Performative Learning

Self- and Other-initiated Corrections in Dance

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1.   Introduction

In this paper I shall address dance learning process as a case of performative learning, or learning-to-perform. In doing so I shall maintain a specific focus on (self- and other-) evaluation and correction, starting from the analysis of these typical features of learning in order to better understand the peculiarities of performative learning and analytically distinguish it from theoretical learning.

The paper derives from my ethnomethodologically informed, multisite ethnography on the Italian world of dance. Data include, first, the basic structural data which define the quantitative dimensions of the profession and mark out the occupational community's boundaries; second, a series of in-depth interviews (n° 25) conducted with various professionals – dancers in musicals, television shows, opera and ballet, as well as teachers, choreographers and *maîtres de ballet*; and, third, fieldnotes, photos, video-recordings and other material gathered through fieldwork. In fact, I have spent prolonged periods (28 months in total) observing the everyday activities of two dance companies and two related

schools, positioned at diverse levels of artistic-professional advancing and differently situated, in core/periphery terms, in the national field. Moreover, for the first time in my life, I have attended courses on modern and contemporary dance, and I have taken part in displays and shows, putting myself in the setting as an active participant, the purpose being to start from my personal bodily (and not only) experience in order to understand what is meant by becoming and being a dancer.

2.   Dance learning process: from polithetic, to monothetic, through repeated(ly corrected) practice and embodiment

I shall start with a brief description of the dance learning process. Basically, it is a polithetic, spiral-shape process which leads, through repeated practice and corrections (or, repeatedly corrected practice), to the embodiment of monothetic *unica*. In the process of learning any kin(aesth)etic configuration, or sequence – the latter being basic, such as academic steps or what I call dance *topoi*, or complex, such as choreographic sequences – the manifold components of the performance are added, overlapped and intertwined one to each other:

- to each octave, another one, "tying" it to the precedent;

- to each body part movement, the simultaneous movement of another body part;

- to the isolated performance of a step, the "dynamic" performance of a series of steps, slowly and then faster;

- to the execution without music, that on the specific *tempo* of the chosen musical piece;

– to the practical execution with the teacher or choreographer, whose bodily performance works as a prompter together with his/her talk and gesture, the practical execution of the pupils or dancers alone, who, by then, can exploit just companions' bodily performance and, where present, verbal and/or gestural hints of the teacher (such as what I call "keeping tempo" and "saying the sequence");

– to the "technical", "marked" performance, the "expressive", "danced" one including theatrical enactment.

It is a process during which each further step deeply modify what have been accomplished earlier, and it does so at the level of the lived body. It is, therefore, the polithetic, step-by-step construction of a monothetic whole, of a bodily-kin(aesth)etic monad, which is different from the sum of its parts and, precisely, it's more complex and more simple at the same time. As Nick Crossley [2001:128] wrote, indeed, learning is "incorporation, an absorption of new competencies and understandings into the corporeal schema which, in turn, transform one's way of perceiving and acting in the world".

Incorporation, or embodiment, moreover, attends to the need − recognized and practically taken into account by dance community members − for a performance as much "automatic", or "mechanical", as possible. This holds for aspiring dancers in the process of learning to dance (e.g., automatically performing a correct *grand plié*), as well as for professional dancers in the process, so to speak, of learning the dance (i.e., learning a choreography which is going to be performed onstage)[1].

In order to give an idea of the latter process, in Figure 1 and 2 I present the graphic representations of the two sub-processes of the staging of a dance show: "assembling",

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1 Consider, however, that aspiring dancers too face the process of learning a choreography and, sometimes, a one which is going to be represented onstage, generally for the yearend school performance.

