of aesthetic expression (such as fan-fiction). Fandom, I argue, is a social setting in which folklore occurs. Fandom most certainly can be defined as a folk[72]. As a folk, fandom has specific creative endeavours that uphold and transmit certain intra group values (cf. Lamerichs 2014:220): a lore that "help[s] the group have a sense of group identity" (Dundes 1965:2). Hence folklore can work to describe and bridge the affective and social components of fandom, describing the phenomenon as both affective and affiliation. Much like Lamerichs argues that social community and affective reception cannot be separated within fandom, folk cannot be separated from lore (and vice versa).

Furthermore, since the notion of folklore has been used for describing popular culture phenomena (cf. Storey 2003), it seems to me that folkloristics can help place the study of fandom in a historical context. The study of narrative text and use, performance

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[72] "any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor" (Dundes 1965:2).

and, for instance, various modes of ritual, games and dress up traditions done within folkloristics, puts a theoretical and methodological fundament for the study of fandom. With the fairly recent turn to ethnographic fieldwork within the study of fans, the methodological practice and ideas can be debated much in the same way as has been done in folkloristics since the 1800s (*Notes and queries* 1874/1951).

Fandom itself is not a kind of folklore; however, the cultural displays within fandom is a kind of folklore, both as practice and as an aestheticized form of in-group communication. The practice of fandom results in various "products", textual, material and so on. "Fandom consists of communities of authors, readers and critics who appraise and advance each other's work" (Lamerichs 2014:220). As previously stated, earlier studies conducted on fandom have tended to fall in the category of analyzing fandom production and the products thereof. Studies have been conducted on fan-fiction and on cosplay. With the shift to ethnographic fieldwork, one can also study fandom practices such as celebrations, use of narratives in face-to-face interactions and what fans do, as well as their products. Fandom is a folk with a lore. And therefore, I argue, it is fruitful to study fandom by applying folkloristic analytical tools.

Towards a Definition of Fandom

Fandom has been described as an identity, a form of practice, as a set of affective investments, participatory culture and as an affiliation. I see fandom as a form of folk, with their own lore. In a sense, the questions answered through looking at the phenomenon fandom through the social constructivist terms of affiliation and identity do rely on the understanding of fandom as a folk. Subsequently, what is described by the terms affect, creativity and practice, I see as encompassed by lore. Affiliation and affection should not be viewed as separated parts of what fandom entails, but rather two integrated parts; the same goes for identity and practice, playfulness and participation.

Fandom is a participatory affiliation constructed from and expressed in affectively invested play. This play is constructed as an expression of intertextual common sense. In this sense fandom is an intertextual endeavour.

Intertext

Fandom is intertextual, in the sense that the manifestations of fandom are linked to media text; fans in a sense have knowledge and usage of media text (cf. Lamerichs 2014:36). What then does the notion of intertextuality mean?

Works of literature, after all are built from systems, codes and traditions established by previous works of literature. The systems, codes and traditions of other art forms and of culture in general are also crucial to the meaning of a work of literature. Texts, whether they be literary or non-literary, are viewed by modern theorists as lacking in any kind of independent meaning. They are what theorists now call intertextual. (Allen 2000:1)

The notion of intertext describes the connection of meaning between different texts[73]. Plainly speaking, intertext means that no text has independent meaning, but rather derives meaning from its connection to other texts, or as Finnish folklorist Lotte Tarkka puts it: "a meeting point of different texts" (Tarkka 1993:178). The term was introduced by Julia Kristeva in 1969 in her article "Le mot, le dialogue et le roman" (Kristeva 1969), developing her term in dialogue with Saussure's thoughts on linguistics and Bakhtin's on dialogism (cf. Asplund Ingemark 2004:22). Intertext as used and understood in this thesis is based on folkloristic developments of the term. I will explicate the notion in terms of the relationship between texts and as a form of practice.

Relationships between Text and Text

The notion of intertext is used to describe the relationship between texts, and meaning built in intertextual relationships. In a sense, subscribing to the idea of intertext or studying an intertextual relationship, is the study of transfer of meaning or a contingency between two domains of meaning. American folklorist Susan Stewart writes:

The concept of intertextuality relies on two basic assumptions: first, that various domains of meaning are contingent upon one another and second, that the common-sense world may be considered as a base, on which other provinces of meaning are formed. (Stewart 1979:15)

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[73] It should be said that as a folklorist, I view the notion of text in a broad sense, encompassing various cultural forms (cf. Fine 1984:2).

Susan Stewart explicates the intertextual relationship as a process in which independent domains of meaning interact; independent universes of discourse in a constant process of borrowing and transforming: "The universes of discourse are involved in borrowing from one another and transforming one another at every step" (Stewart 1979:16–17). An intertextual relationship is a relationship based on a borrowing process between any two discourse universes. In this process meaning is formed.

We can consider the media franchise Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles (Mirage 1984, Frank Wolf films 1987, Archie comics 1988, IDW Publishing 2011, Nickelodeon 2012) as an intertextual media franchise, or an example of how intertext works as textual relations. First and foremost in a longstanding media franchise, the various reincarnations are intertextually linked to each other; for instance jokes made in the 2012 TV-series have an intertextual connection that is only obvious for a generation who have seen the 1987 series[74]. But furthermore, one can consider the whole franchise as based on an intertextual connection to urban legends of creatures in the sewers of New York. The main plot of the franchise is based on four mutant turtles living in the New York sewer system. The franchise even has a character that is depicted as a mutant alligator, also living in the sewers, in the various reincarnations called Leatherhead (for example, see Archie comics 1992). The characters are based on an understanding that where there are sewers there is someone living in them; an urban legend theme stretching as far back as antiquity (cf. Asplund Ingemark & Ingemark 2004).

One can also consider the quote:
In the middle of the elemental storm a fire gleamed among the dripping furze bushes like the madness in a weasel's eye. It illuminated three hunched figures. As the cauldron bubbled an eldritch voice shrieked: 'When shall we three meet again?' There was a pause. Finally another voice said in far more ordinary tones: 'Well I can do next Tuesday.' (Pratchett 1988)

The meaning of both examples is based on the reader understanding the intertextual connection between, in the quote three witches meeting in a forest on the Discworld, and the writings of Shakespeare (*Mac Beth*: Act 1, Scene 1): "When shall we three meet again? In thunder, lightning, or in rain?". This is what is meant by universes of discourse transforming each other and borrowing from each other. In the quote, the joke is contingent on an understanding of the seriousness of the witches in Shakespeare.

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[74] This is called "fan service" in colloquial vernacular.

Stewart connects intertextuality to an examination of interpretation and meaning in her work on common sense, "the stock of knowledge at hand" (Stewart 1979:9), which can be labelled as what everybody already knows and takes for granted. Her main investigation is of the construction of nonsense, which is contingent on the common sense world, everything we take for granted as reality or the *ordinary*. Common sense also contains traditions within its domain, because "Tradition lends us a set of expectations […] for evaluating what will count and not count in forming the horizon in any situation" (Ibid.). For Stewart, intertextuality and contextuality is still somewhat separate, context being defined as "determined through interpretive procedures that have evolved through prior experience with "contexts" or "texts" (Ibid:10). Later folklorists have determined that also context can be intertextual since "context, like text, is but one aspect of meaning" (Asplund Ingemark 2004:141). Any text that has a relationship to another text is in an intertextual relationship. This is crucial to understand as I explicate the connection between the Hogswatch celebration and the writings of Pratchett.

The common sense world is the dominion of meaning upon which other meanings are based. The common sense of fans is intertextually based; fandom brings with it an intertextual common sense (Löfgren 2013). The common sense of fandom is built and continuously borrowing and transforming of texts and context from one discourse universe (in this case Discworld) to another (in this case the celebration in Wincanton). In this relationship, the fandom also constructs and extracts meaning. Construct, in the sense that any given fandom constructs from a certain text that one is affectively invested in, extract in the sense that the meaning of the fandom extracts meaning from the text. Discworld (in this case) works as a stock of knowledge at hand, to be utilized in building and upholding meaning, a common stock of meaning (Asplund Ingemark 2004:141) that makes the celebration and the fandom clear for everyone involved in the fandom. In this sense, the Discworld books and the socio-cultural context of the celebration in Wincanton is in an intertextual relation with each other. This is of course the case of all media text fandoms.

Intertextual Techniques and Practice

Intertextual relations between texts can be constructed in a myriad of ways, all having in common that they define the meaning of another text or context. Intertext can mimic, re-negotiate, invert and copy meaning (cf. Asplund Ingemark 2004:142). American folklorists Robert de Caro and Rosan Augusta Jordan have examined various techniques authors and artists employ to transfer meanings of folklore texts into literary and artistic contexts:

Additionally (and more common still), writers frequently and more or less self-consciously have adapted and incorporated the forms and content of folklore in creating literary works. They have repositioned folk texts and contexts, re-framing them in literary texts [...] By 're-situating folklore' we mean – as do Babcock and Abrahams – simply the process by which folklore is somehow taken from its position in a sociocultural context (de-situation) and placed into a literary or artistic context. (de Caro & Jordan 2004:5–6)

Re-situation is an intertextual technique practised by authors in order to transfer meaning between texts. This is often done consciously, in order to infuse a literary work with a certain meaning. As an example of this, one can consider the use of messianic myth in, for instance, Star Wars. Throughout the film series, we have several messianic characters: Anakin Skywalker, Luke Skywalker, Obi-wan Kenobi, all of whom have, in their different ways, a borrowed meaning from the Judeo-Christian myth of the messiah (cf. Sjö 2007). Consider for instance that Anakin Skywalker is brought up fatherless by his mother (cf. Ibid.:264), Obi-wan Kenobi is a form of Christ-like character, gaining followers, converting other characters and so on (Ibid:97). The point is that within the Star Wars franchise, the messianic myths have first been de-situated from one socio-cultural context to give a certain meaning, structure or context to fiction.

de Caro and Jordan recognize three techniques for re-situating the meaning of folklore texts into a literary text:

First they may imitate or otherwise adapt the stylistic convention and form of a particular genre of folklore, re-situating not a particular text, but the conventions that inform a series of related texts. [...] Such imitation of form creates, then, a *formal* or *stylistic* framework, using a *generic structure* as a model. (de Caro & Jordan 2004: 6–7)

An author may borrow the form of a folklore genre; e.g. if the literary text is to be understood as a form of urban legend, the author borrows the stylistic form of an urban legend.

Other writers de- and re-situate folklore to provide an "endo-skeleton" of plot, reference, or meaning [...] Folklore plots thus get adapted as literary plots, but of course in the case of such *plot adaptation* the folkloric reference usually also provides a resonance which expands the meaning, in these stories. [...] In other literary

creations, aspects of folklore other than plot have been used to do the same thing: to allude to contexts, ideas, and values; to provide ironic reference; to expand thematic understandings. [...] Here folklore becomes a sort of literary fodder. (de Caro & Jordan 2004:7–8)

Folklore may also be re-situated in order to provide plot. An example of this is modern re-imaginations of myths and fairy tales (for example Marvel comics Thor comics), serving as inspiration for re-imaginings, alluding to contexts and so on.

Sometimes a transportation of folklore occurs from its actual context in culture to a fictional context which mimics the cultural reality, the transportation in part of creating literary context [...] A writer may include folklore in a novel or short story simply because the lore exists in the real world, and folklore can be transported to a literary narrative to thus become just a part of the fictional cultural landscape. (de Caro & Jordan 2004:9)

Sometimes authors borrow the context of folklore because it lends a reference to a fictional common sense world. This is readily done by Pratchett, for instance the use of fairy tales referred to in a matter-of-fact kind of way in, for instance, *A Hat Full of Sky* (2004) or the use of the doctrine of signature as a marker between common sense understanding and magic knowledge:

> There is something called the Doctrine of Signatures. It works like this: when the creator of the Universe made helpful plants for the use of people, he (or in some versions she) put little clues on them to give people hints. A plant useful for toothache would look like teeth, one to cure earache would look like an ear, one good for nose problems would drip green goo and so on. Many people believed this. You had to use a certain amount of imagination to be good at it (but not in the case of Nose Dropwort) and in Tiffany's world the Creator had got a little more... creative. Some plants had writing on them if you knew where to look. [...] She was holding up a weed triumphantly.
> 'Everyone thinks it's another toothache cure, but just look at the cut root by stored moonlight, using my blue magnifying glass...'
> Tiffany tried it, and read: **'GoOD F4r Colds May cors drowniss Do nOt oprate heavE mashinry'**
> 'Terrible spelling, but not bad for a daisy,' said Miss Level. 'You mean plants *really* tell you how to use them?' (Pratchett 2005:90–91)

In a fandom context in which affection for a text is translated into practice, the process of re-situation is one in reverse (Löfgren 2013). Since the common sense or common stock of knowledge and meaning is based on the to-have-read or to-have-watched or

to-have-consumed a specific media franchise text, various events that are fandom specific need to reflect that. The re-situation process then becomes one from literature into folklore rather than the other way around. Fandom is in that sense an intertextual endeavour. This idea is in tandem with the idea that performance creates a link between the text and cultural context (Asplund Ingemark 2004:25)[75]. Much like folklore draws upon "traditional knowledge put into, and drawing from, practice" (Bronner 2016:15), fandom seems to be putting intertextual knowledge into practice. It is a form of re-situation but not according to the scheme presented by de Caro and Jordan. Rather fandom is part of an intertextual system in which the media franchise texts have intertextual relationships to various forms of folklore and socio-cultural contexts. Then the franchise text is read/viewed/consumed by the fans, who in turn re-situate the media text to a socio-cultural context, e.g. fandom, affectively turning literature/film/TV-series/games into folklore (Löfgren 2013).

The Usefulness of Intertextual Meaning

If one subscribes to the idea that fandom puts intertext into practice, one has to ask why; or what is to be gained from such as practice? Evidently, in order for a social gathering to feel like one surrounding a certain franchise text, that text has to be featured in some way. In order for something to be a fandom event, the text that you are fan of needs to be present in one way or another; otherwise it will not be a gathering expressing the social affiliation based on the affective relationship one has with that text. In that sense, intertext is necessary for the expressions of fandom. Fandom social gatherings (or socio-cultural context) is a way to make a bit of any text "become real" or tangible (cf. Löfgren 2016). Therefore, the use of intertext or the re-situation is applied in order to re-situate the feeling of a media text, or what-it-is-like of the fiction out from the storyworld to a socio-cultural context (cf. Löfgren 2017).

Intertext in the Context of this Study

I subscribe to the description of intertext as a process in which "[t]he universes of discourse are involved in borrowing from one another and transforming one another at every step" (Stewart 1979:16–17). This process can be undertaken consciously by people who want to transmit a form of meaning from one text to another, through a process of re-situation. What is peculiar in the context of fandom is that this process is done in order to transmit a sense of what-it-is-like from a certain universe to be

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[75] Performance here should be understood "as the 'doing' of folklore" (Bauman 2012:98).

used in fandom events, branding fandom as an intertextual endeavour. The intertextual relationship is put into practice.

Thus, *intertext is the process of transporting, constructing and expressing meaning between texts, in various forms, techniques and to different degrees of intensity.*

The articles – an overview

This section is a short presentation and overview of the articles. This presentation is meant to condense the main points and contributions that are made in the articles.

Death and a pickled onion -The construction of fan culture and fan identity in the Hogswatch celebration of Wincanton (Gramarye 3, 2013)

The first article of this project was published in 2013. In short, it is an analysis of the intertextual and contextual construction of fandom in the celebration in Wincanton. This is where I outline the ideas of intertext and intertextual common sense, later to be utilized throughout the article series. In that sense, the article is to be viewed as a first step in my analysis or as the article that lays out the groundwork of the subsequent ones I found that some of the procedures during the celebration were derived not from intertext, but from the socio-cultural context of fandom. The examples utilized from the fieldwork is a ceremony in which the character of Death hands out Hogswatch gifts (intertextual) and the selling of a ten-year-old pickled onion in a jar during the Hogswatch charity auction (contextual).

Using the notion of intertext and context, as well as re-situation theory, I show how fandom works according to intertextual and contextual constructs. The article outlines an understanding of intertext as a form of practice, showing how intertext is used in creating and upholding commonality.

The article concludes that the re-situation process (de Caro & Jordan 2004) of a fandom celebration is one in which folklore is partly re-situated from a literary context into a socio-cultural one. In doing that, Discworld fandom (and others) is part of an intertextual process that starts in intertextual links between folklore and literature, to end in a chain where literature is used as folklore. The article also shows how a franchise becomes an intertextual common sense and is used as grounds for construction of a common context.

The main contribution of this article to the field of fandom studies is the explicit use of intertext as a theoretical tool to understand fandom. The contribution to intertextual studies is that I show how intertext is used to create a common sense and how intertext is used to create fandom folklore.

"Thank you so much for keeping all of us in the Emporium gainfully employed" – The Relationship between Fan and Merchant in the Wincanton Hogswatch Celebration (Fafnir 2:3, 2015)

The second article of this project was published in 2015. It is a study of the mercantile part of fandom. By applying various theoretical approaches to the trade conducted in Wincanton, I could expand the notion of commonality and intertext by looking at intertextually linked trade. In the process of doing this, I aimed to add to the understanding of economics, trade and exchange within fandom communities, and to move towards an understanding of trade as upholding a society through relationships. The examples used are the trade of intertextually linked paraphernalia made by the shop The Discworld Emporium, and the trade of food and lodgings offered to the fans by The Bear Inn.

By using theories on gift-economy, I show how trade within fandom is conducted in a system of creating and upholding community, creating an interdependence between the merchants and the fans who visit the celebration, but also creating and upholding loyalty between trading partners. This should be put in context of an understanding of fandom-paraphernalia as commodities, the point being that in this case study, and in fandom commerce such as comic book collection, the trade is not one of mere commodity exchanged for money, but rather one of a loyalty exchanged for loyalty.

The article's main contribution to the field of fandom studies is that I open up the understanding of trade within fandom by using gift-economy, stressing the point that trade conducted in fandom is as much about upholding good relationships as it is about trading goods. The article's main contribution as to the intertextual is the presentation of an intertextually linked trade, in which intertext is used to sell merchandise.

'It's a Good Job Nobody Mentioned Hedgehogs': The Use of Narratives in Discworld Fandom (Folklore 128, March, 2017)

The third article in the series was published in 2017. The article is a study of the use of narratives in the celebration, more specifically the staged narratives performed during the celebration. By using the notion of qualia, I show how a feeling of the Discworld

is re-situated from novel to celebration using staged narratives. I also show how the various staged narratives are deemed tellable in the celebration by alluding to intertextual connections to the Discworld, but also to the socio-cultural context of the celebration itself. The material discussed in the article is various forms of staged narratives, ranging from retellings of Discworld texts to poetry and fairy tales. All the narratives in the celebration are used to re-situate a Discworld ethos for the celebration.

The article's contribution to the field of fandom studies is mainly in the discussion on how narratives are used within fandom and how the feeling of a specific franchise can be transported, using narratives. It also showcases how the narratives within a fandom celebration allude to the franchise. The contribution to intertextual studies is in the understanding that intertextual connections are used to transport qualia, adding to the understanding of the re-situation process.

"The scythe is the bit that I actually made" – Folk art as expressions of fandom (manuscript)

The last instalment in the article series is published in this volume. The article analyses the material manifestations of fandom culture (costuming and handicrafts) through the concept of folk art.

The material discussed in this article are cosplay, needlework and graffiti, material expressions of fandom. By using folk art as a concept, I show how intertextual connections also take material form, introducing folk art as at term to discuss all the material expressions of fandom.

The contribution this article makes to the field of fandom studies lies in giving fandom scholars a term with which to discuss the DIY material expressions of fandom with: as folk art. The contribution to intertextual scholarship lies in a clear case in which text, and the affection for text, is translated into a material expression.

Conclusions

What conclusions have I drawn during the thesis project? The conclusions drawn in the articles are published in the articles themselves. Nevertheless, in short, the articles present the following conclusions:

- The Hogswatch celebration is based in, and draws upon, intertextual common sense and contextual knowledge of the situation in Wincanton. This intertextual common sense is crucial for understanding the construction of the celebration itself, but also to understand the project identity construction of the fans.
- The trade in Wincanton is based in intertextual common sense, being the basis also of a gift-economic system in which trade is conducted in order to uphold social ties between fans and merchants in Wincanton.
- The use of staged narratives in the celebration draws upon intertextual common sense, and helps re-situate a feeling of Discworld to Wincanton, by way of qualia (the what-it-is-like of Discworld). The narratives help establish the what-it-is-like as an ethos for the celebration. Also, the intertextual common sense is part of the process of deeming a story tellable, always alluding to the qualia of Discworld.
- The folk art of fandom is following the intertextual common sense. The intertext is used as a basis for a common context.

My research thus shows how intertext permeates fandom culture and by using the notion of intertext one can explore and investigate fandom-expressions of affect. The affective investment and play (Hills 2001) is expressed as intertext put into practice in various forms: performance events, trading, narrative and material expression. The intertextual common sense is also a basis of affect that social relationships are built upon. The various forms of expression uphold and articulate that which constitutes a basis for the social affiliation (Jenkins 2006b). In short, the knowledge of the intertext is what a socio-cultural context of fandom is built on. By examining the intertextual expressions, we can discern what the fans have in common, namely an affection towards a text. One can also use the notion to describe fandom creativity, since expression within fandom alludes to the mother text, in this case Discworld. Intertext is used within fandom as the basis for common sense and as a foundation for social affiliation.

Social affiliation in the celebration is a form of folk, momentarily in the celebration and between the celebrations in online form. Since the fandom can be said to be a folk, the expressions of fandom can be said to be a lore; i.e. *aesthetic, affect-evoking*

communication and practice. This practice and communication defines the fandom as a fandom of Discworld. Using the notion of folklore to examine fandom bridges the two schools of fandom-studies (the socio-cultural and psychological schools).

Using folkloristic methodology and theory one can describe and analyse what fans do when they congregate. Treating the expression of fandom as folklore makes it easier to put the fandom into a context in which the various expressions and theories used in the articles illuminate a part of fandom seldom studied: the fandom celebration. Having a firm base in ethnography and participant observation is key to a study of fandom in which what the fans do is in focus (rather than studying fandom text). As such, I argue that this case study is important to properly shift the focus from the textual production of fans to the socio-cultural context of fandom and all its expressions.

I have aimed to do this by opening up certain folkloristic/anthropological lines of inquiry: common sense construction, gift-economic trade, narrative and folk art. By doing this, I have accomplished a study that shows how multifaceted and creative fandom is. I have also accomplished a study of a modern folklore, namely the expression of fandom, and I am of the firm belief that theory and methodological practice learnt in folkloristics are crucial for building an understanding of fandom as a phenomenon. Furthermore, I have injected a folklorist reflexivity to the field of fandom studies, advancing the discussion on how to conduct fieldwork in affectively invested groups. The discussion on the use of a language based in immersion, rather than the language of inside and outside perspectives should be of value for ethnographers outside the field of fandom studies.

A Brief Note on the Study of the Folklore of Fandom

What is it that I have done here, or aspired to do? I have aspired to make a folkloristic inquiry into the phenomenon known as fandom; why? Because I mean that fandom studies benefit from an insertion of folklore studies; but how? Fandom studies may benefit by using concepts of folkloristics.

Folkloristic use and understanding of notions such as narrative and intertext, and the notion of folklore itself, often encompass an idea of the-practice-of, or the-use-of factor, which marries well with the study of fandom. Fandom is the use of text, an expression of affective play. What this study has attempted to showcase is how one studies fandom's various practices and use of text. This is why the folkloristic understanding of intertext is useful when studying fandom. By grounding the study in folkloristic intertextual studies with the idea that intertext is the continuous

borrowing process between universes of discourse (Stewart 1979), one can open up the expressions of affective play (Hills 2002) in a way that encompasses both the franchise or literary universe that fans have an affective investment in, as well as the social affiliation it gives rise to. The theoretical framework of a folklorist suits fandom studies very well.

