The social organisation of the choir rehearsal: How interaction between conductor and choir is used to shape the choir's singing

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Abstract

The aim of this project was to explore the interaction that occurs between conductor and choir in order to develop a better understanding of the 'unique fingerprint' of the social activity of choral rehearsals. Little interactional research has previously been carried out in music settings, and what there is mostly focuses on instrumental lessons and masterclasses, which have distinct differences from choirs. The music literature on rehearsals often emphasises best practice, and has a strong focus on school ensembles. Over nineteen hours of choral rehearsal data were collected from eight choirs (nine different conductors; two female), transcribed, and analysed using conversation analysis (CA).

The analysis demonstrated many unusual features within the interaction. Findings include a very formal turn-system, with a particularly unusual sung turn in how constrained it is by the conductor's actions. For example, conductors work hard to launch the turn effectively, may stop it in the midst of the choir's singing, and use both depiction and verbal utterances to direct, co-construct, and comment on the music while it is ongoing. Directives and assessments are the most prevalent features of the conductors' feedback turns, and the constant orientation by all parties to improvement over time means that even if only one of the two actions is produced, the other is inferred. The conductors' feedback also includes large amounts of depiction (including gesture, posture, facial expression and body orientation), verbal description and verbal imagery, which may be used simultaneously to convey more than one meaning or action at the same time.

This research contributes to the expanding field of CA research in embodied performance settings, particularly music. It also provides a new methodology for exploring rehearsals in the music literature, which could offer a starting pointing for future research or conductor training programmes.

Publications

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Presentations and invited talks

2018	**ICMPC15-ESCOM10 (Graz, Austria)**
	How do conductors shape the way choirs sing in rehearsals? The role of co-construction behaviours
2018	**ICCA (Loughborough, UK)**
	The sequential placement and design of 'feedback turns' by conductors during choral rehearsals
2017	**CA day (Loughborough, UK)**
	Conductor's depictions as feedback during choral rehearsals
2017	**Discourse and Rhetoric Group (DARG; Loughborough, UK) – invited talk**
	The co-construction of music production: How and when do choral conductors give feedback during rehearsals?
2017	**ESCOM (Ghent, Belgium)**
	Seeing the music in their hands: How conductors' gestures shape the music
2016	**International Society for Gesture Studies (ISGS; Paris, France)**
	The ineffabilities of conducting: How choral conductors communicate using gesture
2016	**Life: A Festival of Health, from Head to Toe – An evening of storytelling (Sheffield, UK)**
	Falling off a cliff backwards: Conductor's stories
2016	**Sheffield Linguistics Conference (Sheffield, UK)**
	Raising eyebrows: The communicative message behind choral conductors' eyebrows

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1. Introduction

1.1. Why study choirs?

Choral tradition is an important part of British culture. From cathedrals to parish churches, the *Halleluiah* chorus at Christmas to *Jerusalem* at sports matches, *Bohemian Rhapsody* at the end of any disco to the recent spate of 'everyone come and sing *Africa* by Toto' events, singing in one form or another is a massive part of life for many people.

The number of choirs in the UK has risen hugely over the last decade or so. Back in 2006, The Guardian newspaper claimed that the UK had over 25 000 choirs (Setterfield, 2012), and two years later The Telegraph reported that the National Association of Choirs had had a membership increase of nearly 20 percent since then (Wynne-Jones, 2008). Last year 'The Big Choral Census', launched by Voices Now, suggested there was now an estimate of over 40 000 choirs in the UK, with around 2.14 million people singing regularly in groups across the country (Voices Now, 2017). Part of this surge started through interest in shows like *The Choir*, presented by self-proclaimed 'populariser of choral singing' Gareth Malone, as well as shows like *The X Factor*. In more recent years, research and articles proposing the benefits of singing, such as wellbeing (Clift et al., 2010; Hopper, Mirella, Curtis, Hodge, & Simm, 2016) and physical improvements (Skingley et al., 2014) may have helped to fan the trend. Its relevance as a social activity and the benefits it can provide make it an important issue to be researching.

The study of interaction in music environments has also been gradually growing over the last five years or so, although research into choir rehearsals from this perspective is still very sparse. The general focus on improvement, and changing or 'shaping' behaviour is one that is common to many different contexts however (from classrooms to sports), and the way that people talk about and improve musical performance may have parallels in many other settings. For choral conductors specifically, there are potential benefits from delving into the underlying assumptions and accepted conventions behind rehearsing. For example, greater understanding of the activity may lead to benefits for training conductors, more effective rehearsals, and the potential for future research to explore specific aspects further.

1.2. My stance in relation to the research

My interest in the area of music comes from my own life – my parents were both musical, so there was always music around at home while I was growing up, and my father played the

organ and ran the 'music group' – the choir – at church. I remember being allowed to join properly when I reached my eighth birthday, although I had sung with them on various occasions even before that. I continued belonging to choirs throughout school, university and beyond, and always missed singing when I moved to a new place and had yet to join a choir. In addition, as a pianist and organist I have had lots of opportunities to accompany choirs, something that I also enjoy doing. Therefore, my experience of choirs is mainly from that side of the podium, and I am approaching this study as a singer (and accompanist), with the relevant knowledge of conventions and language that goes alongside that.

However, I have occasionally had the opportunity to lead rehearsals myself too. My main discovery was that conducting is a lot harder than it looks! I needed to be following the music, but also looking at the choir, showing the beat, the entries and some expression, and listening to all the parts but also remembering all the things I wanted to say later too. When my husband took a choral conducting master's course, it was fascinating to hear about the sorts of things he was learning. My own master's course was in music psychology; an intriguing discovery of what music is, how we perceive and understand it through the perspectives of neuroscience and psychology, how it can affect us, and much more besides.

When performing institutional Conversation Analysis research, as this study is, it is helpful for the researcher to have some membership knowledge of the form of social activity (e.g. ten Have, 2007; and see Garnett, 2009; Weeks, 1996, in relation to music rehearsals) in order to understand specific technical terminology or context-specific behaviours, for example. My background means that I am well-placed to carry out this research, with a good understanding of the context under analysis. In two of the choirs in the first phase of the project I am also a participant-observer – as a singer in one, and an accompanist in the other. For these two rehearsals then, I also have the added benefit of insider knowledge of the placement of that event within the longer ongoing rehearsal series. On the other hand, this perspective also means that I had to be careful to distance myself from the data where necessary (Turner, 1971). It was not enough to 'just know' what the conductor meant – I needed to always be thinking of the perpetual conversation analysis question: *why that now?* (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

1.3. Organisation of the thesis

Chapter 1, here, provides a brief background to the study in relation to the topic – conductors and choirs – and myself, as a researcher. It also presents the aims of the research.

Chapter 2 explores the previous literature that was relevant for designing, analysing and interpreting the study. This covers two main domains of research. Firstly literature from the field of music is considered, including conductors' roles, rehearsals, feedback in musical contexts and communication about music. The second domain is conversation analysis (CA), the methodology used in this project, which introduces the issues relevant for analysing the social organisation of an activity such as turn-taking systems, and action sequences. Research that has considered conversation analysis in musical contexts or other similar environments will particularly be highlighted. In addition, CA as a methodology will be introduced, explaining the process behind the analysis and why it is relevant for this project.

Chapter 3 describes the design and methods of the study, outlining the CA data collection process and analysis.

Chapter 4 is the first of four analysis chapters examining the CA data collected in Chapter 3. It begins by discussing the overall structural organisation of the rehearsal, particularly in relation to the turn-taking system, then focuses on the start of the rehearsals (transition into the rehearsal and warm up), the conductor's introductory turns (introducing new pieces), and other talk by conductors (specifically teaching).

Chapter 5 explores the choir's sung turn and the features that make it unusual, including the roles held by conductor and choir (and composer) in the rehearsal. Analysis is then done of the allocation, launch and ending of the choir's turn, how the music is co-constructed during the singing, and the feedback that conductors give during the turn itself.

Chapter 6 focuses on the conductor's feedback turn, following the choir's singing. The main actions – directives, negative and positive assessments – are explored.

Chapter 7 looks more generally at the way that conductors communicate about music throughout the rehearsal. In particular, the use of three modes of conveying meaning – indexing, describing and depicting (Clark, 2016) are considered. The use of verbal imagery and metaphors as part of description are highlighted, as well as the prevalence of bodily depiction in rehearsals.

Chapter 8 draws the analysis chapters together to summarise the main findings in two sections: the social organisation of the rehearsal, and directing and giving feedback on the music. The results will then be discussed in relation to the literature explored in Chapter 2, and finally limitations and future directions of the research will be proposed.

2. Literature Review

This chapter will review the literature relevant for the research, beginning with research from the domain of music and conducting, and then moving into features of, and studies within, the conversation analysis literature that will be important for understanding the data. It will particularly draw out points that are key to the queries and design of the research, such as how people (especially conductors) give feedback or evaluation, and give instructions for changing behaviour (such as singing) in the future.

2.1. Conducting research

This section will examine the relevant literature in the field of music, with a particular focus on the traditions of conductor practice, especially feedback-giving, the importance of non-verbal communication, and the aims and challenges of the rehearsal environment.

The primary focus will be on conductor and choral literature, but work with orchestras or other instrumental ensembles – which tends to be more prevalent – will be considered where appropriate in order to gain the fullest understanding of the conductor's role. Little research has considered the difference between the two types of conductors (instrumental and choral) systematically, but anecdotally they are thought to be slightly separate kinds of role. The main difference (sometimes suggested to be the only difference, e.g. George, 2003) is the presence of text, which can help performers to understand and convey the meaning of the music. Another primary difference however is that a choral conductor is often expected to have a good understanding of the singers' vocal instrument (Durrant, 2003), whereas an orchestral conductor would obviously not be expected to have in depth knowledge of every instrument in front of them (Barber, 2003) – the expertise for that remains with the players. As a result, Garnett (2009) mentions that choral rehearsal literature tends to focus on choir-training, rather than the stick technique and interpretation that tends to direct the orchestral conducting texts. Additionally, choir members usually have access to a musical score containing all voice parts, whereas orchestral players will only have their own in front of them. All of these factors have implications for the type and content of communication used by the conductor, in terms of what information the musicians need from them and how the conductor may elicit the sound they want. Therefore, wherever possible, the focus in this chapter will remain on choral conductors.

2.2. Conducting practice and teaching

Conductors as we consider them today are a relatively modern concept. The earliest evidence of a conductor's role is as a "giver of Time" – someone who, according to a Greek tablet from 709 BC, uses a staff to keep the beat (Galkin, 1988, p. 245). Later, conductors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were people who were paid to provide music (for a church or royal court, for example), which included composing and performing as well as conducting. The method of directing from a keyboard or violin continued into the nineteenth century for instrumental music, but the use of the hands to convey pitch or melody, act as a mnemonic, and give the beat has always been more common for choral music (Bowen, 2003). For example, in Western Medieval Christian churches (who learned from churches in the Middle East) one person would sometimes use hand gestures (known as chironomy) to indicate pitch (Demaree & Moses, 1995). The use of the hands to show a beat in choral music became particularly relevant during the sixteenth-century with the development of polyphonic music. The preference for conducting without a baton (i.e. just using the hands) remains for many choral conductors to this day. One of the main functions of a conductor was practicality however – the larger the ensemble (instrumental or choral) the more likely it was to need a conductor. The less practical elements of their role – interpreting the music on behalf of the composer – really only became prevalent during the second half of the nineteenth century. This was due to the increase in the size of compositions (Mahler, Wagner, Berlioz, for example), where it was difficult for one performer to be aware of the piece overall, leading to the rise of the "specialist conductor" (Durrant, 2003, p. 61).

More recently, Brunner (1996, p.37) provides a long, and slightly intimidating list of characteristics that he states a successful choral conductor ought to have, which includes musical skill (training in musicianship, listening, ability to sing and play the piano, and clear and expressive conducting), preparation (understanding of the score and historical style, culture and performance practice), communication ("speaks clearly, precisely, imaginatively, and inspirationally"), understanding of teaching (how people learn, what to ask for and how to create a positive response), physical coordination, organisation, musical imagination, and a "sincere enthusiasm for music, children and teaching". He also goes on to discuss the ability to plan in terms of repertoire (for entertainment, education and growth) and rehearsals (for sequential learning and the development of vocal technique and musicality). Interestingly, he does seem to disregard personality – something often mentioned by others (e.g. Swan, 1987,

see section 2.2.5) – suggesting that while it may affect the motivation and dynamics within the ensemble, "charismatic gifts" need not affect the effectiveness of rehearsals.

Many of Brunner's characteristics will be improved with training and practice. The great conductor Hermann Scherchen (1891-1966), in his classic *Handbook of Conducting* (1929), is adamant that conducting can be taught and learnt – and justifies this stance by deriding those who clearly disagree and say "presumptuously: 'Conducting cannot be learnt; either one is born a conductor or one never becomes one'" (p.3). His book then provides many detailed examples and explanations aimed at teaching those who aspire towards the role. Although Scherchen was an orchestral conductor, it is nonetheless enlightening to examine what he considers to be teachable within the discipline of conducting. The handbook makes clear early on that there are two steps to conducting. First, the conductor must prepare their mental idea of the music; and secondly convey that to the ensemble through conducting, so that the performance of that idea can be realised – and he states that the first should never be limited by the second.

He describes the basic beat patterns one would likely use, and the more common expressive gestures, such as dynamics (hands move towards the orchestra when increasing dynamic, back towards the self when decreasing). The majority of the book is dedicated to dealing with the different sections of the orchestra, aiming to help the conducting student understand the instruments and how their techniques can be utilised, which highlights one of the main differences between choirs and orchestras mentioned earlier. Scherchen mentions several times that singing is vitally important, as a means of expressing and understanding music. However, his mention of choral conducting is limited to a brief paragraph recommending it only as a useful means to learn devices that can then be applied when standing in front of an orchestra. His descriptions and suggestions are, of course, only one person's understanding of conducting, and the anecdotal proposal that interpreting his own hand movements was "like trying to milk a flying gnat" ("Hermann Scherchen", n.d.) suggests that they are not necessarily ones with which everybody would agree.

Colin Durrant, a professional choral conductor and author of a more recent textbook: *Choral conducting: Philosophy and practice* (Durrant, 2003), suggests that although it would be very difficult to define a 'good' conductor, starting with outlining criteria for effective choral conducting may allow one to then decide how these could be achieved. Considering various writings by and about previous conductors, Durrant suggests that necessary knowledge and skills for a conductor to possess would include:

- "an aesthetic awareness, sensitivity and overall philosophical consideration of the nature and character of music and its potential to affect performers and audience emotionally" (p.60).
- Personality characteristics that benefit the choir-conductor relationship, including good communication skills
- Good understanding of the voice, physical gestures, rehearsal planning, musical style and aural skills.

The first two of these seem to match roughly to Scherchen's two steps mentioned above. Firstly, the conductor needs to have an aesthetic understanding of the music – including how it may affect the audience – in order to create the musical idea in their head. They then need to be able to convey that to the ensemble, using communication skills and their own personality. Understanding of the instrument, physical gestures and aural skills are all then discussed at length through Scherchen's handbook, but planning and execution of rehearsals are less touched on.

How conductors behave and interact during choir rehearsals will be the focus of this research. The next sections give a brief background of five key aspects of the conductor's role that are important during this activity: Rehearsing, Teaching, Talking about music, Nonverbal communication, and Leadership and rapport.

2.2.1. Rehearsing: "No matter how much the conductor is able to hear, no matter how visionary his interpretation, no matter how highly communicative his conducting technique may be, the principal foundation upon which the actualization of the score rests is rehearsing" (Marvin, 1988, p. 27)

The conductor's ability to rehearse effectively, as suggested by Marvin (1988) above, is one of the most important that he or she needs. Rehearsals, for most ensembles, build gradually towards a performance, and the sequential flow from one to the next is one that conductors need to consider (Brunner, 1996). This appears to be reflected in the empirical literature – verbal instruction tends to decrease, and singing time increase over time, for example (Davis, 1998), and Kahn (1975, in Durrant, 1994) notes that decisions to stop and work on issues should be considered in relation to the stage of rehearsal.

One of the conductor's aims of rehearsing is to convey to the choir the expressive meaning beyond the notes on the page (Brunner, 1996). Conductors who were interviewed in Durrant's (2005) research also expressed the idea that communicating the character of the

music to the choir was important, and singers in research by Einarsdóttir and Sigurjónsson (2010) felt that conductors should make the music accessible and understandable. Research by Poggi (2011) examined in detail the conductor's goals across a choral rehearsal, suggesting that the end goal is that the singers sing well (or their best), fed by three subgoals: singers should be motivated, know how to sing, and be given feedback.

Giving feedback is, of course, one of the main features of the conductor's talk during the rehearsal. Grant and Norris (1998) suggested that there had not been enough research on musical assessment and evaluation, but since then several studies have provided information on this topic. Creating a positive, supportive atmosphere in order for feedback to be effective is often noted in the practitioner literature (e.g. Brunner, 1996; Dahlke, 2014; Durrant, 2003). This applies to the way feedback is given too: choral singers from Bonshor's (2017) interviews suggested that positive verbal feedback can increase confidence and motivation, as long as it is not over-effusive, and balanced with constructive criticism. Constructive criticism, Bonshor determines, is expected and accepted, but involves conductors being respectful and not too dictatorial. Destructive criticism on the other hand, which may single people out or attack them personally, can knock singers' confidence, demotivate them, and push them to leave the choir. This is supported by similar comments from singers in Einarsdóttir and Sigurjónsson's (2010) study, such as a woman who left one choir saying: "I thought if a person that is teaching you says you're not going to get it... you need a bit of encouragement, you don't need to be knocked down" (p.257). However, as long as it is constructive, Duke and Henninger (1998) suggest that whether it is phrased as negative feedback (e.g. 'you played a little too loudly that time; try it again') or as a specific directive ('try that again, and play a little softer this time', p.487) does not affect the students' enjoyment or performance achievement. Their study focused on instrumental lessons, but similar types of feedback are also given during choir rehearsals. Relatedly, negative feedback is not always perceived negatively – Whitaker (2011) found that students rated excerpts of band practice highly even when they contained predominantly disapproval. They also suggested that this type of feedback is necessary in order to improve, and that conductors ought to be focusing on giving critical assessments.

In terms of positive feedback – which has been less studied than negative feedback – Thurman (1977) suggested that conductor approval was important and under-recognised, particularly 'improval feedback', recognising ensemble improvement, if not actually achieving

the eventual goal. However he also acknowledges the two-way influence of reinforcement, where an ensemble's behaviour can also affect that of the conductor. Positive feedback tends to be used less than criticism in rehearsals (e.g. Whitaker, 2011) by as much as half (Cavitt, 2003). Yarbrough and Madsen (1998) found that more approval received higher rating scores from music students, but Yarbrough and Price (1989) suggested that less experienced conductors tended to be more approving than experienced ones.

Conductor experience, unsurprisingly, can play a large role in how rehearsals are run – Brunner (1996) advises that if stopping or repeating a section, the choir should be told why, but Goolsby (1999) found that novice conductors were more likely to start and stop without giving any additional instructions, and also that they were likely to talk more and rehearse less than experienced conductors. In terms of the sequential pattern of instruction often used in this research area (presentation of task, student response, feedback, e.g. Price, 1992; Yarbrough & Price, 1989), experienced conductors were more likely to finish the sequence, although student conductors percentage of complete sequences increased by almost three times the amount with only minimal training (Goolsby, 1997). Within these sequences, experienced conductors were more likely to use modelling, and also to concentrate on ensemble sound, compared to novices, who spent more time tuning notes, or students, who spent the most time correcting wrong notes (Goolsby, 1997). However, all three groups corrected rhythm and tempo the most often. Expert conductors tend to use more facial expression and maintain eye contact with the ensemble for longer (Byo & Austin, 1994), and their left arm and facial expressions (both usually associated with expressiveness) are also viewed as most important, compared to the right arm (which is usually involved in time-keeping) for student conductors (Johnson, Fredrickson, Achey, & Genry, 2003). Differences in conductor effectiveness can be seen regardless of the proficiency of the ensemble (Johnson, Price, & Schroeder, 2009), however, research has noticed many differences *between* expert conductors as well (e.g. Byo & Austin, 1994; Whitaker, 2011), emphasising the wide range of individual differences found in conductors.

Specificity of conductors' feedback is thought to be important. Carpenter (1988) found that conductors gave over twice as much unspecific positive feedback during high school band rehearsals than specific. However, in an intervention assessment for choral conductors, Biddlecombe (2012) found that increased specificity of both positive and negative feedback led to improved singing, rehearsal pacing, and singers' attitudes. Rehearsal pacing, along with

balance of music and instruction, is also something that has been observed by several studies. Yarbrough and Price (1989) looked at the percentage of rehearsal spent in each section of a three-part sequence: conductor presentation of activity, ensemble response and conductor reinforcement and established that around one quarter of the rehearsal time was spent presenting information and giving reinforcement. Yarbrough and Madsen (1998) suggested that more frequent activity changes resulted in higher ratings from music students, although Durrant (2000), supported by Davis' (1998) longitudinal study of four choirs, suggests that pacing varies by choir. Interestingly, school band directors were found to rate rehearsal excerpts higher when they contained more or equal amounts of conductor talk, whereas students preferred those with more or equal amounts of student response (Whitaker, 2011).

Duke (1994) critiqued much of the previous research as having too close (e.g. detailed analyses) or too distant (e.g. overall effectiveness) perspectives of rehearsals. He proposed the use of 'rehearsal frames', which focused on the process as part of the overall goals. Cavitt (2003) uses this framework to look at the error correction process in band rehearsals, where each frame moves from the identification of a goal or error (either implicit or explicit) until it is abandoned or a new goal is given, and focusing on occasions where more than one rendition was produced for the same target. She found that the most effective error correction examples occurred when the teacher was persistent, teacher-talk occurrences were brief, but modelling was frequent, and (consistent with research cited earlier) high amounts of specific positive and negative feedback was given. In addition, the type of error being addressed affected the rate of teacher-student interaction within that frame.

Modelling – where conductors in some way non-verbally show what the music should be like through singing, clapping, or playing, for example – has also been looked at in several studies. Grimland (2005) focused on modelling as one method of giving feedback, building on work by Watkins (1986), who suggests that modelling is an important function of teaching in choir rehearsals. Grimland observed three types of models: audible (such as singing, chanting etc), visible (facial, physical or musical, i.e. conducting), and process models, which demonstrated the steps to achieving a goal, such as finding a starting note. A review of the research that had been conducted on modelling drew a range of conclusions, essentially determining that it was an effective resource that assisted with the students' musical discrimination skills and understanding (Dickey, 1992). Similarly, Duke and Simmons (2006) suggested that modelling

was an important tool for successful music teaching in general, based on their observations of college instrumental instruction. However, this is another feature whose use is influenced by experience – expert conductors have been shown to use more modelling than novices (Goolsby, 1999).

One final point to make is in regards to warm ups. The warm up of the voice is considered an important activity in much of the practitioner literature (e.g. Brunner, 1996; Durrant, 2003). Durrant (2003) describes four elements that can be focused on: physical, attention/focus, breath, and vocal, and explains that preparing the body and voice properly can make the rehearsal more efficient and effective, as well as the vocal output. Warm ups vary according to choir and conductor however, and Brendell (1996) found that vocal warm ups varied between 1.4 and 29.34% of the rehearsal, physical warm ups 1.03-7.70%, and instruction relating to the first piece 0.37-10.96%. It should be observed however that these were school ensemble classes (see more information under 'teaching' below), rather than traditional rehearsals, as suggested by more unusual features such as the high percentage of 'sightreading' time that was also recorded. Thus they may not be reflective of the traditional 'choral society' style rehearsals.

2.2.2. Teaching: "successful rehearsals teach theory, music history, vocal technique, aesthetics... sight-singing, analysis, and aural skills" (Brunner, 1996, p. 38)

As shown by this quote, some research, particularly practitioner, emphasises the role of teaching within the rehearsal. Brunner expands on this, discussing how concepts should be taught through experience within the rehearsal, rather than explained as concepts separate from music-making. This is supported by the concept of using kinaesthetic experiences in rehearsals (Dahlke, 2014). Evidence also suggests that there is a large overlap between instrumental teaching and conducting (Forrester, 2015). The concept of teaching in conducting literature can become muddied however, due to the prevalence of music education research that studies music teachers in schools and colleges. Clearly, in this context, there is likely to be an orientation towards teaching (even if unintentionally), due to the context and relationship between conductor and choir.

To complicate things further, in America (where a lot of this research takes place), ensembles are usually run as graded classes during the school day ("How to become a music teacher," n.d.), rather than as an extra-curricular activity as is more common in the United Kingdom.

This results in the definition of what is meant by 'teaching' in much conducting (or music education) research being very broad. For example, Davis (1998) defines teaching behaviours very widely as: verbal instruction (during singing or otherwise), verbal feedback, and nonverbal behaviour, including conducting itself – all behaviours that are also found in the conducting literature. In addition, 'teaching' is also used as a subcategory of verbal instruction during student singing. Davis, along with several other researchers, utilises Yarbrough and Price's (1989) 'teaching unit' sequence (based on studying music teachers' behaviour) to define teaching behaviour. This three-part sequence consists of 1) teacher presentation of task; 2) student response; and 3) reinforcement from the teacher. Thus, 'teaching' in this research is often defined by the context in which it is presented, regardless of content.

However, Blocher, Greenwood and Shellahamer (1997) discuss the issue of band directors spending too much time preparing for performance and not enough time on ensemble skills, and developing students' understanding of musical concepts. They suggest that conceptual understanding may entail both awareness and understanding of the concept, and also the ability to apply that concept to other contexts, focusing on transfer of knowledge as being an important part of the learning process. Using this, they define teaching in their study as verbal behaviours "by means of which the directors attempt to make students aware of, have an understanding of, and/or be able to transfer any musical concept" (p.459). With this definition, the authors found that less than 3% of the rehearsal time was spent in teaching conceptual understanding. This is massively lower than, for example, the 80.6% found by Goolsby (1996) for experienced teachers (67.3% for novices), where any playing, verbal or non-verbal instructional behaviours (including discipline) were included in his band directors' 'teaching activities'. Similarly, Davis (1998) found a large frequency of between 1.55-2.05 teaching sequences per minute in her data. This latter study did acknowledge differences between conductors, chorus expertise, and rehearsals across the rehearsal series however.

2.2.3. Talking about music: "Probably one of the most puzzling properties of musical experience lies in the fact that parts of it… are ineffable" (Schmicking, 2006, p. 9)

Music is an abstract, intangible entity, which can be difficult to explain fully using words, and several authors have previously discussed this characteristic (e.g. Jankélévitch, 2003; Raffman, 1993). The flip side of this is that music, because of its ineffability, has an ability to express meaning that is otherwise difficult to put into words (Hodges, 2005), and this can be

one of its main appeals. Schmicking (2006) draws on Raffman (1993) to address the way that many different facets of music are ineffable: "we know what we are experiencing but we cannot put it into words adequately or exhaustively" (p.9). He proposes several different categories of ineffability – although acknowledging that that they are not exhaustive – of which the main three are: 'gesture feeling ineffability', 'gesture nuance ineffability' and 'intersubjective ineffability'. The first of these refers to the sensorimotor perception of how to produce a sound. He gives the example of singing a middle C, and the way the larynx, vocal folds, breathing and so on have to all come together, with auditory and proprioceptive feedback, to create the correct note. In order to sing that note, he argues, you need to have some experience of how to sing it already – the knowledge cannot purely be gained through being given a verbal explanation. The second type, 'gesture nuance' discusses the ineffabilities that occur through our ability to perceive nuances that are smaller than our methods of categorising them, such as microvariations in tuning (less than a semi-tone), note durations (smaller than, say, half a beat), dynamics or timbre. These variations can be felt (for the performer) and heard, but the descriptions used to explain them are approximations. The final category, 'intersubjective' refers to the 'vibe' between performing musicians, the feeling of making music with others.

Other researchers have studied more directly the way that people attempt to describe music. Multimodality is acknowledged as a useful resource for children communicating about music by Pramling and Wallerstedt (2009), although they acknowledge that this emphasises the importance of verbal language in the music classroom. In terms of verbal description, Rose and Countryman (2013) found that students discussed music in wide-ranging, idiosyncratic and multimodal ways, often in terms of their relationship with the sound, such as groove (i.e. "interactions among rhythm, harmonic pull and direction and articulations", p.55) or timbres (e.g. "wall of sound" and "knock-you-over brass section", p.55). Similarly, Rodriguez and Webster (1997) found that 9-11 year olds often described the effect the music had on them in a more global, reflective way, whereas younger children were more likely to focus on the properties of the music. Comparable results were found in non-specialist adults, where descriptions tended to be 'intuitive' responses to pieces of music as a whole, and often used figurative language that invested parts of the listener in it (Stakelum, 2011).

Figurative language – metaphor, similes, verbal imagery and so on – is the main theme that has been explored in terms of music communication. Metaphor at some level is present in the vast majority of talk about music, and this is often in terms of single words or phrases,

including those at the most basic level of how we understand music. Use of verticality ('high' and 'low'), in terms of pitch, for example, is predominant in Western culture, although Eitan and Timmers (2010) suggest that this does not have to be the case – their study found that people were able to understand pitch metaphors from other cultures as well (such as the Zimbabwean 'crocodile' versus 'those who follow crocodiles' for low and high respectively, p.406). Metaphors associated with physical motion and movement are also common, both in terms of how the music is represented (e.g. velocity and energy; Eitan & Granot, 2006), and in terms of the music as a concept (e.g. 'here comes the melody', 'the cello comes in here', or even 'I was moved by/blown away by/carried along with the music'; Johnson & Larson, 2003). Perlman and Cain (2014) also found that when participants were asked to vocalise certain meanings and antonyms (e.g. hot/cold, alive/dead), the results were highly consistent, suggesting some level of iconicity in the way we transfer a literal meaning metaphorically into sound.

Less work has focused on the way people describe music as a whole (rather than the parameters of one variable such as pitch, or timbre, for example), although Clarke (2014) encourages the consideration of phenomenological accounts of music experience, when discussing the way listeners can both 'find' and 'lose' themselves in music. Peltola and Saresma (2014), who asked listeners to describe their subjective experience of listening to sad music, received a broad range of vivid descriptions, which could mainly be categorised into spatial or movement metaphors. The use of metaphors, as suggested by Stakelum (2011), allows people to generate personal meaning about the music through their verbal response. The use of metaphor also ties in with the use of multimodal responses, as metaphoricity itself is multimodal, as well as dynamic and created online in the moment (Müller, 2008).

Metaphors are regularly used by conductors, although how they are acknowledged is varied – Brunner (1996) warns that they should be used sparingly, whereas Barber (2003) talks about their effectiveness: "[Carlos Kleiber's] images and metaphors, though brief, are immensely vivid and instantly understood by his players". Particularly relevant here is Black (2015), whose thesis on verbal imagery ("image, metaphor, analogy, simile or other figurative language, employed verbally… to affect singers' responses", p.xv) in choral rehearsals explores the topic in detail, examining the types and functions of verbal imagery. There are five types, she suggests: simple, multiple, themed, negative and stock (used regularly within or across rehearsals), and nine functions. These included being used to: convey and

effectively achieve particular objectives, often as a substitution for technical terminology, they can affect the choir's thinking, create multiple-effects, and illustrate the text. They are usually associated with a particular musical phrase, can function as mnemonics for the choir to remind them how to sing said phrase, and consequently save rehearsal time by reducing the repetition of information that is needed from conductors. Her work demonstrates the prevalence of such language in choral rehearsals, and the multi-faceted effect that it can have.

2.2.4. Nonverbal communication: "They would rather hear Britten than hear you talk about Britten" (Barber, 2003, p.25)

In the literature about conducting, there is sometimes a slight divergence between the amount of importance placed on how interpretation is conveyed through conducting gesture, and the importance of clear verbal communication in the rehearsal. Some, such as Barber (2003), argue that the fewer words spoken during a rehearsal the better. Scherchen (1929) notes three ways that conductors can convey meaning: "representative gesture, expressive mimicry, and explanatory speech" (p.14), but focuses almost entirely on the first, suggesting that the latter two are of "questionable value" (p.14), which can hinder as often as they help. This is supported by work by Biasutti (2012) that also suggests that gesture and body language are more important than verbal instruction. This is understandable, given that conducting itself is a non-verbal form of communication (McClung, 1996), and the eventual, aimed-for music performance will always be performed without any verbal input.

Other authors, while still criticising excessive verbal instruction and emphasising the importance of clear gesture, nevertheless acknowledge the importance of clear verbal communication in rehearsals, and the ability for conductors to be able to put their interpretation and desires for the music into words during a rehearsal (e.g. Durrant, 2003). Work by Skadsem (1997) suggests the conductor's spoken instructions had significantly more effect on singers than instructions written in the score or change in conductor gesture. McClung (1996) suggests, however, that ensuring verbal and non-verbal instructions are congruent with each other is particularly important, and this is supported by empirical research (Napoles, 2014). It is worth noting that both the Barber (2003) and Biasutti (2012) literature cited above were referring to professional conductors and orchestras – the relevant expertise of the players (compared to the choral research), and difference in ensemble may affect the level of verbal instruction wanted or required. The more conventional view – that

conducting gesture is most important – has resulted in a large amount of research on conducting focusing on that area.

One area of such research has focused on the way musicians (and non-musicians) perceive and interpret the beat patterns and movements made by conductors, often measuring synchronisation of tapping or button pressing to a given beat. For example, research has found that synchronisation is linked to deceleration and high speeds within the beat pattern (Luck & Sloboda, 2008). Other work, aiming for a more ecologically valid method of measuring conductor's beats, has used optical motion capture systems (Luck & Toiviainen, 2006) or wiimotes (Bradshaw & Ng, 2008). Some empirical research has focused on specific conductors' gestures (including hand shape, posture, facial expression etc), and the way they may affect the choir's vocal output. For example, gestures (whether within the beating movements or separate) have been shown to affect singers' vocal tension (Fuelberth, 2004), head and shoulder movements (Manternach, 2009), timbral energy (Grady, 2014), lip rounding (Daugherty & Brunkan, 2013), tuning and use of vibrato (Mann, 2014).

Findings demonstrating the effect of gesture show that there is a lot more to conducting than keeping time, as Lyne (1979) suggests at the beginning of his article: "Are we as choral conductors effectively 'showing' our choral ensembles what it is that we should be attempting musically to evoke? We have all witnessed the choral conductor who allows his or her conducting to be little more than a perfunctory time-beating" (p.22). Nagosaki (2010) describes this 'showing' as "embodying the emotional intent of the composer" (p.20), which she discusses in terms of the two-way, simultaneous flow of communication between conductor (through gesture, posture, face and so on) and ensemble (through musical expression, which has been translated from the conductor's emotional expression). Garnett (2009) also examines the way conductors 'look like' or 'become' the music, through spontaneous and metaphorical gesture (e.g. bigger beats maps to louder singing). She links the use of gestures to the way that people think about and within music, but notes how gestures can flow between speech, song and conducting, working effectively in each context. It is not just manual gesture that affects the expressiveness of the music either – facial expression and body language in general affects the sound and response of the choir (Val, 2013; Wöllner, 2008).

Conducting gestures have also been analysed through comparison with linguistics. Ashley (2000) considers the work of Grice's cooperative principle (Grice, 1975), in terms of making conducting gestures accurate ('maxim of quality'), informative ('maxim of quantity'), relevant

('maxim of relevance') and unambiguous ('maxim of manner'). He also investigates the use of Kendon's (1988) continuum (so called by McNeill, 1992) – emblems (e.g. raising or lowering the hand for an increase or decrease in dynamic), pantomime (e.g. mouthing the words), and gesticulation (most context-dependent, expressive conducting gestures). The use of emblems by conductors in particular has been considered by other researchers as well (e.g. Cofer, 1998; Sousa, 1988). Work by Mathers (2009) examined conductors' use of three of the other categories of non-verbal behaviour suggested by Ekman & Friesen (1969): illustrators, which are tied directly to the simultaneous speech content; affect displays, which show emotion, usually through the face; and regulator gestures, which help to maintain the turn-taking within an interaction. He suggested that more use of all three would improve expressive conducting by moving conductors into the gestural modes (Koch, 2003, in Mathers, 2009) of 'declamatory' and 'narrative', rather than remaining in the 'corrective' mode. Boyes Braem & Bräm (2000) take a different approach and consider the similarity between conducting hand positions and sign language. However, despite some attempts to create a conducting lexicon of gestures (e.g. Poggi & Ansani, 2016; Poggi, 2002), there are high levels of individual difference between conductors, which may reflect experience (Goolsby, 1999), gender (Wöllner & Deconinck, 2013), nationality (Johnson, Price, & Schroeder, 2009), or even just the musical context (Litman, 2006). This last study reflects one issue with analysing gestures in isolation like this – their very nature means that they do not necessarily have one specific, semantic, 'meaning', but gain their meaning from the context and sequence in which they occur (whether that is accompanying talk or music).

Practitioner literature – a term used by Garnett (2009, p. 9) to describe the body of work written mostly by conductors and reflecting their personal experiences – unsurprisingly tends to discuss gestures and body language in a more practical and holistic way. Conductor Robert Eichenberger, in McClung (1996), describes posture, tension and unnecessary movement (e.g. a bobbing head or leg) as things to be aware of when conducting. He also emphasises how any non-verbal message (intentional or otherwise) can affect the choir's singing: "nothing is right and nothing is wrong, but everything you do has an effect" (p.23). Lyne (1979) goes into a lot of detail on bodily communication, suggesting that every part of the conductor's body can show expression (face, arms, fingers, elbows, head and so on). He refers to Delsarte's *Cours d'Esthetique* (Course of applied aesthetics, in Lyne, 1979) as relevant, particularly in terms of the 'cube' space wherein hand gestures take place (shoulders to abdomen, and across the body), and outside of which the conductor has less control. Specific hand gestures that he refers to – such as a palm up gesture for support of a

good sound – are also suggested by the research in the previous paragraph. Others have not been evaluated systematically, such as the different indicators of each finger (middle finger for earthiness, ring finger to affection and thumb for vitality, for example). Finally, some conductors suggest that having choirs make the gestures or movements as well can be beneficial for their singing. Dahlke (2014) recommends coupling gesture with musical concepts first, to give singers a kinaesthetic experience, for example, and work by Liao and Davidson (2007) promotes the use of gesture techniques with children, to improve their vocal technique.

2.2.5. Leadership and rapport: "It takes a very great person, a Very Great Person (and notice that I don't say a very great musician) it takes a very great person to be an inspiring conductor" (Swan, 1987, p. 47)

The end of the quote above is "because the conductor has to be... the leader of his group" (p.47). Leadership is investigated by several different researchers in various ways. Boerner, Krause and Gebert (2004) suggest that leadership is a mixture of authority and charisma, and Koivunen and Wennes (2011), looking at symphony orchestras, suggest that leadership is an "ongoing relational process" (p.51) between the conductor and players, particularly emphasising the role of aesthetic elements and embodiment. Atik (1994) too, acknowledges the role of orchestral players as followers, and Poggi (2011) discusses how the goals set by the conductor, or leader, should fulfil the singers', or followers', needs. Allen and Apfelstadt (1990) study choral conductors in terms of Situational Leadership Theory (Hersey & Blanchard, 1977). This model suggests that different leadership styles balance task- and relationship-oriented behaviours in different ways, with a good leader moving between them as necessitated by the context. However, the authors found that the majority of conductors fell in the 'high task-orientation/high relationship behaviours' category and infrequently moved between other styles. They suggest that working with choirs is "so innately task-oriented, and yet so enhanced by relationship-oriented behaviours, successful choral conductors might find it best to combine both behaviours regardless of the situation" (p. 26). The ability to lead, they suggest, needs to be taught alongside technical skills to student conductors. Wis (2002) agrees, advocating the idea of a 'servant-leader', who focuses on the musical experience – serving the music and the musicians, rather than autocratically displaying their own gifts.

Leadership is linked to the relationship between conductor and choir members, and often mentioned in the literature. The idea of the 'very great person' in the quote at the beginning

of this section fits with the other, slightly intangible characteristics of conductors that are often suggested – inspiring, charismatic, and needing to build good rapport with the choir. Ashley (2011), for example, found that the personal characteristics of a conductor were the most important element in keeping young boys in choirs past age eleven, regardless of different pedagogical interventions, but pinning down precisely what was necessary was challenging. Durrant (2000) also discusses interpersonal skills – a mix of energy, motivation and authority – as one important aspect of a successful choral rehearsal, and Brunner (1996) includes speaking inspirationally and having a sincere enthusiasm as attributes for a successful choral conductor. In one study, undergraduate students' perceptions of the importance of interpersonal attributes for conductors increased after completing a conducting course, particularly for confidence, passion for learning and eye contact (Silvey & Baumgartner, 2016). In another, teenage boys discussing their experiences of choral music suggested that choral directors who focus on them as individuals, and improving their musicianship, make rehearsals both more enjoyable and more effective than those who focus entirely on the music by itself (Freer, 2009). Interviewees in a study by Einarsdóttir and Sigurjónsson (2010) suggested that a close relationship with the conductor is important, particularly for a small choir, as well as other characteristics such as having a good sense of humour, listening to the choir (talk, as well as sing), and not coming across as self-important. Making jokes and using self-deprecation are also advocated in the Cambridge Companion to Conducting as skills that can release tension, help to avoid offending others, and may 'save' the rehearsal (Barber, 2003, p. 26).

2.3. Conversation analysis (CA) as a new perspective for studying choirs

Much of the research discussed above is from the body of practitioner literature, written from the experience and understanding of expert conductors and music directors in the field, and usually aimed at eliciting improvements, giving advice, and passing on good practice. This sort of information is vital as it provides validation and context for some of the more empirical studies, gives real-life examples from rehearsals, and also highlights some of the less tangible phenomena that may have otherwise gone unnoticed. Equally, the experimental studies can provide systematic evidence for the events described by practitioners and support the practices that they suggest. The prevalence of music education studies within this domain does skew the field slightly in some respects, such as the issue in distinguishing

teaching from conducting, as discussed above. For this reason, more research that examines the 'choral-society' style rehearsal that is more dominant in the UK (e.g. voluntary, evening/after-school, once-a-week for a termly public concert) would be beneficial in balancing the literature.

The current project aims to take a different perspective – asking a different question – to some of the studies discussed previously. They tend to take as given what is meant by 'conductor' or 'choir rehearsal', and then focus on finding improvement, look at how things are different if a certain variable (e.g. expertise) is manipulated, or measure the frequency of a particular variable of interest. Here, we take a step back and examine the assumptions underlying these studies – what do conductors do during rehearsals? How does a rehearsal work as a social activity – how is it put together, second by second, by the participants? It widens the lens from other experimental studies, by exploring the whole rehearsal in an inductive manner. The emphasis will be on the way that conductors and choirs interact in order to create and manage the rehearsal context between them, rather than looking at how they act *because* they are in a rehearsal. To this end, a qualitative methodology called conversation analysis (CA) will be used, which looks at the sequential development of interaction in choir rehearsals. CA will be defined and described further in this section, and then relevant literature explored.

2.3.1. What is conversation analysis?

Conversation analysis (CA) was developed in the 1960s and '70s as a way of examining – and drawing attention to – the orderliness of social interaction (ten Have, 2007). Its origin was partly a reaction against the linguistics discipline of the day, which focused on speech in small, non-contextualised or even fabricated examples (Sidnell, 2010). CA took the study of language back to the context in which it is most commonly used – natural everyday conversation – and focused on examining how talk is utilised, perceived and understood by the participants involved, by concentrating on in-depth analysis of real-life examples. CA argues that language is not just communication, but the way in which people produce social actions and achieve a common social world (Drew & Heritage, 1992). It is used to establish, understand and maintain relationships and identities, and to perform actions, such as requesting, inviting, directing, agreeing or disagreeing, accepting or rejecting. When examining the different actions that can take place in interaction, CA looks for the patterns and practices through which the actions can occur. Because of the emphasis on context, CA usually centres on the sequential organisation of interaction – how utterances or actions are

positioned relative to each other in talk (Schegloff, 2007) and built up incrementally through time (Mondada, 2012).

In the past fifty years of CA research, six main (although inter-related) areas of research have been developed, answering six different problems (Schegloff, 2006): 1) turn-taking – who should speak next and when? 2) action-formation – what is the utterance doing, and how is it recognised as such? 3) sequence-organisation – how are the turns organised so as to form a coherent sequence? 4) troubles/repair – what happens if there is some trouble in the interaction that hinders its progression? 5) word-selection – how do participants choose the components of a turn and how does that affect the way it is understood? and 6) overall structural organisation – how is the overall interaction organised, and how does that affect how sequences and turns-at-talk within it are understood? By investigating these questions through examining real-life conversations, CA research aims to understand the way people create their social, interactional world around them.

Conversation analysis data, despite the name, does not and has not ever focused exclusively on ordinary, everyday conversation, although data is expected to be from naturally-occurring interaction. Research has included interaction between medical personnel and patients, lawyers and clients, on shop floors, in court rooms, classrooms, dance classes, sports coaching and, relevantly, music rehearsals. Because of the wide range of contexts, the term 'talk-in-interaction' (Schegloff, 1987) has come to be used rather than 'conversation'. Institutional interaction refers to task-related interaction where at least one of the participants belongs to or is representing some type of formal organisation (Drew & Heritage, 1992). This can range from police officer interviews with suspects, to school classrooms, to company board meetings – any sort of 'work-related' talk where the institutional or professional identities of the participants are relevant to or somehow affect the interaction taking place.

Research from the 1970s onwards has found that while personal characteristics (age, class, gender etc) can and do influence people's talk, the type and place of interaction also has a significant impact on how talk is organised and achieved. For example, the way people take turns in a classroom (McHoul, 1978) or court room (Atkinson & Drew, 1979) is different to everyday conversation – it tends to be specialised towards the task, more formally organised and more constrained. Drew and Heritage (1992) describe the way these differences come together in a particular type of institutional interaction as its "unique fingerprint" (p.26) of interaction.

Drew and Heritage (1992, p.22), based on work by Levinson (1992), propose three particular features of institutional interaction. Firstly, that at least one person in the interaction is orienting towards a "goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question" (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p.22). How the goal is approached may vary – for example, whether it is a 'top-down' approach (such as in requests for emergency services) or 'bottom-up' (such as in community-nurse visits) – as can the way in which the task is achieved. This orientation affects the actions being done, and the manner in which they are performed. In the context of choir rehearsals, the task at hand is improving a piece of music according to the conductor's concept, with the overall goal (at least for the choirs used in this project) of it becoming 'good enough' to perform it to an audience (e.g. Poggi, 2011).

Secondly, institutional interaction "may often involve *special and particular constraints* on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand" (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p.22). That is, that there may be certain ways of interacting or aspects of interaction that are allowed, expected or strongly discouraged as a result of them being part of that specific interaction. Weeks' (1996a) observation that conductors are allowed to interrupt an orchestra at any point during a rehearsal, for example, may be a specific feature of institutional interaction in music rehearsals – a part of the 'unique fingerprint' of this context.

Thirdly, each institutional context may have their own specific "*inferential frameworks* and procedures" (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p.22). This refers to the way that a certain utterance or aspect of interaction may be interpreted differently by the recipient as a result of it being part of an institutional interaction. For example, a comment that could normally cause offense in everyday conversation may be accepted easily within an institutional setting, or an utterance that would normally require a response, may not.

Drew and Heritage (p.28) also go on to describe the five main domains of interaction that are covered by the research that has been conducted in institutional interaction: lexical choice, turn design, sequence organisation, overall structural organisation, and social epistemology and social relations. *Lexical choice* may refer to using institutionally-relevant technical terms, or the way that speakers may represent their identity as that of the institution they are representing. *Turn design* describes the way speakers decide what action to perform, and how they phrase their talk to reflect that and progress the interaction in a particular manner. *Sequence organisation* is the way turns are put together to create patterns of talk, including

elements like solving misunderstandings (i.e. repair), changing topics, and turn-taking (for example, formal turn-taking in institutional contexts is often accomplished through a question and answer framework).

The fourth domain, *overall structural organisation*, refers to the way the interaction as a whole may be organised with respect to the institution. In conversation, there is rarely a pattern that the interaction follows, but institutional interaction is often shaped at a wider level by the orientation to task. A study by Szczepek Reed, Reed and Haddon (2013), for example, outlines the overall structure of a music masterclass from the entrance of the student, through their performance, feedback and further performances, through to their exit (p.26). Finally, *social epistemology and social relations* describes features of the interaction related to the institutional nature of the data that may impact on any of the previous categories. One which is particularly relevant to this project is interactional asymmetry, where one party has more control over the interaction than the other, due to their role, status, or epistemic access to knowledge, for example. This is often observed in doctor-patient or teacher-student interactions, and it is expected that the role distinctions between conductor and choir members will also show asymmetry. Drew and Heritage are at pains to point out that asymmetries need to be demonstrated through the interactional data however, rather than assumed purely because of the institutional position that an interactant holds.

2.3.2. What is conversation analysis as a methodology?

CA as a methodology consists of three main stages: data collection, data selection and transcription, and data analysis. Each stage will briefly be outlined here, and descriptions of how these are applied in the current project will be covered in the Methods chapter. The three stages are not completely separate – work on analysis will frequently affect the way data is selected or transcribed, for example (ten Have, 2007).

2.3.2.1. Data collection

Conversation Analysis uses naturally-occurring data, collected through audio or (preferably) video recordings that capture all elements of the vocal, verbal and embodied resources that were utilised in the talk under study. Mondada (2012) discusses the reasons for the necessity of naturally-occurring data by comparing with other analytic stances. In introspection, for example, the researcher's competence is used to decide if an event is something (e.g. has a particular meaning) – much of the practitioner literature falls under this umbrella. Observations and interviews rely on memory, selectivity of attention, and personal, *post hoc*

interpretations and rationalisations (although CA may look at interviews as a topic of inquiry, but not as a resource). More experimental data collection starts with hypotheses that are tested through a very controlled environment. Using recordings, on the other hand, allows for the discovery of findings that are part of the interaction itself; that may not necessarily be seen on the first viewing; and that are naturally, locally organised (understood, reacted to and created) by the participants themselves, in the ordinary setting in which it would be found. Whether overtly recorded data can ever be entirely natural is a valid and debated question (e.g. Labov, 1973), and will be discussed in relation to the current data in the methods chapter.

2.3.2.2.   *Data selection and transcription*

Having collected the data, the next stage of CA is producing in-depth transcripts of the participants' talk, singing, and non-verbal conduct from the recordings. Transcripts are not the 'data' themselves, but a useful way of capturing the interaction in a way that allows it to be presented to and accessed by others, for example in publications (ten Have, 2007). Transcription aims to reanimate the interaction for the reader (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017) – not just what is spoken (i.e. the words), but also how it is said, including the 'messiness' of hesitations, laughter, overlaps and so on. The reason for this is that in order to fully reveal and describe what occurs in an interaction, the researcher cannot know beforehand what may become relevant (Hepburn & Bolden, 2012). Therefore, talk should be captured as it is heard, including any 'errors' – features such as timing, speed and emphasis can all affect both the meaning and function of a word, and therefore the way participants react or respond (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017). The conventional, comprehensive system for transcription was developed by Gail Jefferson in the 1960s (Lerner, 2004), although many researchers have adapted it slightly to suit their own needs (ten Have, 2007) – see Bezemer and Mavers (2011) for example, for a discussion on conveying multimodal aspects of interaction.

