INTERACTION AT THE ORCHESTRA REHEARSAL: AN ETHNOMETHODOLOGICAL INQUIRY IN REHEARSING PRACTICES

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Abstract

When listening to music performed by an orchestra, the fluency with which musicians follow the guidelines of their conductor appears stunning. This study examines the interactions taking place at rehearsals that are considered to help musicians reach this level of fluency. One of the key terms for this study is communities of practice that are social configurations defined through practice. The participants of the study are believed to develop a community of practice of musicians through rehearsing, which is both affected by and results in the performance fluency.

The study uses video-recordings of three rehearsals, collected at an orchestra from a higher institution in Finland. The whole database encompasses three hours of footage, out of which I chose three extracts. Each extract is between 10 to 20 seconds long. The interaction taking place at the rehearsals is transcribed and analysed with the help of ethnomethodological conventions. This study explores how the orchestra is getting interactively competent at playing together. The findings reveal how the musicians and the conductor adjust to each other during the rehearsal. The analysis suggests that coordination and the use of scaffolding strategies serve as the base for developing a CoP of musicians.

As the findings suggest making music together might produce an equally meaningful context. Thus, it challenges the dominant view on linguistic diversity and the display of "national cultures".

Keywords
Communities of practice, interactional competence, interaction, coordination, ethnomethodology, rehearsing

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1 INTRODUCTION

When listening to music performed by an orchestra, the fluency with which musicians follow the guidelines of their conductor appears stunning. Orchestra members seem to be perfectly capable of communicating with each other and the conductor, regardless of their origins or language skills. The success of the music performance is thought to be rooted in interactive competences, which musicians acquire by practicing together and developing embodied interaction skills.

In this study, I am exploring the practices that help the orchestra develop unity and become competent together. As Wenger (1998) highlights, competence exists in interaction, it belongs neither to the individual, nor to the communal. According to him, competence is defined by its dynamic nature since it cannot be acquired once and for all, it needs to be accomplished in every interaction. Furthermore, Wenger (1998) defines the process of getting competent at a certain task as a way of developing a community of practice. He states that communities of practice are defined through practice because this helps members to recognise themselves and their peers as competent. Thus, the dynamic nature of competence is of interest in the process of an orchestra rehearsing, where its achievement depends mostly on embodied interaction skills as opposed to talking, since talking appears impossible in the practice room. Hence, my research focuses on the rehearsing practices the orchestra members use to become competent together at performing music.

In addition to that, I am exploring the rehearsal interaction where the participants do not share the first language. In this study, most of the participants use Finnish as their first language, while two other orchestra members do not display any proficiency in Finnish. Since the study participants come from different backgrounds, this study contributes to the field of Intercultural Communication. Traditionally interculturality is viewed as challenging (Piller, 2012; Lahti & Valo, 2017; Lahti, 2020). As these studies show, "cultural diversity" is perceived as being the source of problems. My study is challenging these assumptions by providing an in-depth examination of the rehearsing practices of the orchestra, whose members speak different languages as their first languages.

Furthermore, my study suggests treating competence not only as a domain of language studies. When talking about competence, scholars usually concentrate on linguistic competence. They either address it as the domain of individual and something that can be possessed (Tumansery & Munden, 2020) or as interactional competence (Anstey & Wells, 2013). It appears that natural language remains the focus of the study even when talking about competence as an interactional and dynamic process. By contrast, my study offers an alternative way to look at interactional competence. By exploring music as a means of communication alongside with embodiment, my study presents how interactional competence can be developed without having to rely on talk.

Overall, my study is dedicated to the interaction at the orchestra rehearsal in a higher educational institution in Finland. I review existing literature on the topics of interaction, communities of practice, competence, and coordination alongside literature on musicology to build an understanding of the process of rehearsing as an interactive practice. My study adopts the conversation analytical view on interaction. Interaction is seen as publicly available set of jointly accomplished practices that helps people to make sense of their daily life (Mandelbaum, 2008). This view on interaction ultimately guides my study approach. I have chosen an ethnomethodological observation as my study approach to concentrate on what is made important through practice. Namely, I present and analyse moment by moment the interaction unfolding at the rehearsal. Therefore, interculturality is believed to be a category that people make salient through practice. As Piller (2012) observes, people do not have culture but rather recreate it in interaction. Stokoe and Attenborough (2015) support this claim by highlighting the interactional aspect of "cultural identities". As they present, "cultures" do not exist by itself, they are made visible in interaction. They also suggest referring to ethnomethodological approaches to investigate how participants display their relation to "culture". My approach of choice allows me to observe the practices without relying on ready-made theories about participants' "cultural identities". Rather I let my data guide me and see if "national cultures" are an essential category in the practice room. My study is interdisciplinary as it might provide insight for readers interested in intercultural communication, musicology, and the fine arts.

My research interest is strongly rooted in personal motivation. While navigating my way around the field of intercultural communication, I noticed that classical studies and even some modern studies put a strong emphasis on "cultural differences". It seemed to me that coming from different backgrounds automatically meant "problematic". Around the same time, I started wondering why "cultural issues" were rarely brought up in art groups. It appeared that artists, actors, musicians of all genres never got together on the base of their national origins or language skills. I was especially drawn to jazz bands as their displayed group identity seemed to be revolving

around music and not around national borders. As a former choir member, I had my own experience of engaging in art practices, which ultimately became the reason for me to explore art and specifically music as a meaningful context. When I was still considering my research topic, I was driven by the desire to explore some form of communication that does not refer to "national cultures". The idea to explore the orchestra communication came to me by accident. During my first encounters with the orchestra members, I was more guided with my personal interest in art practices rather than hoping to find a rich database. Yet this experience turned out to provide me with much insight into human interactions. I was grateful to receive such an opportunity as it seemed to unite my deep passion for music, my interest in art practices as a meaningful context, and my curiosity about the significance of linguistic backgrounds.

The study is divided into following sections. First, I will draw on the existing literature on the topics of interaction and communities of practice. I have decided to dedicate two chapters to the orchestra interaction and the orchestra as a community of practice because both concepts need enough space to be presented well. In the chapter dedicated to interaction I will show in more detail the perspective I am applying in my study. I will specifically talk about embodied interaction and music as a means of communication as those two appear to be the corner stones of the orchestra interaction. The chapter on communities of practice will provide a better look into rehearsing as the key practice and interactional competence as the main driving force behind the development process of the community of practices of musicians. Chapter four introduces the research design and my long journey to the approach of choice. Chapter five will provide a moment-by-moment transcription of the interaction unfolding at the rehearsal. Then I will present the in-depth analysis of my findings and connect it to the literature presented in the chapters two and three. I will conclude my study by suggesting practical implications and recommendations for further research.

2 ORCHESTRA INTERACTION

2.1 The achievement of mutual understanding

The concept of interaction is one of the key concepts for this study. As with many concepts in social sciences and liberal arts, its definition varies and is largely dependent on the taken approach. Since my study relies on ethnomethodology (EM) and its extension, conversation analysis (CA), I decided to apply their perspective on interaction. According to Mandelbaum (2008), interaction is a set of jointly accomplished practices that helps people to make sense of the everyday world. It is worth mentioning that CA views interaction as "relatively autonomous from traditional constitutes of social structure" (Mandelbaum, 2008, p. 181). Social constructs are viewed as important and context-shaping only when they are enacted in interaction. Mandelbaum (2008) highlights that interaction is publicly available. Stemming from this approach, I am planning to investigate what is made visible by participants in interaction. By this definition, the act of practicing at the rehearsal is deemed as interaction.

There have been done several studies in the area of communication in music bands. There is a classical study of Schütz (1951) that has been cited in many other musical research. Several studies on jazz musicians have been conducted (Duranti, 2009; Sawyer, 2006; Seddon, 2005; Seddon & Biasutti, 2009) alongside with studies that explore the world of classical music (Braem & Bräm, 2001; Boerner & von Streit, 2007; Davidson & Good, 2002; Lim, 2014; Poggi, 2002). However, this topic remains largely to be explored. My master thesis attempts to fill this gap by exploring the relations between the communication taking place at the orchestra rehearsals and the process of co-producing music, which presents itself as a shared competence.

Schütz (1951) observes that music is a meaningful context that can be communicated. He highlights the aspect of togetherness in the process of producing music or

any other communication. According to Schütz (1951), music presupposes mutual tuning-in to one another and the audience as well as shared knowledge about the social realm around music. He also points out "living through a vivid present together" as one of the key factors in the music performance (Schütz, 1951, p. 96). Schütz is coming from phenomenological approach, thus, this idea of living a moment together can be considered as intersubjectivity. Interestingly Schütz's (1951) observations inspired Garfinkel to develop an ethnomethodological approach (vom Lehn, 2019). This comes as no surprise because Schütz (1951) places an emphasis on an interactive side of any communication. He draws attention to the fact that meaningful contexts do not exist in vacuum, they are rather enacted in interaction (Schütz, 1951).

Braem and Bräm (2001) base their study on the collection of video-records from different conductors. The nature of performance during which the data was collected is not stated, which suggests that the authors did not limit their research interest by studying, for example, only rehearsal or only concerts. Braem and Bräm (2001) focus on the manual gestures even though they admit the significance of the gaze and body gestures in music performance. As a result, they come up with the list of manual gestures and their meanings. For instance, they show that "hitting a hard object" marks a hacking sound or that vertical direction indicates the dynamic of music; an upward gesture marks a louder sound while a downward gesture shows a softer sound. According to Braem and Bräm (2001), the success of conductor's gestures might be based on the fact that these gestures have much in common with other aspects of human communication. The authors also note that the style of conducting depends on the context. Concerts, rehearsals, and recordings would demand different ways of conducting and, consequently, different manual gestures. Unlike Braem and Bräm (2001), Poggi (2002) investigates gaze, face, and head signals omitting manual gestures. Her data consists of video-recordings of two conductors conducting Beethoven's 9th symphony, during a concert and a rehearsal. Poggi (2002) applies a deductive approach. She starts from the idea of what the conductor's gestures might communicate and based on that, makes her transcript and analysis. In the perspective taken by the author, the main function of language seems to influence other people, the lexicon of the conductor's face appears to support this statement. It must be stated that despite Poggi's (2002) essential contribution to the scholarship on communication in the orchestra, I am not following her study due to the difference in meta-theoretical assumptions.

Sawyer (2006) makes an emphasis on the interactive aspect of creativity, the notion I find beneficial for my study as it focuses on interactive aspect of performing music. Sawyer (2006) defines music as "a communicative activity" putting more emphasis on the interaction between musicians rather than the scores. For him, the scores

are mere guidelines that musicians use in order to communicate with each other fluently. Sawyer's (2006) article is concerned with educational outcomes, so he links interactive approach to music with better performance. According to Weeks (1990), the collaborative aspect of music becomes more salient when one of the performers makes a mistake. He presents the way the cellist and the pianist covered up the mistake, which would not have been possible had they simply followed the scores as they are written.

Seddon (2005) and Seddon and Biasutti (2009) also treat music as an interactive process. For instance, Seddon (2005) notes that despite a popular myth about jazz legends being absorbed by themselves, no improvisation and no music performance in general is bound to happen without the collaborative effort of all the performers. In other words, music is a form of group creativity where all the members can contribute equally to the performance. Seddon and Biasutti (2009) extend this perception reinforcing the importance of communication in a string quartet. They support Sawyer's (2006) argument that the scores serve more as guidelines and the musicians' ability to communicate well with each other during the performance is essential in the performance.

There are two main approaches regarding the nature of communication between musicians. Lim (2014) represents a more psychological view as she addresses much of the accomplished success to the outstanding personal traits of each participant of the vocal ensemble. By contrast, Davidson and Good (2002) stand on a more socially deterministic ground. They describe some parts of the group dynamics through the gender theory. The only male of the ensemble seems to domineer the whole group. They then proceed by presenting the inner group dynamics as the most important force that defines the success of the performance. Finally, they highlight the importance of coordination. By using both interviews and observation, Davidson and Good (2002) observe the importance of being "conversational with the eyes" (p. 196) from the study participants. Later, by following the musicians' discussion on gazing and by observing them in practice, the scholars identify directions of gaze that help the musicians to follow the rhythm. For instance, all the players look at the first violin as she is taking the leader's position in the group. Furthermore, Davidson and Good (2002) observe that at the rehearsal the first violin looks more at other players than during the concert. Their observation seems to correspond with the first violin's notion of feeling stressed during the concert.

As can be seen, all studies highlight the importance of interaction and collaboration in the music performance. However, none of them goes further into exploration of how this interaction unfolds during the performance. The process of interacting in

a music group seems to be worth investigating. By pondering this question, some insights on the way we see communication as well as the way we perceive music and creativity in general might become salient.

The focus on the co-construction of the social reality is crucial for my study. Since I am concentrating on the process of producing music together, it might be stated that by performing, orchestra musicians create a specific kind of social reality with its own rules. By interacting with the conductor and other musicians through embodied interaction and music, they develop the space of professional musicians, which is different from the one of music enthusiasts or even single professional musicians. The exact process of playing together allows them to tune-in to each other and by that to interact and to perform better.