In order to depict the field of Discworld-fandom (and any fandom) as accurately as possible, I opted for ethnographic participant observation, the issues of which have been interesting to contemplate in the light of fandom, affection and reflexivity. Since fandom-scholars have had a debate on the proper "distance" to one's field, grounded in the idea that fandom-scholarship usually stems from a personal interest in the subject matter, issues of reflexivity and immersion into the fieldwork situation are crucial. Basically, since I am a fan trained as a folklorist conducting fieldwork, the issues of closeness or distance to the field became an issue in need of solving. I attempted to do that by abolishing the language used to describe distance, since the field merited a language of immersion. The language of immersion presented in this thesis is but one step in this endeavour. In future studies one should, in the same way as immersion is represented as a tool to describe a self-reflexive stand towards a subject matter, include a similar discussion on levels of affective investment. Much like participant observation leads to an empathic understanding (as described), an academic subject matter can also be said to be a matter of affective investment. Here I suggest (without further analysis) that the notion of levels of affective investment, from the level of "caring" to "play" and "community"[76], could be converted into questions furthering self-reflexivity in both fandom-studies and folkloristic fandom studies; as well as to debate the issues of immersion into a field further by adding affect to immersion. This would open up what I see as the modus operandi of participant observation, namely to obtain a level of empathic understanding for the field, and thus give 'as accurate' a representation of the field as possible. To do this, one has to find a better language to describe one's own involvement vis-à-vis the field than the language hitherto used. In this thesis, I experimented with computer game notions of immersion into a fictional (game)world, and the next step is, as stated, to include an understanding of affective investment as well.

 The discussion on self-reflexivity stems from folkloristic scholarship, but the discussion is advanced by the use of folkloristics on a fandom material. In fandom studies, the idea of 'being too close' to your material somehow "needs to be solved" every time one conducts a study, in much the same way we have an obligation of reflexivity within folkloristics. The issue of self-reflexivity is best tested in fieldwork in

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[76] Levels briefly touched upon by both Grossberg (1992) and Hills (2002).

which affect is a key component (as in studies of fandom and supportership). The problematization of one's own standpoint towards the material is one that is fundamental in folkloristics. But seldom have I encountered a field that made me think of these issues as much as the fieldwork conducted for this study. In this respect, fandom studies, in my view, have helped me further the discussion on reflexivity in fieldwork within folkloristics and sister disciplines such as anthropology, ethnology and cultural analysis. I hope that whoever reads this thesis can at least bring an argument and a discussion on levels of immersion into their fieldwork.

The study I have conducted can be viewed as a study of the folklore of a specific fandom. It is a folkloristic approach in that the themes and major methodological and theoretical background are firmly based in the study of folklore.

By conducting this study, I have aimed to give the field of fandom studies a new set of theoretical and methodological approaches borrowed from the discipline of folkloristics. I also want to showcase how the concept of folklore and the discipline of folkloristics, with its history of conducting studies into popular culture material, can continue to conduct studies into modern expressions of affection and engagement with narratives.

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A collection of articles

Death and a pickled onion -The construction of fan culture and fan identity in the
Hogswatch celebration of Wincanton (Gramarye 3, 2013)

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"The scythe is the bit that I actually made" – Folk art as expressions of fandom (manuscript)

Death and a pickled onion
The construction of fan culture and fan identity in the Hogswatch celebration of Wincanton

Jakob Löfgren

I have been a fan all my life. I have participated and displayed in a wide variety of fandoms for as long as I can remember. But only since I began my doctoral studies in folkloristics have I really reflected on my participation in fandom, and started to ask questions like: 'What is a fan?' or 'What is fandom?' Being a folklorist, I began to suspect that fandom is a form of folklore.

It was while working on my Master's thesis that I by chance stumbled on a particularly special display of fandom. Searching the internet, I discovered a shop trading exclusively in Discworld paraphernalia that happened to be located in Wincanton, Somerset. Finding the shop might have been exciting enough, but my interest was heightened when I learnt that the town of Wincanton sported an annual festivity known as Hogswatch.[i] Here was a town that seemed to celebrate a fictional midwinter fête from a fictional world, the Discworld, created by the English author Sir Terry Pratchett, whose *Discworld* series currently runs to 39 novels. I have been a fan of the Discworld since I was old enough to read, and there are millions of similar fans of all ages across the world. Together we form an assembly that can loosely be termed Discworld fans, and it is this form of fandom I want to explore here, specifically during Wincanton's celebration of Hogswatch, in which I participated as an observer and fan in 2010, 2011 and 2012. The purpose of the article is to demonstrate how fandom culture is constructed by means of intertext and context, and is contingent upon the construction of *common sense,* which is itself contingent on a *communal stock of knowledge*. My fieldwork for this article was made possible with the financial help of the Swedish Literature Society in Finland.

Concepts and theory
Before I take you to Wincanton, some central concepts and the theoretical perspectives need clarification. Let us start with folklore. A definition of folklore I've always found to be concise, veracious and relatively uncomplicated is Dan Ben-Amos' definition of folklore as 'artistic communication in small groups'.[ii] Ben-Amos recognises that this communication entails something more than just plain communication; he calls it 'artistic'.[iii] Moreover, he identifies that the communication takes place in a 'small group', or between people who are 'part of the same reference group'.[iv] This definition also hints at the etymological roots of 'folklore'.[v] The 'small group' Ben-Amos speaks of could be viewed as the 'folk' and, consequently, the 'artistic communication' would then be the 'lore'. Therefore, folklore can be viewed as a form of communal communication within a 'reference group'[vi] used to convey a group identity.

A second central concept for this study is fandom. Today there are two conflicting schools of fandom research, one psychological and one social constructivist. The psychological school defines and debates fandom in terms of affection and sensibility. Scholars like Lawrence Grossberg and Matt Hills define fandom through the fans' affective relationship with the object of fandom. In Grossberg's definition, fandom operates on affect and affective investments;[vii] in other words, fandom is seen as a result of the emotions and desires of the fan. Matt Hills is another psychologically inspired fandom scholar. In his book *Fan Cultures*, Hills furthers Grossberg's definition and introduces the term 'affective play',[viii] whose definition includes two central elements: an affective emotional attachment towards the object of fandom and an element of play with said affection. Henry Jenkins in turn views fandom as a socially constructed phenomenon. In *Fans, Bloggers and Gamers*, he sees fandom as part of a bigger map of different social affiliations. What distinguishes fandom from other social affiliations is the participating

and constructing elements of fandom. Jenkins sees fandom as a participatory culture with an active audience.[ix] In my view, fandom is a product of both an affective relationship between the fan and the object of fandom, as well as a participatory social affiliation. Like Hills I acknowledge a playful component based on affection, but I also subscribe to the idea that fandom is constructed and a participatory social affiliation.

This article also uses the American folklorist Susan Stewart's theories of intertextuality, common sense and nonsense. Stewart understands intertextuality as a borrowing process between two 'domains of meaning',[x] and divides her world into two universes of discourse: the common sense and the nonsense world.[xi] The common sense world is our perception or organisation of reality, which is contingent on 'the stock of knowledge at hand',[xii] or 'the communal knowledge of a certain group'. The common sense world is everything we take for granted as reality or the *ordinary*.[xiii] Common sense also contains traditions within its domain because 'Tradition lends us a set of expectations […] for evaluating what will count and not count in forming the horizon in any situation',[xiv] and so helps in indexing our perception of reality.

'Nonsense', on the other hand, is a universe of discourse in which reality is disorganised and rewritten.[xv] This is of course what fiction does. The relationship between universes of discourse is intertextual. Stewart believes that 'The concept of intertextuality relies on two basic assumptions: first, that various domains of meaning are contingent upon one another and second, that the common-sense world may be considered as a base, on which other provinces of meaning are formed.'[xvi] This implies that a fictional universe is contingent on and derived from its intertextual connections to common sense. In contrast, concrete human events, Stewart suggests, are dependent on their situation and therefore have a contextually determined meaning[xvii] 'determined through interpretive procedures that have evolved through prior experience with "contexts" or "texts"'.[xviii] In short, common sense derives its meaning from context and fiction derives its meaning from intertext.

To summarise, Stewart's thoughts on intertextual relationships draw on two separate ideas. First, that our understanding of the connection between folklore and literature merits a division into universes of discourse. Second that an intertextual relationship occurs in a continuing process of borrowing and transforming,[xix] which results in the meaning of fiction being dependent on its connection to reality. In addition, Stewart suggests that the meaning of human action is contextually derived. By applying Stewart's theories to the collected fan-folklore I aim to illustrate two things: (1) the complexity in the intertextual relationship between Discworld and the fan-folklore; (2) that the intertextual and contextual constructs of the fan-folklore can be described as 'making common sense'.

Robert de Caro and Rosan Augusta Jordan describe how Stewart's idea of intertextuality as a borrowing process works when exercised by an author. The process is called 're-situation'.[xx] De Caro and Jordan suggest that borrowing and transforming is a conscious act by an author[xxi] whenever they pick a text (be it an actual text, imitation of form or a plot adaptation) and use it in their own work of literature.[xxii] In this way folklore is re-situated from a socio-cultural discourse into a literary discourse. However, as certain traditions are borrowed from Pratchett's fiction into the Hogswatch celebration, it can be seen that re-situation also works the other way round: *from* a literary discourse *into* a socio-cultural discourse; in other words the participants deliberately pick parts of fictional folklore and re-situate them in a new socio-cultural context.

Stewart's distinction between the notions of 'context' and 'intertext' is no longer obvious today due to the development of textual theories within culture studies, but I have chosen to keep the distinction because both are apparent in the Hogswatch celebration. Because of the celebration's quality as a human event, the parts that are not apparently intertextual will be described as contextual, in what linguistics would call 'social' or 'socio-cultural context'.[xxiii] Social

context is constituted by 'for instance participants, the immediate concrete, physical surroundings including time and location'.[xxiv] Context is connected to social action and a construction of common sense. Furthermore, it can be seen as both a process and a product (as described by, for example, Anita Fetzer.[xxv] This description resonates well with Stewart's understanding of context as 'interpretive procedures'.[xxvi]

Intertext and context in this article are both considered procedures of communication, and both are needed to illustrate differences in the construction of meaning during Hogswatch. I hope to show that 'what is communicated' is fandom common sense.[xxvii]

Fig. 1 'The Hogfather', illustrated by Paul Kidby © Paul Kidby

Fig. 2 'Death masking as the Hogfather', illustrated by Paul Kidby © Paul Kidby.

Fig. 3 Hogfather (photo by Jakob Löfgren).

Fig. 4 The auctioning of the sacred pickled onion (photo by Otto Chriek).

Hogswatch in Wincanton

With the theoretical perspective in mind, the place and the celebrations to be studied can now be introduced. First mentioned in the Domesday Book, Wincanton is a small town in Somerset with about 5,000 inhabitants. It is known for the local racecourse and is an important stopover on the main route from London to Essex.[xxviii] In 2001 Bernard Pearson and his family opened the Discworld Emporium on the High Street in Wincanton.[xxix] The shop trades in Discworld paraphernalia and artwork made by Mr Pearson and his family. Soon after the shop was established, Wincanton gained a reputation among Discworld fans as a destination worthy of a visit. In 2002 the town council twinned Wincanton with the Discworld city of Ankh-Morpork[,xxx] and took the connection one step further in 2007 when it announced the streets in a new housing project in the town were to be named after street names from Discworld, such as 'Treacle Mine Road' and 'Peach Pie Street'.[xxxi]

The relationship between Discworld and Wincanton is of course encouraging for the town's economy. The former mayor of Wincanton explains in a *Daily Mail* article that 'The association with Discworld works extremely well for our town, helping to boost the local economy. I even know of three families who moved to Wincanton because of this quirky connection.'[xxxii] All of the official connections to Ankh-Morpork and the Discworld Emporium have made this small picturesque Somerset town a hub for Discworld fandom all year round, but especially during the Hogswatch weekend.

Hogswatch is the midwinter festival of Discworld[,xxxiii] and is clearly a fictional adaptation of a British or northern European-style midwinter festival. Hogswatch is in other words the result of Pratchett's re-situating

Christmas from its socio-cultural context to a fictional one. Terry Pratchett and Jacqueline Simpson describe the reason for celebrating Hogswatch on Discworld, in their book *The Folklore of the Discworld*, as follows:

> In the bleak midwinter, frosty winds make moan. People, on the other hand, makes as much loud and cheerful noise as they can [...] It's a way of telling the sun what you expect of him – 'Rise and shine, Sun, start to grow strong again, drive back the Ice Giants, bring us the warmth of Spring.' The Sun needs a little encouragement, what ever astronomers may say.[xxxiv]

Hogswatch on Discworld has its beginning in pagan rituals and animal sacrifice with the purpose of making the sun rise the following morning.[xxxv] It then undergoes a modernisation, from 'pagan' to 'civilised': the animal sacrifice is forgotten – it's just not civilised to engage in ritual blood sacrifice. Because of this civilisation process the personification of Hogswatch, the Hogfather (Fig. 1),[xxxvi] also becomes modernised. He goes from being a simple boar meant for sacrifice, to a jolly, boar-faced fat man who delivers presents to kids. The motivation of his existence is the same as before, a kind of sacrifice to make the sun rise the next morning, but the sacrifice itself has shifted from the pagan blood sacrifice to the act of giving presents. On Discworld, gifts have to be distributed by the Hogfather putting them in stockings by the fireplace on Hogswatch night. This is done in order to maintain belief in the Hogfather. Without belief in him on Hogswatch morning the sun will not rise because a sacrifice has not been made.

The premise of the novel *Hogfather* is: what if the ritual of gift-distribution is hindered? The main plot goes as follows: the 'Auditors of reality'[xxxvii] hate humankind because they have irrational beliefs, such as the Hogfather. In an attempt to make the universe work according to

logic, the Auditors try to have the Hogfather assassinated the evening before Hogswatch. This task is to be carried out by eradicating belief in the Hogfather. What the Auditors do not know is that in order for the sun to rise the next morning the Hogfather needs to do his rounds. The one being in the universe that realises the Auditors' plan is Death, as it is his job to collect all dying souls, including the Hogfather's. When Death realises the Hogfather is about to die (and the implications of this), he sets out to save belief in the Hogfather by impersonating him and doing his rounds. Death succeeds and ends up saving the Discworld (Fig. 2).

This is the story that inspired the Hogswatch celebrations in Wincanton and is in a sense a re-situation in reverse, where the Christmas-inspired celebration in the book is brought to life in Wincanton. Everything started about a decade ago when a group of friends of the Pearsons decided to have a little get-together in Wincanton. This informal gathering of friends and fans of Discworld was named after the midwinter festival from Pratchett's works of fiction: Hogswatch. Since then the celebration has evolved. It is organised by the fans and the Discworld Emporium staff (using the Discworld Emporium website).[xxxviii] Today the Wincanton Hogswatch celebration takes place the last weekend in November or the first weekend in December. This is the official celebration organised by the fans. Many fans stay in Wincanton for several days in connection to the Hogswatch weekend, which is mainly set in three locations on the High Street: the Discworld Emporium, the *Dolphin* inn and the pub *The Bear*.

The participants of the Hogswatch celebration are an assorted mix of people. The youngest participant I have encountered was a couple of months old and the oldest were in their eighties. The participants hail from all different socio-economic backgrounds. These demographic descriptions point to the fact that the one thing the participants of the celebration have in common is the *celebration itself*, and a love for the Discworld of course*.*

The Hogswatch celebration must contain certain components to be traditional. These are (among other things):

(1) *A kick-off ceremony.* The 2011 kick-off ceremony took the form of a sketch and an initiation into 'The Ankh-Morpork Guild of Thieves Wincanton branch'. Everyone had to swear an oath promising that if they stole anything they had to leave a receipt. This is a direct intertextual relation to the books as members of Ankh-Morpork's Guild of Thieves are licensed to steal but always have to leave a receipt.

(2) *The Hogfather (or rather Death masking as the Hogfather) giving out presents(Fig. 3).* The Hogfather's visit is the Hogswatch equivalent of Father Christmas's visit on Christmas. It is organised as a secret Santa kind of event. The members of the Emporium internet forum set up a list of participants some time before Hogswatch and then draw a 'secret Santa' (or Hogfather as it were) to buy and wrap a gift for another participant. All the gifts are put in the Hogfather's bag, and the Hogfather distributes them in an event during Hogswatch. The gift doesn't necessarily have to relate to Discworld and are often the same kind of gifts you would get for Christmas.

(3) *Hogswatch sausage supper and open mic evening.* The sausage supper is the official Hogswatch meal. It consists of sausages and mashed potatoes. The meal itself needs to be pre-booked and is consumed at one of the pubs in Wincanton. The open mic evening takes place after dinner and is an event in which anybody can take to the stage in *The Bear*'s back room and entertain with songs, dance, sketches, poetry and so on.

(4) *The charity auction.* Another tradition surrounding Hogswatch is the annual charity auction. Discworld paraphernalia and whatever people put in the auction box are for sale. In 2011 the auction brought in just short of £3,000 to be distributed among charities, both local and national.

(5) *The traditional send off.* The last part of the traditional Hogswatch celebration is the send off, where Bernard Pearson holds a long 'thank you' speech, followed by the words: 'And now ladies and gentlemen ... PISS OFF!'

The intertextual common sense of Death

Several of the above described events can be understood from the perspective of intertextual common sense, for example the gift-giving ceremony, which is organised by the fans, for the fans. The distributing of gifts during a midwinter holiday is not specific to Hogswatch; in Wincanton, however, it is traditional during Hogswatch for *Death* to deliver the midwinter gifts. This might strike the uninformed as odd since the traditional gift-distributer on Discworld is the *Hogfather*. If the goal of the fans is to recreate an accurate Hogswatch celebration from Discworld, the 'correct procedure' would be to emulate the Hogfather giving out gifts. The reason for not doing so is twofold. Firstly, the Hogfather in the book never makes any public appearances. His gift-distribution is of a more subtle nature. Like Santa Claus or Father Christmas in the tradition of the Anglophone world, the Hogfather distributes gifts by descending and ascending through the chimneys of Discworld, leaving gifts in a stocking hung by the fireplace. The only public appearance by any gift-bringer in any Discworld novel is made by Death disguised as the Hogfather, in an Ankh-Morpork department store called Crumley's Emporium, in an attempt to boost belief in the Hogfather. Due to the nature of the Hogfather's gift-bringing, intertextual common sense suggests that he could not appear during the Wincanton celebration either.

Secondly, the gift-giving ceremony in Wincanton is re-situated to suit reality. The re-situation process here starts with the re-situating of British Christmas-tradition, a form of folklore, into the Discworld by Pratchett. The Hogfather's method of gift-distribution is derived from British tradition, and Pratchett also writes a pastiche of commercial displays during Christmas in the scene where Death gives out free gifts in Crumley's Emporium's grotto. This scene is subsequently cherry-picked by the fans and re-situated into the Wincanton celebration. The re-situation process can be illustrated by the following flowchart:
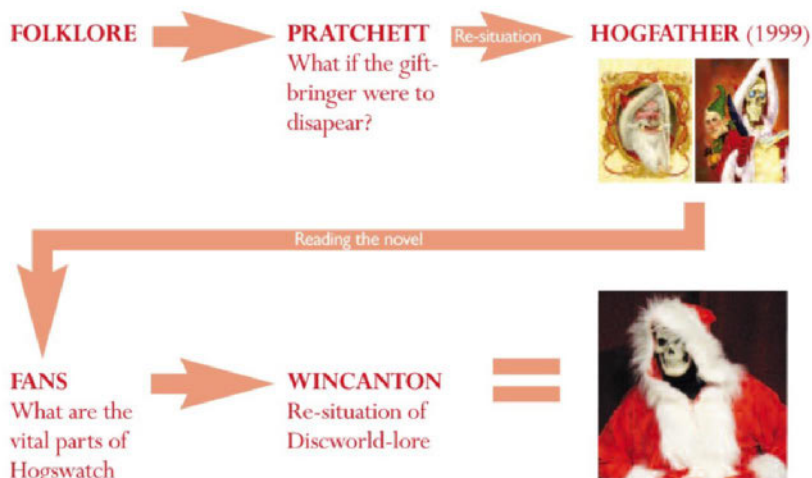
The key to understanding how the intertextual elements of the Wincanton Hogswatch celebration work lies in the fact that the participants constitute a 'small group' of people and the gift-giving ceremony can be defined as 'artistic communication'.[xxxix] To understand why it is meaningful to have Death as gift-bringer for the event, we have to consider how the intertext works as common sense (common sense in the sense of common knowledge or what everybody already knows),[xl] which is contingent on the stock of knowledge at hand. A big part of this stock of knowledge of the small group we can call 'participants of Hogswatch' is derived from the Discworld novels.

Without this communal stock of knowledge, having a character such as Death giving out presents would be nonsensical.[xli] The communal stock of knowledge transforms this nonsense so that, for the participants of the Wincanton Hogswatch celebration, it makes common sense that Death brings gifts. The understanding behind Death as gift-distributer is dependent on intertext and only meaningful for the fans because of it.

The context of a pickled onion
Not all ceremonies and traditions of the Hogswatch celebration derive meaning intertextually. The subsequent example shows that some of its traditions have a contextually derived meaning. The event described here took place during the Hogswatch charity auction on 27 November 2011.

Picture a charity auction in an English rural pub. The auctioneer's helper holds up a small jar of brown liquid. The auctioneer tells the public that the liquid contains one pickled onion and that the jar, the liquid and the onion are seven years old. He then informs the bidders that it is not for sale, but they may bid on the right to lease the jar for a period of one year. Then the bidding war starts. The jar ultimately brings in the price of £100 (Fig. 4).

Without the proper context the act of leasing a seven-year-old pickled onion may be viewed as a nonsensical act. Before I tell the explanatory narrative I want to add that this is not merely the auction of a seven-year-old pickled onion. What is actually auctioned out is a seven-year-old *sacred* pickled onion. The story told by Dr Pat Harkin when the auction takes place goes something like this:

> Ladies and Gentlemen! The Sacred Pickled Onion! In this jar there swims one pickled onion and on the jar is a label that says: 'This jar contains a Sacred Pickled Onion, grown and pickled by Mr. Terry Pratchett himself.' Now there is a story behind this. About seven years ago Terry gave Bernard a jar of pickled onions for Hogswatch. Bernard proceeds to eat all but one pickled onion. Then Bernard, knowing how to make money out of anything, puts a label on the jar that says: 'This jar contains a Sacred Pickled Onion, grown and pickled by Mr. Terry Pratchett himself', and enters the jar in the charity auction. Well, well, the jar is sold. The next year the jar is put back in the auction. After some discussion Bernard and I decide that, from now on you are only allowed to lease the jar for a period of one year. So how much do I get for the Sacred Pickled Onion? [Proceeds to auction it out.][xlii]

The explanatory narrative provides the proper context of the act of auctioning out the onion. It provides a contextual stock of knowledge and therefore transforms the act into common sense. The act itself is something of an inside joke, needing a group of people for whom the joke is meaningful.[xliii] The auctioning of the pickled onion is a prime example of human events deriving

meaning from context.[xliv] Without the communal stock of knowledge, the auctioning of the jar is nonsensical. In order for the jar to fetch a price of £100, the buyer must understand the joke; he must agree that leasing a seven-year-old pickled onion, in the context of Hogswatch, makes common sense.[xlv] Context is determined 'through prior experience with "contexts" or "texts"'.[xlvi] In this instance the participants need to have prior experience with the explanatory narrative and the auction itself, to understand that the act of selling and buying the onion is a tradition of the participants.

