ACCELERATION, DECELERATION, SONIC TORTURE AND INERTIA: TEMPORALITIES OF A FOOTBALL MATCH

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ABSTRACT

This essay explores the time relations in a football match and intends to evidence how controlling the passage of time and the changes in the progress of a match – which introduces rhythmic transformations from events and actions on the match, both by the players and the crowd, by means of the sound – play a fundamental part on the results of that match. This work is derived from a research that aims at comprehending how the crowd and the match are mutually constructed within the football spectacle by means of sonic manipulations that are absorbed as technical interferences between different agents. In this essay, four techniques will be discussed and explored: acceleration, deceleration, inertia and sonic torture. All observations were made through field work in Atletico Mineiro Football Club matches between 2008 and 2015, in the Independencia and Mineirao stadiums, in Belo Horizonte.

Keywords

Acceleration; deceleration; football; inertia; sonic techniques; sonic torture

Resumo

Este artigo explora as relações temporais da disputa futebolística, buscando evidenciar como o controle da passagem do tempo e das mudanças de andamento da partida — o que introduz transformações rítmicas a partir de eventos e lances do jogo — tanto por parte dos jogadores quanto da torcida por meio do som são fundamentais para a constituição do resultado esportivo. A pesquisa da qual parte o trabalho visa compreender como torcida e jogo constroem-se mutuamente no espetáculo futebolístico por meio da manipulação de sonoridades, compreendidas como mediações técnicas entre corpos diferentes. Aqui, quatro destas técnicas são delimitadas e exploradas: a aceleração, a desaceleração, a inércia e a tortura sônica. As observações partem de trabalho de campo realizado em partidas do Clube Atlético Mineiro, entre 2008 e 2015, nos Estádios Independência e Mineirão, em Belo Horizonte.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Aceleração; desaceleração; futebol; inércia; técnicas sônicas; tortura sônica

Introduction

Should the crowd sing in unison throughout the match or burst into intense noise and chants every time the team has a good chance to score? What scream, watchword or song should be chanted in each situation on a match? When should you applaud or comment on a player or coach during the match? What about calling names on the judge? These are all controversies regarding what is the most appropriate means to root for your

team, gathered in field trips that included recordings of the sounds made on the stands and incited by the Atletico Mineiro supporters, also known as *Galo*, one of the biggest football clubs in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Brazil. A new methodology was developed for this work by recording the sounds of 21 matches disputed in various championships, such as Mineiro Championship, Brazil Championship, Libertadores da America Championship and Sul Americana Cup. Three recorders with double stereo microphones were placed in different areas on the stands. Afterwards the recordings were synchronized between themselves and with the radio narrative of that specific match, which allowed the correlation between the events of the dispute and the moments that the crowd chanted in unison or burst in reaction. As a background to this discussion, sports enthusiasts strongly believe that the power of their actions influences both the temporalities of a match and the players, through sounds chanted according to the events on the field. This way the crowd helps the athletes to win the match by triggering great or bad performances or by influencing tactical choices or time management strategies for the match and the space between the lines.

This essay presents four sonic techniques – practices and conventions for the use of sound that take advantage of the potential of its acoustic materiality in order to realize specific tasks – that are linked to the representation of temporalities on a football match, and therefore indispensable for conquering, building or managing results. During *acceleration*, strong rhythms accentuated by the strong pace of the *bumbos* played by the supporters' club', with rapid development, are used along with melodies of few notes shouted to impress velocity to the players on the field. Meanwhile, *deceleration* consists in slower rhythmical chanting with rhythmic emphasis during weak tempos, making tortuous melodies with the intention of decelerating the game action.

The continuity or interchangeability of such sonic transitions produces metric and marked rhythms on a more structural level of the match, highlighting temporal transformations that are crucial for the construction or preservation of the results. Thus, in *inertia*, the constant flow of unrelenting chanting from the crowd can be translated as a relentless attitude from the players in playing offensive or defensive, disarming the opponents. Whereas the *sonic torture* is manifested by unexpected and sudden abrupt sounds produced on a specific and pivotal moment of the match when the opponent is already struggling, and it takes advantage of the reverberant stadium architecture. This technique is intended to deflate the passion of the opponent, increasing their lethargy during an unfavorable moment, similar to what Cuisick describes about the fact that "*music plays an important* role in the interrogation of detainees in the war on terror" (2006, p. 2).

These sonic techniques are profoundly connected to what happens on the field during the match, in a manner that it is deemed necessary to perform in exact ways the music repertoires appropriate to the evolution of the match. This essay identifies a variety of temporalities on a match and sports season that are interconnected and outlined

^{&#}x27;Supporters' clubs are groups of fans of a football team and are the closest thing Brazilian fans have to the European *Ultras*. However, they have a distinct form of social organization since their structure obeys to a high hierarchy, demands formal membership from its members and they manage headquarters. The most relevant Brazilian teams usually have the support from more than one supporters' club and they frequently confront each other for resources like free tickets to the matches.

by the sonorities used in accordance to the movement of players during the match. Such dynamics between the cheering practices and the evolution of a match characterize a knowledge which supporters incorporate on how to listen, chant and watch to sports. From the experience acquired throughout years of presence in the stadiums, the crowd learns how to emulate the sounds and develops forms to interfere on the dispute by means of sounds. In this manner, this essay identifies, in the midst of the apparently undefined sea of voices from the stands, the sonic cultures that are created, accessed and transmitted in the heat of sports dispute.