which is when the choreographer creates and teaches the choreography to – and sometimes with – the dancers; and "cleaning", which is a long, boring, tiring, hard, technical process, sometimes accomplished without the choreographer, by the dancers and the so called *repetiteur*. For both figures, x-axis represents the time of the performance, divided into beats (b), while y-axis the time of the rehearsals, marked by corrective interruptions (i); the shape of the broken line remains the same considering one or more days of rehearsals. Highlighted columns in Figure 2 represent beats that are situatedly considered unproblematic. As you can see, it is about a back and forth process, a sort of oscillation which however reaches a further point each time.
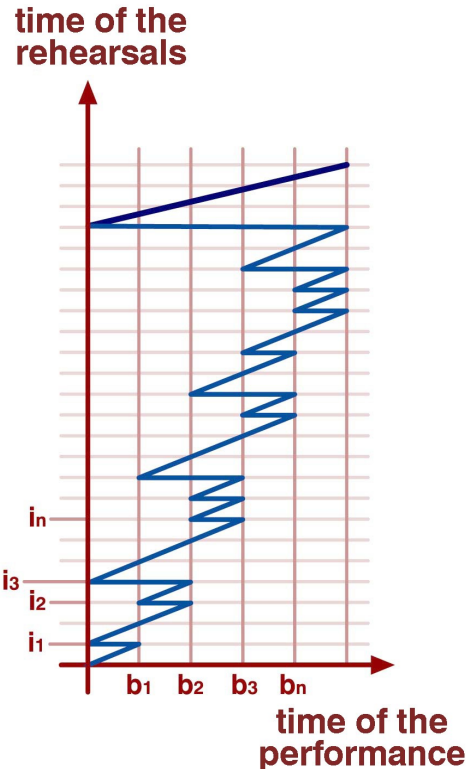

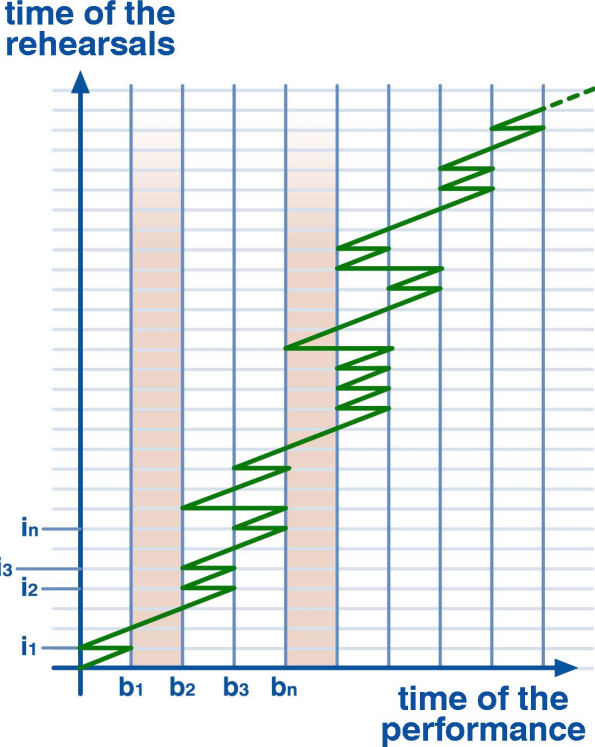**Figure 1:** "Assembling" process   **Figure 2:** "Cleaning" process

As I mentioned, the need for "mechanicalness" is satisfied through repeated, and

repeatedly corrected, practice leading to embodiment. It is verified through practice as well, following the rule according to which the correct executions of a (sequence of) kin(aesth)etic configuration(s) must outnumber the incorrect ones. If not, in fact, there's an high risk for the dancer to "fall" in the incorrect version once onstage, or once reached a further point along the spiral of learning, a point where s/he is supposed to be able to perform-without-thinking something (such as a leg movement, or a "marked" sequence), so that conscience and concentration could be directed towards something else (such as a simultaneous arms movement, or the expressive enactment of a sequence). This also means that, in dance and, more generally, performative learning, correct practical doing constitutes the mark of understanding.

3. Evaluation and correction

Another feature of dance learning process is that demonstration, practice, evaluation and correction are not separated moments, but rather recurrent and following one each other, intertwined and mutually embedded. Both other- and self-evaluation, as well as, and consequently, both other- and self-initiated correction are inseparable from performance itself. Other-initiated corrections for example, as I shall better illustrate in a while, are usually accompanied by a re-demonstration (exemplar exhibition) enacted by the teacher/choreographer – which in turn may involve the simultaneous, mimetic execution of the dancers – and are always followed by practical repetitions enacted by the corrected performer(s), with the evaluative dimension that this intrinsically involves and, therefore, the possibility of further corrections and repetitions that entails.