Other ancillary traditions are now forming around the sacred pickled onion. One of these traditions is to auction out a smaller, empty jar marked: 'This jar contains the spirit of a sacred pickled onion'. The reason for this is that one year the lease-holder of the sacred pickled onion forgot the jar at home. The same rules apply to the smaller 'spirit of a sacred pickled onion' jar, but it is considerably cheaper. The price for one year's lease was £20 in 2011.

At the 2011 auction Terry Pratchett stood up and took the microphone. He proclaimed that in the course of British history garters have been dropped and therefore there is an Order of the Garter. He proclaimed that henceforth shall the renters of the Holy Pickled Onion be revered members of 'The Loyal Order of the Pickle' and be called 'Knight of the Onion'. Pratchett then commissioned Bernard Pearson to manufacture sashes, medallions and a keepsake shrine to be rented together with the sacred Pickled Onion. So the 26th of November 2011 saw the birth of 'The Loyal Order of the Pickle'.

These two latter pickle-related traditions illustrate well how fan culture works. Once you have a tradition, it can and does evolve. To understand the 'spirit of a pickled onion' or 'The Loyal Order of the Pickle', you first have to understand the context of the first pickled onion tradition. The concept of a sacred pickled onion has to become part of the communal stock of knowledge at hand administered by the explanatory narrative in the context of the charity auction, and therefore it makes common sense. The stock of knowledge is contingent on the context of the celebration, so its meaning is derived contextually.

Common sense, folklore and the identity of fandom
The fact that the meaning of the Hogswatch celebration is derived both contextually and intertextually is essential to our understanding of fan identity. In the above examples the group in question is the participants of the celebration, and the artistic communication, or the folklore, is the gift-giving ceremony and the traditions surrounding the sacred pickled onion. Folklore is communicated within a group; it is their stock of knowledge at hand. Whenever there is a small group with a communal stock of knowledge, there will indisputably exist people that do not possess it and therefore are not a part of the same small group. The stock of knowledge or folklore is a marker of communal identity, i.e., folklore defines the group's identity vis-à-vis others. The construction of the Hogswatch stock of knowledge linked to the construction of the participants' identity as fans of Discworld.

In his book *The Power of Identity*, Manuel Castells examines the construction of identity in a way that has proven useful when studying fans as well: 'Identity is people's source of meaning and experience. […] By identity, as it refers to social actors, I understand the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes.'[xlvii] 'Identity', in Castells' definition, is contingent on social actors much like folklore is contingent on the small group and can be viewed as a process of *construction of meaning*, much like the construction of common sense described in my examples.

One of the forms of construction is 'Project identity: when social actors, on the basis of whatever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their

position in society.'[xlviii] Castells observes that identity has symbolic content which constructs its meaning. As I see it, fan identity can be understood as project identity.

The symbolic content in the Hogswatch celebration is the expression of the communal stock of knowledge constructed for it. This gives the events meaning and defines participants as part of the same small group, a *collective identity.* The identity is constructed from cultural materials available to the fans, which is, besides the usual contextual understanding of human situation, the intertextual knowledge of Discworld novels. If the collective identity constructed is to be recognised as fandom, the 'project identity' must derive symbolic content from the Discworld novels. Otherwise the fans' identity as 'fans of Discworld' could not be communicated within and outside the group. The fans display the intertextual, rather than contextual, connection with Discworld in order to define themselves as fans.

Human situation derives its meaning contextually and the Hogswatch celebration is of course a human situation. The tradition concerning the sacred pickled onion could have originated in a context other than Discworld fandom. The primary reason people participate in the celebration (when asked about it) is simply: 'It is a laugh'. Hogswatch participants are a group of people that already have a lot of intertextual inside jokes, as well as a communal sense of humour, so Bernard Pearson's idea to auction out a pickled onion was received within the group as a fun idea because of their collective humorous disposition. However, it has evolved as a part of the identity-confirming common stock of knowledge.

This confirmation of identity is effected by a person understanding the intertextual common sense and also the context. When a person understands the intertextual common sense behind the gift-giving ceremony, that person belongs to a group designated as 'Discworld fans'. If the person also understands the contextual common sense of the traditions concerning the pickled onion, that person is not only a 'Discworld fan', but also a part of the Wincanton Hogswatch celebrators. If an onlooker does not understand why Death is the gift-distributer, they do not possess the intertextual common sense: they have not read the Discworld books and can therefore not be a Discworld fan. Without the understanding of the intertext, a person will not be part of the group whose identity is confirmed by understanding it. This is of course true of the contextually derived meaning as well. In both cases the result of not understanding leads the onlooker to view the traditions as nonsense.[xlix]

If a group achieves a shared stock of knowledge they can draw from it to make events like the ones described above. In the case of fandom there already exists a common stock of knowledge, the intertextual knowledge, and so traditions can be created that make *common sense* for fans. The traditions in Wincanton make sure that the meaning of the tradition is intertextually bound, to stand out as a unique tradition that can be properly understood by a Discworld fan. The contextual traditions then further the uniqueness of the fandom to define the fan-group that has been to a Wincanton Hogswatch (or read this article). However, it should be stressed that the construction of intertextually bound traditions in Wincanton is of course not necessarily fabricated with the whole sense-making process in mind.

Fan-made traditions, with intertextually derived meaning, are not unique to Discworld-fandom. The reason for building traditions and events on intertextual common sense or with a base in fiction is to celebrate a fandom and to confirm one's identity as a fan. Fandom is a project identity, and fiction-fandom is, I argue, a deliberate project identity with foundation in specific cultural materials.

Shifting common sense, fandom as a project identity
Castells' description suggests that a project identity is an identity over which the social actors have control regarding how it is constructed, and therefore perceived.[l] Project identity is a

chosen identity made on the basis of available cultural material. In my interpretation it is a result of an understanding of the common stock of knowledge.

The choice Castells describes is then, I argue, a choice to accept something as common sense. Furthermore, fandom is a project identity you choose to express more vigorously at certain events and certain times. A Discworld fan does not necessarily act out his or her fandom as potently during the rest of the year as they do in Wincanton during Hogswatch. The American popular culture scholar Lawrence Grossberg has described fandom as a 'sensibility':

> A sensibility is a particular form of engagement or mode of operation. It identifies the specific sorts of effects that the elements within a context can produce; it defines the possible relationships between texts and audiences located within its spaces. [...] This assumes that human life is multidimensional, and texts may, in various contexts, connect into certain dimensions more powerfully than others.[li]

The personal choice of project identity consists of the switching or emphasising of a certain kind of common sense at a certain time. As a person can have several different identities, s/he must also have different understandings of what makes common sense for each identity. This is what Grossberg means when he speaks of human life as multidimensional.

Imagine a frequent participant of the Wincanton Hogswatch celebration. This person has attended four Wincanton Hogswatch celebrations. This fan therefore possesses the contextual stock of knowledge related to the celebrations. Apart from the act of reading Pratchett's novels, the fandom does not show in any other explicit fashion. In sum, this person is an ordinary fan of the Discworld. In everyday life, this person would not dream of purchasing groceries that have gone bad, yet when in Wincanton during Hogswatch it makes sense to bid on a seven-year-old pickled onion: why?

What effectively happens when a fan enters the situation of Hogswatch in Wincanton is a shift of common sense. Where certain things in everyday life are not sensible,[lii] they are during the Hogswatch celebration. This shift of common sense or emphasis on another common sense is an expression of fandom. To alter their perception of what makes common sense, or what is normal and ordinary behaviour in the situation, Discworld fans must have a shared stock of knowledge. When entering Wincanton, fans, including myself, take part in the project identity known as being a Discworld fan. A different set of rules is set for what is ordinary behaviour in the everyday and at Hogswatch, and to accept the Hogswatch set of rules is to become a participant. In effect, the change in sensibility constitutes a project identity.[liii]

Conclusions

This article aimed to illustrate how the Hogswatch in Wincanton is constructed and given meaning by intertextual and contextual constructs of a common stock of knowledge. This in turn was connected to a discussion of fan identity as a form of project identity, essential to which is the way a shared stock of knowledge is understood to be common sense. Hogswatch could of course be investigated from many other perspectives; the celebration is as complex as any other, and I will continue my research in subsequent studies with the help of (and great fun with) a fan group I am grateful to be a part of: Wincanton Hogswatch celebrators. I will continue my research because for me and other fans, and now for the reader as well, it makes common sense.

ⁱ Terry Pratchett, *Hogfather* (London: Transworld Publishers, 1999).

ⁱⁱ Dan Ben-Amos, 'Towards a Definition of Folklore in Context', *Folklore in Context: Essays* (New Delhi: South Asian Publ., 1982), p.14; also in *Journal of American Folklore*, no. 84 (1971).

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid.

^{iv} Ibid.

^v This is recognised by for instance Jan Harold Brunvand, *The Study of American Folklore: An Introduction* (New York: Norton, 1997).

^{vi} Ben-Amos (1982), p.14.

^{vii} Lawrence Grossberg, 'Is there a Fan in the House? The Affective Sensibility of Fandom', in Lisa A. Lewis (ed.), *Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media* (London: Routledge, 1992).

^{viii} Matt Hills, *Fan Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.112.

^{ix} Idem, p.40.

^x Susan Stewart, *Nonsense: Aspects of Intertextuality in Folklore and Literature* (Baltimore: John Hopkins U.P., 1979), p.15.

^{xi} Idem, pp.16-17.

^{xii} Idem, p.8.

^{xiii} Idem, p.8.

^{xiv} Idem, p.9.

^{xv} Idem, p.vii.

^{xvi} Idem, p.16.

^{xvii} Idem, p.9.

^{xviii} Idem, p.10.

^{xix} Idem, pp.16-17.

^{xx} Robert de Caro and Rosan Augusta Jordan, *Re-situating Folklore: Folk Contexts and Twentieth-Century Literature and Art* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), pp.5-6

^{xxi} Ibid., 'writers frequently and more or less self-consciously have adapted and incorporated the forms and content of folklore in creating literary works'.

^{xxii} Idem, pp.6-7

^{xxiii} Anita Fetzer, *Context and Appropriateness: Micro Meets Macro* (Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub. Co., 2007), p.xxi.

^{xxiv} Idem, p.xviii.

^{xxv} Ibid., 'context is assigned the dual status of process and product. The dynamic outlook is based on (1) the premise of indexicality of social action, and (2) the (joint) construction of a common context.'

^{xxvi} Stewart (1979), p.10.

^{xxvii}Idem, 'reality or the *ordinary*', p.8.

^{xxviii} Information from Wincanton town council website http://www.wincantontowncouncil.co.uk 24/1/12

^{xxix}www.discworldemporium.com 24/1/12

^{xxx}http://www.wincantontowncouncil.co.uk 24/1/12

^{xxxi}www.discworldemporium.com 24/1/12

^{xxxii} 'A magic idea: Town uses Sir Terry Pratchett's Discworld as inspiration for street names', from *Daily Mail* website: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1167987/A-magic-idea-Town-uses-Sir-Terry-Pratchetts-Discworld-inspiration-street-names.html 24/1/12

^{xxxiii} The Discworld is described in Pratchett's books as an round disc atop of four elephants who stand on a giant turtle floating through space (see, for instance, Terry Pratchett and Jacqueline Simpson, *The Folklore of the Discworld* (New York: Doubleday, 2008), p.6.

^{xxxiv} Idem, p.340.

^{xxxv} Idem, p.348; also Pratchett (1999).

^{xxxvi} The Discworld equivalent of Father Christmas, see Fig. 2 (from paulkidby.net 23/1/12)

^{xxxvii} The Auditors are described as 'the Auditors of Reality, who see it as their job to make sure the universe functions smoothly and efficiently, without unpredictable interruptions [...] They are the enemies of all imagination, creativity and emotion, and hence of life itself.' Pratchett and Simpson (2008), pp.34-5.

^{xxxviii}www.discworldemporium.com

xxxix Ben-Amos (1982), p.14.

xl Stewart (1979), pp.8-9.

xli Idem, 'a domain of "could not happen"', p.13.

xlii This is not a direct quote but a retelling of the story that I heard Dr Harkin tell during the auction of the Sacred Pickled Onion on 27 November 2011.

xliii See the definition of 'folklore' in Ben-Amos (1982), p.14.

xliv Stewart (1979), p.9.

xlv or perfectly ordinary behaviour.

xlvi Stewart (1979), p.10.

xlvii Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity* (2nd edn) (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p.6.

xlviii Idem, pp.7-8.

xlix I.e., 'not real' or 'should not happen', Stewart (1979), p.13.

l Castells (2009), p.8.

li Lawrence in Lisa A. Lewis (ed.) (1992), p.54.

lii Or it should not happen.

liii 'when social actors, on the basis of whatever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society'. Castells (2009), p.8.

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"Thank you so much for keeping all of us in the Emporium gainfully employed" – The Relationship between Fan and Merchant in the Wincanton Hogswatch Celebration

Jakob Löfgren

Abstract: This paper examines relationship between fans and merchants in the Hogswatch celebration; a celebration of all things Discworld *held in November in Wincanton, Somerset. Using socioeconomic theories on the different modes of exchange – gift economy (Gavin & Phipps) – the article explicates a relationship between fandom and dealers of intertextually linked products, resembles a gift economy system. This because the fans and merchants share an intertextual common sense, drawn upon in the celebration. Furthermore, the article aims to discuss the mutual benefits of the proposed fan/merchant relationship; showing a process of embedded economy (Cotterrell) and craft consumerism (Campbell). The article is part of my ongoing PhD-project at the department of Nordic folkloristics at ÅAU.*

Keywords: Fandom, folklore, fan-culture, socio-economics, gift-exchange, fandom-economy, intertext, Discworld, Terry Pratchett.

Biography and contact info: Jakob Löfgren is a PhD-student and teacher of folkloristics at Åbo Akademi University, Finland. He is pursuing a PhD at the department of Nordic folkloristics at ÅAU and teaching courses on the relationship between folklore and popular culture. He got his MA from the same department in 2010. Jakob is writing his PhD-thesis on the intertextual connection between fandom, folklore, and the fantasy novel series Discworld using the Hogswatch celebration of Wincanton, Somerset as a case-study.

*Discworld i*s a satirical fantasy novel series by the English author Terry Pratchett (1948–2015), comprising of forty-one novels as well as numerous other adaptations. The tales of *Discworld* are set on a flat world, atop four elephants, atop a giant turtle floating in space; depicting a storyworld that is satirical, fantastical, and full of folklore adaptations. As a fan of *Discworld* I like displaying bits of *Discworld* paraphernalia in my home. This is quite common amongst fans. When investigating the goings-on in the Hogswatch celebration – a "Christmas-like" celebration, derived from Terry Pratchett's *Discworlds-*series*,* held annually in November in Wincanton, Somerset – I have been perplexed by the relationship between my fellow fans and the merchants in the town of Wincanton. We (fans and merchants) enjoy an amicable relationship, often joking about the amount of money we spend on paraphernalia during the celebration. This merchant/buyer relationship is different to the one I have in my everyday shopping experiences. Why is that?

The material discussed in this article was collected by means of participatory observation[1] during the Hogswatch celebrations of 2010, 2011, and 2012. Hogswatch is a midwinter festivity described in *Hogfather* (Pratchett 1999), that have been re-situated by fans of *Discworld* as a celebration of all things *Discworld*. It is a three-day celebration that takes place in different venues, such as pubs and the Memorial Hall in Wincanton, and in the *Discworld* fandom-paraphernalia store *The Discworld Emporium*. Hogswatch comprises many different elements that can be defined as folklore: the consumption of specially prepared food, dressing up, and the giving of gifts (cf. Löfgren). The reason I choose to study this particular celebration is its easy accessibility; in terms of it being a celebration that is smaller than major conventions in terms of visitors, but more importantly in terms of timeframe and venue. These have enabled me to make more detailed observations on the exchange; the number of places of trade in Wincanton is fewer than for instance that of Worldcon or San Diego Comic-Con, at the same time as the visitor number is lower than the *Discworld* conventions worldwide. It is also a fandom I am part of, making participation an easier task; understanding intertext, understanding jokes and participating in the celebration from an emic perspective. All field reports and material discussed are deposited at the cultural archive Cultura, at the department of Nordic Folklore studies at Åbo Akademi University.

Aim

The purpose of this article is to investigate the relationship of exchange between the fans visiting the Hogswatch celebration and the merchants taking part in actively constructing an atmosphere for Discworld-fandom activities during the celebrations. I will examine the relationship between the proprietors and fans by discussing socio-economic theories on exchange and consuming, illustrating the mutual benefits for fans, merchants, and the fandom culture. The purpose of this article is consequently twofold: (1) to discuss the relationship of exchange between merchants and fans and (2) to study who benefits what in said relationship.

The Concept of Intertext

Before I explicate the relationship between fan and merchant I want to introduce the notion of intertext, because the intertext is utilised by fans and merchants alike, becoming a common stock of knowledge drawn upon in the merchant/fan relationship.

Susan Stewart describes the notion of intertext as a borrowing process between two domains of meaning (Stewart 15), the two domains of meaning being, roughly speaking, our perception of reality and the ordinary and a rewritten perception of reality. Our perception of reality or the real Stewart designates the domain of common sense and the reorganized or fictional domain is termed nonsense (13). Furthermore Stewart explains the notion of "the stock of knowledge at hand" (9), which can be labelled as what everybody already knows and takes for granted. As I will explain further on, in this case the stock of knowledge is the intertextual knowledge of the *Discworld* books. Stewart's theories are crucial for explaining two things: (1) intertext as a borrowing procedure between reality and fiction, and (2) that fans and merchants possess a communal knowledge (for a more extensive explication see Löfgren).

In their book *Re-situating Folklore: Folk Contexts and Twentieth-century Literature and Art* (2004), Frank de Caro and Rosan Augusta Jordan ponder how the borrowing process is done by authors of fiction. They explain how folklore can be re-situated from socio-cultural contexts to

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literary contexts in different ways (6–7). In Wincanton the process is reversed in that folklore is re-situated from a literary context (i.e. *Discworld*) into the context of the Hogswatch celebration (cf. Löfgren). The agent doing this re-situation is not an author but the fans and merchants participating in the celebration.

Fandom

Two key scholars within the field of fandom studies are Henry Jenkins, who adheres to a social constructivist vernacular, and Matt Hills, who adopts a more psychological view on fandom. For the purposes of this article I will utilise the theories of Hills as presented in his book *Fan Cultures*. I do this because of Hills's ideas of "affective play" (90) and his thoughts on the economic models within fandom which I find useful for my study. However, the view of fandom presented by Jenkins has formed my own understanding of fandom. I perceive fandom as a form of community (cf. Jenkins). But since the aim of this article is to investigate the exchange and relationship between fan and merchant I find it useful to turn to Hills. Affective play is a term that Hills uses to explicate two things within fandom: (1) an understanding of fandom as a display of affection in fandom experience, an idea that is based on the works of Lawrence Grossberg (cf. Grossberg 56–57); (2) an understanding of an inherent "playful potential" (Hills 91) within fandom. The affection that Hills speaks of is the affection towards the object of fandom and the play with affection works as a transgressive performance between the boundary of fiction and reality. The playfulness becomes a representation of the fandom itself. Since the playfulness in itself is a representation of fandom the merchants need to take it, as well as the intertextual connection to *Discworld*, into consideration when dealing with the fans. Communality between fan and merchant is of course not exclusive to the Wincanton phenomenon. It is rather to be viewed as a common notion of fandom mercantile activities. The systems described and analysed in this article most likely occur in many different kinds of fandom.

Hills recognises a dichotomy in fans' relationship to mercantile activities. On the one hand, the fan is a "specialist consumer" (29) or even an "ideal consumer since they are highly predicted by the culture industry" (29); on the other hand, Hills also recognises an anti-commercial side to fandom because the commercial beliefs may not be in alignment with fandom as a cultural situation. Another notion that Hills identifies in fandom is the thought of fans as loyal customers, viewed by merchants as something to strive for (36). The fan/merchant relationship can also be viewed in the light of fan culture as a highly niched market, in which the fans seek authenticity by acts of consumerism (cf. Hills 37–38).

In the article "The Craft Consumer," Colin Campbell ponders the different views on the modern consumer and especially the notion of the "craft consumer." Craft consumerism encompasses ideas that are applicable to the fan/merchant relationship in Wincanton. Craft consumerism is closely related to the identity of the consumer in that the craft consumers "adapted consumerism in such a way that it can give expression to their own distinctive cultural values" (Campbell 38). Another of Campbell's thoughts concerns the relationship between the consumer and the object, which can be described in terms of appropriation. Mass consumer products are appropriated to fit the consumers' own world of meaning (Campbell 29). The craft consumer has an agenda in that the act of consuming becomes one of expressing oneself by means of consumer props. This perspective, too, is of use in the case I am interested in.

The Concept of Gift Economy and Commodity

When debating issues of economics and trade, anthropologists and folklorists alike have often adhered to the study of the bond between two parties of exchange, a discussion I also find to be of interest. This has been done through the use of the term "gift exchange" or "reciprocal exchange" (Gregory 5039–42). The term "gift exchange" was famously pondered and discussed in Marcel Mauss's work *The Gift* (2002) and has since then been a subject of analysis in cultural and economic studies. Scholars such as Claude Lévi-Strauss have also contributed to the understanding of gift exchange (See for instance Lévi-Strauss's *Elementary Structures of Kinship*). The subsequently used model of the character of gift exchange, borrowed from Jack Gavin and Alison Phipps's book *Tourism and Intercultural Exchange: Why Tourism Matters* (2005) on exchange is also mainly based on Marcel Mauss's notion. Gavin and Phipps discuss one of the more common questions posed on the notion of gift exchange: what is the difference between gift exchange and exchange of commodity?

To understand the difference between gift and commodity exchange, one must first define what *exchange* is. An exchange is a transaction that is reciprocated (Gregory 5039–42). Transaction is the process in which a transactor transfers an object to another transactor (as in: A→B). Reciprocation is the same process in reverse (as in A←B). When both processes are done simultaneously it is called exchange (A⇌B) (Gregory 5039–42).

Gift exchange differs from other kinds of exchange in that gift exchange involves an element of interpersonal dependence (Duran). As Duran points out "a gift implies an intention to develop or retain a social relationship between parties" (156). Commodities, in turn, are exchanged in relation to other commodities. Both gift and commodity exchange work on a basis of balanced reciprocity (Duran 157) or an equivalence of value in the exchange. However, Duran argues that "[i]f gift exchange is recognized to be an ongoing personal relationship between parties … then each person has an apparently firm basis for knowing the amount of utility experienced by the other" (157). This suggests that gift exchange has a community building element. The community expressed by the reciprocity aspect of gift exchange is the key difference from that of an exchange of commodity, stressed by Mauss as well as Duran. Sociologist Olli Pyyhtinen even goes so far as to suggest that gifts are "a precondition for the social or community as such" (5) and the gift (and circulation thereof) is making community visible (7). Since fandom is a social affiliation (Jenkin 19), the question one must ask is: is the relationship between fans and merchants in Wincanton reciprocal in such a way that it could be designated a form of *gift exchange*? I explore this question with the help of the gift exchange-based theory of Jack Gavin and Alison Phipps.

Different Relationships

Gavin and Phipps have given the guest/host relationship and "exchange" a great deal of thought in their book (2005). They discuss the idea that Western postmodern society has overemphasised commercial exchange as an economic form (26). They suggest that exchange between host and guest should be regarded in terms of exchange of commodities or gifts. This implies that the guest/host relationship functions on reciprocity rather than pure economic benefit. The difference between the two modes of exchange lies in the *rationality* between exchanging a gift and exchanging a commodity, resulting in different views on the relationship between the presenter and recipient (26). The key difference between a gift exchange and an exchange of commodity lies in the *relationship between the presenter and recipient;* making the relationship qualitative, rather than quantitative (i.e. creating community).