Co-constructing a shared social reality relates to another corner stone of interaction, which is intersubjectivity. Intersubjectivity can be loosely described as mutual understanding, "sharing the same language", the sense that the other party "gets me" (Deppermann, 2018). It is usually connected to the shared semiotic field that enables interlocutors to get this feeling of understanding. Arminen (1999) suggests treating the relations between adjacent turns as the proof of intersubjectivity. According to him, interlocutors take their turns regarding the prior turn. They are building interaction based on what has been previously said. Arminen (1999) shows how one of the participants in the conversation treated her own uttering as inadequate. She first answered "yeah" to a question, but then added another sentence to make her stance clear. According to Arminen (1999), this displayed reflection on one's own turns can be taken as an evidence for intersubjectivity. As interlocutors build their understanding upon what has already been stated, they adjust their turns accordingly to develop this common knowledge.

It is worth mentioning that the term originates from phenomenology. Many studies (Deppermann, 2018; Du Bois & Kärkkäinen, 2012; Duranti, 2009; Zlatev et al., 2016) on intersubjectivity that serve as a theoretical basis for my study use this phenomenological approach. For instance, Zlatev et al. (2016) share Husserl's view on intersubjectivity noting that from the very early stages of language acquisition the social and the physical intertwine. Du Bois and Kärkkäinen (2012), in their turn, state that intersubjectivity is produced actively in interaction by taking stances. Duranti (2009) applies phenomenological approach to his research. He presents the scores as a shared document that help people to build intersubjectivity. He also points out that the act of indexing is a form of maintaining a specific social order. The only person who has the right to point at things, determine what and how to do them is a conductor. The importance of above-mentioned studies could not be underestimated. However, I have decided not to apply the phenomenological approach to my own study, as I am more interested in how people enact the idea of unity.

As it has been already stated, referring to shared objects is one way of establishing intersubjectivity. Mondada (2007) presents shared documents as reference points and pointing at them as a turn-allocational component. What is essential for my study is the notion that participants of communication build their sense of mutual understanding on top of these shared documents. It is not only a reference point in communication it is also a trigger for developing intersubjectivity. Shared documents create a shared semiotic field. In my study, the scores play this role. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the scores play the role of guidelines, to which musicians refer during practice. Moreover, there is some evidence to suggest that the scores are a source of common ground for musicians that helps them to tune in to each other and to their identity as a part of a music band (Davidson & Good, 2002). They become the reference point that enables musicians to get the feeling of being together in something.

Intersubjectivity can be described as an interactive process as well (Du Bois & Kärkkäinen, 2012). Such perception reflects Mondada's (2010) notion on understanding as an interactive process. Unlike the more traditional view that takes intersubjectivity as given (Duranti, 2010; Linell, 2014), this approach seems to grasp the complex reality behind the process of understanding each other better (Mondada, 2010). We create the sense of getting another person through interaction, through work. It takes mutual eagerness to put some effort in order to establish the connection with someone. Deppermann (2018) shows the way people interactively develop this shared common world together. Indeed, coordinating with oncoming traffic demands much mutual understanding among drivers. It is a prerequisite for road traffic safety. As the study shows, drivers are expected to acquire the code of trafficking, which, in this sense, is the ground for intersubjectivity. When it comes to inexperienced drivers or to people who for some reasons do not abide to the code of conducting, other drivers are forced to readapt to prevent dangerous situations. The interactive component is crucial for intersubjectivity.

Consequently, practicing together might be the way for musicians to connect to each other and develop intersubjectivity. In the practicing room, one is obliged to be careful with their way of playing. Playing music in orchestra is a collective act. It is not enough to be just a professional musician by yourself to perform successfully. What it really takes is the eagerness to relate to your team members, to be ready to communicate with them. In a sense, musicians must build this sense of connection if they want to play music properly.

2.2   Embodied interaction

The specifics of the communication happening at an orchestra rehearsal is that it is mostly embodied interaction and not talk. According to Nevile (2015), the term "embodiment" refers "to the involvement and contribution of the body in interaction" (p. 129). Neville (2015) presents an extended variety of body aspects as embodied interaction: gestures, gaze direction, and facial expression, to name a few. By contrast, Keevallik (2018) limits embodied interaction to body movements only. The difference in definitions seems to be rooted in the study aims. My study is concerned with the variety of body aspects. Thus, the definition proposed by Nevile (2015) appears to be more applicable. It should be mentioned that the term itself is quite new, which poses certain problems in naming the phenomenon (Nevile, 2015). The current study is thought to benefit from the notion of "embodied interaction" since much focus is concentrated on the interactive aspect of communication, while the notion of "embodied" appears to describe the relation of the body to communication the best.

Embodied interaction is perceived as an important part of any type of communication (Keevallik, 2018). In music, however, its importance increases since musicians would not be capable of talking while performing. Thus, it appears as a form of mutual agreement that orchestra members rely on conductor's gestures and body movements, while the latter provides them with necessary information. The lack of proficiency in embodied conduct, consequently, might result in delays or mistakes in performance.

Several studies on communication in the performing arts (Evola & Skubisz, 2019; Lefebvre, 2018) and specifically on communication in music groups (Braem & Bräm, 2001; Duranti, 2009; Poggi, 2002) have been done. All of them highlight the importance of embodied interaction for the performance success. Evola and Skubisz (2019) investigate dance improvisation comparing professional and nonprofessional movements. They connect greater motor coordination (that is perceived to be kinetically more coordinated movements that create an impression of "a smooth performance") with the performance fluency or a better collaboration among dancers and the overall impression of professionalism. Evola and Skubisz (2019) follow Braem and Bräm's (2001) perspective on embodied interaction in the performing arts. Braem and Bräm (2001) reinforce conductor's gestures as a dedicated language with its own grammar and vocabulary. They even distinguish nominative and expressive functions in hand movements making an obvious analogy with language. They state that the conductor transfers factual meaning of the music (tempo, rhythm, volume) with their dominant hand. Thus, the dominant hand would represent nominative function as it is used for "naming" things, presenting them as they are. By contrast, the non-dominant hand would be used to accentuate any emotional timbre the orchestra is aiming to transmit to lis-

teners. For example, moving a non-dominant hand upward means an increase in volume while the dominant hand shows when exactly this increase in volume should be performed. Poggi (2002) stresses the importance of the conductor's gaze during both rehearsals and public concerts. By identifying direct and indirect meanings of head movements and gaze, she observes that these movements are systematic. For example, she pays attention to how the conductor shows the orchestra to prepare for the start by raising their eyebrows. According to Poggi (2002), raising eyebrows seems to mean alertness which in the context of rehearsal or a public concert indicates that the orchestra should get ready for the start. Consequently, the gaze can be considered as a communicative practice that requires a certain competence for understanding the message. However, conductor's gestures seem to be the main focus of the above mentioned studies while the interaction on the level of the whole orchestra appears to escape the scholars' attention.

There is some evidence to suggest that embodied interaction constructs meanings in the institutional talk. Licoppe and Verdier (2013) show that, in the bilingual and distributed courtroom, judges continue to rely on embodied means despite knowing the convicted could not see them. For instance, when the defendant tries to claim the floor during the prosecutor's turn the judge shows them the "hush" gesture by raising his index finger to his mouth. However, at this time the only person the defendant can see is the prosecutor. Thus, the judge remains unseen, but he keeps instructing the defendant using embodied conduct. One of the possible explanations behind such behaviour is that these expressions are fixed. Thus, they are recreated respectively as any other part of the institutional talk. Furthermore, nonverbal actions and paralinguistic skills seem to be able to compensate for the language proficiency (Jenkins & Parra, 2003). Jenkins and Parra (2003) analyse video-recordings of Spanish- and Chinese-speaking graduate students taking an English proficiency test. Alongside with investigating participants' embodied conduct, Jenkins and Para juxtapose it with the raters' written comments on students' performance. They observe that students who were perceived as having high proficiency in English language was rated regardless their embodied conduct. By contrast, among students with weaker language skills those who displayed active listening through their embodied conduct were scored higher than their peers. Considering all of the above, embodied interaction can be perceived as equally informative and important without having to rely on talk.

Another distinctive quality of the orchestra interaction is the seating arrangement. Again, the seating arrangement seems to play an important role in the institutional talk, a form of communication that is defined by the limited framework, which sets participants' goals and contributions to the process (Drew & Heritage, 1992). The orchestra's communication is perceived to follow this line as its participants adjust their actions to the limited framework they are presented with. In the courtroom,

which seems to be the model for any institutional talk, interactants' places appear to be fixed in order to facilitate communication. By contrast, when the placement is changed, some hindrances in communication occur naturally (Licoppe & Verdier, 2013). Fixed positions in institutional talk are meant to help participants to run communication smoothly. At the same time the seating arrangement is recreated to construct this institutional talk. Placements of participants become a part of interaction.

It is worth mentioning that despite our assumptions about the seating arrangement being a traditional way of placing musicians, the orchestra has not always been arranged the same way. The arrangement of musicians, the amount of different instrument groups, and the placement of the orchestra has changed throughout the whole musical history due to both social and acoustic reasons (Blagodatov, 1969; Spitzer & Zaslaw, 2004). For instance, Spitzer and Zaslaw (2004) pay attention to the fact that the presence of the conductor is quite a recent addition to the orchestra that appeared when orchestras shifted from being a solely aristocratic way of entertainment to a larger public. According to them, as the orchestra grew bigger, it needed a figure who would lead them as well as represent them in front of the audience. The conductor became such a figure that both instructed the musicians and symbolized the whole orchestra (Spitzer, Zaslaw, 2004). Similarly, the modern orchestra seating, or the American seating, as it is known these days, was the result of the so-called Stokowski shift, the rearrangement of musicians made by an English conductor of Polish descent, Leopold Stokowski (Smith, 1983). As Smith (1983) presents, due to experiments with sound that Stokowski conducted with Philadelphia Orchestra in 1920-s, he arranged musicians in such a way that was mostly beneficial for music performance both in terms of making it easier for musicians to hear each other and for the audience to hear the polyphony of sounds.

There are certain studies that highlight the similarities between the panopticon design discussed by Foucalt and the orchestra seating (Owens, 2014). Panopticon is perceived to be a system, in which the one who possesses the power has an access to observe and control all the other inmates of the system (Owens, 2014). According to Owens, panopticon is distinguished by its design or architecture. By placing the "guard" at the centre, the system enables them to observe the whole structure, which makes inmates act as if they were being watched all the time. Specifically, Owens (2014) states that the seating arrangement is set up so that a conductor can obtain power by surveying other musicians. This notion seems to be failing at grasping the complex reality behind the way the orchestra operates. Of course, the power relations in the orchestra cannot be underestimated, and the hierarchy seems to define who has the right to talk in the group. However, the study diminishes the role of acoustics or creative process that are equally valid dimensions in determining the orchestra structure. There is some evidence to suggest that it is a common discourse in the music sociology.

This resulted in the increase of studies that insist on sociology with music (DeNora, 2003; Prior, 2011; Wolff, 2008) instead of more common sociology of music, which puts less emphasis on power dynamics and more on aesthetic questions and the importance of music to the group of performers.

Nonetheless, the current study is as much concerned with the discussion around the sociology of music as it provides a useful insight to the communication unfolding during rehearsals. As I have mentioned earlier, I think that the role of the orchestra seating is rooted in many dimensions. Apart from the above-mentioned acoustic and social aspects of the seating arrangement, I find it essential to highlight its importance in reinforcing intersubjectivity. The seating arrangement seems to be a part of shared knowledge as every participant knows not only their placement but the ones of their peers as well. It helps musicians to tap into the identity of a qualified musician and an orchestra member. The seating arrangement appears to recreate a part of the context, which then guides musicians' actions: we are not just sitting a particular way, we are sitting this way because we are orchestra musicians.

2.3   Music as a means of communication

The study on communication in the orchestra would not be complete without paying attention to the music itself. It is a common view that music is a language. Such opinion is often expressed by both music enthusiasts and professional musicians. Moreover, as Schütz (1951) states that "the musical signs are not images of the sounds. They are, however, means of expressing in a conventional language all the commands which the musician must obey if he wants to reproduce a piece of music properly" (p. 80). Consequently, music could be a means of communication not only between musicians/composers and listeners but also between musicians themselves.

It has been stated earlier that the scores are a way to develop intersubjectivity in the orchestra. However, there is yet another side to it. They are essentially texts written in music notation, where music notation is a form of language. Any trained musician is capable of reading these texts, and by reading and interpreting these texts, musicians acquire another way of communicating with each other. On the surface, musicians can transfer their emotions or perceptions of the piece of music by interpreting certain rhythm and tempo formulas the way they perceive them. On a deeper level, the capacity to read the scores become the inclusion/exclusion point that helps musicians to transmit the idea of community.

For my study, I have decided to concentrate on a technical aspect of such communication. Of course, music can transmit certain emotions. Nonetheless, since my

focus is on practicing together, technical aspect seems to be more prominent. Consequently, the ability of musicians to follow or obey to the commands written in the scores appears to define the quality of their performance.

3 ORCHESTRA AS A COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE

3.1 Communities of practice

When talking about orchestra interactions, the term community of practice (CoP) seems to be the most useful in investigating interactive competences developed through co-practicing. First, I will present the definition of the concept. Then I will investigate shared competencies as they seem to be essential in the process of developing the orchestra's CoP. Finally, I will present the multifaceted nature of rehearsing and its role in developing the CoP of musicians.