3.1. Self-evaluation and self-initiated corrections

Self-evaluation is fundamental in manifold ways and represent a cornerstone of dance learning process. It basically works in relation to two terms of comparison.

First, dancers compare themselves to what must be visible (or not), from the spectators point of view, accordingly to the culture of dance aesthetic. The error, in fact, in order to constitutes itself – and being evaluated – as such, needs a system of rules, thus a specific culture, within which inserting itself: "an error is a contravention to what is *established* as correct" [Winch, 1958(1990: 32)] in/by a social group, field, or community. What David Sudnow [1979: 4] wrote about music and talk, holds for dance as well: "[t]here are communities of co-movers, and they define what good movements should be like. In both music-making and talking, there is a social world, an organization of ways of doing such movements, and an organization of ways of regarding them".

The term of reference for "what is established as correct" is represented by what I call the *ideal institutional model*, constituted by what Foster [1997] defined "ideal body", that is the body – in both its aesthetic static appearance and its way of moving and performing – which is ideal accordingly to dance culture and the culture of dance aesthetics. As Aalten [2007: 113] noted, "the dancer is constantly aware of the ideal. She is also aware of the fact that working, and working hard, can bring the ideal closer". Consider, for instance, the following interview excerpt.

> *I had ungraceful feet, difficulties of posture, a back with some problems and the body of a boy of 16 and a half who had never danced, as opposed to <u>what should have been the body of a ballet dancer doing</u> tendu. However, with will-power, and determination, I greatly changed my body.* [Eu. – Milan, March, 14th 2006]

In order to self-evaluate their performance, dancers' first tool is the mirror: they look at themselves in the mirror while rehearsing and exercising, and they try to correct themselves when (considered) necessary. A second tool, which develops in time, is the ability to perceive, visualize and then "feel" their own body and body movement [Bassetti, 2009a].

Secondly, dancers compare themselves to the other bodies that are co-present in the material space of the dance practice room and, especially, in the virtual one of the mirror. This encompass both the teacher/choreographer (*situated institutional model*) and the classmates/colleagues (*situated peer model*).

Furthermore, such other bodies are not only origin of emulation and, by comparison, self-initiated correction, but rather, being bringers of potential gazes on oneself, they are also origin of embarrassment and thus they work as an implicit mechanism of self-correction[2].

As I discussed elsewhere [Bassetti, 2010], a dancer's relationship with his/her own body and its dancing performance is strongly influenced by the comparison of that body with other bodies. As Crossley puts it [2001: 150-1], "One's body is, in a sense, all that one knows of bodily life and it can only seem deficient, if it does, by comparison". Aware of being – and of proving to be – an incompetent member of both dance practitioners' community and the situated community in the dance practice room, the dancer feels embarrassed and is so spurred to try improving. This is an implicit but well established norm and practice of dance training and socialization, the effect of which is sustained and magnified by the presence of the mirror.

As an indispensable object in the dance practice room, the mirror not only allows

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2 Wacquant [2000] reports the same phenomenon among prizefighters.

observation of one's own body in movement, so that its performance can be reflexively appraised, bust also allows direct comparison to be made with the other bodies among which the dancer is moving. The mirror, therefore, fosters embarrassment arising by showing to the dancer both his/her own (incompetent) performance – s/he doesn't feels ridiculous and inappropriate, s/he sees s/he is – and the difference between her/his performance and others' ones, thus increasing the possibilities that s/he finds her/himself lacking in something. Furthermore, in the dance practice room, anybody sees him/herself and anybody else. All the dancers at the same time are aware to be subject to the others' glances, and they know if, when, and who is watching them. The mirror, from this point of view, enlarges the field of (mutual) visibility[3], and thus facilitates the awareness of others' glance – the sociological relevance of which is well known [e.g., Mead, 1934; Goffman, 1959, 1963; Foucault, 1975].

The presence of models to emulate and compare to, thereby placing oneself in a tacit but specific hierarchy, is therefore fundamental for the construction of the dancing body. As I mentioned, a part from the ideal model, there are two situated models.