Table 1. The differences between gift and commodity exchange (Gavin & Phipps 27)

Gift exchange
- Status increases as one gives things away
- Objects are inalienable
- Establishes a qualitative relation between parties, builds community
- The exchange is backed by the need to reciprocate
- The exchange creates dependence
- The exchange creates worth
- The decision process is based on the demands of community and reciprocity

Commodity exchange
- Status increases as one accumulates things
- Objects are alienable
- Establishes quantitative relations between strangers
- The exchange is backed by law
- The exchange maintains independence
- The exchange creates values
- The process is rational, calculative and linear

As can be seen in Table 1, the main difference between the two modes of exchange is an aspect of community building. Although the objects and food traded during Hogswatch are commodities, the relationship – as I will attempt to explicate – created and upheld by the fans and merchants is based on dependence backed by reciprocation.

Tourism scholars Sahlini Singh, Dallen J. Timothy, and Ross K. Dowling challenge the perception of the guest/host relationship in destination communities by questioning whether the inhabitants of the community always perceive themselves as hosts and whether the tourists perceive themselves as guests (10). The visited community and the tourist can be viewed in terms of an imagined community, based on mutuality and emotional bonds (Singh, Dallen and Dowling 8–9). This view implies a close connection to the concept of affection The fan/merchant relationship can be understood to work in a similar way to the guest/host relationship, since both have an element of affection.

In his article "Tourism and local society and culture," Michael Fagence explicates the relation between tourist and host when the destination community works as a cultural attraction, in such a way that the destination markets itself by means of a different cultural ambience (57). Fagence distinguishes three different domains of guest/host interaction: spatial, temporal and respect (58). The spatial domain encloses the physical guest/host relationship (i.e. they occupy the same space), the temporal domain encompasses the notion of seasonal fluctuations, and the respect domain enfolds the understanding of respect towards the local community. I want to draw attention to two notions from Fagence: (1) that a host community can actively market itself with cultural ambience; (2) that the guest/host relationship has a dimension of respect and responsibility. Because the fans constitute a niched market, the domain of respect becomes central for both merchant and fan. The respect domain should appear as an exchange constructed by means of reciprocity.

This article is based on three assumptions: (1) that there is an exchange between the participating fans and local merchants; (2) that the exchange shows something about the relationship between them; and (3) that the exchange and therefore the relationship is based on a mutual stock of knowledge that happens to be intertextual.

Intertextual Trade in Wincanton

If you study the economic benefits of Discworld-fandom in Wincanton you have to identify who the benefactors are. Firstly, the owners and employees of the "Discworld Emporium" shop whose business depends on an influx of fandom-related commerce. Secondly, the pubs that get an economical boost during the Hogswatch celebration, most noticeably the Bear Inn and its proprietor Jo Wainwright. The Bear Inn serves as the stage for most of the Hogswatch-related ceremonies. Third, the inn owners, hotel entrepreneurs, and hostels get a yearly full booking. Fourth, the non-Discworld-related businesses in town, the restaurants, shops, and cafés make money on the fans. Last we have the town of Wincanton as such, which collects tax-revenue and rent, not only from the various merchants, but also from fans that have relocated and now live in Wincanton, due to its connection to Discworld-fandom. Wincanton is officially twinned with Ankh-Morpork, the largest city on *Discworld*.

In this article I will present and discuss two major examples of intertextual trade: the trade of intertextual paraphernalia in "The Discworld Emporium" and the intertextually linked menus at the Bear Inn. The reasons for this demarcation is, firstly, that the Discworld Emporium and the Bear Inn largely constitute the scene (in the physical sense of the word) upon which the celebration takes place. Secondly, both the Emporium and the Bear Inn serve the purpose of explicit examples of intertextual trade. Furthermore, both the Emporium and the Bear Inn see a remarkable influx in revenue during the Hogswatch weekend, as explained by the proprietor of the Bear Inn, Jo Wainwright, in a Facebook discussion in the spring of 2012:

> (Jakob) How is the business during Hogswatch?
> (Jo) ....the increase in trade is tremendous. The pub trade in G.B. is not as it was and so we depend very much on Hogswatch to pay our bills!
> (Jakob) Do you have reoccurring customers?
> (Jo) Many of our customers are repeat trade. That is of course due to the programme of events that are organised for us but we also try to put on Hogswatch food and entertainment. We refer to the b&b trade that weekend as " dead men' shoes as the rooms are booked from one event to another (IF 2012/004 4)

The quotes state that the trade during Hogswatch is of great financial importance and that there is a relationship that manifests itself in "repeat trade" and the fact that rooms are booked from one event to the other. There is also a mention of "Hogswatch food and entertainment," which suggests there is an element of intertextuality linked to the trade. One could explicate the monetary benefits of trade during Hogswatch, but my concern is the relationship between the fans and merchants and that relationship is in my view *not solely* based on the exchange of money for goods, but is more intricate than that.

The Discworld Emporium is owned and run by Mr Bernard Pearson and associates. The shop deals exclusively in *Discworld* paraphernalia, designed by Pearson and his crew. This includes pottery panoramas of buildings and scenes from the *Discworld* novels, printed artwork, and most

Fig 1. *Discworld stamp. © Discworld Emporium.*

noticeably stamps. The Discworld Emporium has, since the publication of Pratchett's *Going Postal* (2004) which tells the story of the rebirth of the *Discworld* postal system, been printing and selling *Discworld* stamps (pic 1.). The stamps have been a big seller for the Emporium, attracting not only Discworld fans, but philatelists as well, despite the fact that the stamps cannot be used in the postal service.
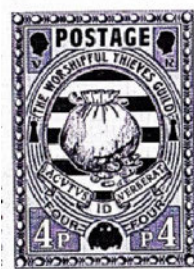
All paraphernalia bought and sold in the store have an intertextual connection to Discworld. It also has a distinctive "Victorian" feel. This is because of the depiction of the city of Ankh-Morpork in the *Discworld* novels. Ankh-Morpork has evolved in the novels towards a Victorian, industrialized state of development. This is an on-going theme in Pratchett's books concerning Ankh-Morpork, describing everything from the rise of the free press (*The Truth,* 2000), postal (*Going Postal,* 2004) and banking systems (*Making Money,* 2007), to the development of the city watch (for instance *Thud,* 2005) and the invention of football (*Unseen Academicals,* 2009). The paraphernalia sold in the Emporium reflects this development in the Victorian design of the items. The making and vending of the items is done to make a bit of *Discworld* "real" (according to Mr Pearson, who made this point on several occasions not only in Wincanton).[2] As I see it, the items in the Discworld Emporium function as a way to enhance the fandom by trading. Mr Pearson enhances the niched market ethos and playfulness by catering to the needs of it. In order to cater to the fandom, the Discworld Emporium needs to understand the fandom establishing a qualitative relationship with his customers rather than a quantitative (cf. Gavin & Phipps 27). Since the Emporium's staff are fans, establishing qualitative relationships with the customers implies that

they draw from the communal stock of knowledge of Discworld-fandom.

The same niched market is literally catered to by the proprietor and staff of the Bear Inn. In similarity to the trade of the Emporium some of the trade, but not all, is intertextually linked to *Discworld*. The Bear Inn gets its upswing in revenue from three different kinds of trade during Hogswatch: (1) from an overall increase in business, (2) from a fully booked B&B service (as stated earlier, the B&B part of the Bear Inn's business is always booked solid by repeat customers) and (3) from the special meals prepared for the celebration. These meals are linked to *Discworld*.

There is a special Hogswatch dinner during the celebration, on Saturday, which always consists of pork sausages and mashed potatoes. This meal is in itself intextextually linked to the traditional Hogswatch meal in the books that consists of pork sausages (cf. Pratchett and Simpson 340). The meal is booked in advance through the Discworld Emporium and is the "traditional Hogswatch dinner." However, there is an even more telling example of the intertextual link between the trades at the Bear Inn and *Discworld*: the Hogswatch lunch.

The Hogswatch lunch is an example of how the Bear Inn's proprietor and staff are actively a part of constructing the Discworld "feel" of the Hogswatch event. The lunch consists of a pork pie called "Mrs Whitlow's Artery-Hardening Hogswatch pie," and is made according to a recipe from *Nanny Ogg's Cook Book,* a cook book with recipes from *Discworld* (Pratchett and Briggs 31). The special Hogswatch lunch menu was instigated by the proprietor of the Bear Inn as a special effort towards the fans. The fans spend time at the Bear Inn anyway, it being the scene for

Fig 2. *Hogswatch pie poster by the Discworld Emporium. © Discworld Emporium*

the celebration, so Jo Wainwright came up with the idea of a special luncheon, made with recipes from the Discworld. In 2012 the lunch menu also featured "Slumpie," a potato dish that is described in *Nanny Ogg's Cook Book* (Pratchett and Briggs 25)

The lunch needs to be booked in advance and is colourfully advertised with the help of posters printed by the Discworld Emporium (pic 2.). This is also a way for the Bear Inn to contribute to an atmosphere that makes the fans feel welcome and contributes to the intertextual

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connection between the celebration and *Discworld*. To the question: "Why do you participate in the celebration?" Jo Wainwright answered: "We love the atmosphere and fun that the celebrations bring to our pub and it is vital financially to our business" (IF 2012/004). The quote indicates three things: (1) that the celebrations bring a playful or 'fun' atmosphere to the pub; (2) that Jo Wainwright is happy to participate and cater to the fans' needs; and (3) that this results in an increase in revenue. Wainwright caters to the niched market with the help of the intertextual connection to *Discworld* by a playful display. Playing with her menu with the help of intertextual connections also shows how well Wainwright knows this niched market and therefore also it is a show of loyalty towards the fans, on her part.

The trade of the Bear Inn and the Discworld Emporium serve as examples of the use of intertext and playfulness as ways to tie trade to the *Discworld*, and to the *Discworld* fans. The fans constitute a group of "specialist consumers" (Hills 29). The use of intertext also indicates a form of re-situation on the part of the vendors – re-situation in reverse as parts of the *Discworld* is re-situated from the books to the socio-cultural context of the celebration. It also shows that there is a mutual stock of knowledge between the fans and the vendors. This stock of knowledge encompasses the knowledge of the *Discworld* books and an understanding of playfulness as an ethos of Discworld-fandom. Since the stock of knowledge encompasses playfulness as an ethos for Discworld-fandom, both fan and vendor need to partake in it to have a beneficial relationship. Both fan and vendor comprehend and use the intertextual connection to *Discworld* in a playful manner. This gives rise to a feeling of community and reciprocity.

The Relationship between Fan and Merchant

As stated earlier on, there is a difference between exchange of commodities and exchange of gifts (cf. Gavin and Phipps 26). I argue that the fan/merchant relationship is expressed in a form of *gift exchange* rather than a straightforward *commodity exchange*.

Most crucial for my investigation are the points that gift exchange "establishes a qualitative relation between parties" (Gavin and Phipps 26) and that the decision process is based on community and reciprocity. Since the exchange is intertextually linked to *Discworld*, the *Discworld* novels work as a form of stock of knowledge that is shared by fans and merchants. This is perhaps best illustrated in that if you *do not know* the intertext between, say, the pie sold at the Bear Inn and the writings of Pratchett, you will probably not care about the pie in the same way as the fans of *Discworld* do. The decision to buy a *Discworld* stamp or a Hogswatch pie can be based on the *intertextual connection*. This shows that the decision to buy something intertextually linked is based on the affection towards *Discworld* and therefore can be viewed as a display of affection (cf, Hills 91; Grossberg 56–57).

Intertextual trade within fandom builds community, since the merchants understand what the fans want and cater to the fandom's desires. This is then met by loyalty towards the merchants in that, for example, the Bear Inn during Hogswatch is booked solid by repeat customers or that the fans spend vast sums of money in the shop. I have also met fans who exclusively buy all their *Discworld* books and paraphernalia in Wincanton (Cf. IF 2012/004). This shows that the exchange is based on a need to reciprocate (cf. Gavin and Phipps 26).

The trade has created a kind of dependence between merchants and fans. The Discworld Emporium's entire line of business is dependent on the existence of a Discworld-fandom and is also an expression of the same. Bernard Pearson is most definitely a fan of *Discworld* and within the fandom he (and the rest of the Emporium staff) enjoys a prestigious status. The increase in status is one the elements Gavin and Phipps see as crucial to gift-exchange (27). The question of status and

hierarchy within fandom is not the topic of this article; however, it is a question that has been discussed by both Matt Hills (46) and Henry Jenkins (15).

Mr Pearson is invited to numerous *Discworld* conventions and happenings around the world (see "Bernard Pearson"). The proprietor of the Bear Inn is also dependent on the fan-trade, as is explained by Jo Wainwright: "the increase in trade is tremendous. The pub trade in G.B. is not as it was and so we depend very much on Hogswatch to pay our bills!" (IF 2012/004). The quote demonstrates that the Bear Inn is dependent on the trade that the fans bring during Hogswatch. In return the fans are dependent on the Bear Inn in the sense that it hosts much of the celebration. Similarly the fans depend on the Emporium shop to host the celebration, but also to provide the paraphernalia necessary to express the fandom with; in Gavin & Phipps's words "the decision process is based on the demands of community and reciprocity" (27).

The trade works as a form of giving and taking because of the community that exists between fans and merchants. This includes the understanding that shopping is a part of the fandom. Fans "seek authenticity, or authenticate the fan culture by acts of consumerism" (Hills 37–38). The community is also revealed in inside jokes that are mutual to the fans and Mr Pearson. Mr Pearson often jokes that: "[i]f you're not leaving hitch hiking and still have money left, we haven't done our jobs" (IF 2012/004 2). He can make this joke because of the status he enjoys amongst the fans. The status of Mr Pearson (and that of Mrs Wainwright) seems to increase the *more things they sell*, since fandom embraces consumerism as a vital part of the concept (cf. Hills 37–38). Ten years ago the Emporium was a shop, owned by a group of friends that happened to share the same fandom. Today the Emporium staff and Bernard are distinguished guests and speakers at *Discworld* events all over the globe.

Mrs Wainwright and the Bear Inn have gone through a similar "increase in status" (Gavin and Phipps 7). This increase in status amongst the fans was explicitly shown by the fans in 2011 when they gave Mrs Wainwright a placard stating: "The Bear is the official Hogswatch pub and is frequented by *Discworld* fans as well as Sir Terry Pratchett himself" (IF 2012/ 004). The Bear Inn was also voted the top pub in Britain later the same year in the Famous Grouse-sponsored list of top 30 British pubs. Jo Wainwright commented in an article on the "This is Somerset" site: "We have two large *Discworld* functions each year and I think the popularity of the books certainly helped us win votes for the Famous for a Reason poll" ("Somerset pub toasts award for Terry Pratchett book links"). A sign showing the *Discworld* was also made to commemorate the occasion (see pic 3). This illustrates how the fandom trade has helped increase the status of the pub. The increase in status is a consequence of the Bear Inn's participation in fandom.

The exchange between the fans and the tradesmen "creates worth" (Gavin and Phipps 27) because fandom seeks authenticity by consuming. The paraphernalia bought and sold creates a worth rather than mere monetary value. Obviously there is money involved in the transaction of a pie or a stamp, but what is bought and sold is not only an artefact or commodity in exchange for money, but rather a piece whose worth is measured in authenticity. The fans buy intertextually linked items *because* they are intertextually linked to *Discworld*. That is the point of intertextual trade. Because of the fandom search for authenticity by acts of consuming, the object (when bought) also becomes inalienable. The item often becomes part of the fans' private collection; this is so because of the search for authentication-by-consuming process.

Fig 3. *The commemorative sign from 2011 photo Jakob Löfgren.*

One could argue that what is bought and sold in Wincanton during Hogswatch are in fact commodities and that the exchange of them is in fact a commodity exchange.[3] Were it not for the fact that the exchange builds community as it is based on a mutual stock of knowledge, I might have been inclined to agree; there are commodities changing hands after all. However, the exchange in Wincanton creates a form of dependence and the act to consume is based on reciprocity, which is shown in the loyalty the fans display towards the tradesmen. They are part of the community rather than strangers (cf. Gavin and Phipps 27). Intertextual trade within fandom depends on this sense of community. Therefore, I argue that the trade should be viewed as a form of gift exchange.

Cultural Ambience and Mutuality in the Fan/Merchant Relationship

Since the trade described works on a basis of community and is conditional on the fans and merchants having a mutual stock of knowledge at hand, I argue that the relationship between them emphasises community, based on mutuality and emotional bonds (cf. Singh, Timothy, and Dowling 9–10) and therefore the domain of respect becomes important (cf. Fagence 58). The relationship between merchant and fan resembles that of a host and guest. Also the intertextual trade can be said to be a trade designed to enhance and trade in a "cultural ambience" (Fagence 57).

Whether you take the paraphernalia of the Emporium or the pie as an example, the trade caters to the fandom in that it enhances a cultural ambience. Said ambience is designed to fandom-specific needs. The trade aim at the creation of a feeling of *Discworld*. By trading in intertextual items the merchants actively construct an ambience in which it is possible for the fans to take part of *Discworld* in a tangible way. Furthermore, the ambience is enhanced in that for instance the Emporium shop is refurbished and decorated in a way that it conveys a Victorian feel. This enhances the connection to the city of Ankh-Morpork, described in the novels as a pastiche of a Victorian era city. The Bear Inn is also decorated during Hogswatch to match the *Discworld* ethos, for example by the use of streamers hanging from the ceiling that contain coloured flags as well as socks and underwear. Again, this plays on the connection with *Discworld* in the sense that the humoristic disposition of the novels is conveyed by the use of laundry in the decoration the point being: "If there is such a thing as Discworld streamer, it probably has laundry in it." The decoration of the Bear Inn and the decoration of the shop can also be viewed as an expression of playing with the boundaries between fiction and reality, and therefore it also constitutes a display of affective play with *Discworld*.

The host community (Wincanton) and its tradesmen actively try to intensify and market the cultural ambience of Discworld-fandom. Wincanton, the Bear Inn and the Emporium use *Discworld* as a selling point, and quite proudly so. If you for instance visit the Bear Inn's website they proclaim that "[f]or fans of Terry Pratchett and his Discworld series, Wincanton is twinned with the fictitious city of Ankh-Morpork and regular events are held throughout the year" (*The Bear Inn website*). One could imagine a situation where fans would distance themselves from merchant activity based on a beloved franchise, but in Wincanton it all works. Why?

I argue that since the trade is based on mutuality and a sense of community, the host community, Wincanton, enjoys a great deal of respect from the fans. Would the trade work as a strict form of *commodity exchange* there would be a sense of anonymity between fans and merchants instead of a community. Since the trade *is based on communality* rather than anonymity, the relationship between the fans and merchants generates a mutual respect. That is also why the trade in intertextual items results in a guest/host relationship rather than a buyer/seller relationship.

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[3]   Fandom scholars such as Nicolle Lamerichs have indeed written about fandom trade in terms of commodities and profit (see Lamerichs 48).

The fans display their respect for the traders in that they allow the merchants a high status within the fan-community. This is shown in the aforementioned official placard given to the proprietor of the Bear Inn or in the status that Bernard Pearson and the Emporium staff enjoy. The respect is countered by the merchants in the continuous enhancement of the Discworld-ambience in the form of new items to buy or eat. Jo Wainwright also states that she and the fans enjoy a "wonderful relationship" (IF 2012/004 4), which I interpret as a sign of respect towards the fans.

The relationship between merchants and fans has been referred to by Mr Pearson on several occasions, noticeably in several Hogswatch thank you notes posted on the Discworld Emporium website forum. The issue of being financially dependent on the fandom is not a topic that is veiled. As can be seen, for instance in the subsequent quote from a Hogswatch post on the forum: "Thank you so much for keeping all of us in the Emporium gainfully employed, for being the best bunch of friends we all have and for keeping me in pipe tobacco and snuff".[4] Mr Pearson also referred to the fandom as a second family or tribe in the 2010 Hogswatch speech: "Discworld is a family … We all have become part of this sort of 'tribe' like random iron fillings being drawn to a magnet, this 'magnet' of course is a series of books which give us all an uncommon denominator" (IF 2012/004 1). These quotes illustrate that the relationship is indeed founded on community rather than anonymity.

Since the merchants of Wincanton "play along" with the playfulness of the fans, they display respect towards the fans. The enhancement of the cultural ambience as well as the selling of intertextual paraphernalia is community building. The fans and merchants are part of a guest/host relationship in which the merchants' role is to help create a *Discworld* ethos for the celebration. The fans have to be comfortable – and a part of making the fans comfortable is to play along and sell intertextual items.

Fandom Consumerism

Matt Hills clearly states that fandom seeks to authenticate fandom by acts of consumerism (37–38). The act of consumerism has been adapted so that it expresses the fandom itself. In a way, fandom-consumerism is a form of intertextual craft consumerism (cf. Campbell 23). The whole intertextual trade can be viewed as craft consuming by means of re-situation. The fans and merchants both adapted consumerism to give expression to specific cultural values. The specific cultural values in question are a cultural ambience of *Discworld*. The intertextual items are in themselves a form of re-situation. The trade is an expression of the re-situated cultural ambience of Hogswatch. To buy and sell intertextually linked items is therefore a craft consumerist expression of a re-situated ethos of *Discworld*. Furthermore, the act of consuming, since it is built on communality and mutual respect, is an expression of the community. To trade in intertextual stuff is an expression of "togetherness." Said communality is the reason why the trade and the relationship works the way it does in the Wincanton example.

Fans express themselves and their fandom in the use of consumer props (cf. Campbell 40). Therefore the trade can be considered a step in a process of authentication of fandom (cf. Hills 37–38). This notion of "the authentic" also needs to be considered by the merchants. That is why the Emporium's products are designed as crafted goods rather than mass produced.

The humorously (and appropriately) named "Unreal estate" leasing contract serves as an example of the Victorian era style of the products at the Emporium (see pic. 4).The product is a mock leasing contract in which the buyer gets a lease on an Ankh-Morpork apartment. The paper is designed to look like a contract would, would it have been drawn up by a solicitor in Ankh-

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4   See the forum post by "Bernard the Stout" at Discworld Emporium website:
   http://www.discworldemporium.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=4&t=20207.

Morpork. The design gives a distinct feel of "authenticity" and of a Victorian era print, from the "juridical language" down to the font, print, and paper. It features paragraphs on the use of magic and damage liability clause in case of dragon attacks, mixed with more usual, "real," paragraphs of the type "no excessive noise after 10 pm." In short, the contract is made to feel authentic to *Discworld*.

Fig 4. *'Unreal estate' leasing contract.*
© *Discword Emporium.*

In leasing an apartment in Ankh-Morpork the fans authenticate the Discworld-fandom by purchasing a product designed to serve that purpose. They act as craft consumers in that they are buying a product specific to suit their own agenda, adapting consumerism so that it expresses their cultural values (Campbell 38). At the same time the merchants appropriate their products to fit the needs of the fans (cf. Campbell 29). This appropriation is done by means of re-situating products from *Discworld* to Wincanton. The process of authentication and craft consumerism, as described here, works due to the fact that the *Discworld* novels work as a mutual stock of knowledge. The trading of fandom items creates communality between the fans and merchants that is *necessary* for fandom trade. The merchants need to understand the fandoms' stock of knowledge to cater to the fandom market. Since the merchants do understand the fandom, and partake in the fandoms' playful potential (Hills 91), they receive loyalty and respect from the fans. This is crucial to understand when studying fan/merchant relationships, not only in Wincanton, but in other fandoms as well. The same gift-exchange system of reciprocal exchange based on a communal stock of knowledge can also be seen in, for instance, the ongoing campaign "Support your local comic book store" undertaken by comic book fans in the USA, campaigning for loyalty and respect towards your local vendors. The numerous websites[5] and social media groups urging towards loyalty towards local vendors indicate an understanding of shopping as a part of fandom community activities. The community building aspects of trade and the playful elements of fandom are also discussed by Nicolle Lamerichs in connection to fandom/media cons. The reciprocal relationship of fandom economy is, however, better showcased in smaller scale events and shops, such as in Wincanton or the local comic book stores.