However it should be observed that transcriptions are a product of the researcher's own perspective – they are "selective, 'theory-laden' renderings of certain aspects of what the tape has preserved… produced with a particular purpose in mind" (ten Have, 2007, p. 95). Therefore they should not be taken as substitutes for the recordings, if possible. Even (or perhaps especially) with multimodal data, it is not the case that the more information is included, the more 'accurate' the transcript. Rather, selection of extracts (or images or multimodal descriptions, for example), should be guided by analytical decisions, and

transcripts used to highlight or foreground relevant analytical points (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011).

2.3.2.3.   Data analysis

In the third stage, the transcripts and recordings are analysed together in order to identify the participants' methods or practices for creating and understanding turn-by-turn interaction. Generally, this is achieved by immersing oneself in the data, and looking (and listening) through it in an 'unmotivated' way (Psathas, 1995) where the researcher begins with an open mind about what phenomena they may find in the data. This allows for an inductive, data-driven approach where initially unexceptional features of talk may be 'noticed' (Schegloff, 1996). However ten Have (2007) observes that looking without preconceived ideas does not necessarily mean ignoring the large body of CA research that has previously been carried out. Once a distinctive behaviour has been noticed, the researcher looks for further similar examples that can be grouped together to form a collection. This collection then can be used to describe the way the phenomenon occurs in a more general way, although without losing sight of the individual example contexts (Sidnell, 2012). Phenomena that can be observed include almost any practice that forms an interaction, such as types of actions, their forms, and how they are combined to produce larger sequences and interactional activities.

2.3.3.   Further discussion of relevant features of conversation analysis

This section will go into more detail on some of the previously-researched elements of CA that will become most relevant for the current project: actions and their sequences, turn-taking, the use of embodied communication, and deontics and epistemics.

2.3.3.1.   Actions

An *action*, in CA research, refers to the intention behind a particular utterance. This can be distinguished from *form* – the way it is phrased. For example, 'do you want to go for a coffee?' is in the form of an interrogative, but the action – what the speaker is trying to achieve – is an invitation. This then makes relevant a response of some form from the recipient – either accepting or declining the invitation. Analysis of actions should be achieved by considering how they are constructed (action-formation) and also how the co-participants in the interaction respond (or not) to the original utterance. This is instead of starting with the classification or name of an action – it may be that the local context of the action gives it a different meaning to what the researcher expects, or that the action cannot be easily

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classed as one thing or another (Schegloff, 2007). The two actions that will become most relevant in this study are directives and assessments, and each will be considered in turn below.

2.3.3.1.1.   Directives

Directives are "utterances designed to get someone else to do something" (Goodwin, 2006, p. 515), where the recipient's subsequent behaviour (e.g. doing or not doing something) is a result of the directive (Stevanovic & Svennevig, 2015). Choral conductors might give a directive to start from a certain place in the piece, for example, or to sing a particular note in tune. A great deal of research has investigated the various forms, understanding and effects of directives. One form of directive commonly considered is that of the bald imperative (e.g. "pass the bread please", Kent & Kendrick, 2016, p. 275). Alternative forms also regularly occur such as requests (e.g. "can you come over" Curl & Drew, 2008, p. 137) and proposals (e.g. "shall we tidy up", Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013, p. 128). However, Craven and Potter (2010) noted that the participants in their data did orient to requests and imperative directives as separate actions, and suggest that they are different on the basis that directives are not designed to manage the contingency of the recipient's acceptance.

These utterances have *conditional relevance*, in that they make relevant a behaviour that complies with the directive. Kent and Kendrick (2016) observe two different classes of imperative directives – one simply directs actions, such as the utterance in the previous paragraph that makes relevant a next action of the recipient passing bread to the speaker. The other type still directs a future action, but also retrospectively treats the recipient as accountable for having not *already* performed that action. For example "tell me the goddam story" (p.277) makes relevant a next action of story-telling, but also shows that the action had already been relevant prior to the directive being given, and therefore making the (future) story-teller accountable for not telling it earlier. However the authors observe that an account for the social transgression is not sought, as it might be following, say, a complaint (Drew, 1998). Rather, the participants orient towards progressing the ongoing action.

2.3.3.1.2.   Assessments

Assessments are actions that evaluate a phenomenon such as an activity, object or person (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987; Pomerantz, 1984), or, in this research, a sung section of music. Pomerantz (1984) suggests that assessments take place in three main loci: during an activity (e.g. 'Let's feel the water…'/'Oh it's wonderful. It's just right', p.57); as part of a report of a

previous activity (e.g., 'I tasted it it w'z really horrible', p. 58); or as a next turn following another speaker's first assessment (e.g. 'tsuh beautiful day out isn't it?/Yeh it's jus' gorgeous' p. 59). In this last example, the second assessment performs the action of agreeing or disagreeing with the first speaker, made relevant by their original assessment. Pomerantz suggests that agreement with original assessments is a preferred (or invited, p. 63) next action – that is, the default is to agree. Early work looking at assessments has mainly focused on the latter two loci, and particularly how speakers align themselves (or not) with the prior assessment (Lindström & Mondada, 2009).

The first locus, assessments during an activity, was revisited by Fasulo and Monzoni (2009), who examine utterances where the object being assessed is currently available to the interactants – in their case, an item of clothing in a fashion atelier. They focus on referents that are 'mutable objects' (p.363), where the item is available to, and can be affected by, the people in the interaction, unlike something that was eaten in the past, or the weather (as in the other earlier examples). They specifically refer to music-making as being one such mutable object, where a particular phrase or passage may be monitored by the interactants, evaluated, and then changed – which is particularly relevant for choir rehearsals. In their data, Fasulo and Monzoni observe that negative assessments of a mutable object are oriented to as a proposal for future action that will solve the issue.

In addition to the occasions described above, assessments are often used as third-turn closing sequences in response to something that was said or done in the previous turn. The classic example of this is as part of the Initiation-Reply-Evaluation (IRE) sequence proposed by Mehan (1979) in his work on interaction in classrooms. Here, the evaluation (e.g. the teacher's 'well done') is what designates the original question an exam or 'known answer' question. However, these third-part assessments also happen in everyday conversation e.g. 'Is this aimed accurate enough?' 'Yes it's aimed et the table' 'Great' (Schegloff, 2007, p.125). The sequence-closing characteristic of assessments has also been noted in other circumstances, such as task-oriented (as opposed to content-oriented) positive assessments that close sequences and episodes in interviews (e.g. Antaki, Houtkoop-Steenstra, & Rapley, 2000). Research on assessments has often focused on positive assessments (such as Antaki et al., 2000), or on whether the assessment made is an agreement or disagreement (preferred or dispreferred action) with the previous assessment (e.g. Pomerantz, 1984), although other studies have considered the use of negative assessments as dispreferred actions, such as in IRE classroom interactions (Zhang Waring, 2008) or performance appraisals (Asmuß, 2008).

2.3.3.2.   *Turns and turn-taking*

Turn-taking (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) is the system for how co-participants in an interaction decide who will talk next and when that will be. A choir rehearsal is likely to use a different system to everyday conversation, and the study of this system will contribute to the understanding of the social organisation of the rehearsal. Turn-taking includes analysis of what are termed Turn-Constructional Units (TCUs), which are building blocks that constitute the smallest unit that could form a complete turn at that place in the interaction. The end of a TCU then becomes a Transition Relevant Place (TRP) – that is, somewhere that is recognised by the participants as being a place where the speakership may transfer to another. TCUs may be extended, or the speaker may continue past a TRP into a new TCU, at which point the end of *that* TCU becomes the new TRP.

A TCU is usually comprised of grammatically-complete (in the current context) words, phrases or sentences. Intonation, and the possible end of the recognisable action are other resources that hearers can draw on to decide whether that TCU could possibly be complete at that point (Schegloff, 2007). These three features allow the listeners (as potential next speakers) to predict where they might be able to begin their own turn by projecting where the next TRP will fall. Once a speaker reaches a TRP (and does not continue), there are two main ways that the next may be selected: they may self-select (beginning a new TCU to claim the turn-space), or the original speaker may select them, using an action that requires a relevant response (such as a question and answer). In this way, the conversational floor becomes a shared resource between the participants. It is worth noting that TCUs are not the only possible 'unit' of conversation. Reed and Szczepek Reed (2013) discuss how units can be conceptualised as action-based, such as instructional projects in music masterclasses.

In conversation there is almost always only one person speaking at once. During the speaker's turn (or TCU), they have the right to hold the floor, and an obligation to finish their TCU (Lerner, 1996). Another person beginning to speak before a TRP is usually seen as an interruption, resulting in some form of negative consequence. However there are some exceptions to this rule. One is overlap, which is used in an orderly manner in conversation as considered by Jefferson (2004). For example, participants may join in with the end of an utterance or display recognition (e.g. agreement) before the speaker finishes speaking, displaying systematic understanding of what is being said, or two speakers may start at the same time, or overlap in some way that leads to one or other dropping out to leave the other to talk. Another is the semi-permeability of multiple-TCU turns (Lerner, 1996), where the

listener's orientation to grammar (e.g. projectable completion) can allow them to enter the turn space with an anticipatory completion.

It should also be noted that turn-taking often differs in institutional data from everyday conversation. Drew and Heritage (1992) suggest that there are both formal and informal turn-taking systems found in institutional interaction. Informal ones are seen in environments such as medical, business and social service, where the interaction tends to be at least 'quasi-conversational', despite its task-based orientation. Formal systems may be found in settings such as classrooms, courtrooms or news interviews, where there are strong constraints on the way participants interact, and sanctions often occur if the procedures are not followed accordingly. Drew and Heritage observe that all these environments involve "talk for an overhearing audience" (p.27), whether immediately present or not, and that one aim of the formal turn-taking system is to manage interaction between large numbers of participants.

2.3.3.3. *Embodied communication in CA*

CA began with research on telephone and other audio-recorded conversations. However as technology developed, increasing numbers of people began to utilise video recordings to gather more visual detail about the interactions. Embodied resources including eye gaze, manual gestures, body language and many others have been studied. Goodwin (2010), for example, discusses how the use of gesture and interaction with diverse materials allow participants to interact in an embodied way with other people and the environment to communication meaningfully. Streeck's book *Gesturecraft* examines how gesture can "gather meaning from and structure our environments, articulate experience, share it with others, and organize our interaction" (Streeck, 2009). Multimodal resources can be used for turntaking (Mondada, 2007), understanding (Mondada, 2010) and assessments (Mondada, 2009), and body torque (orientations of different parts of the body) can show instability or engagement (Schegloff, 1998). These and many other studies have put together a large body of research on how our talk-in-interaction is combined with, assisted by and sometimes changed or replaced by embodied actions. Research has also examined the way these embodied behaviours integrate with talk. For example, bodily-vocal demonstrations may be used as a separate turn-constructional unit, or complete a TCU that was begun verbally (Keevallik, 2014; Haviland, 2007). Given the variety of multimodal conductor behaviour discussed earlier (conducting gestures, sung models, facial expression etc), it is expected that embodied interaction will become very relevant during this study.

2.3.3.4.   *Asymmetries in interaction – deontics and epistemics*

It was mentioned earlier that asymmetry was a regular characteristic of institutional interaction. However, some form of asymmetry is always present in any form of interaction, in order to create the need for talk at all (Linell & Luckmann, 1991). For example, most conversation is driven because one person in the interaction does not know something (question, announcing, gossiping) or wants something that the other can give (e.g. request, or invitation).

These asymmetries can affect how different types of utterance (directive, request etc) are heard, perceived and used. Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2014) point out that the way people orient to and identify with each other affects how they create and understand the actions that occur during an interaction. Two participants in an interaction together have a certain amount of shared knowledge about the world (Tomasello, 2008): sociocultural knowledge about their culture or community; personal knowledge based on their relationship to each other; and local knowledge – understanding that stems from the current interaction (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2014). Stevanovic and Peräkylä argue that these different types of knowledge affect the rights and entitlement – in the facets of epistemic (knowledge), deontic (authority) and emotional orders – that each participant has in relation to the other during the interaction. Participants then use this knowledge in order to understand the actions that are being performed. In a choir, it is likely that the conductor and singers will show differing epistemic and deontic rights through the way that they interact with each other in the rehearsal.

The three orders will be discussed briefly in turn.

2.3.3.4.1.   *Epistemic order*

Epistemics refers to the knowledge an individual has relevant to their interactant(s), and their right to that knowledge. A participant's epistemic status relates to the access that person has to a particular 'territory of information' (Kamio, 1997) or 'epistemic domain' (Stivers & Rossano, 2010), but this may be compounded by their right to have that knowledge – do they know it through experience, or through gossip or hearsay, for example? An individual's epistemic status is then displayed through their stance – that is, how they show their knowledge (or lack thereof) though the current turns-at-talk. While stance usually converges with status, it is not always the case (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2014), if individuals wish to appear more or less knowledgeable than they really are. During interactions, participants are constantly monitoring the epistemic statuses of others, as perceiving the relative levels of

knowledge is key to correctly understanding social actions being performed (Heritage, 2012a).

Heritage (2012a, p.6) demonstrates how an individual's stance is often displayed through grammatical means, where a clear question ('Are you married?') indicates a steep epistemic gradient between the unknowing (K-) speaker and the knowing (K+) recipient. A statement, used for example to request confirmation or to convey an assumption, (e.g. 'You're married'), exhibits a much shallower gradient. Another key paper on epistemics by Heritage (2012b), discusses how epistemic asymmetry provides motivation for action sequences that will redress the balance within interactions in terms of the different types of sequences that can be initiated. Firstly, speakers who are (or who place themselves as) unknowing (K-), relative to their interactant can initiate an action sequence that requests information, for example through an interrogative, or an incomplete or inadequate assertion of fact. When the requested information is provided, it is usually acknowledged by a 'change of state' "oh" (Heritage, 1984) or an assessment (Schegloff, 2007) as the requester moves to a more knowing position (K+), and the sequence is closed. Alternatively, Heritage (2012b) notes that a speaker with a more knowing K+ status can use that imbalance of epistemic status as reason to initiate a sequence, in order to provide information that they believe their interactant to be unaware of. Assessments are particularly linked to epistemic access, as the speaker is claiming knowledge of the referent by making the assessment (Pomerantz, 1984). Lastly, in a study of orchestral rehearsal, Parton (2014) suggests that the conductor at the start of the rehearsal process has most access to the particular epistemic domain of "how *this* group will play *this* piece of music for *this* performance" (p.402, original emphasis). Over the series of rehearsals leading up to the performance, they should guide the musicians towards a more knowledgeable status, assisting them with access to the epistemic domain. This is supported by Weeks (1985), who describes how only the conductor "has the authoritative version" (p.228) of the music being shaped for an upcoming performance, allowing him or her to initiate corrections during the rehearsals.

2.3.3.4.2. Deontic order

Deontic authority, Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2012) state, is the "right to determine others' future actions" (p.297). Their paper on deontic authority was one of the first papers to explicitly investigate the influence on deontics on talk-in-interaction in detail, although previous research had investigated 'authority', without explicitly referring to deontics. Everybody has a deontic status, which may be more or less symmetrical (e.g. peers versus

employee to boss) compared to the interactant(s), and varies according to the relevant domain. At a certain level, every action made by one participant affects or constrains the next action that occurs (e.g. saying hello or asking a question will expect that the recipient will offer a return greeting, or respond with an answer), demonstrating an unspoken entitlement to the right to create that constraint (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2014).

When making decisions about joint future actions, the balance of deontic rights between participants is relevant for how suggestions and decisions are put forward, selected and agreed upon (e.g. Lindström & Weatherall, 2015; Stevanovic, 2015). However, Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2014) suggest that, similar to epistemics, one's deontic status may not be put on show for all to see, rather it may be made more or less obvious through one's deontic stance. As with epistemics, deontic stance can be observed through linguistic form and may or may not be congruent with the speaker's deontic status. In fact, individuals with very high deontic status often have little need to display it, whereas people with a low level of authority may try to inflate it through their stance (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2014). Participants need to be aware of their interactant's deontic status in order to correctly interpret not only whether they have the right to command, or be commanded in any particular domain or certain interaction, but also whether a particular utterance (regardless of whether it is an order, question, statement or suggestion) requires a relevant action to be performed.

2.3.3.4.3.   Emotional order

The emotional order, proposed by Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2014) as a third facet to accompany deontics and epistemics in how participants understand and accomplish actions, is less clearly developed than the other two. Stevanovic and Peräkylä note that what and how much emotion can be expressed in an interaction varies, like epistemics and deontics, by the situation, the participants and their roles and relationship to one another. In this order, emotional status refers to "the socially shared expectations regarding experiencing, expressing, and sharing of emotions, arising from the position that a participant has in a certain domain of experience relative to his/her co-participant(s)" (p.192). That is, that the level of intimacy of emotional sharing between participants will be affected by their relationship and roles in a particular domain of experience. This can then help with interpreting and recognising actions. For example, the authors explain that a doctor listening to a patient's description of pains will understand, due to their emotional status (i.e. not emotionally close), that the patient is requesting medical assistance, rather than looking for sympathy. Emotional stance – again, often but not always congruent with status – refers to

the valence and intensity with which emotion is expressed. This can be verbal or non-verbal – Stevanovic and Peräkylä note that lexis, grammar, prosody, posture, facial expression can all affect the emotion expressed in interaction.

2.4. CA studies of embodied performance and related actions (e.g. feedback)

2.4.1. Music contexts

This final section combines the two fields considered so far (music and CA) to examine the handful of studies that have examined musical contexts from the point of view of interaction. The majority of these take place in individual instrumental lessons, while others consider the music masterclass, rehearsals, and singing in everyday interactions. The summaries here aim to show both what has been found as well as observe how the methodology was applied and the aspects of CA that became particularly relevant. These studies are particularly relevant to the current research because they consider how interaction is used to effect change and improvement in a musical environment.

2.4.1.1. Instrumental music lessons

Tolins (2013) examines nonlexical vocalisations (e.g. *urrrlllliiaa*) in a one-to-one clarinet lesson. He argues that although they may not contain any semantic content, the sequential and syntactic organisation, as well as simultaneous multimodal depictions, allows an understanding of how they are used as a resource by musicians to communicate about the nonlinguistic-based subject of music. He observes that embodied communication is often used by teachers in nonverbal domains (examples include dance, Keevallik, 2010; and sport coaching, Evans & Reynolds, 2016; Okada, 2013; see section 2.4.2 below) and that the demonstrative vocalisations appear in almost every sequence of instruction found in his data.

Tolins uses examples from his instrumental lesson data to demonstrate how nonlexical depictions are used either for assessment (about one third) or as directives (two thirds). Specifically, he shows how the two uses of vocalisations systematically match to the way they are used and reacted to in interaction – although some previous research has explored nonlexical vocalisations, only a few conventionalised elements such *Oh* and *uhm* have been considered in term of the meaning they bring to an interaction.

Assessments can take the form of depictions or reenactments that quote music that has been previously experienced, whereas directives are used with the aim of changing future playing in some way. Vocalisations that are directives both model a new element of the music for the student, and request that the student reproduces it. In assessments, Tolins shows how the teacher can use exaggeration (by varying speech sounds, prosody and gesture) when demonstrating a previously played section of music, to highlight both the location of the bit of music they are referring to, as well as communicating their assessment of it. For example, the use of speech sounds in *urrrllllliiaa* (p.53) represent the lack of clarity in the student's playing, to which the teacher is drawing attention. The teacher's gesture – movement with the hands, torso and shoulders – is also integrated simultaneously to reflect the point he is making.

The use of the lesson space as a resource is also discussed. In particular the student's musical score on a music stand is the focus of both student and teacher's attention for much of the lesson, whether they are playing or talking. Tolins observes that this creates a triangular transaction space between the two participants and the music, and that the "inclusion of the physical representation of the music in the participation framework of the conversation allows the musicians to ground the experience of temporally transient music making (Schütz, 1964; Weeks, 2002) in the external environment" (p.52). Instructors use the sheet music to deictically locate specific moments, which establishes joint attention between the participants and uses the notated music as "a separate entity in which the performance of the piece moves from start to finish across the page" (p.55). This combines the physical (score), chronological (playing), and vocalisation to represent the music in an embodied way. The use of physical space during music rehearsals and performance has also been discussed by Haviland (2007, 2011), particularly in terms of coordinating actions between the musicians.

Finally, Tolins notes that where the vocalisations are placed in the conversational sequence is important in terms of setting up their meaning. Instructors can verbally project a coming negative assessment, for example, by starting with a contrasting, positive qualification ('right now it sounds really effective'; p.53). He also observes that the markers used by teachers immediately prior to enactments (e.g. 'sort of', 'a bit') differ slightly from those traditionally examined in the literature (e.g. go/be like, Barbieri, 2005), although they project the vocalisation in the same way. After a vocalisation, there is often a request for uptake from

the student (e.g. 'ya know'), whose acknowledgement of this shows their orientation to the way that the vocalisations are used as a part of the interaction.

Assessments have also been studied in other instrumental lessons. Ivaldi (2018) argued that compared to other domains, embodied assessments containing multimodal aspects were particularly important in subjects such as music. She looked at UK conservatoire instrumental teachers' turns that followed the students' playing and found two different types of assessments. The first, *overall explicit assessments*, gave immediate feedback to the students and either closed the sequence, or were followed by a new action carrying out a correction. Ivaldi explains that the term 'explicit' is used to describe them, as they tended to be clear and specific about the playing (as opposed to embedded or implied). 'Overall' refers to the way the feedback was task-focused, providing a general sense to the students of how their playing was. They were usually short (e.g. 'well done', 'excellent'), often repeated, and did not require any further dialogue from the students. Unless they closed a sequence, these explicit assessments were usually followed by an 'OK' (to change activity, e.g. Beach, 1993), then followed by more thorough assessment. The more thorough assessments were *performative, instructive assessments* that gave the students feedback on technique, interpretation or expression. These assessment sequences often included playing by the teachers (to demonstrate) or the students (to re-attempt). The students regularly played a role in these sequences by acknowledging, questioning, using continuers, and claiming (or displaying) understanding. Ivaldi also observed that despite the large amounts of feedback aimed at improvement (on average, over half the lessons consisted of talk), it did not appear to have a negative effect, because of the subjective nature of performance. Correspondingly, the teachers' feedback tended to consist of positive suggestions, rather than negative evaluations or corrections. A similar study by Ivaldi (2016) focused more on the students' side of the interaction, observing that they made it evident to their teachers when they would like to receive assessments and feedback. She found that they used restarts, pauses and apologies to display when they were 'doing learning' as opposed to 'doing performing'.

A final study that explores Finnish children's instrumental lessons focused on directives, finding six different forms (Stevanovic & Kuusisto, 2018). The directives found in the data showed the use of imperative (e.g. 'take the bow'), declarative (e.g. 'now you'll take the bow') and interrogative (e.g. 'will you take the bow?') forms, with variations within the Finnish language to create six distinct types. However, the authors propose that the specific form chosen by the teacher is dependent on three factors: 1) where the directive falls within

the current activity structure, 2) how cooperative the child is currently being, and 3) how high a priority that action is within the institutional interaction.

For example, the authors observe how one form of imperative occurs during transitions from one activity (e.g. teacher feedback) to the next (e.g. student playing), along with a shift in the teacher's bodily orientation, but that a second type was more usual if the transition was only to a sub-activity. Second person declaratives (e.g. 'you put it there'), which the authors note are often thought to be problematic as they assume compliance without consideration of contingency (Stevanovic, 2011), are often used in this data in the middle of an ongoing activity when instructing how to do something (as opposed to what to do). Gaze was also important here, demonstrating the student's engagement with the task, and interrogative-form directives were seen to be used if the student did not appear to be engaged in the activity at that moment. These emphasise the contingency of the student's compliance, but also make it immediately relevant. They also observe that since declaratives fall in the middle of an ongoing activity, it is not always clear if the utterance is a "backward-looking correction or forward-looking instruction" (p.9), suggesting that they can move between describing and prescribing. Bare imperative directives however, which also occur during the ongoing activity, usually anticipate an upcoming behaviour, pre-empting a possible forthcoming problem. They also note that the teacher's embodied action during a directive like this can influence how the student responds. Stevanovic and Kuusisto suggest that even though the imperative was produced in response to (or following) an observable issue in the child's playing, the function of it is to pre-empt an upcoming future problem, implicitly treating the previous behaviour as adequate, and occurring as compliance becomes important. Finally they also discuss the way that declarative directives unite "immediate and distant futures" (p.13) by giving an instruction not just on what should be done right now, but also in the future when the child plays the instrument (e.g. how to hold it correctly).

Before moving on to the next section, a point made by Tolins (2013) regarding instrumental lessons is worth considering. He points out that there is a distinct difference between ensemble music-making sessions, which usually focus on preparation of certain pieces leading towards a performance, and musical tuition, where there is (or should be) more focus on training the student's expertise as a musician. Tolins also notes that the two participants in an instrumental music lesson have two different goals towards which they are working: the teacher aims to "elicit from the student musician a new level of musicality and expressiveness" (p.51), and the student's goal is to "perform to the best of his abilities by

incorporating the instructor's advice into the improvement of his purpose" (p.51). These could also apply to choir and conductor, but the fact that the conductor will be part of the aimed-for performance suggests that these goals combine, creating one 'to perform well as an ensemble' (e.g. Poggi, 2011).

2.4.1.2.   Music masterclasses

Music masterclasses are another environment where interaction has been studied. Sambre and Feyaerts (2017) examine three minutes of a trumpet masterclass, particularly examining the multimodal aspects of talk as an important part of the way that both student and teacher create meaning when talking about sound and music. They explore the way that physical objects or actions play an important role. For example, the student simulates fingerings on the instrument, in one way when the master suggests a possible change in the future, then reverting back to their current way – and own preference – when he acknowledges that it is the student's own choice. This is part of a discussion that involves an orientation to the score (as in Tolin, 2013), and to real and imagined sounds and fingerings. The authors also show how an abstract discussion of phrasing is related to the physicality of playing (i.e. how much breath is needed to complete a phrase). In addition, the "local embodied practice of trumpet playing" (p.19) is balanced with talk that refers to the past (e.g. anecdotes) and the future (ideal performances).

Sambre and Feyaerts also acknowledge the use of metaphorical gesture, such as representing a phrase spatially by holding up both hands a short distance apart. In particular, they show how a gesture (a smooth arc to represent one long phrase) can indicate the solution to an issue concurrently with the problem being explicated verbally. This is very similar to an example previously explored in Emerson, Williamson and Wilkinson (2017) where solution and problem were also depicted and described simultaneously. As in Tolins (2013), quotations are produced that first negatively assess the student's playing, then give the master's suggested version, with embodied depictions and emphasised points made visible (e.g. differences in jaw tension). Like Tolins (2013), Sambre and Feyaerts also acknowledge the important role of the musical score as a reference and resource within the discussion of interpretation and learning. Unlike the instrumental lesson research however, the master also acknowledges the presence of the audience (e.g. 'we all know', p.14). This is a feature that distinguishes this type of interaction from a rehearsal, where all people present are active participants in the immediate interaction.

Reed and Szczepek Reed have also examined music masterclasses with singing students in several papers, and draw attention to several features of the particular musical context. One analysis considers the use of directives, the way that the participants in the interaction orient towards them, and the asymmetry between student (and accompanist) and master in terms of their right to initiate, pursue and end different actions (Szczepek Reed et al., 2013). They note, firstly, the variety of different forms of directives (e.g. declaratives and modal questions that initially appear to be requests, as well as imperatives), and the way that they are often embodied multimodally, either with or without talk, through gesture, posture and orientation. These directives from the master often occur in clusters within a single turn, with no slots left for compliance following each. This leads to a situation where students and accompanists are constantly orienting towards a restart of the music – that is, they are constantly deciding whether a particular directive should be complied with 'Now' or 'Not Now' (i.e. at the end of the instruction turn). The use of directive clusters becomes relevant in rehearsals, as a behaviour demonstrated by conductors, but the decision whether or not to restart is taken out of the singers' hands as it is controlled by the conductor.

In Szczepek Reed et al.'s (2013) masterclass, both participants (student and master) are pursuing the goal of 'learnables', but their different roles (playing and talking, respectively) lead them to different orientations. The role of accompanist (as needing to begin before the student, with an introduction or starting notes), is particularly highlighted for their role in displaying restart relevant behaviours. The authors also differentiate between (and show that participants must differentiate between) local directives, which should be complied with immediately (musically, verbally or physically, for example), and restart relevant directives, which indicate that a reperformance at the end of the instruction turn is relevant. The latter tend to be delivered in clusters, whereas a sequential slot is usually left following the former for compliance.

The concept of learnables is returned to in Reed and Szczepek Reed (2014), where the different ways that masters may develop or present topics for improvement are explored. The authors propose four different methods are used. Firstly, master expertise of the historical or musical context may be used to produce learnables as 'informings'. Often, these are aimed not only at the student singer, but at the audience as well. Secondly, the master may display their direct experience of the earlier performance, for example using a list of notes. This demonstrates it as an authentic reaction, which can be seen as less accountable than a learnable based on a subjective opinion. Thirdly, the direct experience of the singer or

(fourthly) the audience may be elicited in order to guide the learnable. In the former, this makes the student's own experiences relevant to the performance. In the latter, it is the public's experience of the performance that is brought to the fore. Finally, the authors suggest that the master's instruction turns need to be analysed as an "emerging, local phenomenon of interaction" (p.19), as their content and relevance can only be understood in terms of the previously-played music. Although the presence of an audience is not found in choir rehearsals, conductors do need to use their expertise and experience of the choir's singing in order to create improvement in their singing.

Finally, a multimodal analysis explores the way that masters 'relinquish' instructional turns in the transition to performance (Reed, 2015). Reed examines the three participants (master, pianist and student vocalist) separately to show the various behaviours that display the transition. The transition is projected by the use of a local action directive that orients towards a reperformance, which starts a series of preparatory movements by the different participants. Reed describes the two participation frameworks present in the masterclass that affect how these behaviours play out: an 'instruction' framework is found between master and student, and a 'performance' framework between the singer and audience. In order for the first to transition to the second, one of the key behaviours is that the master produces a 'relinquishing move', away from what has been the instructional space and what will now become the performance space. This move is produced sequentially and interactionally, demonstrates the end of the master's instruction and makes relevant the start of a new performance. It is then followed by a return movement, which is started after the music begins, and which positions the master in a suitable position to observe and, potentially, interrupt the new performance.

2.4.1.3.   Rehearsals

The first study to be considered here is by Weeks (1996a), who uses an ethnographic approach to examine the interaction in an orchestral rehearsal with a focus on the way that conductors do correction in orchestral rehearsals. Weeks identifies correction formats used by the conductor as verbal expressions (VEs) and illustrative expressions (IEs), which include any form of embodying the music, such as singing, chanting, or counting. IEs almost always occur with an accompanying VE, suggesting that the VE explains how to hear the IE (e.g. whether a sung quote is just providing a location or if there is some other feature that is an issue). Like Keevallik's (2014) bodily-vocal demonstrations, Weeks also observes that both formats may form their own turn constructional units, or that the IE may be embedded syntactically within the VE, but that adjacency is key in understanding whether they address

the same of different issues. One particularly relevant feature observed by Weeks was the occurrence of 'contrast pairs', where two IEs are produced adjacently. One (usually the first) demonstrated, often exaggeratedly, the fault that the conductor was trying to correct, and the other displayed the model that he wanted the orchestra to play in future, often more clearly or longer. This use of IEs is very similar to Tolins' (2013) vocalised assessments and directives, although in a more specific manner (i.e. combined on one issue).

Weeks also observes five different correction techniques, within which these formats might be used: 1) in-course guidance, with singing or talk over the top of the orchestra; 2) evaluation – usually negative, and often using IEs; 3) locating the correctable – both specific points or general patterns; 4) verbal instruction, often with accompanying IEs; and 5) contrasting, either using IEs or VEs. Developing this further, Weeks examines the placement where correction sequences may take place, suggesting three: concurrent with the playing, overlapping the playing but after the correctable has occurred, and finally, subsequent to the playing. The second category, overlapping, may often then roll into the third. This draws attention to a particularly asymmetrical balance between conductor and musicians – conductors may self-select for a turn-at-talk at any time during the orchestra's playing, resulting in the overlapping correction as they gradually draw to a halt. These asymmetrical "speakers' rights" are also discussed in an earlier paper (Weeks, 1985), where he draws similarities between corrections made by teachers in reading lessons and by conductors in orchestra rehearsals. This paper (Weeks, 1985) also discusses the lack of preference for self-correction found in music rehearsals in comparison to conversation; a phenomenon also seen in the data in the current study.

A second paper that studies rehearsals – and the only CA paper to examine a choir – is Merlino (2014). This study explores the way pronunciation is corrected when singing in a foreign language in a choral rehearsal. One of the key findings is the clear orientation of choir members to the correction of pronunciation, and the way that they play a large role in the correction itself – they may identify the issue and/or correct it, and members will frequently produce repetitions of the word or phrase once it has been corrected. This repetition displays the singers' overall orientation to singing in the right way, and in the same way as each other. In addition, the correct sequences may be initiated during either the choir's singing or the conductor's instructional turn.

2.4.1.4. Music and accountability

These final CA studies focus on the occurrence of singing in (otherwise non-musical) conversation. One way in which this is explored is in relation to the idea of roles in conversation and their accountability (e.g. Goffman, 1981). This topic will also become relevant during the current research, so a brief section will first clarify the main points of the argument, before moving into the discussion of singing in conversation.

2.4.1.4.1. Accountability and agency in interaction

In a conversation, an individual listening usually assumes that the person currently taking their turn is not only the one creating the sounds of speech, but also the person who created the message, and the one taking responsibility for what is being said. This is known as the *agent unity heuristic* (Enfield, 2011, p. 305). These three aspects of a communicative message are described by Goffman (1981), who proposed that there is (or can be) a difference between the *animator* of a message (the one physically creating it e.g. speaking), the *author* (the one who composed the message), and the *principal* (the one who takes responsibility for it).

The animator, Goffman suggests, is merely the "sounding box" or "talking machine" (p.144), and is a term that is useful for analysis when all that is being discussed is the physical act of communicating ('speaker', he adds, is a social role, and usually incorporates other things besides merely speaking). The author is the one who is behind either the sentiment or the words of the message, which may or may not be the same person as the animator (such as someone reading aloud from a book, or quoting a film). The principal refers to the person for whom the words create, maintain or commit to a certain position. This is usually heard through the talk as 'we' rather than 'I', where the person speaks on behalf of some form of organisation based on a role or identity – Goffman gives the example of 'changing hats' in a committee meeting. It is interesting to note that Goffman also mentions how a change in principal affects the recipients as well as the speaker – the speaker selects or creates "a corresponding reciprocal basis of identification" (p.145) for those he or she is addressing.

If a speaker wants to indicate that they are not the author or principal of a particular message, they usually index this in some way to the listeners, for example using prosody (e.g. Couper-Kuhlen, 1998). Similarly, Sidnell (2006) observes that reenactments tend to start with a quotative verb such as *goes*, *all*, *like*, and end with a return of the speaker's gaze to the listener(s).

Agency is important to both speakers and recipients, because the more agency a speaker has (being author, animator *and* principal, for example), the more they can be held accountable for the actions being performed by the talk, and therefore, the more responsibility they have (Kockelman, 2007). There are a variety of ways that people can increase or reduce the agency of their utterances. One option is increasing the temporal or spatial distance between one (or more) agents of the utterance and the interaction, such as by making it clear that you are reporting on behalf of a larger group (the principal), the rest of whom are not present, or by quoting another's words, so that the author is removed from the current interaction. Something very similar happens with idiomatic expressions (Drew & Holt, 1988) – by utilising another's authorship (or, more usually, anonymous words), the likelihood of dispreferred occurrences is reduced through a reduction in agency.

A distinct, but related, point to discuss here is the idea of lamination (Goffman, 1974). Lamination reflects the different frames of a social interaction that may be present, and can be superimposed on top of each other. Frames, Goffman explains, are the internalised, socially-defined principles by which we organise events. For example, second language learners may act within, and switch between, two different frames (Hancock, 1997) – 'on-record', which is task-oriented, and designed for potential listeners, and 'off-record', where meta-task or meta-language utterances are made (e.g. 'how do you say X?'). Moreover, the students' use of language varied with the frame within which they are acting.

Within music, the concept of lamination has been used in a variety of ways. For example, singer-songwriters may perform on various laminated levels, such as personal or artistic (Aldredge, 2013). Auslander (2006) addresses the different ways that musicians present their music – playing for personal pleasure, to practice, to demonstrate, or to perform, for example, can each be a frame, layered onto the primary frame of music-making itself. If that performance is then recorded, another lamination occurs, where listener and performer understand their relationship to the sound (i.e. that it is recorded, rather than live). A further context is explored by Reed (2017), who explores the layering of text and audio in the music-sharing site Soundcloud. Here, people listen to others' compositions while typing text comments. The next time the composition is played, the comments are positioned spatially and temporally within the 'sound cloud' when it is next listened to. This adds an additional layer of sense-making onto the original music.

2.4.1.4.2.   Singing in interaction

Moving on to singing in interaction, Frick (2013) considers the way in which singing and codeswitching between languages is used by participants in order to close expanded sequences. The data is drawn from videoed interaction of Finnish families and friends living in Estonia, and finds about twenty examples of singing (and two hundred of codeswitching) in the thirty hours of data. 'Sequence closing sequences' (Schegloff, 2007) are sequences that can be recognised as bringing a close to a previous expanded sequence, usually consisting of three turns:

- A turn that proposes the closure of the sequence, often showing the speaker's stance towards the previous topic and may involve assessments, jokes, or idiomatic or aphoristic formulations
- Some degree of compliance or resistance by the recipient(s) in the closure
- If the recipient(s) collaborated in the previous turn, the original speaker may give a final closing token, or begin a new topic. If the recipient(s) did not collaborate, the sequence closing sequence may be abandoned.

Frick (2013) demonstrates how singing can be used as the initial turn of this sequence closing sequence, by showing how it closes an interactional topic in a way that brings the participants together in consensus, and also allows them to distance themselves from "the serious context of dispreferred actions" (p.250). The songs are recontextualised (taken from their original context, such as a Christmas song or national anthem), and used by someone who is not the author. Nor is it obvious who the author is (as with sayings, see Drew & Holt, 1998).

Stevanovic and Frick (2014) then build on this by considering the communicative actions that singing can accomplish in everyday conversations. Starting from empirical research that suggests that singing can be intentionally communicative (e.g. Frick, 2013; Weeks, 1996a), they draw on the model of cooperative communication by Tomasello (2008), who suggests that all human communicative actions can be accounted for by three motives: requesting, informing and sharing. They also discuss aspects of agency and accountability in interaction, including the work by Goffman (1981) on the different aspects of speaking (animator and author).

The paper proposes that sung utterances are interpreted using an *agent discontinuity heuristic* (cf. agent unitary heuristic, Enfield, 2011) – that is, that singing can distance the person animating the utterance from the message itself by sharing the agency with others (such as the composer/creator of the song, and prior singers). Stevanovic and Frick

demonstrate how, because sung sequences tend to be pre-determined, other participants are able to join in, which allows them to share the accountability for the utterances. This sharing, and particularly sharing of an emotional stance through joint song, allows participants to avoid dealing with asymmetries in other aspects of interaction – such as epistemics – which could create issues in normal conversation.

Stevanovic and Frick then consider singing by a music teacher in an instrumental lesson, where they show how singing can also be used to inform – the teacher sings the letter name of the upcoming note to the appropriate pitch and length. However, they suggest that it is unlikely that the sung utterance would be as effective without a verbal description, pointing out that Weeks (1996a) also found that 'illustrative expressions', which include singing, need to be described verbally in order to be fully understood. They suggest that while prosody, rhythm and speed can be used to direct a listener to the most relevant parts of a spoken utterance, it is much more difficult to do that in song, meaning that singing usually supplements information that has already been stated.

The perpetual asymmetries in conversation (considered in section 2.3.3.4) are also discussed. An asymmetry is unavoidable, and usually necessary, for the actions of requesting or informing (one participant has something the other wants or needs); however Heritage (2011) shows how similar asymmetries can create issues when sharing emotional stances. Singing (because of the reduction in agency and accountability) can help to balance out the asymmetries, making emotional stance sharing easier, but potentially creating difficulties if used for requesting or informing. For example, Stevanovic and Frick give an example (p.9) where an instrumental teacher's sung 'laa' both informs the child of how to sing the piece (what 'lyrics' to use) but also requests that she begin singing with her at that moment. The authors point out that singing "lacks a way to indicate the obligatoriness of such joint activity" (p.11), and that the teacher increases her agency through other means – verbal instructions, gaze, and pointing (for joint attention and making visible her engagement with the written music). In their final extract (p.12), the authors show how singing, and its associated reduction in agency, can help the singer to give advice and/or a proposal in a way that does not threaten the recipient's face (Stevanovic, 2013) and avoids them having to account for doing so.

2.4.2. Other embodied contexts

This final section briefly summarises other studies of instruction, feedback and behaviour change in the embodied situations of dance and sport. There are only a limited number of

studies that have examined interactions in music rehearsals, so it is relevant to also consider studies where the participants are working towards a similar aim (i.e. improvement in an embodied activity through expert instruction), despite the different domain.

Studies by Keevallik have focused on the way embodied interaction occurs in dance lessons. For example, she shows that bodily-vocal demonstrations may occur as turn-constructional units (TCU) by themselves, or if part of a verbal TCU, are temporally organised to demonstrate that (Keevallik, 2014). The TCUs containing (or made up of) a bodily-vocal demonstration may then be re-completed verbally. Keevallik (2010) identified patterns similar to the contrast pair observed by Weeks, where bodily quotes may use exaggeration, decomposition and highlighting to create contrast between correct and incorrect demonstrations. Whether a bodily quote was used, or a verbal one, varied depending on the activity the participants were engaged in, similar to the directives identified by Stevanovic and Kuusisto (2018). Broth and Keevallik (2014) focused on how students responded to embedded directives in instructions (verbal or embodied) from Lindy Hop teachers. They identify a variety of features such as count-ins and structuring instructions ('from position X') that result in embodied responses from the students (getting ready to dance).

In sports coaching, a couple of studies become relevant. Firstly, Okada has examined interactions in sparring sessions between boxers and their coaches. Okada (2013) describes the way both participants use multimodal resources, and particularly the way various parts of one person's body are organised, to interpret the other's actions. Monitoring the other participant during a turn is a large part of the way this interaction is created. For example, Okada describes the way the coach uses one hand to signal to the boxer that something is wrong with the way he is working, but by keeping her left hand (the target) raised, indicates that he should continue with the exercise, while implementing a change.

A later study (Okada, 2018) focuses on the imperative utterances used within the boxing sessions. The data show the way in which imperatives that are given *before* the targeted action would occur act as directives that require immediate compliance. However, when the imperative occurs concurrently *with*, or *after* the action has already been performed, it has a different function. Instead it provides instructions and rules for when the particular boxing action should be used, by relating it to the current circumstances.

Evans and Reynolds (2016) examine the interaction taking place in the settings of basketball and powerlifting. They observe the overall orientation towards teaching and learning the

right method to accomplish an action within the sport, and the way that demonstrations intended to correct behaviour become part of that. Three phases are identified. Firstly, gaze and body arrangements are reconfigured to orient to the correction demonstration. In basketball, for example, the coach attracts the attention of the players (through talk and whistle-blowing) and positions himself within the court, giving himself "embodied access to relevant bits of the field of action" (p.11). The second phase is demonstrating the error, where being able to see the error is considered important in order to accurately understand the problem that occurred previously. This may be through embodied quotation (e.g. exaggerated re-enactment), or through using video of the previous activity to highlight the error. The third phase is then to provide a solution. Evans and Reynolds reference Weeks' (1996) contrast pair as a description of the way the error is first identified and then corrected. The error correction in the data is once again performed through embodied enactments by the coach (or the coach re-positioning basketball players correctly), usually accompanied by verbal description.

2.5. The current project

Analysis of talk and interaction in musical contexts is relatively lacking – particularly within ensemble and choir rehearsals – although new papers within the last few years suggest a growing interest. Sambre & Feyaerts (2017), support this position, arguing that the role of language and the way it is used to generate agreement and understanding on how the music should be performed is not something that has really been analysed systematically. The field of music has a much wider collection of research on rehearsals and feedback, however, as discussed earlier, tends to ask different questions, focusing on best practice or understanding small, isolated elements of conducting through manipulation. Therefore this research will add considerably to both the domain of music and rehearsing, and also to the CA literature exploring embodied interaction in music environments.

The overall aim of the study is to explore the 'unique fingerprint' of the choir rehearsal as a social activity and the interaction that is part of it. In particularly, there will be a focus on how turn-taking is performed in rehearsals, and how the music is 'shaped' by the conductor as part of the rehearsal process – that is, how change and improvement is effected through interaction. In addition, the way that conductors communicate about music will be considered. Conveying the conductor's vision or interpretation of the music to the choir is an important element of their role (e.g. Brunner, 1996), so the methods used to achieve this are of interest.

3. Methods

3.1. Overview

The method of data collection was video observation of eight choir rehearsals, followed by an interview with each of the nine conductors (two conductors shared one of the rehearsals). There were two separate stages to the data collection: phase 1 (five conductors; choirs A-D) and phase 2 (four conductors; choirs E-H). In phase 1, one rehearsal was videoed with conductors who were students or less experienced; in phase 2 more experienced or professional conductors were recruited. This was to gain a wide range of data across conductors. Phase 2 also aimed to record two rehearsals rather than one, although this was only possible for three of the four choirs, due to a change in scheduling for Choir F. Phase 1 was originally intended as a pilot to test the practicalities of the data collection (the best places to position cameras in order to capture the rehearsals, for example), and develop the interviews, to ensure that the questions elicited the types of information desired. However since the method proved sound, and the pilot data collected was interesting and informative in its own right, it was decided that it would be more beneficial to treat it as a primary stage, rather than a pilot.

Video-recorded rehearsals were used, as conversation analysis requires naturally-occurring data (as discussed in section 2.3.2). The interviews were included for two reasons: firstly as a secondary method of gaining information about rehearsals, gesture and talk and the relationship between them, and secondly as a way of validating the rehearsal analysis by gaining the conductors' understanding and opinions about their own rehearsals. However, post-data collection, it was decided that within the scope of the thesis, it would be better to restrict the project to only use the interactional analysis. The interviews provided some fascinating data, and will occasionally be used to illustrate points in the thesis, but no formal analysis was carried out. This will be completed at a later date in the future for a separate publication.

3.2. Data collection

To collect data for this project, choir rehearsals were video-recorded, as described in detail below. This was naturally-occurring data, in the sense that all the rehearsals would have happened regardless of the researcher's presence, as each choir was in the process of preparing for their own performance. As discussed in the previous chapter, this allows the

data to be analysed and understood within the context of its normal, locally-organised interactional setting.

However, all the participants were, of course, aware that they were being recorded, so there is the potential that this affected how 'natural' the data was (Lebov, in ten Have). In order to try and counteract this, the cameras were set up prior to the rehearsal, and left to record the proceedings with as little interference from the researcher as possible, in order to avoid drawing attention to them. On some occasions it was necessary to adjust the cameras slightly, particularly at the beginning of the rehearsals, if the conductors had shifted from where they originally set up their music stand, for example. During two rehearsals (E1_3 and C_2), the choir moved and repositioned themselves entirely, requiring a swift moving around of the equipment. In addition, all the first rehearsals except one (B) included some form of introduction to me (present during all rehearsals) and/or the research project, which highlighted the recording of the rehearsal.

The participants' awareness of the recording was particularly evident when a few of the conductors, who had one camera facing him or her directly, commented when they first saw its positioning (e.g. "it's discreet for you, it's not discreet for me!", C_1; "…thing stuck up my nose, I shall have to behave this morning", G1_1). Others commented on the project itself ("I have no idea what it's going to end up like but that's part of the fun I spose", F_1; "we're being recorded so for God's sake don't act normal", H1_1). Nevertheless, the recording was rarely mentioned once the rehearsal had begun. The few times that the equipment or the researcher were referred to during the rehearsal were when something out of the ordinary happened, such as a reprimanding of the choir ("I'm really sorry Kathryn that this is coming out um but maybe this is all part of your PhD", G2_4), or the choir moving into a different position for singing ("please be careful of the cables", C_2) or to stand on top of a heating vent in a very cold church! ("You can write a whole paragraph on temperature control for choir", E1_3).

Other than these occasions, very little notice was given to the project or equipment, with the conductor's focus appearing to be firmly on the rehearsal. Several conductors looked at the clock and/or referred to timing while rehearsing, and with most only days or weeks away from their performances, it seems unlikely that they would waste time changing their usual conducting methods. From a participant-observer point of view, I can confirm that rehearsals A and B, in which I partook (as accompanist and singer respectively), did not appear any

different to previous ones, and that for me personally, once the work began, awareness of the cameras rapidly faded.

3.2.1. Participants

The eight choirs were labelled from A to H. Conductors were given pseudonyms where the first letter reflected the letter allocated to their choir. During the thesis, a letter immediately following the choir's identifying letter refers to the rehearsal recorded (for E, G and H, where two were videoed), and another number after an underscore denotes the section of transcription. For example, B_3 refers to the third part of rehearsal B, and G1_2 refers to the second part of the first rehearsal recorded for choir G. Further numbers following this (e.g. G1_2, 67-68) refer to line numbers from the transcript.

The rest of this section will briefly introduce each choir and conductor in the study.

3.2.1.1.   *Choir A*

Choir A is a small (around 16) amateur workplace-based choir in the Midlands who meet at lunch times once or twice a week. The rehearsal that was recorded was a morning rehearsal in their normal practice room. It took place on the day that the choir were competing in a competition for similar workplace choirs that evening, which they went on to win. The music they are rehearsing is *Shall we go Dance?* by Charles Villiers Stanford, *I will Sing with the Spirit* by John Rutter, and *Let's Face the Music and Dance* by Irving Berlin.

Conductor A ('Arthur') is a male conductor who had just completed a two-year master's course in choral conducting, with four years of conducting experience with choirs before that. He has some keyboard skills and is also a singer, singing professionally in addition to conducting. He had been working with the choir for six months prior to the video, rehearsing them for one hour, one lunchtime a week. Other people who are heard talking to choir A in the data include myself, as I was accompanying the choir, and one of the sopranos in the choir. The soprano has some musical experience, led the rehearsals before conductor A joined them, and takes the choir for extra rehearsals during the week.

3.2.1.2.   *Choir B*

Choir B is a small-medium (around 25) auditioned university chamber choir in the north of England, who rehearse for two hours once a week. The rehearsal that was recorded is an additional weekend afternoon rehearsal, two days before a concert. The music the choir are rehearsing is *Requiem* by Herbert Howells and *Requiem* by Maurice Duruflé. I am a member of this choir.

Conductor B ('Ben') has been working with the choir for three years and also directs a local church choir. He is a singer and an organist, and does both of these professionally. He has conducting lessons, and also teaches a conducting module at the university.

3.2.1.3.   Choir C

Choir C is a medium (around 35) choral society for parents of children who attend a public school in the Midlands, who rehearse for two hours one evening a week. The rehearsal took place four days before they would be performing in a service at the local cathedral with the cathedral choir. The music they are rehearsing is *When Came in Flesh the Incarnate Word* by Henry Purcell, *Creator of the Stars of Night* by Malcolm Archer, *Psalm 43* by Stuart Beer, *And the Glory of the Lord* from the *Messiah* by George Friedrich Handel, *E'en so Lord Jesus Quickly Come* by Paul Manz, and *Hail, Gladdening Light* by Charles Wood.