The *situated institutional model*, represented by the teacher, for his/her class, or the choreographer, for his/her company, is an incarnated actual model, always present and visible in the dance practice room; it is, so to speak, the contextual, situated, incarnation of

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3 The widening of the visibility field allowed by the mirror, in a context where the other communicative resources are minimized (conversation almost doesn't exist, verbal interaction is limited, rather normative, culturally and situatedly characterized [cfr. Bassetti, 2009b: 4-14], and bodily conduct is mostly prescribed) also broadens the communicative potential of each smallest gesture, movement, glance or facial expression. Within such a context, if, on the one hand, the mirror makes more difficult concealing embarrassment from the other present, on the other hand, however, it allows micro-interaction which, often through irony and/or complicity, are usually aimed to dispel embarrassment.

the ideal. The teacher/choreographer, thus, is both the leader to follow and the model to emulate, compare with and aspire to: s/he serves the pupils/dancers in order both (a) to know what to do and how, and (b) to evaluate that doing – their own dancing performance – by comparison. Furthermore, this model has also the institutional function of evaluator, so that it becomes not only someone to look, but also someone looking.

The *situated peer models* are the class or company mates, or, more generally, other dancers of roughly the same level. As well as for the situated institutional model, peers represent models to compare to and try emulating if regarded (generally or situatedly) as good at dancing, as well as evaluating gazes whose potential field of visibility is broadened by the mirror. In the following interview excerpt, the director of a dance school recounts her sense of inadequacy in comparison to her companions because she had attended artistic gymnastics and therefore lacked the *habitus* of the ballerina, the required *corporeal scheme* [Merleau-Ponty, 1945] and embodied culture.

> *So I started with modern dance but I immediately realized that, because I lacked the classical bases, I was backward in comparison to the other students [...] I knew how to do cartwheels, verticals, back flips, the splits, however I was very limited from the technical point of view: above all the posture of my shoulders and arms was completely different. [...] And I felt embarrassed about how I moved.* [Do – Trento, February 22nd 2006]

3.2. Other-initiated corrections

Table 1 presents an overview of the characteristics of other-initiated corrections in dance. I have considered both lessons and rehearsals: as you can see, there are similarities but also differences, even if I shall here concentrate on the former. The question that I have kept in

mind for the analysis of other-initiated correction-moves is the following: Who does what, to whom, when and how? That is:

- the agent, that, as far as we are concerned here, is the teacher or choreographer;

- the content, and the prevalence of one over the other;

- the recipient(s);

- the sequential positioning, and the presence – or not – of an interruption of the performance;

- the modality, or modalities, through which the correction-move is accomplished.

	LESSON (School)	LESSON/REHEARSALS (Company)
WHO (does)	Teacher	Choreographer
WHAT	Corrections' content: - the "what" (which step/movement) - the "when" (tempo, rhythm) - the "how" (step/movement's properties and modalities *for* performing the latter)	Corrections' content: - the "what" (which step/movement) - the "when" (tempo, rhythm) - the "how" (step/movement's properties and modalities *for* performing the latter) - the "dancing together" (mutual positions, synchrony, movement uniformity)
TO WHOM	- Group: collective corrections *[predominant]* - Individual: individual corrections	- Group: collective corrections - Individual: individual corrections *[predominant]*
WHEN	- During performing - After performing	- During performing *[especially during the phase of "choreographic construction"]* - After performing *[especially during the final phases of staging: "nonstop" and "general" rehearsal]*
HOW	- Verbal corrections - Bodily corrections: • material "adjustment" of the bodies (with hands) • "re-demonstration" of the correct version and, often, of the incorrect one (repetition request follows)	- Verbal corrections - Bodily corrections: • material "adjustment" of the bodies (with hands) *[rare: almost only for "lifts"]* • "re-demonstration" of the correct version and, often, of the incorrect one (repetition request follows)

Table 1: Other-initiated corrections

3.2.1. What: correction's content

Corrections may concern the "what" or the "when" to perform, that is, the content, timing and *ratio* of the sequence: which movements, at which musical point, in which order, and which is the logic of such an order. See, for instance, the following fieldnotes excerpt.