Fandom and Craft Consumerism

Fans authenticate their fandom by acts of consumerism; hence the intertextual goods traded in Wincanton could be viewed as one part of the balance equation. One could argue that the other half of the equation would be the money that is exchanged for the goods. I would argue that the exchange of money is but a part of the balanced reciprocity. This is so because of the fans' and merchants' ongoing process "to develop or retain a social relationship" (Duran 157). The key to understanding the relationship between fans and merchants in Wincanton (and indeed elsewhere) is loyalty. The balanced reciprocity could be seen as an exchange of goods utilized by the fans in their authentication process, in exchange for loyalty towards the merchants. It could also be seen as loyalty from the merchants in the continuous participation in the playful events of Hogswatch in exchange for an equal amount of loyalty from the fans. Jo Wainwright expects her establishment to be fully booked during Hogswatch, not taking any other bookings. The same goes for the Discworld Emporium, continuously providing a cultural ambience and goods utilized by fans in their

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5   For instance, Comic Shop Locator (http://www.comicshoplocator.com).

authentication process in exchange for loyalty from the fans. The fans choose to use the Emporium for their fan commerce rather than, for instance, making all of the paraphernalia themselves or buying books and paraphernalia online (IF 2012/004). The exchange process in Wincanton becomes an (gift)exchange of loyalty for loyalty, although the merchants trade in commodities.

The fans and merchants have developed a relationship in which they have "an apparently firm basis for knowing the amount of utility experienced by the other" (Duran 157) acting upon this understanding to create a form of imagined community. The utility equivalence experienced is that of loyalty resulting in a gift of mutual and "frequent expressions of appreciation" (157) building communality in the process. The relationship entails an idea of mutual respect, acted out in the exchange process (loyalty for loyalty), visualizing a community building process (cf. Pyyhtinen 7). Since the trade/exchange makes community (imagined or not) visible the fan/merchant exchange can be viewed as a form of gift exchange.

Gift Exchange-economy as Embeddedness-construction

The notion of embeddedness is a core concept of economic sociology (Roger 50), helping to affirm various ways in which a market is embedded in social life, the idea being that no economy is autonomous from social context. The term embeddedness has, since its revival in the mid-80s, become a somewhat amorphous term within economic sociology, leading to attempts by scholars to redefine it. This has led to various interpretations of embeddedness, as scholars have tried to define the different ways in which a market can be embedded. It is, however, sufficient to say that markets are embedded in community or "networks of community" (Roger 51), upheld by "interpersonal trust in communal relations within them" (Roger 65).

In his article "Spatial' Relationships? Towards a Reconceptualization of Embeddedness" Martin Hess (165–186) divides embeddedness into the subcategories: *Societal-*, *network-* and *territorial embeddedness*, all of which are interesting in relation to fandom-economy, and the Wincanton case in particular.

Societal embeddedness takes into account "the cultural imprint or heritage of actors that influence their economic behavior" (Hess 178). If the participants have a stock of knowledge consisting of intertextual knowledge of *Discworld*, they do in a sense have a "cultural imprint" that influences how and what they purchase. The cultural imprint is described by Hess as a heritage (178) or as a form of "genetic code" consisting of history and culture (180). The common sense I have described can be viewed as an intertextual "code" that shapes the same perceptions and actions, as well as being crucial to the economic success of the merchants in Wincanton. *Network embeddedness* is described by Hess as "the network of actors a person or organization is involved in" (180) and "can be regarded as the product of trust building between network agents" (180). The network that the participants (actors) and the merchants (organizations) share in the Wincanton case is built on trust building between actors and results in a community. *Territorial embeddedness* is described as "the extent to which an actor is 'anchored' in particular territories and places" (180). This form of embeddedness is crucial in the Wincanton case, as the participants most certainly have anchored their celebration in Wincanton.

I suggest that the proposed gift-economy model, where the relationship between fan and merchant is built upon an ongoing exchange of loyalty, is a method to achieve embeddedness, societal, network- and territorial. The trust building relationship shows a process toward embeddedness. The reciprocal loyalty between the fans and merchants reveals a process of network embeddedness, since network embeddedness and gift-economy alike are built on a social relation between actors. Exchange of loyalty is one way in which network embeddedness can be achieved. The fact that the merchants know how to cater to the fandom market demonstrates that the

merchants have an understanding of the cultural imprint of the fans. This is most evident in the merchants' participation in the fandom's affective play. In order to trade in intertextual goods, you need to understand the intertext. Since the fans' cultural imprint consists of the knowledge of the intertext, trading in intertextual paraphernalia is a marker of societal embeddedness in fandom. The entire celebration can be viewed as a means to *territorially embed* the fandom in Wincanton. The gift-economy model can be viewed as a way in which reciprocity and loyalty is used to anchor the celebration in Wincanton. In the same manner, the town's twinning with Ankh-Morpork can be viewed as a territorial embeddedness and a display of loyalty to the fans. The fans reciprocate the loyalty to Wincanton by returning there to hold the celebration.

One could also make a case for that embeddedness can create and uphold a gift-economy, the different modes of embeddedness being a precursor to establishing a gift exchange. However, since the fans – in theory – can elect to celebrate Hogswatch elsewhere, I argue that the system of gift-exchange is a way for the merchants in Wincanton to achieve embeddedness through loyalty. If the fans did not feel welcomed and had not loyalty expressed in the exchange, they would not feel as embedded in Wincanton, and could move the celebration elsewhere.

For these processes to take place, interpersonal relationships need to be created and maintained. The manner in which the relationship is upheld is the ongoing exchange of loyalty between fans and merchants.[6] Since the relationship is based on reciprocity and exchange of loyalty, it is a form of gift-exchange resulting in societal, network- and territorial embeddedness of the fandom market.

Conclusion

The aim of this article has been to investigate the relationship between the fans visiting the Hogswatch celebration and the merchants of Wincanton. I have concluded that the fan/proprietor relationship and the merchant activities in the celebration can be viewed as a form of *gift exchange*. The exchange is based on mutuality and communality. This is so because the trade is built on a mutual stock of knowledge. The fan/merchant relationship seems to work because of the mutual understanding, creating a mutual respect. In this the merchants and fans are part of the same fandom.

As to what the benefits of this kind of trade are, it is clear that the intertextual trade is beneficial to the merchants in loyal customers and an increase in status within the fandom, resulting in increased revenue. The fans enjoy merchants who understand the fandom, authenticate the Discworld-fandom in the exchange, and enjoy the benefits of using the Discworld Emporium and The Bear Inn as a stage for the Hogswatch celebration. The fans are dependent on the merchants' good will and reciprocate in the form of loyalty. The merchants are dependent on the trade the fans bring and therefore make an effort to act as good hosts for the celebration. The mutuality and reciprocal respect can be viewed as a gift-economy system resulting in embedded market.

The mercantile exchange during Hogswatch is built on mutuality. Conversationally one could say that the fan/merchant relationship works on a basis of "I'll scratch your back, you'll scratch mine."

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6   The exchange process is becoming "a precondition for the social or community as such" (Pyyhtinen 5).

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

'It's a Good Job Nobody Mentioned Hedgehogs': The Use of Narratives in Discworld Fandom

Jakob Löfgren

Abstract

This article examines the use of staged narratives in the Hogswatch celebration—a celebration of Terry Pratchett's fictional Discworld held in November in Wincanton, Somerset. Different narratives are used in fandom as part of the process of qualia resituation, in which the what-it-is-like of the Discworld series is conveyed in the fandom celebration.

Introduction

Bringing Discworld to life . . .
Discworld is a landscape that we know exceedingly well and have the fortune of visiting every day.[1]

These are the words found on the website for the Discworld fandom-paraphernalia store, the Discworld Emporium. Discworld is the fictional fantasy world created by Sir Terry Pratchett (1948–2015); a flat world atop four elephants standing on a giant turtle that is floating in space. Depicting a world that is satirical, fantastical, and full of folklore adaptations, the series consists of forty-one novels, as well as numerous other adaptations.

The Discworld Emporium store is located in Wincanton, Somerset and serves as a hub for the fandom surrounding Terry Pratchett and his Discworld. The store is owned and operated by friends Bernard Pearson, Ian Mitchell, and Reb Voyce. Every year in late November, the Emporium, the fans, and Wincanton host a celebration called Hogswatch. Hogswatch can be described as a 'Christmas-like' fête,[2] derived from Terry Pratchett's Discworld series. It is a three-day party that takes place in different venues (pubs and the Memorial Hall) in Wincanton and in the Discworld Emporium. The celebration is a meeting point for fans of Terry Pratchett from all over the globe, myself included.

Wincanton is a town in Somerset with about five thousand inhabitants. It is known for the local racecourse and is an important stopover on the main route from London to Exeter.[3] In 2001 Bernard Pearson and his associates opened the Discworld Emporium on the High Street in the town.[4] The shop trades in Discworld paraphernalia and artwork made by Mr Pearson and his crew. Soon after the shop was established, Wincanton gained a reputation among Discworld fans as a destination worthy of a visit. In 2002 the town

council twinned Wincanton with the Discworld city of Ankh-Morpork,[5] and took the connection one step further in 2007 when it announced that the streets in a new housing project were to be named after those from Discworld, such as 'Treacle Mine Road' and 'Peach Pie Street'.[6] All of the official connections to Ankh-Morpork and the Discworld Emporium have made this small, picturesque Somerset town a hub for Discworld fandom all year round, but especially during the Hogswatch weekend. The Discworld Emporium store, the Memorial Hall, and the pub called The Bear largely constitute the scene (in the physical sense of the word) upon which the celebration takes place.

This article is a part of a thesis project for the Department of Nordic Folkloristics at Åbo Akademi University in Finland.[7] The aim of the project is to examine the notion of fandom using folkloristic methodology and theories. Hogswatch comprises many different elements that can be defined as folklore. One such element involves the tradition of performed staged narratives, which are the point of interest here. The material was collected by means of participant observation at the Hogswatch celebrations of 2012 and 2013.[8]

The present study investigates the process of evoking a representation of Discworld through staged narratives during the Hogswatch celebration in Wincanton, and poses the question: how are these narratives utilized to incorporate a bit of Discworld into the event? The narratives are examined through the notion of 'qualia' (Herman 2009), showing that qualia are a crucial part of the process of resituating Discworld from literature into the fandom celebration. In this article, the terms 'qualia', 'raw feels', and 'what-it-is-like' are used interchangeably, since they are different modes of expressing the same notion; the sense of how things seem to us (cf. Herman 2009, 145).

On Fandom

Fandom can be viewed as a form of 'social affiliation' (Jenkins 2006, 19). What distinguishes it from other social affiliations is the understanding of participation and convergence (Jenkins 2006, 1). Participation is central to the workings of fan culture. Fans actively construct and re-appropriate texts—participation with, and active interest in, text being a point of convergence for the fans. Furthermore, fandom has an inherent playfulness about it in 'that the [fans] become immersed in non-competitive and affective play' (Hills 2002, 112). It is a form of social affiliation with its own artistic communication[9] displaying affection towards the object of fandom in an ongoing process of play with the object. When people who share an interest in a franchise come together, this leads to an affectionate play with the franchise texts, and this intertextual form of play results in fandom folklore. In this study, fandom is seen as something more than the act of liking a text. It is seen as a 'product' of affection towards the text, and of acting on that affection within a social affiliation. One cannot simply like Discworld and be part of Discworld fandom; in order to be part of it, one needs to converge with other fans and engage in specific activities. In the present case study, this activity is celebrating Hogswatch in Wincanton.

The Staged Narratives of Hogswatch

Storytelling and performative practice go hand in hand. Platform storytelling is a form that takes place on a stage in front of an audience who expect a show (Wilson 2006, 59). The term 'platform storytelling' implies a specific form in which the story performed becomes an event in itself (Wilson 2006, 60). Although everyday storytelling 'requires a sense of "event"' (Wilson 2006, 60), platform storytelling is explicitly performed as an event or a specific narrative occasion. This is vital to understand when investigating the storytelling events of Hogswatch, which are staged as separate events within the celebration. The narratives are told from a stage to an audience expecting a show. All of the narratives in the present material were read from paper by the performers.

The narratives that serve as material for this study were part of three distinct events: (1) an open-microphone storytelling event entitled 'Cautionary Tales before Bedtime' that took place on Friday, 29 November 2013; (2) various 'radio theatre' productions from the 2012 and 2013 celebrations; and (3) the narrative stylings of Somerset burlesque artist and 'poetrix' Muriel Lavender at the 2013 celebrations. The reason for this demarcation is that specific narratives from these three events can be divided into two main groups, intertextual and contextual; that is, retold narratives from the works of Terry Pratchett and non-Pratchett-authored narratives recited at Hogswatch.

The Cautionary Tales before Bedtime event of 2013 was organized on a Friday evening. The event was an open-microphone type of event in which anyone who had a tale to tell was able to participate. The participants were encouraged to appear in their pyjamas and the event took place in the back room of The Bear Inn. The bedtime stories were to be delivered from a specially placed recliner on the stage in the room. The following stories, among others, were told during the event:

(1) 'The Computer that Believed in Father Christmas'
(2) 'Theatre of Cruelty'
(3) 'The Man without a Soul'

The first two tales are shorter works of fiction written and published by Terry Pratchett in the book *A Blink of the Screen* (2012). 'The Man without a Soul' is a Belgian (Flemish) fairy tale about a man trying to save his soul for the promise of eternal love. One can clearly discern that some of the tales told during the event are more intertextually linked to the works of Terry Pratchett than others.

Intertextuality is understood, here, as the process in which 'universes of discourse are involved in borrowing from one another and transforming one another at every step' (Stewart 1979, 15). In this case, the two universes of discourse—or provinces of meaning upon which interpretation procedures are based—are the literary world of Discworld and the socio-cultural celebration in Wincanton. The two universes are connected in a process of ongoing 'resituation', a process in which folklore texts are continuously and consciously resituated between their uses in socio-cultural context and in literature (Caro and Jordan 2004, 5–6). In Wincanton the process is reversed, in that folklore is resituated from a literary context (i.e. Discworld novels) into the context of the Hogswatch celebration (Löfgren 2013). The agent doing this resituation is not an author, but the fans and merchants participating in the celebration. The staged narratives of the Hogswatch

celebration are part of an ongoing process involving the resituation of qualia; that is, the qualia of Discworld are resituated from Pratchett's storyworld in order to provide related experiences within the socio-cultural context of the celebration.

Sense-Making and Storyworlds

The term 'storyworld' can be explained as the occurrences and situations in narrative texts upon which the audience's interpretation of the story is based; who did what, with whom, where, when, why, and so on (Herman 2009, 106–107). Authors (and storytellers) readily use different techniques to evoke a representation of the narrated world, or qualia, 'the sense of what it's like for someone or something to have a particular experience' (Herman 2009, 144). I argue that qualia and 'what-it-is-like' properties of the storyworld—a world evoked by the narrative—are the key to understanding the affection fans have towards any pop-cultural franchise text, as well as the fandom's inherent playfulness (Hills 2002, 112).[10]

The playfulness of fandom strives to transform an experience described and evoked through a storyworld into a comparable experience in the socio-cultural context; it is the process of transferring and representing an experience of fiction. I argue that qualia are key to the process of resituation that aims to reconstruct experiences in a fandom setting, while taking inspiration from fiction. Qualia are not exclusive to the type of narrative described here; they are an integral part of any given narrative.

David Herman explicates different ways of world-making. The crucial part for this investigation is the understanding that the making of worlds is contingent on existing worlds (Herman 2009, 105–106). This point is also to be found in the writings of Susan Stewart (1979, 16–17). The staged narratives during the Hogswatch celebration should be seen as a process of 'world-bridging'; that is, creating, re-creating, or bridging the larger story—and the raw feels that the novels evoke. They bring the literary setting of Discworld into the socio-cultural setting of Wincanton, while using the Discworld novels as inspiration for all that is going on during Hogswatch.

In the Discworld series, Terry Pratchett evokes raw feels and experiences of humour, a sense of the fantastic, as well as references to Victorian England and to folklore. Many of his books are set in a pastiche of a Victorian-era city (called Ankh-Morpork). The satirical style brings with it a picaresque sense of humour (Real 2005, 512), which is readily used by Pratchett. The fantastic, in turn, should, in this case, be seen as juxtaposed to the realistic (Clute and Grant 1999, 335). In short, Pratchett's Discworld series can be described as satirical fantasy (Rayment 2014, 18), with his novels being set in a fantastic world and often imbued with a mischievous sense of humour. I view this as different qualia constructions that ultimately depict the what-it-is-like aspect of Discworld. They encourage an interpretation of the storyworld as humorous, as fantastical, and convey a feeling of being in a semi-Victorian setting.

A good example of a typical Discworld novel is *Making Money* (Pratchett 2007), in which a former master thief named Moist von Lipwig gets the job of saving the bank of Ankh-Morpork; for who would be better to save a bank than a crook? The bank is home to a myriad of fantastic characters, among them a clerk who is escaping a family legacy of professional clowning, a mad scientist who builds a magical money-counting

machine in the basement, and his assistant Igor. The novel is part of a series of three books explaining the technological advancement of the city-state of Ankh-Morpork.[11] The stages of advancement can only be described as moving from a Renaissance state of technology to one characterized more by a process of industrial revolution. The novels concerning this 'industrial revolution' encompass the development and reorganization of the postal service (*Going Postal*; Pratchett 2004), the banking system (*Making Money*; Pratchett 2007), and the railroad (*Raising Steam*; Pratchett 2013). The series draws upon and mirrors the development of Britain in the Victorian era. In light of the description above, it should be obvious that the Discworld novels call to mind both classic fantasy worlds and the Victorian industrial revolution, while also using humour to entertain the reader; ergo, they evoke qualia. The created connotations become part of the fandom's communal knowledge, or 'common sense'.

Common sense is explained by Stewart as our perception or organization of the everyday life-world. It is an organization that is contingent on 'the stock of knowledge at hand' (Stewart 1979, 8), or 'the communal knowledge of a certain group'. Common sense is everything we take for granted or ordinary (Stewart 1979, 8). Fandom has intertextual common sense in that fandom is a social affiliation which shares an affectionate relationship with a certain text (in this case Discworld), the intertext being that-which-is-common-to-both. The affectionate relationship is expressed in a playful manner, resulting in a form of fandom folklore. Fandom also has common sense built upon context: 'the immediate concrete, physical surroundings including time and location' (Fetzer 2007, xviii). These social actions are 'determined through interpretive procedures that have evolved through prior experience with "contexts" or "texts"' (Stewart 1979, 10). In short, the participants in the Hogswatch celebration share a common sense drawn from the intertextual knowledge of Discworld and the social action that is constituted by being in Wincanton with other fans.[12] The common sense of the fandom can be said to be contingent on a specific sense of humour. Humour has been defined as 'something that makes a person laugh or smile' (Ross 1998, 1). What makes us laugh is dependent on 'the cultural knowledge, concepts, values and attitudes necessary to understand a humorous expression' (Oring 2008, 197). This context is crucial to whether or not we find something humorous (Ross 1998, 7).

The act of making sense and narration is linked together on narrative occasions or in 'communicative environments shaping how acts of narration are to be interpreted' (Herman 2009, 37). People make sense of the world by creating frames for particular zones of experience using narratives, or 'overarching storylines in terms of which we make sense of our own and others' doings' (Herman 2009, 40 and 55). In the context of the Hogswatch celebration, the Discworld novels serve as an overarching storyline from which the fandom makes sense of Hogswatch. The different events, consumption of specially prepared food (bangers and mash), costumes (as characters either from the novels or resembling yet-unknown-but-probable characters from Discworld), and the administering of Hogswatch gifts (by the Grim Reaper in a Father Christmas outfit), all are contingent on the fans drawing from the same Discworld stories.

The different narratives are part of the same puzzle, which will be explicated in the subsequent sections, discussing the re-telling of Pratchett's work, the fan-made

contextual 'radio productions', the poetry of Muriel Lavender and, lastly, describing the use of other 'non-Pratchett' narratives in the resituation/world-bridging process.

Intertextual Stories: Pratchett's Works Re-Told

As stated previously, staged narratives are explicitly performed as an event (Wilson 2006, 60). This brings with it a specific teller—recipient interaction, a 'particular kind of narrator to a particular narratee' (Herman 2009, 65). In a fandom situation, one would expect to find narrators/narratees who have a high level of participation in the storyworld,[13] due to their shared common sense. This is revealed in the use of clues or 'signals that convey information about these underlying norms and values', which are deliberately inserted by the narrators into the narratives (Herman 2009, 70). The signals are then used by the narratees to interpret the staged narratives to fit the context of the Hogswatch situation.

'Theatre of Cruelty' tells the tale of a puppeteer's murder, as investigated by Constable Carrot of the Ankh-Morpork City nightwatch (Pratchett 2012). The story was read from a collection of Pratchett's short fiction by a narrator sitting in a comfortable chair on the stage in the back room of The Bear. It tells of a puppeteer being murdered by his puppets, who happen to be gnomes forced to perform in a Punch and Judy show. A Punch and Judy show is a formalized genre of traditional puppet theatre, popular in England, telling variants of stories around three central characters: Punch, Judy (Mrs Punch), and the Devil. These shows usually depict Judy as shrewish and Punch as bawdy and violent, often killing his wife and children (Simpson and Roud 2000, 286). Later on, the cast often includes a policeman and an alligator. In the Pratchett story, the 'puppets' simply cannot stand the domestic abuse that is forced upon them, leading them to ultimately kill the puppeteer by making him choke on his swazzle, the device used by a puppeteer to produce the high-pitched voice of Punch. The swazzle is positioned in the back of the puppeteer's throat. The story, despite being a murder tale, is filled with Pratchett's signature mischievous sense of humour:

> He held up a little leather disc.
> —'It's a swozzle,' said the little policeman. 'He used it for the voices. He said ours weren't funny enough.'
> —'That's the way to do it!' said the one called Judy.
> —'It was stuck in his throat,' said Carrot. 'I suggest you run away. Just as far as you can.'
> —'We thought we could start a people's co-operative,' said the leading gnome.
> —'You know … experimental drama, street theatre, that sort of thing. Not hitting each other with sticks …'
> —'You did that for children?' said Carrot.
> —'He said it was a new sort of entertainment. He said it'd catch on.'
> Carrot stood up, and flicked the swozzle into the rubbish.
> —'People'll never stand for it,' he said. 'That's not the way to do it.'

<div style="text-align: right">(Pratchett 2012, 217)</div>

In his work, Pratchett often questions the norms and values associated with English folklore; the humour is, in a way, self-reflexive. An example in this text is the reversing of Punch's signature line. In a Punch and Judy show, whenever Punch manages to kill another character he triumphantly shrieks out, 'That's the way to do it'. This phrase is

reversed in Carrot's statement, 'That's not the way to do it', producing a comical effect based on the intertextual connection to English folklore.

Pratchett's story can be said to convey the what-it-is-like convention of Discworld; anything can happen in this fantastic world and it always entails a bit of rascality. The Discworld stories become the overarching narratives framing the event, which convey raw feels of Pratchettesque humour and fantasy as a baseline for interpreting the events at Hogswatch. The telling of Pratchett stories, in itself, provides bits of information about underlying norms and values that enable the fans to create the communal feel of the celebration, thereby resituating the Discworld from novel to celebration by means of the qualia of Discworld derived through the narratives.