My study follows Wenger's (1998) definition. He presents communities of practice as communities where people learn together and produce a shared semiotic system. Wenger states that parts of the term are inseparable. According to him, while it is possible to talk about communities and practices separately, communities of practice should be taken as entities. Communities are social configurations that are pretty much defined through practice, they allow people to learn through belonging (Wenger, 1998). Wenger (1998) does not narrow down CoPs to communities of a certain size. According to him, families, work collectives, and amateur bands are all forms of CoPs and as we see further in this chapter CoPs can be very tangible communities, where all the participants know each other, as well as imagined communities (Anderson, 2006), where it is not possible to meet all the members due to th size of the community. Wenger (1998) perceives practice as a social action as it includes symbols, documents, historical and social contexts, without which a certain practice might not make any sense. For instance, if people had not been placed in a specific order in the orchestra, if they had not turned to the score or had not been able to follow the guidelines of their conductor, the rehearsal might have been impossible to organise. At the same time practices re-enact social context (Wenger, 1998). Every incoming piece of

knowledge is mediated and negotiated in practice. Similar to interaction, practices are context-shaped and context-renewing. According to Wenger, communities of practice are defined by mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and the development of a shared repertoire that might also be realised through rituals, ways of doing things etc. One of the main characteristics of the community of practice seems to be competence. "When we are with a community of practice of which we are a full member, (…) we experience competence and we are recognized as competent" (Wenger, 1998, p. 152).

The concept of CoP seems to be quite flexible in its use since it has been applied to different areas and combined with different study goals. The following studies focus on acquiring knowledge as a group in order to adapt to the new environment or continue to work as an entity. One of them even specifies how this process of acquisition might result in the change of the member's identity. Vickers and Deckert (2013) prove how joining a CoP might trigger an identity shift. They present one woman's journey in the community of professional sewers. They follow a sewing cooperative using the framework of CoP. They focus on the woman's shift from a periphery member to the core of the CoP. As they argue, the shift from novice to expert triggers the shift in personal identity. The scholars show that through joint practice and developing her own skills the woman gained empowerment and an identity shift that allowed her to be more confident.

Johnston (2017) applies the concept of CoP to investigate the practices of introducing social media in public information offices (PIO) of the courts in Victoria, Australia. She presents PIOs as communities of practice that need to seek out new information on the social media usage. The above-mentioned information is perceived as shared knowledge and the search process as practicing. The main goal of her study is to show the importance of the dynamic aspect of the process. By presenting a dilemma between courts being a conservative domain and seeking greater connection with the public, she describes how courts start applying social media to their PR practices. Johnston (2017) defines the process of exploring social media as dynamic. First, it forced PIOs to find ways to present the institution on social media, which was unprecedented. Second, social media is a developing area that demands its users to constantly update their understanding of the working mechanisms behind algorithms and to adapt accordingly. This obliges PIOs to be always fully engaged, learn together, and create this shared knowledge of how to use social media for the court's publicity. Värck and Kindisko (2019) pay attention to the dynamic process as well. Their study focus is on a community of journalists in Estonian Public Broadcasting that aims at both delivering content and broadcasting TV and radio programmes. As the scholars observe, the CoP of journalists needs to be highly creative and unique with the information they provide their viewers/listeners/readers. Värck and Kindisko (2019) pre-

sent morning meetings, during which journalists exchange information prior to creating news and/or new content. During these meetings, the journalists negotiate knowledge as they discuss ideas and argue about different topic. Värck and Kindisko (2019) observe that this practice shows the dynamic aspect of knowledge.

It must be stated that even though scholars apply the concept of CoP in various contexts, there do not seem to be many studies using this concept to investigate interaction at the orchestra rehearsal. Chen (2017) applies the CoP framework for the concert of folk music of different ethnic origins brought up by Warwick World Music Group. She highlights the differences between "national cultures" and "musical cultures" represented by folk music and specific instruments that participants of Warwick World Music Group need to take into consideration in order to play music successfully. Chen (2017) seems to pay more attention to intercultural competences the orchestra members can develop while performing in an intercultural setting than to musical competences. She presents how learning goals become the uniting force that helps the musicians to overcome possible tension between their cultural identities. She also points out that the musical identities of participants act as facilitators in the process of developing a community of practice. While her observations are undoubtedly important, in my opinion, the participants' "cultural differences" are being overemphasised. The whole idea that people act as representatives of their "national" or "musical cultures" fails to grasp the complex reality of human agenda and the nature of their interpersonal relationships.

Kenny (2016) extensively investigates three different music groups based in Ireland: a jazz ensemble, a choir, and an online community of learners and enthusiasts of traditional Irish music (that was designed as a learning platform). Her goal is to explore strategies of how individuals learn music and how they learn to be together through music. Kenny (2016) appears to share deep interest in the practices lying between musical and social. Following her ted talk (TEDx Talks, 2018), it seems that her research drive is to investigate the strategies of making sense out of everyday life through music. Kenny (2016) extends the concept of communities of practice to communities of musical practice. She explains her decision by an intersectional nature of the study that includes scholarship on CoP as well as extensive studies on music, collaboration, and creativity. Due to a unique framework the data collection demanded a tailored approach. As a result, Kenny (2016) uses video recordings, observations, focus group interviews, and individual interviews via Skype. The researcher arrives at the conclusion that all the music groups she researched have the CoP features, such as mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and shared knowledge. According to her, those features were made salient through speech, particularly through chatting during the rehearsals. Kenny's (2016) work plays an important role in my own study as

well as it serves as a source of inspiration for the writing process. However, the over-reliance on talk appears to be questionable since practices might not correspond with what people say about them or about themselves. Kenny (2016) uses both interviews and video-recordings as her data. Even though she addresses methodological limitations, the idea to study an entity with a method that works best on individuals seems to be incomplete. Furthermore, while analysing video-recordings, she seems to prioritise the talk over any other practices the group engages in.

Practice is a central aspect for the community of practice, making it also central to my study. According to Wenger et al. (2002), practice is a set way of doing things in a certain field, it is commonly accepted as a shared knowledge and defined socially. Communities of practice are often studied with a lingua-centric perspective since they are more focused on talk and on making the practice salient through talk. Scholars postulate the importance of practice, but they appear to pay more attention to the description of practice than to practice itself. Many studies (Chen, 2017; Johnston, 2017; Kenny, 2016; Kong, 2016; Smith & Treem, 2017; Vickers & Deckert, 2013; Värck & Kindisko, 2019; Yang, 2009) explore participants' talk in order to find out ways in which they develop CoPs. As a result, quite many scholars (Chen, 2017; Johnston, 2017; Kenny, 2016; Kong, 2016; Smith & Treem, 2017) are using interviews as the main study method. On the other hand, McGlashan (2020) seems to provide more insight into the actual practices. He investigates the followership on Twitter as a form of developing the CoP of football fans, which also strikes interest as the football fans community appears to be an imagined community (Anderson, 2006) where members have no chance to meet each and every fellow member. McGlashan (2020) points out the discrepancy between what people say about their membership and what they do. The interesting point is that even though the football alliance states that they are against any form of extremism, their followership practices on Twitter show the opposite. The community is followed by people who express extremist opinions (for instance, transphobia, islamophobia). Thus, the author highlights the importance of paying attention to practice and not being swept away by what people might say about themselves or their group membership. I find this of great importance.

Over the course of years, certain features of CoP have been challenged. For instance, geographical co-location that had previously been taken as an indispensable component of CoP has been proven to be less important (Smith & Treem, 2017; Yang, 2009). Yang (2009) shows that virtual communities could be communities of practice if they enable people to work towards the same goal. The effort of every participant is regarded as highly significant, whereas all the needs of the members should be met respectively in order to reach the aim. Smith and Treem (2017) show that geographically dispersed cyclists can still develop the CoP of cyclists through shared practices and shared knowledge. They prove that a fitness app can provide people with ways

to jointly engage in the same activity without physical proximity. As users engage in tracking the same paths, judging one another's performance, and creating their own paths, they develop a shared vocabulary and shared practice that ultimately results in them developing a community of practice. Smith and Treem (2017) make it even more clear when they present how the app users disaffiliate with cyclists who do not use the app. Consequently, other features that have been regarded as essential might be overestimated as well. For instance, initial CoP designs took language as a prerequisite for developing communities. My study is aiming at proving this view as incomplete. Moreover, in musical communities whose members have different linguistic background, the lack of proficiency in a certain language on an individual level appears to not pose a hindrance for interaction.

3.2   Interactional competence

One of the key concepts that defines community of practice and, therefore, is central to my study is competence. According to Wenger (1998) competence belongs neither to individual, nor to communal, but rather it is residing in-between. Specifically, competence is deemed as something loosely connected to an individual, it is developed in interaction that is why the term "interactional competence" seems more applicable. Furthermore, Wenger (1998) shows that one appears to be incapable of possessing competence as the latter cannot be acquired once and for all. As he observes, "competence is experienced and manifested by members through their own engagement in practice" (p. 136).

Nonetheless, what competence is seems to be tricky to grasp as it is defined differently by different scholars in different humanistic branches. The idea of collective intelligence introduced by Levy (1995) presents a philosophical approach to shared competence. Levy (1995) presents collective intelligence as a sum of individual intelligences that is greater than its parts. Tumansery and Munden (2020) show a linguistic perspective on competence as they base their understanding of competence to Chomsky's study (1965) and a critique on them made by Hymes (1972). Chomsky (1965) has contrasted competence, which included person's linguistic knowledge, and performance, which would be presented in speech. Hymes (1972), in his turn, has criticised Chomsky for oversimplification of the language learning process. Instead, Hymes (1972) offers to look at competence from sociolinguistic perspective, where a crucial role is played not only by person's linguistic knowledge but also by their ability to use this knowledge in accordance with given circumstances. Kramsch (1986) highlights the importance of interactional competence and proposes to shift scholars' perspective from proficiency, which again implies the idea that it is the individual that possesses

linguistic knowledge, to competence. Thus, for Tumansery and Munden (2020), competence equals knowledge about a certain phenomenon (here – English language) and how to apply this knowledge according to the situation. It should be further mentioned that Tumansery and Munden (2020) prove how even within one study the concept of competence might vary significantly as the goal of their study is to compare between two different perspectives on competence within English school curricula. Namely, the scholars present how two different Indonesian curriculums view competence in English: school curricula from the year 2006 (C06) is concerned primarily with the development of language competence while the 2013 curricula (C13) puts the learner's attitudes at the centre of the learning process. Their perspective on competence seems to be of high importance. However, it should be mentioned that I have decided to take a different approach to competence.

I follow the communication approach to competence. Byram (1997) criticises the concept of linguistic competence as, to her, it has tendencies to view language learners as incomplete native speakers. Instead, she suggests the concept of intercultural communication competence. Byram (1997) observes that when learners acquire their target language, they face the necessity to address the socio-cultural contexts where their target language is applied to as well as to reflect on the socio-cultural context. This idea is further developed by Deardorff (2006). She also highlights the interactive nature of competence stating that competence can be summarised as behaving and communicating effectively and appropriately. Similar to Byram (1997), for Deardorff (2006) intercultural communication competence is at the core of any interaction. She introduces a pyramid model of intercultural competence suggesting that the more parts of the pyramid are being covered, the closer individuals get to developing an intercultural competence. Since the model is a tool for assessing the learning process, its components would depend on the context and learning environment. However, recent studies in communication take a more critical perspective on competence. Dervin (2010) suggests seeing competence as something people develop during their lives. He bases his idea on the work of Holliday et al. (2004). Dervin (2010) highlights the importance of relationships for developing competence as well as that people construct their identities and communicate them in interaction. Holliday (2016) further develops this idea. He states that people are already competent as they start socializing form birth. He presents competence not as a by-product of interaction, but rather as something that is re-enacted in interaction. Interestingly, both scholars view competence as the domain of interaction despite putting an emphasis on the person's role in its development process and encouraging their readers to reflect on their previous experience in order no to fall into othering.

Since I share Wenger's (1998) opinion that competence is something in-between individual and communal, I find it essential to investigate how other studies deal with

this complicated nature of competence. McNamara (1997) addresses the false assumption that competence is residing in individual, she argues for competence to be perceived as co-constructed through interaction. In her study, May (2009) shows how the lack of communicative competence between test participants gives a misleading impression of the lack of proficiency in language. In her example a more advanced student was paired with a student of a lower level during the test. As a result, the more advanced student was dominating the conversation, which made raters consider the advanced student not communicatively competent and, thus, score her lower, while the lower score might be misinterpreted as reflective on the student's language proficiency. Anstey and Wells (2013) prove this argument from a different perspective. By the activity of shared reading between mother and a nine-year-old boy with auditory neuropathy, they show that the claim that the boy is "passive" does not grasp the whole reality. The findings display that despite limited sentence structures and unintelligible utterances, the boy is perfectly capable of communicating with his mother. What is important is that interactional competence does not belong to any of the participants of communication. The boy and his mother are developing competence in interaction together. Consequently, they present that interactional competence is indispensable in defining one's linguistic capacities as active or passive.

I find this important as the idea of competence being a part of the individual or communal knowledge gives a lopsided perspective. As the above-mentioned studies show people with high linguistics proficiency might fail at establishing communication and vice versa a child with lower linguistic proficiency might be fully capable of communicating with his higher proficient caretakers. It seems important to highlight that competence is something that is developed by all participants of interaction regardless of their language skills. In the orchestra it might be more important to develop interactional competence in embodied conduct and music. In terms of music, it brings us back to the point that no musician is a good orchestra member by default. It takes shared competence and mutual engagement to perform a piece of music successfully.

3.3 Rehearsing

According to Merriam-Webster (2021) rehearsal is a practice session in order to prepare for a public performance. It seems worth mentioning that the word rehearsal appears to function as a term in musical communities. In order to highlight the practice aspect I am mostly referring to the practice as rehearsing. However, rehearsal and rehearsing seem to present the same phenomenon in different fields; rehearsal is a part of musicology while rehearsing is a part of communication. Thus, as the studies I am

presenting below address rehearsals I am following them in the use of the term rehearsal. By contrast, when presenting my findings and discussion, I will talk about the process of rehearsing because, as I have already mentioned, the term rehearsing reflects the practice aspect better.