«There's a *plié* before the turn, Manu!», yells the choreographer. [08-02-14 OC]

«*Plié* is on seven, eh!», says the teacher. [07-12-06 OS]

However, corrections mainly concern the "how" to perform, that is:

1) the properties of the movement(s)

The teacher corrects "the arms" of some pupils in the first final accent and explains that arms must be long and stretched out, not flexed on the elbows. «There's difference between this [she demonstrate the error] and this [she demonstrate the correct movement]! Do you see?» [07-06-06 OP]

2) the specific kin(aesth)etic result, or visual/perceivable effect, one wants to convey

At the end of the execution, she asks us to make more visible the difference between the accent and the slipping towards the next accent, to show the difference between the energy of the accent and, instead, the "more muffled" movements between one accent and the other: «otherwise one sees a whole general movement, whereas I want that one sees... spots! A lot of spots, pum (.) pum (.) pum». [07-06-06 OP]

Turned off the music player, the choreographer [...] asks her to be less regular, to take some pause instants. In fact he wants to obtain an *effect as much natural as possible, which doesn't seem danced*, but rather done at the moment; which, in short, does not convey the impression of over and over rehearsed choreography. [08-02-28 OC]

3) the way(s) in which one can accomplish such a result: where to put strength, when

and how to contract a muscle, what to imagine while performing, what to think about, where to drive attention, etc.

«Think exactly to the leg that goes out, leave the rest and put the strength here [the choreographer touches the left bone of her pelvis]» [08-03-04 OC]

3.2.2   How: correction's modality/ies

How does the teacher/choreographer perform correction-moves? Mainly verbally or mainly bodily? Often multimodally [cf. Bassetti, 2009b; Weeks, 2002], but the prevalence of one modality over the other mainly depends on the correction's content (see Table 2). "What" and "when" to perform – which, by the way, are at stake during the process of "assembling" a dance performance – are contents more easily verbalizable, and they can thus be more easily inserted in the teacher/choreographer's talk that co-occur with the pupils/dancers' execution – i.e., "keeping tempo" and "saying the sequence" [Bassetti, 2010; cf. also Weeks, 1996]. Therefore, correction's modality in this case is primary verbal, even if accompanied – as well as for "keeping tempo" and "saying the sequence"– by some sort of bodily conduct, such as clapping one's hands or gesturally pantomiming movements.

On the other hand, "how" to perform – which is instead at stake, along with "dancing together", in the process of "cleaning" a dance performance – calls more frequently for an exemplar demonstration, thus a performative correction-move, or for direct manipulation, to which I refer as material, or physical, "adjustment", thus a body-to-body correction-move. Consider the following transcription (relative video clip attached) of a correction-move multimodally enacted by the teacher of a basic level class after the execution of a study-sequence of *tendu* by the pupils. It includes practical demonstration, it

is collective, and it concerns the properties of a movement, its visible, or perceivable, result, and the ways in which one can accomplish the latter.

Video excerpt 1

00   Mh mh mhr mh. You've done better other times eh, attention to this [coughing] legs eh!

01   Sometimes it e:sca:pe eh [coughing] (0.5) either going out or coming back.

02   Instead straight (.) straight (.) straight (.) straight. Strong=strong.

03   (0.9) One sees when you lean yourself (0.3) on this leg, on- >you just seat on it, because-<

04   one sees this doing doing (.) doing doing. Oke:y? Down up (.) down up >Instead no<

05   After a while your ↑hip would exit basically- Stay up (0.6) Still=still. Strong=strong.

06   By keeping always rigid this area. There. (0.2) Still (.) still (.) Without downfall.

07   (1.3) You've also a mirror, try to see: But more than seeing you should fee::l (0.2) the downfall.

Notice how the teacher explains what the movement is and is not, what one sees and what instead should see (and she demonstrates it with her body too), how to obtain such a result, and, finally, how to control for such a result [cfr. Bassetti, 2009a].

This is also an example of a specific correction format, which is peculiar of performative learning: I call it *dichotomic differential demonstration*. It consists in making the error more recognizable through the exemplar exhibition of the movement configuration with the error – that's the incorrect version – and, then, through the re-demonstration, again an exemplar exhibition, of the configuration without the error – which is the correct version. In doing so the teacher/choreographer makes further recognizable – via difference – the properties of the correct configuration. This format is usually positioned after the error (the case of common errors foreseen, so to speak, by the teacher excluded), and generally enacted when dealing with the "how" to perform.