Conductor C ('Christopher') is head of music in the school, and has been conducting the choir for six years. He started leading rehearsals (under the director of music) in his parish church when his voice broke, having been a chorister there. Later, he took two modules of conducting as part of his degree and also sang semi-professionally while he was teaching music.

3.2.1.4.   Choir D

Choir D is a small-medium (around 25) non-auditioned choir at a music conservatoire that is put together to give postgraduate choral conducting students practice at leading and conducting a choir, rehearsing for two hours, once a week. The members are a mix of singers and instrumentalists. At this point in the course there were two students, so each conductor led an hour of the rehearsal each. The rehearsal was three weeks prior to their next concert.

Conductor D1 ('Danielle') is a female student who is in the third year of the course part-time. She came to conducting by virtue of playing the organ and being an organ scholar at university, and initially, in her words "learnt by being thrown in at the deep end" (Int_D1_1). She has conducted an amateur community choir for several years, and prior to beginning her current course had had four conducting lessons as part of a module in choral education. She recently started conducting an upper-voices chamber choir. Her part of the rehearsal focuses on *Nachtwacher 1* by Johannes Brahms and *O Nata Lux* by Thomas Tallis.

Conductor D2 ('Dylan') is a male first-year student (full time) who has had private conducting lessons for two years prior to beginning his master's a few years ago. He completed his

undergraduate degree as a first study pianist, also at the conservatoire. He rehearses *Nisi Dominus* by George Friedrich Handel and *Lobet den Herrn* by Johann Sebastian Bach.

3.2.1.5.   Choir E

Choir E is a small-medium (around 25) London-based chamber choir. They have recorded albums and often commission new choral works to premiere. They usually rehearse for two hours, one evening a week. They were rehearsing for a concert in two months (after the first rehearsal), but also for an upcoming recording. The two recorded rehearsals are two weeks apart. The music they are rehearsing is *Tablet of your heart*, *99 Words to my Darling Children* (words by John Tavener) and *Heav'nly Harmony* by Roxanna Panufnik, and *Svyati*, *Look in Thy Glass* and *Maha Maya* by John Tavener

Conductor E ('Emma') is a female professional choral conductor. She is very experienced and acclaimed in the field, and has studied conducting and choral training in a variety of different countries. She has worked with several different types of choral groups (e.g. children, uninitiated adults as well as the semi-professional style of choir seen here). She founded this particular chamber choir several years ago, conducts and runs several other music ensembles and initiatives across the UK, and conducts concerts worldwide.

3.2.1.6.   Choir F

Choir F is a large (over 100 singers), long-standing, auditioned, amateur choral society associated with one of the main London orchestras. They regularly record albums, commission new works, and work with the top conductors in the world. The choir rehearse twice a week, for two and a half hours. Due to changes in their schedule, only one rehearsal was able to be recorded for this choir. The music being rehearsed here is *Symphony No.8* by Gustav Mahler, for a concert in six weeks' time.

Conductor F ('Flynn') was the associate chorus director for this choir at the time of recording. He did a little conducting during his early music career, and a short-term position covering a conductor encouraged him to begin receiving training through the Association of British Choral Directors (ABCD). He later completed a master's in choral conducting, while also having orchestral conducting lessons, and is now an experienced professional choral conductor who works with several large choirs across the UK, as well as teaching and running conducting workshops.

3.2.1.7.　Choir G

Choir G is a small-medium (around 30), auditioned, music conservatoire chamber choir. They have recorded several albums and members regularly go on to sing with professional chamber choirs. The two recorded rehearsals are two weeks apart, with the concert they are preparing for one month after the second recording. They rehearse for two hours once a week, and are rehearsing Antonín Dvořák's *Mass in D*, *Remember O thou Man* and *Lullaby Baby* by Richard Rodney Bennett, and *Set Me as a Seal* and *The Twelve* by William Walton.

Conductor G ('George') is an experienced professional choral conductor who teaches choral conducting at the conservatoire, among other places, and conducts acclaimed choirs across the UK. He has founded several choirs and choral opportunities, and conducted many recordings. He originally trained as an organist and was one of the first to begin teaching choral conducting as a further education course in the UK.

3.2.1.8.　Choir H

Choir H is a small (around 16), auditioned, university chamber choir, who rehearse once a week for 1.5 hours. Two rehearsals were recorded, two weeks apart, for an upcoming concert ten days after the second rehearsal. They are rehearsing a range of music over the two rehearsals: William Byrd's *Mass for Four Voices*, *Little Tree* by Judith Weir, *Weep O Mine Eyes* by John Bennet, *The Silver Swan* by Orlando Gibbons, *Otche Nash* by Nikolay Kedrov Sr., *Pater Noster* by Igor Stravinsky, *We Praise Thee* (from *Vespers: All Night Vigil*) by Sergei Rachmaninoff, and *To Thee we Sing* (from *9 Sacred Pieces*) by Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky

Conductor H ('Henry'), the university Director of Music, is an experienced conductor in both instrumental and choral settings. He trained originally as a professional instrumentalist, and had his first experience of conducting at university before receiving formal postgraduate conducting training. He has since worked with several large ensembles across the UK and further afield and has many years' experience conducting ensembles in universities.

3.2.2. Equipment

In order to record the choir rehearsals, three Panasonic HC-V10 video cameras were used with tripods (see Figure 3.1). Camera 1 was set up in front of the choir, focusing on the conductor, to a height that would effectively capture their head and torso, without blocking the choir's view. Camera 2 was set slightly to one side of the conductor facing the choir, and as far back as was needed (or possible) to have all the singers in shot. Camera 3 was set up further back and to one side, and captured a view of the whole scene (as much as possible,

within the limits of the room), including both choir and conductor. This was to ensure that I could match the other two videos exactly. For choirs B, E, F and one choir G rehearsal Camera 3 was in the on the left of the choir rather than the right, due to the positioning of the piano on the right.

Camera 1
Camera 2
Camera 3
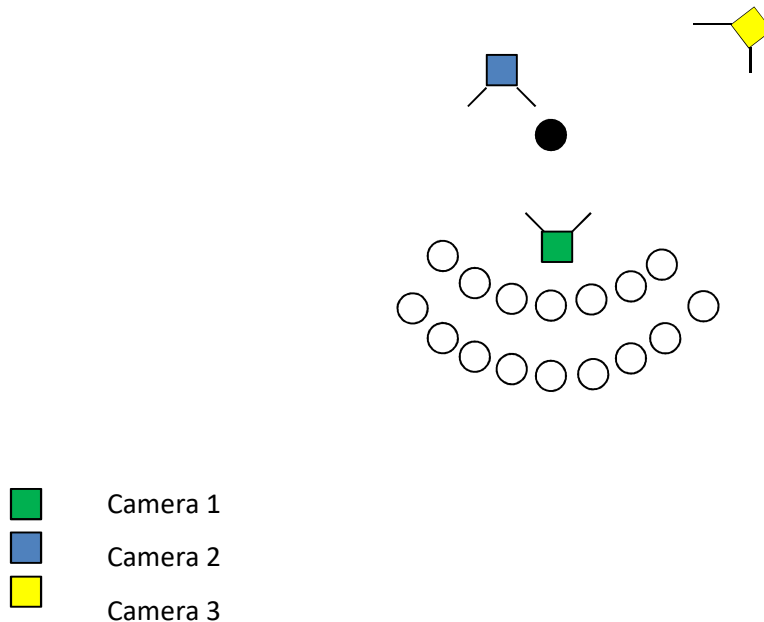
Figure 3.1. The general planned layout for recording the choir rehearsals. The black circle represents the conductor, and the white circles are the approximate position of the choir.

For the interviews, two cameras were used; camera 1 faced straight on to the conductor and interviewer, and camera 2 was slightly to one side so that it faced the conductor when he or she turned towards the interviewer. For some interviews, due to space (small offices or practice rooms), only one camera was used.

The video data was analysed using ELAN software (Computer software, 2015), an open-source video software from Max Planck Centre (Wittenburg, Brugman, Russel, Klassmann, & Sloetjes, 2006). This software allows the user to play two videos side by side at the same time, so two different camera angles (e.g. of the conductor and of the choir) could be viewed at the same time. The software also allows the user to slow the videos down and create coded selections on different tiers.

3.2.3. Procedure

3.2.3.1. Ethics

Ethics was gained for this project from the Human Communication Sciences department of the University of Sheffield. The main concern for the study was making sure that consent was

gained from all the singers in the choirs, as well as the conductor, without disrupting the rehearsals by handing out and gathering in lots of pieces of paper. Therefore an 'opt-out' method was used. The information sheets were distributed to the choirs either by email or as hard copies two weeks before the first rehearsal that would be recorded, so that participants had time to read through them beforehand, and contact the researcher if they wished not to take part. If they were happy to participate, no action was necessary. Where possible, the researcher also attended a rehearsal in advance so that participants could speak to her if they wished. If this was not possible, an email introduction was sent to be read or sent to choir members.

Consent forms were also distributed in advance, but hard copies of both form and information sheet were available on the day of recording. As well as giving participants the option not to take part, the consent forms gave participants the opportunity to ask the researcher to disguise their face in video clips or stills. There were several options for this:

1) In video clips or stills used in the PhD thesis
2) In video clips or stills in publications
3) In video clips or stills in research presentations
4) In video clips or stills used for teaching purposes
5) In all versions of the film (i.e. participants agreed to be recorded, but asked to be disguised before analysis, throughout the PhD and in any other or future use of the film)

Conductors were also given the first four options, but not the fifth. Participants could request any of the options without giving a reason. One choir member requested that they be disguised in publications only. Two choir members (of the same choir) did not want to be filmed at all, but were content for the video to be positioned so that they were off-screen. Given the size of the choir and positioning of those participants, this was able to be accommodated. The information sheets, consent forms and ethics approval for this project can be seen in appendices B and C.

3.2.3.2.   *Rehearsal*

Nine conductors were approached via email to take part in the pilot study and asked if they (and therefore their choir) would be interested in assisting with the research. Two were from choirs in which I was either the accompanist or a singing member. Four were approached through personal contacts, and three recommended by other professionals in the music world. One of these was recommended by a professional conductor who had been

approached but unable to take part due to availability of time. Five other conductors were also approached but unable to participate. No reward was offered to any of the participants, but conductors were offered a copy of their own rehearsal video, and one took up this offer.

When approaching the conductors, the time required (one or two rehearsals, and a later interview) was explained, and that these would be videoed. If the conductors said that they were interested, they were given the conductor's information sheet and consent form, a rehearsal date for the recording was agreed upon and the choir were given or emailed copies of the choir members' information sheet and consent forms.

Cameras were set up as described above, and recorded the whole rehearsal with as little interference from the researcher as possible – as mentioned above, they were occasionally moved during rehearsals if the positioning of the choir or conductor changed. In four of the choirs (A, E, F and G), I was asked to introduce myself and the project at the start of the rehearsal. In all rehearsals, I was available for questions before, during and after the rehearsals.

3.2.3.3. *Interview*

Following the rehearsal, the videos were viewed, and then an interview set up with each conductor. The interview was also videoed, and lasted approximately one hour. The interviews were semi-structured, as this was perceived to be the best method for ensuring that enough relevant data was procured, but also allowed the conversations to flow naturally and trains of thought (of both conductor and interviewer) to be followed. An interview schedule was prepared (see Appendix D) for each interview, but the conductors were encouraged to talk as much as they wanted, and the schedule was not strictly kept to, if it became clear that the conductor had begun addressing a different question. Equally, if the interviewer thought that something the conductor had mentioned was particularly interesting, they were able to question or prompt them to expand on that topic in more depth.

First, a short spiel was read out by the interviewer, reassuring the conductor that there were no right or wrong answers, and that the interview was interested in their own opinions and personal experiences. They were then asked to confirm that they were happy for the interview to be videoed. The interview itself covered four main sections.

First a background section asked the conductor to explain a little about their musical background, particularly as a conductor. This was to gain information about how much

experience each participant had in conducting, and what that experience was (whether they had had lessons, qualifications or had learnt 'on the job', for example). They were also asked about other musical abilities they had, particularly whether they were a singer, and their experience of singing and playing in ensembles themselves.

The second section related to rehearsing and performing as a conductor. Participants were asked questions regarding what they felt was most rewarding about being a conductor, what they thought made a 'good' or 'rewarding' and a 'bad' rehearsal or performance, and about the impact of an audience on a performance. The questions regarding 'good' or 'bad' rehearsals/performances were prompted by a paper by Roulston (2001), who asked similar questions of music teachers. Participants were also asked what they thought was the best piece of advice they would give to someone who wanted to be a good choral conductor, to explore what they felt were important or useful skills.

The third section of the interview focused more on the music itself. Conductors had been asked in advance of the interview to consider what they felt the best or most enjoyable piece they had ever conducted was, and also a piece they had never conducted, but would like to in the future. They were asked to explain why they felt that way about those pieces, to see what made particular pieces important or memorable to conductors. In the second part of this section, the conductor was given a copy of the music that they had rehearsed during the videoed rehearsal, and asked to talk a bit about a section chosen in advance by the interviewer, such as what they were trying to achieve in that section, and whether there were any difficulties in rehearsing it. The section chosen was usually a part that had had interesting gesture or talk about it in the rehearsal video data, or had something unusual in the music.

The final set of questions considered more specifically the conductors' gestures. They were first asked their opinion on the use of gesture versus talk during rehearsals, and whether they felt that there were some things that could be better, or only, expressed through one mode or the other, and then asked to demonstrate and explain a few of the gestures that they regularly used while conducting. They were also asked whether they consciously thought and decided which gestures to use, or whether there were some that were more instinctive or unconscious, and whether they ever found that choirs did not understand or misunderstood certain gestures.

The interviewer then used a laptop to play a few short video clips from the conductor's rehearsal, and asked them to describe what was happening in the video, such as what they wanted the choir to get from the gestures during the clip, and what they were aiming to achieve through using them. Conductors were able to play the video more than once, and scroll through it to pick out certain moments.

Finally, the conductor was asked if there was anything else they wished to talk about, or felt was important that had not been mentioned and were thanked for their time.

Different conductors had different amounts to say on each topic, and it was not always possible to cover all questions in the time available.

3.3.   Data selection and transcription

The rehearsals were transcribed using the established Conversation Analysis system (Jefferson, 2004b; Sidnell & Stivers, 2012), but with some adaptations. The symbols and notations used can be seen in full in Appendix A. The main adaptation is the way that singing was represented in the transcripts. Bold font was used to quickly and unobtrusively indicate that the denoted 'speaker(s)' at the time were singing. Conductor (C), choir (Ch), accompanist (Acc), choir sections soprano/alto/tenor/bass (ChS/A/T/B) and individual choir member/s (I/Is) are the main codes used within the transcripts. Where more than one rehearsal was recorded for a choir, only the first was transcribed fully, but the second ones were watched through at a later stage for examples of particular phenomena (such as introductions to pieces).

Multimodality was a large feature in this research; therefore transcribing it was something that needed to be considered, since it can be difficult to put body language, such as facial expressions, movements or hand shapes, accurately or coherently into a descriptive gloss. Frequently, these are included in the traditional manner using italicised descriptions with square brackets to show overlap timing. However, when it was thought to enhance the clarity of the transcript, still images from the videos were used to display the non-verbal aspects of the interaction. Usually, these are shown in a vertical column to the right of the transcript, where they match temporally with the verbal elements to their left. If more than one image relates to a single verbal line, a bracket is used to indicate this. At other times, images are produced as stand-alone figures, or sequences of figures, that are linked to the relevant part of the interaction by referring to transcript line numbers (similar to those seen in Sambre & Feyaerts, 2017, for example). Images are selected to highlight specific moments of non-verbal

communication, or show the trajectory of an overall movement, rather than using stills from regular time intervals (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011). Finally, extracts of musical notation are also occasionally used, as in work by Weeks (1996b) and Stevanovic and Frick (2014).

The reason for the variety in presentation of non-verbal data is a focus on the 'salience' (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011) of the transcript in question. For example, whether it is the temporal link between the concurrent singing and conductor's gesture, or a demonstration of how a particular facial expression is produced in the course of a particular section of talk, will affect the way it is most effectively presented as evidence.

3.4. Analysis

In the analysis stage, transcripts and videos of the rehearsals were examined together in an unmotivated way to look for patterns within the data. Collections were made based on the noticings of a variety of phenomena, including the turn-taking pattern, greetings, feedback sequences including timing of occurrences, the use of assessments, and different types of directives, humour, choir talk and use of verbal description and multimodal depiction. The analysis revealed a particular turn-taking structure – which will be explored in detail over the course of the thesis – of 'introduction of the piece' followed by a recurring pattern of the choir's sung turn and the conductor's feedback turn. As this pattern appeared to be fundamental to organisation of the rehearsal, it was used to structure the analysis as a whole, and the structure of thesis is also based around it.

Extracts used in the thesis are numbered using the chapter number and sequential placement in that chapter (e.g. 'Extract 5.6' would be the sixth extract in the fifth chapter). Each extract also has a title that uses a prominent phrase from the transcript (e.g. 'subdivide the upbeat'), and is followed by an identification code (choir, rehearsal number if applicable, and transcript part e.g. B_1) and the start and end of the extract in the video recording (e.g. 24:55-25:34).

The descriptions of conductors and choirs given above indicate some of the differences between them in terms of experience and expertise. Although this is likely to play a role in the way the rehearsals are run (see the music literature in the previous chapter for examples), it was decided not to focus on these differences in the analysis. This allows a focus on the similarities in how the social event of a 'choir rehearsal' is organised across different participants, rather than an exploration of the individual differences between a small number of conductors (although this may of course be a future avenue of research).

4. The rehearsal: Overall structural organisation and rehearsal beginnings

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will begin by giving a brief overview of the overall structural organisation of the choir rehearsals videoed in the study (section 4.2), particularly in terms of the turn-taking system observed.

The main part of the chapter will then look at the 'beginnings' in the choir rehearsals – places where a new episode is started (e.g. a new piece; more detail is given in Table 4.1 below). The rehearsal episodes considered are: transitioning to rehearsal business ('creating' the choir and starting the rehearsal proper; section 4.3), the warm up (section 4.4), and introducing a new piece (section 4.5). This final section includes talk that begins to 'shape' the future music of the choir. The term 'shaping' will be used to describe talk or non-verbal communication by the conductor where the aim is to in some way change the way that the choir sing a particular piece of music, as part of the rehearsal journey towards the eventual public performance.

Pseudonyms are used for the conductors, as described in the methods, and in the transcripts, 'Con' is used for conductor, 'Ch' for choir, 'Acc' for accompanist, and 'In'/'Ins' for individual choir member/s. See Appendix A for further transcription symbols. Still images accompany the transcripts where it is helpful for clarity.

4.2. Overall structural organisation of a choir rehearsal

To begin analysing the data, it is useful to first have an overview of the way that the choir rehearsals videoed in the study, as entire social events, were structured. Table 4.1 outlines the main sections and activities that were seen within the rehearsals (with the relevant analysis chapter numbers where they are discussed). Of course, all the conductors, choirs and rehearsals varied somewhat – some of the stages may be mixed together or take place in a slightly different order – but the basic outline is representative of all the rehearsals in the data.

Table 4.1. Overview of the rehearsal structure

Before the rehearsal (or during a break)	Before a rehearsal starts, the scene is similar to any coming together of a group of people for an organised social activity – individuals arrive, greet each other, catch up with friends and get comfortable. There may be some decision-making about seating arrangements, which may include questions to the conductor. Choir members get their belongings out – music scores, water, pencil, or may ask the conductor if he or she has copies of music they are missing. The conductor arranges their own resources (music, music stand, podium etc), and may liaise with the accompanist, greet particular individuals, ask about absent members, and answer questions. Some of these features (individual conversations, moving around etc) also occur during the break in a rehearsal.
Transition to rehearsal business **(Chapter 4)**	At the point the conductor decides to begin the rehearsal (or resume after a break), they will get the choir's attention verbally (e.g. through a greeting addressed to everyone) and/or non-verbally (e.g. moving to the front-centre of the room). This signals that the rehearsal is about to start and partitions the singers from a group of individuals into one party ('the choir').
Beginning of the rehearsal	The beginning of the rehearsal may include introductions, practicalities (e.g. absences, practical details about future rehearsals or performances), and an outline of the current rehearsal. However, since this is less relevant to creating the music, it will not be included in the analysis.
Warm up **(Chapter 4)**	Every rehearsal in the dataset includes a physical and/or vocal warm up at the start, although the length and detail involved may vary. The warm up may swap or intermingle with the beginning of the rehearsal section above (e.g. asking about absences while stretching).
Introducing the piece **(Chapters 4 and 7)**	The conductor will name the piece to be rehearsed (plus location, if not the beginning; singers, if not everyone, etc.) and leave a pause for the choir to find their music. They may give specific instructions

	or information relating to the piece, or a focus or foci for the current rehearsal/piece (Chapter 4). Depiction may be used in order to achieve this (Chapter 7).
Starting the music **(Chapter 5)**	A starting note is given, and the conductor will verbally (e.g. counting in) and/or gesturally (beating) begin the music. This may include an introduction played by the accompanist.
The choir's turn – Co-constructing the music **(Chapter 5)**	The choir sing the section of music proposed by the conductor. The choir and conductor co-construct the music between them by constantly monitoring and responding to what the other is doing through singing (choir) or gesture (including body language, facial expression etc.) and occasional talk (conductor).
The conductor's feedback turn **(Chapters 6 and 7)**	The conductor gives feedback to the choir by assessing (positively and negatively) the singing during their turn and directing them in what to change in the future to improve (Chapter 6). Conductors use a variety of modes and modalities while giving feedback, particularly using a lot of depiction e.g. singing, gestures, facial expressions (Chapter 7). The conductor then restarts the choir's turn, usually in order to have another attempt at something that was negatively assessed.

The structure outlined above displays the way the rehearsal moves through an opening phase, an introductory turn, and then a repeating two-turn sequence. The early aspects of the rehearsal (up to and including the warm up), occur only once at the beginning of the rehearsal (or possibly twice, i.e. also after a break). The introductory turn, which may include inserted talk about how to perform the sung turn, follows. How often this occurs will depend on how many different pieces are being practised in the rehearsal (indeed, Choir F only rehearse one, large piece, so this introduction *only* occurs at the very beginning of the rehearsal). Following that is the 'choir's' turn (analysed in Chapter 5); so-called because it is the sung section of the rehearsal, although the conductor is still interacting with the choir throughout this turn. Finally, the conductor's feedback turn (covered mainly in chapter 6) is where the conductor assesses what occurred in the choir's sung turn and directs what should happen next. These last two turns are then repeated one after another recurrently: another

sung turn is produced by the choir in response to the conductor's direction, which then progresses to another feedback turn, which leads to the next sung turn, and so on. Eventually, when the conductor is satisfied with the piece (for the current rehearsal), he or she will introduce a new piece.

Consequently, the majority of the rehearsal consists of the cycle of the choir singing and the conductor giving feedback. This chapter will look at the opening phase and introductions that occur prior to this two-turn sequence.

4.2.1. Outline of the beginning of the rehearsal

There are three main occasions when conductors begin a new section of the rehearsal: starting a new rehearsal; resumption of a rehearsal after a break; and introducing a new piece within the rehearsal (which constitutes the introductory turn, as described above). Each of these beginnings changes the previous activity in some way and launches a new episode. Between them, there are three aspects of interaction that will be examined in the coming chapter:

1) *Transition to rehearsal business* – found at the beginning of rehearsals and when resuming after a break – when the conductor's behaviour indicates a move from many participants behaving as individuals to two main 'parties' (conductor and choir). This section considers how the conductor and choir manage the transition from informal pre-rehearsal talk to the official business of rehearsing.

2) *Warm up* – usually only found at the beginning of rehearsals – where the orientation towards preparing the voice, rather than working on the music being prepared, leads to a different type of rehearsal interaction.

3) *Introducing the piece* – can potentially occur at any time(s) following the warm up – conductor talk that lets the choir know what music they will be singing next. It may be extended by including directives and advice for the coming sung turn, or assessments of when the piece was sung in previous rehearsals.

4.3. Transition to business

The first utterance spoken by the conductor to the choir as a whole is very often a greeting, as in the examples below, usually with a token such as *Okay* or *Right*, indicating the change in activity (e.g. Beach, 1993), or, as here, transition to the business at hand. This is typically preceded or accompanied by nonverbal indications of a shift towards the rehearsal start, including gaze, moving to the centre of the room, and using a louder tone of voice.

The greeting itself is more than a simple greeting that one would get at the beginning of a conversation. Firstly, it does not project a return greeting in the same way that the traditional adjacency pair in conversation would (Schegloff, 2007), although it may receive a response from some individual members of the choir (labelled as 'Ins' in the transcripts below). Secondly, it acts as a 'call to business' (Asmuß & Svennevig, 2009), alerting singers to the start of the rehearsal. Finally, conductors often use 'everyone' or 'everybody' as part of the greeting, and this addition gives it another implicit purpose as well – that of partitioning the participants in the interaction into two parties of 'choir' and 'conductor', and simultaneously uniting the singers into one whole group. 'Party' is a term that can mean a single person, but as pointed out by Schegloff (1995), may consist of multiple participants who interact as one (e.g. a couple co-telling a story). As will be seen throughout the thesis, for the majority of the rehearsal, all the singers are treated as one party within the interaction. For example, the conductor will address the choir as a group (or sometimes sections of a group e.g. tenors, sopranos), and rarely address singers individually. Choir members too, if they do speak, often tend to talk in the plural, using 'we'.

This first extract comes from the very beginning of a rehearsal. Prior to this extract, the conductor, Danielle, has been moving around giving out music, and choir members are taking their seats, finding their music and chatting in small groups. As the start of the rehearsal approaches, the conductor steps onto the podium in front of the choir, arranges her own music with gaze down, then steps back as she jokes with someone to one side. She then looks at the choir and drops her smile, steps forward, places both hands on the sides of the music stand, and addresses the choir with her greeting (line 2).

Extract 4.1. Happy new year and all of that (D1a, 00:19-00:36)

```
1    Ins   ((Individuals chatting)
2    Con   Oka:y morning everyone ((smiles))
3    Ins   Good morning
4    Con   It's nice to see you
5          Happy new year and all of that
6          (1.8)
7          Shall we stand up and get started
```

Danielle's greeting in line 2 is louder than her previous utterances to individuals had been, and clearly audible to the choir. She follows this with a smile to the choir, displaying a positive stance towards them (Pillet-Shore, 2012). A couple of singers respond (line 3), and as she continues with the niceties (lines 4-5), the individual conversations between choir members gradually die down. After a pause, she proposes beginning the rehearsal, raising both arms slightly off the music stand and then dropping them by her side. Another pause follows this as the choir members stand up, and she begins the warm up.

This example clearly shows the main features of a transition from pre-rehearsal activity (individual chatting, moving around, sorting music and so on) towards beginning the rehearsal business. The "okay morning everyone" (line 2) marks the change in activity and alerts the choir to the beginning of the rehearsal, as well as greeting the singers. The way that this utterance is framed by 'ready to start' behaviours – stepping onto the podium, and then forward towards the music stand, with clear gaze towards the choir complements the talk in signalling to the choir that the conductor is about to begin. The increased loudness of Danielle's voice at this point, compared to when talking to one individual a few seconds earlier, also shows that the greeting is designed for the whole choir. The explicitness of the greeting to "everyone" does the work of grouping the various individual singers into one interactional party – distinct from the conductor – and generally from this point on all utterances are understood to be addressed to the choir as a whole, unless the conductor signals otherwise, such as by using voice parts (e.g. 'sopranos') or names.

Extract 4.2 shows a similar, but more explicit, opening to the rehearsal.

Extract 4.2. Evening all (H2_1, 00:27-00:34)

```
1     Ins    ((Individuals chatting))
2     Con    ((clap))
3            'Kay (.) evening all
4            ⌈ let's get going
             ⌊((turns to look behind))
5            ⌈would you stand please
             ⌊((raises hands))
```

At the beginning of Extract 4.2, the conductor, Henry, has been at the front sorting his music and writing notes to himself on his music stand. The choir are chatting in small groups, sitting in their seats. He removes his glasses, looks up at the choir, stands up and claps to get their attention. As with the extract above, the movement into the 'conducting space' (here from bending to standing; in Extract 4.1 from back to front of the podium) immediately precedes a token ("'kay") to change the activity, and a greeting that includes a term – "all" – that groups the singers as one. Unlike the previous example, no singers respond to his greeting, and no space is obviously left for such a response, supporting the idea that the conductor's greeting in this context is not an adjacency pair as it would be at the start of a conversation. His next utterance, "let's get going" (line 4), actually spoken as he is turning to look behind him, makes explicit that which was implicit in the previous extract – that he wishes to begin the rehearsal now. Finally he requests the choir to stand while raising his arms – also marking that they are about to start singing (or warming up to sing). The choir, reacting to his initiation of the rehearsal, gradually stop talking and turn to look at him from when he claps in line 2 until they are standing ready to start at the end of line 5.

Extract 4.3 shows a similar greeting/transition sequence, but with some inserted talk from the conductor before starting.

Extract 4.3. Okay everybody (G2_1, 01:42-02:10)

```
30   Ins   ((Individuals chatting))
31   Con   Okay everybody (.) Good morning
32   In    ⌈(Morning)
33   Con   ⌊(Turns to look out door))
34         Right so we have a tenor section of
35         two which will rapidly become one
36         um: (.) a:nd
37         ⌈(3.3)
           ⌊((looking around at choir))
38         °actually a slightly bigger bass section than
39         I thought it might be°=
40   ChA?  °=Ronald's coming at half eleven=°
41   Con   =um right (.)°ok° (.)
42         let's stand up please
```

In this rehearsal, the conductor, George, has been talking with individual members about missing singers, and directing the front row as to how to arrange themselves ("can we move round please…otherwise Amanda is somewhere in a different building… you can move out again if you want to"). Just before line 31 he brings his gaze up to the whole choir, looking around, and steps forward to the music stand, shifts it slightly, then steps back again as he clears his throat. The eye gaze with the choir and stepping into the conductor space (even if he does step back out again) are reminiscent of the previous two examples. He gives a token and a greeting, but unlike in the previous extracts, here the 'grouping' word comes after the token, rather than the greeting. In this way "okay everybody" acts as a more official 'pulling together' of the group into a choir than the previous greeting+grouping, and also as a summons to the start of the rehearsal, leaving the "good morning" to act more purely as a greeting. Nevertheless, as in the first extract, only one singer appears to respond, arguing that a return greeting is not expected (he does not appear to be waiting for one in line 33, as he turns immediately to check the corridor for latecomers).

After George turns back to the music stand with another token ("right"), he gives some additional summary talk of the numbers of choir members present. This practical talk diminishes in dynamic level, with lines 38-39 in particular appearing to be said more to himself than to the choir. One member of the choir actually responds to his talk, commenting that one singer will be arriving late, but this appears to be either unheard (it is spoken relatively quietly) or ignored by the conductor. More tokens follow this, suggesting another move towards the rehearsal activity, with the "right" louder than the "ok". Finally, the conductor's proposal in line 42 is louder, once more addressed to the choir, and he moves backwards as the choir stand up. As in the previous extracts, the choir are chatting amongst themselves at the start of the example, and gradually quieten down as the conductor begins speaking in line 31 until the end of line 36. Although difficult to verify, it appears that after this the noise level among the choir actually then rises again slightly, perhaps responding to the way the conductor appears to be talking to himself in line 38 (and therefore not about to start). They do however respond quickly to his proposal to stand in line 42 (much quicker, for example, than when they were asked to move their chairs around prior to the start of the rehearsal), suggesting that they were still primed ready to begin the rehearsal.

One final extract will be considered in this section, from the beginning of another rehearsal with the same choir as Extract 4.3.

Extract 4.4. Right good morning everybody (G1_1, 02:01-03:38)

```
4     Con   Right good morning everybody
5           >Good morning good morning<
6           Erm (1.4) now this is er- this is Kathryn Emerson
7           (1.2) who as you remember is- is going to film you
8           Er Kathryn do you want to explain what
9           it is you're doing
...         ((Researcher describes project briefly))
11    Con   Nice to see you Kathryn (.) °good°
12          Kathryn's husband Daniel was er a master's
13          conducting student here few years' back
14           (1.1) the years pass quickly
15          Right good morning
16          Let's stand please
```

Before line 4 of this extract, George has been talking to individuals (about solos within the piece, absent members and so on), moving away from the central music stand to one side. The choir are talking amongst themselves as they take their seats and remove their coats etc. In this example the conductor begins his greeting as he moves back towards his conducting space, and raises his voice, making the greeting relevant to all, turning his gaze towards them as he starts to speak. Once again, the term "everybody" is used, partitioning the choir from the conductor and uniting them as one. He repeats the greeting twice more as he arrives at and looks down at his stand, then makes eye contact with the choir as he begins to introduce the researcher. He moves slightly away from his position as he invites the researcher to describe the project (he later sits down at his seat as she talks). After she has finished the introduction, the conductor stands – moving into the conducting space – and once more repeats the original token ("right") and greeting ("good morning"). This is followed quickly by a proposal to start, and the warm up begins soon after.

In many ways this extract is very similar to the others, with the use of tokens, greetings and collective terms, but what is distinctive – and the reason for its inclusion here – is the repetition of the token plus greeting in line 15. Although the researcher's spiel is not a normal part of the rehearsal, it is not unusual to have introductions at this place (other rehearsals in

the dataset introduce the accompanist at this point for example, as well as the researcher). The use of "good morning" to (re)start the rehearsal in line 15 suggests that it is not (or at least not only) being used to greet the choir – since that was already carried out – but to alert the choir to the fact that the rehearsal is now about to start in earnest. The lack of a collective term however may suggest that the original "everybody" in line 4 was sufficient to unite the choir into one party at that point.

4.4.   Warm ups

The next feature to be discussed is the warm up – an aspect of rehearsal that is generally considered to be important in the practitioner literature (e.g. Brunner, 1996) and is seen in every rehearsal recorded in this project. In terms of the overall structural organisation of the rehearsal, warm ups – unsurprisingly – occur once, very near the beginning, usually just after the greeting and pulling together of the choir party mentioned above. They vary in length, complexity and type of exercises. Several choirs start with physical warm ups (stretches and loosening) before moving onto vocal exercises such as scales and arpeggios; one choir hums then sings through a slow, soft rehearsal piece; another uses exercises based directly on the piece they are going to sing; and others focus more on musicianship (e.g. tuning and changing chords) or singing as a choir (e.g. vocal blend). However the way they are carried out has similarities – all involve the conductor giving directives (including the use of modelling to be copied), but often with little explicit assessment, and the focus for the majority of conductors tends to be more on teaching vocal technique and how to sing in a choir than on the musical 'shaping' seen more often throughout the rest of the rehearsal.

The extract below continues just after Extract 4.4, following on from the (second) greeting.

Extract 4.5. Good okay let's just start (G1_1, 03:50-05:29)

```
19   Con   Good okay let's just start with er as you
20         would just loosening the shoulders please
21         ⌈(10.1)
           ⌊((hands on shoulders, rolling backwards, Ch
           imitate))
22         °Good° and just the ha: a:
23   Ins   ha:a:
24   Con    ⌊(all the way round)
...        ((5 lines missing – request to move out))
```

68

```
30   Con   Good okay
31         °let's start with a bit of humming please
32         just to get the voices going°
33         's um hm-m-m-m-m-m-m
34         Three: four
35   Ch    hm-m-m-m-m-m-m
36   Con   And ↑up
37   Ch    hm-m-m-m-m-⌈m
38   Con               ⌊Lots of space in the hum
39         nice and resonant
40         ↑mm
41   Ch    hm-m-m-m-m-m-m
42         ↑ hm-m-m-m-m-m-m
43         ↑ hm-m-m-m-m-m⌈-m
44   Con                ⌊The higher you go the more space
45   Ch    ↑ hm-m-m-m-m-m-⌈m
46   Con                 ⌊One more
47   Ch    ↑ hm-m-m-m-m-m-m
48   Con   That'll do that'll do thank you
```

The conductor starts with a short physical warm up, modelling the backwards shoulder-rolling for the choir as they imitate, then moving into a vocal model as he sirens (line 22 – swooping up and down in pitch lightly on an "**ah**" sound). This is imitated by the singers individually in their own time. He keeps eye-contact with the choir for most of the shoulder-rolling exercise, dropping his gaze after seven seconds, then looks up again just before he gives the vocal model in line 22. As they start imitating the siren, he circles both arms, and says something unclear – possibly "all the way round", indicating that they should swoop up to the top and down to the bottom of their vocal ranges. He does not explicitly ask the choir to stop – rather he begins to smile and closes his mouth, stopping modelling. This is enough that most of the choir stop as he does this; the last few finish as he raises his hands (to ask them to rearrange their chairs; lines 25-29).

Following this, the conductor proposes the next exercise (lines 31-32) and again gives a model, humming the exercise in line 33 (of the form doh-mi-soh-lah-soh-mi-doh). This time, he raises his left hand and counts in (singing the "**three**" to give them the starting note),

signifying that they should sing this together, in time. He continues to beat loosely through the choir's humming in line 35. In line 36, he then sings their finishing note on "**and**" then moves up a semitone on "**up**", demonstrating the new starting pitch. Repeating an exercise by moving up a note is a familiar and conventional part of warming up, so no further instruction is given, or necessary, here.

After the choir's next delivery (line 37) however, the conductor's talk (line 38) overlaps with the end of the exercise as he gives them a directive or reminder of how to perform the exercise effectively. The instruction is accompanied by an indexing gesture as his hands indicate the back of his throat, giving the choir additional technical information – that "lots of space in the hum" comes from having space at the back of the throat. He then gives the new pitch (line 40), and the choir continue the exercise, with another 'how to sing' directive given in line 44, and an instruction to let them know that the next will be the last, in line 46. After the final rendition the conductor stops them (or possibly explicitly the accompanist, as he holds his hand up towards him) with "that'll do" and thanks them (marking the completion of a task; Nishizaka, 2006), before moving on to the next part of the warm up.

Notable things about the interaction in this warm up section of the rehearsal include the continuously and regular alternating flow of conductor utterance and choir response. Some of these conductor utterances are verbal (e.g. "just loosening the shoulders please", line 20), but many are (or include) sung models (e.g. line 33) or even just single starting notes. These act as elicitations that carry a directive function (i.e. 'do the exercise again beginning on this note'). Unlike directives in the main part of the rehearsal, which tend to be restart-relevant or Not Now directives (Szczepek Reed, Reed & Haddon, 2013), directives in the warm up are often locally relevant, eliciting an immediate sung (or physical) response. The conventional, routine nature of warm-ups contributes to this easy back-and-forth; the conductor does not need to give long verbal directives – only enough information as is necessary (notice that between lines 41-43 even the elicitation starting note is unnecessary for the choir to continue with the next rendition of the exercise, moving up a pitch each time).

Also noticeable in this extract (in comparison to the sequence types evident when the performance pieces are being rehearsed – see Chapter 6) is the relative lack of assessment after the choir's singing. The "good" in line 22 is spoken quietly, with gaze down, and following an activity that is not difficult (shoulder-rolling), suggesting that this may be more of a proforma phrase, heralding the change in activity, rather than an evaluation of the choir's performance. The only other assessment in the extract, in line 30, follows the moving

around of some of the choir, rather than any of the warm up per se. Therefore in this instance, it can be assumed that the continuation without assessment or further directive (e.g. lines 41-43) implies that their current behaviour is adequate. Several of these themes (use of modelling, continuation as 'adequate') will be expanded on in the coming chapters, but the lack of explicit verbal assessment, even at the end of an exercise (line 48) is notable compared to much of the rest of the rehearsal.

The explicit directives given in warm ups tend to be either straightforward 'what to do next', or related to how to create the sound (e.g. as seen in lines 38 and 44 of Extract 4.5). This is in comparison to the 'shaping of the music' directives seen in much of the rest of the rehearsal, where the conductor is gradually moulding the piece into their ideal performance over time. In the next extract, the pattern of simple (non-'shaping') directives alternating with sung responses is clearly seen, and the feedback given relates to general choral singing skills. During the choir's 'ah's, singers move individually, not necessarily as one.

Extract 4.6. It's not guesswork (B_1, 04:06-06:03)

```
90    Con   ((plays D₃ flat on piano)) Basses
91          ((plays D₄ flat)) Tenors
92          ((plays F₄)) Altoids
93          ((plays A₄ flat)) Sopranos
94    Ch    ((Humming))
95          Ah⌈:
                ⌊((Con returns to centre))
96    Con    ⌊That's D flat major (.) give me B flat minor
97          ((Points))
98    Ch    Ah:
99    Con   G flat major
100   Ch    Ah:
101   Con   A flat major
102   Ch    Ah:
103   Con   D flat major
104   Ch    Ah:
105   Con   First inversion
106   Ch    Ah:
107   Con   G flat major
108   Ch    Ah:
```

```
...          ((14 lines missing))
123  Con  D major
124  Ch   Ah:
125  Con  D major not D flat
126  Ch   Ah:
127  Con  D flat
128  Ch   Ah:
129  Con  C
130  Ch   Ah:
131  Con  D
132  Ch   Ah: (h)  ⌈((Laughter))
133  Con          ⌊((Laughter))
134       And stop
135       (h) (.) it's not guesswork
136       you actually have to work it out
137       think about the notes of the chord move onto the
138       next one (.)
139       it's- h. it's quite important to know which note of
140       the chord you're singing whether it's the first the
141       third or the fifth (.)
142       ok? (.)
143       it's important that we get that sort of er
144       musicianship to a better level I think
145       Otherwise it's just ⌈melody
                             ⌊((RH moves L to R))
146      ⌈not working harmonically
       ⌊((RH moves downwards 3 times))
147       Okay
148       let's have the last movement of the Howells please
```

In this extract, taken from the end of the warm up, Choir B are performing an exercise where they are given their starting notes (lines 90-93) and have to use their musical skills and work as a choir to change to and tune the new chord named by Ben, who points when he wants them to change each time. As in the previous extract, the majority of the exercise takes place only with directives of what to sing (i.e. the new chord), and no explicit assessments. Continuation to the next chord implies that the current one was adequate (or adequate

enough for current purposes). The utterance in line 125 ("D major not D flat"), which follows a particularly unsure-sounding chord (closer to a D flat major chord than to D major) is hearable as a negative assessment, suggesting that it was not carried out effectively originally. However it is not redone, although when continued, the exercise does circle back through the same previous three chords (D flat-C-D). This second time does not appear to be much better – the choir break down into laughter, and one singer mocks their own attempt by singing an exaggerated wobbly note. The conductor joins in their laughter briefly, and does not attempt another go. This is quite different to other parts of the rehearsal, where a failed attempt – or something deemed not satisfactory by the conductor – may be repeated multiple times until it is considered satisfactory.

At the end of the exercise, we see another demonstration of the 'teaching' role that conductors often take on more explicitly during the warm up. Lines 135-138 relate directly to the exercise, as directives for how to carry it out, but without actually asking them to put it into practice. Given that this is the end of the warm up, these instructions can be seen as 'for future reference'-style directives (cf. Okada, 2018), rather than ones to be acted on immediately or very soon. Finally, in lines 139-146, the conductor talks more generally about the relevancy for choral singing (as opposed to the specific exercise), and how he sees it as important for their improvement as a choir (using the group pronoun "we" – line 143). He also explains why: he wants the choir to think harmonically (the downward gesture in line 146 here referring to the whole choir's staves on a music score), by being aware of the other parts and how an individual singer or part fits into them, rather than only considering one's own melody (the horizontal gesture in line 145 representing a single stave or line).

The laughter seen by both choir and conductor in this extract (lines 132-133) points to another feature of warm ups that differ from the rest of the rehearsal: that they are often slightly less formal than when they are practising music aimed for an eventual performance. Almost all the warm ups in the data contain some form of joking or laughing between conductor and choir, suggesting a more relaxed approach than is evident later in the rehearsal, where extraneous, non-business-related talk tends to be kept to a minimum. Evidence of this can be seen in Extract 4.7.

Extract 4.7. It's a long way up (F_1, 03:12-03:57; 06:11-07:05)

```
77   Con  Erm (.) let's go
78        ((raises both arms))
79   In   It's a long way up
```

```
80   Con  It's a long way up and it's a long way down
81        ((stretching))
82        ⌈Neck
         ⌊((Rubbing back of neck))
83        (.)
84        ⌈Head
         ⌊((Rubbing back of head))
85   ChS  Shoulders knees and toes
86   Con  ⌈Knees and toes
         ⌊((Rubbing side of head))
87   Ch   ⌈((laughter))
88   Con  ⌊(right kind of        for that)
         ⌊((Rubbing front of head))
89        (.)
90        I suppose I should say
91        <Good morning everybody>
92   Ch   <Good morning Mr Flynn>
93        ⌈ ((laughter))
94   Con  ⌊((Patting LA with RH, then switches))
...       ((62 lines missing))
157       Right here is a C
158  Acc  ((note))
159  Con  hee ha hee ha hee ha hee ha
160       two three four
161  Ch   hee ha hee ha hee ha hee ha:
162  Con  °good,°
163       Vee Va two three four
164  Ch   vee va vee va vee va vee va:
165  Con  Kee Ka
166       two three four
167  Ch   kee ka kee ka kee ka kee ka:
168  Con  ⌈look this
         ⌊((puts both hands on cheeks))
169       kee ka kee ka
170       Not
```

```
171        kee ka kee ka
172        ⌈So th- the connection is here all the time
           ⌊((RH pokes and shakes on stomach))
173        Okay even with the e vowel not ee vowel
174        So don't spread
175        Here we go? Ke ka?
176        ⌈Keep your jaw here
           ⌊((puts both hands on cheeks))
177        your hands here
178        and that'll
179        ⌈that'll make that do the work
           ⌊((RH pokes and shakes on stomach))
180        ⌈this is always the last thing to wake up
           ⌊((RH taps stomach))
181        on a Sunday morning ok
182        alright?
183        Depending on what you did on Saturday night
184        ⌈Right
185   Ch   ⌊((laug⌈hter))
186   Con        ⌊One two three four
187   Ch   kee ka kee ka kee ka kee ka:
```

In this final warm up extract, taken from the beginning of the episode, several examples of joking around can be seen, by both choir and conductor. The choir are rehearsing in a primary school – a different venue to usual – so when the conductor non-verbally directs them to stand (line 78), one singer makes a comment about the small size of the chairs, picked up on by the conductor, which is responded to (or simultaneous with) some laughter and talking by the choir. Similarly a few lines later when the conductor says "head" (shorthand for massage/rub your head, which he demonstrates at the same time), someone semi-sings the rest of the first line of the children's song 'head, shoulders, knees and toes'. The conductor joins in (speaking) with the following line (line 86), leading to further laughter from the choir. Both of these incidents are relatively unexpected because in general choir members do not talk once the rehearsal has started. Part of the result of the 'grouping' accomplished at the start means that they assume the role of a choir, and as discussed by Weeks (1996), typically the conductor dictates the turn-taking in rehearsals. As shall be explored in more detail later,

conductors are permitted to break into the choir's singing, but individual choir members rarely initiate their own speaking turns (although this does vary from choir to choir). Here, where the physical warm up does not involve anybody creating sound, we find that singers may make comments, which are responded to by the conductor in a jocular manner, showing that the two-party format is less strictly adhered to at this moment.

Just after this, the conductor makes his own joke (line 90-91) based on the school location and his position at the front of a school hall, saying a greeting in the sing-song manner of a primary school teacher. Although this is clearly not actually a greeting, coming in the midst of the activity, the majority of the choir produce the appropriate 'school-child' adjacency pair response. The (pseudo-) institutionally-relevant chorale production of this is quite different to the few individual responses that usually follow a conductor's greeting (see previous extracts). It is clearly acknowledged as a joke, as both conductor and choir laugh afterwards. Later, towards the end of the extract, he finishes a cluster of directives with a brief joke (line 183) relating to their possible behaviour the night before, which is greeted by laughter from the choir. Conductors do use humour in the rest of the rehearsals, but the amount of laughter found just in these three and a half minutes points to a slightly less formal organisation of the rehearsal during this warm up section.

The second interesting aspect of this extract – conductor assessments – comes after they have moved onto a vocal warm up. The conductor gives a vocal model for the next exercise (line 159), singing up a scale with an emphasised "ha" on each note. He counts the choir in, and they imitate, taking the model as both the explanation of what to do and the directive to execute it. A quiet "good" with continuation tone and no gaze is given as assessment as they finish, followed by the next directive with count in (line 163), and the next (line 165). At the end of this scale however he stops them with a directive to look at him, as he demonstrates the emphasised consonant in a spoken contrast pair, with model first. In the incorrect version (line 171), the conductor's mouth shape changes dramatically between the two sounds – drawn back lips with teeth showing for "kee" (Figure 4.3), and rounded pursed lips for "ka" (Figure 4.4). This relates to the placing of his hands on his cheeks, which he demonstrates as he says "look this" in line 168, highlighting how the mouth shape should *not* change when alternating vowel sounds (as in his model, line 169, Figures 4.1 and 4.2). He goes on to expand on this, emphasising how they should use their diaphragm to get force on the 'k' sound (by tapping and shaking his stomach in lines 172 and 179), and giving them a rehearsal

instruction to keep their hands on their own cheeks, in order to ensure they follow the advice.

Figures 4.1 and 4.2. "kee ka"directive model (line 169)

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 "kee ka" negative assessment (line 171)

The second part of the contrast pair (line 171, Figures 4.3-4.4) negatively assesses the choir's previous turn, exaggerating the issue (their facial movement) in order to highlight the problem. As mentioned previously, negative assessments, particularly with directives to repeat the issue exactly, are relatively uncommon in the warm ups compared to the later sections of the rehearsal. However, the instructions/assessment is not because the conductor is trying to shape or mould the exercise in the same way that he will with the music later. Rather, he wants the choir to get the exercise right because it is training them to use their diaphragm to create the sound effectively, and warming up the relevant muscles, which will then enable them to sing the later music better. In the main rehearsal, this conductor does give directives relating to how to use the diaphragm in relation to the piece of music directly, making warming up the muscle at this point relevant.

4.5.   Introducing and shaping the future music

This third 'beginning' section will consider the talk that conductors may give when introducing a new piece of music, which may be at any point during a rehearsal. Unsurprisingly, much of this talk involves conductors giving directives on how they would like the music to be sung – shaping the future music by giving instructions, advice or reminders for the choir to remember while singing. The directives given, while occasionally specific, are more often quite general or global – something to be aware of throughout the piece, or across a particular section. One of the things these directives do is alert the choir to what the conductor is likely to be particularly listening for, and give the conductor a warrant to pick the singers up on those things in the future feedback turns.

As well as directives, assessments also sometimes occur, usually referring back to a previous rehearsal or time of singing. This is part of a wider theme found in the talk of this introductory turn where conductors place the current moment temporally in the overall series of rehearsals for this performance, or even in the musical life of the choir. Sometimes this links into a more 'teaching' role of the conductor, similar to that seen in the warm ups.

The first extract in this section is a very simple example of how a conductor may start a piece of music after the end of the warm-up.