Rehearsing is a key practice in performing arts as it allows performers to learn their parts and develop togetherness. In theatre, rehearsal helps actors to learn the script, to embody it, and to live the text (Lefebvre, 2018). In music, rehearsal is meant for musicians to not only create motor memory of the piece but also to develop a conception of music that has been learned (Davidson & Correia, 2001). As Price and Byo (2002) state, rehearsal consists of small units, which include identifying a problem, extracting it from a piece of music, dividing it into parts, working on these separated parts, and then moving to the next problem until the piece can be played as a whole. Moreover, it should be stated that there is no performance without rehearsal as, by definition, performance implies some preparation or rehearsing before presenting a piece of art to audience (Davidson & Correia, 2001).

Of course, performance and rehearsal are different practices. Davidson and Correia (2001) show that performance always refers to interacting with the audience, which results in a different way of playing music than during rehearsal. It can be stated that without rehearsing the existence of performance would not be possible. A performance without any prearrangements would be called an improvisation. Improvisational theatre has taken its name from the fact that there are no prearranged dialogues (Sawyer, 2006). Dance improvisation signifies that it is built upon unplanned movements (Evola & Skubisz, 2019). Furthermore, there are different views on the nature of rehearsal communication. Price and Byo (2002) present the importance of both language and embodied interaction in the process of rehearsing considering overreliance on either side extremist. On the contrary, Biasutti (2012) offers to assign greater value to embodied interaction. While the importance of both the talk and playing music cannot be underestimated, the greater emphasis on actual practice appears to describe reality better. The importance of rehearsal for performing arts is the reason for it being the main focus of my study. As I describe further in this subsection, its importance goes way beyond learning the scores since the process of rehearsing becomes the key practice that enables musicians to develop the community of practice.

Based on the reviewed literature on interaction, communities of practice, and competence, it might be stated that rehearsing is of multifaceted nature as it affects the process of developing the orchestra CoP on many different levels. First, rehearsing is a joint enterprise that requires musicians to be mutually tuned in even when they are not actively participating in the process (for instance, when it is not their turn to play). Without being mutually tuned in, musicians would not be able to start their

turn properly and would put the success of the performance in danger. Thus, rehearsing leads to mutual engagement. It is worth mentioning that the process of rehearsing enables orchestra members to create shared repertoire or shared knowledge: while rehearsing musicians learn their parts, parts of their peers, different styles of playing and conducting, they learn ways to release tension when someone makes a mistake, and many other things. Undoubtedly, this repertoire will differ from one orchestra to another even if on the surface these differences might not appear essential. Furthermore, rehearsing seems to be a way to develop shared competence. These two levels appear to be connected with each other: shared competence is the essence of the CoP and vice versa the CoP requires shared competence in order to keep growing. By engaging in rehearsing musicians are believed to learn a great deal about themselves and their peers. Consequently, they become interactively competent. They develop an understanding when to start their turn, when to play louder, and when to keep the sound low. This would not be possible by simply reading the scores, it demands practicing together, and getting comfortable around your fellow musicians. As it was stated in the previous chapter, it is not enough to be a good musician by yourself to play good music. Symphonic music (and any other type of music) demands its performers to be competent as an entity. Otherwise, the performance will not be successful.

This level of shared competence seems to be achieved thanks to coordination. Coordination is a process of group work where the expertise and the skills of all the participants are brought according to the given task (Hindmarsh & Pilnick, 2007). According to LeBaron et al. (2016) coordination is an ongoing process that demands people to achieve shared understanding situatively. As a significant part of rehearsal communication is embodied, it forces participants to coordinate well in order to establish communication. One could even claim that the whole community becomes an embodied practice. In similar ways of presenting an organisation as an embodied practice, Hindmarsh and Pilnick (2007) show surgeons' coordination during the work with the patient under anaesthesia as the work with "bodies". They highlight that the process of coordinating consists of bodies coordinating around other bodies. Interestingly, they present an unfolding communication between a professional surgeon and an intern to state that much information is transmitted through coordination. Through coordination, the surgeon is able to observe the intern's learning process as well as helps him finish the given task well. Deppermann (2018) presents coordination in traffic. He states that the ability to coordinate among drivers is crucial as it is a prerequisite for safety. According to Deppermann (2018), coordination in traffic is an intersubjective accomplishment as it requires mutual efforts from all the participants. LeBaron et al. (2016) show how coordination helps physicians to run handoffs successfully. Even though the authors do not use the term community of practice, the group of physicians

they study might be regarded as a CoP. The routines the CoP of physicians perform during handoffs play the role of shared knowledge. Interestingly, the scholars present that shared routine by itself was not enough for physicians to perform their task successfully. They show that even after more than 10 years of collaboration with each other the handoff information demanded further developing, which, in its turn, was gained through coordination. Furthermore, the scholars choose ethnomethodology as their main method arguing that one is capable of grasping only the messages that are made visible through interaction. Later they state that participants come with different expectations of what should be said and how, and the only way of resolving these issues is through ongoing coordination.

Finally, it appears that there is also a ritual aspect of rehearsing meaning that there are certain actions constantly repeated in accordance with social norms taken by a community. Describing the CoP of aikido amateurs, Kong (2016) proposes that the rituals of courtesy facilitate interaction, which makes shared action more accessible. The scholar suggests that besides developing a shared repertoire by practicing together, acquiring rituals, which are taken as unspoken rules in aikido, provides members with the gateway to this exact shared repertoire. While the rituality aspect of aikido might be mistaken for its belonging to "Japanese culture" that is usually portrayed as the social system penetrated by rituals (McVeigh, 1994), it should be stated that many activities of everyday life are inclined to become rituals. McVeigh (1994) presents how such mundane activities as dressing or going to karaoke have a ritual aspect to it. Even though his study is based on everyday life in Japan, it can be extended to any other activity in any other country as well.

There is some evidence to suggest that rituals facilitate interaction and help to maintain social relations (Ross, 1981; Tikka, 2019). Moreover, not following rituals will result in suspicion and rejection. In his example of giving away flowers, Ross (1981) presents almost an anecdotal story about the difference between people for whom receiving flowers as a greeting gesture would not be appropriate and the old nun for whom that would be a ritualistic behaviour. In the first scenario, the author's attempts were met with great suspicion while in the second scenario the nun was really pleased to receive flowers since for her, they were a normal part of a greeting ritual. Of course, this observation cannot be extrapolated to claim that the reason behind person's behaviour in each scenario was necessarily connected to a ritual. It is, nonetheless, taken as an illustration to existing tendencies in the social realm.

It this sense, an orchestra's interaction is ritualistic as well. Orchestra members follow certain rules of acting, they sit in a specific order, even the hierarchy is deemed to be ritualised as much as courtesy rituals and following your master are ritualised in aikido practice. It is also true that participants might come to the rehearsal with different expectations of how the latter should unfold, and only through coordination

it is possible to navigate around different perceptions of what the orchestra should do. This seems to be the way of developing a community of practice. The orchestra members have the shared knowledge of what the orchestra is and through ongoing coordination they become interactively competent.

4   DATA AND METHODS

The current study focuses on sequential interaction unfolding in an orchestra during the process of rehearsing. I approached my data without any preconceptions, rather I let it guide me. As Silverman (2013) says, "the beauty of naturally occurring data is that it may show us things we could never imagine" (p. 132). I collected my data and watched it several times before I noticed any patterns. After some time spent meticulously observing the interactions taking place at the rehearsals, I noticed the practices that helped the orchestra improve at playing music together. This made me choose three extracts that illustrate the process of learning a piece of music together. Consequently, my research questions are linked to the practices the orchestra engages in.

- How do the musicians interact with the conductor during the rehearsal?
- How does the orchestra become interactively competent at playing music together?
- How do the musicians develop the CoP of musicians?

I will analyse the multimodal resources that the orchestra participants use to interact with one another. I am mainly focusing on the interaction between the conductor and the musicians which I will present in more detail. Moreover, the specifics of my data made me choose the approach meticulously.

4.1   Approach

While looking for a suitable method for my study I went through several options. My study is interdisciplinary as it concerns music-related questions. I was considering ethnomusicology as it appeared suitable for a study concerned with music. However, ethnomusicology did not satisfy my meta-theoretical assumptions. My next option was conversation analysis (CA) but its focus on talk did not seem to correspond with

my data. Finally, I went for ethnomethodology (EM) which seemed to suit both to my meta-theoretical assumptions and my interest in the orchestra practices.

Ethnomusicology is thought to use historiographical, ethnographical methods, and fieldwork combined with musicology (Kurtişoğlu, 2014). This combination drew my attention as it appeared that I could apply it to my data. It turned out that since this method has been first introduced it has undergone structural changes. Nowadays two slightly different approaches to ethnomusicology co-exist. The first one would be ethnomusicology that deals with "the music traditions from various cultures" (Goswami, 2014). It views music forms as rooted in "cultures" (Kurtişoğlu, 2014) and over-emphasises "cultural differences". The second approach is applied ethnomusicology. Applied ethnomusicology is mostly interested in how musical fuses with socio-politics and how those two are reflected in each other (Harrison, 2014; Hofman, 2020). Hofman (2020) shows how people express their political affiliations through participation in a choir. Non-professional self-organised choirs that sing only partisan anti-fascist songs are both influenced by the anti-fascist legacy on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and recreate the model of the political structure they deem right.

Despite its fruitfulness, I have decided to reject ethnomusicology as a possible study approach for several reasons. To begin with, this method seems to overemphasise "cultural differences" and treat "cultures" as real places. Since it is primarily a musicological method, an oversimplification of national differences is believed to help researchers to narrow their focus. However, I do not find this useful for my own study. The second reason behind my decision is connected to the field of the method's application. As I have already mentioned, ethnomusicology is a musicological method, its tools and methods work the best when aimed at music related questions. While referring to music, my study aims primarily at describing and exploring the domain of communication. Consequently, I believe methods that were developed specifically for communication studies might be more suitable for my thesis.

Another option for the study approach was CA and, in fact, my definition of interaction is rooted in CA and my transcript is influenced by this method, which I will explain in more detail. CA is an empirical approach that is used to analyse talk and other forms of conduct in interaction (Mandelbaum, 2008). Mandelbaum (2008) shows that CA has originated from ethnomethodology with meta-theoretical assumptions that talk is an action and this action has an inner structure. She also points out that CA was first introduced as a sociological approach. However, unlike some other approaches, CA takes social relations into consideration only to the point of its enactment in interaction. The idea behind CA was that it would be possible to present the theory of human conduct by its thorough description (Mandelbaum, 2008). Consequently, a conversation analyst does not impose any preconceptions or ready-made

theories on their data but rather follows it and makes their decision based on observations.

As already mentioned, CA was introduced in sociology. Nevile and Rendle-Short (2009), nonetheless, show its use to linguistics. By carefully analysing an unsuccessful proposal for a visit, they present the importance of prosody, intonation, and syntax for the interaction. For instance, Nevile and Rendle-Short (2009) show how trouble and repair can be presented prosodically. They present how Martin understands his friend's suggestion for a possible visit but instead of addressing it he uses a monosyllable utterance with an uprising intonation inviting Oscar to continue his turn.

The focus on embodiment in CA caught my attention. For example, Mondada (2007, 2010) analyses embodiment to get the closest to the theory of human conduct. In one study, she presents the interaction between a salesperson and a car buying woman (Mondada, 2010). Mondada (2010) shows that the instructions the salesperson gives are delivered both through speech and embodiment. However, her interest remains largely connected to the actual talk with embodied conduct being at the focus only to show the moment of reaching mutual understanding. Similar to her other study (Mondada, 2007), while still frames of the video-recordings show the actual pointing, the action itself takes most place in talk. Mondada (2007) pays much attention to turn-taking, how people indicate their speakership and how they develop understanding. According to her, embodiment appears to help participants to claim their speakership. However, it is analysed only to the point of its connection to the talk. Licoppe and Verdier (2014) appear to be more interested in embodiment since they come to some conclusions how the arrangement of the participants influences the success of the interaction. Yet they remain to be mostly concerned with talk-related issues.

Considering all the above, I have decided to reject this approach as well. Its focus on talk would not suit the specifics of my data. It is worth mentioning that I have tried to apply CA to my data but due to the reasons mentioned above my attempts fell short. However, the influence of this approach on my study and its key concepts remained strong.

Finally, I was considering EM as my approach of choice. EM seems to be similar to CA in many ways. In fact, Sacks based CA on ethnomethodological transcripts (ten Have, 2004). EM was also developed in the field of sociology, it is an empirical approach interested in naturally occurring data, and it concerns itself with all the forms of human conduct (vom Lehn, 2019). According to vom Lehn (2019), Garfinkel came up with this approach by examining sociological discussions as well as Schütz's social phenomenology. The idea behind EM is that people are perceived as capable of achieving social order on their own without any set-up frameworks (vom Lehn, 2019). It is people who choose the context and how to behave.