The use of intertextually linked narratives, such as the 'Theatre of Cruelty' during the Cautionary Tales before Bedtime event of 2013, is fairly easy to explain. If one is to have a Pratchett event, it must include some Pratchett narratives. However, intertextually linked narratives merit further explanation when used for the purpose of resituation. In order for the situation at Hogswatch to *be* Hogswatch, it needs to *feel* like a Hogswatch event. Certain feelings need to be conveyed, mainly the fantastic and the particular sense of humour. By telling Discworld narratives, the narrators help not only in conveying the fact that the fandom event you are attending is a Discworld event, but more importantly they lend the overall ethos of the occasion a mix of magic and mischief. Furthermore, it works as an overarching narrative in two senses: (1) making sense of the ongoing resituation process that makes Discworld tangible during Hogswatch, and (2) providing a 'framework' for what kinds of humour and fantasy can serve as narratives during the event. The telling of Pratchett's stories is also a way of honouring Terry Pratchett himself (often referred to as 'the creator'), whose stories work as the predominant narrative for the entire celebration.

Radio Theatre: Contextual Tales, Reflection, and Mischief

One of the more peculiar staged narrative genres of the Hogswatch celebration is the so-called 'radio theatre productions'. Two radio theatre productions from the 2012 event can serve as examples. The first took place on 25 November 2012 in the 'Thespian Activities' session at The Bear. It was especially written for the event and was called *Janet and John Go to Hogswatch*. The second production was called *Janet and John Go to Wincanton.*[14]

Juxtaposed to the reading of Pratchett narratives, the self-reflexive comedy in the Janet and John stories, or other radio plays, constitutes events that promote the feeling of connectivity to Hogswatch by using the same sense of mischievous (insider) humour grounded in their reading of Pratchett.

Janet and John stories were popular in the United Kingdom in the 1940s, and were used to improve reading in English schools with the help of the characters Janet and John, who can only be described as typical English middle-class children of the time. The books are written in a simple language describing what Janet and John are doing, seeing, and saying. For example: 'John, see the aeroplanes. One, two, three aeroplanes. I can see three aeroplanes' (O'Donnell, Munro, and Warwick 1949, 20). The books were parodied at length by English comedian Terry Wogan on BBC2.[15] It is this parody version that is adapted by the fans for their radio theatre. *Janet and John Go to Hogswatch* and *Janet*

and John Go to Wincanton were both written specifically for Hogswatch. The plays have a specific formula mimicking Wogan's style of parody. The last sentence in each part ends with 'said John/Janet' or a description of what Janet or John does ('John likes licking') and the consequence of what he does ('see the court proceedings').

The Janet and John radio theatre stories evoke intra-group connectivity by means of making fun of the fans themselves. This is done by promoting mischief as a source of social affiliation based on affective play within the context of Hogswatch. If the Discworld novels are the overarching story, the radio theatre is a part of the process of resituating the self-reflexive humour of Pratchett. At the same time, the radio plays express and draw upon the feeling of what-it-is-like to experience Hogswatch. The radio theatre is, therefore, a means of constructing a context for the fandom. Again, this is done on stage as a form of entertainment using inside jokes. This, in 2012, included a list of characters, such as the Discworld Emporium staff, that one would not fully appreciate without prior participation in the Hogswatch event.

Consider the following extract from the script of *Janet and John Go to Hogswatch* (IF2012/004), performed on stage in the back room of The Bear on 25 November 2012:

> 'What's that' asked John. Pointing to a long stick with a carved top.
> 'That's a wizard's staff' says Reb.
> 'A wizard's staff has a knob on the end, Knob on the end, Knob on the end!' recited Ulissa, Marie and Reb. In unison. John is very surprised by the sudden outbursts, see the wet patch.
> 'It's a good job nobody mentioned hedgehogs.' (IF2012/004, 4)

Also, the following quote is from *Janet and John Go to Wincanton*:

> John has heard all about the events that go on in the town, and that many people go in costume! John likes costume John puts on his favourite frilly shirt, his luminous green witches hat, leopard skin silk cravat and curly pink slippers with orange pompoms. John is a fop and dandy. One day, he'll be brave enough to wear a costume too. (IF2012/004, 7)

Both extracts should be understood as playing with the what-it-is-like of Hogswatch. The participants are meant to understand the joke and the 'underlying norms and values' (Herman 2009, 70) that the narratives convey by appealing to the notion of you-already-know-what-it's-like.

The act of interpreting text entails the search for signals that convey norms (Herman 2009, 70); in this case, the norm of mischief, brought out by the self-reflexive elements in the stories. The common sense of humour perceived through an intertextual common sense—having read Pratchett—sets the tone for the type of humour conveyed in the radio narrative: it is Discworld appropriate. However, the radio plays also convey norms and values based on a contextual knowledge of the celebration. The second quotation makes fun of this particular fandom's costuming and (in a way) mind-set. In suggesting that John's outfit is a costume, although it is actually his everyday clothing, the narrators convey a sense of you-have-all-been-here-before-and-know-what-it's-like. In the process, they are making fun of dressing up, and of the fact that participants probably wish that they, like John, could be in costume every day. The quotation also conveys 'you-know-that-we-are-all-crazy' in that John's supposed costume is his everyday clothing. The story conveys the norm that Hogswatch is a place where we (the fans) know we will see some silly stuff, but it is okay because we are a bit crazy. I want to clarify

that I do not suggest that Hogswatch or its participants are any 'crazier' than any other celebration or its attendants. I merely wish to suggest that the narratives are designed to evoke a feeling of mischief and self-reflexivity, thereby leading to a sense of amicability through the use of the Pratchettesque, and ultimately defining the social affiliation and context as a group of Discworld fans.

The jokes about the wizard's staff and the hedgehog are rather more particular. The joke is in the communal understanding of the 'knob at the end' part and the intertextual understanding of the hedgehog, again playing on 'you-have-all-been-here-before-and-know-what-its-like'. Both the wizard's staff and the hedgehog have songs ascribed to them. The songs are hinted at by Terry Pratchett through his character Nanny Ogg, who is a rotund, jolly witch living in a geographical area of the Discworld known as Lancre (see, for instance, *Wintersmith*; Pratchett 2006). Being the jolly, mischievous witch with people skills, Nanny Ogg knows all the best bawdy songs to sing at gatherings where alcohol is served. These songs are subsequently used as fandom 'filk' songs, or fan-generated music—filk being a portmanteau of 'sci-fi' and 'folk' (Jenkins 2006, 140). The songs are often sung in their entirety or are quoted in part, as games or exclamations. The songs concerning the knob on the wizard's staff and the problems of having sex with hedgehogs are themselves a form of artistic communication within the group; they serve as folklore used to convey the qualia of Discworld (Ben-Amos 1982, 14).[16] It should be mentioned that the hedgehog song is, in fact, not a piece of fan-created music, but rather is a version of an English humorous folk song (Green 1967, 137). Nevertheless, it has become part of a Discworld experience or the what-it-is-like on Discworld. Furthermore, due to the use of both songs as an inside reference in the Janet and John story, they also convey a raw feel of what Hogswatch is like; that is, full of mischief and (occasionally broadly suggestive) humour, sometimes used in exclamations. The norm conveyed and evoked is, in short, 'do not be surprised if this happens, it always does'. Since the fans accept this, the passage becomes humorous and self-reflective; this is what we are like during Hogswatch. Hence the lines promote connectivity; social affiliation through affective (reflexive) play aimed at a particular audience, namely the participants themselves. The wizard staff, hedgehogs, and costume mentioned are 'signals that convey information about these underlying norms and values' used on the narrative occasion (Herman 2009, 70).

The Janet and John stories help to evoke the feel of Hogswatch by conveying, through the narrative, that this is what to expect of Hogswatch or of the Hogswatch experience. The use of the narrative can therefore be viewed as part of a resituation process to aid in creating social affiliation. Discworld narratives are the overarching story that enables the socio-cultural context of Hogswatch or Discworld fandom to become a world-bridging experience. The 'non-Discworld narratives' can also aid in this process.

Muriel Lavender at the Pink Pussycat

The Hogswatch celebration also attracts professional storytellers practising their craft for a keen audience. The celebrations in 2012 and 2013 attracted the Somerset-based burlesque artist and 'poetrix' Muriel Lavender. Muriel's act comprises readings of her own material, which contains ribald poetry, limericks, rewritings of biblical stories, and

humorous poems and musings on classical English literature. As an example of her style of poetry, I have included extracts from two separate texts delivered during the 2013 celebration. Both texts are reproduced with the express consent of Muriel Lavender. The first text is a limerick and the second is a humorous appropriation of the Christmas gospel:

Wait a Moment, I'm Not Done with You Yet
I regret, Sir, that it would appear
My panties are lost in your beard.
Though I've searched very gently,
It seems, evidently,
I may never retrieve them, I fear.

(© Muriel Lavender 2013)

The Fifteenth Book of CHRISTMAS
Chapter twelve, verses 1–24
[1]And it came to pass that Joseph of Nazareth did speak unto his wife a third time, saying, O most holy Mother, the cock hath crew thrice already and His LORDship hath not yet arisen from his pit.
[2]And Mary did consider and reply, Do not forget, Husband, that the LORD is a growing boy and He needeth His sleep.
[3]And mind thy grammar.
[4]That may be so, Wife, said Joseph unto Mary, but it changeth not the fact that thou art suffering Him to lie about in bed today of all days.
[5]Whereupon Mary did flick Joseph about the tunic with a teatowel, saying, Thou wert no doubt the same when thou wert that age. Unto this Joseph could make no reply, for he saw that the most Holy Virgin Mother did verily speak the truth.

(© Muriel Lavender 2011)

In addition to serving as an example of the kind of narratives Muriel brings to the celebration, these two texts serve the purpose of illustrating that staged narratives performed during the celebration may not, at first glance, seem connected to the Discworld at all. They are, however, deemed fitting to the celebration. That is, they become tellable in the context of Hogswatch. In addition to being deemed tellable, they become a part of the world-bridging process.

Muriel's sessions are undeniably a form of storytelling in which the story performed becomes an event in itself, or a form of platform storytelling (Wilson 2006, 60). The sessions are staged as separate events in the programme of Hogswatch.[17] Since Muriel's storytelling has become a recurring event during Hogswatch, her brand of poetry is evidently tellable in that situation. Muriel's stories do not have a direct intertextual connection, as is the case with the retellings of Pratchett, or a direct fandom contextual meaning, as in the case of the Janet and John stories. Neither do her stories explicitly play with the raw feels of magic and the otherworldly. Rather, the raw feels of Muriel's stories fall into the category of mischievous fun and raunchiness. How, then, are the stories (and by extension the raw feels evoked) relevant in the Hogswatch world-bridging process?

As already mentioned, the Discworld novels draw on a picaresque sense of humour, the fantastic, and (sometimes) a sense of Victoriana. Muriel's performances tap into this fandom's sense of humour and its inclination towards Victoriana. The sense of humour is conveyed by the texts themselves, building upon a sense of bawdiness that is appropriate for the celebrations. Victoriana, in turn, is conveyed by Muriel's stage attire,

deemed appropriate due to the reference to Victorian-style corsetry. One could imagine a performance of ribald poetry delivered in other apparel. However, the combination of poetry and costume is what has caused Muriel Lavender's performances and person to be held in high esteem at the celebration. In short, the combination is what elevates the performance to a level recognizable as an Ankh-Morpork style of performance deemed fitting for the celebration.

This leads to a question of intertextual common sense, or the common sense of fandom derived from the object of fandom (i.e. Discworld). Suggestive poetry readings can be performed in other contexts, but what makes Muriel's performance truly fitting for the celebration is the combination of text and attire. This is due to the intertext between the 'Seamstresses' guild' and strip clubs on Discworld (see, for instance, Pratchett et al. 2012, 45). The Seamstresses' guild of Ankh-Morpork, in the Discworld novels, is the organization of and for 'entertainments of an intimate and personal nature' (Pratchett et al. 2012, 95); that is, prostitution. The guild is hinted at in several of the Discworld novels, and has quickly become a fan favourite. During the Hogswatch celebration, one often sees people, men and women alike, dressing up in corsetry as a result. The joke of the Seamstresses' guild is, of course, linked with the notorious Victorian suppression of sexuality (Kaplan 2007, 85). Therefore, the punchline is that we-all-know-what-is-going-on-but-it-is-more-polite-not-to-call-it-the-guild-of-prostitutes; hence the guild of prostitutes, in the novels, is the guild of 'Seamstresses'.

A similar bit of bawdiness from the city of Ankh-Morpork that is repeatedly resituated into the celebration is the 'Pink PussyCat Club'. Described as being 'much favoured by connoisseurs of the female form, with speciality pole dancing (horizontal and vertical) the club's motto is "we never clothe". Live music and cabaret. Open from midnight until dawn' (Pratchett et al. 2012, 95). The Pink PussyCat Club is used by Pratchett in *Thud* (2005), which describes the experience of watchman Fred Colon when he is introduced to his colleague Nobby Nobbs's girlfriend, Tawneee:

> Nobby Nobbs, a shadow in the warm red gloom, nudged Sergeant Colon. 'You don't have to keep your eyes shut, sarge,' he said 'It's an artistic celebration of the female body, Tawneee says. Anyway she's got clothes on.' 'Two tassels and a folded hanky is not clothes, Nobby', said Fred sinking down in his seat . . .
> 'I think I could do with a breath of fresh air,' he groaned. 'Oh, not yet sarge. Brocolee's up next. She can touch the back of her head with her foot you know—.' 'I don't believe that!' said Fred Colon. 'She can, sarge I've seen—'
> 'I don't believe there's a dancer called broccoli!'
> 'Well, she used to be called Candi, sarge, but then she heard that broccoli is better for you—'.
> (Pratchett 2005, 218–19)

This quote illustrates a Pratchettesque mix of the suggestive and the comical, as well as conveying an experience of a Discworld strip club. The situation is viewed by Sergeant Colon as somewhat awkward, and the entertainer has chosen her name based on the fact that everyone knows broccoli is better for your health than candy. This has influenced the open microphone session of the celebration, both in the availability of burlesque entertainment and in the naming of the evening event at the Hogswatch celebration as 'The Pink PussyCat Club'.

Muriel Lavender's texts themselves fit into the celebration because of a common sense of picaresque humour within the fandom, because they all read and appreciate Pratchett's works of fiction. The fact that Muriel performs in corsetry transforms what would otherwise be a recital of dirty limericks into an act of creating and conveying Discworld qualia in the context of the Hogswatch celebration. The attire draws to mind the popular Seamstresses' guild and the Pink PussyCat, and, therefore, Muriel's staged narrative is perceived as Discworld-appropriate. The raw feels conveyed by Muriel's telling are connected to the intertextual common sense of the fans. It should be said that Muriel Lavender is a professional performer who performs in the same garments elsewhere, but in the context of Hogswatch her act is perceived by the fans as genuinely 'Discworldian', and, therefore, a situation-appropriate performance (see Figure 1). This is, however, not entirely uncontroversial. Although a majority of the fans seem to enjoy Muriel Lavender's performances, there are evidently some fans who find them inappropriate. The performance is, by some, interpreted as unfitting due to an increased sensitivity toward the sexualization of culture and discourse today. Also, Pratchett's use of sexual jokes is more obliquely expressed, whereas Muriel's style of jokes and performance is more an amplification of sexuality—to the point that it makes some fans uneasy. This I interpret as a sign of the ongoing discourse surrounding what is considered appropriate for the Hogswatch situation. This discussion within the fandom is part of, and flavoured by, a larger societal discourse on sexualization; showing that, sometimes, what is appropriate in a Discworld setting comments on larger societal issues.

Muriel Lavender's performance, however, is interpreted by many fans as Discworld-appropriate, and, therefore, Muriel's texts convey a feeling of what-Discworld-is-like. This is regardless of the fact that the texts themselves do not have a direct intertextual connection to Pratchett's works or make jokes about the fandom itself. The raw feel experienced by participants in the fandom, as conveyed by Muriel, is dependent on the combination of picaresque humour and its delivery in this attire. For the specific audience of fans, this is interpreted as part of Discworld fandom, because the act is performed as an interaction between a 'particular kind of narrator to a particular narratee' (Herman 2009, 65). Muriel's work is endowed with meaning via the use of raw feels and, therefore, becomes an expression of the what-it-is-like qualities connected to Discworld. It resituates specific parts of the qualia expressed in the novels. The texts are part of a feedback loop of intertextuality or when 'universes of discourse are involved in borrowing from one another and transforming one another at every step' (Stewart 1979, 16–17). The texts draw on the fandom humour derived from the novels and lead to an interpretation of Muriel's work as part of Discworld fandom, which is thereby interpreted as part of the qualia of Discworld by the fans.

Other 'Non-Discworld' Narratives and Storyworld-Building

If the Pratchett narratives convey the what-it-is-like of Discworld, and the Janet and John stories convey the what-it-is-like of fandom, certain other non-Pratchett narratives, such as fairy tales and limericks, can be said to convey raw feels of magical or mischievous storytelling. These non-Discworld stories draw from the same intertextual points of reference as the other narratives, but serve to further the celebration's sense of magic

Figure 1. Muriel Lavender at the 2012 celebration. Photograph by Otto Chriek (used with permission).

and mischief beyond the use of Discworld texts. At the same time, they relate back to the core elements of fantasy, humour, and Victoriana—the nostalgic phenomenon that encompasses the range of retelling and reproduction of the Victorian age (cf. Kaplan 2007, 3).

The Victorian era is an important part of Pratchett's fiction, as he often satirizes or pastiches aspects of Englishness in an expression of self-reflexive humour. This resonates in, for instance, the story of Punch and Judy and in novels concerning Ankh-Morpork. The Punch and Judy shows gained in popularity during the nineteenth century and Ankh-Morpork itself is a pastiche of a Victorian-era city (Simpson and Roud 2000, 286). Within the fandom, the most telling example of the Victorian connection is in the costuming, often derived from nineteenth-century designs, using heavy corsetry and hats.

Equally important in the novels are folktales and folklore of (particularly) England as a foundation for Discworld. Classic folktales are often used as instructions for 'how the world works' on Discworld. On Discworld, if you have three sons, you had better send them off on an adventure, because one (probably the youngest) will end up marrying a princess, as Nanny Ogg says:

> [I]f you have sons it's worth trying for three. That sets the third one up nicely to marry any spare princesses that are around when he's grown up. If he can get a job as a swineherd, so much better. It'd only be temporary. As Esmeralda Weatherwax always says, the stories are out there it's up to you to leap on'em as they go past. (Pratchett and Briggs 2001, 134)

Since both folktales and references to the Victorian age are used in the novels, they end up as part of the fandom common sense, being part of the qualia of Discworld. With that in mind, it is not difficult to understand how the telling of fairy tales or the poetry of Muriel Lavender, performed in corsetry, fit into the celebration.

Fairy tales are, more often than not, part of the narrative repertoire at Discworld occasions, conventions, and Hogswatch,[18] and are often included in the repertoire during open microphone events. During the 2013 celebration, a young woman took the stage to tell 'The Man without a Soul'. This is the tale of a boy saving a princess turned into a monster (ATU 400, with the motifs D758.1, B563, and H1232.1.1 [Uther 2004]).

Unlike the other narratives told, the fairy tales are not meant to evoke feelings of mischievous fun. The fairy tales told during the celebrations are there to evoke raw feels of magic and fantasy. Simultaneously, the stories fit into the qualia or what-it-is-like on Discworld, because many novels are set in remote (rural) geographical areas—most noticeably the countries of Lancre, a small kingdom which is a pastiche of rural England (Pratchett 2006), and Überwald, a pastiche of Transylvania (Pratchett 1999)—in which fairy tales are told and believed to hold wisdom. Since the fans have a communal common sense, which encompasses the knowledge of fairy stories (as used by Pratchett), they are deemed part of the qualia of Discworld. This being the case, the tales told are part of the resituating practice of the fandom. They serve to lend a sense of enchantment to the celebration, while simultaneously being enjoyed as a form of entertainment in their own right. In a sense, they are there because they are part of the tradition of fantastic storytelling, conveying the experience of both a storytelling situation and a sense of enchanted atmosphere.

Bridging Worlds: Tellability and the Resituation of Qualia

Thus far, the focus has been on how different kinds of staged narratives evoke raw feels connected to the (1) fantastic, (2) a specific sense of humour, and (3) Victorian constructs and self-reflexivity, all as part of the process of resituating qualia. Specific qualia from the novels are evoked in staged narratives to generate a desired set of experiences in the socio-cultural setting of Hogswatch; the qualia of Pratchett's novels become an ethos for the celebration. This is done by means of different staged narratives throughout the Hogswatch celebration, with specific narrators telling stories to specific narratees (Herman 2009, 65). By telling intertextually and contextually linked stories, the narrators evoke specific raw feels, ultimately leading to a common experience of the qualia of Discworld and an ethos for the overall celebration.

The start of this resituation could be said to be the re-telling of Pratchett narratives such as 'Theatre of Cruelty' (Pratchett 2012). The story creates an intertextual reference point for all other narratives deemed tellable. This is done by evoking feelings of Pratchett's humour, while set in the city of Ankh-Morpork with fantastical undertones. In order for this particular staged narrative to work, the kind of audience that is interested in listening to the narrative is needed. In this case, people who are interested in listening are those who have a shared appreciation for Pratchett. The fan and narrator constitute a specific narrator/narratee relationship. Both narrator and narratee understand and appreciate the kind of humour and fantasy that Pratchett writes. The raw feel of picaresque humour

and the enchanted and fantastic atmosphere are conveyed, experienced, and received by the fandom, because they set the tone for the event. It is a relationship built upon a mutual understanding and appreciation of Discworld.

This relationship is a 'social affiliation' based on fandom (Jenkins 2006, 19). It is invoked and expressed through the re-telling of Pratchett narratives. In this stage of the process, fans build on what they have got in common to further the sense of social affiliation (in a sense, togetherness). This includes different sorts of staged narratives, such as the contextual tales, fairy tales, and ribald poetry. They fit into the process because of the intertext of mischievous humour and an understanding of the fantastic as expressed in the re-telling of Pratchett's work. The contextual Janet and John stories connect with the social affiliation of fandom. These narratives express the you-know-what-we-are-like sense, the raw feels of communality, social affiliation, and the mischievous humour of self-reflection. The fans know what the celebration is like based on the context of having been there before (Stewart 1979, 10). The contextual tales told evoke a reflexive style borrowed from Pratchett's line of humour. The fairy tales told interlock with Pratchett's identity as a fantasy author, and bring with them a sense of enchantment. The poetry fits with the raw feel of the mischievous and is presented in a style that connotes Victoriana—both part of the qualia of Discworld. The various narratives, therefore, connect with the Discworld novels in expressing the what-it-is-like of Ankh-Morpork.

One can discern this process as a resituation with different stages. First, there are different reasons why the staged narratives are tellable in the celebration. Tellability (or narratability) can be defined as the appropriateness of any given narrative (Labov 1972). The narratability of a story also 'captures the significance a narrative has for the conversational partners'; that is, the noteworthiness of a story (Quasthoff and Becker 2005, 4). The notion is used to describe how 'the nature of specific incidents [are] judged by storytellers to be significant or surprising and worthy of being reported in specific contexts' (Baroni 2009, 447). The tellability of the staged narratives during Hogswatch is derived from how the narratives (in the various ways described) interconnect with the qualia of Discworld: humorously, socially, fantastically, intertextually, and so on. The Janet and John stories are tellable because they convey feelings of mutuality by playing with the social context of the celebration in Wincanton, the fairy tales because they are connected to the fantastic, and the poetry because of its rascality and lewdness. All are parts of the framework derived from the qualia of the Discworld novels.