Extract 4.8. Can we sing um weep o mine eyes please (H1_1, 05:14-05:45)

```
74   Ch    ⌈ca:r
75   Con   ⌊Yah okay splendid
76         er can we sing um Weep o mine eyes please
77   Ch    ((getting music))
78   Con   ((notes))
79         'Kay? ⌈And
                 ⌊((beats in))
80   Ch    Wee:p o mine eyes
```

Henry here gives a brief positive assessment following the final warm-up exercise (or while they are still finishing it; line 75) then requests the first piece (line 76). There is a pause while the choir find their music, then the conductor counts ("and", line 79) and beats them into the piece (an action that will be considered in the next chapter).

In terms of sequence organisation, the request in line 76 (also often given as a proposal e.g. 'Let's do...') can be considered a 'type-specific pre-sequence' (Schegloff, 2007), in that it precedes the explicit launch of the choir's turn. A pre-sequence, or pre-expansion, is a sequence that can be recognised to come before – that projects – another action sequence, the base adjacency pair. A brief example comes from Schegloff (2007, p. 30):

```
4   Nel   F_pre  →   Whatcha doin'.
5   Cla   S_pre  →   Not much
6   Nel   S_b    →   Y'wanna drink?
7   Cla   S_b    →   Yeah
```

Here, the first turn of the pre-sequence ("whatcha doin") makes relevant a response ("not much"), but also projects a contingent base sequence (an invitation to go for a drink). In this case, the response is positive (a 'go-ahead'), meaning that the invitation has a good chance of being accepted – and so will therefore be produced.

In Extract 4.8, the pre-sequence is the conductor requesting the piece (line 76), with the go-ahead of the choir getting their music ready. The type of base sequence being projected is the beating/counting in and choir singing in lines 79-80 (which will be examined in more detail in Chapter 5). Had the choir protested in line 77 (for example, there are occasional instances where choir members may request to go from a different place, or do something else first), this would 'block' the contingent base sequence from occurring. A block suggests that, if the base sequence is begun, there will be an issue in completing it in a preferred manner (e.g. the choir may not sing), and therefore stops it from being given at all (i.e. the conductor will not begin beating). The vast majority of the time in the choir rehearsals, however, the choir gives the non-verbal go-ahead by preparing to begin singing.

A general feature that is sometimes found in these introductory turns, is conductor talk between the request/proposal 'let's do piece X' (the pre), and the base sequence of bringing in the choir. This works as 'inserted talk' between (or overlapping) the pre-sequence and the base sequence, because while the talk is happening, the choir are aware that it is still preliminary to the conductor bringing them in to sing. Extract 4.9 gives an example of this. It continues from the end of Extract 4.6 above, after the warm up, where Ben proposes that they start with the last movement of one of their current pieces.

Extract 4.9. Okay let's have the last movement (B_1, 05:59-06:45)

```
146   Con   Okay let's have the last movement of the Howells please
147   Ch    ((choir find music, correct page etc))
148   Con   Okay at this point flexibilit⌈y      in tempo
                                        ⌊((note))
149         is- is just vital
150         so really really eyes up no excuses now
151         Wednesday was much better than our previous rehearsals
152         so let's have that level and then some more.
153         Okay?
154         ((Beats in, mouths vowel))
155   ChB   I heard a voice from heaven
```

The extract begins with the commonly-used token "okay", making explicit the change from warm up activity to rehearsing activity. Proposals, such as the one in line 146 here, are very common as ways of introducing a new piece. One possible reason for this may be the use of "let's" (as 'let us') using the first person plural, as it will be the conductor and choir together co-constructing the piece of music, so an imperative with its implicit second person is less relevant in this instance. Erving-Tripp (1976) also observed that 'we' statements like this tend to be used by people of higher 'rank' to a lower one, as they are here (if one considers the conductor to be higher in status than the choir members, as is traditionally the case).

Having started the pre-sequence with the proposal (line 146), and had the go-ahead from the choir (line 147), Ben then gives another "okay" token (transition to inserted talk) before giving an informing about the music, and more specifically, about the music at this point in the rehearsal series (line 148). Conductors will focus on different things at different points across the rehearsal series (e.g. Davis, 1998), and alerting the choir to what they should focus on this time before they start singing gives the conductor the warrant to interrupt the choir during the rehearsal to pick up on this aspect of the music later. The development across rehearsals is also referred to more explicitly in lines 150-151. The conductor gives a historical, positive assessment of their previous rehearsal ("Wednesday was much better than our previous rehearsals") in terms of the characteristic just mentioned (allowing him the flexibility in tempo). This referring back to previous rehearsals reinforces the idea that this rehearsal is part of a progression of improvement across time up to (and beyond) a performance.

The informing in line 148 ("flexibility in tempo is just vital") is imparting knowledge to the choir about the music, and how the music should be performed, through the conductor's specialist role as the person with most right to access the epistemic domain of 'how this choir should sing this piece of music for this performance' (cf. Parton, 2014). It also carries implications of assessment (Ben considers that flexibility is vital) and, more importantly, directive (the choir will need to accommodate his tempo changes when singing), as well as giving the choir information about the music that they may not otherwise have had access to (or remembered, if previously told).

In terms of what the choir is being asked to do, the point being made here is relatively general – that Ben wants to be able to be flexible with the tempo – rather than an instruction about a specific part of the music (as in, for example, the directives in lines 168-179, Extract 4.7). This is followed by a similarly general directive – "really really eyes up" (line 150). 'Eyes

up' is a phrase used by conductors as a shorthand for 'eyes up out of the music score', i.e. that the musicians should be watching the conductor, rather than staring at their music. The use of this conventional phrase suggests a familiarity between choir and conductor with the type of language often used in rehearsals. Another directive is then given in line 152, although this one is more of an exhortation, pushing the choir to achieve higher levels of music-making. The emphatic language used by the conductor in this section should also be observed: an extreme case formulation is used in line 149 ("flexibility in tempo is just vital"), with "just" being used to push it up even further; "really" is repeated to stress the directive in line 150; "no excuses now" is an emphatic, rhetorical utterance enhancing the conductor's warrant to criticise any contravening of the directive; and the final exhortation in line 152 accentuates the importance of the directives he is making.

The relatively broad meaning of these directives gives Ben multiple opportunities to pick up on the point later in the rehearsal. For example, in the first feedback turn immediately after the choir have produced a first sung attempt (Extract 4.10 follows on immediately from Extract 4.9):

Extract 4.10. It's quite good (B_1, 06:38-7:57)

```
155   ChB     I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me,
156           (.) wri :te
157   Ch              ⌊Wri:te (.) from hencefo:rth blessed
158           are the dea:d which die in the Lord:
159   ChS     ⌈Ble sse  :      d       Ble : ssed
160   ChATB   ⌊Ble :      ssed are the dea :     d
161   ChST    ⌈are the dea:d which die in the Lord
162   ChAB    ⌊Ble :   sse:d which die in the Lord
163   Con     it's quite good but it's just not (.)
164           ech (.)
165           every crotchet that I'm trying to slow down
166           a little you're moving on for a bit
```

In Extract 4.10 Ben gives a negative assessment, commenting that the choir are not following him when he tries to slow the music down (i.e. not allowing him the flexibility to change the tempo where he wants to). In Extract 4.11 several minutes later, however, he gives a positive assessment, thanking the soprano and alto sections for watching him in order to know when to 'place' a specific note. Placing a note usually refers to pulling up the tempo very slightly, or

allowing just the smallest amount of extra time before singing a certain note, in order to emphasise it in some way.

Extract 4.11. That's it (B_1, 15:36-15:46)

```
313   Con   Tha:t's it thank you for watching sopranos
314         and altos just to place that 'they'
315         it needs to be it needs to be that on um
316         Tuesday night.
```

Note also where the conductor refers to the future in Extract 4.11 – Tuesday night is the performance. This creates a link between the historical assessment in line 151 of Extract 4.9, and its related directives, the current assessment, and the future performance, emphasising the progression of the musical improvement through time.

Extract 4.12 takes place around half an hour into another rehearsal when the conductor, Christopher, requests a new piece (line 33), followed by the usual gap as the choir find their music (demonstrating the go-ahead for the pre-sequence). However he then inserts some quite detailed description of how he would like the piece performed, what he would like the choir to focus on, and why.

Extract 4.12. Handel please (C_2, 01:43-04:00)

```
33   Con   Er Handel please
34   Ch    ((Ch finding music))
35   Con   Can you- er we sing this a lot
36         we know this piece quite well
37         Can we work really hard on our diction
38         Can we- can we make this a-
39         every time we per⌈form a piece it's really-
                          ⌊((steps to side))
40         it's really helpful to try and um look for something
41         (.) new
42         Sometimes a piece will give us something new of itself
43         through familiarity and er looking at it
44         Other times we need to (.) find something-
45         we need to go looking for something
46         So can we- can we really think about our diction in
47         thi- this time when we perform this as a-
```

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```
48          as a being that's our-
49          that's gonna be our thing this year
50          And 'and the'
51           (.) that 'and the' (.)
52          'and the g-' each time (.)
53          g-lory (.)
54          really enjoy the g-le g-le g-le
55          really enjoy the- the- the texture of these words as
56          you sing them
57          Erm (.) and nice- nice kinda wet- (.) wet Ds like-
58          wet Ds like revealed (.) d
59          a little bit- just a little bit of wetness in those-
60          in those-
61          it's the right word it's what I mean
62          w- kind of wetness in those- in those final consonants (.)
63          it just brings them to life
64          it just gives them a little bit of a champagne sparkle
65          ((BH fingers wiggle upwards))
66          It just gives them a little bit of ch- of sparkle there
67          and otherwise it'll be
68          and the glory the glory of the L-
...         ((14 lines missing))
83          Okay stand up everybody
84          Right Daniel (.)
85          off you go
86    Acc   ((Intro))
87    Con       ⌊Altos (you're gonna set out your stall out for us)
88    Ch    And the glory
```

Christopher begins his request for the choir's singing in line 35, but breaks off to start by accounting for *why* he is asking them to do something new. As mentioned above, conductors often focus on different features of a piece as they move through the rehearsal process, so knowing a piece well, and singing it a lot (lines 35-36), can account for why the conductor is now moving on (from focusing on getting pitches and rhythms correct, for example) to a slightly higher level of musical improvement; in this case, diction and enunciation of the words. In line 37 the conductor gives his request ("can we work really hard on our diction") –

the main focus of this whole expanded section – and then appears to continue his request, but once more cuts himself off (line 38). The interruption again somewhat accounts for the request, but this time in a musical sense (the next step in the musical process) rather than in terms of the choir's progress. He suggests that when performing a piece, "it's really helpful to try and look for something new" (lines 40-41) – something that can be worked on and brought out, even when the piece is well-known and often sung. Although this is being applied to the specific Handel piece being rehearsed, it is framed as a more general view of learning music in a choir ("every time we perform a piece", line 39). This pushes the whole account (lines 42-49) more towards the teaching role that conductors sometimes don – the idea that this information is not just relevant to *this* piece in *this* rehearsal at *this* moment, but is a teaching moment that can be applied in the future to other pieces, rehearsals or choirs. It may also be significant that he steps to the left, away from his stand, at the moment that he breaks into 'teaching mode' in line 39.

Once the choir has the understanding of why he is bringing this point to their attention, Christopher returns to the current rehearsal request in line 46 – "so can we really think about our diction this time when we perform this" – but then extends that through to the future of the choir as well – "that's gonna be our <u>thing</u> this year". Once again, this introduction to the piece plays a role in placing the rehearsal in a more global context: 'now that you have learnt this piece to an adequate standard in the past, there is something new that can be focused on for this current performance, and in the future we (as a choir) will continue to work on this new focus'.

Christopher then goes on to expand his point with models and explanations. The piece being rehearsed is from Handel's *Messiah*, with the only (but oft-repeated) lyrics for the piece being: 'And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it'. It is very often polyphonic (with different parts singing different words in different rhythms at the same time), so diction is important to help clearly mark the structure of the piece (e.g. showing new entries) as well as making it more interesting musically.

Christopher models the clear enunciation of "and the", "glory", and "revealed" that he wants several times (lines 50-58) in a speaking voice, and sings what he does not want in line 68, to highlight why the diction is important. When singing this line he exaggerates the feeling of it being dull visually and aurally: diction is muted and there is very little facial or body movements (hands relaxed by his sides), other than sort of small head bobs to indicate the

'boringness'. In comparison to this, he uses visual description to describe how he wants the words to feel instead, how good diction "brings them to life" and "gives them a little bit of champagne sparkle" (line 64). This is combined with directives to "really enjoy" the words (lines 54-55) and verbal imagery of "wet Ds" (line 57). The use of description and depiction by conductors to convey meaning will be dealt with in detail in chapter 7, but it is useful to observe here how both are used to set up the expectation for how the conductor wishes the piece to be sung. As with the previous example, having made his point about the importance of diction in the introductory turn, Christopher then has a warrant to pick up on it in a later feedback turn:

Extract 4.13. 'and' is very dangerous word (C_2, 05:56-06:06)

```
161   Con   and is a very dangerous word
162         >cos it'll end up as being< nd (.)
163         nd (.) nd (.)
164         can you be very positive
165         A:nd all(.) a:nd all
166         get some vowel in the there
```

And even draw attention to it during the choir's sung turn:

Extract 4.14. Here's your 'and' (C_2, 07:05-7:10)

```
204   Acc   ⌈((Interlude))
205   Con   ⌊Here's your and (.) A:nd
206   Ch    And the g⌈lo:ry
207   Con            ⌊Goo:d!
```

Finally, at the very end of Extract 4.12, Christopher gives one last directive. This occurs after he has started the piece (line 85) and the accompanist has begun his introduction (line 86). Christopher addresses the altos, who will be the first section to come in, saying that they are going to "set out their stall". According to the Oxford Dictionary (n.d.) this phrase means to "display or assert one's abilities or position", suggesting that his intention here is to ask the singers to come in confidently and clearly – something that is often particularly important in a piece like this where other parts will then imitate the initial entry. The use of a metaphor is interesting however, as it evokes a feeling for how the music should be created, rather than a technical instruction of what to do.

The final extract in this section takes place towards the end of the rehearsal – it is the last piece to be practised that day. Here George proposes the new piece (line 275) and location to begin at (line 278-279), with an apology to one individual member for being unlikely to reach a solo that had previously been discussed in the rehearsal. He also briefly refers to "last time" (line 279) when stating where to start, once more putting the rehearsal in the context of the temporal progression towards a performance. He then requests that the choir get into the relevant positions for the piece (double choir, so arranged in two choirs next to each other, rather than one single choir; line 281). There is a pause in the rehearsal while this is accomplished (lines 282-295), including a brief discussion of where an absent member is before George re-issues a token plus proposal directive to begin, and a more specific location in the music (lines 296-297). There is another wait (line 298) while the choir finish finding their music (the 'go-ahead'), and the talking within the choir, which had increased during the rearrangement after line 281, drops off substantially around this point. After this though, rather than immediately starting the piece, George issues an inserted instruction, including a full vocal model.

Extract 4.15. Let's finish with a bit of Twelve *please (G1_5, 11:15-12.56)*

```
275   Con   Right let's er finish with a bit of Twelve please
276         Erm I'm sorry we probably won't get to
277         that solo today
278         Can we do the last section please that
279         we sort of had a start at last time
280         (2.3) erm (2.6)
281         Quick swap around please for (.) places
...         ((14 lines missing))
296         Right let's do this- let's do this fugue please
297         page twentyone
298         (10.0)
299         So it's like this (.) (>here we go<)
300         Twelve as the winds and the months
301         and please would you look at his very careful
302         articulation marks as we go
303         Okay basses
304   ChB   Twelve as the winds and the months
```

The model is prefaced with "so it's like this" (line 299), making relevant a depiction that shows what the music is (or should be) like. The model demonstrates to the choir many aspects of the first line of the piece, including the tempo, mood, relation between George's beating and their singing, and, particularly given the following direction, articulation – he wants the first two notes ("**twelve as**") to be quite short. Interestingly, rather than relying on his own epistemic or deontic superiority, the conductor refers to the score and to the composer's markings and the fact that they are "very careful" (line 301) – as authority for the directive. The idea of the composer being a sort of 'absent party' in the choir rehearsal interaction is one that will be returned to in later chapters, but it is worth noting at this point how the conductor refers to the score as part of this introductory turn directive. Like the previous examples, this idea (of articulation) is then referred back to in later feedback turns, and the composer is also brought back, as a figure of authority on this topic:

Extract 4.16. I know it's micromanaging again (G1_5, 14:17-14:47)

```
339   Con   Now basses we need- if you could please um help us
340         here to get the phrasing right for everybody else
341         cos you start it off at the beginning
342         um Twelve
343         Is that a- what's a B flat again Twelve
344                              └((note))
345         Twelve (.) as
346         That's the first thing those two accents
347         Twelve as the winds and the
348         So short staccatos
349         winds and the
350         Then months are
351         I know it's micromanaging again
352         but he really wants that
353         And those who er tau-au-au-au-aught
354         Real articulation
355         tau-au-au-au-aught us those-
```

Here, not much further into the rehearsal, George goes into much more depth about the articulation marks mentioned earlier (Extract 4.15, lines 301-302), breaking down the first few lines of music with models and directives. He acknowledges that the depth and number

of instructions is perhaps somewhat excessive (line 351), picking up on a previous comment much earlier in the rehearsal ("It's a lot of hard work doing this kind of thing where we're sort of micromanaging every minute every moment of it really", G1_1, lines 480-483), but accounts for it by once more recognising the composer's authority in terms of what is written in the score – and therefore what should be coming across in the choir's singing. By previously mentioning this point before the choir have even started the piece, he gives them a focus for what he will be listening for, and himself a warrant to come in with this more detailed criticism in his feedback.

4.6.   Summary

This chapter considered the overall structural organisation of the choir rehearsal, then focused in on three 'beginning' sections of the rehearsal: the transition to business, at the start, the warm up activity, and introducing a new piece of music. Beginnings are important in interaction, with participants "actively and collaboratively" (Pillet-Shore, 2018, p. 4) creating an opening phase for the activity, and building up their social relationships as part of it.

The overall structural organisation of the choir rehearsals show an opening phase that incorporates greetings and becoming a choir, various practicalities such as absences (which were seen in some extracts although not analysed in depth), and a warm up. There is then an introduction to the piece, which may include inserted directives on how to sing, followed by a recurring two-turn sequence of the choir's sung turn and the conductor's feedback turn.

When the conductor first begins the rehearsal, his or her first utterance usually incorporates a token (such as *okay*), a greeting (such as *good morning*) and often a 'grouping word' (such as *everybody*). The token alerts the choir to the transition into the rehearsal, and the greeting acts as a summons, or 'call to business' (Asmuß & Svennevig, 2009), but does not make relevant a return greeting in the same way it might in everyday conversation. (Compare to the conductor's humorous greeting in Extract 4.7 – although this is intended as a joke about their venue, its original context as a well-known adjacency pair means that almost the entire choir responds with the counter-greeting.) In addition, the utterance does the work of partitioning the individuals into two parties – choir and conductor – which also has the parallel effect of uniting the choir members as one group. While giving this greeting utterance, conductors usually demonstrate that they are starting the rehearsal, by making eye contact with the choir, raising their voice to address everyone, and stepping into the 'conducting space' at the front of the room. Choir members orient to this transition by gradually finishing their own conversations and becoming ready to begin.

All the rehearsals incorporated a vocal and/or physical warm up at the beginning of the rehearsal. Although these varied in content, there were similarities across the choirs in terms of their organisation. They tended to be very routine (singers were familiar with the type of exercises), and incorporated many 'what to do next' directives, often in the form of sung models, or single starting notes as elicitations. Other directives that are given are often aimed at vocal technique, or 'how to sing as a choir' and may look more like 'teacher' utterances, where the content can (or should) be transferred to other contexts. The directives were usually short, alternating with the choir's sung response, and depiction (e.g. use of gesture as well as sung utterances) was regularly used. Unlike the rest of the rehearsal, conductors rarely gave much assessment, or asked for repetition of inadequate sections, on the warm up singing. These features point to a different focus for this episode of the rehearsal – of improving the choir as singers, rather than improving and shaping a specific piece of music in preparation for a performance. In addition, warm ups appear to have a rather less formal feel, where other talk (e.g. practicalities) may be interspersed with the exercises, choir members may take their own spoken turns (in some rehearsals), and laughter and jokes are very common.

When the conductors are ready to begin a new piece of music (at any point in the rehearsal), they will give a request or proposal, naming the piece. This acts as a pre-sequence, as it projects the coming 'launch of the choir's turn' sequence when the conductor begins beating. The choir then (almost always) give a non-verbal go-ahead at this point by getting ready to sing, for example by finding their music. Before the launch of the sung turn, however, conductors may insert an additional segment of talk where they give (often quite general) directives or reminders to the choir about how to shape the upcoming sung turn. This alerts the choir to what the conductor will be listening for during the turn, and gives the conductor a warrant to enter into their turn and give them feedback (positive or negative) on that issue at later points in the rehearsal. This inserted talk may be quite extended (as in Extract 4.12), and may incorporate teaching talk and depictions such as positive or negative models. In addition, the conductor often uses this slot to place the piece of music into a longer timeline. For example, they may show how it fits into the progression of the rehearsal series by referring to rehearsals in the past or to the future performance, or they may refer to the progression of the choir as a whole, and how the piece fits into their own development.

The next chapter will follow on neatly from the conductor's 'introduction to the piece', by exploring the launch into the choir's sung turn, and how the music is co-constructed during that turn, as well as examining the interactional parties involved in the rehearsal.

5. The choir's sung turn: Co-constructing the music

5.1. Introduction

The last chapter brought us up to the point where the conductor and choir are ready to begin the music – the choir's sung turn. The conductor has started the rehearsal (Section 4.3), warmed up the singers' voices (Section 4.4), and introduced the first piece, along with any relevant instructions or reminders about what they should be focusing on while singing (Section 4.4). The next step, then, is to start to create music. This is something conductors and choirs will do many times over the rehearsal, alternating between the choir's turn and the conductor's feedback turn (Chapter 6) until the next new beginning (e.g. a new piece, or new section of the current piece). The number and frequency of starts and stops will be dependent on various factors including the conductor, choir, piece being rehearsed, position in the rehearsal series, and so on.

This behaviour – directing while the choir are singing – is what most people think of when someone says conductor: the person on the podium, waving their arms around as an ensemble perform, perhaps occasionally grunting or breathing deeply and sometimes making 'strange faces'. This chapter will not primarily examine what they do and how it affects the choir's vocal output (there are several empirical research studies that explore this – see the literature review for an overview), but rather take a step back and looke at the social organisation that occurs in this turn, and why and how this forms such a distinctive type of interaction. What actions and behaviours do the participants perform and respond to in order to create and change the choir's musical production in the rehearsals?

5.1.1. Findings overview – features of the choir's turn

Table 5.1 below compares the conventional characteristics of natural conversation (for the majority of the time – conversational speakers may of course occasionally sing (Stevanovic & Frick, 2014) or speak together (Lerner, 2002)) to the equivalent characteristics that have been seen in the choirs' turns in this data. This gives an at-a-glance impression of how different the set of rules is that governs the moment-by-moment social interaction in choir rehearsals, compared to our everyday conversation. These features will be explored further throughout the chapter.

Table 5.1. Characteristics of conversation vs. choir sung turn

Natural conversation	Choir sung turn
Mainly self-selection, although 'current speaker selects next' (Sacks et al., 1974) is not unusual with multiple participants	Turn allocation performed almost entirely by the conductor – a type of 'current speaker selects next' (conductor decides who sings what and when)
Spoken words	Sung music
One person at a time	Choral (in the sense of more than one person intentionally vocally producing sound simultaneously)
Speaker is often both author and animator (Goffman, 1981)	Choir is animator, but not author ('presence' of composer/librettist)
Turn belongs to speaker, and they have the right to hold the floor, unless another has very good grounds for entering the turn (e.g. Lerner, 1996)	Deeply permeable – the conductor may verbally or non-verbally enter the turn space while the choir is singing (e.g. to assess or direct); they can also stop it anytime to give feedback
Projectability and predictability of ongoing talk provided by grammatical Turn Constructional Units (TCUs) – implications include allowing the hearer to predict where the next Transition Relevant Place (TRP) may be, in case they wish to speak (Sacks et al., 1974). However, turn is malleable – speaker may initiate repair just before a projected TRP, for instance, extending the turn.	Projectability and predictability of ongoing turn provided by the musical score – implications include allowing the conductor to produce alerts about upcoming musical events. Musical score obliges the choir's turn to be 'fixed'.
Turn end is determined by speaker/animator	Turn end is decided by conductor – may be pre-determined (e.g. 'sing that phrase') or open-ended (e.g. 'go from there'). Conductor may 'interrupt' at any point to end the turn, including not at a clear stopping place, such as in the middle of a word or phrase.

It is worth mentioning that institutional interaction does often carry differences to natural conversation, varying by context. Talk in courtrooms (e.g. Atkinson & Drew, 1979), classrooms (e.g. McHoul, 1978) and work meetings (e.g. Raclaw & Ford, 2015) for example, often shows different, more formal or controlled methods of selecting the next speaker. There are also times in institutional interaction when the animator (person producing the message) may not be the author (person who created the content; e.g. politicians reading a speech, priests reading the Bible). However most of these points are conformed to, at least to some extent, by most interactions – for example, it is very rare to find interactions where one participant dictates when a turn starts *and* stops at any point, as well as directing that turn and speaking over the top of them at times.

5.1.2. Interactional parties

One of the most unusual aspects of the choir's sung turn is that it dissolves the traditional distinction between speaker and hearer, and even complicates the concepts of author and animator suggested by Goffman (1981). Firstly, although the choir would be called the animators here, they are singing the music and words of the composer/librettist, who are the 'authors' of what the choir is 'animating'. Schütz (1951) suggests that when performing music, one enters an inner time, linked to the experiencing of the music (as opposed to outer time, which is bounded by minutes, seconds and so on). He suggests that through playing music, the performer can be linked to the composer, directly to their inner time. Goodwin (2013), too, acknowledges that our connection with the present is built on our predecessor's actions. Therefore, the 'absent party' of the composer/librettist is important to acknowledge as relevant to this interaction. The conductors in the data also occasionally refer to them as an authority (at least, in terms of the score that they originally produced), as in the two following extracts:

Extract 5.1. His very careful articulation (G1_5, 12:43-12:48; 14:34-14:42)

```
302  Con  and please would you look at his very
303       careful articulation marks as we go
...       (44 lines missing)
348       So short staccatos
349       winds and the
350       Then months are
351       I know it's micromanaging again but he really wants that
```

Extract 5.2. She knows what she's doing (E1_3, 14.15-14:53)

```
433  In    We've got it after habits=

434  In    =If you've got a comma then you should

435        breathe there (to be fair)

436  Acc   (I think it's very deliberate)

437  In    They're quite specific

438  Con   deliberate

439  Acc   (          ⌈  )

440  In               ⌊Yeah (.) she knows what she's doing

441  Con   She does know what she's doing

442        Um but she hasn't been specific about the

443        placement of it

444        And what we were doing there was a

445        kin:d of (.) quaver weren't we

...        ((5 lines missing))

451  Con   I might ask her about that

452        in the meantime would you mind doing it

453        pretty accurately on the semiquaver
```

In both of these examples the conductors acknowledge the composers' authority to dictate how the choir should sing their music (in the second, since the composer is still alive, the conductor suggests that she could ask for confirmation of the issue).

Furthermore, we see in the extracts the conductors' authority to enforce the composers' wishes, subject to their own interpretation if necessary (although in Extract 5.2 the singers are invited to give their opinions too, leading to a discussion. Emma talked in her interview about wanting the members to feel ownership over the choir, but in the end it is still her who makes the decision on what will be carried out – lines 452-453). Usually, the conductor is the one who has to make judgements on how to translate the authors' written score into music (i.e. how they will be animated). They then need to convey those decisions, either (or both) explicitly (e.g. in the introductory or feedback turns), and also in situ, moment-by-moment during the ongoing sung turn through mostly-visual communication. In addition, during the choir's turn, there is a constant, ongoing feedback loop between conductor and choir where each continuously reacts to the other's production in an extreme form of Goodwin's (1980) mutual monitoring. This constant back and forth of aural and visual information is one of the

characteristics of this turn that makes possible the unique interaction that govern the rehearsals and allow the choir and conductor to achieve their goals.

Finally, the role of the accompanist ought to be briefly mentioned here, although a thorough analysis of their position is sadly beyond the scope of this thesis. All the choirs used an accompanist (piano or organ) for all or part of their rehearsals. The accompanist holds a distinctive position somewhere in between conductor and choir, often somewhat unnoticed (unless something goes wrong!). The majority of the time, they appear to be part of the same 'party' as the choir members; for example, they play the same music (or relevant accompaniment), when the conductor specifies a starting location. However, there are places in the data where the accompanist needs, or chooses, to act independently of the choir. One key part of their role often involves giving notes for the choirs' restarts, sometimes requiring a decision as to when the restart is imminent, similar to that found by Szczepek Reed, Reed and Haddon (2013). The accompanist may even act in a more 'conductor-like' role at times, e.g. emphasising a struggling choir part on the piano during or after the sung turn. Conductors may also invite accompanists to comment on the choir's singing. Arthur asks me (as the accompanist for Choir A) if there is anything I noticed after a run-through of one piece, and Christopher in his interview explains that he wants his accompanist to feel free to say if there are things that he has picked up on that were not heard or noticed by the conductor. This attitude does vary however – Christopher also notes that he knows of conductors that would not think it was the accompanist's place to comment on the singing. Finally, the conductors' interactions with the accompanist can be different to those with the choir – they are often politer, but also frequently make requests with no eye contact, or even without referring to them at all (e.g. 'here are the notes', instead of 'can we have the notes?').

5.2.   Launching the choir's sung turn

Having clarified the parties in the interaction, the rest of the chapter will deal with the way the conductor and choir (and accompanist) act during the choir's sung turn and while co-constructing the music. Firstly, this section will analyse the way conductors allocate and begin the choir's turn, by using talk, gaze, body position and orientation.

5.2.1.   Allocating the next turn (who sings what?)

The first extracts look at the simplest examples of how conductors allocate and begin the choir's turn. As mentioned in Table 5.1, conductors have complete control over when the

choir begins, which include specifying what is sung (which piece and from where), and, if relevant, who is to sing it. The default is the whole choir, but conductors frequently break tricky elements of the piece down into one or more voice parts, in order to practice or draw attention to specific lines, or even just hear something clearly. Once these practical instructions have been given, attention is given to coordinating the start.

There appear to be two stages to starting the turn, for most conductors, although they may merge into one. Firstly, there is a 'preparatory' gesture, where the conductor raises their hands to the 'conducting position' (usually about mid-chest height – within the 'cube' referred by Lyne, 1979). This displays that he or she is ready to begin and therefore alerts the choir that a start is now imminent. The second stage (the 'bringing in') is the conductor coordinating the start itself through a beating in gesture. The arms begin the conventional beating pattern usually one or two beats before the choir begin, conveying the tempo and, through the predictability of the beat progression and its (now demonstrated) speed, when the choir should start. This short organisation of the beginning of the turn is the base sequence referred to in section 4.5, for which 'Can we sing piece X' is a pre-sequence.

The conductor's beating in may be made aurally evident as well. This is usually accomplished by counting (using the numbers conventionally assigned to each beat) or using other words to replace the numbers, such as 'and go'. The beats are often accompanied by an in-breath by the conductor at the same time as the choir (usually one beat before starting). The conductor is not actually singing, so there is no real need for them to open their mouth and take a larger breath than normal, suggesting that this is intentionally displayed for the choir, modelling how and when they should be breathing. 'Breathing together' is considered important for a simultaneous start in the choir (e.g. see Extract 6.1). Finally, gaze is almost always used to establish eye contact with the singers after the raising of the hands, just before starting. Starting notes are usually given, either by the conductor or accompanist, which also makes relevant an imminent start.

Extract 5.3 below demonstrates a simple starting, showing the two stages above.

Extract 5.3. Once more beginning please (H1_1 20:25-20:39)

```
357  ChS  Polly's not coming
358  Con  °Ok°
359       Alright so once more beginning please
```

```
360        ba ba ba ba:
```


Fig. 5.1.

```
361  Acc   ((notes))
```


Fig. 5.2.

```
362  Con   And
```

```
363  Con   .h
```


Fig. 5.3.

```
364  Ch    The silver swan
```

In this extract the conductor, Henry, moves from talking to one individual to addressing the whole choir by raising his voice in line 359 with a request to start and the location (the pre-sequence). During this line his gaze is on his music, as he turns to the right page. He continues to look down as he sings the choir's starting notes (line 360), but while doing so raises his arms to the starting position (see Figure 5.1). This is the preparatory gesture. Both of these behaviours (arm-raising and note-giving) tell the choir that they should be ready to sing imminently. The pre-sequence restart request (line 359) makes relevant a restart *soon*, but as we saw in Chapter 4, these requests may be followed by sometimes quite lengthy

introductions, reminders and so on. Therefore, it is the conductor giving the preparatory gesture by raising their arms (and, in this instance, giving notes), that suggests that the restart is about to happen *now*.

Henry then looks up at the choir and establishes eye contact (Figure 5.2) while the accompanist repeats the choir's notes (possibly because this is usually their role), then opens his mouth and raises his eyebrows slightly. Raising eyebrows has the effect of widening the eyes, aiding in establishing eye contact, and regularly occurs just before the choir needs to act or respond in some way. He then raises his right hand (as the 'upbeat' or beat four) while he counts in with "and" (line 362), then both hands raise and lower for beat one of the first bar of music. During this beat he displays taking a breath while still in eye contact with the choir (Figure 5.3), and only lowers his gaze once they have reached beat three (*sil* of silver swan). The use of eye gaze during the coordination of a start, dropping it once the choir is established, is relatively common, and suggests that it plays an important role in this sequence.

The following extract shows a similar bringing-in sequence, drawing particular attention to the conductor's hands.

Extract 5.4. From twentyfi- er upbeat into twentyfive (E1_1, 21:22-21:36)

```
346 Con  just a bit warmer



347      fatten the sound
```


Fig. 5.4.

```
              From twentyfi- er
    348       upbeat into
              twentyfi:ve
```


Fig. 5.5.

```
    349       Two three
```


Fig. 5.6.

```
    350 Ch   O:r who is he
```

In this second extract, Emma finishes giving the choir some feedback on their voice tone, then gives them a location to restart from (line 348). She self-repairs to be more specific (one beat before bar twenty-five, rather than starting at the barline), then counts and beats them back in. Unlike the previous extract, the conductor's hands are already raised when she gives the directive (line 348), having used them to metaphorically illustrate "fattening" the sound by moving both hands apart in the previous line. During that gesture, her fingers are splayed (Figure 5.4) as if grasping a wide object, but there is then a clear change in hand position to closed, straight fingers (Figure 5.5) in the brief moment between lines 347 and 348. This is the preparatory gesture, indicating to the choir that she is ready to begin the turn.

In terms of gaze, Emma looks at the choir during her feedback, but drops her gaze at the end of "fatten" (line 347). She continues to look at her music while giving the starting location, as in the previous example, making eye contact again with the choir between lines 348 and 349 (Figure 5.6). Both hands beat up and down on both beats as she counts in – the first by a small amount; the second larger with a small lean forward as she does so. This makes the entry moment more salient, by highlighting the beat before. As in the previous example,

Emma's gaze remains up until just after the choir begin singing – this time until only about half a beat in – before she looks back to the music.

Below are two more examples that are similarly simple launches of the choir' turns, but include information on who should sing as well.

Extract 5.5. Where um altos and sopranos start (D1a, 35:17-35:38)

```
707        Oka:y (.) right
708        let's just hear the: sopranos and
           altos from l⌈etter A
709              ⌊((gaze ChA))
```

Fig. 5.7.

```
710        so that's bar eleven (.)
```

```
711        where um altos and sopranos start
712  Acc  ((Notes))
713        (2.5)
```

Fig. 5.8.

```
714        (3.3)
```

Fig. 5.9.

Fig. 5.10.

```
715   ChA   öffn'⌐ :
716   ChS         └öffn'
```
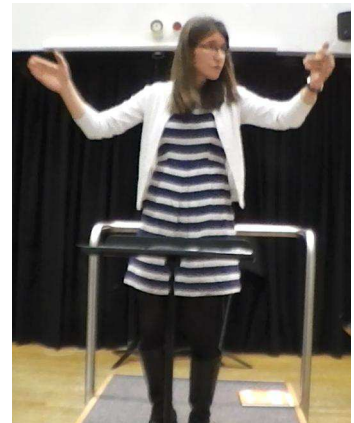
Extract 5.5 follows some feedback from the conductor. Danielle uses tokens ("okay right", line 707) to indicate that she is about to change the activity from feedback-giving to singing, and proposes hearing only the soprano and alto parts from the rehearsal mark A. She then expands on the location ("so that's bar eleven where um altos and sopranos start", lines 711) to ensure it is clear.

As in the previous examples, Danielle is looking at the music while giving the original proposal to start, although in this case she has the score raised in the air, because she was holding it up to point out an error earlier. As she says "from letter A" (line 709) she begins turning her body slightly to her right, orienting towards the alto section of the choir who will be entering one beat before the sopranos (who are on her left). This is followed by a very brief glance up from the score to the altos just after "letter A". She then lowers her score and gaze in the pause after "bar eleven", (line 710) but keeps her body still mainly turned to the right. She picks up her pitch pipes at this point, intending to give the choir's new notes, but lowers them when the accompanist gets there before her.

After a pause as she continues to look at the music – while her body is still oriented towards the altos – the conductor raises her hands to conducting position (preparatory gesture) at the same time that she lifts her gaze towards the altos (Figure 5.8). She then holds that position before beating in with her right hand (on beat 3) and giving a displayed in-breath to the alto section (Figure 5.9). As soon as they start singing (beat 4), she looks down to her music then immediately to her left to the sopranos for their entry (beat 1). As she moves her gaze to the second group of singers, her left hand (previously relatively stationary in mid-space) moves upwards towards the sopranos (Figure 5.10).

Much of this is similar to the previous extracts, but one thing worth noting is the clear use of gesture, body torque and alternate hands to orient to certain parts of the choir. Combined with Danielle's talk, this combination of non-verbal behaviours and movements ensures that the choir are aware of who is being 'addressed' at any particular moment. In addition, this extract once more clearly shows the two steps of coordinating the start of the turn. This time, gaze is combined with the movement into conducting position, and no verbal counting is given, only the displayed breath and lifted right hand to give the tempo.

Conductors often use phrases like 'same thing' or 'once more' in place of an exact location (or even "same people same place", F_2). However if nothing in the instruction is changing – or it is obvious where is meant, as in Extract 5.6 – conductors may not give any instructions at all. This most often happens when the conductor has only stopped to give a short feedback utterance, and the conductor's hands barely move from the original conducting position.

Extract 5.6. Neither the moon by night (B_1, 24:55-25:34)

```
475  ChST   neither the moon by ni⌈:        ght

476  ChAB                        ⌊by: ni:ght



             (2.7)
477  Ch
             ((Con holds pause))
```


Fig. 5.11.

(1.1)

478   *((Con beats and breathes in))*
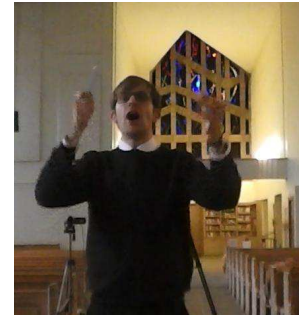
Fig. 5.12.

The Lord shall preserve-

479   ⌊*((Con*

brings off with small smile))
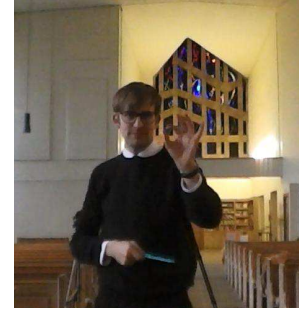
Fig. 5.13.

480 Con   subdivide the upbeat

Fig. 5.14.

481   (0.8)

Fig. 5.15.

490 Ch   **The Lord shall preserve thee**
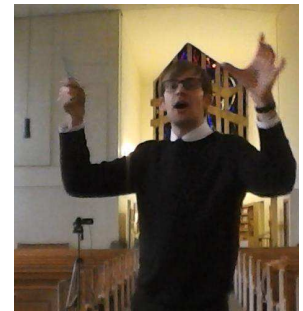
Fig. 5.16.

In Extract 5.6., the choir have sung from the beginning of the piece just over a minute ago, but at line 475/6 they reach a fermata – a pause in the music – on the word night. Ben holds the note before using the conventional circling of both hands to bring them off, but then allows a long pause of silence as part of the music before giving them a new upbeat and displayed breath (Figure 5.12) to restart them for line 479. This line is where the issue comes – different singers start at different times, prompting Ben to stop the turn by dropping his right (beating) hand. His left hand stays up, but stops beating and closes his index finger onto his thumb in a metaphorical 'close' your voices gesture (line 479) – in fact he executes this gesture twice. As they come to a stop, his right hand comes back up again (Figure 5.14) and he gives his directive (line 480). "Subdivide the upbeat" here means that the choir should be thinking in divisions of the beat that he gives prior to their start, because they actually come in halfway through a beat. In order to be accurate therefore, they should be mentally counting in half-beats.

Immediately following his directive, Ben leans back slightly and his left hand, which had been holding the 'closed' signal of circled index finger and thumb, widens into a more open conducting position (Figure 5.15) – the preparatory gesture. He gives the beat with both arms, a displayed breath, and a lean forward towards the choir (Figure 5.16). There is no specific restart instruction, singer-allocation or location given. Instead, the choir understands (evident by their entry in line 490) that a restart is immediately relevant from his behaviour – the positioning of his hands as he speaks (and also from the directive, see Chapter 6). The location is also assumed because of the directive, which refers to a restart itself (through "upbeat"), albeit one written into the music. The conductor's gaze is focused on the choir throughout the directive and restart, also alerting the choir to the likelihood of an imminent restart.

These four extracts show the basics of how the conductor allocates the choir's turn and coordinates the start of the sung turn. If needed, relevant instructions are given to ensure that the choir know who should sing, and from where. Noticeably, if allocating the turn to only part of the choir, gaze, body torque and hand gestures (such as pointing) may be used to orient to the relevant section at the appropriate moment (during allocation or singing entry). The raising of the conductor's arms to conducting position as the preparatory gesture – which may be carried out while giving the restart instructions – signals to the choir that starting is imminent. To coordinate the actual beginning of the music, conductors give an empty beat or two before the singers start, and a displayed breath is often used, modelling the tempo for

the choir. In addition, conductors often withhold eye gaze from the choir until they are ready to begin beating in, then drop their gaze once the singing is established, suggesting that eye contact plays a large role in the coordination of the onset itself. Finally, the raising of the eyebrows is also seen. This movement often mirrors the rising of the hands during the beating in, but it also has the benefit of widening the eyes, which would help to establish eye gaze.

5.2.2.   The overlay of affect (how should it be sung?)

The previous section highlighted the multifaceted work that conductors do to coordinate the beginning of the choir's turn. However, these practical considerations can also be overlaid with a more nuanced meaning related to the affect and energy of the forthcoming music. The extracts below show how the conductor's beating in gesture impacts (or aims to impact) the way the choir starts to sing. This is mainly accomplished through facial expression and movement of the arms (e.g. small and light beats, or large and deliberate).

Extract 5.7. Veni (F_1, 12:04-12:58)

```
346  Con  Good
347       Beginning
...       ((talk regarding posture when sitting))
359       Ok
360       (.)
```



```
361       °and°
```

Fig. 5.17.


```
362       °three°
```

Fig. 5.18.

363   °four°

Fig. 5.19.

364 Acc   *((beat 1))*

Fig. 5.20.

365   *((beat 2))*

Fig. 5.21.

366   *((beat 4))*

Fig. 5.22.

367 Ch   **Ve:**

Fig. 5.23.

Extract 5.7 is taken from the beginning of the rehearsal, following the warm up. Choir F are only working on Mahler's *Symphony No. 8*, so Flynn's "beginning" (line 347) is sufficient instruction for the starting location. He then gives some advice on sitting correctly before using a token to change the activity (line 359). A brief pause follows as he smiles at the choir and turns to make eye contact with the accompanist, raising his hands ready to start (the preparatory gesture). He counts the accompanist in while beating, but unlike when conducting in the choir, the conductor drops his gaze before the accompanist begins, looking slightly away by "four" (line 363), and at his music just before the pianist's first beat. There is one bar of piano before the choir enter, and Flynn looks up at the singers on the final beat, breathing in as he does so to bring them in on the following beat.

So far, this is all fairly similar to the previous extracts, other than the addition of the accompanist to start. However, what is observable in this extract is the change in Flynn's facial expression across this short clip, illustrated in the figures. Flynn starts with a cheerful, smiling face, which appears to reflect his own mood, judging from the jokes and general tone of the rehearsal so far. This lasts as far as the beat three upbeat (line 362), but by the following beat he appears to be looking intensely and seriously into the middle distance (somewhere between the accompanist and his own music; Figure 5.19). By the next beat, he is looking at his music, but with lips pressed together and appearing to frown slightly. This expression is seen on his face throughout the bar, with quite sharp, dramatic arm movements, particularly when the choir come in, as he flings his arms forward and down (Figure 5.23). This symphony has been nicknamed the *Symphony of a Thousand* – so-called because the premiere featured over 1000 musicians, with a large symphony orchestra, additional brass ensemble, two large mixed choirs, a children's choir, organ, and eight vocal soloists (Schwarm, 2018). It starts with fortissimo (very loud) chords across both choirs. The mood of the piece at the beginning here, then, is massive, intense and dramatic. This is the emotion that Flynn appears to be displaying in his facial expressions and arm movements as he launches the choir's turn, in order to shape their singing expressively.

Extract 5.8 falls in the middle of a rehearsal of the *Benedictus* from Dvořák's *Mass in D*, while they are working on the *Osanna* section – a lively, joyful burst of praise following the meditative *Benedictus*. The energy and contrast with the previous section that George wants from the choir can be seen in his facial expressions and body movements as he restarts the choir.

```
474  Con   er right now let's add the other
475        parts in as well please
```


Fig. 5.24.

```
476        so sopranos br:ight!
```


Fig. 5.25.

```
477        And excited on the front of this
```



```
478        And altos on the A
```

Fig. 5.26.

```
479        I'm having to work very hard aren't I
480  Ch    heheh
481  Con   hhh
482        here we go=
```



```
483        ooh
```

Fig. 5.27.

```
484        One
```


Fig. 5.28.

```
485        two!
```


Fig. 5.29.

```
486  ChT   Osanna ⌈in ⌈exce    lsis
487  ChS          ⌊O   sa
489  ChB              ⌊Osa nna in
```


Fig. 5.30.

```
488  Con          ⌊O!
```

Firstly, when introducing the restart George rolls the 'r' in bright (line 476) dramatically, throwing his arms up into the air as he does so (Figures 5.24-5.25). When beginning to count in, looking at the tenors who are first to begin, the conductor sharply beats his right hand down on "one" (line 484) whilst widening his eyes with displayed excitement (see Figure 5.28 and Figure 5.31 below).

Figure 5.31. Close up of excited facial expression on "one" (Extract 5.8, line 484, Fig. 5.28)

On "two!" (line 485), he thrusts his right hand forward and up with vigour (Figure 5.29), leaning forward and actually bouncing slightly off his stool with the momentum. As can be seen from the transcript, the choir parts have a staggered entry, so once the tenors have begun, the conductor orients towards the sopranos, and exclaims their starting syllable with them (Figure 5.30), emphasising the excitement that he has asked for from them in line 477. This is once more accompanied by an enthusiastic right hand upward beat and – from the sound of it, although not visible on the video – a stamp with his left foot at the same time.

All of these energetic movements and excited facial expressions and utterances are aiming to display the energy and excitement that he wants the choir to feel, and put into and across with their singing. Previously, the conductor has complained that the choir seem tired and lacking in energy ("everybody's looking completely dead today. I don't know what happened last night but you obviously had a good time", G1_2). This relates to his comment in line 479 – that he feels he is having to work hard to get the choir to put in the energy that the music needs. This may partially account for his particularly visible and displayed emotion in the following restart, as he tries to energise the choir – attempting to transfer his visual demonstration of excitement through the singers and into the music.

Both of these extracts have shown the way that conductors can display a particular emotion during the bringing in sequence. This helps the conductor to begin directing the choir in how to shape the music right from the very beginning of the turn.

5.2.3. Disruptions or additions to the basic sequence

In the previous chapter, we looked at directives, reminders and so on that the conductor may give after introducing the piece, but before they move into the 'bringing in' sequence

discussed above. Occasionally however, small utterances may be produced at the last minute just before the choir sing, to aid the choir in shaping the turn they are about to perform in some way. They tend to be short, to reduce the disruption to the turn-beginning sequence. Other times however, the launching of the turn may be interrupted in a way that leads to it being terminated, or at least paused, as a result of the conductor or another having some issue that prevents or hinders the turn beginning.

5.2.3.1. Last minute instructions

These tend to be short directives that briefly pause the launching of the choir's turn and highlight a particular focus that the choir should have while singing. They are often reminders of directives that the conductor has previously mentioned, such as in this next extract.

Extract 5.9. Thinking always the text (H1_2, 3:10-3:44)

```
67    Con    Um at leaning and at farewell (.)
68           can we- can we (.) lean (.) really
69           leaning her breast
70           so the words begin to integrate
71           with the music
...          ((15 lines missing))
87           Beginning (.) let's stand
                ⌈(4.5)
88    Ch
                ⌊((Ch stand))




                ⌈(0.8)
89    Con
                ⌊((Con raises arms))
```


Fig. 5.32.

```
90    Acc    ((notes))
```

Fig. 5.33.

```
91    Con    Thinking always the text
```


Fig. 5.34.

```
92           °and°
```
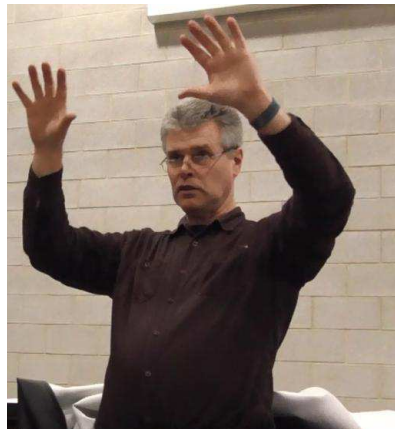

Fig. 5.35.

```
93           ((breath, beats in))
94    Ch     The silver swan
```

The choir have just finished singing *The Silver Swan* before Extract 5.9 begins, and during a feedback cluster one request Henry makes is for the words of the text (such as 'lean') to be used to help shape the music (lines 67-71). 'Leaning' on a particular word or note means giving it a gentle emphasis, as Henry demonstrates in line 69. He then goes on to give further instructions on different topics to the choir before giving the directive for a restart (line 87) as the beginning of the pre-sequence, giving the preparatory movement as the choir get ready (line 89). As he moves his arms out to begin beating in, he gives one last instruction (line 91),

linking back to the earlier directive. This demonstrates another way that, even at this late stage before the choir begins, the conductor is thinking about shaping the music and giving the choir aspects of the music to act on. The use of a reminder of a recently-given directive is relatively common, particularly after a feedback cluster, orienting the choir to what the conductor will be listening for.

5.2.3.2. Terminations

We now move on to a couple of examples where the conductor terminates or postpones the launch of the choir's turn. This is relatively unusual, but there are several examples throughout the data. The reasons for it can vary; for instance, the choir or accompanist may not be ready, or may ask a question (requiring more than a very brief answer), or the conductor might remember something they meant to say earlier. In these cases, what is being considered is how the conductor makes it clear that the launch sequence has been terminated.

Extract 5.10. Two before twenty (F_2, 7:29-08:06)

```
204  Con   S- sing er: two beats before twenty
```



```
205       just piano and le:gato (.)
```

Fig. 5.36.