The major difference between CA and EM seems to be in their aim of research. Conversation analysts, as stated above, are looking to create a universal theory of talk and other forms of conduct. EM, on the other hand, appears to be used in cases where practice, or the way of learning about how certain actions are expected to be conducted in a certain context (ten Have, 2004), is at the centre of the study. Since this approach was first introduced by Garfinkel, it has acknowledged practical interest of the knowledge people acquire (vom Lehn, 2019). Vom Lehn (2019) states that EM applying scholars aim at deciphering the norm people enact in practice. In fact, EM was revolutionary in that it admitted that people outside of the academia approach the world with the same mindset scholars do (Martine et al., 2020). Martine et al. (2020) further point out that ethnomethodology was used to criticise the excess scientism by highlighting the human agency.

Ten Have (2004) also suggests that the difference between CA and EM lies in the fact that CA concentrates in the "mundane chit-chat of life" while EM concerns itself more with the extraordinary as it has become famous for breaching experiments. It is a research strategy of studying sense-making activities in situations where a gap between existing expectations and practical behaviour is present. This claim, nonetheless, appears to present an incomplete picture. Some studies (Hindmarsh & Pilnick, 2007; LeBaron et al., 2016; Olszewski et al., 2007; Reeves et al., 2017) use EM as their approach of choice specifically to show the order of everyday practices. LeBaron et al. (2016) approach their data from the position that it is not possible to explore other people's minds. They also claim that the participants of their study have certain expectations about how the interaction should be carried out and they adjust their behaviour accordingly. Their main conclusion is that even after several years of working together physicians need to re-establish mutual intelligibility over and over again because mutual understanding does not exist in vacuum, it is enacted in interaction. Hindmarsh and Pilnick (2007) come to a similar conclusion. By studying the interaction between an established surgeon and an intern that takes place mostly in embodied conduct, they show that mutual understanding is developed in interaction. They are also interested in a regular practice since it represents the idea of establishing the norm and mutual intelligibility the best. Reeves et al. (2017) investigate an ordinary online games session to prove its social order and the necessity for shared competence. Olszewski et al. (2007) explore the practice of analysing video-records ("coding") and its inner structure. Considering all of the above, it can be stated that EM is useful not only in extraordinary interactions, but also for studying regular practices.

It is worth mentioning that while CA is referred mostly as an approach that studies talk in interaction and by that is mostly interested in talk, EM takes embodiment as an equally significant form of conduct (Deppermann, 2018). Hindmarsh and Pilnick (2007) draw attention to the importance of studying "body" and embodiment not as

lived experience or through any socio-political categories we apply to "bodies" but in real-time conduct. They show how displaying orientations at the surgery room deliver meanings to the participants of the study. Rautajoki (2018) shows the role embodiment plays in storytelling. She presents the way a person displays their strong emotions on the matter through embodied conduct. Deppermann (2018) goes even further and extends the notion of embodiment onto the cars people are using while interacting in trafficking. According to him, safety on the road requires all the participants to coordinate, which in terms of traffic can be displayed only with the help of embodied conduct. I must notice that this focus on embodiment corresponds well with my study aims as I am mostly interested in embodied interaction.

The EM application to fine arts (Lefebvre, 2018) has caught my attention as well. Lefebvre shows how actors orient their actions during rehearsal having in mind the fact that they are observed. He highlights the essential traits of rehearsing as a practice, such as having a director as an observer with the main function of coordinating the embodiment of the script. The director corrects the posters of the actors, their gazing, pauses between phrases (Lefebvre, 2018). For instance, Lefebvre (2018) shows how the director would correct the gaze of one actor that was meant to ignore another actor according to the script. It appears to be similar in the orchestra with the conductor navigating the embodiment of the scores; the only difference would be that the conductor takes part in practicing.

Lastly, unlike CA, EM does not demand the transcript to be unified (Deppermann, 2013). According to Deppermann (2013), even though EM scholars quite often follow general CA conventions for transcripts the ways of working with data are not limited. In fact, EM transcripts seem to be rather guided by the data itself than by existing conventions. This notion is of importance to my study since what my study focuses on is embodied interaction and music, which cannot be transcribed using traditional methods.

Consequently, I have decided to apply EM to my study because its data-driven nature and interest in other forms of conduct than talk suit the best my study purposes. However, I must acknowledge that this approach has its limitations. The EM strength in the richness of the data can also be its drawback, since it forces scholars to narrow down their focus and develop in-depth case studies instead of analysing much data (Deppermann, 2013). It is also connected to something that Heritage (1984) calls a selective rendering of the data. As it would be humanely impossible to study everything about a particular interaction, a scholar must decide and choose the parts they find important. This can be problematic as there can be much information about human interaction in the omitted parts as in the presented ones. Nonetheless, this approach appears to be the best at analysing the interactions during rehearsals.

4.2 Data

I collected my data during the month of February in 2020. The data consists of recordings of three rehearsals. The setting is an orchestra at a higher educational institution in Finland. They coordinate their activities through a mailing list with the information in both Finnish and English. The orchestra has around 40 members, the exact number of people fluctuates due to the fact that the orchestra consists of students, so every semester there are people joining and leaving the orchestra. Student exchanges also affect the number of musicians because some of the exchange students join the orchestra during their stay in Finland. It must further be stated that most of the musicians are speakers of Finnish as a first language. When I was collecting my data, there were only two members of the orchestra who did not appear to know any Finnish. However, one of them was a newcomer, so any of the occurring difficulties might be attributed to their status as a newcomer rather than their language proficiency. The other musician was said to be quite experienced both as an individual player and as a member of the orchestra. The seating arrangement of the orchestra is an American one (Figure 1).
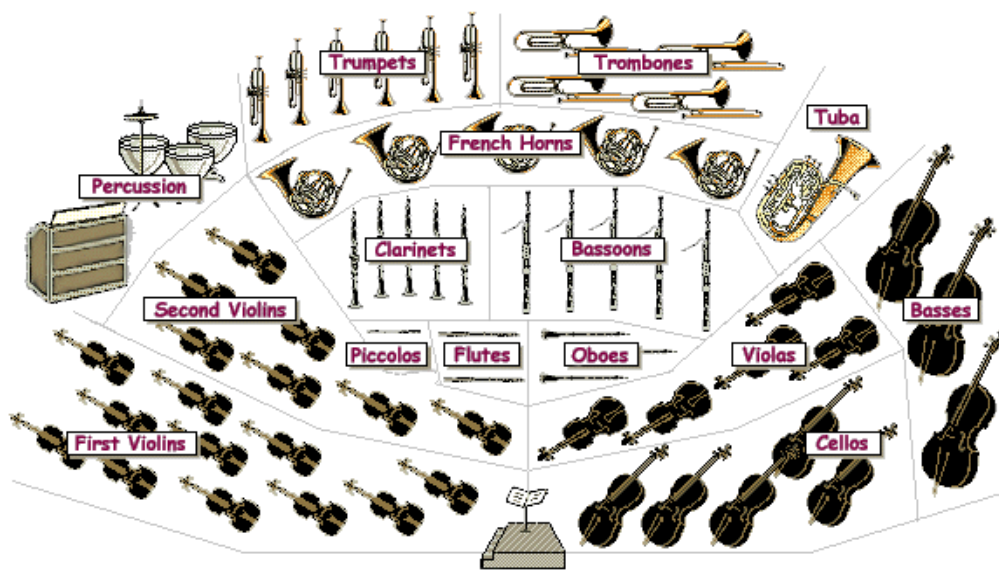
FIGURE 1   Orchestra seating arrangement (Shevliaskovic, 2014).

It seems essential to address possible ethical questions connected to the nature of my data. I am not touching any sensitive topics such as political/religion views, sexual orientation, mental and physical health, family matters etc. My main research interest is focused on the practice of playing together and getting better at that, which can hardly be perceived as a sensitive topic. Nonetheless, all the participants of the study signed a consent form, i.e. I received their permission to study their interaction.

I had roughly three hours of video-recordings that included two general rehearsals and one dress rehearsal. They were recorded on cameras that could capture most of the orchestra. Initially I had two cameras placed in opposite corners: one was in the right corner behind the basses, the other one was placed in the left corner behind the first violins. I also took notes during the rehearsal. This way I could gather as much material as was possible. However, due to technical issues, I have lost the data from the second camera that was placed behind the first violins, so I am no longer able to use it. Nonetheless, the limitation created by the use of just one camera does not seem to restrict my analysis. From the three hours of video-recordings I have chosen three extracts that best illustrate the process of learning a piece of music together. The piece of music the orchestra was learning is the overture of Hebrides by Mendelssohn. I must also state that I am using a video of the same piece of music (Schwammerl, 2019) as a starting point for my analysis. First, it helped to grasp the idea of how a particular musical piece sounds on average. Obviously, every orchestra will play it differently, so I am using the video not as an ideal performance but more as a model to guide me. Second, as I will present in the next chapter, referring to a certain extract from this musical piece might be of help as it provides readers with the information about what exactly the orchestra is rehearsing.

The interaction between the musicians is taken into consideration. However, to narrow my focus I have decided not to analyse it closely so I can concentrate on the dominant block of interaction, between the conductor and the musicians. The interaction between the conductor and the rest of the orchestra appears to present more information on existing practices than any interaction between musicians as the conductor gives the guidelines to the musicians. Additionally, analysing every interaction happening during the rehearsal would be beyond the scope of the master's thesis due to the number of participants of my study. Thus, despite its importance I am excluding the interaction between the musicians to concentrate on what is happening in the interaction between the conductor and the orchestra. Furthermore, I am deliberately omitting the talk that takes place between performances. My research focus is revolving around the practices the orchestra engages in to develop the CoP of musicians. Consequently, I am interested in how these practices influence the development of shared competence and CoP without relying on the talk.

Considering the way of transcribing the data, I concluded that the bare transcript would suit my study purposes better. Using still frames would have inevitably resulted in me preferring some extracts over the others, which would affect the perception of the data and contradict the principles of ethnomethodology. On the other hand, describing interaction might pose certain difficulties in capturing every moment but the stillness of the text appears to be more suitable to present interaction in its fullest. Thus, my transcript is presenting every second of interaction with detailed description

of what is happening during the practice. Since the conductors hold the floor the most their gestures received more attention. The reason behind my decision is that the conductor needs to interact with all the musicians while the musicians do not need to interact with each other during the performance in order for it to be successful. They might engage in interaction with their peers, and this might be helpful during the rehearsal. However, it is the conductor who gives them guidelines, so the musicians are mainly relying on the conductor and not on each other. Participants are described through their instruments as they mostly act as a group. It is also worth mentioning that my study was inspired by the CA approach. While looking into my data I noticed certain similarities between naturally occurring talk and the way the orchestra plays. There is also turn-taking at the rehearsal when participants take attention to certain parts of the score that need to be rehearsed more. As people claim turns in a dialogue, the musicians would claim turns at the rehearsal. Consequently, I have marked instruments in the transcript whenever they have "something to say".

Finally, I should mention Baily's (2001) notion of learning how to play as a research technique. My formal education in classical music allows me to understand the interaction in the orchestra better, which will ultimately result in a more objective description. I must say that I have acquired basic knowledge in formal music education, but I have also decided not to use musical terms in this study and rather describe musical forms since my study is in the field of communication.

5   FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The specifics of my data have largely defined not only the approach of choice but also the transcript itself. I had an opportunity to work with extensive video-recordings where a lot of things seemed to be happening but only a small portion of them was presented in talk. It took me almost one year to find out the most suitable way to transcribe my data and to be able to fit into master's thesis requirements. I decided to narrow my focus to embodied conduct. I deliberately omitted all the talk taking place in between practicing in order to emphasise the practice (rehearsing) itself. As I mentioned earlier CA methodological assumptions and transcripts influenced my transcript largely, and I am following conventions for multimodal transcripts introduced by Mondada (2019). Nonetheless, I have adjusted them for my study aims, which I am going to present in more detail further on.

As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, I have chosen three extracts out of almost three hours of video recordings. Each extract is taking from 10 to 20 seconds. The first and second one took place during the same rehearsal with only a few seconds of break between them. By contrast, the last extract is taken from the material recorded during the dress rehearsal. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, what caught my attention was the practices the orchestra engaged in during rehearsals. As I was observing my data, I noticed that the orchestra was getting better at playing together over a period of time. This development did not appear unexpected, rather it seemed to me that the way the orchestra was rehearsing led to this improvement in performance quality. I am presenting and analysing my data in a chronological way, so the development of the orchestra practice can be seen in the transcript. Furthermore, I have split every extract into sequences that are measured by bars. I am taking one bar as an equivalent to one phrase as it brings as much information and value as a phrase does. The beat is 4/4 time (Figure 2), which means that every bar consists of four equal parts. The conductor's responsibility is to count and mark those parts precisely, so the orchestra could follow the rhythm. Figure 2 shows the beat scheme for the right hand.

If the left hand is dominant, then the conductor will use mirrored gestures. It is an important notion since despite going to opposite directions both hands deliver the same meaning when they are showing the beat.
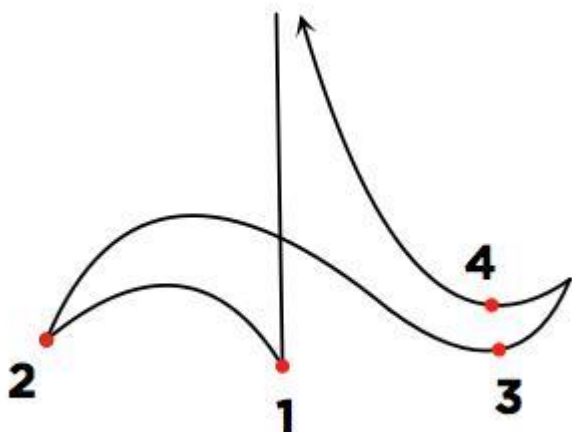

FIGURE 2   4/4 beat (Alsop, 2015).