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3.2.3 When: correction's sequential positioning

When does the teacher/choreographer perform correction-moves? During or after the execution? It mainly depends on the content and the consequently necessary modality/ies of the correction (Table 2). As I said, "how" to perform often calls for a demonstration by the teacher/choreographer; this requires time, so that the correction-move is generally positioned at the end of the execution. However, sometimes there is an interruption.

	VERBAL	**BODILY**
DURING	Intratext: in the interstices of "keeping tempo" and "saying the sequence"	Giving cues: often with hands/arms that pantomime feet/legs movements
	Predominance of "what" and "when" corrections	
INTERRUPTION	Accompaniment to "re-demonstration"	"Re-demonstration"
AFTER	- Discursive comment: more frequent after "nonstop" and "general" rehearsals - Accompaniment to "re-demonstration" or to material "adjustment"	- "Re-demonstration" - Material "adjustment" of (part/s of) the bodies
	Predominance of "how" and "dancing together" corrections	

Table 2: Other-initiated correction-moves' sequential positioning and modality

When does an other-initiated correction involve an interruption? It partially depends on what is the purpose, the desired outcome, of the execution (e.g. "nonstop" or "general" rehearsals vs. "cleaning" rehearsals), but it mainly depends on the kind of error, the outcome of the error, and who makes the latter. Interruptions, in fact, are more likely to occur when the designed and desired outcome of the exercise/performance is compromised by the error, either because dancers do not "remember" the sequence, that is the "what" and "when" to perform, or because the error undermines the exercise as such. See the following fieldnotes excerpt.

We perform each sequence at the bar with the right leg first and then the left one. Usually,

after execution with the right one, Roberta corrects us, she "re-demonstrates" a determinate movement and/or underlines some of its properties. Sometimes this also happens at the beginning of the execution with the right leg: in fact, a) if and when there are gross errors and/or errors that invalidate the outcome of the exercise as such (that is, by making the error the pupil does not do what s/he should have in order to exercise her/himself and, thus, the exercise does not reach its purpose) or b) if and when the teacher noticed that many of us do not "remember" the sequence and, therefore, do not have the chance of executing it (neither correctly nor incorrectly), then she interrupts our execution, turns the music off, and, before making us start again, she corrects, "re-demonstrates" and/or verbally repeats the sequence underlining its *ratio*. [08-01-22 OP]

This points to the fact that, from members' point of view, there are some characteristics of the movement that are considered essential; if absent, a determinate movement comes distorted into something else.

A second dimension affecting the occurrence of interruptions – and a one applying to the lesson context more than the rehearsals one – concerns who makes the error. Interruptions, in fact, are more frequent when the error has been made by many dancers (so that we will have a collective correction), but also when one or more of the best dancers in the group make/s the error.

We stay "at the centre" for the *plié* study-sequence, which we perform under the teacher's gaze. But, reached less than 1/3 of the sequence, we are uncertain about what to do and we consequently make errors. Roberta asks us to start again from the beginning and says: «Let's play a game: every time you make a mistake, we start over». Actually, during the second execution, some of us make errors, but the teacher, though signaling them, does not make us start again and says «I pretend I didn't see». This is not about scarce time. The point is how many and *which* pupils make the error: in fact, the first time I, V. and F. were

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uncertain, and so were the other girls too, since they usually "copy" from us (Roberta well knows that, we've also talked about it). In the second case, instead, we three have correctly executed the sequence, while some of the others have lost themselves for a moment, in a manner of speaking – and this is not unusual for the considered pupils – but they have quickly straightened themselves out, so to speak, by "copying" from us. [07-12-19 OP]

3.2.4 To whom: correction's designed recipient(s)

The last issue regards corrections' designed recipient(s). In the dance practice room individual corrections mostly work as collective ones: in fact, they usually lead – and are supposed to lead – to self-evaluation and self-initiated correction by the pupils to whom the other-initiated correction was not explicitly addressed. Consider the following example:

Roberta positions herself "at the centre" and starts explaining two different jumps [...] She shows their segmentation, both verbally and bodily, then she demonstrates them in their wholeness and fluidity. She finally asks us to practice them, each of us on her own. While we are doing so, she walks among us for correcting and prompting. In this situation, individual corrections count as collective. One can see that from the <u>body itself of the dancers, as they "adjust" it and correct themselves almost in unison</u> in the attempt to put into practice the suggestion/correction that the teacher is directing towards another dancer. [08-02-19 OP]

This an implicit rather well established norm in dance community, which usually practitioners well know. As you can see from the following excerpt, if that is not the case, it becomes necessary to make it explicit.