```
206       with them (.) please Patrick
```



```
207       Here we go
```

Fig. 5.37.

```
208  Acc   ((notes))
```

209 Con two before twenty

Fig. 5.38.

210 One

Fig. 5.39.

211 er ⌈it's a D
212 Acc   ⌊*((note))*

Fig. 5.40.

213 Con e:r

Fig. 5.41.

214   half bar two before

Fig. 5.42.

215   °er well° (.)
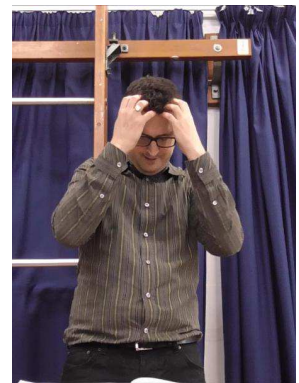
Fig. 5.43.

216   two <u>beats</u> before twenty

Fig. 5.44.

217 Acc *((notes))*

Fig. 5.45.

```
218  Con  er it's- (.)⌈it's a D      It's a D
219  Acc            ⌊I'm sorry I'm-  no
```


Fig. 5.46.

```
220       I'm (reading a score with a purple line in it

221       and I thought it was a top line)
222  Con  yeah don't ⌈worry        ⌈don't worry
223  Ch             ⌊((laughter))
224  Acc                           ⌊((notes))
```

```
225  Con  brilliant (.)
```


Fig. 5.47.

Fig. 5.48.

```
226       don't worry
```

```
227       it's Sunday morning
```

| 228 | we're all popping off everywhere | |

Fig. 5.49.

| 229 | here we go | |

Fig. 5.50.

| 230 | ah: one two | |

Fig. 5.51.

231 Ch   **In firma nostri**

Here, the accompanist gives the wrong starting notes to the choir, starting an interesting interaction as the conductor and accompanist try to resolve the issue. Flynn notices the issue as he starts to count in (line 210), pausing in position just before 'two' to give the letter name of the correct note. When this fails to help, he then makes another attempt to assist by giving the starting location, but self-repairs as he realises that his utterance "two before" (line 214) could be ambiguous (as to whether it means two bars or two beats before the rehearsal mark twenty). His smile in line 217 as the accompanist attempts the starting notes again suggests that he believes this will resolve the issue, but when it does not, he returns to stating the letter name of the note he wants. Finally, the accompanist realises his mistake (an issue with

confusing printing; lines 219-221), the conductor positively assesses the new note (line 225) and brushes away his apology with a joke (lines 222, 226-228). The conductor then gives a new restart instruction (line 229) and counts in.

The aim of this analysis is to see how conductors display whether the restart is (still) relevant or not. During Flynn's first attempt to correct the notes (line 211), he pauses his hands mid-beat and keeps them in position, suggesting that at that moment the launch of the piece is still imminent, pending the issue being corrected immediately. When it is not, the hands relax a little (line 213), but stay up in the same position as the conductor attempts another utterance to assist the accompanist. From here, it would only take the minimal movement to be back in the preparatory position. Only at the point where he realises that there may be a larger misunderstanding than just an incorrectly played note (line 215), does Flynn move his hands from the conducting position. There is now clearly an issue that needs to be resolved before the restart can happen, and this is made evident to the choir by the removal of the hands (e.g. tucking his right hand – traditionally the beating hand – under his left elbow) and also closing his eyes, disrupting the usually-present eye contact.

Once the issue is fixed, the conductor gives a left-hand 'thumbs up' to the accompanist without looking towards him (line 225). As he continues to joke through the next three lines however, his right hand is moving back into the preparatory conducting position, even as his left hand remains still. This raising of the hand indicates to the choir that the restart is now once again imminent, despite the fact that his talk is still part of the prior sequence. Once he reaches the verbal announcement of the restart (line 229) he once again makes eye contact with the choir, then begins the count in.

The particularly salient aspects of this extract are the observations that it is the raising or lowering of the conductor's hands that signals to the choir whether a restart is imminent or not, *even if* the conductor's talk is concerned with something different. Eye contact may also play a role, only reappearing once the launch is about to happen.

5.3. Co-constructing the choir's turn

In this next section we move on from how the choir's turn starts to what happens during it. In particular, the focus is on how the conductor shapes the choir's singing in situ, co-constructing the music along with them. This part – the 'actual' conducting – is what many conductors and authors have focused on as being the most important part of the conductor's role: being able to convey the expression, phrasing, interpretation and understanding of the

music through (mostly) non-verbal behaviour. The section will work its way through a continuum of various aspects of co-construction that can be observed in the rehearsals, from the 'basic' practical conducting actions, through to more metaphorical and expressive behaviours. It will finish with some examples of how conductors may comment on the co-construction of the music simultaneously, using concurrent talk. In particular, the way that a conductor's whole body is brought into play in many of these actions is observed.

5.3.1. Time-keeping

5.3.1.1. Nonverbal

Keeping time, and keeping the choir *in* time, is one of the most important tasks that the conductor needs to accomplish during the sung turn. As mentioned in the literature review, it is likely that the concept of a conductor developed from somebody with a stick banging the ground to keep time, suggesting that this is one of the most fundamental aspects of their role.

All the conductors at some point demonstrate this relatively simple time-keeping beat pattern with little additional information on, for example, shape and expressiveness. This is perhaps slightly misleading, because even the simplest of beat patterns will include other information, whether intentional or not, such as the beat size, hand shape or 'deliberateness' of the beats (e.g. sharp and jerky vs. smooth and floppy). The choir is likely to respond to aspects like this, unconsciously or otherwise, affecting how the music is sung. However, often all that is needed, particularly if the choir know the music well, is the tempo and some indication of mood through the speed of the beat gestures. The singers have the score in front of them, which will include indications of the dynamics and phrasing, and, unlike an orchestra, contains everybody's parts so they can see how their part fits into the whole as well.

5.3.1.2. Verbal

This orientation to timekeeping is also sometimes seen verbally, with short verbal utterances used by the conductor to mark time. We have already seen that counting in before the choir's turn is common, as well as the use of words such as 'and' or 'go' in place of a number. This way of indexing the shared time between choir and conductor also occurs while they are singing, even with the gestural beats being given, as shown in the following two extracts.

Extract 5.11. And one (C_2, 6:24-6:37)

Figure 5.52. From And the glory of the Lord*, from* The Messiah *by George Frederick Handel*

Extract 5.12. Darling children (E1_2, 14:42-15:18)

```
265   Ch    when life wounds
266         Ah  :  :  :
267         ⌈ah     :   :    :
268   Con   ⌊(    ) two three
269   Ch    ah ⌈:     :
270   Con     ⌊two three and
271   Ch    ⌈ah         :        :
272   Con   ⌊one  and two and three
273   Ch    darling children
```

In both of these extracts, the conductor counts aloud the beats during the rests (Extract 5.11) or the long notes (Extract 5.12) in order to make aurally salient the tempo to the choir at crucial moments. The beats were, of course, already visible to the choir through the conductor's gestural beats, but describing them audibly ensures that even singers who may not be watching begin singing or move notes with the conductor and the other singers. As when launching the turn, other words (often 'and') can be used to replace beat numbers. The talk may occur with the onset of a sung note (e.g. the second "and" in Extract 5.11, or "one" in Extract 5.12) if the reason for counting is to coordinate the next note/entry ("for" in the former; "darling" in line 273 of the latter).

By explicitly marking the time through concurrent talk (in addition to their visually available beating) the conductors make sure that all the singers are aware of exactly when to come off the note, or move onto or start the next one, even if they are not watching (the conductor's perpetual complaint!). It may also be training the singers to count for themselves, when the conductor will not be able to do so (e.g. in the performance). However, beyond that

particular note, this is also part of ensuring that singers are working to the same tempo as the conductor, and one another. This can be linked to Schütz's (1951) discussion of streams of consciousness and different times in music. He suggests that the conductor's actions in the outer world (i.e. 'real' time) translate "the musical events going on in inner time, [and] replace for each performer the immediate grasping of the expressive activities of all his coperformers" (p.95). That is, by showing (and, in these examples, verbally telling) the beats, the conductor is making it so that the singers do not have to all try and align to every other singer's 'inner' musical time. The conductor instead takes on the burden of showing that time so that everyone can share the inner time together.

5.3.2. Cueing

Despite all the singers being able to see the relationship between their part and everyone else's on the score, another very common, practical feature that all the conductors in the data include to some extent is cueing. Cueing is a gesture, movement or change in gaze that indicates to the choir that they are about to start singing.

It is worth noting that the cue is not (necessarily) what *makes* the choir begin singing – the score and the singers' own knowledge of the music should be enough to tell them that. However, it is an important part of co-construction that both parties work together to make the music, and that includes entries. The conductor is indicating to the choir that their part is important at that moment, and the choir are reassured that they are with the conductor. It is similar to chamber musicians' or jazz players' use of gaze: they do not necessarily need to look at each other – they could do it by listening – but it can increase the mutual understanding or 'grounding' between performers (e.g. Gratier, 2008).

Extract 5.13 below shows how gesture, body orientation, and gaze can all be used to give a cue. The transcript includes both the conductor and choir camera views simultaneously, in order to demonstrate the eye contact between them. The camera focused on the choir is standing just to the right of the conductor.

In the extract, three parts enter separately (soprano, alto, then tenor and bass together) to sing the line "and I will sing with the understanding also". This is a clear example of how the conductor orients to each group of singers in turn, in order to cue their entry. Firstly, during the piano interlude in line 156, there is almost no eye contact between Arthur and choir – only one singer is visibly looking up from their music. By one beat before the sopranos' entry (line 157), he and the soprano section (bracketed in red) are looking at each other, ready to

begin, and eye contact is maintained throughout their line. While they are singing "alleluia" in line 160, however, the altos (green bracket) begin to raise their gaze to him, and he turns away from the still-singing sopranos to orient towards the altos as they begin their part. This is then repeated again – as the altos reach the alleluias (line 163), Arthur turns slightly to orient towards the two male singers (blue bracket) and they raise their gaze to make eye contact with him in preparation to begin singing.

At each new entry, Arthur uses raised eyebrows, displayed breath in the shape of the first vowel (in the first and third entries), rising, palm-upward hands and clear body orientation towards the relevant part. When looking at the camera focused on the choir, we can also see the way each section of singers orient towards and make eye contact with him just before they begin singing, usually dropping their gaze as or after they come in.

Extract 5.13. And I will sing (A_3, 7:10-7:44)

Fig. 5.53.

156 Acc   *((piano interlude))*

ChS　　　　　　　　　　**ChTB**　　**ChA**

Fig. 5.54. Introduction

157   *((Intro –*

1 beat

prior to

ChS entry))

Fig. 5.55.

ChS
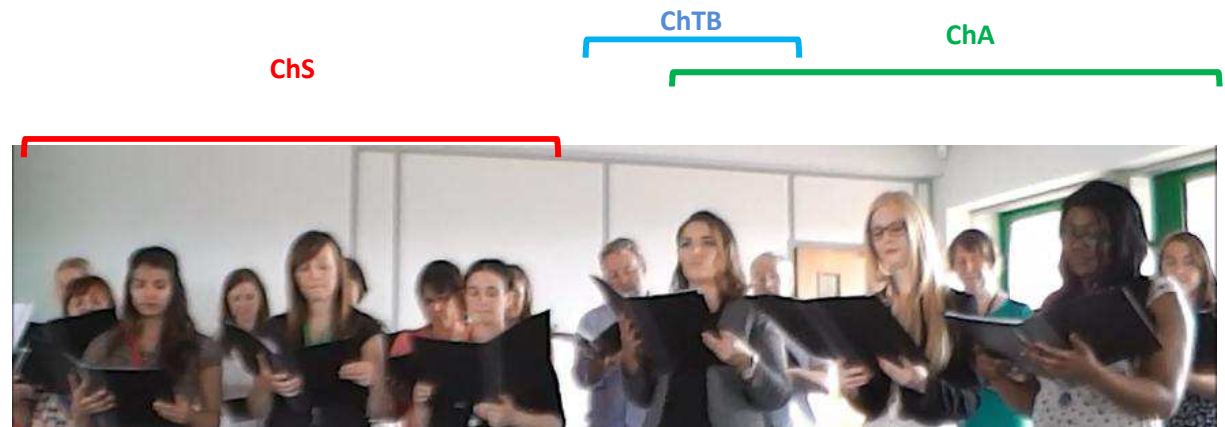
Fig. 5.56. Sopranos prepare

123

158	Ch-S	**And I will sing with the understa : nding also**	

Fig. 5.57.

Fig. 5.58. Sopranos begin

159	Con	Good

ChA

160	Ch-S	**alleluia** **allelu:** **ia⌐ :**

Fig. 5.59.
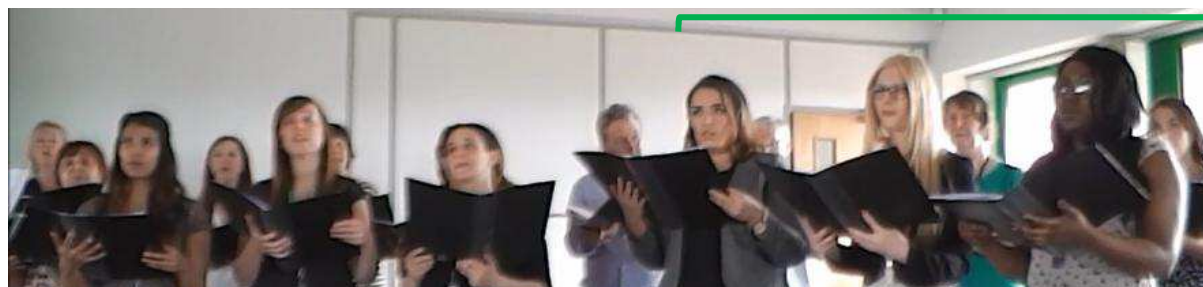
Fig. 5.60. Altos prepare

124

161 Ch-
     A   ⌊**And I will**
           sing with
           the   under
           ⌈**sta:nding**
           also

Fig. 5.61.

Fig. 5.62. Altos begin

162 Con ⌊*sta :*
         nding al

163 Ch- **alleluia**
     A   **allelu:**
         ia⌈**:**

Fig. 5.63.

Fig. 5.64. Tenors/Basses prepare

164 Ch-
TB

⌊**And I will sing with the understa : nding also**

Fig. 5.65.

Fig. 5.66. Tenors/Basses begin

5.3.3. Metaphorical aspects of conducting

Having focused so far on the practicalities of coordinating the choir, the next extracts aim to show the way conductors also use their bodies to convey various expressive, emotional and metaphorical information to the choir. This is part of trying to incorporate the composer's expressive intentions and the conductor's interpretation of the music – not just being technically correct. This is quite a process: the expression needs to move from the conductor's mental aural 'image' of the piece, through his or her body language, and then be translated by the choir into sound.

The first of these extracts clearly shows how conductors may try to convey metaphorical and emotional content non-verbally while conducting. In Extract 5.14, George is trying to show how the choir and/or the music (or the people listening to the music) should feel at a specific moment. Lines 612-621 (in the continuation of the extract below) show the metaphorical, descriptive language he uses when trying to *tell* the choir what he wants, but the images show how he conveys this in his conducting. His closed eyes, backwards-leaning posture, hands palm down (usually associated with quiet) and almost complete lack of movement in Figures 5.74-5.76 embody the feeling of 'stillness' and 'stasis' that he is attempting to extricate from the choir. 'Embodying the feeling' is one way of describing it, but 'embodying the music' may be another; Garnett (2009) also discusses how conductors try to *be* the music in their conducting. The practical issues of how to sing the music are still there (e.g. George cues the soprano entry in Figure 5.67), but there is an additional layer – or lamination, in Goffman's (1974) terms – which depicts what the music should *be like*. This is the visual representation of the expressive, feeling bits of the music.

Extract 5.14. That little moment of complete stasis (G1_2, 16:49-17:37)

Top: *Figures 5.67.-5.71. Conducting bars 28-29 of Dvořák's* Benedictus*.*
Middle: *Figure 5.72.* Benedictus *from* Mass in D *by Antonin Dvořák, bars 28-31, soprano part.*
Bottom: *Figures 5.73-5.77. Conducting bars 30-31 of Dvořák's* Benedictus*.*

```
604 Ch    do⌈:mini:
605 Con     ⌊.h I'm just going to st- stop you
606        you sort of forgot sopranos
607        some of you anyway
608        it's- it only takes one person not to do it
609        and it doesn't quite work
610        You did that beautifully before
611        We lost the first bar middle of that page
612        there's that mo:ment in there
613        that be- it's beat three (.)
614        of that bar
615        erm just try to work it
616        it's as if you didn't- weren't going to
617        go any further
618        y'know that little mo:ment of complete
619        stasis
620        where the world stands still
621        (.)
```

On other occasions, the conductor may focus on trying to convey or display a specific emotion. A distinction has been made between enacted and felt emotions in conductors (e.g. Poggi, 2011), but it can sometimes be difficult to distinguish the two.

In this next extract, it is difficult to tell whether Christopher is showing enjoyment of the music (e.g. closing his eyes, looking happy), or conveying that the choir should be portraying the emotion of joy at that moment of the music (e.g. smiling, exuberant gestures). More likely, it is a reflexive loop – the conductor is showing the choir the happiness they should be feeling, and how it should be conveyed through the music; the choir's singing (if done correctly) then makes the conductor feel happy; which he displays back to them. Ultimately of course, both parties' actions should allow the audience to feel the joy conveyed by the choir, conductor and the music (or composer).

Extract 5.15. The glory of the Lord (C_2, 14:58-15:06)

514	ChS	**And**

Fig. 5.78.

515	**the**

Fig. 5.79.

516	**glory**

Fig. 5.80.

517 **the**

Fig. 5.81.

Fig. 5.82.

518 **glory**

Fig. 5.83.

519   **the**

Fig. 5.84.

520   **glory**

Fig. 5.85.

521   **of the**

Fig. 5.86.

522   **Lord**

Fig. 5.87.

Extract 5.14 showed a single, specific metaphor, which we are able to understand fully through his descriptive talk, and Extract 5.15 showed a particular feeling (joyfulness, excitement) being conveyed. However, often the conductor's embodiment of the music is more subtle – an ongoing shaping of the music that is a nuanced interpretation of the given dynamics or phrasing. Extract 5.16 gives an example.

Extract 5.16. O saviour (B_2 00:04-01:02)

2 Ch   **O saviour**

Fig. 5.88.

Fig. 5.89.

3　　　**O saviour**

Fig. 5.90.

Fig. 5.91.

4　　　**who by**

Fig. 5.92.

5　　　**thy cross**
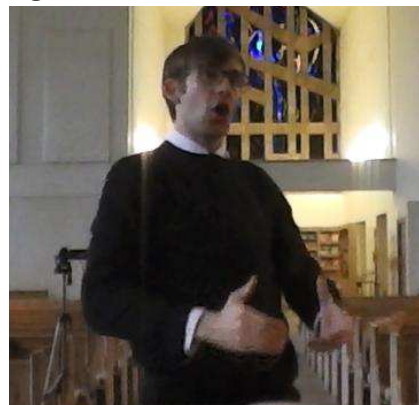
Fig. 5.93.

6   **and thy**

Fig. 5.94.

7   **precious blood**

Fig. 5.95.

8   **hast**

Fig. 5.96.

9   **redee-**

Fig. 5.97.

10   **-med us**

Fig. 5.98.

In Extract 5.16, the choir are singing a beautiful, emotive section of Howell's *Requiem*. Ben's conducting here reflects not just one particular emotion or metaphor, but a fluid, ongoing embodying of the music with all its ebbs and flows, swells and falls. He uses his whole body, leaning forwards (Figs 5.92 and 5.96) as the dynamic and tension increases, and backwards (Figures 5.89 and 5.98) as the phrase relaxes again. There is lots of eye contact with the choir, animated facial expressions, particularly eyebrow-raising, and arm and hand movements that appear to gather up the sound (Figure 5.92), or hold it at bay (Figure 5.91). Across the extract, he rarely stays still for very long, and the movement is reflected in the choir's singing. They are clearly responding to his expression of the music, just as he reacts to them (e.g. by pulling away when they get louder). The music is co-constructed by the two parties as the singers translate his embodiment of the music into sound.

These extracts have shown the way that conductors can display metaphors, emotion and expression of the music through the facial expressions, body posture, handshapes, and arm and body movements. The in situ shaping of the music is (hopefully) responded to by the singers moment-by-moment, as the conductor also responds to the choir's sound. This

creates a constant cycle of mutual monitoring that allows the music to be co-constructed and shaped by both parties as it is being created.

5.3.4. Commenting on the music – an additional lamination

One type of utterance that conductors produce concurrently while the choir are singing has already been mentioned – that of marking time. This section will look at other 'utterances' (verbal and depicted) that the conductors make while the choir is singing. While the previous examples in this co-construction section have focused on the way that the conductor and choir combine their roles to jointly produce the music, these extracts will look at the way conductors can metaphorically step out of the 'music-making' layer and move into another frame (Goffman, 1974) of *commenting* on the music as it is being made.

The comments conductors make fall mainly into three categories: positive and negative assessments - evaluating what they have previously sung – and directives – instructions for how to sing in the future. However, two features of the context mean that the intended outcomes of these are not as immediately clear-cut as one might originally think. The first – which will be explored in more detail in the next chapter on feedback, but also needs to be observed here – is that directives that occur in the midst of an ongoing activity (as they often do here) can also work as negative assessments, implying that the action being directed has previously been in some way inadequate (see Kent & Kendrick, 2016; Emerson, Williamson & Wilkinson, forthcoming). Similarly, providing a negative assessment about something that can be changed, such as music, also allows it to be hearable as a directive (see Fasulo & Monzoni, 2009; Emerson, Williamson & Wilkinson, forthcoming), in order to rectify the issue highlighted by the assessment.

The second feature that interacts with this is the ongoing forward momentum of the music that continues during the utterances. This means that both directives and assessments may be referring to (a) things that have occurred in the past and are now over (such as having sung an F natural instead of an F sharp); (b) things that have occurred in the past but are still occurring in the present (such as singing too loudly or too slowly); or (c) things that have not yet come to pass (such as an upcoming change of section, mood or key). This latter makes use of the predictability and projectability of the music, as a result of the written score, whereas the other two rely on the choir being able to interpret the utterances in terms of their recent and current experience of the music. The table below summarises these utterances and their implications, and gives the relevant extract numbers.

Table 5.2. Types of verbal and non-verbal utterances commenting on the music

	Past	Present	Future
	Referent has already occurred (e.g. previous wrong note)	Referent has already occurred and is still currently occurring (e.g. singing too loudly)	Referent has not yet occurred (e.g. upcoming change of speed)
Directive	Directive to be complied with during next rendition	Directive to be complied with immediately to rectify past/current issue	Directive to be complied with upon reaching the relevant point of music (which may be 'now')
	Implied negative assessment	Implied negative assessment	No implied assessment
	Extracts 5.17, 5.18	Extracts 5.19-5.22	Extracts 5.18, 5.22
Negative assessment	Negatively assessing past (finished) behaviour	Negatively assessing past and ongoing behaviour	---
	Implied directive to be complied with during future renditions	Implied directive to be complied with immediately	
	Extract 5.23, 5.24	Extract 5.23	
Positive assessment	Positively assessing past (finished) behaviour – they are (now) correct	Positively assessing past and ongoing behaviour – they are (now) correct	---
	Implies they should do the same during future renditions	Implies they should do the same during future renditions	
	Extract 5.26-5.28	Extract 5.25	

5.3.4.1. Directives

Directives are much more common than negative assessments during the singing, perhaps because the assessments are either not relevant to the ongoing progression of the music (if they happened in the past), or the extra work involved for the choir in inferring the relevant directive makes it more efficient to simply give the directive. Negative assessments also often involve mitigation words and phrases such as 'just' or 'a little bit' (see Chapter 6 for examples), so directives, which can be given as short bald imperatives, would also be more suited to the time constraints and singers' mental resources when given concurrently with the singing.

In Extract 5.17 and the first half of 5.18 below, the conductors give short directives regarding something that has already past.

Extract 5.17. Don't hang on forever (C_2 15:02-15:11)

```
517  ChS     glory of the Lo ⌈:    rd
518  ChATB                    ⌊and    the
519          gl⌈o  :           ry    the
520  Con       ⌊Don't hang on for⌈ever
521  ChS                          ⌊shall be revealed
```

In Extract 5.17, Christopher is referring to a long note ("Lord", line 517) where some sopranos did not stop singing in the correct place. The utterance negatively assesses the length of the sung note implicitly, as well as directing the singers on how to correct it. By this point, they have finished it however, so the directive can only be complied with the next time that section of music is sung – there is nothing the choir can do right now. Directives like this have been found in other embodied interactions, such as boxing (Okada, 2018).

Extract 5.18. Sar(baoth) (B_3, 31:00-31:25)

```
588  ChSA    Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus
589          sabao: ⌈  th
590  Con            ⌊sar
591  ChSA    Sanctus sanctus sanctus dom⌈inus deus sabaoth
592  Con                                ⌊sar
```

In line 590 of Extract 5.18 Ben corrects the choir's pronunciation of 'sabaoth' (a rounder first syllable: *sar*-bar-ot instead of the flatter *sa*-bar-ot). This is a reaction to them having just pronounced that syllable inadequately in line 589, and therefore carries an implicit negative assessment. Since they have finished singing it, the directive model can only be put into practice next time they sing it. However, unlike the previous extract, 'next time' is in the following line. Before they get to the word in question though, the conductor gives the same model again. This time, since they have not sung the word since the previous correction in line 590, the directive is referring forward to the upcoming 'sabaoth' and therefore does not carry any assessment. The clear projectability of the music – because each singer has a written score – allows the conductor to give directives like this about something that is to happen in the future.

The following extracts are examples of the most common type of directives: those which are a reaction to something that started happening in the past but is still ongoing at the moment when the directive is given, meaning that it can (and should) be complied with immediately.

Extract 5.19. Steady steady (D2 05:12-05:21)

```
157  Ch    in va::num labora verunt
158        labora ⌈verunt        qui
159  Con          ⌊Steady steady
160  Ch    edificant eam
```

Extract 5.20. Crescendo through here (C_2 24:59-25:18)

```
804  Ch    The Lord Almighty God
805        Who was ⌈and                i                        s
806  Con           ⌊Crescendo (.) crescendo through here
807  Ch    and is to come
```

Both Extracts 5.19 and 5.20 refer to ongoing issues. In the first, the choir are rushing, and Dylan wishes them to conform to his beats. In the second, the choir should have already started getting louder, but Christopher does not feel that they are doing so (or doing so enough). Both conductors then give short directives that the choir are expected to implement at that moment. Both utterances have an implied negative assessment function – the directive is being given in order to correct something that is currently not working. However the singers would also be expected to carry their compliance forward to future renditions as

well (i.e. next time they sing that piece or section remember to stay at the conductor's speed or crescendo at that moment).

The next extract shows something very similar but through depiction. In line 446 of Extract 5.21, Ben steps towards one section of the choir where they have a relatively important moment. This orientation to a salient moment of the music is common, part of the conductor's role of balancing and blending the singers to shape the overall music. Here, the singers (mis- or over-) interpret his gesture as wanting them to get louder. When they increase their volume, Ben apparently realises his mistake (suggested by his smile in line 447, and later acknowledged in line 451), and directs them to correct the volume by stepping back with hands held up (Figure 5.100), creating a 'sh' shape with his lips (Figure 5.101), and pushing down with both hands, palms down (Figure 5.102). He also shakes his head, which gives an explicit depicted assessment, alongside the implicit negative assessment suggested by the 'sh' directive (that they are currently/were previously too loud). It is relatively unusual to get both an assessment *and* a directive during a concurrent utterance, unlike many of the examples in the conductors' feedback turns after the singing (see next chapter). This is presumably because shorter, quicker utterances are usually more useful and effective in this context.

Extract 5.21. Luceat eis (B_2, 22:36-23:09)


```
446   Ch   lucea:t
```

Fig. 5.99.

Fig. 5.100.

447   e:::::::::::::::is

Fig. 5.101.

Fig. 5.102.

Fig. 5.103.

```
448          et lu:⌈x
449 Con          ⌊good
450          k I want to do those two pages again
451          Um if I give you more encouragement it's cos I'm
452          enjoying it so ju(h)st ke(h)-
453          not too much too soon
```

In the last directive example, Extract 5.22, there are instances where Arthur produces depicted directives, firstly, related to an ongoing issue, and, secondly, when referring to a future (although almost simultaneous) action.

Extract 5.22. Let's face the music and dance (A_4, 11:20-11:56)

```
302  Ch      Before they ask us to pay the bill
303          and while we still have the
```


Fig. 5.104.

```
304  ChSA    ⌈cha              nce
305  ChB     ⌊still have the chance
```


Fig. 5.105.

```
306  Ch      Let's face the music and dance
307          ((Gloss: So soon
308          we'll be without the moon
309          humming a different tune))
```


310	ChSA	**And the**	**n**	*Fig. 5.106.*
311	ChB	**and then and then**		

Fig. 5.107.

312	Ch	**there may be teardrops to**

Fig. 5.108.

313	ChSA	**she**	**d**
314	ChB	**shed to shed**	
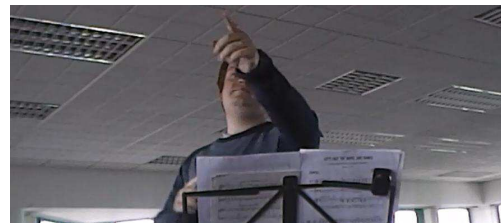
Fig. 5.109.

One of the features of this piece (*Let's face the music*, by Irving Berlin) is that the bass part often works separately to the soprano and alto parts (only three parts in this piece; no tenors), particularly repeating phrases while the women are holding their note. Arthur is working on getting the basses to come through the texture at these points, and has previously explicitly stated that they should do this: "basses we need more of you when (.) when there's held chords going on everywhere else and you have **have fled** or something like that" (A_4).

This orienting to a particular feature in advance affects when the directive is given. In lines 304/305, Arthur points to the basses (Figure 5.104) during their extra "still have the chance", to visibly make clear that they are important at that moment, and remind them of his previous verbal directive. His left hand forms into an indexical, pointing shape on the first

"cha" before the basses divide from the other parts, suggesting that this is an orientation to something that has not yet happened, even though the directive itself comes almost simultaneously with the event. When he points at the basses (with both hands), he turns his body to orient to them, establishes eye gaze and raises his eyebrows, all common methods of demonstrating the importance of a particular part at one moment. Arthur has used similar embodied actions earlier in the piece and continues to do so later (e.g. lines 313/14) for comparable musical moments.

However, he then changes his movement (Figure 5.105): his eyes widen, he leans towards them, starts mouthing the words and his left hand turns to start beckoning towards them. Given that this change in demeanour does not happen on the other similar occasions (again, see lines 313/14), it suggests that this behaviour has now become a reaction to the basses not coming though the soprano and altos' singing clearly enough, i.e. it is now commenting on a past and ongoing issue, as opposed to directing a future event. This means that while the original pointing towards the basses did not necessarily carry a negatively assessing function, the movement into beckoning does – implying that they were (and are) not loud enough.

For comparison, in lines 313/14, Arthur again points to the basses for their important moment on the second "to shed", then puts both arms out, palms down; this indicates to the sopranos and altos (who are positioned on either side of the basses) that they should be quieter. Once again the pointing handshape appears before the basses start the event, and the move to palms down actually happens almost simultaneously with their change. It is difficult to tell for sure whether this gesture is a future directive, because the conductor knows that the sopranos and altos need to be quieter at this point, or in response to a current ongoing problem (i.e. that they are too loud at that moment), or even both. However he does the very same pointing+palms down gesture earlier in the piece and here it is combined with a lack of eye gaze with the choir for most of the palm down gesture (unlike the urgent-looking gaze that accompanies the beckoning in line 306). Therefore it is likely that this is mostly a future-oriented directive (in that the conductor was orienting to it prior to its occurrence), even if the 'future' when it is to be implemented is actually the present.

A final 'future' directive to be implemented 'now' comes at the end of lines 310/311, where the conductor circles his hands (possibly amending the conventional circling 'bringing off' gesture) to end with both hands' index fingers pointing outwards, accompanied by raised eyebrows and wide eyes. This refers to where the singers begin dancing (stepping to the

beat) – the altos on the left (Arthur's right) and sopranos on the right (Arthur's left) begin to move outwards at this point (see Figure 5.107). Since it is a predetermined event, the conductor knows where this will happen and coordinates his movement to land on the beat, meaning that much of the gesture occurs before the event and therefore carries no negative assessment implication.

5.3.4.2. Negative assessments

Negative assessments are the least common type of comment – possibly for the reasons mentioned earlier regarding the extra layer of inference needed by the choir – but a few examples are given below. In relation to the musical timeline described in Table 5.2., these may relate to past events (e.g. a wrong or poorly-tuned note), so the directive implication is that the singers remember to sing it differently next time, or an ongoing issue to be fixed immediately (such as a wrong speed or dynamics).

Extract 5.23 gives examples of both verbal and depicted negative assessments (see also Figure 5.115 below for score).

Extract 5.23. Come on you're late (G1_2, 09:29-9:48)

```
294  ChB  ⌈No              mine
295  Con  ⌊Now this altos
```


Fig. 5.110.

```
296  ChB  Do⌉      ⌈mi
297  ChA     ⌊Qui::::
298  Con          ⌊tenors (.)
```


Fig. 5.111.

```
299  ChB   ⌈ni
300  ChT   ⌊B⌈enedictus
301  Con        ⌊come on you're late
```


Fig. 5.112.

Fig. 5.113.

```
302  ChT   qui venit in
```

```
303         nomine Domini
```


Fig. 5.114.

Figure 5.115. Benedictus from Antonin Dvořák's Mass in D, bars 68-73.

Having brought the altos in (lines 294-295; bar 68 of Figure 5.113), George turns to the tenors (line 298) who begin one beat later (bar 69, at rehearsal mark E), but once their entry has begun gives them an exhortative directive ("come on") and a negative assessment ("you're late"). The assessment refers to their entry, which has just passed, but the present tense of the assessment and George's continued non-verbal work towards rectifying the issue (clicking

his fingers and moving towards the choir section, making himself and the beats more visibly salient) suggest that this is also a current, ongoing issue that the singers should address right now.

Once George has (presumably) resolved this issue and is moving back to the centre, he depicts another negative assessment by grimacing first down at his music (on the tenor "ve", bar 71; Figure 5.113) then up at the tenors on the next beat (Figure 5.114). This is in relation to the highlighted last beat of the previous bar ("qui", Figure 5.115), and the tenors' tuning on the B flat and A flat quavers. This is not something that can now be changed, as the music has moved forward in the time that it took him to register the issue and make the assessment, but by looking at the relevant singers and showing his assessment through facial expression, he communicates to them explicitly that something inadequate happened, and (implicitly) that it ought to be corrected during the next rendition. The tenors, though, do need to use their own knowledge of the piece and current experience of the sung turn to infer precisely what it is that must be improved.

When negative assessments are given, facial expressions are a common way to convey them. Sometimes conductors will show an explicitly negative reaction to the event, as in the previous example; other times, they may show an awareness that acknowledges that there is/was an issue, such as through a smile. Smiles have been observed as reactions to troubles in other contexts (e.g. Sert & Jacknick, 2015). The extract below is an example of this, where Henry acknowledges the tenors' error (a mix up of notes within the highlighted red box (bar 87, Figure 5.118) as a result of some singers only going down a second instead of a third between the G ("nem") and the E flat ("no").

Since the error is self-corrected within a few notes, there is no need for Henry to stop to fix it, but the conductor's slightly rueful smile, eye contact with the relevant singers (tenors) and raised eyebrow let them know that he has noticed the issue, and implicitly suggests that he would expect it to be correct in the future.

Extract 5.24. Nostram (H1_3, 07:58-08:08)

```
380  ChT  suscipe deprecationem
```


Fig. 5.116.

```
381       nostra:m
```


Fig. 5.117.

Figure 5.118. Gloria *from William Byrd's* Mass for Four Voices, *bars 84-89*

5.3.4.3. Positive assessments

Positive assessments will be covered in more detail in the next chapter, so will only be mentioned briefly here. They are often sequence closing, and usually short and simple, particularly compared to directives or negative assessments. They let the choir know that something they have sung or are currently singing is adequate, and therefore does not need to be changed. It does imply that the singers should remember what they did well for future renditions of the piece however, as this quote suggests (from Arthur after watching his movements in Extract 5.27 below): "if they immediately think okay I've done it right this time, that gives them a better chance of remembering what it felt like" (Interview A_2). Positive

assessments usually occur following previously given directives or negative assessments, letting the choir know that they have rectified the previous issue.

This is the case in the following extracts.

Extract 5.25. Lovely (E1_3, 17.37-18:29)

```
367  Con   and let's try and make some- get some
368        flow through this whole section up to
369        where we got to
370        (.)
371        So (.) subito ⌈piano
372  Acc            ⌊((notes))
373  Con   er subito piano without losing your
374        projection
375        So we get some quality of singing
...        ((8 lines missing))
384  Ch    darling children
385        life is a drea: ⌈          m
386  Con                  ⌊lovely
387  Ch    but it is not our dream
```

Extract 5.26. So much better (C_2 18:23-18:53)

```
647  Con    Basses that's sti:ll N̲d̲ all fl-
648         It's the right note just not the right vowel
649         Sorry
650         Write an A write a big capital A on it or
651         something that bit there
...         ((10 lines missing))
662  ChA    and all fle:⌈sh
663  ChT              ⌊and all fle:⌈sh
664  ChB                          ⌊and a⌈ll fle:sh
665  Con                                ⌊goo:d
```

Fig. 5.119.

Fig. 5.120.

```
666   ChATB   shall ⌈see ⌈it      toge ther
667   ChS               ⌊and the  glory
668   Con         ⌊so much better
                  ⌊((shakes head))
```

In the first of these two extracts Emma gives a more general directive on how she wishes the piece to be sung ("subito piano" – suddenly quiet – "without losing your projection", lines 373-374). When the positive assessment occurs (line 386), with a short glance at the choir, it is not (clearly) linked to any one particular event that has passed, but rather suggests that the way they are singing is good and, implicitly, that they should continue to this manner.

In the second, Christopher has previously stopped the choir to give feedback on the diction of "and" (lines 647-651). He restarts the piece from just before the issue and it is rectified by the choir and given positive assessment (lines 665, 668). The assessment is accompanied by a brief smile at the choir between the two utterances (Figure 5.119), and a smile and small head shake on "so" (line 668, Figure 5.120) give emphasis to the praise. In this case, the particular event that was previously evaluated negatively (the basses' "and" in line 664) has been accomplished adequately, effectively closing this sequence. However, more 'and's follow in the rest of the piece (e.g. line 667), so, like in the previous example, the positive assessment also suggests that they should continue this good practice.

Some positively assessing depiction was shown in the previous example (smile and nod), but the final two examples show depicted positive assessments without accompanying verbal assessment.

Extract 5.27. Thumbs up (A_2, 02:00-02:35)

```
 72  Ch    I will si:⌈        ng

     Con            ⌊((stops beating, RH up palm
 73
           forward, turns and steps away))

 74        Let's make sure we're really in the middle

 75        of that (.) note sing

 76        it's a big interval I know

 77        so you need to use your °h  diaphragms

 78        to give you some support.

 79        so it's

 80        °h I will

 81        si : :ng

           and let's have a nice ⌈lo:ng

 82                              ⌊((R arm extended moves

           outwards, 1st finger pointing))

 83        breath remember before you come in.

 84        so breathe for at least a bar: (.)

 85        before you come in.

 86        once more?

 87        ((Turns to look at Acc, beats in))

 88  Acc   ((introducti⌈on))

 89  Con             ⌊So brea:thing now.

 90  Ch    I will si : ⌈: ng

 91  Con             ⌊((Smile, LH thumbs up))
```

Extract 5.28. Smile (E1_2, 20:55-21:16)

```
523   Ch    you:r tru: ⌈:e

524   Con            ⌊er that first your sounds a little bit

525         under (.)

                     ⌊((stops beating))

526         tiny tiny fraction

527         ⌈a:nd go

            ⌊(('beating in' gesture))
```

```
528   Ch    you:⌐r   tru::e   ⌐se::lf
529   Con      └((smile))     └se:
530   Ch    i:s Go::⌐:d
531   Con           └ha we(h)ll do(h)ne okay
```

In both of these extracts the conductors have interrupted the choir very early in their singing turn in order to give them feedback. In the first extract, Arthur accomplishes this through directives on how to improve the entry (lines 74-89); in the second Emma negatively assesses the singers' tuning on the word "your" in line 523. When the conductors restart, the choirs both rectify their earlier issues. Consequently, the conductors both give depicted positive assessments while the choir are still singing, indicating that they are now satisfied. In the first extract this takes the form of a smile, eye contact with the choir, and a clear emblematic 'thumbs up' (Figure 5.121). In the second, a smile with eye gaze shows the positive assessment (Figure 5.122), confirmed by the later verbal assessment given in line 531. Both of these depicted assessments focus on evaluating events that have already occurred, and there is a clear link to previous verbal directives and negative assessments to make sense of them.

Fig. 5.121. Thumbs up positive assessment (Extract 5.27, line 91).

Fig. 5.122. Smile positive assessment (Extract 5.28, line 5.28).

Looking back, this section has shown the way that conductors can comment on the music, while they are helping to co-construct it, in order to continue shaping it in situ. Conductors may use directives, negative or positive assessments, and these may refer to referents that are in the past, ongoing, or in the future (for directives only). Both directives and assessments can be conveyed through depiction or verbal direction.

5.4.   Stopping the co-construction

In the final analysis section of this chapter, the way that conductors end the choir's co-constructed turn is examined. At the beginning of this chapter, we saw the way that conductors' hands moving into conducting position and eye gaze with the choir were two of the most evident ways that they set up and began the co-construction. Here, there is once again a focus on the embodied behaviour of the conductor in terms of how they disengage with the choir and the music.

The first extract gives an example of how the conductor may stop the choir (and end the co-construction of their turn), in the middle of their singing, effectively interrupting them. This behaviour is often linked with giving a negative assessment or directive about a local issue that has just occurred in the music, which is the case here (the tuning on "**sing**", line 72), and this characteristic will be explored further in Chapter 6. This particular extract was examined earlier as an example of positive feedback (Extract 5.27). At the beginning of it, Arthur comes into the choir's turn space by interrupting them before the end of their third word.

Extract 5.29. Turning away (A_2, 02:00-02:14)

```
72  Ch    I will si:⌈       ng

             ⌊((stops beating, RH up palm
73  Con
       forward, turns and steps away))
74        Let's make sure we're really in the middle
75        of that (.) note sing
76        it's a big interval I know
77        so you need to use your °h  diaphragms
78        to give you some support.
```

Arthur brings in the choir while maintaining eye contact, then glances back to his music (as is fairly common – see section 5.2). However, he then decides to stop the choir (Figures 5.123-5.124 below), at which point he drops his gaze to the floor, bowing his head; his left hand falls to his side and his right hand is held up with an open palm facing the front in an emblematic 'stop' signal. He turns to his left, away from the choir, and steps to the side. All of these embodied behaviours (loss of eye contact, stopping the beating pattern, moving away from the conducting space) clearly indicate a disengagement from the music and from the co-construction with the choir.

Figs. 5.123 and 5.124. Stopping the co-construction (Extract 5.29, line 73).

This next extract shows quite a different way of finishing the co-construction. This time, it occurs at the end of a piece, and Ben waits fully until the music has finished, and beyond, before disengaging (as he would if it were a performance).

Extract 5.30. End of piece pause (B_2, 01:57-02:07)

```
25  Ch    O: Lo:rd
26        (2.3)
27  Con   Good the D is duh not da
```

It is first important to observe that since all participants have a copy of the musical score, everyone knows when, in terms of the music, the end of the piece is. It is – assuming the conductor does not stop them beforehand – predictable and projectable. In this sense, the conductor is not so much finishing the piece as coordinating the end. However, what is immediately noticeable about this extract is the way that the co-construction continues through the pause in line 26, even after the music has stopped.

Figs. 5.125.-5.130. Co-constructing silence at the end of the piece (Extract 5.30, line 26).

Ben clearly stops the choir's singing at the end of "Lord" by carefully and visibly touching one finger to his thumb (Figure 5.125). There is eye contact with the choir at this point and he is also mouthing the word. As and after they stop singing, his right hand and arm move backwards in a large slow circle, as he maintains eye contact with the choir (or at least gaze in their direction). As his arm reaches his side, the other hand comes up and he begins to give feedback (Figure 5.130). It is noticeable that the choir remain still throughout this silent pause, after they have finished singing, still looking at Ben (Figure 5.131). Only once he begins to speak do several singers' gaze or heads drop, and they shift position, reach for a drink or flick through their music (Figure 5.132). This suggests that the co-construction is not limited to the beginning and end of the music per se, but rather to the *performance* of the music.

It also highlights once again the importance of eye contact between the conductor and choir and the conductor's hand position as playing an important role in co-creating the music (or performance). At the start of the turn, the raising of the conductor's hands indicates to the choir that they are ready to begin making music; the empty beat before they begin indicates when to start (and partly how to sing), and now this extract shows how by slowing the

descent of the hand alongside maintained eye gaze the conductor can lengthen the performance beyond the constraints of the music itself.

Figs. 5.131. and 5.132. Choir gaze during and after the end of the co-construction (Extract 5.30, line 26 and line 27).

These two extracts have really shown the two extremes of breaking off the co-construction of the choir's turn. In the first, the conductor suddenly disengages, removing himself from the conducting space and breaking eye contact in order to deliver some immediate feedback. In the second, the slow release of the co-construction through maintained mutual eye contact and gradual removing of the arm from the conducting space point to a co-construction of the overall music performance, rather than just the sound.

5.5.   Summary

The main focus of this chapter was the way the conductor and choir interact during the choir's sung turn, and a summary of some of the unusual features of this turn was provided in Table 5.1. Before moving into the analysis of the turn, however, section 5.1.2 first considered the main parties that play a role within the rehearsal. It was observed that while the choir are the 'animators' (Goffman, 1981) of the music, in that they are vocally producing the sound,

they are not the 'authors'. Instead, the composer/librettist plays a role as a sort of 'absent party', where they influence what happens during the current interaction through the written musical score. The conductor's task, then, is to both act on behalf of the authors by directing the choir how to translate the written notes into music, but also interpret the music themselves, in order to create the current (eventual) performance. The conductors do both of these directing actions through the way they interact with the choir during their sung turn, as well as in the following feedback turn (which will be analysed in the following chapter). The position of the accompanist, who can uniquely (and subtly) move between the 'choir party' and a more conductor-like role, was also acknowledged, although sadly an in-depth analysis is beyond the scope of this study.

The second part of the chapter examined the way conductors coordinated and directed the launching of the choir's sung turn. Firstly, conductors may need to give verbal information on where to start (the pre-sequence, see Chapter 4), and who is to sing. If designating a particular part of the choir, or if entries for different voice parts are staggered, conductors use body orientation and gaze to show who should be ready to begin. Once this is established, conductors use a 'bringing in' sequence (the base of the pre-sequence) to begin the turn. In this, the conductors first raise their arms into the conducting position – the preparatory gesture. This alerts the choir to the fact that a restart is now about to happen. Secondly, the bringing in gesture gives an empty beat or two, usually with a displayed in-breath. This demonstrates the tempo, which allows the choir to predict exactly where they should begin singing. Eye gaze and eyebrow raising are also used as resources to coordinate the start, with eye gaze often withheld until the conductor is ready, and maintained until after the singing onset, and eyebrow movements that mirror the upbeat gesture and enhance eye contact.

In addition to this practical coordination, conductors may overlay emotion, using facial expression and the energy of the arm movements. In this way the conductor aims to begin shaping the music right from the moment the choir start singing. Finally, a couple of examples were given of where the bringing in sequence was added to or terminated. This can happen when the conductor produces a last-minute directive, often a reminder of one given earlier in the feedback turn to bring it to the front of the singers' minds as they begin their turn. Occasionally, whether the bringing in sequence can be completed becomes uncertain. It is the conductor's arms and hands that are the main features that let a choir know whether the restart is now imminent, from whether they are in the conducting position. In particular, this

positioning may occur while the talk is still related to other matters. As in the conventional bringing in gesture, eye contact also plays a role in alerting a choir to the (re-)restart.

The first aspect of co-construction addressed was time-keeping. It was acknowledged that this is usually accomplished through the conductor's beating gestures, but that counting could also be produced verbally. In a practical sense, both help to ensure the singers know exactly when to start or stop particular notes, and may help train them to count for themselves in the future. In a more philosophical sense, they act to align the musical streams of consciousness of each singer in order to create a shared inner time (Schütz, 1951). An example of cueing different parts was also given, showing the orientation to each section by the conductor, and the way choir and conductor make eye contact in preparation for beginning their entry. As well as practical issues of coordination, conductors also add a layer of expressive communication into their conducting. This may be, for example, a particular metaphor that the conductor wishes to be conveyed at a particular moment, an emotion that they want the music to carry, or a general embodiment of the shape and expression of the music. This is usually shown non-verbally, through a mix of facial expression, posture, hand, arm and body movements, and the conductor and choir respond to each other in an ongoing manner to create the shaping of the music.

Another layer to the conductor's role is that of commenting on the music while the choir are singing. These fall into three main categories (directive, positive and negative assessment), and can indicate to three types of referent (past, present and future; as summarised in Table 5.2). If a referent has already passed, and the conductor gives a directive regarding something to change about it (e.g. "don't hang on", Extract 5.17), then a negative assessment is implied, and the choir are expected to resolve that issue next time it is sung, in order to comply with the directive. If a negative assessment is explicitly given, then the directive must be inferred instead. If the referent is still ongoing (e.g. "crescendo", Extract 5.20), the result is similar, but the directive function (whether explicit or implicit) should be complied with immediately. A directive may also occur when indicating a future referent (which may be 'now' – the conductor has begun to orient to it *prior* to it occurring). In this case, no assessment is implied, but the directive should be complied with at the point where it becomes relevant.

Positive assessments, whether the referent is past or present, do not imply any change to the current behaviour, but suggest that the way they are singing is adequate. If a negative assessment or directive has previously been given, the positive assessment demonstrates

that they have improved the issue. However, these utterances do imply that the choir should remember what they are singing/have sung well, in order to do the same in future. All three types of utterance may be produced verbally or non-verbally, particularly positive assessments (e.g. a smile or thumbs up gesture).

Finally, the way conductors end the co-construction of the choir's turn was briefly considered. This is often accomplished by coming into their turn space, and stopping the singing mid-flow (a feature that will be explored further in the next chapter). When the conductor interrupts the choir in this way, he or she will often show a clear disengagement from the co-construction, for example by stopping beating, moving their hands from the conducting position or their body from the conducting space, breaking eye contact, and/or giving emblematic gestures, such as holding up a hand in a 'stop' symbol. However, when the choir continue to the end of a piece, as if it were a performance, the conductor may maintain the eye contact with the choir (and they with him or her) and stay in the conducting space/position, or move away only very slowly, beyond the end of the sound. This suggests that the co-construction behaviours explored in this chapter relate not only to creating music, but to creating music performance.

This sung turn is the first of the two-turn recurring cycle of choir singing and conductor feedback found throughout the rehearsal. The next chapter will move onto the second turn, exploring the way conductors shape the music after the choir have stopped singing.

6. The conductor's feedback turn: Assessments and directives

6.1 Introduction

A large part of rehearsals is made up of the conductor giving feedback to the choir on how to improve and shape the music as they move towards their performance. This is mainly accomplished during the conductor's feedback turn in the overall rehearsal structure sequence, following the choir's sung turn, which was discussed in the previous chapter. The feedback given often leads into further attempts by the choir, resulting in a recurring sequence of the choir singing and conductor feedback.

It is worth briefly considering the importance of this feedback turn in terms of the analysis process. This research has not evaluated the quality of the choir's singing, either subjectively using the author's experience or more objectively using computer programmes such as Praat (to gauge changes in tuning or vowel production, for example). The reason for this is that the musical abilities or improvements in the choir's singing per se were not considered directly relevant to the exploration of the ongoing interaction. Rather, it is the *conductor's* opinion and reaction to the singing that drives the interaction forwards. As such, the feedback turn considered in this chapter provides a vital way of evaluating whether the choir have responded appropriately to the conductor's prior instructions and feedback. As explored below, the feedback given to the choir tells the singers – and therefore the researcher – whether their sung turn is satisfactory for now or not. This decision is usually the conductor's alone, made based on his or her own idea of how the final performance should be experienced (c.f. Parton, 2014) as well as knowledge of the choir and their capabilities. Therefore it is unlikely that the researcher could accurately determine whether the choir's turn was adequate for the current purposes. Consequently, the conductor's feedback turn provides a valuable window into whether he or she perceives the choir to have acted successfully on previous instructions during their sung turn.

Since the aim is an eventual performance, the orientation during the recurring singing/feedback sequence seen in the rehearsals is towards how the choir's singing was last time, and what they need to change in the future to improve. Thus, this chapter will focus on the two primary actions used by all conductors in the study: assessments and directives.

Throughout the rehearsal data, directives and assessments from the conductors are both prevalent, particularly in this feedback turn. Often, they occur in combinations or clusters, as found by Szczepek Reed et al. (2013), although the 'is this a local (Now) or restart-relevant

(Not Now)' decision explored by them does not really feature here, given the conductor's control over the choir's turn (as discussed in the previous chapter). Clusters of directives tend to occur at the end of longer sung turns (e.g. the end of a piece or large section of music). The conductor lets the choir finish (without cutting into their turn), then will usually give them some positive assessment, similar to the masters in Szczepek Reed et al.'s study. The conductor then often goes back to the beginning of the piece and works their way through (or starts at the end and works backwards), giving feedback on anything that caught their attention during the previous sung turn. Long spoken turns by the conductor are generally considered not to be particularly good practice (Durrant, 2003), since they put a lot of reliance on singers' remembering feedback without being able to put it into context, for example. They can be effective though, such as for seeing how much a choir have remembered at the beginning of a rehearsal. However, for simplicity and conciseness, in this chapter we will focus mainly on occasions where conductors are giving feedback on one issue.

Assessments are backward-facing actions, evaluating the choir's past performance. If the assessment is positive, this suggests their singing was judged to be (in at least some way) adequate, with no need of change at this time. A negative assessment implies that there was a problem or issue that will need to be addressed in future sung turns, and usually makes relevant another singing attempt. Directives, as forward-facing actions, explicitly tell the choir what to do in the future. When paired, a (backward-facing) assessment and a (forward-facing) directive answer explicitly the choir's two-part question of 'how was our singing, and what do we do next?' The assessments and directives may be seen as a type of 'retrosequence' (Schegloff, 2007), in that the feedback utterance looks back to the sung turn, retroactively treating it as the source of the issue whilst also proactively launching a forward-facing sequence (e.g. a new sung turn is relevant).

This chapter will also show how, even if only one action is present, the other becomes implied by the context. Assessments and directives will be considered first together and then separately. Much of the analysis in this chapter may be found in Emerson, Williamson and Wilkinson (forthcoming). The final section of the chapter will consider a specific type of feedback that often occurs in this turn, which particularly incorporates directives – 'teaching' feedback.

6.2 Directives and assessments in combination

Directives and assessments occur in various combinations in the rehearsals, with one or the other first, or several of one and one of the other and so on. Here, some simple examples of assessment plus directive are shown, where the conductors begin by evaluating the choir's just-occurred singing turn, and follow with an instruction on what to do in relation to that section of music the next time it is sung. First, two examples of negative assessments are given, then one instance with a positive assessment. In this chapter, assessments (A) and directives (D) will be marked on the transcript with arrows.

6.2.1 Negative assessment plus directive

In Extract 6.1, Henry has previously been giving the tenor and bass sections, who start the piece, feedback on getting the onset of their note together (lines 117-121). He restarts the choir with an in-tempo "and" (line 122) and an in-breath with beating in gesture (line 123), but the entry is still a little ragged (line 124). Henry then comes into their turn space very quickly with an overlapping negative assessment of the singing ("it's still not together", line 125) and the singers abandon their turn as he stops beating and gives a small circle with both hands to cut off the attempted co-construction. The assessment is then followed by a short directive in the form of an imperative ("breathe together", line 126). This instruction informs the singers how to address the issue of the entry still not being together, and so relates to the previous assessment. This is quickly followed by another bringing in sequence, as he starts another attempt with the choir.

Extract 6.1. It's still not together (H1_1, 07:51-08:16)