To make it clearer for the reader, it must be stated that the piece I am analysing equals to the piece from 2:57 to 3:16 from the music video with the overture of Hebrides performed by Claudio Abbado and the London Symphonic Orchestra (Schwammerl, 2019). It might help also the readers without any background in musical education to understand the process unfolding at the rehearsal. Furthermore, this extract from the piece of music could be taken as an equivalent to talk in CA transcripts. It is this musical phrase that is unfolding alongside with embodied conduct.

A wide array of abbreviations was applied to make the transcript as concise as possible. To begin with, the conductor is right-handed. Consequently, when marking the beat, I am shortening it to "to 1", "to 2" etc. Left hand, as being non-dominant, is used to transmit the expressiveness and mark certain details about performance. While going through my data, I noticed that the conductor is using a wave-resembling gesture to show the quality of the sound when the latter needs to be played first at a higher volume and then at a lower volume. I am marking this sound as "w" with a descriptive adjective of the volume of the sound.

To show the simultaneity of the conductor's actions and musicians' responses, I have divided every line in sub-lines that are marked by letters. Thus, the line marked by a number serves as an outline of all the actions performed by different agents as they unfold in interaction. For instance, line 1 shows all the turns with different agents marked by different symbols (+ is for the right hand, * is for the left hand, and ! is for the violins). The time in brackets marks time intervals in tenth of seconds between

actions. For example, the interval between the conductor's and the violins' actions at the beginning of line 1 is 0.1 seconds. The lines marked with letters state for different agents as they "take turns" in interaction. For better visual display, I adjusted agents' turns so the overlap is visible graphically. For instance, it can be seen that the violins' turn overlaps with the conductor's turn in line 1.

The first extract shows how the orchestra establishes the difficulty of a certain part of Hebrides. The violins draw attention to the rhythm while the conductor highlights the lack of concentration among the violins.

Extract 1.
```
1       +*(0.1)!(0.6)!+*    (0.6)+*(0.7)+(0.8)!*+
a con + to 1--------+ to 2 ---+ to 3-+ to 4--+
b con *wide w----------* to con* twd vins----*
c vins      !vol up! steady sound----------!


2       +*(0.1)!(0.7)!*+(1.0)*+(0.8)+(0.5)!(0.2)+
a con + to 1--------+ to 2-+ to 3-+ to 4------+
b con *small w------* to con* draws a line----*
c vins      !vol up!                  !vol up->


3       +*(0.1)°(0.5)!(0.2)*+(0.3)*(0.3)+°(0.2)
a con + to 1-------------+ to 2--------+
b con * to 1------------* to con*
c con          °turns to the right-------° grimace-->
d vins ---------->!keep play-------------------->


4       (0.9)·(1.0)         ·°(0.3)!(0.3)·!(0.9)
a con ·hands up and shake·facepalm----·
b con   ----------------->°
c vins -----------------------!stop play!,,,
```

The extract starts with the conductor showing the violins to increase the volume of their sound in line 1b. She shows a wide wave gesture with her left hand while marking the first beat of the first bar with their right hand (1a). Those two actions drawn simultaneously present the idea of increasing the volume on the first beat, which the violins are doing in response (1c). On the second beat, the conductor draws her left hand close to herself showing the decrease in volume. Consequently, the violins increase their volume on the first beat and then decrease it on the second one to maintain the steady sound until the end of the bar. As can be seen in 1c line, it takes

violins 0.1 second to follow the conductor guidelines, after that the delays are not present.

The second bar (2) is supposed to be performed similarly to the first bar with the smaller increase in sound's volume from the violins. This similarity is visible in the video mentioned above. The second bar starts similarly to the first one due to the presented reasons. The conductor shows violins to increase their volume on the first beat in lines 2a/2b. It should be mentioned though that this time the whole bar and specifically the first beat takes more time to pass through. While in the first bar, the first beat takes 0.7 seconds, in the second bar it is already 0.8 seconds. The difference might not be striking, but then the second beat of the second bar takes 1 second in comparison 0.6 seconds of the first bar. The conductor is seemingly maintaining the same strategy she used in the previous bar: she first shows the wave gesture (this time it is smaller as it is demanded by performance), then she draws the left hand towards herself, and then she draws it towards violins. However, 0.2 seconds before the end of the bar the violins begin a new bar. Their reaction is not corresponding with the conductor's guidelines as the latter is still showing the fourth beat of the second bar, which can be seen in the outline of line 2.

The third bar (3) is the last in the sequence, where the violins are expected to increase their volume on the first beat. The conductor starts with marking the increase in the volume for violins in the first beat, which can be seen in lines 3a/3b. Then the conductor turns to the right. The violins, who have started the third bar already, do not seem to be able to adjust their rhythm to the conductor, other musicians, and even to one another. Playing with different rhythm within the group results in a false note. They continue playing regardless and move onto the next beat 0.2 seconds before the conductor marks it, which is shown in line 3c. Meanwhile, the conductor shows the second beat, she even attempts at showing the emotion by drawing her left hand to herself to signify the decrease in volume. However, 0.3 seconds after the beginning of the second beat, the conductor stops gesturing with her left hand (3b) and 0.3 seconds after that she stops gesturing with her right hand as well (3a). This way, she shows the orchestra to stop. Then she makes a grimace (3c) as to express her feelings regarding the practice.

The next bar (line 4) is not a bar per se as no one is performing music. The ones who keep playing are the violins who did not seem to pick up the conductor's gestures in the previous bar. The conductor keeps making a grimace (4b) for 1.9 seconds. She also puts her hands up while shaking them (4a). Then she closes her eyes with a palm. This time the violins seem to pick up the clue as they stop playing 0.3 seconds after the conductor demonstrates a "facepalm" gesture (4c). Nonetheless, it takes almost another second for the violins to retract their action.

As can be seen from the extract, the orchestra displays the lack of familiarity with the musical piece. The violins show the inability to adjust to the orchestra's rhythm. The conductor attempts at navigating the orchestra regardless the disturbance in the rhythm. While the violins are speeding up, the conductor maintains the same rhythm, she even expresses the emotion of the chord. Nonetheless, the discrepancy in rhythm results in a false note, which the conductor addresses with much reaction. She stops gesturing with one hand, then with the other, she makes a grimace, moves her hands up and shakes them, and does a "facepalm" gesture. It appears that all these actions are meant to get the violins' attention and make them stop playing. However, as it is shown in the transcript, it takes almost a second for the violins to stop. Such a delay in reaction presents the violins as demanding more attention from the conductor. What is more, by acting out of the ordinary way the conductor marks this part of the musical piece as "difficult".

The next extract takes place just a few seconds after the first one. During the pause taking place between the extracts, the conductor engages in talk. Due to the reasons mentioned in the previous chapter, I have decided to omit the talk. However, several features of the conductor's utterings seem worth mentioning. First, all the talk is done solely in Finnish, which consists of the conductor remarking that no one looks at her, marking the next part of the musical piece the orchestra is going to play, and saying that this time they are going to play slower. Second, the choice of the part appears of importance, as the conductor suggests the orchestra play the same part over again. It might be perceived that the conductor's decision to continue rehearsing the same piece is based on the quality of the previous performance. Thus, the conductor does not simply display her feelings visibly, she also marks the practice as unsuccessful by asking the orchestra to play anew. Once the conductor marks the extract the orchestra is going to practice, everyone gets ready to play. It should be mentioned that the person who did not understand Finnish got ready slightly later, which can be explained by the fact that all the instructions were outspoken in Finnish. It should be further mentioned that, by the video-recordings, it does not seem clear if this person has been told to get ready by the member sitting next to her or if she has picked up the others' actions. Nonetheless, the conductor waits for everyone to get ready, takes a deep breath, and only after that starts the practice.

The second extract presents how the orchestra works around the idea of the musical piece being difficult to perform. The conductor applies a wider array of gestures to guide and encourage the musicians. She also addresses the rhythm issues displayed in the previous extract by slowing down the tempo. Musicians, in their turn, follow the guidelines to the letter.

Extract 2.
5   `+*·(0.1)°!(0.7)!°+·*(0.8)+*(0.8)+*  (0.1)%(0.7)!%*+`

```
a con + to 1-----------+ to 2--+ to 3 + to 4---------+
b con *wide w------------*to con*      * goes up-----*
c con ·turns to vins----·
d con          °nods---°
e vins          !vol up! steady sound----------------!
f vc                                    %steps in%



6    +*(0.1) °!(0.7)  !°*+(0.8)*+(0.8)+*(0.1)%(0.7)%*+
a con + to 1---------+ to 2----+ to 3-+ to 4--------+
b con *smaller w-----* to con--*       *goes up-----*
c con        °nods----°
d vins    !slight up!
e vc                                    %steps in%



7     +*(0.1)!(0.4)°(0.4)!°*+(0.9)*+(0.1)&(0.2)°(0.2)*(0.3)@+(0.8)&*+
a con + to 1-------------+ to 2--+ to 3-----------------+ to 4--+
b con *smallest w---------* to con-*            *goes up------*
c con           °nods--°                  °looks at fl-------->
d vins      !smallest up!
e vla                                &steps in----------------&
f fl                                             @.........



8      +*(0.8)*+@(0.7)+*!(0.3)*(0.3)+(0.6)!*°@+
a con + to 1--+ to 2--+ to 3-------+ to 4----+
b con *small w* to con*      *goes up--------*
c con ----------------------------------->°
d fl  .........@steps in--------------------@
e vins             !vol up--------------!



9     +*(0.7)    *+(0.7)+(0.7)+(0.3)*(0.4)+
a con + to 1---+ to 2--+ to 3+ to 4------+
b con *sharp to 1*               *......



10   +*(0.7)    *+£(0.7)+ ·&(0.1)*(0.6)+(0.7)£ ·&*+
a con + to 1----+ to 2--+ to 3--------+ to 4 +
b con *average w*           *wide w--------*
c con                 ·fwd bckwd----------·
d cl           £steps in-----------------£
e vla              &vol up down-------&
```

The next extract starts at line 5, which is considered the first bar of the extract. From the very beginning the extract goes slower. The orchestra dedicates 0.8 seconds to the first beat of the first bar. Moreover, the conductor seems to be more consistent with the rhythm she is providing. In the first bar all four beats take 0.8 seconds equally. The conductor also seems to engage a wider range of gestures. On the first beat she turns to the violins (5c) while showing the increase in the volume (5b). When 0.1 seconds later the violins increase their volume (5e), the conductor nods at them (5d). On the second beat the conductor shows with her left hand to decrease and maintain the sound (5b), the violins follow with the precise reaction as they decrease and maintain the sound (5e). There seem to be no gesturing from conductor's part apart from counting the beat on the third beat. On the fourth beat the conductor starts rising her left hand slowly (5b). 0.1 seconds after that the cellos step in (5f).

In the second bar (6) the conductor decreases the number of multimodal resources she is using. The conductor does not turn to the violins anymore, but still nods at them (6c) when the violins follow the guidelines (6d). In the first beat of the second bar the conductor draws a smaller wave (6b). As has been stated earlier, according to the scores, the increase in volume gets progressively smaller over three bars, so the conductor shows this to the violins. The rest of the bar goes similarly to the previous one. Here, all the beats take 0.8 seconds as well, so the conductor maintains the same rhythm she established in the first bar.

The third bar (7) appears to be the longest one, as four beats take 0.9, 0.9, 0.8, and 0.8 seconds respectively (7a). This time the conductor draws the smallest wave in the first beat (7b), and the violins make the slightest increase in volume (7d). Furthermore, the conductor seems to be lagging behind with her nod this time because she nods only 0.4 seconds after the violins increase their volume (7d/7c). The cellos step in 0.4 seconds before the conductor starts rising her left hand up in the third beat (7e/7b), which might signify that the cellos were picking up their turn by the gestures given to the violins. The conductor starts introducing another instrument before she gives guidelines to the cellos. 0.3 seconds after the beginning of the third beat the conductor turns her gaze to the flutes (7c), which is probably why there was a delay in the guidelines presented to the cellos. The flutes, in their turn, react to this gesture by establishing eye contact with the conductor 0.5 seconds after the conductor's turn (7f).

In the fourth bar (8) the melody is changing. The conductor shows a small wave gesture on the first beat (8b), which is picked up by the flutes on the second beat (8d). This shift in melody appears to be taken seriously in the orchestra as the conductor makes sure to engage the flutes 2.1 seconds before their turn: from the gaze in line 7c to the gesture in line 8b. By contrast, the conductor is lagging with the instructions

given to the violins (8e/8b). This might be showing the change in the conductor's focus. For the three previous bars her attention was mainly fixed on the violins as she misses the beginning of other instruments' turns. However, the change in melody demands the conductor to concentrate on the flutes.

In the fifth (9) and sixth (10) bars the orchestra seems to speed up slightly as the beats now equal to 0.7 seconds each. The conductor gestures less with her left hand in the fifth bar (9b). She only shows a sharp cutting gesture with her left hand on the first beat. This might be connected to the fact that the fifth bar repeats the fourth bar, so the melody follows the same pattern. In the sixth bar (10) it is the turn of the clarinets to step in. The conductor shows the average wave gesture on the first beat and immediately withdraws her hand (10b). The clarinets respond by stepping in (10d). Then the conductor takes a step forward and then backwards (10c) to engage the clarinets. The conductor emphasises the quality of the sound by drawing a wide wave gesture with her left hand 0.1 seconds after the beginning of the third beat (10b). The violas step in on the third beat and repeat the ascending-descending pattern with their volume (10e).