While the first group is performing, the girls of the second group try some movements at the back of the room. At the end of the execution, the teacher corrects. The second group,

instead, comes immediately interrupted: «No, come on! You must understand which is the leg that brings you. I've just explained it to her. If you listen when I correct the others, then you'll avoid to make the same error. Come on, again!». [07-03-05 OS]

There are at least three main implications that we can draw from the above presented examples. First, mimesis, self-evaluation and self-correction may also derive from other-initiated corrections directed towards other practitioners instead of oneself. Second, the desired outcome of an other-initiated, individual correction is also constituted, even if not explicitly, by a self-initiated correction by other members of the group. Third, thanks to the presence of the mirror, even the self-initiated correction of a practitioner may sometimes result in the self-initiated correction of another one.

Such a "panoptical" organization of evaluation and correction in the dance practice room, we could argue, is able to provide practitioners with instructions as well as instructed actions [cfr. Garfinkel, 2002] – the latter being those of the teacher/choreographer who demonstrates (self-instructed actions, so to speak), those of the other dancers, but also, thanks to the mirror, one's own actions – to witness and reciprocally compare.

4. Performative vs. theoretical learning: a tentative framework

To conclude, summarize, and try to enlarge the point of view in the light of future research, I propose a tentative framework for comparing performative learning to theoretical one (Table 3). A part from the shape and purpose, or desired outcome, of the learning process, such a comparison is based on the macro-dimensions that I have addressed in this paper: evaluation and correction. Holding, on the one hand, the detailed analysis of the dance case

as an exemplum of performative practical learning, on the other hand, I tried to exploit my own experience in (higher) education – both as a student and as a teacher – and contrast it with the former in the attempt to extrapolate via difference some of the characteristics of theoretical, propositional learning.

	PERFORMATIVE LEARNING	THEORETICAL LEARNING
PROCESS		
"SHAPE"	Spiral-shape	Linear, juxtapositional
DESIRED OUTCOME	Leading to embodiment	Leading to acquisition
EVALUATION/CONTROL		
DURING/AFTER LEARNING	Action, learning and (self- and other-)evaluation are mostly co-occurrent	Learning is supposed to take place before other-evaluation
"MARK" OF UNDERSTANDING	Performative capability, or correct (and repeated) practical doing	Propositional ability, or repetition and elaborations of "propositional facts"
TERMS OF COMPARISON	What is established as correct Teacher's moving body Co-practitioners' moving bodies	What is established as correct Teacher's propositions Text(book)s' propositions
ERRORS' RECOGNITION	Other- and Self-recognition Encouragement and specific training towards self-recognition	Mostly other-recognition (in dedicated *frames*) Training in recognition of others' errors
CORRECTIONS		
AGENT	Other- and Self-initiated	Mostly other-initiated
CONTENT	What, when, where, how to do (and to do it together)	What, as "a knowledge that can be brandished"
MODALITY	Mostly multimodal: talk, gesture, bodily conduct, bodily performance	Mostly verbal (plus gesture and bodily conduct)
POSITIONING	During, after or interrupting performance	After evaluation
RECIPIENT	Collective and individual corrections Individual corrections often work as collective ones	Mostly individual corrections Individual corrections sometimes work as collective ones
OUTCOME	Self-correction: the answer to other-initiated correction sequences is anyway a self-corrected performance	Self- and other-correction: preference for self-correction after other-initiations, but the answer to other-correction is "I see"
TYPICAL FORMAT	e.g. dichotomic differential demonstration, body-to-body	e.g. (tacit) signal of error as an offer for self-repair in question answering

Table 3: Performative vs. theoretical learning

It is important to bear in mind that we are talking about a *continuum* instead of a dichotomy (think for example to language learning/acquisition[4]). Nevertheless, I think that an analytical comparison might be useful, and a fruitful research direction.

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4 It is not a case that we use this two, interchangeable word referring to literacy and, especially, talking

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