```
116        Con   so because we're coming in on a- on a vowel
117              make sure that we're- er we're right there
118              but don't- >don't don't< start it with a UH
119              in order to get there
120              not a glottal
121              but really right together
122              and,
123              ((inbreath, 'beating in' gesture))
                 ⌈oh :   ⌈:   whe-
124        Ch    ⌊ ((one ⌊part of the choir comes in a little
                 later than the other))
125   A→   Con          ⌊ (yeah) it's still not together.
```

```
126   D→        breathe together. a:nd,
127             ((inbreath, beating in gesture))
128      Ch     oh: whe:n
129             oh: whe:n
```

Negative assessments, such as the one in line 125, have implications for the choir in terms of what they might need to do next. They explicitly tell the choir that the conductor believes there to be some issue or inadequacy in the previously-sung turn. However, because of the shared context of the rehearsal (and overarching rehearsal series) aiming for the performance, the assessments also have a forward-facing implication – they suggest that, firstly, the singers will be expected to re-attempt the problematic section of music, and secondly, that they should improve on the issue that was previously highlighted.

The implication that the same section of music might need to be repeated also has an effect on how choir members understand a following directive, and the relationship between that and the assessment. It suggests that the behaviour being directed should be performed in order to rectify the assessed issue. In Extract 6.1, for example, Henry is not simply telling the singers that the next thing they should do is breathe together, but that they should do so *in order to solve* the issue of not starting together. Therefore, the action combination of assessment plus directive makes relevant a restart, which includes compliance with the directive in order to solve the issue previously highlighted by the assessment.

Extract 6.1 also shows how the conductor's feedback may overlap with the choir's singing as Henry enters into singers' turn space, leading to them abandoning their singing attempt (lines 124-125). A link can be seen between the type of action done by the conductor and its timing, in that in the rehearsals negative assessments are often produced very soon after the assessable problem, even when that means overlapping with the choir's singing (another example can be seen in Extract 6.2 below). This timing differs substantially to the way troubles are usually highlighted in conversation for example, where other-initiations of repair, such as 'sorry?' or 'you saw who?' are usually withheld until after the problematic turn has been completed (Schegloff, 2007), rather than immediately after the element of talk causing the issue. Occasionally, other-initiated repair may interrupt the speaker, but usually during the following turn constructional unit (TCU) – the original TCU is allowed to finish. This minimises the delay to the ongoing interaction (Schegloff, 2000), orienting towards progressivity of the talk. In Extract 6.1 the singers would have been capable of continuing the piece despite starting at slightly different times. On the other hand, time is likely a salient

reason behind the overlapping assessment, since rehearsal time is limited. If a negative assessment of the first entry implies a re-doing of that entry, it would not be very time-efficient to continue through the rest of the piece only to go back to the beginning to restart the entry. In this sense then, an immediate (overlapping) assessment does improve the overall progressivity of the rehearsal as a whole.

The directive given in Extract 6.1, line 126, is a locally-relevant 'Now' directive (Szczepek Reed et al., 2013), where compliance from the choir becomes a relevant next action. However, as with most of those found in choir rehearsals the actual compliance is due only after the conductor launches the choir's next turn (with the bringing in sequence, in lines 126-127). This is rather different to other music interactions that have been studied, such as Szczepek Reed et al.'s (2013) masterclasses, or Tolins' (2014) clarinet lessons, where the complying party consists of one performer (and an accompanist, in the case of masterclasses) who may comply with a 'Now' directive as soon as it is given.

A similar form of conductor feedback, with an assessment and directive combination, can be seen in Extract 6.2, where the tenors are rehearsing their line by themselves.

Extract 6.2. It's a little flat still (E1_2, 18:45-19:05)

```
383          Ch     you:r t⌈ru:e
384    A→    Con           ⌊it's a little flat still
385    A→           you:r
386    D→           you: ⌈r
387          Acc         ⌊((notes))
388    D→    Con    just bending it up
389                 °yo°
390          Acc    ((notes))
391          Con    (h) ⌈and go
                        ⌊(('beating in' gesture))
392          Ch     you:r tru:e se:lf i:s go:d
```

There are several similarities between Extract 6.2 and the previous one. Here, Emma gives feedback to the tenor section on their tuning (lines 384-388) soon after they start singing their part by themselves. As in the last example, she uses negative assessments followed by directives to make her point, which she begins as soon as she detects the tuning issue in line 383. This results in an overlap with the choir's singing in line 384, and the singing attempt

being abandoned. Once again, the assessment has both a backwards-facing function, evaluating the choir's singing as having been flat, and also implies a forward-facing action, suggesting to the choir that they will be having another attempt at the same section of music. The directives that follow tell the choir what to do next, and give the choir information on how to rectify the previously-highlighted issue.

The main difference between this extract and Extract 6.1 is the use of depiction, in the form of a contrast pair (Emerson, Williamson & Wilkinson, 2017; Weeks, 1996). Emma sings the word "your" twice: the first time, as an assessment of their singing, it is hearably flat (line 385), her posture is slightly slumped, and her hand gesture low (Figure 6.1). The second time – as a directive model for how they should sing it next time – it sounds in tune (line 386), and she is standing straight, with raised eyebrows and hand (Figure 6.2).

Figures 6.1. and 6.2. 'your' contrast pair (Extract 6.2, lines 385-386)

The use of aural and visual depiction here allows the choir to hear and see the contrast between the assessment and directive. Notice also the lack of grammatical framing – syntactic constructions such as 'go' or 'like' are often used before embodied turn-constructional units in conversation (Streeck, 2002) or music lessons (Tolins, 2013). They often are in rehearsals as well (e.g. see next chapter), but do not have to be. Here, the context (in a rehearsal, being stopped mid-singing and following a verbal negative assessment) is enough for the depictions to be understood as evaluative and directive respectively, without the need for any other framing.

6.2.2   Positive assessment plus directive

The next extract gives an example of a positive assessment followed by a directive, focusing on lines 152-155. The use of a positive assessment rather than a negative one carries different implications for the choir in terms of their future singing and its relationship to the directive.

Extract 6.3. Basses it works so well when you do that (G1_2, 4:40-05:05)

```
144        Ch      do: mi: ⌈ni:
145        Con            ⌊alright thank you
146                ⌈altos can you come in a bit
                   ⌊((LH pulls in towards his left side))
147                (1.0)
148                you're an awfully long way away from me
149                ⌈(5.5)
                   ⌊((Con: LH beckons, smiling; Ch: moving chairs
                   towards Con))
150                alright (0.4) good
151                um: thank you very much
152    A→          the early part of that was lovely
153    A→          basses it works ⌈s:o  well when you do that
                                    ⌊((LH sweeps forward))
154                erm er a- in the er middle of page sixty
155    D→          so lots of that please er when we-
156                when we go through that
```

Before Extract 6.3 begins, George has previously requested that the basses "let that phrase [in the middle of page sixty] grow". Following some other feedback, the section of music is sung again, and in lines 152 and 153 George produces positive assessments. Positive assessments suggest that the conductor is satisfied that something the choir has sung is adequate for the current purposes, and that the sung section being assessed will not need to be repeated (or at least not for that reason – the singing may be positively assessed in one regard, but negatively in another, of course). In Extract 6.3, the assessment in line 153 ("basses it work s:o well when you do that") relates directly back to the directive given earlier, and suggests that they will not need to repeat the section in order to improve on the basses' singing here (although here they do eventually go on to repeat part of it for other reasons). This means that the directive in line 155 is a (long term) restart-relevant ('Not Now') directive (Szczepek Reed et al., 2013) – it should be complied with in the future when they sing that section of music both within this and future rehearsals.

When thinking in terms of the rehearsal's focus of working towards a performance, there is also another implication contained within a positive assessment – the expectation that the

choir will continue and repeat that which was sung well next, and every, time they sing that particular section of music. This affects the interactional relationship between the assessment and the directive, so that directives that follow a positive evaluation relate to the continuation or replication of the prior singing (rather than a change or solution, as with negative assessments). This is seen in the directive of line 155, where George asks the basses for "lots of that when we go through that". He also gives the specific location (line 154), which may suggest that it is important that the basses know exactly what is being assessed positively, in order to be able to implement it in the future.

In Extracts 6.1 and 6.2, assessments and directives had two fairly distinct roles. Assessments were backward-facing, evaluating what the choir had sung in the past; directives were forward-facing, and instructed the choir how to behave in the future. The temporal proximity of a negative assessment and directive pair created a relationship between them where the directive implied to the choir how to solve the issue pointed out by the negative assessment. A very similar relationship was seen in Extract 6.3 with a positive assessment, albeit with a directive for continuation and replication, rather than change.

In the next sections, occasions where directives and assessments are produced without the other will be analysed. When each action occurs by itself, it can be seen to take on a dual function where it implicitly assumes the role of the other action as well. Single directives carry an implicit assessment, and assessments carry implicit directives for how to behave in the future. In addition, the way that each sequence of feedback is shown to be completed (e.g. through positive assessment) will be observed.

6.3 Directives alone

The extracts in this section show examples of where conductors use a directive without a paired assessment.

Previous work by Kent and Kendrick (2016) suggests that imperative directives that are produced after an action first becomes relevant – and therefore after the other party could or should have already acted – may be heard as holding them accountable for the absence of that action. Through that absence, their 'transgression' hinders the progressivity of the ongoing activity. Similarly, in ongoing choir rehearsals, directives given by themselves may be hearable as negatively assessing some aspect of the choir's previous sung turn.

The directive still has its explicit, forward-facing function of instructing the choir on what to do next. However, it also carries the implicit function of a negative assessment. This is due to

the choir's orientation within the rehearsal of 'how was our singing and what do we do next' (due to a focus on improvement across the rehearsals towards a performance). The utterance takes on all the roles suggested earlier for the assessment plus directive pair: it implies that something in the previous sung turn was inadequate, and that therefore a new attempt is relevant in order to improve on that feature, and explicitly states what the choir should do next, which will rectify the issue.

Two examples of directives produced by themselves are seen in Extract 6.4.

Extract 6.4. Subdivide the upbeat (B_1, 25:10-25:41)

```
478        Con   ((in-breath, 'beating in' gesture))
479        Ch    ⌈The Lord ⌈shall preserve-
                  ⌊((Varying start times on 'the' from different
                  singers))
480        Con              ⌊((stops beating, LH 1st finger and thumb
                  close))
481  D→          subdivide the upbeat
482              ((in-breath, 'beating in' gesture))
483        Ch    The: Lo:rd shall prese:rve thee:
484              from a⌈ll  e:vi:⌈l
                       ⌊((Some si⌊ngers early  on 'evil'))
485        Con                  ⌊ ((stops beating))
486  D→          once again (.) subdivide that upbeat
487              ((in-breath, 'beating in' gesture))
488        Ch    The: Lo:rd shall prese:rve thee: from all: e:vi:l
489              Yea: it is e:ven he: that shall kee:p my sou:l
```

At the beginning of Extract 6.4, the choir are in the middle of a piece. There is a pause at the end of a phrase just before the extract starts, after which Ben brings them off. He gives a displayed in-breath and beating in gesture to bring the singers back in at the beginning of the next line (line 478). The choir continue (line 479), but the entry is not clean – various singers begin at slightly different times. This is picked up by the conductor, who stops beating very soon after and indicates gesturally to the choir to stop. Once they are quiet he raises his arms back to the conducting position (see previous chapter) and gives one short, imperative-form directive: "subdivide the upbeat" (line 481). This tells the choir that they should be counting in smaller divisions of the beat while he gives the empty, 'bringing-in' beat (in lines 478, 482

and 487) in order to know precisely when they should enter, since their first note occurs on a half-beat. The entry is repeated (lines 482-483), but a similar issue occurs, this time on the word "evil". Consequently, a very similar directive is given ("subdivide that upbeat", line 486), along with an explicit directive to re-do the singing attempt.

Both of these directives are locally-relevant ('Now') directives (Szczepek Reed et al., 2013) that make relevant compliance as a next action for the choir in their subsequent singing attempt. However, as suggested by Kent and Kendrick (2016), their presence within an ongoing course of action (rehearsing this section of the music) means that the directive may also be heard as holding the choir accountable for a previous absence of an action. The directive therefore can also negatively assess the previous sung turn as being inadequate in some way (compared to, for example, an instruction to begin a new activity). Both of these points (compliance-relevance and implicit negative assessment) mean that the choir expect to re-do the singing attempt (regardless of the presence of an explicit directive such as "once again", line 486), and this is what happens in both cases (lines 483 and 488). The raising of the conductor's arms in a preparatory gesture to alert to an imminent restart (as discussed in the previous chapter) also feeds into the timing of this expectation.

The implicit, backward-facing element of the directive is made evident by the work that the choir needs to accomplish in order to comply with the directive in the coming turn. The singers infer from the directive (a) *that* there was an issue with their previous sung turn, (b) *what* aspect of the singing was problematic, and then (c) that by acting on the directive they will improve said aspect. Here, two almost identical directives are given to address two separate (albeit similar) difficulties, demonstrating the awareness that singers are expected to have of their own previous sung turn, as well as the inferential work they need to perform in order to improve with each attempt at the music.

As with extracts earlier in the chapter, Ben comes into the choir's turn space in order to give his feedback, causing them to stop singing and abandon their attempt in compliance with his stopping beating and 'bringing off' gestures (lines 480 and 485). While there is no overlap between the singing and the conductor's talk here, as seen in Extract 6.2 for example, the cutting off of the choir in mid-flow still implies that Ben has identified some local event as problematic. In order to save time (and therefore continue rehearsal progressivity) he stops the choir immediately to give feedback on the issue. Therefore, the timing of these forward-facing directives in relation to the choir's sung turn also adds to the sense that a backward-facing negative assessment is implied.

The flip side of this last point is that, by default, *not* stopping the choir then implicitly indicates to the choir that there is *not* an issue, i.e. that everything is being achieved adequately (although it may of course be brought up later, in a directive cluster). Therefore, when the conductor allows the choir to continue past "**Lord shall preserve**" in line 483, he is implicitly positively assessing the choir's second attempt at their entry on "**The**". Similarly, and even more clearly, from line 488 the choir is allowed to continue on to the end of the piece, suggesting that they have rectified the issues that they were having in this section of music (at least well enough for the moment). Therefore, the other side of the finding by Kent and Kendrick, is that continuation (of the music) past a point where the conductor *could* (and *would*) have stopped the choir to give feedback, implies a positive assessment, and an end to the feedback sequence.

The next extract shows a similar example, where an explicit directive implies a negative assessment.

Extract 6.5. Make sure the- the /x/ of euch is on the third beat there (D1a, 42:49-43:32)

```
848        Con    ((in-breath, beating in gesture))
849        ChSA   tra:g (.) ei: n (.) Na:cht (.) wi:nd (.) eu:ch
850   D→   Con    yeah make sure the- the /x/ of euch is on the third
851               beat there
852               let's do it again?
853               mm mm mm
854               ((in-breath, 'beating in' gesture))
855        ChSA   tra:g (.) ei:n (.) Na:cht (.) wi:nd (.) eu:ch
856   D→   Con    Actually (.) no put it on the quaver as you were
857               um let's try again mm mm mm
858        ChSA   tra:g (.) ei:n (.) Na:cht (.) wi:nd (.) eu:ch
859               seu:fzend
```

Note. /x/ = IPA for ch as in the Scottish 'loch' (and here the German 'euch')

Here, Danielle brings off the soprano and alto sections at the end of one of their phrases (so no overlap, although still stopping them in the midst of their sung turn) in order to give them a directive in imperative form (line 850) to place the consonant sound /x/ at the end of the word "euch" on the beat. As in the previous extract, by virtue of the ongoing rehearsal context, and the directive's placement coming into the sung turn, the utterance is heard as negatively assessing the choir's prior singing as well as directing them in what to do in their

next turn. In addition, it makes another attempt at the same music relevant, although here this is made explicit with the proposal in line 852.

Following their second attempt in line 855, Danielle stops the choir once more in order to give them another imperative-form directive (line 856). However, this directive is the exact opposite of the previous one, asking them to return to their original placement of the consonant ("put it on the quaver as you were"). The reason for including this extract is to demonstrate that while this directive still has an implicit negative assessment (i.e. the singers did not place the consonant on the quaver in line 855, although they had the opportunity to do so), this does *not* mean that they can be held accountable (as seen in Kent and Kendrick's, 2016, study), since they were complying with the conductor's previous directive during this turn. This is one of the distinctions of this context from that of Kent and Kendrick – that directives here may (and usually do) act as negative assessments, but they do not *necessarily* treat it as a transgression for which the choir may be held accountable.

As in the previous extract, following the second directive Danielle allows the choir to continue with the piece. This continuation suggests that there is no longer an issue that needs to be corrected, and implicitly provides positive assessment.

The final extract shows a similar, although slightly more complex example of directive feedback, in different forms. Previous research (e.g. Ervin-Tripp, 1976) has shown that utterances that look like other actions in form (e.g. requests, proposals) can function as, and be complied with as if they were, directives.

Extract 6.6. Let's make sure we're really in the middle of that note (A_2, 02:02-02:36)

```
73  Ch           I will si:⌈ ng

                          ⌊((stops beating, RH up palm forward, turns
74  Con
                 and steps away))

75      D→       Let's make sure we're really in the
76               middle of that (.) note sing
77               it's a big interval I know
```

| 78 | D→ | so you need to use your °h diaphragms |

Fig. 6.3.

| 79 | | to give you some support. |
| 80 | D→ | so it's °h **I will** |

Fig. 6.4.

| 81 | | **si : :ng** |

Fig. 6.5.

| 82 | D→ | and let's have a nice lo:ng breath |

Fig. 6.6.

83		remember before you come in.
84	D→	so breathe for at least a bar: (.)
85		before you come in.

```
86              once more?
87              ((turns to look at Acc, beats in))
88  Acc         ((introduct⌈ion))
89  Con  D→             ⌊So brea:thing now.
90  Ch          I will si:⌈: ng
91  Con                  ⌊((Smile, eye
                contact, LH thumbs up,
                upward supporting gesture))
```

Fig. 6.7.

The choir have just begun the piece at the beginning of Extract 6.6, but after only three notes Arthur stops them by stepping right away from the music stand and holding up his right hand, palm forward in an emblematic 'stop' signal (see section 5.4 for further discussion of this). He then produces the directive – in the form of a proposal – which is the focus of this feedback: "Let's make sure we're really in the middle of that note sing" [of 'I will sing'] (lines 75-76). Here, 'in the middle' refers to the tuning of the note, which is up an interval of a sixth from the previous 'I will'. Accurately pitching this jump will be improved by using the diaphragm muscle correctly to support the sound, as suggested by the second directive in lines 78-79. He also gives additional directives, firstly as a sung model (lines 80-81), and secondly in the form of a proposal (line 82) followed by bold imperatives (lines 84, 89), instructing the choir to breathe well before beginning the phrase.

Arthur uses depiction as part of his directives in this extract: he indicates the relevant part of his body when discussing the diaphragm (line 78, Figure 6.3), gives a sung model with accompanying gestures (lines 80-81, Figures 6.4-6.5), and uses gesture to depict the breath flow in line 82 (Figure 6.6). The use of multimodality in conductor feedback will be discussed further in the next chapter, but the prevalence of it in this short extract points towards its usefulness in supporting the verbal directives. In addition, he adds a further directive in line 89 during the piano introduction, to assist the choir in knowing when to begin their breath.

Like the other examples in this section, each of the directives given as feedback (lines 74-85) explicitly tell the choir what to do during the next sung turn, as well as making relevant that new turn. They also implicitly negatively assess the previous choir's turn as having not performed the specified behaviours (i.e. issues with tuning, not taking a long breath). This is particularly evident in line 83, where the word "remember" explicitly shows that they have

previously been asked to take a long breath, making their accountability in not doing it (Kent & Kendrick, 2016) more apparent. In contrast, the directive in line 89 does not refer back to the previous turn, but gives a 'Now' instruction to be complied with at that moment. The time when this directive should be performed had not yet passed, therefore no negative assessment is implicit within it. Instead, since it is concurrent with when the action should be produced, it can suggest that this is a 'rule' that is linked to the present moment in the music, for future reference (cf. Okada, 2018).

Finally, unlike in the previous extracts, Arthur explicitly completes this feedback sequence with non-verbal positive assessment in line 91. After the sopranos sing their first notes, and in about the same place where he stopped them in line 74, he makes eye contact with the singers, smiles and brings his left hand up into an emblematic 'thumbs up' gesture (Figure 6.7). When shown this clip during his interview, Arthur suggests that immediate feedback like this can be used for things that have just been discussed, as they have here, "because if they immediately think okay I've done it right this time, that gives them a better chance of remembering what it felt like… the thumbs up is clear what it means at that point because we've just spoken about it" (Int_A_2). This comment emphasises the temporal relationship between directives, the sung turn and feedback. Earlier, the link between singing and immediate *negative* feedback on a local occurrence was mentioned as important, but this extract shows that immediate positive feedback is also used by conductors to link the previous directive given and the improved sung behaviour. This then increases the chances of maintenance of this behaviour, which, it was suggested earlier (Extract 6.3), is an outcome of positive assessment.

6.4   Negative assessments alone

In this section we move on to occasions where conductors produce negative assessments alone, without a directive.

Like single directives, when negative assessments are produced by themselves, they take on a dual role, carrying the missing directive function implicitly. The assessment is then both backward-facing, evaluating a prior sung turn, but also forward-facing, implicitly telling the choir that the now-relevant next sung turn should do something differently in order to rectify the issue highlighted. This is different to the function of assessments previously explored in conversation (e.g. Lindström & Mondada, 2009; Pomerantz, 1984), where assessments generally only have a backward-facing purpose. However work by Fasulo and Monzoni (2009) suggests that this forward-facing function, implying a relevant next action, comes into play

when the assessed referent is a mutable object – something that can be changed in some way by the current participants, such as the sung performance of the music by the choir.

Extract 6.7 shows an example of a negative assessment being hearable as a directive.

Extract 6.7. That first your sounds a little bit under (E1_2, 20:55-21:16)

```
522        Ch     you:r tru: ⌈:e
523   A→   Con               ⌊er that first your sounds a little
524               bit under (.)
                            ⌊((stops beating))
525   A→          tiny tiny fraction
526               ⌈a:nd go
                  ⌊(('beating in' gesture))
527        Ch     you: ⌈r    tru::e   ⌈se::lf
528   A→   Con        ⌊((smile))     ⌊se:
529        Ch     i:s Go:: ⌈:d
530   A→   Con             ⌊ha we(h)ll do(h)ne okay
```

In Extract 6.7 the soprano section are singing their part by themselves in line 522, when Emma comes into their turn, overlapping with their singing, to produce a negative assessment about their tuning: "that first your [in line 522] sounds a little bit under (.) tiny tiny fraction" (lines 523-525). The use of mitigation phrases like 'a little bit' are common in conductors' negative assessments, where they soften the impact of the traditionally dispreferred response. The singers are only very minimally flat in this instance, but in the rehearsals conductors frequently mitigate their negative assessments in this way to avoid sounding too critical. No other feedback is given after the assessment, and in the following line Emma beats and counts in ("a:nd go") to begin the new sung turn. Part-way into their repeated "your" (line 527), the conductor makes eye contact and smiles at the singers, and further on she breaks into their final note of the phrase to give verbal positive feedback.

This quick move into the next sung turn in line 527 – and the choir's compliance with it – show the relevance of this as a next action following the assessment. This is despite the lack of explicit directive either to take a new turn ("and go" being part of the counting in, rather than a directive to begin per se), or what to do in it. The choir must instead infer from the assessment what they should do next: create a new sung turn with raised (more in-tune)

pitch on the word "your". The sung turn, or more specifically the tuning on the note of "your", is a mutable object (Fasulo & Monzoni, 2009), which the sopranos in the extract have the ability to change. Therefore, Emma's negative assessment implies that they *should* change this, making this a relevant and expected next action for the singers.

The positive assessments given by Emma suggests that the singers have complied with the implicit directive contained within the assessment, and improved the highlighted issue on their second attempt. She produces two pieces of positive feedback in the extract. The first is her smile in line 528, part-way through the note in question. The close temporal link between the (implicit) instruction, production and assessment here is reminiscent of the previous extract – it tells the choir immediately that they have corrected the issue so that they can attempt to remember that feeling for future renditions. The second comes in line 530 at the end of the phrase, and is a positive verbal assessment. Its production at the end of the phrase diminishes the temporal link between the assessment and the behaviour it refers to, so that while it is likely to be praising the previously-assessed tuning, it could also be a more general positive assessment of the whole phrase.

A similar result is seen in the extract below.

Extract 6.8. It's just a fraction late from some of you (B_3, 28:59-29:31)

```
539        Ch    li: bera: ea:s de o:: re:: leo:ni:s
540        Con   good
541              can you hear how that last quaver
542              especially the four four bar
543   A→         it's just a fraction late from some of you? (.)
544              ⌈de  o:::::::  ⌈re::::::::::  ⌈e-e
                 ⌊((beating))   ⌊((slowed))    ⌊((leans forward,
      A→         continues beating))
545   A→         if that's late then we're stuck
546              ⌈li:
                 ⌊((LH points forwards))
547              after two?
548              's a D flat
549              ⌈one two!
                 ⌊(('beating in' gesture))
550        Ch    li: bera: ea:s de o:: re:: leo:ni:s
```

In Extract 6.8, Ben cuts the choir off at the end of a phrase with an unspecific (and probably rather proforma) "good" (line 540). Positive assessments like this often project some forthcoming negative utterance, (more like 'good, but…', where the 'but' is to be inferred). This is the case here – Ben goes on to produce a negative assessment in the form of an interrogative ("can you hear how that last quaver… it's just a fraction late from some of you?", lines 541-543), indicating a late moving quaver towards the end of 're' of 'ore'. As in the previous extract, "just a fraction" is used to mitigate the assessment and reduce the impact of the dispreferred response.

This is followed by another negative assessment, this time in the form of a depiction (e.g. Tolins, 2013), *showing* the choir what was wrong, rather than *telling* them (Clark, 2016). In line 544, Ben sings the soprano line whilst conducting (depicting both himself and the choir simultaneously), and slows down with a slight pause just before the moment previously assessed as being late to highlight the issue to the choir. He gives a reason for why they need to rectify this issue (line 545), then launches a new attempt at the music (lines 546-549). As in the previous extract, no explicit directive telling the choir what to change in the new turn is given, but the singers infer from the details of the negative assessment what and how to improve.

6.5   Longer example

The next example is a longer, more complex extract showing the way that conductors may ask for multiple repetitions of the same section of music until they are satisfied, using a mix of assessments and directives (and interspersed with other rehearsal talk, such as restarts). The x symbol in this transcript refers to the conductor clapping.

Extract 6.9. The 'ia''s a bit late from some people (A_3, 00:39-1:18; 01:46-03:30)

```
 7        Ch    Alleluia : :   Alleluia : : : :
 8        Con   Good (.) um (.)
 9   D→         at the very end I won't slow down at all
10              I know it says (.) to (.) but b-
11              w- w- well what I mean by the very end is our
12              last alleluia
13   D→         ⌈allelu : ia :
                ⌊x    x  x x
14   D→         or whatever your notes are is exactly in the
```

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```
15           time that we have been before at the moment
16   A→      the ia's a bit late from some people (.)
17           erm (.) let's just go from the top of that
18           page
             top of page 8
19           erm it's an A⌈minor chord for you
                          ⌊Looks at Acc
20   Acc  ((Notes))
...        ((16 rows missing))
37   Ch   (bar 82)
38   Con  Eighty-two
             top of page 8
             three four
39   Ch   **Alleluia : : Alleluia : :**
40        **Allelu ia :::⌈:**
41 A→ Con               ⌊So ev- even lu is just slightly
42        late
43 D→     it's⌈one two three alle lu : ia
              ⌊x   x   x     x    x x x
44 D→     there's no slowing down at all. K?
45        ⌈Same place? Top of pa-
46   In   ⌊At that point you don't need to be looking
47 D→     at your music at all⌈ just watch Arthur=⌈
48   Con                      ⌊no              ⌊yeh
49   In   =and when he moves us onto the next note you
50        go onto the next=
51   Con  =yep exactly.
52   In   Can we do the last bit with<u>out</u> our books
53        actually just to- (.)
54   In   Yeh just so people get the hang of looking
55        at you.
56   Con  Okay? (.) I mean- (.) yeh.
57   Acc  ((Note))
58   Con  So same place uheh A E⌈ C below⌈ C above⌈
59   Acc                       ⌊((AE   ⌊C      ⌊C'))
```

```
60      Con   Yep
61            K (.) three four
62      Ch    (Alleluia)
63            ((Some laughing, trails off))
64      Con   Play the notes again
65      Acc   ((Notes))
66      Con   Three four
67      Ch    Alleluia : : Alleluia : :
68            Allelu ⌈
69      Con        ⌊Head shake, stops beating, smiles
70  A→        Still late
71  D→        ⌈One two three alle lu
72            ⌊x   x   x    x    x
73  D→        Simple as that. No change in tempo at all. K?
74            Top of this page? Once more?
75      Acc   ((Notes))
76      Con   Three four
77      Ch    Alleluia : : Alleluia : :
78            Allelu ia : ⌈:::
79  A→  Con           ⌊Yes (.) yes (.) good (.)
                      ⌊((thumbs up))
80            right (.) okay (.)
81            going back a bit then (.) erm (.)
```

In this extract the choir have just finished the piece they are rehearsing. After Arthur brings them off, he gives brief positive (or proforma) assessment, then begin his feedback. The issue being addressed is that following the long penultimate 'alleluia' of the piece (beginning of line 7), the choir are slowing down during the final one, rather than staying in tempo. In total the conductor makes the choirs re-sing this ending another three times (plus a failed restart) before he moves on to the rest of his directive cluster ("going back a bit then" in line 81 refers to himself working back through the piece to provide other feedback). This in itself demonstrates the orientation to improvement through the cycle of conductor feedback and sung turns seen in choir rehearsals.

Arthur begins with an informing about how he will be conducting during the music (line 9). This is another, more subtle, form of directive regularly used by conductors in the rehearsals.

Here, "I won't slow down at all" implies to the choir that *they* should not slow down at all. This then, as with directives in previous extracts, implies a negative assessment, suggesting that they did slow down during the previous sung turn. However, the subtler wording (compared to "there's no slowing down at all", line 44, for example) may diminish the accountability of the choir, allowing that perhaps they had not realised that there was no planned ritardando (deceleration) at the end of the piece. Arthur then goes on to clarify firstly the location (lines 11-12; the "very end" meaning the end of the choir parts, rather than the end of the piece, which continues with a piano coda) and then the timing that he wants to have from the choir. Initially, this is conveyed through depiction (line 13), where he sings the soprano part and claps the steady beats, demonstrating how their singing should fall in with his conducting beats. This is then followed by verbal clarification that the tempo will be remaining the same (lines 14-15), and finally a negative assessment (line 16). As in earlier examples, Arthur mitigates this assessment with "a bit".

He then initiates a restart of the section of music in question (this takes a short while to get started as the accompanist does not have a copy of the choir parts in order to know the starting notes; a similar delay occurs in lines 58 and 59). This attempt is cut slightly short (towards the end of the final note) with another mitigated assessment (lines 41-42). This utterance contains slightly more detail – specifying a particular syllable – which allows the choir to become more specific in their compliance with it as an implicit directive. A depictive model with clapped beats follows this (line 43), which is also more detailed than the previous version in line 13. Pitch, being irrelevant to the timing of the notes, is removed completely, but the section of music depicted is increased to include three beats prior to the 'alleluia' in question. The choir finish the previous 'ia' on 'one' and have two beats rest on 'two' and 'three', so giving these three beats allows them to see (and hear) how their 'alleluia' comes in context with the prior music. It also demonstrates how the tempo is maintained across from the first 'alleluia' to the second, which is then clarified verbally as well: "there's no slowing down at all" (line 44).

The next section (lines 46-56) is an insertion by the main choir leader (if counting Arthur as a brought-in conductor). She has been leading additional rehearsals between Arthur's weekly ones, in the run up to the performance. As such, she has some authority to be able to give feedback to the choir herself, as she does here. Eventually, the sung turn is launched again (lines 58-61), although the choir fail to start (possibly due to the delays while giving notes in lines 58 and 59), and the conductor quickly stops them and returns to his 'ready' position

with hands raised. He issues a locally-relevant ('Now') directive to the accompanist to re-give the notes, who does so, and the same section of music is sung again.

This time, Arthur stops them before the end of their final 'alleluia' with a head shake and a smile (acknowledgement of trouble e.g. Sert & Jacknick, 2015), and produces a short assessment: "still late" (line 70). The lack of mitigation used here makes the utterance feel more critical than the earlier assessments, presumably a reflection of it being the third time. Additionally, whereas the second time (in line 41) the specificity and detail was increased, this time it is curtailed, showing how the position in the feedback sequence can change the way assessments are produced. Time pressure of the rehearsal may be a factor in the increased conciseness here – the more time spent on one problem, the less time there is to improve everything else. Avoidance of repeating information may also be a factor, since people, in general, try to avoid telling others information that they already know (Sacks, 1972). The first time an issue is not rectified correctly could be a result of the choir's misunderstanding, so an enhanced, more specific explanation may help. If it does not, and there is no new information to give, repeating the same detail again wastes rehearsal time and risks offending the singers. The depiction too, is repeated (line 71) but slightly shortened, and also loses its verbal framing from the previous time ("it's", line 43). Two concise utterances follow that; the second a directive.

Another, final attempt at this section is carried out in lines 77-78, and Arthur comes into the last note to give them positive feedback: "yes yes good" (line 79), accompanied by a thumbs up gesture. The verbal utterance here does not look particularly specific (not that different from the "good" in line 8, for example), but as suggested previously it is the temporal relationship through the negative assessment/directive-sung attempt-positive feedback sequence that gives it its meaning. The alternating re-attempts and feedback seen here mean that the positive assessment, combined with progression onto the next element of the rehearsal, show that the conductor is now satisfied with the choir's sung turn.

6.6 Teaching talk

The assessments and directives discussed so far have all specifically considered how to shape or change the current piece or section of music that is being rehearsed. However, conductors also use these actions – particularly directives – to accomplish another type of interaction during the rehearsal: talk in a teaching style. This 'mode' of conductor talk was mentioned briefly during Chapter 4, as it may also occur during the warm up or introduction to a new

piece, but as a form of instructing the choir, it was decided to include a short section in this chapter.

Choral conductors have often considered one aspect of their role to include teaching (e.g. Durrant, 2005). This view is supported on the other side of the podium by Einarsdóttir and Sigurjónsson (2010), whose singer participants felt that conductors' feedback should teach, guide and make the music accessible and understandable. One reason for this may be that while orchestral musicians are expected to already have reasonable knowledge of how to play their own instrument – and it would be unlikely that a conductor would know how to play them all, choir members may or may not have had much experience of singing properly. Choral conductors, then, are expected to be able to guide singers in how to use their instrument (voice), and understand their role in creating the current music. Several conductors in this study named having singing lessons as one of the most important things an aspiring choral conductor can do, for this very reason.

In this rehearsal data, different conductors varied in terms of how much teaching they did. This is undoubtedly affected by multiple variables such as the choir's experience and expertise, the specific piece of music (e.g. its difficulty), and how long they had been rehearsing it.

How 'teaching' is defined would also affect how much of the conductor talk is classed as this type of behaviour. For example, the majority of what conductors do is aimed at improving the current piece of music, which could be seen as teaching how to sing that piece. Examples include vowel sound:

Extract 6.10. It's a semi kind of swallowing (B_2, 13:56-14:05)


```
284  Con   ev-er:
```

Fig. 6.8.

```
285        it's a semi kind of swallowing
```

286   **ever**

Fig. 6.9.

287   don't want ev-uh: (.) cheeks raised

Fig. 6.10.

288   **ever:**

Fig. 6.11.

Extract 6.11. Try and use the soft palate (D1a, 32:49-33:20)

664   ChB1   **und wenn sich keines ⌈euch öff-**
665   Con   ⌊Yeah

666   try and use the soft palate going

Fig. 6.12.

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```
667          up and a sense of stretching the jaw down as well
```


Fig. 6.13.

```
668          so und wenn
```


Fig. 6.14.

```
669          so you're expanding lengthways there
670          u:nd
671    ChB1  wenn sich keines euch öffnet
672    Con   That's it and make sure those gaps between
673          notes are small going down
```

Extract 6.12. Drop the jaw on it (F_2, 11:02-11:12)

```
327    ChS1  no:stri
```



```
328    Con   no: (.) no: (.)
```

Fig. 6.15.

```
329          no:
```

Fig. 6.16.

```
330          Drop the jaw on it
331          Some of you are trying to make an E (.)
332          all kinds of ways
333          Rather than just dropping the jaw
```

These three examples all give directives on how the conductors want the choir to sing a moment of the current piece, but also *teach* the singers how to do it in a practical sense. They give technical information on how to achieve a particular sound by referring to the vocal apparatus (e.g. "use the soft palate", Extract 6.11) or body movements (e.g. "drop the jaw", Extract 6.12), by using their expert knowledge on vocal production to increase the singers' understanding of what is required of them. The information given, however, is explicitly linked to a specific segment of the piece, and in order for this to be a taught knowledge that can be transferred (e.g. see Blocher et al., 1997), it relies on the singers extrapolating from this specific example to other areas of the piece, rehearsal and/or their singing life.

On the other hand, sometimes the conductor will move beyond the epistemological domain of 'how this group will perform this piece for this performance' (Parton, 2014) to 'how one might perform/understand music as a choral singer'. Some examples of this have already been noted during the warm up and music introductions:

Extract 6.13. It's quite important to know which note (B_1, 05:44-05:59)

```
137 Con   it's- h. it's quite important to know which note of
138        the chord you're singing whether it's the first the
139        third or the fifth (.)
140        okay? (.)
141        it's important that we get that sort of er
142        musicianship to a better level I think
```

Fig. 6.17.

Fig. 6.18.

```
143       Otherwise it's just melody



144       not working harmonically
```

Extract 6.14. It's really helpful to try and look for something new (C_2, 02.15-02:30)

```
41 Con   it's really helpful to try and um look for something (.) new
42        Sometimes a piece will give us something new of itself
43        through familiarity and er looking at it
44        Other times we need to (.) find something-
45        we need to go looking for something
```

In these examples, the talk is not linked to one specific aspect of a piece, but produced as information on how to sing in a choir (e.g. a better level of musicianship, Extract 6.13) or how to rehearse a piece for a performance (e.g. look for something new, Extract 6.14). These are then concepts associated with choral singing in general, which the choir can take away and apply to any musical setting. In this sense, they form a different, wider type of 'teaching' talk than the examples given in Extracts 6.10 to 6.12.

Similar moments can be found during the conductor's feedback turns, where conductors may link the piece to its wider context:

Extract 6.15. This would be where there'd be a sort of final fugue (H1_3, 03.06-03:20)

```
149  Con    Can we get on with a little bit more energy
150         So this would be er- this would be er
151         in a classical mass let's say this would
152         be where there'd be a sort of final
153         fugue f- t- for the end of the gloria
154         be a really sort of- er a final point
```

Or to other similar music:

Extract 6.16. There is a very fine dividing line in a piece like this (G1_5, 07:39-7:55)

```
199  Con    there is a very fine dividing
200         line in a piece like this
201         between it being slightly nostalgic
202         and sentimental and actually having a
203         real str- a really strong inner core
204         um and it- a lot of that has to do with
205         the way that you pick tempos up
```

The first of these examples shows the conductor giving some background on the type of piece they are performing and what its aim would have been in its original context. The second is a more general point about balancing sentimentality and strength in a relatively slow, expressive piece of music. However both points are made as if they are talking more generally about the features of a classical mass, or music of this style – they can easily be related to other similar contexts.

During these moments of broader teaching talk, the conductor is giving advice based on their broader experience as a conductor, choral singer, or professional member of the music world. Usually, there is still a short term aim of improving the current piece in some way (e.g. by understanding how it relates to the context for which it was composed), but also a wider aim of passing on knowledge that may help the choir perform or understand similar music in the future. In this sense the conductor is teaching the choir how to be a choral singer in the Western music world, beyond the individual rehearsal. It is also noticeable that much less depiction is used by the conductors when describing these more abstract, transferable concepts, than in Extracts 6.10-6.12, where the teaching relates to the physical body at that moment.

6.1. Summary

This chapter analysed the way conductors give feedback to their choirs following the sung turns. Assessments and directives, in line with previous work (e.g. Tolins 2013), were the two actions that made up the majority of the conductor's talk. These may come in clusters (as in Szczepek Reed et al., 2013), but often conductors focus on one aspect to give feedback on and then reattempt. For conciseness, these were the examples focused on in this chapter. The number of reattempts can vary (e.g. Extract 6.9), until the conductor is satisfied. In addition, conductors (across the rehearsal, including during the feedback turn) may also give feedback in more of a 'teaching' style. This is often specifically related to the current piece of music, but may also be broader and clearly transferable to other parts of the piece, other music, or even other choral or musical settings.

The main focus of the chapter examined the way negative assessments and directives worked in relation to each other and the choir's orientation to both the past ('how was our previous sung turn?') and the future ('what shall we do in the next sung turn?'). When the two actions occur as a pair (Extracts 6.1-6.3), they work together: the assessment explicitly makes clear that there was an issue, and what it was the conductor judged to be inadequate, and the directive tells the choir what they should do next, specifically with the intention of solving the highlighted problem. This makes relevant a new attempt at the same music, in order to comply with the directive and rectify the assessment. This feedback can be thought of as a retrosequence, where the assessment or directive makes the sung turn recognisable as the 'source' (Schegloff, 2007).

At other places in the rehearsal, assessments or directives may occur by themselves. When this happens, each implicitly takes on the function of the other as well. Directives, by explicitly telling the choir to do something, imply that (a) something was inadequate in the previous sung turn (negative assessment), (b) the directive given will help to solve the issue, and (c) a new attempt is now relevant in order to put it into practice.

As suggested by Kent and Kendrick (2016), the occurrence of an imperative-form directive (and indeed, other forms such as proposals) after the point where an action could have occurred can imply accountability for the absence of that action. We see this in the implication of the negative assessment, particularly when made explicitly clear that the choir should already be aware of the directive (e.g. "remember long breath", Extract 6.9). The reason for this accountability is the hindrance of progression within the activity. Therefore the interruption of the choir's turn by the conductor, or the overlap with their singing that

often occurs, adds to the sense of negative assessment implied by a directive, since it suggests that there is an issue that needs to be corrected in order to allow continued progression of the music.

However, in this rehearsal context, it is important to note that directives (e.g. in Extract 6.5) may occur which imply a negative assessment, but not necessarily accountability. That is, the choir may not have got something 'right' (in the conductor's judgement), but they were not necessarily 'wrong'. Often, this is particularly applicable in directives that interpret the music. Conductors, at the beginning of the rehearsal process, have the main right of access to the epistemic domain of 'how this choir will sing this piece for this performance' (cf. Parton, 2014). Through the rehearsals they gradually guide the singers along the epistemic trajectory. What this means for the singers is that for some directives they may have had the relevant opportunity to implement them (i.e. they sang that section), but not necessarily the epistemic knowledge to do so. In addition, instructive feedback is expected as part of this social interaction (e.g. Bonshor, 2017), which in itself can soften the effect of accountability. Finally, directives are also seen that do not occur after the choir have had the opportunity to carry them out. Some examples of these were given in the previous chapter (section 5.3.4), as they often occur while (or just before) the choir are singing. In this case, the directives are to be complied with immediately (practically simultaneously), and therefore do not carry any implied negative assessment.

When negative assessments occur by themselves, they explicitly state that there was an issue in the previous sung turn, and what was problematic, and implicitly tell the choir (a) what needs changing in order to improve the issue, and (b) that a new sung turn is now relevant to solve the issue. This is supported by Fasulo and Monzoni (2009), who suggest that if a negative assessment is given regarding a mutable object that may be changed by the interactants, then part of their role (e.g. part of 'doing being a choir member') is to change the object based on this assessment. In this way, conductors can shape future music attempts by assessing something about a previous sung turn. Additionally, negative assessments are often mitigated in the data (e.g. 'a little bit', 'a fraction'). Understatement such as this is one type of mitigation that was also identified by Thonus (2002) in a study of assessment in university tutorials. If no mitigation is present, it may be because the assessment (or directive) has already been given previously (e.g. Extract 6.9).

In addition, the different ways that conductors show positive assessments was also discussed. It was mentioned earlier that stopping the choir in mid-turn, and therefore hindering

progressivity, gave a sense of negative assessment to the directive that came after. However, the reverse of this is that *not* stopping the choir, and continuing with the music, implies positive (or at least not negative) assessment. This is seen in Extracts 6.4 and 6.5, for example, where a second (or third) attempt at the problematic section is permitted to continue on to the rest of the piece. Positive assessment is also seen non-verbally, through a smile or thumbs up for example (e.g. Extracts 6.6 and 6.7), usually during the choir's sung turn (as seen in the previous chapter). Verbal positive assessments may be proforma, which can project a forthcoming negative assessment, or they may refer to an improvement in the choir's sung turn following negative feedback.

Both non-verbal and verbal (non-proforma) positive assessments are given meaning by the temporal relationship between the directive/negative assessment, followed by an (improved) sung turn, followed by the positive assessment. This means that they do not necessarily need to be explicit, as they are understood in the context of the feedback sequence. They also complete this sequence, so a repeated sung turn is not made relevant, as it is with negative assessments. What they do imply is that the now-improved aspect of the music should be remembered for future renditions of that piece. Associated directives therefore tend to refer to replication or continuation, rather than change.

Having seen how prevalent depictions (gestures, sung models, body posture and so on) are in this feedback turn, the final chapter will examine further the different methods by which conductors can communicate about music and convey their interpretations to the choir.

7. Modes of meaning: How do conductors communicate about music?

7.1. Introduction

Music, as an abstract, non-linguistic entity, can be difficult to describe fully or comprehensively in words (e.g. Tolins, 2013). One of the conductor's main roles, however, is to convey to the choir the manner, mood and nature of the music, and how he or she wishes the choir to convey that in turn to an audience during a performance. This chapter will provide a brief tour of some of the main methods by which conductors put across the meaning to the choir during their feedback turn, including through verbal, gestural and musical means.

7.1.1. The ineffability of music

That music can be difficult to define or put into words has been discussed by previous authors. Schmicking (2006) delves into more detail on these difficulties, discussing the different types of ineffabilities associated with music-making. These include 'gesture feeling ineffability' (relating to sensorimotor movements when creating music, such as how to breathe effectively or sing with a particular tone); 'gesture nuance ineffability' (relating to very small variations of continuous variables such as pitch or dynamics); and 'ineffabilities of intersubjectivity' (relating to the non-verbal interaction that takes place between performers during music-making). That so many variables within music can be considered ineffable demonstrates the difficulties that conductors may face when trying to convey their interpretation of and instructions for a piece of music to a group of people with various experiences and background knowledge.

Much of what conductors are trying to convey during rehearsals involves describing non-concrete (or, in the case of the vocal instrument itself, non-tangible) things. These types of concepts can be difficult and/or time-consuming to explain clearly in everyday language, meaning that in order to be effective and efficient (as necessitated by rehearsal time constraints), they must find other and additional ways to convey meaning. In general, this chapter will show that conductors appear to be very adept (as practitioner literature suggests they should be e.g. Durrant, 2003) at using multimodal combinations of verbal description, particularly verbal imagery, and depiction (through singing, chanting, clapping, posture, facial expressions and so on) to communicate their meaning.

However, occasionally conductors may have problems finding the words (or gestures, or facial expression etc) that they need, demonstrating the difficulties that they can sometimes face. The three short extracts here all show places where the conductors appear to struggle to find the words they want to explain an aspect of the music accurately.

Extract 7.1. It's just not (.) iehh (B_1, 07:44-07:57)