As can be seen, the difficulty of the third bar has been extended onto the second extract. The third bar takes the most time for the orchestra to pass through. By dedicating much time to this part of the music the orchestra shows that they see this part as "difficult" or "challenging". This time the orchestra slows down the overall tempo, which can be attributed as the response to the issues with rhythm in the first extract. Furthermore, the conductor applies a wider array of gestures in the second extract. Specifically, she gestures with much precision in the very beginning of the second extract. Since all the gestures are aimed at the violins, this might mean an attempt at establishing better connection with the violins. The violins, in their turn, follow the gestures to the letter, which indicates a greater level of intersubjectivity. A similar process takes place at the end of the third bar, when the conductor establishes a connection with the flutes. The conductor makes eye contact with the flutes well in advance, so both parties can be sure that the orchestra will pass the following part well. Considering the flutes' actions, this strategy appears to prove successful.

The last extract, as mentioned earlier, is taking place during a dress rehearsal, which implies a greater level of familiarity with the musical piece. By contrast to the second extract, the third extract presents an increase in tempo as well as decrease in gesturing from the conductor.

```
     Extract 3.
11      +*!(0.3)·(0.4)!*+(0.2)·(0.5)+*%(0.1)*(0.6)+(0.7)%*+
a con + to 1---------+ to 2--------+ to 3--------+ to 4+
b con *average w-----*to con-------*     *goes up---*
c con          ·turns to vins·
```

```
d vins  !vol up-----!
e vc                                %steps in--------%


12    +*!(0.1)°(0.6)+°!*(0.7)+*%(0.3)°(0.4)+(0.4) °(0.3)%+
a con + to 1--------+ to 2---+ to 3--------+ to 4--------+
b con *average w---* to con*
c con        °nods--°                   °to the right°
d vins  !vol up----!
e vc                                %steps in---------------%


13    +*(0.8)*   +(0.8)+&(0.1)*(0.2)°(0.6)+(0.9)&*+
a con + to 1----+ to 2+ to 3-------------+ to 4+
b con *average w* to con-----* goes up----------*
c con                             °looks at fl->
d vla                &steps in--------------&


14    +*(0.7)*+@(0.6)*+(0.3)°(0.3)*+(0.6)@*+
a con + to 1--+ to 2--+ to 3-------+ to 4-+
b con * to 1--* to 2--* to 3-------* to 4-*
c con ------------------->°
d fl   ........@steps in----------------@



15    +*(0.6)*+(0.6)+(0.6)+*(0.6)*+
a con + to 1--+ to 2-+ to 3+ to 4+
b con * to 1--*            * to 4*


16    +(0.6)     *£+(0.1)°(0.5)    °+·&(0.6)+(0.6)&·£+
a con + to 1------+ to 2-----------+ to 3--+ to 4---+
b con *sharp to 1--*
c con                  °turns to right°
d con                              ·sway--------·
e cl           £steps in----------------------£
f vla                              &vol up down&
```

In the first bar (11) all the beats equal to 0.7 seconds each. In the beginning the conductor marks the increase in volume in the first beat (11a/11b). Interestingly the conductor draws an average wave gesture (11b). Compared to lines 1b and 5b, the wave in line 11b looks smaller. Moreover, this time the violins increase their volume at the same time as the conductor shows them the guidelines (11d). Not even the

slightest delay is present as opposed to the previous two extracts. By contrast, the conductor turns to the violins (similarly as in line 5c) 0.3 seconds after the violins start their turn (11d/11c). A similar delay can be seen further in the bar. The cellos step in 0.1 seconds before the conductor starts rising their left hand (11e/11b).

The second bar (12) appears to be similar in length. All four beats take 0.7 seconds for the orchestra to pass as well. The conductor draws an average wave indicating the increase in volume (12b). Once again, the violins start their turn at the same time as the conductor presents the guidelines (12d/12b). 0.1 seconds after the start of the first beat the conductor nods at the violins (12c), which can be perceived as a form of encouragement. The cellos step in on the third beat of the second bar (12e). This time the conductor does not show any signs to the cellos and only turns to them 0.3 seconds after the cellos started their turn (12c).

On the third bar (13) the orchestra seems to slow down, the beats equal to 0.8, 0.8, 0.9, and 0.9 seconds, respectively. Since the level of performance in the third bar caused the conductor to stop practicing in the first extract, and later in the second extract the orchestra spent more time specifically on this part of the musical piece, the third bar can be perceived as challenging. Having established the difficulty of the bar in the first extract, the orchestra appears to dedicate more time to it in order to perform it successfully. The conductor gestures more with her left hand in line 13b as opposed to line 12b. She presents the wave gesture again while in the previous bar she omitted it. Then the conductor draws her hand to herself before drawing an ascending line. The absence of the violins is significant in the transcript. As has been mentioned earlier, the instruments' turns are marked in the transcript like talk is presented in CA, i.e., the turn is marked when someone has information for other participants. The violins in line 13 follow the guidelines without any issues or any attempts at drawing the orchestra's attention to some parts of the performance, they do not seem to present any information. On the third beat the violas step in (13d), and again, similar to what has been seen with the cellos earlier, the conductor's guidelines are 0.1 seconds late (13b). However, 0.2 seconds after that the conductor turns her gaze at the flutes. Thus, it might be stated that the reason behind the delay is that the conductor's focus is on the flutes.

On the fourth bar (14) the orchestra starts picking up the pace again. After the first beat, which takes 0.7 seconds, the other three beats take 0.6 seconds. This pattern is also being maintained through the last two bars as well (lines 15 and 16). Line 14 is marked with the conductor's limited gestures with her left hand (14b). She is repeating the rhythm pattern without showing any emotion. By contrast, her gaze is fixed on the flutes (14c), which proceeds well into the third beat. The flutes establish eye contact with the conductor from the beginning of the bar, they take the whole first beat to prepare for their turn before stepping in on the second beat (14d). Similar to the second

extract (8) the flutes' turn is marked as important. Both the conductor and the flutes start preparing for their turns before stepping in (14c/14d). However, in the third extract the flutes take 0.7 seconds for preparation (14d) as opposed to 2.1 seconds in the previous extract (7-8).

The left-hand gestures become scarce once again in the next bar (15b). The conductor only marks the beginning and the end of the bar without drawing attention to any specific emotion. Other members do not attempt at presenting any information either. In the last bar (16) the conductor marks the increase in volume by showing a sharp descending gesture (16b) (similar to line 10), so the clarinets can step in, which they do at the same time as the second beat is marked (16b/16e). 0.1 seconds after the beginning of the second beat the conductor turns to the right (16c). The violas sit in the corner to which the conductor turns. The conductor shows the ascending and descending nature of the sound by moving their whole body from side to side which is presented as "sway" (16d). As a result, the violas increase and then decrease their sound. Once again, the conductor's actions and the violas' response seem to unfold at the same time.

The inner structure of the rehearsals appears to be rather complex and serve different purposes simultaneously. To begin with, it can be seen how every extract is built upon what has been previously acquired by the orchestra. This refers to the next turn proof procedure introduced by Arminen (1999). The orchestra members refer to and reflect on prior turns and even prior rehearsals to develop intersubjectivity. By slowing down the tempo and applying a wider array of gestures, the conductor displays that she has considered that a dedicated part of the musical piece needs more practice. By stepping in correctly without guidelines, the violas display their understanding of the piece and the parts of their peers.

The notion of intersubjectivity connects nicely to the idea of interactional competence. The orchestra members learn how to be competent together. As the orchestra members do not develop intersubjectivity for its own sake, they develop it to become interactionally competent at playing music. Wenger (1998) describes competence as a dynamic interactional process, which is reflected in the process of rehearsing. It can be seen how the orchestra's understanding of them being an entity, of the musical piece, of their parts is changing and expanding over three extracts. The violins display that they are getting better at following the conductor's guidelines. The violas and the flutes display the great level of familiarity with their own parts and the parts of the violins. The conductor displays that she is getting better at guiding the orchestra. This learning process happens on the level of the whole orchestra that requires all the members to be tuned in to one another.

Another essential aspect of the rehearsal that relates to interactional competence is scaffolding. The term scaffolding is normally used in the learning environment and

describes a set of strategies aiming at students' autonomy (Mahan, 2020). Mahan (2020) states that by providing students with possibilities to reflect on and apply acquired knowledge, teachers can help their students to navigate their learning process. While the conductor appears to learn as much as other musicians, the term scaffolding seems of use for the analysis of rehearsing practices. Over three extracts, the conductor builds the environment for musicians to refer to previously acquired knowledge. She slows down the tempo and applies a wider array of gesturing to guide the orchestra through a challenging part. However, in the next extract she decreases the intensity of her gesturing and increases the tempo, so the orchestra can get ready for the performance. Can Daşkin and Hatipoğlu (2019) highlight the interactional nature of a learning experience. They present how the teacher navigates students' learning process by referring to past learning experience. At the rehearsal, the conductor grounds her understanding of how to navigate the orchestra based on previous rehearsing practices. She creates the space for the musicians to form their own understanding while referring to what has been already absorbed.

As the data shows, the conductor engages differently in different extracts which seems to be connected to the needs of every performance. The conductor appears to adjust her gestures to the practice needs. It can be seen how her gestures become scarcer the more the orchestra practices. Braem and Bräm (2001) highlight the importance of omitting gestures. According to them, what is not shown in the practice is equally important as the conductor does not show all the important elements. As much as the orchestra learns about their parts, the conductor learns how to navigate the orchestra well. It can be seen how the conductor learns how to adjust the rhythm and gesturing according to what the musicians need. It is also noticeable that the orchestra displays a greater level of familiarity with the musical piece over the three rehearsals. The lack of delays and the ability to pick up their peers' turns seem to show how the orchestra is getting better at playing together.

6 DISCUSSION

In this study, I analysed the process of rehearsing in the orchestra using ethnomethodological observations. The choice of material stemmed from my personal interest in using music as a meaningful context. As stated in the introduction part, I have always been interested in exploring practices that help people to develop unity without referring to national or linguistic boundaries. Music seems to me such a domain that help people to connect regardless of time and space. Moreover, performing music appears to allow people to connect not only through music but also through practicing together.

In this chapter, I will discuss the findings regarding the questions presented in the methodology section. I will expand my findings and connect them to previous literature to make clear the implications of my study. The research question are:

- How do the musicians interact with the conductor during the rehearsal?
- How does the orchestra become interactively competent at playing music together?
- How do the musicians develop the CoP of musicians?

6.1 Interaction at the rehearsal

As Mandelbaum (2008) states, interaction is an accomplishment; it does not exist by itself, it takes contribution from all participants. As the data presents, the orchestra engages in playing the music to interact with each other. All the participants of the orchestra make visible which practices work for them and which should be further adjusted.

In the first extract, the violins are not following the conductor's guidelines precisely. They speed up on the second bar missing both the conductor's gestures and

other instruments' rhythm, which results in them playing a false note. By making a grimace and stopping the practice, the conductor assesses the quality of performance. Moreover, her suggestion to go over the same part again appears to reflect the idea that this part needs to be rehearsed more. Interestingly, this assessment makes both the conductor and the violins adjust their actions. In the second extract, the violins follow all the guidelines without speeding up or slowing down. The conductor, in her turn, slows down the tempo as well as engages a wider array of gestures not only to present the musical structure but also to encourage the violins when they are playing successfully. Finally, in the third extract, the violins are able to step in at the same time as the conductor, which appears to display a better understanding of the musical piece. The conductor seems to limit her gestures to engage the violins. She still uses nods as a form of encouragement. However, these nods appear with a slight delay, which suggests the idea of intersubjectivity when the conductor knows that the violins know that they are playing well.

Furthermore, the conductor does not engage other instruments in the first extract, which might signify that the conductor wants to concentrate on one part of the musical piece at a time. Consequently, she might have been regarding the violins' part as demanding and therefore she wanted to establish the violins' understanding of the musical piece before moving onto collaboration with other instruments. The process of rehearsing appears like putting beads on a string, where all parts are equally important, but it is essential to put all the previous pieces in order before moving to the next ones. This is how they build intersubjectivity through music. As Arminen (1999) shows how every next turn in the talk expands interlocutors' understanding of what has been already said, every new musical turn expands the orchestra's understanding of the whole piece. Hence, previous parts need to be properly rehearsed before moving onto the next part. Meier (2009) calls this system the zigzag way explaining that it looks like a road map. As he states, it is a tool for choosing priorities because the conductor's attention needs to be addressed to different instruments at different stages of practicing.

This notion can also be supported by the next extract. As the orchestra works its way through the violins part, the conductor changes the focus of her attention. In the second extract, she concentrates mainly on the flutes, which might also display the established quality of the violins' performance. The conductor also seems to engage the violas by the end of the extract which highlights yet another change in the focus. In similar ways, the conductor lags to give the guidelines to the cellos in the third extract as opposed to the second extract. It seems that the quality of the cellos' performance is established in the second extract, so the conductor does not refer to them in the third extract. The cellos, in their turn, step in without any issues in the third extract, which suggests that they are picking their turn by following their peers' actions. In

other words, the cellos are displaying not only a great level of familiarity with the musical piece or the conductor's gestures, but they also show an understanding of the violins' turns since they follow the violins.