Second, once one has heard all of the staged narratives, one has acquired a representation of the qualia of Discworld. This is the desired effect of all of the stories: to convey different pieces of raw feels to construct a larger what-it-is-like impression of Discworld. At the same time, the tellability of the narratives derives from the qualia in the novels. Through the process of the staged narrative, an ethos for the celebration is created. The various narratives are the process in which the qualia are resituated from the Discworld novels to the Hogswatch celebration. That is, the process involves the qualia of Discworld novels being resituated to the qualia of celebration. It also constitutes a conveying of 'underlying norms and values' (Herman 2009, 70), with Discworld as the overarching narrative. In short, the process of resituating qualia is done through the staged narratives; they carry over the storyworld from the books into the celebration. The use of narratives in this manner is contingent on the conveyance of the specific raw

feels by the narrators. The narratives used at the celebration are there to evoke a feeling of Discworld, making the Hogswatch celebration feel like a part of Pratchett's stories; thus, for the fans, bringing Discworld to life.

Notes

[1] http://www.discworldemporium.com/about-us

[2] For a more extensive description of the celebration, see Löfgren (2013).

[3] http://www.wincantontowncouncil.co.uk/about-wincanton.html (2013).

[4] http://www.discworldemporium.com

[5] http://www.wincantontowncouncil.co.uk/about-wincanton.html

[6] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/5110120/Sir-Terry-Pratchett-unveils-Discworld-inspired-road-names-in-Wincanton.html (5 April 2009).

[7] Supported by the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland (SLS) and the Donner Institute.

[8] All field reports and material discussed in this article are stored in the cultural archive Cultura, at the Department of Nordic Folkloristics, Åbo Akademi University.

[9] In other words, folklore (Ben-Amos 1982, 14).

[10] This in turn defines and expresses the fandom as a 'social affiliation' (Jenkins 2006, 19).

[11] It should be said that not all novels in the Discworld series are set in Ankh-Morpork, but rather that the Discworld (a world lying on the backs of four elephants standing on a giant star turtle) encompasses many different geographical areas in various states of pre-industrial development, from parts resembling rural England during the Middle Ages to settings resembling Scandinavia and sixteenth-century China.

[12] For a more extensive description, see Löfgren (2013).

[13] The world evoked by narratives; in this case, Discworld.

[14] Both plays are archived together with field reports, under 'Field reports from Hogswatch 2010–2014' (IF2012/004).

[15] See, for instance, 'Janet and John read by Terry Wogan/Wake up with Wogan' on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5tKnsZCELD4 (retrieved August 2016).

[16] Both songs in their entirety were available on YouTube as of January 2017: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VUnkBX8Db80 and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BtLwsd3i6v0.

[17] See IF2012/004, 1–4.

[18] As, for instance, could be read in the programme of the 2014 Discworld convention in Manchester: 'Jacqueline Simpson's stories from all eras. The Opera House: 18:30–19:30 (1 hour). The Grand Exhibition is proud to give its visitors in depth information and the latest insights, personally conveyed by experts in the field. Please join Jacqueline Simpson as she draws from her nearly inexhaustible story repertoire.' https://www.dwcon.org/programme/listing/ (quote retrieved originally in August 2014, but has since been taken offline).

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Biographical Note

Jakob Löfgren is pursuing a PhD in the Department of Nordic Folklore at Åbo Akademi University, Finland, having previously received an MA from the same department in 2010. He also teaches courses on the relationship between folklore and popular culture. His PhD thesis is on the intertextual connections among fandom, folklore, and Discworld in the Hogswatch celebration of Wincanton, Somerset.

"The scythe is the bit that I actually made" – Folk art as expressions of fandom

By: Jakob Löfgren

Creative practices such as crafts and DIY are currently experiencing a revival. Fandom is a creative practice. Fan-fiction and fan art, blogging and celebrating are part of the movement of creativity that is modern media fandom, a movement that encompasses crafts.

This article is about what I view as folk art expressions of fandom, including cosplay, painting and needlework. This article is also about a specific fandom that I am part of: Discworld-fandom. Discworld is the fictional universe of the English author Sir Terry Pratchett (1948–2015). Using Discworld fandom as a case study, I intend to highlight how the notion of folk art can be utilized to explicate the creative practices of modern fans[1]. The article should be viewed as a snap shot of how a larger current resurge of crafts and DIY is used to express fandom, showing fandom as a creative practice.

The aim of this article is to explicate the intertextual folk art-process of fandom, that is, narrative made tangible through folk art expression. The process starts in narrative and, through crafts, the narrative is made material in the form of a costume, painting and handicrafts. I will describe the folk art as part of a process of re-situation and as an expression of fandom values made in a form of media convergence. In short, I will describe expressions of fandom as a form of folk art and contextualize it within an intertextual and convergence process, illuminating how I as a folklorist view the material expression of fandom.

The material discussed in this case study comprises information gathered during fieldwork during the celebration of Hogswatch in November 2013 and 2014. Hogswatch is a midwinter, Christmas-pastiche celebration of all things Discworld in Wincanton, Somerset. Hogswatch is a three-day affair celebrated in November with gusto, with Discworld-fans from all over the world converging on the small town of Wincanton, to eat, drink, exchange gifts and socialize. Hogswatch is in part hosted by the Discworld paraphernalia store *The Discworld Emporium,* in part organized by fans for fans and in part hosted by the various inns, pubs and eateries in Wincanton. Part of my material was also gathered/sent to me by fellow fans whom I have met during my stays in Wincanton[2].

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[2] A special thank you goes to fans Krystel Rose Hewett and Danielle Clark for continuously sending me pictures and letting me re-print them in the article.

I will start with a discussion of terminology and the theoretical angles I utilize in my argumentation, namely folk art and fandom. I will then apply the notion of folk art to three material expressions of Discworld fandom, elucidating how the artefacts described as folk art are part of an intertextual process and a form of convergence culture. I want to make clear that the material culture described is far from the only expressions within the fandom that could be designated as folk art. They should be viewed as three case studies of fandom expression, and the delimitation of the material is chiefly for the purpose of enabling a more thorough and focused discussion.

On the notion of folk art

In order to make a folkloristic analysis of the material culture manifestations of fandom, it is in order to explain what I mean with the notion of folk art. Then it is necessary to, quickly, relate the notion of material culture to the study of folklore.

Folklore encompasses manifestations in material forms ("artefacts") as well as many oral and verbal forms ("mentifacts") and kinesiological forms (customary behaviour, or "sociofacts") (Brundvand 1997:8 – 9). *Material culture* is often viewed in folklore studies as "material manifestations of culture […] artefacts of the beliefs, values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions[…]-of a particular community or society at a given time" (Jones 1993:4).

The study of material culture, within folkloristics, has been divided into three crucial aspects: *products, process* and *people* (Walls 1990:107); products being the tangible result, process being the act of creating and people being "the folk who actually creates things" (ibid.). Furthermore, folklorists have broken down material culture into genres, one of which is designated *folk art*.

For the purpose of this article, I will use a rather basic definition of folk art as: "The manipulation of the material environment for the purpose of making an expressive or artistic statement, usually within the boundaries of the aesthetic convention of a specific group" (Ibid:234). I use this definition because it encompasses notions of materiality, artistry or aesthetic intent and communality, in a way that tandems the definition of *folklore* as "artistic communication in small groups" (Ben-Amos 1971; Ben-Amos1982), the point being that folk art is one way of tangibly expressing the ideas and values of a society in an artistic expression.

However, it is important to note that folk art also encompasses a notion of skill. Canadian folklorist Gerald Pocius notes that:

What skill comprises, however, is obviously culturally determined, often gauged by how much talent is required to produce a particular cultural form […] Folklorists have often considered art as skill in producing particular cultural forms, and we have classified art by degrees of skill. […] Skill in producing art means a recognition that there are

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group criteria for what is produced. Many of the visual arts subsumed under the rubric of folk art have quite rightly been recognized as esoteric creations for limited audiences. (Pocius 2003:55–57)

Within folk art, then, not only is the artistic statement bound to the convention of a group, but also the skill used in the process is a recognition of the intra-group conventions. Furthermore:

Skill manifests itself in a series of operations that produce the cultural behaviours we consider as art. In succinct terms, then, we can define art as the manifestation of a skill that involves the creation of a qualitative experience (often categorized as aesthetic) through the manipulation of whatever forms that are public categories recognized by a particular group. (Ibid.:55)

For something to be recognized as folk art within a specific group, the artist must conform to the conventions of a particular aesthetic *and* the skill utilized must be equally communally agreed upon.

The notion of fandom

The notion of fandom has largely been defined through two different schools of thought; one school viewing fandom through a lens of affection (cf. Hills 2002:91) and one viewing it through the lens of participation and social affiliation (cf. Jenkins 2006b). Affective play is Hills' idea that fandom has within it an inherent "playful potential" (Hills 2002:91), which manifests itself as play with the object of fandom. I.e., to be a fan is to display affection towards the object of fandom. Jenkins, on the other hand, writes:

[P]articipatory culture, is one of the central characteristics of fandom. One becomes a "fan" not by being a regular viewer of a particular program but by translating that viewing into some kind of cultural activity, by sharing feelings and thoughts about the program content with friends, by joining a "community" of other fans who share common interests. (Jenkins 2006b:41)

I.e., fandom is a social affiliation based on participating in cultural activities and sharing around the object of fandom. I argue that these two different schools of fandom research are compatible in the sense that you cannot have a social affiliation defined as a fandom without participating or engaging in affective play. The cultural activities described by Jenkins are what I interpret as a form of affective play. Similarly, affective play with an object of fandom leads to a social affiliation, in that the social interaction is about the playing with affection. This relationship is what Nicolle Lamerichs defines as a key in fan production or:

The production of fan texts occurs in specific systems where fans can provide feedback to each other and create specific fan values. Fandom consists of communities of authors, readers and critics who appraise and advance each other's work. (Lamerichs 2014:220)

Fan production, communities and criticism are often expressed in systems of convergence or a "flow of content across multiple media platforms" (Jenkins 2006b:3). Fandoms have long embraced

how convergence culture works; taking a mother text (in this case Discworld) and transforming it into other forms of text, then circulate it in a media content flow. I view convergence culture as a process in which expressions of fandom flows from one media form to another. The fandom expressions can take the form of fan-fiction in written form or videos on YouTube or, as we shall see, folk art.

The understanding of fandom as a social affiliation expressed by acts of affective play mirrors the term folklore, folklore being defined as "artistic communication in small groups" (Ben-Amos 1972) that manifests itself in material, verbal and behavioural forms. In short, the social affiliation of fans can be viewed as a folk and the affective play (or cultural activities) thereof can be viewed as lore, or "artistic communication". This fandom folklore is what Lamerichs views as "fan values" and "specific systems". Since these can be viewed as folklore, I think it prudent to use a folkloristic point of view when analysing the expressions of fandom, as they are expressions of values. The folk art, as I will show, is one expression made in a fandom value system.

Folk art of the Discworld

Next I will present the material for this study. The artefacts discussed have partially been part of my fieldwork during the Wincanton Hogswatch celebration of 2013 and 2014. Some of the material has been collected through the use of the Internet, in discussion with the fans using Facebook and other social media. The artefacts concerned in this study are three separate forms of fandom folk art: (1) The cosplay/costuming of the Hogswatch celebrations, (2) the amigurumi and other needlework made by Discworld-fans and (3) a commemorative mural street art painting that sprung up in Shoreditch, London after Terry Pratchett's untimely death in March 2015.

All expressions are part of a process of folk art and all artefacts described are fandom specific. The use of three different examples of fandom folk art will not only serve the purpose of showcasing the diversity within the field of intertextually linked works of art and handicrafts; it will also highlight the intertextual in the folk art process. The intertextual process is the key to understanding fandom artefacts in that intertext is framing the aesthetic and value boundaries. The artefacts become one part of transmitting values, ideas, attitudes and assumptions of fandom through the use of intertext.

The cosplay of Discworld

Donning costumes as an expression of celebration is, of course, not a modern phenomenon. People have always used costumes to mark festivity in different societies (cf. for instance ed. Adriansen & Bregenhøj 2014). In fandom, the donning of costume is intertextually linked to an

object of fandom and the phenomenon of costuming in fandom has become so common place that it has its own distinct term, cosplay.

American folklorist Matthew Hale has defined cosplay as:

[A] portmanteau that joins the words 'costume' and 'play.' The term describes a performative action in which one dons a costume and/or accessories and manipulates his or her posture, gesture, and language in order to generate meaningful correspondences and contrasts between a given body and a set of texts from which it is modelled and made to relate. (Hale 2014:2)

During the celebration, there are many fans donning costumes that can be viewed as cosplay according to Hale's definition. It should be noted that the fans themselves do not use the term cosplay for their own costuming and not all participants in the Hogswatch celebration participate in costuming in the form of cosplay. However, the phenomenon has become more prominent during the latter years (i.e. 2013–2014) of my fieldwork, which I have conducted annually since 2010. Another interesting thing to note is that not all cosplay characters are described in the novels, though they could have been or become part of the books: a bystander, Discworld-appropriate trolls and dwarfs and so on. Some dress up is done in a Victorian feel, as it is deemed appropriate for Discworld because of the description of the city state of Ankh-Morpork in Pratchett novels, which can be viewed as a pastiche of Victorian-era London. With the given definition of cosplay in mind, as donning a costume in order to generate meaningful correspondences and contrasts between a given body and a set of texts from which it is modelled and made to relate, all costuming discussed in this article will be considered as cosplay.

As an expression of fandom, cosplay is a most telling example. For the purpose of this article I want to discuss cosplay through the use of the following two pictures taken during the 2014
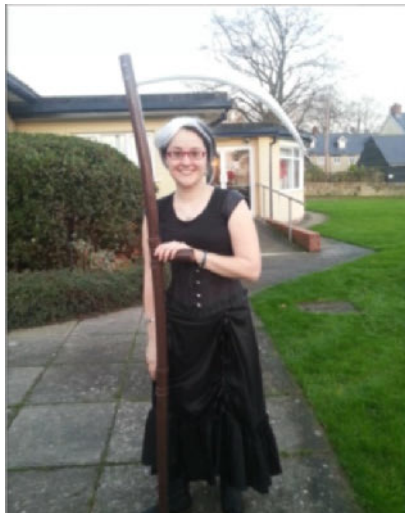

Pic. 1.. Susan Sto Helit

2. Pic. 2. Generic Discworld Troll

Hogswatch celebration. The pictures are taken outside the Wincanton Memorial Hall during the "Music hall variety show" on the 29 November 2014. Picture one depicts a cosplay of the character Susan Sto Helit, the granddaughter of Death by means of his adoptive daughter (cf. for instance *Soul music* 1994 and *Hogfather* 1998).

Picture two depicts a generic Discworld-style troll, not a specific character from the novels. Trolls on Discworld are described as:

… a unique form of life because their 'flesh' is composed of silicon in various complex combinations. […] They *look* Rocky. Lichen grows on their heads. They have carbon as well as silicon in their make-up – in their teeth, which are of diamond […] therefore trolls belong in the mineral kingdom. (Pratchett & Simpson 2008)

The intertextual connection to Discworld in the costumes becomes more obvious when compared to Discworld cover artist Paul Kidby's illustrations:
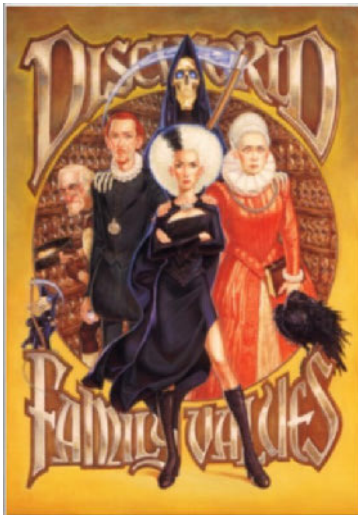
Pic. 3. Death and His Family ©Paul Kidby

Pic. 4.Dats Me ©Paul Kidby

It is also telling that the "mother text" for the costumes consists of a combination of both the description in the novels and the depiction in Kidby's illustrations. One can discern in the cosplay a drift towards an artistic statement within the aesthetic convention of the fandom, i.e. a folk art product. The aesthetic convention of cosplay seems to lie in a re-situation interpretation of text as measurement of aesthetics. In other words, the aesthetics of cosplay is measured in the cosplayer's

interpretation of the mother text; you are supposed to be able to discern the connection between mother text and costume. If you cannot discern the apparent intertext, it is not cosplay.

At the same time cosplay is a show of skill. The costumes are measured not only by the connection to Discworld, but also by how much time and effort have been put into the project (cf. Hale 2014:2). Prefabricated, commercially available costumes are not as appreciated as a do-it-yourself type of project. The DIY aspect of cosplay is pointed out by Krystel Rose Hewet, portraying Susan in a later Facebook discussion on the topic; telling me (at first) without me asking, what bits of the costume is made by her:

Me: I have susan pictures took some last Hogswatch
Krystel: Of course. Well she is my only costume. The scythe is the bit that I actually made.
Me: Good to know. How?
Krystel: Poly pipe (water pipe) bent it into a D shape and let it weather for a week. When I untied it it stayed curved. Then cut three long length & two short ones for handles.
Me: I'll quote you on that, is that OK?
Krystel: Cut a channel in one end and drilled 2 holes so the bakerlite blade can be screwed in with bolts.
Of course. Then I assemble the lengths with t shaped joins. The handles in the horizontal position & end caps on all ends. Also spray painted it brown.
Me: This is the picture I am running with (sends picture 1.)
Krystel: Brilliant
I added the black to the wig myself with coloured hairspray too if that is of interest/relevant
Me: Yes it helps thank you. I'll have to archive much of this entire conversation.
(Conversation on Facebook 2015-04-22 13:01 forward; https://www.facebook.com/messages/krystelrose retrieved 29 May, .2015)

The quote is an excerpt from a longer conversation initiated by me in order to gather further material for this article. The point I want to make with this quote is that Krystel, without me asking expressly for how she made her costume feels obliged to tell me that some of her costume (namely the scythe and the coloration of the wig) is handmade. This, in my view, points to the fact that the skill of making things yourself is important enough to point out. In the same manner, the cosplayer dressed as a troll during the celebration got idle interest and praise for the time, effort and skill put into the costume. This goes to show that creativity and craftsmanship is valued within fandom. It also shows that "In terms of creative labor, fans work hard and can excel in their craftsmanship." (Lamerichs 2014:32).

Creating and wearing cosplay is to be considered a folk art of fandom in that it is done "for the purpose of making an expressive or artistic statement, usually within the boundaries of the aesthetic convention of a specific group" (Walls 1990:234). The expressive statement has to start in an intertextual, communal understanding of a mother text, the intertextual connection to Discworld being *the point of origin,* and an intertextually based recognition *the goal* of the artistic statement.

Fandom also works as a continuation of earlier forms of dress up folklore, which was often based on folk narrative (cf. Skott 2013), the difference being that the narrative within fandom dress up tradition and folk art has a named author, in this case study, Terry Pratchett. Furthermore, the fandom values the skill of the homemade. Do-it-yourself (and indeed cosplay costume creation) becomes a skill that involves the "creation of a qualitative experience (often categorized as aesthetic) through the manipulation of whatever forms that are public categories recognized by a particular group" (Pocius 2003:55).

Amigurumi and other needlework

Knitting is one of the handicrafts that have been part of the craft revival. Moreover, the act of knitting has been transformed from a skill of necessity or chore to a craft for a young and urban public (cf. Stannard & Sanders 2015:99). Similarly, one of the more prominent genres of folk art within not only Discworld-fandom, but fandom at large during recent years, is the style of crocheted figures known as *amigurumi*. Amigurumi "means 'knitted stuffed toy' in Japanese and reportedly the
most popular items for sale on Etsy.com" (Westecott 2010). In short, amigurumi are knitted or crocheted stuffed toys that have become appropriated by various fandoms due to its easily adaptable form. In Discworld fandom at large there are many who combine their handicraft skills with their appreciation for the books through the making of amigurumi, but crocheted and knitted stuffed artefacts are also used in the Hogswatch celebration. In 2010, Discworld knitters where encouraged to knit sausages (sausages being linked to the official Hogswatch meal), using the Discworld Emporium website forum:

"Here is a pattern for knitting sausage links…One could always just knit a straight bit if you don't like knitting in the round and sew up and tie off into links…….Raw sausages, cooked sausages. I think I shall do some Dibbler 'Meat' Sausages" ("Post on Discworld Emporium Forum A", retrieved April 4„2015)

Another example of crocheting during the celebration: in 2014, one of the fans spent time crocheting small pigs as gifts to others. There is also more straightforward amigurumi style needlework, featuring characters from the books, crocheted and sold in the annual charity auction and created by the fans for amusement, enjoyment and for personal collections. There are also amigurumis made that feature Terry Pratchett and Pratchett's PA Rob Wilkins.

Discworld fans have also appropriated other forms of needlework as an expression of fandom. One example of this is fandom cross-stitching, demonstrating that if you possess a handicraft-skill, you can exercise it within the fandom, making a folk art contribution to it.

The various needlework appropriations of Discworld characters are an expressive style that showcases the intertextual journey of re-situating from mother text to folk art. In the following segment I want to illustrate the process of re-situation, common for all fandom folk art, using two examples: one amigurumi and one work of cross-stitching. The amigurumi pictures where graciously sent to me by Danielle Clarke, a fellow fan I have met in Wincanton, who also happens to be the designer of the crocheted artefacts.

Pic 5. Amigurumi Rob Anybody, By Danielle Clark

Pic. 6. Needlework, Greebo As a Man by Danielle Clark

The process of re-situation is described by de Caro and Jordan as: "simply the process in which folklore is somehow taken from its position in a sociocultural context (de-situation) and placed into a literary or artistic context" (de Caro & Jordan 2004:5–6). Fandom folk art is founded on a common understanding of an intertextual connection between artefact and mother text. Therefore, the process of fandom folk art is a process of re-situation in reverse, not from the socio-cultural context of folklore to artistic text, but rather from common knowledge of the novels transformed into folk art. Since the folk art is a form of folklore, the re-situation is one

from literary context to folklore. I will consider the two following pictures as an example of the described process.

The process of transforming the Discworld-novels into works of folk art is similar to that of cosplay costumes. Pic 5 depicts an amigurumi-style representation of the character "Rob Anybody" the head of the Nac Mac Feegle clan. Pic 6 is a cross-stitch portraying Greebo as a man. The Nac Mac Feegles are described by Pratchett as follows:

They have shaggy red hair, and are covered all over with blue tattoos and blue paint, in patterns which indicates their clan. They wear kilts or leather loincloths, use feathers, bones or teeth as decorations, and carry swords almost as large as themselves – though they go in for kicking and head-butting too. They are about 6 inches tall. (Pratchett & Simpson 2008:73)

Greebo, in turn is the big, grey, malicious cat of Discworld-witch Nanny Ogg. However, in *Witches Abroad* (Pratchett 1991) he was transformed into a human. Pratchett later describes Greebo's human form:

In his human form, Greebo is a grinning, swaggering, six foot bully-boy in black leather with a broken nose, an eye patch, and an excitingly lascivious smile. He is just as keen on fighting and lovemaking as when he was in cat-shape. And there can still be claws on his hands, if he so wishes. A few hours later he reverts to felinity. (Pratchett & Simpson 2008:166)

Again the aesthetic style of Discworld cover artist Paul Kidby's illustrations of the characters is influential in the appropriation in needlework.
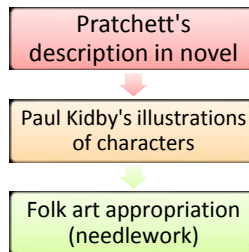

Pic. 7.Rob Anybody Mac Feegle
©Paul Kidby

Pic. 8. Greebo as a Man
©Paul Kidby

The process of re-situating Discworld characters into a folk art form seems (in this case) to follow the following schematic stages:

Other than showcasing that fandom folk art is a process of re-situation, this system shows that the fans' appropriation of Pratchett's work often (but not always) borrows its aesthetic from an acknowledged Discworld source, namely cover art and character design made by Pratchett's artists of choice. The aesthetic convention of the group is therefore not only determined by skill and direct intertext alone, but has often been modelled on official Discworld art. I.e., the aesthetic stands on common ground through the knowledge of official art and character design *as well as* knowledge of the Discworld novels.