```
163  Con    Good okay right that that's quite good it's
164         quite good but it's just not (.) iehh (.)
165         every crotchet that I'm trying to slow down
166         a little you're moving on for a bit
```

Extract 7.2. Just (.) eeub (H1_2, 02:46-03:07)

```
72  Con    Tenors you have er a small insurgency
73         Last bar of the first page Thus sung
74         you start the text before everybody else
75         And again at come close mine eyes end of the
76         second line on the second page
77         Just (.) eeub
78         You don't need to do anything other than
79         be aware of it so you can (.)
80         sing as necessary
```

Extract 7.3. A little bit woolly (C_2, 12:35-12:40)

```
427  Con    we just- just- just a little bit kind of
428         erm just a kind of little bit woolly
429         I suppose for want of a better word
```

In the first two, Ben and Henry pause in the middle of their utterances (Extract 7.1, line 164; Extract 7.2, line 77) then produce a non-linguistic noise, demonstrating their word-finding difficulty, before continuing their assessment (Ben) or directive (Henry). Similarly, in Extract 7.3, Christopher displays word-finding difficulties on the word "just" (line 427), by repeating the word. His continuing "I suppose for want of a better word" suggests that he is not entirely happy with the word he has selected.

However, these are the exceptions, rather than the rule. In general, conductors use a variety of resources to convey their meaning effectively.

7.1.2. Talking about music

When they are not actually conducting, verbal description is the most common way for conductors to convey their musical interpretations, desires or corrections to the choir. Some types of feedback, such as practical aspects, lend themselves more easily to verbal description than others. For example, descriptions of timing and pitch can be described as early/late or sharp/flat, even if, as suggested by Schmicking, the amount of variation within one of these terms might be very difficult to convey accurately. Other types of feedback relating to emotion, mood, and general shaping of the music – the 'musicality' of a piece – can be more difficult to put into words. For this reason, people very often fall back on using metaphors and similes when trying to describe music. Peltola and Saresma (2014), for example, studied the way listeners use metaphoric language to describe sad music, and Johnson and Larson (2003) analysed the metaphors of musical motion. Some musical metaphors have become so conventional that they really cease to be thought of as metaphoric, such as pitch as being 'sharp', 'flat', 'high' or 'low' (although these terms are not, of course, universal, Eitan & Timmers, 2010), but the focus in this chapter is on metaphor as verbal imagery – the use of colourful, visual or emotive language to convey a particular meaning.

An entire doctoral thesis by Black (2015) is dedicated to exploring the use of verbal imagery in choir rehearsals, so it is clearly beyond the scope of this chapter to cover them in very much detail here. However, it would be remiss to study conductors' feedback *without* considering the use of imagery and related uses of description, given the importance they play in conveying to the choir how the conductor wishes them to perform the music. Black suggests that verbal imagery can serve a range of functions, including replacing technical terminology, illustrating the text, as a mnemonic, to save rehearsal time, change thinking and to transmit clear objectives. Many of these functions can be seen in the metaphors used in the rehearsal data.

7.1.3. Modes of meaning-making

Clark (2016) discusses three main modes of meaning-making in conversation: indexing, description and depiction. Some examples of *indexing* – the locating of a referent in time or space – can be found in the first section below. This mode will not be discussed in detail as it does not directly relate to the shaping of the music per se, but it is obviously important for the choir to be able to pinpoint where in the music the conductor is referring to. *Description* is occasions where the conductor *tells* the choir what they are trying to say, using words or other arbitrarily-assigned signals (such as emblematic gestures). *Depictions*, on the other

hand, are where the conductor *shows* the choir what they mean in some way, through singing or chanting, clapping, body language or posture, facial expression or more illustrative gestures (i.e. iconic gestures that illustrate the concurrent talk). Some examples of depiction have already been noted while discussing the previous three chapters, but this chapter will draw them together in terms of how they are being achieved, rather than what action they are performing (such as assessing or directing). Examples of indexing, description and depiction from the rehearsals will be considered, first individually and then in various combinations.

The analysis section will begin by briefly observing some examples of indexing (Section 7.2), then move on to description and depiction. Section 7.3 will consider how description and depiction may be used separately (although often consecutively), and section 7.4 will give some examples of the various ways that conductors combine description and depiction (and indexing) within the same utterance.

7.2. Indexing

Several examples of indexing were seen in Chapter 5, under the launching of a new sung turn, where conductors use verbal description to give a starting location using page or bar numbers, rehearsal figures, or features of the music (e.g. "where um altos and sopranos start", Extract 5.5, line 711). In other places, conductors may use depictions (such as a sung phrase) to locate the musical moment being referred to, as in Extract 7.4 below.

Extract 7.4. Let's go from where you sing (C_1, 34:18-34:29)

```
529  Con  Good let's just try that again
530       Let's go from where you sing (.)
531       And why are you
532       One
```

In this extract, the conductor has just finished giving some feedback and wants the choir to have another attempt at the section of the piece. Rather than saying a bar number however, he sings a short extract of the music for the choir to use to locate – index – the starting position (line 531). Similar examples are relatively frequent, both in regards to starting positions and locating an aspect of the music on which the conductor wishes to give feedback.

Extract 7.4 also demonstrates a particular characteristic of the modes of meanings – they can combine with each other. Here, depiction is used to index the starting point. A similar combination – this time using gesture – is seen in the next extract.

Extract 7.5. The key moment is the third crotchet (H1_2, 15:50-16:01)

```
525   Ch    a:me:n
524   Con   Very good
525         so actually the key moment is the third crotchet
526         half way through the penultimate bar
527         If we could have mens together
528         Then the decorated resolution works
```

In Extract 7.5, Choir H have just finished singing the *Gloria* from Byrd's mass – a polyphonic piece where the altos and basses reach 'men' of 'amen' at the end of the piece before the sopranos and tenors, who then resolve their suspension (see Figure 7.1 below).

Figure 7.1. End of Gloria *from* Mass for Four Voices *by William Byrd. Note, not the same edition as Choir H, therefore bars do not match Henry's description in Extract 7.5.*

Figure 7.2. (above) and 7.3. (below) on 'mens' (Extract 7.5, line 527)

In line 527, Henry asks the altos and basses (sitting to his right) to ensure that the two parts sing 'men' (in Figure 7.1 at the beginning of the last bar) together, in order for the final soprano and tenor resolving notes to be effective. Verbally, he indexes this by giving the bar and beat number. Gesturally, he also indexes the notes by holding his left hand up and right vertically beneath it, with both first fingers pointing forwards (see Figures 7.2 and 7.3). This vertical alignment depicts the temporal simultaneity of the two notes, as seen on the score, one lower (bass) and one higher (alto).

To expand on the use of combined modes further, later in the rehearsal, Henry actually combines his indexing simultaneously with both depiction and description in order to identify a particular note to the basses.

Extract 7.6. That's the one that I'm concerned about (H1_4, 04:52-05:32)

```
118  Con   Yeh (.) so just from the- from the
119        return of Agnus
120        er second bar of the middle line on
121        page thirtyeight
122        so we- we get er really get down to the
123        D flat beginning of the bottom line
124        basses e?
125        (.) ah
126        Is that right? A flat?
...        ((8 lines missing))
135  ChB   A:gnus de:⌈  i
136  ChT             ⌊A:gnus
137  ChTB  De⌈:              i
138  Con     ⌊Yeah (.) so
139        that o:ne that's the one that I'm
140        concerned about at the moment
141        ↑Once more
```

He has requested a restart (line 118) in order to work on pitching or tuning a particular note in the bass part (a D flat following a descending interval of a fifth from A flat), which he explains in lines 122-124. At the point where they reach that note (line 137), Henry comes into the choir's turn, overlapping with the basses' singing, but quickly switches to singing as a modality (line 139). By doing this, he depicts the accurate pitch of the D flat (through sung

modelling), but also uses verbal description to identify that that is the specific note with which he is concerned (suggesting a negative assessment). Both of these modes, with the temporal placing of the utterance, combine to locate and index the note for the singers. He then continues in depictive mode, singing the starting note in line 141 whilst verbally requesting a restart.

7.3. Description and depiction separately

Description (telling) and depiction (showing) are used frequently in choir rehearsals. Description, in particular, will often occur by itself. Other times, conductors will use both modes as complementary methods of telling and showing the same thing.

7.3.1. Description alone

The first two examples show conductors using description alone to shape the music. Often, conventional Italian terms will be used to achieve this.

Extract 7.7. Diminuendo (D_2, 00:35-00:56)

```
17    Con    Um couple of- couple more things
18           can you all put a diminuendo at p- er
19           bar thirtyfour
20           dim (.) dim
21           thirtyseven
22           dim (.)
23           a:nd fortyone
24           So basically in other words every end of
25           phrase um I want you to shade off
26           Okay?
```

Extract 7.8. Dolce (A_3, 15:33-15:52)

```
302   Con    yes we just slightly forgot that
303          And I will sing with the understanding
304          needs to be quieter
305          um the thing to remember about it is um
306          there's a La- er Italian word rather do-
307          dolce written next to all of those entries
308          and dolce means sweetly (.) sweetly (.)
309          so that's what we're looking for
```

In both of these extracts, the conductors use Italian words to convey the shape (Extract 7.7) or feeling (Extract 7.8) that they wish the choir to produce from the music. The use of terminology in rehearsals is common, although how it is used may vary (Choir A in Extract 7.8 is an amateur workplace choir, so singers are not expected to necessarily already know the terms, for example).

7.3.2. Description and depiction used consecutively

In the next extracts, description and depiction are both used in turn, to complement each other.

In Extract 7.9, finger clicks are represented with `x`.

Extract 7.9. Do:ne two: three: >one< (.) all (A_2, 00:27-00:55)

```
15   Con   really make sure you're holding your
16         penultimate done for three beats
17         you've got to wait for us to sing fa la la
18   In    yeh
19   Con   for- for- er for the first fa la la before
20         you come off
21         that will help (.) cus (.) if you come off
22         early then you'll be not sure about where
23         the next one's gonna go
24         but if you can be really thinking
25         ⌈do:ne two: three: >one< (.) all⌉
           ⌊x    x   x       x     x  x  ⌋
26         so you've really got
27         ⌈   absolutely three beats on done
           ⌊x           x             x
28            two beats rest   all⌉
           x           x       x  ⌋
29         that will really help
```

In Extract 7.9, Arthur is giving feedback to the sopranos, to hold their note for long enough. He begins by referring to the music ("three beats", line 16), then what the choir would be hearing ("wait for us to sing fa la la", line 17). This gives them two different methods of calculating the length of their note. As mentioned earlier, this is an amateur choir, so the use

of methods that may or may not require a thorough musical background is important for the inclusivity of the choir members. Arthur follows this with an account (lines 21-23) to help the choir understand how and why they should comply with the directive, and then two depictions in lines 25-28.

The depictions provide another way to convey to the choir how to know when they should finish their note, this time through *showing* the choir how the counting works. They consist of finger-clicks, which denote (or perhaps index) the beats (i.e. an auditory representation of the conductor's beating gestures during the choir's turn) within Arthur's spoken representation of the music. Firstly, in line 25, he speaks the choir's sung words ("done" and "all"), with beat-counting words in between. The sopranos should hold the word "done" during "two three", come off on "one", rest on the next beat (click), and then restart with the word "all" on the final click.

This use of chanting in rhythm (sometimes called sing-speak or sprechgesang) is very common when the conductors want to convey a particular rhythm, taking out the currently-irrelevant information of pitch, and limiting the meaning to when the word/note is placed, often in relation to a beat shown through conducting, clapping or clicking, as in this example. The way the conductor talks also assists with showing the rhythm – the first three words of line 25 are said in a slightly lengthened way, showing that this is part of the long held note on "done"; "one" is said quickly, shortened to show that this is where the singing should stop; and "all" (the re-entry with which there could be an issue – lines 21-23) is slightly emphasised. What this means for the choir is that they are shown a clear depiction of where each word should start and stop through a combination of rhythmic speaking, beat counting and auditory beat representations.

The second depiction here (lines 27-28) is interesting in that it is very similar to the previous one except that the counting and rhythmic sing-speak have been replaced by a descriptive gloss e.g. "absolutely three beats on done" (line 27) instead of "do:ne two: three:" (line 25). The beat-clicks remain the same, and the re-entry "all" is still emphasised slightly. This appears then to be more of a summary of the singer's part, rather than a model for them to copy during their next turn.

The next two extracts give examples of the common depictive sequence identified by Weeks (1996) as a contrast pair.

Extract 7.10. It's a little bit waah (B_1, 33.17-33:33)

```
586   Ch    Oh sa:viour of the world
587   Con   round that tenors
```


Fig. 7.4.

```
588         it's a little bit waah
```



```
589         wo:rld
```

Fig. 7.5.

```
590         round that sound
```

Extract 7.11. It's a little flat still (E1_2, 18:45-19:05)

```
383   Ch    you:r t⌈ru:e
384   Con      ⌊it's a little flat still
```



```
385         you:r
```

Fig. 7.6.

```
386        you: ⌈r
387   Acc       ⌊((notes))
```

Fig. 7.7.

```
388   Con   just bending it up
389         °yo°
390   Acc   ((notes))
            (h) ⌈and go
391   Con
                ⌊(('beating in' gesture))
392   Ch    you:r tru:e se:lf i:s go:d
```

Both of these extracts show the conductors depicting an assessment of the choir's previous singing, highlighting the vowel shape (Extract 7.10, line 588) and the tuning (Extract 7.11, line 385) respectively. This is immediately followed by a depicted directive model that shows the choir how the conductor would like it to sound instead. Both contrast pairs are bookended by verbal description. In Extract 7.10, Ben gives the same directive twice (lines 587 and 590), using a metaphor of 'rounding' the sound. Emma, in Extract 7.11, produces an assessment and a directive (lines 384 and 388) that use conventionalised metaphors to describe the pitch as "flat" and needing to be 'bent up'. This illustrates how common the use of metaphor is to describe music.

Only the first extract gives any descriptive framing to the depictions themselves. Ben uses the first depicted assessment "waah" as part of a turn constructional unit (TCU) begun verbally "it's a little bit" (line 588), setting it up explicitly as an assessment. The following "wo:rld" (line 589) on the other hand is its own complete TCU, and the choir are expected to hear this as a model for how they should sing, and directive that they ought to sing it like that in future, through the context of the rehearsal (aiming for a performance) and the previous assessment (the model demonstrates how to rectify the negative assessment). Keevallik (2014) has previously argued that bodily-vocal demonstrations can both complete verbal TCUs and comprise their own TCU, and this supports her findings.

In terms of the depictions themselves, there is a clear auditory difference between the two halves of each contrast pair; Ben's have a different vowel sound, and Emma's change pitch from flat to in tune. However the figures displayed in the transcripts show that the conductors show a distinct visual difference as well. In Extract 7.10 (Figures 7.4-7.5), Ben exaggerates the mouth shapes of the vowels, and uses his left hand to frame and draw attention to them. His right hand is at first held up to the right in a slightly twisted shape, then moves round to the front into an upward (palm up) supporting gesture. It is difficult, and probably not appropriate, to try to allocate any specific meaning to the hand gestures themselves, but they do create a clear visual difference between the two, and highlight the body part (mouth) that is creating the change in sound. In Extract 7.11 (Figures 7.6-7.7), the difference can be seen in Emma's posture as she raises her head, and her left hand and eyebrows also rise for the second depiction, reflecting the raised pitch.

7.4. Description and depiction combined

7.4.1. Description and depiction combinations – breath flow examples

The previous examples demonstrated how description and depiction may occur separately, although often as complementary ways of showing the same action. At other times, description and depiction are combined simultaneously, and this section will explore some of the ways in which conductors accomplish this.

The first two extracts show ways that two conductors use both modes to improve their choirs' flow of breath.

Extract 7.12. Breath flow (F_2, 00:07-00:25)

```
   8  Con    When you start at fourteen
   9         will you all write <breath flow> please
  10         You don't give enough flow at the start
  11         Especially er the first basses
  12         Needs to be a bit warmer
  13         e:t spiri
  14         Need to have the warmth in the breath
  15         behind it (.) ok?
  16         BREATH (.) FLOW
```

Extract 7.12 demonstrates an intricate mix of description and depiction (analysis can also be seen in Emerson, Williamson & Wilkinson, 2017). Flynn begins with a directive to the singers to write "breath flow" in their music, as a reminder to help address the negative assessment that follows in line 10. The assessment is accompanied by a large and quite dramatic sweeping gesture from right to left with an open palm, reflecting the 'flow' of air that he wishes the singers to give (Figures 7.8-7.9). The gesture here represents the solution to the problem being simultaneously highlighted by the verbal assessment – watching the clip in his interview, Flynn says "that's just use it, use it" (Int_F_3). Interestingly, he also describes the breath as being "in the upper arm", suggesting a very direct relationship between the depicted gesture itself and the expected sung response in the choir's next turn.
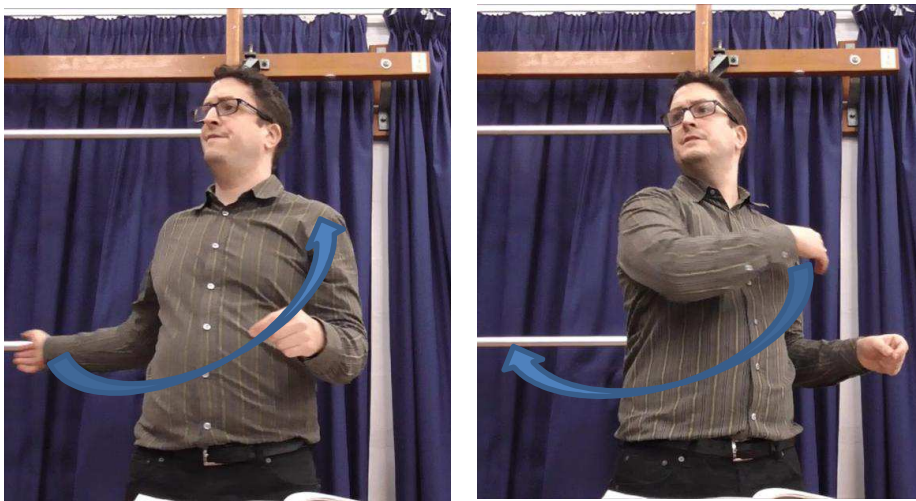
Figure 7.8-7.9. You don't give enough <u>flow</u> at the start (Extract 7.12, line 10)

He then gives a metaphoric, descriptive directive about why more breath flow is needed to improve the choir's sound ("needs to be a bit warmer", line 12), followed by a sung depiction of part of the bass line. The singing in line 13 is accompanied by another right to left sweep, this time much slower and steadier, showing how the breath flow should be controlled (rather than just using lots of it, as suggested by the gesture in line 10, Figures 7.8-7.9). This full depictive model then is both aural and visual – with the conductor's singing and gesture combining to show the choir how to sing that phrase.

In lines 14-15 he gives another verbal directive related to the same topic. Interestingly however, he speaks with a deeper, rounder and warmer tone, as if he were still singing it. Additionally, while speaking his right arm circles around his throat, locating (indexing) the resonant space that the singers need to have in order to create the desired sound. This spoken description then becomes thoroughly multimodal, as it is simultaneously depicted

through the voice tone, and carries additional technical information on how to sing it through the gesture.

In Extract 7.13, breath flow is again being assessed, this time in terms of attaining a smooth, even line through the phrase.

Extract 7.13. You're slightly (.) blocking the (.) breath flow (E1_1, 18.05-18:21)

```
273  Con    And the othe- as a whole I feel-
274         I'm feeling slightly there's not a flo:w
275         of vowels on the breath
276         You're slightly (.) blocking  the- (.) breath flow
277         Because it's quiet
278         and because it's difficult to tune
279         So just get sense of moving through the
280         line a bit more
```


Figure 7.10. I'm slightly feeling there's not a flow of vowels on the breath (Extract 7.13, lines 274-275)
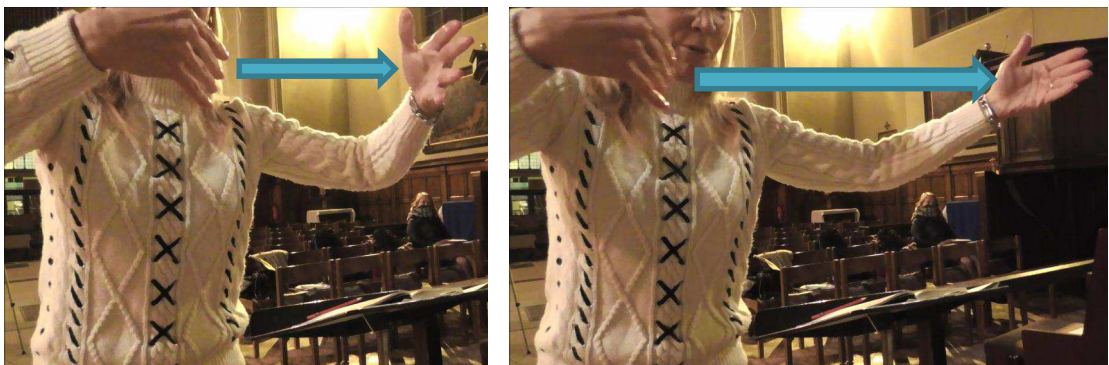
Figures 7.11 and 7.12. You're slightly (.) blocking the- (.) breath flow (Extract 7.13, line 276)

In the extract, Emma gives two related descriptive negative assessments (lines 274-275; 276) followed by an account on behalf of the choir, and then a directive for how to rectify the issue (lines 279-280). She uses depiction to enhance the points she is making multimodally. In lines 274-275, her right hand stays vertical, palm facing towards her, while her left hand (palm down) sweeps over the top, forward and down (Figure 7.10), in a representation of the breath (or the vowels flowing on the breath). As in the previous extract, it is interesting to note that this depiction represents what the breath flow *should* be like, despite accompanying a negative assessment. This is then juxtaposed in the next utterance rather like a gestural contrast pair, as her hands show what happens when the breath flow is blocked. In line 276, her hands move slowly apart from each other, stopping with a judder (as if hitting an obstacle) at the beginning of 'blocking' (Figure 7.11) and in the pause before breath (Figure 7.12).

This brings us to another aspect of the depiction. Like line 13 of Extract 7.12, the way Emma speaks also becomes part of the multimodal conveying of this utterance. She pauses between words, almost as if stammering over the phrase, depicting the blocks in the breath flow. Finally, the original smooth forward gesture made in lines 274-275 reappears as she gives the directive to move "through the line" (lines 279-280). This last directive is metaphorical, part of the mapping of Music as a Journey (Adlington, 2003) or Musical Landscape (Johnson & Larson, 2003).

7.4.2. Descriptive metaphors and depiction combined

The next extracts use a combination of metaphor and depiction. Extract 7.14 uses a particularly vivid metaphor to evoke a particular image to help the choir achieve the correct tempo (and feeling of tempo).

Extract 7.14. Dead sheep (B_1, 07:45-08:48)

```
160  Con    Good okay
161         right that- that's quite good
162         it's quite good but it's just not (.) iehh (.)
163         every crotchet that I'm trying to slow down
164         a little you're moving on for a bit
165         Remember dead sheep (.)
166         from Wednesday?
167         dead (.) sheep
168         Got to just churn through that slightly more
```

```
169        Lengthen the vowels especially blessed
170        that double s is still quite big
171        could do with being a little crisper
172  In    What was the dead sheep?
173  Con   Dead sheep
174  Ch    ((Laughter))
175  Con   Dead sheep is is something that one of my
176        conducting tutors explained to me about
177        the substances in which you're conducting
178        through (.)
179        so fast music (.) air
180        Slightly slower water
181        Th- the hardest thing to conduct through is
182        dead sheep because you're trying to
183        wade past organs (.) and muscle (.)
184        and (.) haggis (hh)
185  Ch    ⌈((laughter))
186  In    ⌊it's not the best metaphor
187  Con   (h) but it just needs to have that (.)
188        light but stodgy kind of sensation here
189        so (.) basically tenuto
190        but with short consonants
```

In Extract 7.14, Ben at first struggles to think of how to explain what it is he wants the choir to do differently (line 162), then gives a descriptive explanation about the choir's timing with respect to his own (lines 163-164). He follows this with by briefly referring to a metaphor that was discussed at a previous rehearsal ("remember dead sheep", lines 165-166), then some more practical directives on how to improve. A choir member who missed the previous rehearsal then requests more information on the metaphor (line 172), and Ben goes on to explain that it is a way of thinking about music at different speeds. These lines (179-184) are simultaneously depicted, as he demonstrates conducting at the different speeds in lines 177 (basic 4-beat pattern), 179 (fast), 180 (slightly slower) and 183 (slowest). Finally, he follows this with how the metaphor should be applied here, including falling back on Italian terminology ('tenuto' meaning 'held', line 189). These lines too are accompanied by depictions, as he gestures in a sort of circling, churning way to illustrate the "light but stodgy" sensation (line 188).

The rather vivid metaphor of "dead sheep" conveys to the choir a *sense* of the tempo, rather than just a knowledge of the speed – perhaps an example of Black's 'changing thinking' function, as well as a mnemonic (shown by the way he mentions it in line 165). Combined with the practical directives (e.g. lengthening vowels), this aims to help the choir understand the music and therefore how to sing it expressively. Merely giving a metronome beat may achieve the required speed in the short term, for example, but most singers will be unlikely to remember it exactly in the future, and it may lead to inexpressive singing as they focus on singing it strictly in time. By creating a dramatic image in the choir's head, Ben tries to ensure the choir will remember the feeling of the speed in future attempts, and incorporate that feeling into their singing as well.

Extract 7.15 was originally seen in chapter 5, as it occurs during an introduction turn. Christopher is trying to get the singers to enunciate well, using a mixture of depiction and description.

Extract 7.15. Champagne sparkle (C_2, 02:30-03:17)

```
48   Con    So can we- can we really think about
49          our diction in thi- this time when we
50          perform this as a- as a being that's our
51          that's gonna be our thing this year
52          And 'and the' (.) that 'and the' (.) 'and
53          the g-' each time (.)
54          g-lory (.) really (enjoy the) g-le g-le g-le
55          really enjoy the- the- the texture of these
56          words as you sing them
57          Erm (.) and nice- nice kinda wet- wet Ds like
```


Fig. 7.13.

```
58          wet Ds like revealed (.) d a little
59          bit- just a little bit of wetness in those-
```

```
60        in those- it's the right word it's what
61        I mean
62        w- kind of wetness in those- in those final
63        consonants (.) it just brings them to life
64        it just gives them a little bit of a
65        champagne sparkle (.)
66        It just gives them a little bit of s- of
67        sparkle there and otherwise it'll be
```



```
68        **and the glory the glory of the L-**
```

Fig. 7.14.

Having given his request for good diction, Christopher models in an emphasised way the enunciation he is looking for on several of the words ("and the", "glory", "revealed"). On the last of these (line 58, Figure 7.13), his face clearly exaggerates the movements required, alongside the pincer handshape, which often represents precision (Streeck, 2009). His facial expression also seems to show a hint of the enjoyment he has previously directed them to feel "really enjoy the g-le… really enjoy the texture of these words" (lines 54-56). This directive itself is quite unusual. This type of instruction appears sometimes in the rehearsals, with instructions appearing to be concerned with the singers' relation to the music rather than how to sing it. Directives telling people how to feel are rather unusual (beyond well-wishing e.g. 'enjoy the weekend') and it is likely that, while the conductor would like the choir to enjoy the music, what he is actually directing them to do is to sing *as if* they were enjoying it. From the context, Christopher would expect singers who are enjoying the texture of the words to emphasise them and bring them out – thus improving the diction.

Following on from this, Christopher asks the choir to give him some "nice kinda wet Ds" (line 57). This directive is more specific (related to the last letter of "revealed", for example, which is sung often in the piece), and is a somewhat technical term meaning a 'softer' D. It is

sometimes described as more Italian, where the tongue moves more slowly than the 'hard' D usually used in English. In the spoken model (line 58), the D is not clearly voiced, just marked. The 'wetness' here may be more of a feeling or sense of the consonant that the choir should have, rather than a literal instruction. It does seem to be oriented to as slightly unusual (lines 60-61), and Christopher accounts for using it with a metaphor: "it just gives them a little bit of a champagne sparkle" (lines 64-65). 'Champagne sparkle' conveys – and perhaps elicits – a particular feeling (bubbles, excitement, parties and so on) that the choir can then translate into the music. Bringing to mind (or body) a feeling is something that can be done effectively and much more efficiently through a few words of metaphor than through long verbal description of the feeling itself (hence Black's, 2015, function of 'saving rehearsal time').

The final depiction (line 68, Figure 7.14) shows what Christopher does *not* want. This is not a negative assessment, since the choir have not started singing yet (it could be historical, but there is no explicit indication of it). Instead, it acts as a directive to show the choir what they should avoid, by making it evident what it would be like for their audience to watch. Aurally, the pronounced diction that he is trying to elicit from them is absent. But the effect also comes visually – his posture slumps, arms hang loose by his sides, his head bobs as if very bored, and the mouth is slightly downturned and barely opening. As a whole, the depiction conveys the feeling of boredom and tediousness. He could have just said 'otherwise it will be boring', but showing the overall impression is more effective in terms of demonstrating what the audience would see (and therefore feel).

The next extract shows an interesting example of how a metaphor and gesture can develop together.

Extract 7.16. Fairy dust (F_3, 01:41-02:03)

```
52   ChS     in fi:⌈r
53   Con          ⌊That's the one
54           in fir
55           ff
56           use the F and
57           (1.9)
58           <scatter⌈ sprinkly> dust all over it ok
59   Ch            ⌊((laughter))
60   Con     Fairy dust
61           In fi:
```

```
62          and everything sparkles

63          a:nd ⌈one

64  Acc         ⌊((note))

65  Ch      In fi:⌈r    ma

66  Con          ⌊Yes ne- never less than that ok?
```

In Extract 7.16, Flynn is encouraging the second sopranos to launch from their G on "**in**" up a fifth to their D on "**fir**". 'Using the F' (line 56) encourages a small build-up of breath (which cannot escape during the 'f' sound), resulting in a surge of air as the singers move onto the vowel. This can help with better tone quality (particularly with the jump in pitch), as well as the phrasing of the word.

In order to elicit the effect he wants, Flynn uses descriptive, metaphoric language that is reminiscent of the 'champagne sparkles' in Extract 7.15 – "sprinkly dust", "fairy dust", "and everything sparkles" (lines 58, 60 and 62). The description conveys a general feeling that matches the music at this point: of energy and excitement, but also lightness – the music here is marked pianissimo (very quiet).

Interspersed with the description are sung depictions, which are combined with gestures. In line 54 (Figures 7.15-7.18, while singing, Flynn steps forward and pushes his left arm forward, left and up on the syllable "**fir**", as if scattering seeds (or dust).

*Figures 7.15-7.18. Accompanying gesture to "**fir**" (Extract 7.16, line 54)*

The same gesture is then repeated exaggeratedly in line 57 as he breaks off his verbal directive TCU – the gesture alone is used to convey how they can achieve the effect he is asking for (Figures 5.19-5.23).

Figures 7.19-7.23. Scattering gesture (Extract 7.16, line 57)

The breaking off in line 57, slow talk at the beginning of line 58 and change from "sprinkly dust" to "fairy dust" in line 60 suggests that he is still coming up with the descriptive idea at this point. What this extract might suggest, therefore, is that the scattering gesture develops from the music itself (as an aid to helping them think about how to achieve the note), and the gesture then suggests the descriptive metaphor (of scattering), which he develops verbally. The gesture is repeated again in lines 58, 60 and 61, accompanying both the metaphors and another sung depiction, and then in line 65 while the singers make another attempt. In this way the depictive gesture has been transferred from the conductor's singing, through the verbal description and back into the choir's singing. He makes one other gesture worth noting, in line 62 ("and everything sparkles"), where his arms come down in an arch shape, with fingers twinkling, depicting the falling, sparkling fairy dust.

The next extract uses a similarly imagistic metaphor.

Extract 7.17. As if you've just unlocked the heart (E1_2, 00:21-00:47)

```
   8    Ch     Thou:⌈                :               :
   9    Con         ⌊Okay Sorry s-sorry to interrupt you
  10           So this is up a notch in volume
  11           And this has a new instruction
  12           Ned and Freddy for example
  13           of expressiveness
```

```
14          So just warm the tone
15          As if you've just unlocked the heart (.)
16          at this moment
17          So it's been kind of dar- rather distant
18          (and is) (.) and now it's (.) a different
19          (.) form of er (.) expression
```


Figures 7.24-7.27. As if you've just unlocked the heart (Extract 7.17, line 15)

In Extract 7.17, Emma uses a striking image – the idea of 'unlocking the heart' (line 15) – to convey to the choir a feeling for how she wishes the sound to change in the new section of music. She comes into their turn mid-word to give them feedback on their singing, using the directive "warm the tone" (line 14). The metaphoric concept of 'warmth' was seen earlier in Extract 7.12, and is a very common expression in terms of musical sound (Eitan & Rothschild, 2011). Her simile in the following line however is presumably intended to give a more vivid image to the choir for them to translate into their singing, and the dramatic phrase, combined with a simultaneous depiction of both her arms and hands flashing outwards (Figures 7.24-7.27), conveys a lot of meaning within three words. For example, it

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communicates the idea of contrast with the previous section (when the heart was 'locked', fists closed together), a sudden change of state (the 'unlocking', combined with outthrust arms), as well as the new, warm, emotional expression (represented by "the heart", and an open-armed posture).

The final extract of this chapter demonstrates more beautiful imagery, simultaneously depicted through voice and gesture.

Extract 7.18. Where the world stands still (G1_2, 17:09-17:40)