The findings appear to support Seddon (2005) and Seddon and Biasutti (2009) view on music as a collaborative process. As much as jazz improvisation relies on interaction between musicians, so does the rehearsal of a symphonic orchestra. It must further be stated that what on the surface looks like the dialogue between the conductor and a certain instrumental group appears to be the interaction on the level of the entire orchestra. It becomes especially salient in the last extract, where the violas pick up their turns by following the turns of the violins.

6.2   The achievement of interactional competence

There seem to be two levels of interaction. One is about conversing with each other through music notation. The other one is developing the intersubjective understanding of how competent we are as an orchestra in playing a certain musical piece. The latter one seems to be connected to the notion of interactive competence.

Throughout all of the extracts it can be seen how the orchestra develops interactional competence. Competence appears to be the product of interaction belonging neither to individual, nor to communal (Wenger, 1998). The orchestra develops a shared understanding of the musical piece as the musicians learn to pick up their turns by following their peers. The cellos are learning how to step in without waiting for the conductor to show their turn. The flutes learn to spend less time for preparation. The violins learn how to play as an entity and to adjust to each other's tempo. The conductor develops an understanding of which parts demand more attention and precision.

In the first extract, the violins seem to fail at grasping the proper tempo. What is more, they seem to be oblivious not only to the guidelines but to other musicians as they are the only ones speeding up. However, already in the second extract, when they follow the guidelines with more precision and they orient themselves towards not only their parts but to the parts of their fellow musicians, they seem to get better at playing. Finally, in the last extract they appear to be significantly better with the musical piece. Their improvement process shows how they become competent together first as a group of violins and then larger on the level of the whole orchestra. Another example of the process of developing shared competence is introduced in the cellos' play. In the last extract, they step in successfully without even looking at the conductor. They practiced enough to pick up the order of the movements, so they do not need to wait until the conductor marks their turn as they can pick up the sign of their turn in the gestures presented to the violins. Participants appear to be tuned in

with one another to the point that they are anticipating the next turn and adapting accordingly.

The conductor's gestures are worth mentioning as well. It is visible that the conductor changes her gestures ever so slightly depending on the needs of the current rehearsal. In the second extract, she slows down her hand gestures and employs a wider array of body gestures. It seems that the conductor is adapting to the musicians the same way the musicians adapt to the conductor. The conductor slows down the tempo and encourages the violins to help them pass through a challenging part. Meier (2009) observes that it is natural for a performance at the rehearsal to go in a slower tempo than at the concert. He connects it to the zigzag way explaining the need for conductors to establish the understanding of the musical piece by the musicians. The data shows similar patterns. Having made sure that the violins can pass the challenging part successfully, the conductor limits their gestures and speeds up the tempo in the third extract. This need to adapt the gestures could be explained through coordination. Coordination is a process of group work where the expertise and the skills of all the participants are brought according to the given task (Hindmarsh & Pilnick, 2007). Similar to how physicians who have developed a shared repertoire after more than ten years of work together, require coordination at hand-offs to fill in missing information (LeBaron et al., 2016), the musicians need to develop coordination at every rehearsal. This way the rehearsal becomes an embodied practice, where all participants are adapting to the newly presented information. The conductor adapts to the participants' level of familiarity with the musical piece. The musicians adapt to the tempo and mood picked by the conductor.

This process of mutual adapting in the learning environment has been previously shown in the literature on the second language acquisition. Can Daşkin (2017) highlights the interactional nature of the learning process in a classroom. The author observes how by using students' responses instead of providing a correct answer straight away, the teacher gives their students time to reflect on the material and accumulate a better understanding of the acquired language. Can Daşkin and Hatipoğlu (2019) further develop this idea of interactional nature of the learning process. They present how the teacher adjusts the learning process based on what has been previously absorbed by students. By referring to a past learning event and giving students an opportunity to recall the acquired material, the teacher can navigate their strategy. In the case where the students do not display the knowledge of previously learned material, the teacher can initiate a repair or provide the correction. Interestingly, besides providing the transcripts of the talk, the scholars present the still frames of the teacher gestures as well. Following the teacher's gestures, the process of referring to the past learning event becomes even more evident as the teacher points to a board with the presented material (Can Daşkin & Hatipoğlu, 2019). Similarly, Mahan (2020)

shows how scaffolding, which is strategies aiming at students' autonomy by giving them possibilities to reflect on and apply acquired knowledge, helps in the learning process. She observes that teachers rely on prior knowledge and embodied conduct in the content and language learning context to help their students develop a better understanding of the absorbed knowledge.

In similar ways, the conductor creates the learning environment for the musicians. Moses, Demaree, and Ohmes (2004) highlight the importance of adjusting the baton technique according to the practice needs. They further state that the conductor needs to be economical with their gestures and present only what is essential for the practice without any excesses. Colson (2012) supports this idea by stating that the rehearsal needs to have clear goals to be achieved during the practice. He also develops this idea of interactional learning where the conductor needs to adjust their gestures according to the needs of the orchestra. As the data shows, the conductor starts with detailed gesturing for every turn of musical phrase. After learning about the mistake in the performance, she makes sure to apply this experience to the practice by adjusting their gestures. As a result, the conductor applies a variety of gestures using not only her left hand but gazing and whole-body movements. By contrast, in the dress rehearsal, the conductor omits previously used gestures. This can be perceived as referring to prior knowledge. Since the orchestra displays greater familiarity with the musical piece, the conductor does not give "a correct answer" straight away or does not imply the variety of gestures they used before but rather gives the musicians a possibility to build their own knowledge.

Thus, rehearsing becomes a way to develop interactional competence. Of course, due to the nature of my study, some questions might occur naturally. The orchestra rehearsals take place once a week, which supposedly undermines the whole idea of getting better during the rehearsal. It might be even suggested that the musicians were getting better by practicing at home and then showed their skills at the rehearsals. However, two counterarguments can be made in regard to this question. First, due to the methodological assumptions of EM those at home practices are not considered as they do not appear essential in terms of rehearsal. As Anstey and Wells (2013) prove, a simple assessment of one musician's skills will not be enough to describe an interaction. The mere fact that a musician was improving their skills at home does not mean by default that they will be able to play successfully at the practice. Following Holliday (2016), musicians are perceived as competent, yet they re-enact this competence in interaction. Second, as could be seen from the improvement that has taken place in the second extract already, practicing together as an entity seems to be enough in order to develop mutual intelligibility and interactional competence.

6.3 The CoP of musicians

Consequently, the process of rehearsing appears to be the way for the orchestra to develop the community of practice. Since through the practice they become interactively competent together, rehearsing helps them form an understanding of them being an entity. Following Wenger's (1998) definition of communities of practice, the orchestra can be defined as one since it is an entity of people learning together and developing a shared semiotic system through practice. Through coordination at the rehearsal, through practicing together, the orchestra members become interactionally competent at playing the Hebrides. What can be seen is that despite the difference in performing skills, different language backgrounds, and even different amount of time spent with other members of the orchestra, the orchestra displays the way of skilfully developing interactional competence. This interactional competence, in its turn, appears to be rooted in and reinforcing the community of practice that these musicians create during their rehearsals.

Communities of practice are pretty much defined through practice (Wenger, 1998). As the findings show, the process of rehearsing is the practice that helps the orchestra to get better at playing music together. Through playing music together, through recognizing each other as competent, musicians develop the CoP of musicians. It is worth mentioning that rehearsing is a dynamic process. As Värck and Kindisko (2019) highlight the dynamic aspect of sharing knowledge in the CoP of journalists, my findings suggest that rehearsing a piece of music is dynamic. My findings further show how rehearsing practices are changing from one rehearsal to another. It can be seen how the musicians and the conductor learn about the musical piece and each other as members of an entity.

Kenny (2016) has already proved that music groups have the CoP features, such as joint enterprise, mutual understanding, and shared knowledge. However, her study appears to rely more on the talk in between practices. My findings support Kenny's (2016) idea by proving it from the practical side. As my study suggests, rehearsing itself can provide sufficient data to prove the CoP nature of the orchestra. Similarly to how McGlashan (2020) encourages to look into actual practices of any CoP as there might be discrepancies between what people say about themselves and what they re-enact in practice, my study suggests to investigate practices to see what is important for participants. As the findings show, musicians visibly display their attunement to each other.

Another essential aspect is connected to linguistic diversity. Kenny (2016) exclusively explores music groups whose members share the first language. Chen (2017) portrays linguistic diversity as inherently problematic. For her, differences in linguistic background will inevitably require intercultural competence and the use of musical

identities as the facilitators of communication. By contrast, the findings of my study suggest that the lack of common language can be compensated with practice. Namely, much information during rehearsing is delivered through gesturing and playing in a certain way. By considering how musicians pick up turns without relying on a natural language, it can be suggested that the importance of the shared language in a community of practice might be overestimated. As Smith and Treem (2017) prove that the lack of geographical proximity is not a challenge for the CoP of the cyclists, so does the lack of common language not seem to be a hindrance to the process of developing a CoP of musicians.

7 CONCLUSION

The aim of my study was to investigate how the orchestra develops a community of practice during the process of rehearsing. As the data showed, the orchestra relies on embodied conduct that enables a successful performance. Furthermore, through embodied conduct and coordination, the orchestra members develop interactional competence which is deemed the key factor that helps the orchestra to develop the community of practice. Findings revealed that it is not only musicians who adjust to the conductor's gestures, but also the conductor who adapts to the orchestra's level of familiarity with the musical piece. The use of scaffolding strategies during rehearsal highlights the interactional nature of rehearsing.

Overall, this study raises the question if the meaningful context can be created only with the help of talk. As findings suggest music and embodied conduct might be even better ways of presenting information in certain contexts. The lack of reliance on language or "national cultures" seems significant as well. As Piller (2012) observes "culture" is made visible in interaction. According to her, "cultural differences" do not exist per se, but they are rather made salient by participants when the latter ones want to address "cultural issues". Similarly, Stokoe and Attenborough (2015) suggest describing "culture" as "culture in action", since it never exist in vacuum, but is rather made visible by the participants of the interaction. The orchestra members do not address "culture" in their practice, which suggests that having different origins and first languages does not automatically lead to "clashing cultures". As the data shows, the orchestra based in higher educational institution in Finland might consist of people from various language backgrounds and have no "cultural issues" with communication. Moreover, the choice of musical piece does not pose any problems to communication either despite Mendelssohn not being a Finnish composer. All in all, it proves Schütz's (1951) view on music as a meaningful context. As opposed to a typical view

on intercultural encounters as problematic by default, my study suggests that practicing music together might unite people around something that is deeply important to them.

The findings of this study might be of use to international organisations that intend on switching from differences-oriented interactions to similarities-oriented interactions. Its significance seems to be widely applied as my study highlights the importance of practice rather than some other pre-made assumptions.

7.1   Limitations and recommendations for further research

Several limitations of my study are worth addressing. To begin with, embodied conduct appears to be hard to grasp. As has been mentioned in previous chapters, many elements of the presented interaction were omitted to make this study concise. As a result, this area might need further development as certain omitted elements might have provided important information with regard to how the interaction unfolds at the rehearsal. The decision of not using still frames might appear restraining as well. Even though still frames seem incapable of presenting the dynamic aspect of the rehearsal, the study might have benefitted from some visual representation. Thus, it might be another area for further investigation: to find the most suitable way to present visual information on the dynamics and the flow of the rehearsal. Finally, my decision to omit the talk might have its downsides as much information is presented with the help of language. It seems that by combining both multimodal resources and the talk, it might be possible to present a more detailed picture of interaction at the rehearsal.

The choice of the study approach seems to pose limitations as well. While it is believed that investigating naturally occurring data might provide us with a great insight about the nature of human interactions, getting answers from musicians on their practice might have been beneficial as well. Of course, this limitation depends on meta-theoretical assumptions and my research interest. And since I am interested in what is publicly available, my focus naturally shifts away from everything that is not presented in interaction. However, it is deemed that in certain contexts and for certain study purposes, investigating people's perceptions of the interaction might be as beneficial.

7.2 Implications

As has already been mentioned, my research focus stemmed from a very personal interest. However, this study appears to have several theoretical and social implications that might be of value. To begin with, my study adds to the existing scholarship on communities of practice. My emphasis on the practices presented at the rehearsal might help other scholars increase their understanding of the process of the development of communities of practice. It seems that this area needs further exploration as so far, the existing literature has been more concerned with talk than other forms of conduct. Furthermore, the notion of interactional competence might pose a critic to the dominant view in sociology of music. While power dynamics in the orchestra cannot be underestimated, my data proves that there is more to interaction at the rehearsal than just establishing hierarchical relations. It can be seen how the conductor learns and adjusts to the musicians as much as the musicians do to the conductor, which undermines the whole idea of the orchestra being an oppressive institution. Finally, taking music as a meaningful context can be of help to scholars exploring interaction as it provides some insight into how interactions might unfold when the community does not share any natural language. Music seems to be a way for people to communicate regardless of their background and the possible existence of boundaries.

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APPENDIX

Embodied conduct has been transcribed according to the following conventions (Mondada, 2019):

* *	Descriptions of embodied actions are delimited between two identi-
+ +	cal symbols (one symbol per participant and per type of action) that
! !	are synchronized with correspondent stretches of time indications.
*--->	The action described continues across subsequent lines until the
---->*	same symbol is reached.
--->>	The action described continues after the extract's end.
.....	Action's preparation.
,,,,,	Action's retraction.
con	conductor: + right hand, * left hand, ∘ face, · whole body movement
vins	violins: ! sound
vc	cello: % sound
vla	viola: & sound
fl	flute: @ sound
cl	clarinet: £ sound