As previously stated, crocheting and knitting are handicraft skills utilized in the celebration. In the corner of the Sweetman Hall, the back room of the pub the Bear, there has been a knitting corner since the 2011 celebration. A fan suggested a knitting corner for Hogswatch on the forum in 2011:

Hi there all, we have a sugestion for a knitting corner at hogswatch, will be confirming with Reb, I will bring some wool and patterns, the one Mags and I have used to make fegals, a seated elephant, and otheres all free downloads from the internet, and I will get some needles, do you want me to get crochette paterns in the same way? bring what you want, any thing creative, no plan yet , but posably looking to making a knitted disk in the future for next years hogswatch auctuon? come natter and knit, chance to catch up, or learn to knit, and if some one is there that can learn to crochet, all welcome all levals catered for, we hope. (Post on Discworld emporium B, retrived May 6,.2015)

Ever since, there has been a subdivision of the fandom spending Hogswatch knitting and crocheting. In 2014, there was a "crochet master class" listed as one of the events in the Makers' market in the Balsam Centre. The fans teach each other new patterns and skills and even crochet and give away small projects as gifts or enter them into the annual charity auction. One example of amigurumis being manufactured during Hogswatch is the abovementioned crocheted pigs that were made and distributed by Danielle Clarke during the 2014 celebration. The theme of the pig is in itself not Discworld-specific; it becomes Discworld-specific because of the context in which it is made and distributed: as gifts during Hogswatch.

Pic. 9. Amigurumi Pig, By Danielle Clark

It is obvious that "the handmade" or "self-made" is appreciated as "forms that are public categories recognized by a particular group" (Pocius in ed. Feintuch 2003:55), in this case, specifically needlework. This is because needlework-skills, be it crocheting, knitting or cross-stitching, relatively easily lend themselves to the appropriation of texts by the fandom. This is not specific for Discworld-fandom either; rather it is a current trend within fandom communities[3]. Especially the amigurumi-style of crocheting has become popular because one can (if one possesses the skill necessary) make little stuffed collectables and/or toys depicting virtually any actor, fictional character or other fan favourite. The combination of skill, the process of re-situation described and sometimes the socio-cultural context of fan-gatherings are the building blocks that make it a fandom folk art expression. The aesthetic convention of fandom lies in the ability to appropriate intertext with skill.

The memorial mural in Shoreditch – from re-situation to convergence

Graffiti has been described as "unauthorized, masterful . . . contemporary folk art" (Ensminger 2011:69), the purpose of which is to play with words and surfaces, visually reshaping the sides of dumpsters, the walls of buildings and so on, in order to fulfil "a desire for people to insert these surfaces back into the public eye." (Ensminger 2011:68).
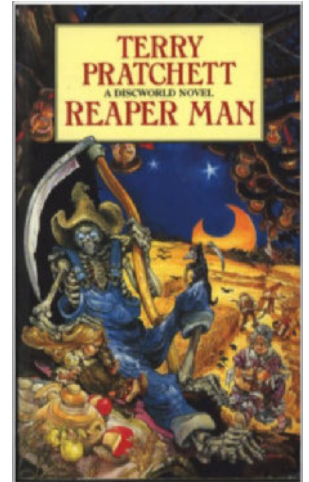
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[3] As an example of this trend, one can for instance look at the amigurumi-blogger Allison Hoffmans blog *Crafty is cool* http://craftyiscool.blogspot.com

A couple of weeks following Terry Pratchett's death[4], a graffiti mural memorial painting had sprung up on the wall of the former Shoreditch underground station in London. The mural[5] depicts Pratchett's face against the backdrop of a pastiche of Josh Kirby's cover illustrations for

Pratchett's novels *Mort* (1987) and *Reaper Man* (1991), novels in which the character of Death, or The Grim Reaper is the protagonist. The mural was painted by the street artist Jim Vision (cf. https://instagram.com/jimvision/ , retrieved April 23, 2015) and was named "end of the line" (by the artist). Images of the painting were quickly spread through the fan community and the Internet using Instagram, Facebook and other social media. It was also featured in several London news magazine articles, such as for instance the *London Evening Standard* ("Stunning street art tribute to author Terry Pratchett appears in east London" *Evening Standard online* retrieved April 23, 2015).

Pic. 10. Cover art, Reaperman ©Josh Kirby Estate

The memorial in itself is done in a similar process of re-situating as cosplay or needlework: artwork modelled on cover art which is an artistic interpretation of the novels. The exception is that the choice of cover artist has shifted from Paul Kidby to Josh Kirby, who was the Discworld cover artist preceding Kidby. Kirby's style of illustration can be described as more complex than Kidby's with more intricate detail, whereas Kidby's art is more sleek[6]. This is, perhaps, why Kirby's work is used to a lesser extent as a model for Discworld cosplay. It was, however, chosen as the model for the street art memorial in Shoreditch. The choice of depicting the cover of *Reaper Man* (Pratchett 1991), may be due to the theme of the book. *Reaper Man* tells the tale of Death going on vacation; the theme being death and rebirth
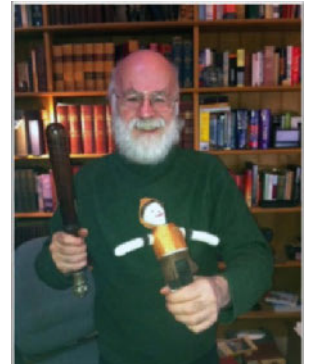
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[4] Terry Pratchett died 12 of March 2015, following a long battle with PCA, a rare form of Alzheimer's disease.
[5] See appendix.
[6] It should be said that this is my own interpretation and description of the two different styles of the artists, and is not to be considered a form of critique one way or the other.

The memorial is a telling example of how fandom and fandom folk art expression is circulated within the fandom – through the use of pictures – mediated in social media and traditional media. The memorial in itself is a beautiful piece of folk art done in the medium of grafiti, then photographed and spread through social media, to end up in the traditional printed press. The paradox is that the memorial is an expression of grief and a fandom memorial that is a fandom specific folk art expression, at the same time becoming a summation of the grief at the loss of an author on a international scale. It has become a form of sponteanous memorial, turning global through convergence-culture (cf. Kverndokk 2013:142).

Pic. 11. Terry Pratchett and Krystel's Amigurumi Sam Vimes

The recognition of this piece of fandom folk art in more traditional media and news can (in part) be attributed to its being a spontaneous memorial. This is of course not always the case. Fans obviously do use social media (Facebook, Tumblr, Instagram and so on) as a channel in which to "appraise and advance each other's work" (Lamerichs 2014:220), but fandom folk art has, through media convergence, also received coverage in traditional media. Amigurumis have for instance been covered in TV-spots. Prominent amigurumi-designer and blogger Allison Hofmann was acknowledged on the "Late night with Seth Meyers show" in the U.S. Folk art pieces were also sent to Terry Pratchett as a tribute. Discworld-fan Krystel Rose, for instance, sent an amigurumi depicting Discworld-character Sam Vimes to Pratchett.

The fact that fandom folk art pieces are circulated both in the media and to the authors subject to fandom seems to suggest that:
(1) Folk art within fandom is (as in other folk art) a means of expressing a belonging, both inwards and outwards. (2) That folk art as an expression is viewed as another medium in a larger field of convergence culture. This points, in my interpretation, to fandom folk art being an expression of fandom-convergence culture. In this case study, both convergence in the sense that the memorial was circulated in a "flow of content across multiple media platforms", but also in a sense that the process of re-situation described from novel via cover art to folk art is a convergence folk art process, the product of fandom being sifted through several other forms of media before ending up in the media or a folk art expression. That is also a form of media flow in which an intertextual process takes form through a flow of convergence. Furthermore, pictures and content are mediated through social media in order to appraise and advance the fandom folk art.

Artefacts of values and attitudes

Hitherto I have described how the different expressions of folk art within fandom are a process of re-situation in a convergence culture, the aesthetic of which is determined through re-situating

from novel via official cover art into expressions of costume, needlework and graffiti. At least, this seems to be the case in all the material in this case study. In the beginning of this article, it was stipulated that material culture, in the field of folkloristics, often has been seen as a vessel for "beliefs, values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions[…]of a particular community or society at a given time" (Jones 1993:4). Material culture is "culture made material" (Glassie 1999:41). It expresses meaning, thought and action. That which is designated folk art should therefore be viewed as artefacts transmitting values and attitudes of a particular society.

In this case study, the society is a fandom community of Discworld. Fandom is a social affiliation based on participation and a communal appreciation of a mother text. Fandom is also heavily influenced by convergence. Therfore the artefacts discussed can be viewed as an expression of a common sense of intertext done through convergence and participation. Furthermore, fandom social groups are based on a sense of inherent playfulness (cf. Hills 2002:91), both in the sense of intertextual play and playing together. Fandom is therefore a forum for creative and intertextual play. In my opinion, this is why different folk art expressions and skills are appreciated as part of fandom. If you have a skill, crocheting, painting, sewing, you are encouraged to utilize your skill to express your fandom. The creative practices of fans are one of the ways the fans express "emotional ownership of the text" (Lamerichs 2014:8), i.e., a way of expressing the predilection fans have for the object of fandom. Fandom-identity is expressed through creative practice (cf. Ibid:21).

The values and attitudes associated with a fandom are expressed in the made artefacts as a re-situating process or a play with that-which-is-common, the mother text itself, while at the same time being a play with the skill of the fandom folk artist. If you can crochet, why not express your fandom through crocheting. The combination of intertextual play and (playful) use of handicraft skills expresses a ludic value of identity. Lamerichs discusses fandom as a ludic identity:

Fans can be seen as players on two levels. First, they dabble with existing content and adopt a playful disposition of imagination and make-believe. They are players even if they are writing or drawing art because they engage with the content through their fantasy and playfully recreate it within a social group. Second, fans are players in a more narrow sense when they engage with genres of play, such as role-playing games or cosplay. Fan identity is solidified in this play by the relation of one's self to a game character. Thus, when we speak of identity and identification in cosplay, we speak of two things. On the one hand, players actualize a narrative and its meaning; on the other hand, they actualize their own identities. (Lamerichs 2014:221)

Fandom folk art should be viewed as one of the ways in which the value of the playful/ludic can be expressed. Therefore, one of the values expressed, and the aesthetic boundaries within fandom, encompasses a ludic value, as well as an intertextual connotation. Fandom folk art is, furthermore an expression of social affiliation since the skill and creativity are continuously appraised "in specific systems where fans can provide feedback to each other and create specific fan values" (Lamerichs 2014:220). Fandom folk art articulates values of playfulness, skill, intertext and social affiliation.
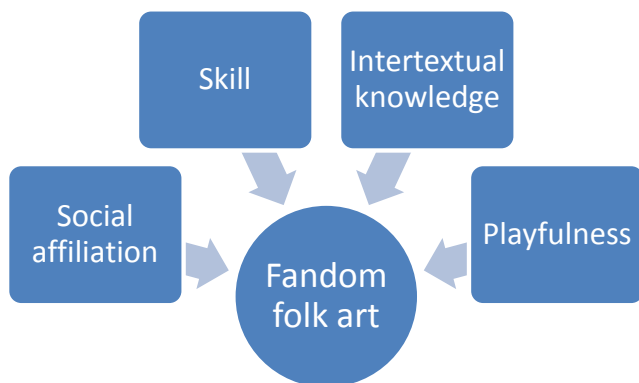
Folk art, of course, works in the same way as what I have designated fandom folk art, artefacts being an expression of value. The main difference between generic folk art and the folk art of fandom is in the values expressed: chiefly intertextual and ludic values. Fandom folk art also takes part in a re-situation process in that fans want to express their affection for a specific text. In this case study, the re-situation process tends to take an extra step via the use of official art as a model for the folk art. Hence, fandom folk art is a form of folk art with the specific goal of expressing a fondness of, in this case, Discworld, in a way that also expresses the fandom's playful potential (Hills 2002:91). The folk art skills are, furthermore, a part of a larger convergence cultural media usage. Fandom can be expressed in text, in discussion on the internet and otherwise as well as creative usage of skills. Therefore, the medium of folk art is readily used as a form of fandom creative practices.

Concluding remarks

What can using the notion of folk art tell us about the expression of fandom? By using the notion of folk art to explore fandom one gets an overarching term with which to describe the material expressions of fandom with. Furthermore one can open up the various material expressions as I have done here; showing the intertextual links and how the folk art is deemed meaningful on an intertextual level. The term folk art also encompasses the notion of skill, and by introducing this idea to a study of fandom, I hope it shows how the fans evaluate and use various handicraft skills to affectively play with the franchise they are fans of. It also goes to show that fandom appropriates and employs folk art expressions to show their investment and construct/strengthen a momentary folk or group identity. This group identity has its own aesthetic convention and evaluation of skill. The folk art discussed in this article can therefore be viewed as both an expression of affective investment toward Terry Pratchett but also an ongoing construction of social affiliation. This, of course, is not unique to this particular fandom, but can be seen in fandom in other cases too (as well as any group that claims a group identity).

Appendix Pictures

Memorial graffiti (photographs by Krystel Rose Hewet)

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Svensk sammanfattning

Introduktion

Den här avhandlingen består av fyra artiklar med fokus på intertextuell praktik inom fandom. Objektet för studien har varit en årlig fest, Hogswatch, som anordnas av fans till den engelske författaren Terry Pratchett och hans fiktiva värld Skivvärlden (Discworld), i Wincanton i Storbritannien. Materialet till avhandlingen är insamlat genom deltagande observation. Avhandlingens teoretiska grund ligger i intertextuell, folkloristisk forskning och forskning inom fandom. Utöver dessa huvudteman används i artiklarna också ett flertal teoretiska grepp vanliga inom folkloristik. Detta för att visa på hur man kan studera ett fenomen som fandom genom folkloristisk teori och metod.

Syftet med avhandlingen är mera specifikt att undersöka en specifik fandom-fest, Hogswatch, med hjälp av folkloristisk teori och metod. Med mitt teoretiska och metodologiska grepp har jag velat utöka den metodologiska och teoretiska diskussionen inom forskning kring fandom. Genom att göra en folkloristisk studie av fandom har jag också önskat skifta fokus till det fans gör och hur festsed ser ut inom en fandom-grupp. Jag visar i den här studien på hur intertext genomsyrar fandom och hur intertext används inom Hogswatch-firandet. Utöver detta förs i studien också en diskussion kring fältarbetspraktik och deltagande observation i fandom-grupper.

Disposition

Avhandlingen tar avstamp i en introduktion till författaren Terry Pratchett och hans Skivvärld. Läsaren introduceras till olika aspekter av Skivvärlden, såsom de är beskrivna i Pratchetts författarskap. Introduktionskapitlet avslutas med ett referat av romanen *Svinvinternatt* (Pratchett 1997), i vilken firandet av Hogswatch beskrivs för första gången.

Efter detta kommer det etnografiska kapitlet, i vilket fältarbetet som ligger till grund för avhandlingen beskrivs i detalj. Fältarbetet för avhandlingen har gjorts vid firandet i Wincanton 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013,

2014. I kapitlet presenteras de teman som valts för fältarbetet och det redogörs för olika nyckelscenarion och händelser som är nödvändiga för förståelsen av artiklarna.

I följande kapitel presenteras det metodologiska och teoretiska ramverket för studien. Jag börjar med en redogörelse för tidigare forskning inom fandom och intertext, sedd utifrån ett folkloristiskt perspektiv. Sedan diskuterar jag hur jag ser på den deltagande observationen som metod, efter vilket följer en presentation av avhandlingens tre stora teoretiska begrepp: *folklore, fandom* och *intertext*. Begreppsutredningen är dels en diskussion kring tidigare definitioner och dels en presentation av de begreppsdefinitioner som jag kommit fram till genom avhandlingsprocessen. Diskussionen kring deltagande observation är även en utläggning kring självreflexivitetsproblematik och fältarbete.

De två efterföljande kapitlen är en kort presentation av artiklarna och de dragna slutsatserna, efter vilket artiklarna återfinns i publikationsordning:

- "Death and a pickled onion -The construction of fan culture and fan identity in the Hogswatch celebration of Wincanton" (*Gramarye* no 3, 2013), i vilken jag förklarar begreppet intertextuell gemensam förståelse (intertextual common sense) och beskriver konstruktionen av fandom genom begreppet projektidentitet (Castells 2009).
- ""Thank you so much for keeping all of us in the Emporium gainfully employed' – The Relationship between Fan and Merchant in the Wincanton Hogswatch Celebration" (Fafnir vol 2, iss 3, 2015), beskriver handeln inom fandom genom en förståelse av gåvoekonomi (Mauss 2002 [1950]) och intertextuell gemenskap.
- ""It's a Good Job Nobody Mentioned Hedgehogs': The Use of Narratives in Discworld Fandom" (*Folklore* no 128, March 2017). Artikeln handlar om användningen av narrativ som redskap för att förflytta qualia (Herman 2011) från Pratchetts böcker till firandet i Wincanton
- ""The scythe is the bit that I actually made' – Folk art as expressions of fandom" (manuskript). Artikeln handlar om de materiella uttrycken inom fandom så som utklädnad (cosplay) och folkkonst

Metod och teori

Deltagande observation är en etnografisk fältmetod i vilken syftet är att uppnå en slags empatisk förståelse för studieobjektet. I min diskussion av deltagande observation och självreflexivitetsproblematik inom fältarbete beskriver jag mitt fältarbete och min reflexiva praktik i termer av immersion. Detta för att bättre nå fram till vad som avses med deltagande i deltagande observation. Genom att använda mig av termer lånade från narrativutvecklingsforskning kring TV-spel (Qin, Rau & Salvendy 2009), har jag byggt upp en reflexiv språkapparat, i syfte att bättre beskriva fältarbetets deltagande dimension. Termerna syftar till att beskriva hur man i ett TV-spel uppnår empati med karaktärerna inom spelvärlden, något som jag anser kan användas för att beskriva processen i deltagande observation. Termerna är en sexgradig skala: nyfikenhet (curiosity) – koncentration (concentration) – förståelse (comprehension) – kontroll (control) – utmaning (challenge) – empati (empathy). Genom att ställa frågor kring de olika graderna av immersion, menar jag att man på ett bättre sätt kan kontemplera självreflexiva problem i fältarbete inom fandom (och överhuvudtaget).

Termen folklore definieras i den här avhandlingen som *estetisk, affekt-ingivande kommunikation och praktik som definierar en grupp människor som ett folk*. Definitionen har uppkommit genom en diskussion kring tidigare definitioner och genom den förståelse som byggts upp under avhandlingsprocessen. Definitionen är sålunda ett delresultat av avhandlingen. Det samma gäller begreppet fandom, som genom en diskussion av tidigare förståelser definierats som: *en sammanslutning baserat på deltagande, konstruerat av och uttryckt genom affektiv lek*. Diskussionen kring fandom utgår från två rådande ståndpunkter inom fandom-forskningen där fandom endera beskrivs som en sociokulturell kontext (Jenkins 2006b) eller i termer av affektiv lek och investering (Hills 2001). Genom att se på fandom via begreppet folklore har jag försökt överbrygga dessa två skolor och definierat begreppet så som det står här ovan. Intertext i sin tur beskrivs i avhandlingen som en *process för att transportera, uttrycka och konstruera mening mellan texter, i varierade former, tekniker och intensitet*. Definitionen utgår ifrån en gedigen diskussion om begreppet intertextualitet inom den folkloristiska forskningen. I artiklarna har jag använt mig av främst två

förståelser av intertext, förståelsen av intertext mellan förnuft och nonsens (Stewart 1979) och på praktiken bakom förflyttning av textuell mening, så kallad re-situation (de Caro och Jordan 2004).

Utöver de tre teoretiska huvudtermerna används i artiklarna olika teoretiska begrepp från folkloristiken i analysen av materialet. Framförallt förs en diskussion om identitet (Castells 2009), gåvoekonomi (Mauss 2002), narrativ och qualia (Herman 2009) och begreppet folkkonst (Pocius 2003).

Slutsatser

De slutsatser jag drar inom ramen för detta projekt kommer i två steg, dels finns de slutsatser jag dragit inom artiklarna, dels mer övergripande slutsatser. Slutsatserna gjorda inom artiklarna är i korthet som följer:

- Firandet av Hogswatch bygger på intertextuell gemensam kunskap tagen från Terry Pratchetts böcker och kontextuell kunskap konstruerad inom firandet i Wincanton. Den intertextuella kunskapen är nödvändig att förstå för att se konstruktionen av firandet och för att förstå fansens identitetsbygge.
- Handeln med intertextuella varor i Wincanton bygger på samma intertextuella gemensamma kunskap som firandet i övrigt och på ett system av gåvoekonomi, genom vilket sociala band förstärks genom handel.
- Användningen av narrativ i firandet bygger på intertextuell kunskap och har till syfte att transportera qualia och ethos från romanerna om Skivvärlden till festen i Wincanton. Den intertextuella kunskapen och qualia formar även den process i vilken berättelserna som används blir berättarbara (tellable)
- De materiella uttrycken för fandom är en form av folkkonst. Motiv och utförande bygger dels på intertextuell gemensam kunskap och på kontextuell förståelse. Samtidigt är folkkonsten ett gemenskapsuttryck.

Utöver de slutsatser som presenteras i artiklarna kan man dra några övergripande slutsatser av min studie. Intertext genomsyrar fandomkultur. Genom att använda sig av begreppet intertext kan man undersöka

olika affektiva uttryck inom fandom. Affektiv lek och investering (Hills 2002) uttrycks genom olika intertextuella praktiker. Intertextualitet och intertextuell gemensam förståelse är också grundstenar i fandom som grupp och sociokulturell gemenskap. Genom att undersöka fandoms uttryck genom intertext kan man se vad fans har gemensamt i affektionen gentemot en text och studera fandomkreativitet.

Gemenskapen vid Hogswatch-firandet är ett slags momentärt folk med sin egen folklore. Genom att använda sig av begreppet folklore för att beskriva fandom kringgår man att definera fandom som antingen en social grupp eller som affektiv investering och lek. Man kan även genom att använda sig av folkloristisk metod och teori på ett genomgripande vis beskriva och analysera fandomens olika uttrycksformer och skifta fokus inom fandom-forskningen från textuell produktion till att innefatta firanden och festligheter som firar deltagandet i fandom.

Med den här folkloristiska studien av fandom har jag visat på hur mångfasetterad och kreativ fandom är. Jag har även visat på hur folkloristisk metod och teori kan användas för att undersöka fandom. Genom att göra detta har jag bidragit till att lägga till ett teoretiskt ramverk för förståelsen av fandom och diskuterat metodologiska problem med självreflexivitet och affektiv investering i ett fält. Via detta har jag bidragit till att dels pröva folkloristisk teori och metod men också främjat den teoretiska diskussionen kring fandom som fenomen.

Jakob Löfgren

…And Death proclaimed 'HAPPY HOGSWATCH TO ALL, AND TO ALL A GOOD NIGHT'*

Intertext and Folklore in Discworld-fandom

I had just paid the proprietor for a lease on 'part of an attic' on Tin Keys Lane and was looking through the conditions of tenure: No singing, yodelling or mouth music. Trolls only permitted on the first floor. I had now signed a lease on a small attic on Tin Keys Lane (just off Elm Street) in Ankh-Morpork, this ancient metropolis on the shores of the Circle Sea on Discworld, and a question struck me 'Why had I done that'?

This thesis is a compilation of four articles concerning various aspects of intertext, intertextual practice, and various 'goings-on' of fandom. Specifically this thesis concerns the folklore of Discworld fandom as expressed in the annual celebration of Hogswatch in Wincanton, Somerset, through the eyes of a folklorist.

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* IT IS EDUCATIONAL