```
606  Con    You sort of forgot sopranos
607         some of you anyway
608         it's- it only takes one person not to do it
609         and it doesn't quite work
610         You did that beautifully before
611         We lost the first bar middle of that page
612         there's that :mo:ment in there
613         that be- it's beat three (.)
614         of that bar
615         erm just try to work it
616         it's as if you didn't- weren't going to
617         go any further
618         y'know that little mo:ment of complete
619         stasis
620         (.)
621         where the world stands still
622         (.)
623         Erm let's just see if we can do that
```

In Extract 7.18, George negatively assesses a particular soprano note (lines 606-611), then uses vivid description, including verbal imagery, to describe how he wants the music to feel at that moment (particularly lines 616-622). They have worked on this section earlier (hence "sort of forgot", line 606), where he also used metaphor, describing it as needing "a real halo around the sound" (G1_1).

The language is very descriptive, but the depiction George presents alongside the words really enhances the conveying of the feeling he is trying to achieve. In line 612, "moment" is lengthened and slightly softer, as his hands pull apart as if stretching something soft. Then in

lines 618-620, his hands move slowly outwards through the utterance and the following silence. As he produces the utterance in line 621, his voice becomes softer and slightly breathier in tone, his eyes widen as if in awe, and a small smile helps to create a facial expression that seems to be full of wonderment (Figure 7.28).

Figure 7.28. Where the world stands still (Extract 7.18, line 621)

The short pause in line 622 briefly preserves the feeling of stillness, before he drops his hands and gaze, and reverts to his normal voice. The manner in which George incorporates this metaphorical directive into his conducting can also be seen from Extract 5.14 in the choir's turn chapter (Figure 7.29).

Figure 7.29. The 'world standing still' during conducting (Extract 5.14)

The effectiveness with which conductors can embody what the music should feel or be like in their feedback turn by combining depiction and description simultaneously is demonstrated here by the way the "stasis" and 'stillness' requested by George is embodied through his gesture, expression, voice tone and the silences in his talk.

7.5.   Summary

This chapter has shown the enormous flexibility and adaptability shown by conductors, along with the occasional struggle, in conveying to a choir the wide variety of information needed to create a music performance. Often, these relate to musical features written on the score (notes, rhythm, dynamics) but also for more interpretative aspects such as sound quality and phrasing. Sometimes, the conductor may use vivid verbal imagery to try to evoke a particular 'feeling' in the singers in order to help them *feel* or *sense* how to portray something in the music, rather than just *knowing* it (e.g. 'champagne sparkle' diction, 'unlocked the heart' dynamics or 'dead sheep' tempo).

Unlike much of the instrumental music that has been examined in previous studies (e.g. music lessons), the choir's music production does have a verbal element to it, and presumably they would be intending to convey the textual meaning through their sound. The conductor, however, will not be able to use language in performance, so the use of imagery in rehearsal may be helpful for the singers in terms of being able to recall the feeling (sense, emotion, etc), by 'translating' it straight into sound, without the need for mediation using words. This use of the metaphor is also suggested by Black (2015; imagery as a mnemonic).

The use of indexing, describing and depicting – the three modes of conveying meaning suggested by Clark (2016) – have been shown here to occur in a wide variety of ways both singly (or consecutively) and in combination with each other. Description has already been touched on above – verbal imagery and metaphor are common in the rehearsals, alongside the more practical and technical descriptions that are necessary, and the use of conventional terms such as Italian words. Depictions often combine singing (or sing-speaking) with a mixture of gestures, body posture or movements and facial expressions to create a very multimodal demonstration of what the music should be (or not be) like. Depictions can be used to complete a TCU that has begun verbally (Keevallik, 2014), but also occur as TCUs by themselves, where they are given their meaning (e.g. as an assessment or directive/model) by the context and sequence in which they occur. This is particularly the case in contrast pairs, where two depictions are juxtaposed to, firstly, highlight – often using gesture or body posture – the issue noticed by the conductor in the choir's previous singing, and secondly, give a demonstration of how the conductor would like the choir to perform the same section in the future.

Description and depiction very commonly occur simultaneously. This includes combinations such as talking while conveying something about the referent through the voice tone or

manner of speaking, or the use of gestures to illustrate and add to the meanings spoken verbally (see also Emerson, Williamson & Wilkinson, 2017). Depictions can also be used to give additional information, particularly about the technical aspects of singing, such as indicating body parts to be used, show metaphors (such as the Musical Landscape; Johnson & Larson, 2003) and even inspire new imagery.

Indexing is used throughout the rehearsal, frequently when indicating starting points, and often referring to the written score, enabled by each choir member having their own identical copy in front of them. The score also becomes important when it is seen that it represents a spatial substitute for the temporal flow of the music itself. Extract 7.5, for example, shows the conductor gesturally indexing two notes as vertically above each other. They are above each other in pitch height, but the context suggests that he intends the gesture to indicate the simultaneity of their temporal onset, in the same way that they are notated directly over each other in the score. As a quick backwards reference, elsewhere in the thesis (Extract 6.13), we saw Ben talking about thinking vertically rather than horizontally; that is, in terms of what is happening at the same time as one is singing one's note, rather than just thinking of the progression along that single part. This too, refers to the way the musical score is laid out. Indexing can also be combined with depiction, most usually when conductors sing a particular note or phrase to locate a starting place or point of difficulty. It may even be combined with both depiction and description, as in Extract 7.6.

Overall, conductors' reliance on a wide range of modalities is evident throughout all the rehearsals. Conductors use their whole bodies to communicate about music (gesture, posture, facial expression, clapping/clicking, speaking and singing voice etc, including combining these in imaginative ways to complement or express more than one message at a time. Depiction and description can both be used to produce different actions, particularly assessments and directives, and they play an important role in assisting the conductor to convey their ideas and interpretations about the music to the choir.

8. Discussion and conclusions

The aim of this study was to analyse data from naturally-occurring choir rehearsals in order to explore the 'unique fingerprint' (Drew & Heritage, 1992) of this as-yet relatively unexplored musical setting. Video-recordings were used to analyse the interaction that takes place in, and creates, the social event that is a choral rehearsal. This final chapter will start by summarising the main findings of the thesis, then discuss their theoretical implications with reference to the literature, and, finally, address the limitations of the study and how it could be developed in the future.

Rather than condensing the contents of each analysis chapter in turn, the first section of this chapter will summarise the findings in two parts: 'the choir rehearsal as social interaction', and 'directing the music and giving feedback'. The former relates to the social organisation of the whole rehearsal as an activity, such as the structural and sequence organisation, coordinating the turn-taking system, and the roles of the parties within the interaction. The second focuses more on the content of the rehearsal itself – the co-construction of the music during the choir's sung turn (Chapter 5), the assessment and directive actions so often produced by the conductor (Chapters 4, 5, 6), and the use of different modes of conveying meaning (Chapter 7). The reason for organising it in this way is that many of the main findings from the study can be seen in different guises across more than one chapter – sequence organisation discusses the way the sung turn (Chapter 5) and feedback turn (Chapter 6) alternate, for example, and the roles of the different parties have an impact on various aspects of the rehearsal. Similarly, the use of assessments and directives can be found across all stages of the rehearsal. As a result, to avoid repetition and confusing cross-referencing, it was thought to be clearer to distinguish between the organisation and content of the rehearsal and discuss the findings in terms of these two dimensions.

8.1. Summary of main findings

8.1.1. The choir rehearsal as social interaction

The overall structural organisation of the choir rehearsal is based on a (rather loose) three-turn sequence. Firstly, the conductor introduces the new piece to be rehearsed. This regularly includes additional instructions that direct the choir's focus for the coming sung turn and may place the rehearsal or the piece within the context of the ongoing rehearsal series, leading up to a concert. Secondly, the choir sing their turn, while the conductor directs simultaneously.

Thirdly, the conductor gives feedback to the choir on how they sang during the previous turn, and what they should change (or not) in the future.

These three turns are not repeated in full each time, however, as similar sequences might be in another setting such as a classroom (cf. McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979). Instead, the heart of the rehearsal is really the sung turns and feedback turns, which follow a two-turn recurring pattern throughout. In a sense, the introductory turn is highlighting some features of what the choir should bear in mind in order to sing the piece well (in the conductor's judgement of the current context), and the repeated second and third turns are working to realise that aim. Only once it has been achieved is a new piece/section introduced.

Because of the repeated sung and feedback turns, the conductor needs to allocate and launch the choir's sung turn many times over during the rehearsal. In order to achieve this, they communicate who, what, when and how to the choir. All of these may be (and often are) accomplished verbally but non-verbal communication also plays a large part. The conductor starts by requesting or proposing a restart, and usually stating the location to go from. This is the 'pre-sequence', and the movement of the choir getting ready to sing (and a lack of rejection) show their go-ahead for the new turn. If the conductor also selects part of the choir to sing, body torque and gaze are also used to orient towards them.

Next, a two-stage launch of the sung turn is used. Firstly, the conductor raises their arms and hands to the conducting position in a 'pre-bringing-in' gesture, alerting the choir to an imminent start to the turn. Secondly, they give an empty beat or beats in order to give the tempo of the music, which may be verbally counted aloud. During the beat immediately prior to the choir's turn they typically show a displayed in-breath, modelling it for the choir simultaneously. Eye contact is also made with the choir, usually at the second stage of the launch, although sometimes at the first. For most of the conductors, the gaze then remains on the choir until after they have begun singing. This launch sequence – through the use of the conducting position and eye gaze – is used to indicate the beginning of a sung turn to the choir even in the absence of verbal instruction, or if the original start to the turn is disrupted for some reason. The use of gaze in particular, but also hand movements and displayed in-breaths are employed to show entry cues during the sung turn. Finally, how the choir should begin the turn (e.g. showing a particular emotion) is shown through the conductor's body – particularly their facial expression.

This sung turn is the most distinctive feature of the choir rehearsal interaction. The choir are the animators (Goffman, 1981) of the music, and it is their voices that are heard, but the conductor is strictly in control of the turn. He or she determines who starts, and when, where and how (as described above), and also when they finish. The conductor is able to come into the choir's turn and stop them at any point during their singing to begin the next feedback turn. Additionally, the turn itself is very permeable – conductors may give feedback (verbally or non-verbally) while the choir are singing.

If the choir are the animators, the composer and librettist are the author of what is being animated by the choir, and as such make up a kind of 'absent party' within the rehearsal. Conductors sometimes acknowledge their role, referring to them as an authority on the music. However, the conductor's job is not merely to translate the composer's work, but to interpret it and put their own musicality, expression and understanding into it. As such, they play a character that does not neatly fit into Goffman's suggested roles, by assisting how the music is animated/produced without being an animator per se, and 'creating' it without being an author.

In addition to the absent author, two main parties make up the choir rehearsal: choir and conductor. This is made most apparent at the beginning of the rehearsal. At the very start, as singers are arriving, they have conversations, speak to the conductor and generally act as individuals. When the conductor wishes to start, he or she uses a token (to show a change in activity) with a greeting (as a summons), often combined with a gathering word such as 'everyone' or 'all'. This greeting phrase has the effect of alerting the choir to the beginning of the rehearsal, and also creates the 'choir' as one party by splitting the conductor apart from them, and uniting the singers as one whole. From this point onwards (except during breaks), choir members are rarely addressed individually, but rather as a party. The accompanist also plays an important, although understated, part in the rehearsal, usually within the 'choir party', but more research is needed to explore their role more fully.

Once the choirs were grouped together in this way, all the rehearsals then included a warm up. The interaction during this section of the choir appeared to differ from that of the rehearsal proper – jokes were often made, choir individuals spoke, and non-music-related talk (e.g. practicalities, absences) was interjected between exercises. The warm ups themselves consisted of alternating directives (often as models) and sung responses, but unlike the rest of the rehearsal, very little assessment (explicit or implicit). The conductors also sometimes donned more of a teaching role, giving the choir vocal coaching or advice for

singing in a choir. These two last points may be related – the aim of this section is not (primarily) to get something 'right', but to prepare and train the choir for the upcoming rehearsal and beyond.

8.1.2. Directing the music and giving feedback

The two main actions communicated by conductors – assessments and directives – are prevalent across all the rehearsal data. They are used in a variety of combinations and clusters to evaluate the choir's past sung turn (assessments) and instruct their forthcoming future one (directives). Chiefly, they occur in the feedback turn, but are also used in the conductor's introduction to the piece (which gives them a warrant to stop for feedback later), and during the sung turn itself, when the conductor metaphorically steps out of their co-constructing role to comment on the ongoing activity. Negative assessments and directives often occur in pairs, where the backward- and forward-facing elements of each action balance each other, and a new sung turn is made relevant to comply with the directive, in order to improve the issue highlighted by the assessment.

One feature explored in the analysis was how when these actions occur by themselves, they take on the dual role of both functions. A negative assessment by itself explicitly evaluates what was problematic in the last turn, but also implicitly directs the choir what to change, and makes relevant a new sung turn where they should rectify the issue. If the assessment occurs during a sung turn, it may refer to something that is ongoing (such as the choir singing too loudly). In this case, compliance with the implied directive is expected immediately, rather than the next time the section is sung.

Similarly, a directive by itself explicitly tells the choir to do something, but often also implies that something earlier was problematic (a negative assessment). It suggests that the given directive will assist in improving it, and it makes the new attempt relevant in order to comply. However, while a directive may imply a negative assessment (there was an issue in the sung turn), it does not *necessarily* follow that this was a result of a 'transgression' by the choir. The directive may refer to a new or different instruction, in which case the choir cannot be held accountable for not previously acting on it. However, it is rarely clear-cut whether this is the case (unless, for example, the conductor refers to a previous directive at the time e.g. 'remember...'), particularly since receiving feedback from the conductor is the main purpose of the rehearsal in the first place.

If the directive occurs during a sung turn, it may be referring to something that has already passed, or something ongoing, which dictates whether it should be complied with

immediately or in the next turn. It may also refer to something upcoming in the music – a consequence of the projectability and predictability of singing from a musical score. If produced during a feedback turn, directives often occur after the conductor has interrupted the sung turn, and this overlap increases the implication of negative assessment, as it suggests that something is hindering the progression of the rehearsal.

The reverse of this is that progression, i.e. continuation of the music without the conductor stopping, can then be heard as positive assessment – what is being sung is adequate (for current purposes). This is particularly noticeable after the conductor has stopped the choir previously to give negative assessments or directives. If, after restarting, the conductor allows the choir to continue past the original site of trouble, the implication is that the issue has been resolved. However, conductors also give more explicit positive feedback. This may be non-verbal, such as a smile or thumbs up, particularly if it occurs during the sung turn (i.e. they have re-sung the section, which improved, and continued). Both non-verbal and verbal forms of positive assessment (e.g. 'good') are typically non-specific, because they get their meaning from the feedback sequence in which they fall, i.e. from a previous directive or negative assessment. Unlike negative assessments, positive assessments do not imply a directive to change their singing, but they do indicate that the choir should retain and continue that good behaviour in the future.

Another action carried out by conductors in the rehearsals is teaching. This was mentioned earlier during the discussion of warm ups, which is where this type of interaction often occurs. It was suggested that many of the conductors' rehearsal behaviours could be considered 'teaching', in that it trains them to sing a particular piece in a particular way. However, also present are several moments (although perhaps not as many as suggested by the literature) where conductors clearly orient to a broader aim, of coaching the participants to become better singers, members of the choir, and members of the musical world.

Conductors are very versatile in the way that they communicate to choirs about music. In particular, this study has considered the three modes of meaning-making suggested by Clark (2016): indexing, description and depiction. Indexing is used by the conductors to locate moments in the music, and sometimes depiction (with description) is used as a way to do this, such as singing sections or depicting the temporal alignment of notes spatially. Description – telling – is clearly used through a lot of the rehearsal. Here, we focused particularly on the metaphors and verbal imagery used by conductors to convey a particular feeling or sense of the music. One noticeable finding is that this sort of language was very

rarely – if ever – observed without some form of accompanying or adjacent depiction. Often this was a metaphoric or iconic gesture, but body posture, facial expression, voice tone and sung or chanted models were all regularly used. These could be used to illustrate the description, give additional information (particularly in relation to technical aspects of singing, such as body parts), and even spark off new descriptive metaphors themselves. The way that description and depiction are combined simultaneously is also particularly interesting, demonstrating how conductors can both show and tell elements of their meaning concurrently. Contrast pairs were also regularly utilised, and these demonstrated how depictions could be used as a Turn Constructional Unit (TCU) by themselves, as well as to complete a verbal TCU.

Depiction – visually communicating – is of course also used as the main method of conductor interaction during the choir's sung turn. As well as practical aspects such as time-keeping and cueing entries, the conductor embodies the music to show the choir what the sound should be like at the moment. This may be through depicting a particular emotion (e.g. joy), feeling (e.g. stillness) or metaphor, or it may be the ongoing, flowing, bodily expression of the music through the conductor's movements and facial expressions. The responsive back-and-forth, or extreme 'mutual monitoring' (Goodwin, 1980) between conductor and choir during their sung turn is what creates the co-construction of the music – the choir translate the conductor's visual embodiment into sound, the conductor responds to that in situ, and so on and so forth. Finally, conductors' disengagement from the co-construction after the sound has stopped suggests that what is created between the two parties is a co-construction of the *performance* of the music, not just the directing of sound.

8.2. Implications

This study is the first to examine in depth the choral rehearsal setting as a form of social interaction. Therefore, one of the main aims of this project was to try to develop an understanding of the 'unique fingerprint' (Drew & Heritage, 1992) of the interaction within choir rehearsals. Drew and Heritage suggest five dimensions of research that have been used to explore institutional interaction: lexical choice, turn design, sequence organisation, overall structural organisation and social epistemology. In order to begin the development of this choir rehearsal fingerprint, these five topics will form the structure for a discussion of the findings in relation to the Conversation Analysis and music literature.

8.2.1. Lexical choice

Lexical choice refers to the way people select the words and ways of conveying their meaning in relation to the institutional setting in which they are interacting. One clear finding was how often conductors used depiction (singing, gesture, posture etc), with or without description, and vivid language such as metaphors and imagery to convey what they wanted the choir to do or the music to feel like. Depictions (such as gestures) often accompanied speech, but could also complete verbal turn-constructional units (TCUs), or stand as a TCU in their own right, as shown by Keevallik (2014). In particular, sung models (or sing-speak) were a very common resource for the conductors to show assessment (what was wrong), negative models (what should not happen) and positive models (what should happen). This finding supports previous studies that have suggested the importance of modelling (e.g. Grimland, 2005) as well as those that have examined how it was used (e.g. Tolins, 2013). The depictions were often used as part of contrast pairs (Weeks, 1996a), and particularly frequently observed when the conductors were giving technical explanations (or explanations that implied an underlying technical action) regarding the voice and how to sing. Sambre and Feyaerts (2017) have previously observed that physicality is important when talking about the production of music, during their trumpet masterclass, such as the use of simulated playing. With singing, of course, the 'instrument' is inside the body, so cannot be visibly demonstrated. The use of depiction (e.g. gesturing, modelling), along with verbal imagery, is used by the conductors instead – as suggested by Goldin-Meadow (2015), by being both action and representation, gesture can provide a link that enhances the understanding of abstract concepts (such as how to move a muscle that one cannot see, like the diaphragm).

The wide use of verbal imagery is consistent with previous research, for example as a method of communicating and achieving objectives about the music (Black, 2015). Often, the images painted by the conductor aimed to evoke an entire, particular feeling (e.g. stasis/stillness, or sparkling champagne), perhaps suggesting that they have more in common with the narrative, personal metaphors used by people to describe their responses to music (e.g. Stakelum, 2011) than the single words or antonym pairs used to conventionally describe pitch or timbre, for example. In addition, the occasional difficulties conductors have in knowing how to describe something effectively hark back to the idea of music being ineffable (Schmicking, 2006). The use of metaphors as a dynamic, multimodal way of communicating (Müller, 2008) is also evident through the regular association with depiction, either simultaneously or adjacently. In particular, the creation of them online (e.g. Cornejo et al., 2009) was seen in Extract 7.16, when a gesture that originates in conducting is used with a

sung model then gradually accompanied by a developing verbal metaphor ('fairy dust'). This flow of gesture through singing, conducting and talking was also picked up on by Garnett (2009), linked to the way people think about and within music as a whole.

8.2.2. Turn design

8.2.2.1.   Orientation to improvement over time

The overall aim of the rehearsals in the data (and series of rehearsals of which they are a part) is to prepare musical pieces for a performance through change and improvement. This orientation impacts on the way many of the turns within the rehearsal are designed and understood.

One way that this is oriented to is through acknowledgement of the rehearsal's place in the series leading up to the performance. The relevance of rehearsal sequence is something that is emphasised in the conductor-practitioner literature, although is little mentioned elsewhere. For example, Durrant (2003) talks about planning for the short- (individual rehearsals), medium- (one series or program of rehearsals) and long-term (choir development, goals and repertoire over a year or further). This is reflected in the data. Conductors are aware of the time they have within the current rehearsal (shown through explicit mentions of time left, for example, or decisions to focus on particular sections of pieces), but also refer to previous rehearsals or future concerts, as well as, occasionally, the development of the choir beyond the coming performance. These comments are most often made during the conductor's introduction to a new piece, as if putting the piece into the context of the broader trajectory of the choir's progression.

Another consequence of this orientation to improvement is the impact on the way that actions are heard and complied with. Directives can be heard as negatively assessing what has gone before, because they could have been acted on prior to the production of the directive (cf. Kent & Kendrick, 2016), and as a result of the orientation to 'how do we improve what has gone before'. Because the rehearsal is a *process* of change over time, however, this implied negative assessment may not necessarily be considered a 'transgression' for which the choir may be held accountable. In addition, Okada (2018) argues that directives that occur after, or simultaneous with, the action, also convey information about rules for when to perform that action – that is, the directive refers to future occasions in a more general sense. Stevanovic and Kuusisto (2018) also acknowledge the role of directives in the timeline of music rehearsal, suggesting that declarative directives (i.e. 'You do X') unite the current

and distant futures by instructing how to make music in this moment but also on future occasions.

Correspondingly, negative assessments are hearable as directives for future changes, because they can be affected by the choir (cf. Fasulo & Monzoni, 2009) and part of 'doing being a choir member' involves making those changes, in order to improve over time. Positive assessments can also be heard as directives, but to continue or maintain the current behaviour, rather than change. The prevalence of assessments – particularly negative ones – is particularly interesting. The majority of previous literature in CA has focused on positive assessments, or the agreement of an assessment with a prior utterance. Even other music contexts have mostly focused on the use of directives.

One previous paper that has acknowledged the use of both assessments and directives is Tolins (2013), who discusses them as nonlexical vocalisations. The use of depictions (singing, chanting, gesturing, clapping and so on) to convey specific actions was another finding of this study. As suggested by Tolins, they can be used to direct future singing through models, and highlight issues in a prior sung turn. Stevanovic and Frick (2014) previously argued that the predetermined parameters of pitch and rhythm make it difficult to indicate specific elements of a sung utterance, resulting in a verbal utterance being needed to assist in conveying the intended message. While it is certainly the case that the majority of depicted actions are accompanied by talk, it is also clear that conductors use a variety of resources (e.g. gesture, posture, facial expression, clapping) to emphasise the focus of a depiction, and they will also change the parameters in order to make their point (e.g. take out the pitch by chanting, to emphasise the rhythm). Negative assessments produced through depiction show some similarities to direct reported speech in that they show both the original sung music but also comment on it in a new context (cf. Sternberg, 1982). For example, they can act as evidence (cf. Holt, 1996) for why the conductor has stopped the choir to change something in their singing, and hold the choir responsible for their previous production of it (cf. Hill & Irvine, 1993). This links back to the earlier discussion of accountability, and also implies the choir's responsibility for changing it in the future (as suggested by Fasulo & Manzoni, 2009). As one last point, depictions allow conductors to convey more than one action at once (as previously suggested by Emerson, Williamson, & Wilkinson, 2017; Sambre & Feyaerts, 2017), such as verbally assessing the sung turn, while a gesture signals the solution (and therefore implied directive for future action).

In addition to the timeline of the piece, conductors sometimes step into a more explicit 'teaching mode', which focuses more attention onto the wider timeline of the choir or singers individually. Teaching is often considered to be an important element of conducting behaviour, but the definition of 'teaching' in the music rehearsal practitioner literature is unclear, due to a high proportion of (primarily American) music education research. In this body of research the term 'teaching' is rarely clearly defined, and can be confused between explicit teaching of a specific element of singing, music or rehearsal, and the more general rehearsal behaviour of a conductor who also happens to be a teacher (e.g. in a school classroom). For further discussion of this topic, see section 2.2.2. of the literature review. Nevertheless, despite this lack of clarity, the data here can be seen to reflect the previous findings. That is, that a lot of conductor talk could be considered teaching – as seen in the high percentages of 'teaching' in some music rehearsal literature (e.g. Goolsby, 1996) – particularly when the conductor is giving technical instructions on vocal production. However, if the definition is narrowed to conceptual, transferable elements (as in work by Blocher, Greenwood, & Shellahamer, 1997), much less is found, as was the case in these rehearsals. The episodes where this is seen orient to the longer-term aims (as well as short-term ones, usually) suggested by Durrant (2003) above – the repertoire and aims of the choir, as well as improving the knowledge of the singers individually, as members of the choral world.

8.2.2.2.   The choir's sung turn

The design of the choir's sung turn is one of the most unusual aspects of choir rehearsal interaction. In it, the choir – many individuals acting as one party – sing music that has been written by someone else, and is directed and guided in a moment-by-moment fashion by another. They do not self-select for a turn, or have the same right to hold the floor as is usually seen by a speaker in conversation, nor do they decide when the turn ends. This is accomplished through the projectability of the musical score, or by the conductor, who may enter into their highly-permeable turn at any time to produce concurrent comments on the music, or stop the singing altogether.

Occasionally in the data conductors may apologise if they feel they are stopping the choir often, but in general this is treated as a normal part of the interaction, and this, too, links back to the orientation to improvement. Conductors are the catalysts that produce the change across rehearsal(s), and a large part of this role involves giving instruction. In order to progress the interaction (rehearsal) – as is suggested to be an important feature of talk (e.g.

Stivers & Robinson, 2006) – interruption of the singing is necessary, to initiate the retrosequence of feedback following singing (see section 8.2.3 below).

During the turn itself, conductors do a lot to shape the music as it is created. Firstly, on one lamination (Goffman, 1981), conductors can comment on the ongoing music, using the assessment and directive actions discussed above. At the same time, beat gestures giving the tempo (and coordinating the musicians' 'inner time' - Schütz, 1951), entries and cues, as well as the expressive embodiment of the music itself (Garnett, 2009) are shown through their posture, gestures, facial expressions and body movements. These behaviours are part of the direct*ing* that the conductor is doing, although it is difficult to conceive of them as direct*ives*, as they are shaping and guiding the sound as it is produced, rather than causing it to be produced per se. The predictability (and therefore projectability) of the music plays a large role here – because the singers each have a copy of the score detailing their own entries, endings, correspondance with the other parts and so on, they are not (or should not be) entirely reliant on the conductor for this information. Rather, the conductor is working with the individual singers to coordinate the whole, co-constructing the music through the building up and subtracting of parts. To paraphrase Streeck (2008), the conductor allows the choir to 'see a bit of the music in the actions of their body' (p.286-287), by visually representing the sound they wish to hear. Because of the simultaneity of this with the choir's singing, and the way that both singers and conductor respond to each other on a continuous, second-by-second manner, the music can be seen to come into being through the co-constructed interaction.

Some of these features are similar to other embodied activities. For example, Evans and Reynolds (2016) demonstrate how coaches may stop basketball players in order to give feedback, and Okada (2013) acknowledges the use of monitoring between boxer and coach. This last example is most similar to the data here, as Okada describes the way the coach, in reaction to the boxer's behaviour, shifts her position without breaking the flow of the exercise, which communicates to the boxer what he should change. However, even this does not quite reach the constant mutual monitoring that is seen between conductor and choir, of how to shape the musical interaction not just in a particular change, but in an ongoing, moment-by-moment way. In addition, the aim of sports coaching is usually to improve the player's general ability at the sport, in contrast to a main focus of improvement towards one single performance. Lastly, the co-construction of this turn is seen to be not just related to the production of the sound of the music, but to the performance of it, at times when the

conductor and choir wait to disengage even after the vocal production has ended. This is something particularly unique to music interaction (including perhaps dance) but does not appear to have been discussed in the literature so far.

8.2.3. Sequence organisation

Another feature specific to the choir rehearsal interaction that has been observed is the strict, formal turn-taking system that is used – turns are strictly ordered and constrained by the conductor, and very repetitive. It is also possible to see sanctions, where conductors may 'shush' the choir if they are talking or singing during the feedback turn. Formal systems often tend to be based around question and answer sequences however (Drew & Heritage, 1992), which the rehearsals are not, and even traditional adjacency pair sequences such as greetings (Schegloff, 2007) do not tend to work in the same way in rehearsals – the choir are not expected to respond with a second-pair part to a conductor's 'good evening'.

There are two key sequences that appear repeatedly throughout the rehearsals, which together organise the turn-taking system. The first is the sequence used by the conductor to launch the choir's turn, and the main, base element of this sequence is the 'bringing in'. There are three parts to this sequence: 1) the preparatory movement, 2) the bringing in gesture, and 3) the choir's singing. In the preparatory gesture, the conductor brings their arms and hands up into the conducting position, which alerts the choir to the imminent start of their turn. During either this movement or at the beginning of the next, eye contact is made with the singers, which also signals the beginning of the co-construction. Conductors will also orient towards the relevant singers, using body torque (Schegloff, 1998) and gaze. The use of gaze has been implicated in mobilising a response in previous research in conversation (e.g. Stivers & Rossano, 2010), and a conductor's arms were found to be the most important body part for conveying meaning to an ensemble (Wöllner, 2008); both of these findings appear to be supported by the data here, particularly seen if there is an issue in completing the bringing in gesture immediately. Secondly, the conductor gives an empty beat, sometimes also verbally counted, and often accompanied by a displayed in-breath. This demonstrates the tempo in a way which allows the choir to be able to predict precisely when they need to begin singing in the third part. The bringing in gesture may also include information for the choir on how to begin, such as the dynamic level or expression, particularly through the conductor's facial expression, supporting another finding by Wöllner (2008) – that the conductor's face contains the most expressivity compared to other body parts.

This base bringing in sequence often has a pre-sequence before it, particularly at the beginning of a new piece of music, which was what was focused on in Chapter 4. In this, the conductor gives a directive (often in the form of a request or proposal) to begin a particular piece of music. At this point, a pause is left for the choir to find their music – this is then the go-ahead, which if given (as it almost always is), projects the bringing in sequence itself. In addition, conductors may insert talk between the pre-sequence and the bringing in sequence, often giving directives for the choir to bear in mind while singing, and themselves a warrant to return the same issue in their later feedback turn. This is where the conductor begins to shape the (future) music, a task that is continued throughout the sung and feedback turns.

The second sequence found throughout the rehearsal is the recurring pattern of sung turn (following the bringing in sequence) and conductor feedback turn. The relationship between these two turns is more complicated. Firstly, a retrosequence (Schegloff, 2007) occurs, from singing to feedback, in that the singing does not project a feedback turn, but the given feedback treats the sung turn as its source, retroactively creating the sequence. However, the directives and negative assessments then given in the feedback turn do project a new sung turn, in order to comply with the directive function (which is implicit in the negative assessment). Frequently, the conductor interrupts the choir's singing in order to give feedback on a local issue, a behaviour also observed by Weeks (1996a), which can increase how the utterance is heard as a negative assessment. In this way, the conductor and choir alternate between feedback and singing throughout the majority of the rehearsal.

These sequences make up the general turn-taking system of the rehearsal, but within this, specific feedback sequences occur, where one particular issue is picked up by the conductor (retroactively, referring to the prior sung turn), which projects a new sung turn where the focus is the improvement in the aforementioned issue. If it is not resolved, further feedback may be given, sometimes with increased detail or new information (or more concisely, if it is later in the sequence), in an attempt to make the improvement more likely. When the conductor is satisfied that the issue has been resolved, they may give a positive assessment, closing that specific feedback sequence. Positive assessment may be verbal or non-verbal, but is often seemingly very general (e.g. 'good', or a smile). In this case it is the temporal organisation within the current feedback sequence that gives the assessment its specific meaning, and tells the choir which behaviour they should carry forward in the future. This finding may account for the high levels of 'unspecific feedback' observed in the rehearsal literature (e.g. Carpenter, 1988). Ivaldi (2018) distinguishes between explicit and

performative directives in her instrumental lesson data, as sequence-closing turns and those that encourage further student-teacher dialogue respectively. These appear to act in a similar manner to the positive assessments and negative assessment/directive utterances analysed here. However, one of the main differences between the current data and much of the previous literature becomes clear in that choir members do not usually have the opportunity to respond to the conductor's feedback in the same way that instrumental or masterclass students might. Furthermore, since coming into an ongoing activity to give a directive can be heard as implicitly negatively assessing (Kent & Kendrick, 2016), *not* interrupting the music may be heard as implying that the singing is (now) adequate, similar to findings suggested by Stevanovic and Kuusisto (2018).

Lastly, warm up episodes were also analysed. Warm ups are considered an important part of rehearsing, but little research has explored them in detail (Brendell, 1996, for example, only timed their length). An interesting characteristic of them was that the action sequences were distinctly different to other parts of the rehearsal – the directives tended to be almost entirely forward-facing only (mainly elicitations and models for the next exercise, simple versions of the vocalised directives observed by Tolins, 2013), with very little assessment, and sections rarely repeated as a result of an inadequacy in the singing. This reflects the different aim of this section of the rehearsal. Rather than an orientation to 'how can this singing be shaped or improved?' (i.e. moving towards a performance), the focus is on improving vocal ability and musicianship, in the short-term (i.e. by warming up for the rehearsal), but often in a wider sense as well, as the conductor may include 'teaching' talk during this episode. In addition, the turn-taking tends to be slightly less strict in this section, in that singers may sometimes self-select for a turn at talk, and joking and laughing is common.

8.2.4. Overall structural organisation

The overall structural organisation of the choir rehearsal was summarised at the beginning of Chapter 4, in Table 4.1, and the majority of the rehearsal is organised through the two sequences described above. The warm up, detailed in the previous paragraph, also features as a particular episode within the structure of the rehearsal. However another feature that has an impact on the rehearsal organisation is the way that rehearsals are first begun. Transitioning from casual talk to a specialised, institutional context is not immediate, and needs to be managed interactionally (Raclaw & Ford, 2015). When transitioning from pre-rehearsal chat to officially beginning the rehearsal, the conductor utilises several characteristics of interaction – verbal and non-verbal – to alert the choir to the fact that the

start of the rehearsal is now imminent. Non-verbally, conductors often enter the 'conducting space' (front, centre, behind their music stand, possibly on a podium) before or while starting to talk, sometimes touching or adjusting the music stand in some way. They usually initiate gaze with the choir, and increase the volume of their voice so it is clearly heard by (and therefore relevant to) everyone. They may also be more explicit, such as attracting attention by clapping. Verbally, conductors very often use a token such as *okay* or *right*. A greeting is almost always present, and this is usually followed by practical talk (regarding who is present, for example). Several of these findings – such as a raised voice, use of a token or proposal to start, or consideration of absences – are similar to observations made at the beginning of other institutional interactions, such as meetings (e.g. Boden, 1994). In addition, greetings act as a 'call to order' (Asmuß & Svennevig, 2009), but not, typically, as the first pair part of an adjacency pair, as they might usually. This type of talk makes relevant the transition into beginning the official business of the interaction, and the choir's orientation to this can be seen as they gradually close down their own individual conversations (Raclaw & Ford, 2015).

Greetings are actions that "participants deploy to publicly mark the moment when they ratify another's social copresence" (Pillet-Shore, 2018, p.7). What that means in this context is that the conductor's greeting, partly by virtue of his or her deontic authority as leader of the rehearsal, has more functions to it than merely saying hello. Instead, the greeting functions by creating, or ratifying, the presence of the choir, by partitioning the participants in the room into two interactional parties (Schegloff, 1995) of 'choir' and 'conductor'. Another way of considering this splitting is actually a uniting of the singers into one group, something that is important in order for them to be able to work together, and for the conductor to be able to create one whole sound from them – one conductor, for example, describes the choir as 'his instrument' (singular) in his interview (Int_G_2). It is clear then, that creating a united choir – and therefore one party in the interaction – is an important part of the rehearsal. The use of collective terms such as *all*, *everybody*, *everyone* and so on, which are almost always present within the utterance, also adds to this perception of joining the singers to create the party.

8.2.5.   Social epistemology and social relations

This final section will briefly consider the interactional parties and the relationship between them. Firstly, besides the two main parties of conductor and choir, a sort of 'absent party' is noted in the composer/librettist, by virtue of their being the 'author' (Goffman, 1981) of the message behind the music. Following this train of thought, the choir are seen to be the

'animators', vocally producing the sound, but the conductor does not neatly fit into Goffman's described positions. They have a role in animating – they help shape the music while it is being produced through mainly nonverbal means – and also in authoring, as they do not merely translate the composer's work, but interpret it to create a new performance.

There is also a clear asymmetry between the two parties observed throughout all the rehearsals. Firstly, the conductor has greater epistemic status than the choir. This is particularly seen through the large number of assessments given (e.g. Pomerantz, 1984) by the conductors, and displays their access to the domain of 'how this choir will sing this piece for this performance' (cf. Parton, 2014; Weeks, 1985) – they are the judge of what is adequate, and what needs to be improved. Furthermore, given all the participants' orientation to improvement in the rehearsals (as discussed earlier, as well as seen in the literature, e.g. Durrant, 2003; Poggi, 2011), the conductors' knowledge perhaps gives them an *obligation* to assess and direct the choir's singing, as well as the right. This would account for findings that suggest that restarting without new instruction is seen as a novice behaviour (Goolsby, 1999), and also that compliance (in the current study), motivation and musical outcome (Duke & Henninger, 1998) appear to be unaffected by whether musical feedback is given as a negative assessment or a directive. On occasion, the epistemic domain being utilised by the conductor shifts from '...this performance', to 'how to sing in a choir' or 'knowledge of the world of choral music', and it is by referring to these domains that the transferable teaching moments observed in the rehearsals are created.

Observations also suggest that the conductor (perhaps unsurprisingly) has a greater deontic status than the choir within the rehearsal, although how this plays out turn by turn has not been studied in detail yet. Firstly, conductors have the authority to begin the rehearsal and also to establish the parties in the interaction, joining the singers together to form the choir. The asymmetry in the turn-taking is another indication, where the conductor has strict control over who talks or sings when, and when they stop. The conductor is also permitted to talk over, or break into, the choir's turn, whereas choir members who talk or sing out of turn are explicitly sanctioned (e.g. with a 'shush' or a request for quiet). Similarly, the choir generally treats almost all the conductor's utterances as some form of (implicit or explicit) directive. Singers on the other hand, if they do ask a question or make a request (e.g. 'could we just do...'), it is usually oriented towards contingency (Curl & Drew, 2008) and they may find it deflected, postponed or even refused by the conductor.

8.2.6. Contributions to the Conversation Analysis literature

Section 8.2. has so far drawn out the new findings about choir rehearsals in terms of the uniqueness of the social interaction and in relation to previous research. This final part 8.2.6 will consider some of the contributions these findings make back to the literature, specifically in the field of Conversation Analysis.

Firstly, this study is one of the first to investigate choirs using CA, and the first in-depth research into the whole choral rehearsal as a type of social interaction. The 'unique fingerprint' described above, therefore, enhances the CA literature by building on and adding to the range of contexts already considered in this manner, and particularly the recent body of work in embodied interaction. Specifically, it explores the way that rehearsals are created through interaction and how, through those rehearsals, art is created. This focus on the aesthetic gives rise to the very specific and unusual form of interaction detailed above, adding new elements to the current CA literature.

One remarkable aspect of this interaction worth considering is the prevalence of embodied depiction that is apparent throughout the rehearsal data. While a substantial body of previous CA research has considered how non-verbal behaviour can contribute to an ongoing interaction (e.g. Keevallik, 2014; Okada, 2013; Mondada, 2007), the sheer frequency with which conductors use various forms of depiction makes this data a unique addition to the literature. In particular, conducting is an extraordinary use of depiction to produce something beyond the interaction itself in the here and now. Through conducting (hands, arms, facial expression, eyes and eyebrows, etc), conductors can make others (the choir) create something moment by moment, as their contribution to a co-construction of the music.

Following on from this, the research also contributes to the understanding of how embodied behaviour can make up part of an interaction. Specifically, it can be seen that all three of Clark's (2016) suggested aspects of communication – indexing, description and depiction – are used not only by themselves but also in a variety of combinations to communicate more than one stream of information simultaneously. Depiction, in particular, is quite flexible and can be shown through gestures, facial expressions or vocalisations, for example. This means that it is often used in combination simultaneously or consecutively with description, and even itself (e.g. vocalisation and gesture). The findings add to those that study the way non-verbal and verbal behaviours combine, including depictive turn constructional units (e.g. Keevallik, 2014), the transfer of meaning between depiction and description (e.g. Garnet, 2009) and depictions as actions themselves (e.g. Tolins, 2013).

Goffman's (1981) theory of the roles of author and animator has been discussed in the thesis, and one finding of this study is that a re-interpretation of these roles may be necessary in certain contexts, or at least an acknowledgement that they do not always accurately apply. The data here demonstrate that in this particular interaction an additional character is present – one not adequately captured by Goffman's original roles. This role might be termed the 'director'. The conductor – as director – elicits the animating behaviour from the choir on a moment-by-moment basis, but without producing the music themselves. They also 'translate' or 'interpret' the absent author's work (the composer and/or librettist) by having their own ideas of how it should be performed on this occasion, but without (usually) actually making any changes to the source material. Thus they play a vital, but previously undefined, role in the interaction of a rehearsal. This new insight may have an impact on the use of this theory in future discussions – that, while a useful starting point, the roles described by Goffman do not necessarily fit every type of interaction and it may be necessary to consider how a person can straddle two different roles, or create one of their own suitable for the current interactional context.

8.3. Limitations of the research and future directions

As with any research with a small sample size, the main limitation of this project is generalisability. The conclusions presented here provide new knowledge and understanding of the methods by which conductors direct rehearsals and interact with choirs, and it is hoped that many of the findings will be transferable to other choirs and music settings. Nevertheless it cannot be assumed that this will be the case, since all the choirs studied were of the conventional four-part (mostly), Western classical music set-up, meeting once- or twice-weekly for several weeks prior to a concert.

Similar projects with choirs of other formats could expand the generalisability of the findings. This could involve considering different music genres – Garnett (2009) includes a gospel choir and a barbershop choir in her study of choral conducting, for example. Alternatively, there are different styles of choir even within the Western choral tradition. For example, cathedral-style choirs both rehearse and perform several times per week giving them a much higher turnover of music than the standard choral society or student choir, although previous pieces may be returned to on a regular basis over the years. This is likely to affect the way rehearsals are seen to be thought of as part of a series, as they are shown to be in this data. In addition, the frequent contact between conductor and choir members, and factors such as the presence of children on the upper part and an expectation that singers arrive already

knowing their own parts may lead to a different style of interaction (for example, more accountable negative evaluation towards adults who do not know their parts) within the rehearsals.

At the other end of the spectrum are choirs where working towards a performance is not the main – or at least not the only – aim, such as choirs for people with Parkinson's, dementia, or other chronic forms of illness. Here, the interaction between conductor and choir is likely to be influenced by the fact that some members may have primarily joined to improve or maintain their wellbeing, communication, physical symptoms, or sense of belonging or community. The way that singers and conductors engage with this type of choir rehearsal may show up different phenomena that could be analytically important. For example, the orientation to improvement of the piece of music that was shown to be so important in these rehearsals may be reduced, with more of an emphasis on ensuring enjoyment and inclusivity. The increasing number of such choirs in the UK, and the growing interest in group singing as a therapeutic resource, suggest that this may be a particularly valid and worthwhile avenue of future research – knowledge of how these types of rehearsals may differ from the more 'standard' type might allow more conductors to feel confident setting up these choirs.

An alternative direction would be to expand the current research longitudinally. As mentioned above, one of the findings from the project was that conductors often referred back to previous rehearsals as well as forward to the concerts. However, little research has investigated how conductors' feedback changes (or stays the same) over the rehearsal process, which makes the cross-sectional design of one or two rehearsals across choirs a limitation of this study. A longer study of one or two choirs, over a term or a year, would provide a way to examine the change in interaction across rehearsals. Little research has explored the longitudinal development of choirs, although a recent study has started to look at the progression of rehearsal processes within a small singing ensemble over time (Pennill, Timmers, & Breslin, 2018). A conversation analytic perspective of the interactional work that runs along a similar time scale could complement this knowledge and examine the actions that facilitate the development of singing groups over time.

The inclusion of a range of conductors from experienced students through to skilled professionals (and, similarly, the range of choirs) is both a strength and limitation of this project. On the one hand, it demonstrates that many of the aspects of conducting identified in the project are prevalent in this part of the conducting world, which increases the likelihood of the generalisability of the findings. On the other hand, because the focus was on

gaining a first, overall impression of 'how choir rehearsals' worked, no systematic comparison was made between those at either end of the spectrum, which may lead to a muddying of the results or overlooked findings. However, given that many of the participants had gained their conducting experience on a somewhat 'ad hoc' (or even 'thrown in at the deep end') basis, it would be difficult to give a precise classification of who counted as 'experienced'. One of the students, for example, had been conducting a community choir for several years prior to beginning her current master's course. In addition, proper choral conducting courses are a relatively modern creation (one of the participant conductors was one of the first to set one such up in the UK), so while all had received training, the level and type between participants was varied. Similarly for the choirs: there were very clear differences in proficiency between them, but given that none was professional (i.e. paid) it is difficult to precisely differentiate between them in a way that would allow for a meaningful comparison.

Nevertheless, future comparisons between these sorts of distinctions (conductor and choir experience/proficiency) as well as others (e.g. conductor gender) might provide interesting findings that could be used to develop training courses and assist with conducting teaching. For example, any distinct differences that were found between conducting a high-class, auditioned, music college chamber choir and an amateur workplace choir may be essential knowledge to a member of the former who wishes to gain conducting experience with a local community choir. One of the strengths of this study was the inclusion of female conductors. Although only two, one was a (relatively experienced) student and one was a highly-skilled professional. Any results that revealed differences between genders in conducting behaviours could be of interest to those who promote conducting for women, such as the 'Women Conductors' programme run by the Royal Philharmonic Society and the Royal Opera House in London.

Even without making comparisons of this sort, the conclusions drawn from this project could provide useful knowledge and training skills for conductors. For example, small things that may not immediately appear obvious might be useful information to someone who is standing in front of a choir for the first time, such as the two stages that set up the bringing in of the choir, or how linking positive feedback temporally to a feedback sequence can give it meaning without needing to make it verbally specific. CA research can be a useful method to serve as a jumping off point for improving institutional interactions (e.g. Antaki, 2011). It was mentioned above that many of the conductors in the study first gained their experience by being thrust into it (for example, their conductor left or was off sick, a teacher asked them to

take a rehearsal, or, a result of an odd quirk of the English church system, they played the organ). This often seems to be the case for conductors; that they somehow 'end up' in the role, and find that they enjoy it (or that nobody else will take it off their hands). Therefore, particularly at a lower level, people conducting may have great musical skill and experience from the other side of the podium, but little practical knowledge on how to lead a rehearsal. The sorts of interactional concepts explored here could provide assistance and confidence in gaining an understanding of how to work with a choir in a rehearsal.

8.4. Conclusion

Conversation analysis research into musical interactions has been gradually increasing over the last few years, but so far only Merlino (2014) has investigated choir rehearsals. Therefore, this study is the first one to analyse a choral rehearsal in depth as a form of social interaction. As a result, it helps to expand the field of interaction in embodied performance settings, adding to the concept of a rehearsal as an interactional event, and starting to unpack how improvement and change are realised interactionally through feedback in this kind of embodied activity.

The main aim of the research was to develop an understanding of the 'unique fingerprint' of the choir rehearsal, and the analysis has shown a range of characteristics that make up this social interaction. In particular, the formal turn-taking system is very unusual, strictly governed by the conductor, and with an unusual co-constructed sung turn, where the conductor shapes the music moment-by-moment, while the choir are singing. Another feature of the rehearsal is the vast prevalence of assessments and directives that make up the conductor's talk, and particularly how the omnipresent orientation to improvement (during the main rehearsal) allows them be heard as both forward-facing and backward-facing, even if the other is not present. The way conductors communicate about music was also of interest, and the substantial use of depiction and verbal imagery, particularly as (or as part of) assessments and directives, was another main finding from the data. Metaphor and multimodality appear to be a vital resource for conductors when communicating their vision of the music to the choir.

The study also demonstrates a methodology rarely used in the music field for exploring the rehearsal context. By using video recordings to look in detail across the whole context of the rehearsal, this study gains a bigger overview than some experimental studies, but more systematic and in depth than some practitioner work. In addition, it helps to balance the lack of non-music education rehearsals currently seen in the literature, and also make links with

other bodies of work that would not necessarily normally be compared, such as sports coaching. The different perspective allows consideration of previous findings from a new viewpoint. For example, the analysis discussed here shows support for some ideas seen in the previous literature (such as the importance of modelling, and the use of both directives and assessments), but less for others (e.g. the amount of teaching, depending on the definition, and suggesting that 'unspecific' positive feedback is perhaps not necessarily so). However, it can also provide new insights, jumping off points for future studies and ideas for real life impact such as training conductors.

There is clearly a lot more work needed to unpick this unusual and fascinating social interaction further, both on these rehearsals, and extending the work to compare other choral or musical settings. However, the analysis presented here provides a substantial start to gaining a clearer understanding of how choirs and conductors interact within a choral rehearsal. Another next step is to begin to pull out aspects from the findings that can impact on practice, such as conductor training. After all, the more training that is available for conductors, the more conductors may set up or take on choirs, which means more people having the opportunity to sing together – and that can only be a good thing.

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Appendix

Transcription symbols

Conventions for Conversation Analysis transcription notation (Sidnell, 2010), and notation used specifically within this paper.

CA transcription conventions

\<ah\>	Slower than normal talk
\>ah\<	Faster than normal talk
AH	Louder than normal talk
°ah°	Softer than normal talk
<u>ah</u>	Emphasised syllable
ah-	Cut off syllable
ah:::	Lengthened spoken syllable
.h	Inhalation
h	Exhalation
((laughs))	Described phenomenon e.g. gesture or behaviour
(.)	Micropause
(0.2)	Pause in seconds
.	Falling intonation
,	Continuing intonation
?	Rising intonation
!	Exclamation
⌊⌈	Simultaneous occurrence
( )	Unclear audio

Additional CA transcription notation used within this thesis

Ah   Sung utterance
Con/Ch/Acc   Conductor/Choir/Accompanist
ChS/A/T/B   Soprano/Alto/Tenor/Bass member(s) of choir
In/Ins   Individual/Individuals within the choir
LH/RH   Left/Right hand

Appendix B
Ethics Approval

Kathryn Emerson
Registration number: 140109492
Human Communication Sciences
Programme: PhD

Dear Kathryn

PROJECT TITLE: An investigation into the interaction between choirs and their conductors
APPLICATION: Reference Number 002560

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 18/05/2015 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form 002560 (dated 04/02/2015).
- Participant information sheet 005066 version 1 (04/02/2015).
- Participant information sheet 005067 version 1 (04/02/2015).
- Participant consent form 005068 version 1 (04/02/2015).
- Participant consent form 005069 version 1 (04/02/2015).

The following optional amendments were suggested:

*Dear Kathryn, Apologies for the delay. I'm now pleased to inform you that your project has been approved and that you can start recruitment immediately. There are some suggested amendments below: * Where you say that if a participant does not want to take part, the whole choir will not be involved, that this could set up a tricky situation between the conductor (who has already said yes, presumably), and the choir member, who has then essentially vetoed the whole thing. This sounds stressful for the non-consenting person, and might result in overt/covert coercion to change their mind. Although this is a an event of small likelihood, I wonder if choir members who do not want to be in the video can just agree to not attend that rehearsal, or attend and just watch? This is also not ideal, but another possibility (and hopefully will be a contingency not needed). * Under "data confidentiality measures" - Clarify that you mean the google drive that is secured by University of Sheffield. Also specify how the information on google drive will be kept secure exactly. Good luck with your project, and thanks again for your patience. Best wishes, Tom Muskett HCS Academic Ethics Lead*

If during the course of the project you need to deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation please inform me since written approval will be required.

Yours sincerely

Thomas Muskett
Ethics Administrator
Human Communication Sciences

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Appendix C

Conductor information sheet

**An investigation into how conductors communicate about music
in talk and gesture during music-making and interview**

Information sheet for conductors

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and ask questions if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

What is the research?
I am interested in the interaction that takes place between a choir and their conductor during the rehearsal process and the way in which people talk about music.

What happens if you agree to take part?
If you agree to take part, I would attend one rehearsal before starting the project to briefly explain the research to your choir, and give them the opportunity to ask questions. If this is not possible, I will ask if you would read a short explanation of the study (which I would send to you) to the choir, and provide contact details for choir members to ask questions.

I would then attend and video one rehearsal and, if possible, a second rehearsal by you and your choir. There would be one camera filming you (the conductor), one on the choir and one which captures the whole scene (so that I can match the other two videos accurately). This part of the research is observational, i.e. you should not do anything differently to what you would usually do, as I am interested in the normal interactions that take place.

The final part of the research involves interviewing you, the conductor. After I have had a chance to consider the video data I will get in contact with you again and ask to meet you at a time and place convenient to you. If a second rehearsal is being recorded, the interview could be conducted on that day. The interview would also be videoed, so that I have a comprehensive record of it. I would ask you open-ended questions about your role as a choral conductor, including playing you short clips from your own rehearsal to discuss. It is envisaged that the interview will last around one hour.

Important things you need to know
Participation in the research is entirely voluntary and if you decide not to take part there will be no negative consequences. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this sheet to keep and asked to sign a consent form saying that you have understood the information given. However, you may still withdraw at any time without penalty and without giving a reason.

I would also need consent to record the choir from each person who would be in the videos. In order to avoid disrupting your rehearsals by collecting an individual consent form from every person involved, I will use an 'opt-out' method of consent. In order to do this I would provide 'choir-member information sheets' (either hard-copies or electronic as preferred), which I would ask to be distributed to every person who will be videoed two weeks prior to the first rehearsal I attend. The information sheet will contain details of how to contact me or my supervisor, should they want any further information or if they wish not to participate. They should do this before the day I first attend a rehearsal. If they are happy to be involved, choir members do not need to do anything.

If choir members wish not to be seen on the video, they can ask to be blurred or disguised in the videos, so they are not used in any of the analysis or research. If any member of the choir is not comfortable with being filmed at all, I will use an alternative choir in the research.

All the information and data collected during the research will be kept securely and confidentially, and you will not be identified by name in any reports or publications. I may wish to use video clips or stills from the interview in my PhD thesis, in research publications or for research or teaching presentations. However, you and the choir members have the option of being blurred/disguised in these so that you cannot be identified. This can be selected on the consent form.

The research thesis will be published in an online PhD thesis database, and some of it may be published in research journals. The video data may also be used for future subsequent research and will be kept until one year after the final publication from this data set has been published.

This research project has been ethically approved by the Human Communication Science Department's ethic review procedure at University of Sheffield (Head of Department: Professor Patricia Cowell; p.e.cowell@sheffield.ac.uk).

What are the disadvantages and benefits of taking part?
It is natural for some people to feel uncomfortable being filmed during the recordings or interview, but I am interested in the natural occurrence of the behaviours I am videoing, so there is no 'right or wrong' and you should just behave normally. The interview questions should not cover anything which could make you uncomfortable, but should you wish not to answer any particular question(s), you are free to do so.

There are no immediate benefits to participating in the project, although you can request to have a copy of your choir's rehearsal recording free of charge, should you wish. It is hoped that this research will provide valuable insights into the unique interaction which occurs between a choir and their conductor, which will assist our understanding of interaction in and about music, and may aid future conductor training.

Please contact either myself or my supervisor, Professor Ray Wilkinson for further details.

Kathryn Emerson (PhD student)
Department of Human Communication Sciences
Communication
Sheffield
S10 2TS
0114 2222 412
kemerson1@sheffield.ac.uk

Prof. Ray Wilkinson (Supervisor)
Department of Human

Sheffield
S10 2TS
0114 2222 449
ray.wilkinson@sheffield.ac.uk

Thank you for your time – it is much appreciated!

Conductor consent form

Participant Consent Form (Conductor)

Title of Research Project:

An investigation into how conductors communicate about music in talk and gesture during music-making and interview

Name of Researcher: Kathryn Emerson

Participant Identification Number for this project: **Please initial box**

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated 29/11/2016 explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project. *Contact: kemerson1@sheffield.ac.uk; 0114 2222 412*

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.

3. I understand that my name will not be linked with any of the research materials and that I will not be identified by name in any reports that result from the research. I understand that any answers I give during the interview will remain anonymous and confidential.

4. I am happy to be seen in (please circle):

 Video stills in   - the PhD Thesis   Yes   No – please blur/disguise

			me
	- publications	Yes	No – please blur/disguise me
	- research presentations	Yes	No – please blur/disguise me
	- teaching	Yes	No – please blur/disguise me
Video clips in	- the PhD Thesis	Yes	No – please blur/disguise me
	- publications	Yes	No – please blur/disguise me
	- research presentations	Yes	No – please blur/disguise me
	- teaching	Yes	No – please blur/disguise me

5. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.

6. I agree to take part in the above research project.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Name of person taking consent   Date   Signature
(*if different from lead researcher*)
To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

_____   _____   _____
 Lead Researcher   Date   Signature
To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Copies:

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.

Appendix D

Choir member information sheet

**An investigation into how conductors communicate about music
in talk and gesture during music-making and interview**

Information sheet for choir members

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and ask questions if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

What is the research?
I am interested in the interaction that takes place between a choir and their conductor during the rehearsal and performance process and the way in which people talk about music.

What happens if you agree to take part?
If you agree to take part, a brief description of the project will be explained to you in advance, giving you the opportunity to ask questions about the research. I will then video one of your choir rehearsals, and, if possible, a second rehearsal. There will be one camera filming your conductor, one on you (the choir), and one which captures the whole scene (so that I can match the other two videos accurately). The research is observational, i.e. you should not do anything differently to what you would usually do, as I am interesting in the normal interactions that take place. In addition, I am mostly interested in the choir as a whole, rather than at the level of individual members.

Important things you need to know
Participation in the research is entirely voluntary and if you decide not to take part there will be no negative consequences. If you do decide to take part, you may still withdraw at any time without penalty and without giving a reason.

Before videoing your choir I will need to have consent from each person who will be in the recordings. In order to avoid disrupting your rehearsals with paperwork, I will use an 'opt-out' method of consent.

This means that if you are happy with the information in this sheet and on the consent form and willing to take part, you do not need to do anything.

You also have the option of taking part in the research, but choosing one of the following three options, which you can indicate on the consent form:

6) Being blurred or disguised in any video clips or stills used in the PhD thesis, publications or research presentations.
7) Being blurred or disguised in any video clips or stills used for teaching purposes.

8) Being recorded, but then blurred or disguised immediately.
   - You will be included in the video but blurred before I start the analysis, throughout the research process and in any future use of the film.

The consent form also gives you a fourth option of not taking part in the research at all, in which case an alternative choir will be used in the research. If you choose any of the three options above or not to take part you do not have to give a reason.

PLEASE LET ME KNOW BEFORE THE PLANNED DATE FOR THE RECORDED REHEARSAL IF YOU DO NOT WISH TO TAKE PART IN THE RESEARCH

You can email me before this date (kemerson1@sheffield.ac.uk) or speak to me in person at the rehearsal if you wish to select one of the first three options. You will need to complete a consent form (either via email or at the rehearsal) if you wish to pick any of these options. You can also contact me or my supervisor (contact details below) at any time, if you would like further information or if you have any questions about the research.

All the information and data collected during the research will be kept securely and confidentially, and you will not be identified by name in any reports or publications. Stills from the films or video clips may be used in my PhD thesis, research papers and research or teaching presentations, but you have the option of being disguised in these, as mentioned above.

The research thesis will be published in an online PhD thesis database, and some of it may be published in research journals. The video data may also be used for future subsequent research and will be kept until one year after the final publication from this data set has been published.

This research project has been ethically approved by the Human Communication Science Department's ethic review procedure at University of Sheffield (Head of Department: Professor Patricia Cowell, p.e.cowell@sheffield.ac.uk).

What are the disadvantages and benefits of taking part?
It is natural for some people to feel uncomfortable being filmed during the recordings, but I am interested in the natural occurrence of the behaviours I am videoing, so there is no 'right or wrong' and you should just behave normally.

While there are no immediate benefits to participating in the project, it is hoped that this research will provide valuable insights into the unique interaction which occurs between a choir and their conductor, which will assist our understanding of interaction in and about music, and may aid future conductor training.

Please contact either myself or my supervisor, Professor Ray Wilkinson for further details or to request one of the options given above.

Kathryn Emerson (PhD student)   Professor Ray Wilkinson (Supervisor)
Department of Human Communication Sciences   Department of Human

Communication Sciences
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362 Mushroom Lane   362 Mushroom Lane
Sheffield   Sheffield
S10 2TS   S10 2TS
0114 2222 412   0114 2222 449
kemerson1@sheffield.ac.uk   ray.wilkinson@sheffield.ac.uk

Thank you for your time – it is much appreciated!

Choir member consent form

Participant Opt-out Consent Form (Choir member)

Title of Research Project:

An investigation into the interaction between choirs and conductors

Name of Researcher: Kathryn Emerson

This is an opt-out consent form. Please read the information sheet and the six statements below carefully. If you are happy to take part in the project as described here, you do not need to do anything further.

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 29/11/2016 explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project. *Contact: kemerson1@sheffield.ac.uk; 0114 2222 412*

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences.

3. I understand that my name will not be linked with any of the research materials and that I will not be identified by name in any reports that result from the research.

4. I understand that video clips and stills from the recordings may be used in the PhD thesis, publications, research presentations or for teaching purposes.

5. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.

6. I agree to take part in the above research project.

If you are happy to take part, but wish to select one of the following options, please do so, sign below, and return the completed form to the researcher.

1. I wish to be blurred/disguised in any video clips or stills
    used in the PhD thesis, publications or research presentations.

2. I wish to be blurred/disguised in any video clips or stills used
    for teaching purposes.

3. I do not wish to be included in the data analysis (you will be blurred
    before analysis and throughout this and any future use of the film).

If you do not wish to take part in the research, please initial the box below and return the completed form to the researcher.

I do not wish to take part in this research.

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

(*or legal representative*)

_____   _____   _____

Name of person taking consent   Date   Signature

(*if different from lead researcher*)

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

_____   _____   _____

 Lead Researcher   Date   Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Copies:

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.

Appendix E

Interview schedule for conductors

Thank you for being willing to take part in this interview. First, let me assure you that the answers you give during the interview will remain completely anonymous.

You may find some questions silly, far-fetched, or difficult to answer, for the reason that questions that are appropriate for one person are not always appropriate for another person. Since there are no right or wrong answers, you should not worry about these but just do the best as you can with them. I am interested in your opinions and personal experiences. You are more than welcome to interrupt, ask for clarification, criticise a line of questioning and so on.

I am a PhD student at the University of Sheffield, and with my supervisors…, I am researching interaction between choirs and conductors. As someone who regularly sings in choirs, and has occasionally conducted them, I find the interaction that takes place within choirs fascinating, and I'm very interested in gaining your insights and thoughts about it.

Finally, before we start – have I got your permission to video record this interview? This is because I can then listen to what you are saying instead of having to write everything down, and I can also analyse the interview in greater detail.

Background

1. First of all, could you tell me a little bit about your musical background, and particularly as a conductor?

When did you first start conducting?
Do you also sing, or have you sung in choirs before?
Do you play any instruments?
Have you ever had training as a conductor or was it something you developed your skills at as you grew more experienced?

2. What do you enjoy about singing in an ensemble (or playing)?

Do you find a difference between singing in an ensemble and playing an instrument in one/accompanying?

Conducting – rehearsing/performing

3. What do you most enjoy, or feel is the most rewarding aspect of being a conductor?

E.g. working with people, the music, the challenge

4. What would a good or rewarding rehearsal be like for you?

E.g. improvement, choir members' enjoyment, choir members' behaviour (notes learnt, listening not talking), what music you're doing

5. How about the opposite – what would make you leave a rehearsal feeling like 'that didn't go well at all' or that was a really bad rehearsal?

E.g. lack of improvement, boring music, too much time wasted talking/learning notes/moving around, other things outside your control

6. Thinking about performances now, what do you think is it that can take a good performance to a really spectacular one?

Does the audience's reaction affect how you feel about the performance?
Does the feedback from performances influence how you felt it went?
Do you feel that there is a sense of flow in a good performance?
Is it to do with a sense of achievement, or is there more to it than that?

7. Do you think the audience has any effect on either you as the conductor, or on the choir during the performance itself?

Why? How?

Conducting – the music

8. What is the best piece/performance you have ever conducted, the one you most enjoyed?

Why? Can you describe it to me?

9. Is there a piece that you have never conducted, but would really like to one day?

Why? Can you describe it to me?

10. If someone wanted to be a really good choral conductor, what would you say would be the most important advice you could give them?

Understand the music, rapport with the choir,

11. This is a section of a piece (NAME/COMPOSER) that you conducted during the rehearsal I videoed; could you describe to me the music from here to here.

What you were trying to get across in the music at that point?
What did you rehearse about it?
Were there any difficulties?
Anything you were particularly trying to achieve with it?

13. Some conductors say that the majority of instructions given to the choir or ensemble (such as some of those you were just describing) should be given through the conducting gestures, rather than spending a lot of time talking. What's your opinion about this?

Do you feel that there are some things which are better, or can only be described verbally, or through gesture?
Why?

E.g. dynamics, balance, tempo, phrasing

14. Following on from that, this next question may seem a bit silly, but could you explain and demonstrate a few of the gestures that you use in your conducting – obviously they may differ from context to context.

Why is that useful?
Are these gestures that are used by the majority of conductors, or ones that are specific to you?

15. Do you consider the gestures you use consciously, or are there some movements that are more instinctive or unconscious?

16. Do you ever find that the choir doesn't understand your gestures?

What do you do then?

17. I'm now going to show you a few short clips from the rehearsal I videoed, of you conducting. I know it's odd watching yourself, sorry! What I'd like you to do is describe what you wanted the choir to understand from the gestures you're using, or what you were trying to achieve. I can play the video more than once if you like.

18. That's it for the clips! Is there anything else that you would like to discuss, about conducting in general, or the gestures or talk that you use? Or anything you think is important that I haven't touched upon.

Thank you very much for coming today and for taking part in this study – your help is much appreciated!