TEMPORALITIES IN FOOTBALL AND SOUND

Two halves with 45 minute each and a 15-minute half-time break. Plus one to five minutes additional time for each half to make an allowance for the times the match was interrupted. Annual seasons with tournaments spread throughout the months with a variety of rules. In each regulation, the sequence of results can be more defining: consecutive wins, or their lack thereof, in the right moment can leverage both a victorious or a failed campaign in the course of a round-robin tournament, whereas the administration of results is crucial for championships that have elimination rounds. Such seasonality infers value to a match: it can be worth an outstanding position in the rank or a title or it may be merely a form of complying with sporting spirit if the champion has already been settled. These are examples of temporalities with which the players are required to deal with frequently in the football practice. It is an evidence of how fundamental it is to appropriately manage the timing of a match in order for teams to win and conquer championships.

Different studies focus on the temporal dimension in the practice of sports, whether in relation to the various forms of timing and their implications in efficiency, progress and dynamic in the actions of athletes during the dispute (Wisnik, 2008), or to the different notions of perception in the passing of time on its own form and spectatorship, according to the confrontation in sports in general (Gumbrecht, 2007) or specifically in football (Franco Junior, 2007), or in the extent of how the mass media handles those distinct temporal regimes (Telles, 2014; Telles & Silva, 2014). By means of analysis on this subject, it is possible to notice at least three angles to which the temporality dynamics are articulated in football: the duration of the dispute and the events of the match; the actions of the characters on the field – players, coaches, supporters, referees – and the sequence and relevance of the matches in a season.

Primarily, the extended duration of each half on a match and the fact that the chronometer is not interrupted when the game is disrupted creates a dynamic of urgency and idleness that transcends the physical conditioning necessary to the practice of sports, and that becomes a crucial matter for the construction of strategies and game tactics for a team (Wismik, 2008). For that reason, control of ball possession frequently serves as a parameter to measure the actions by a team in a journalistic review: keeping the ball for a long period of time is evidence of a better performance, since this approach reduces the risk of conceding a goal and increases the chance of scoring one.

This behavior also shapes different attitudes from the teams during the match according to what happens on the field. A tight marking on the first 15 minutes or exchanging passes and analyzing your opponent during that same period, in order to learn the right moment to advance. Keeping pressure after scoring a goal or backing up and waiting for a chance to surprise your opponent's defense with a counter-attack. Wasting time in the final minutes when there is a satisfying result by playing the ball on the opposite field or through catimba2, or aiming desperately for the attack, including high balls in the area, when striving for victory is imperative. Such forms of time management on a match outline the game tactics that distinguish not only the style for local and national teams (Gumbrecht, 2014), but also historical periods in football and its respective predominant positions by athletes on the field (Wilson, 2008). This subject could be deepened by indicating the articulations between the increase in velocity on the match, the necessity for close marking that was a characteristic for this sport during the 1990s and the 4-4-2 and 3-5-2 schemes, or the most contemporary tactics for ball possession through exchanging ball using 4-1-4-1 or 4-3-2-13 (Almeida, Lauria & Lima, 2016). The variety and articulation of temporalities is in the microstructural level of the match, and proposes innumerous temporal perceptions and reactions for each agent involved on the match. On one side, Hilario Franco Junior (2007) emphasizes that each tactical function in football deals with distinctive discursive timings: while defense happens on conditional mode, as it tries to anticipate the actions of the opponent, creating plays deals with the future, in the sense that it tries to create possibilities for a goal to be scored, defining the match. And the attack happens in present mode, trying to accomplish those virtualities whenever a chance appears. The fields of study for motricity aims at evaluating such questions in the level of specific movements and game guidelines (Travassos, Monteiro, Duarte & Marques, 2015), in order to access the efficiency of certain game guidelines.

Coaches, supporters and officials deal all the time with past, present and future. The latter not only have to take immediate decisions without getting flustered and considering resolutions previously made on similar matches, but also have to directly intervene on the acceleration and evolution of the match, according to their own criteria. For example, regarding fouls: should every physical contact between players be punished or should the match continue freely? The coaches are responsible for analyzing, match by match, the recent history of performances from their opponent, as well as evaluating their initial choices, in order to be able to interfere in the course of actions during the dispute and to make corrections contemplating a possible victory. Finally, the supporters not only get involved on their usual rivalry and mocking towards the opponent, taking

² Editor's note: *catimba* is a Brazilian word used in sports contexts to designate an anti-sportive play (i.e. wasting unnecessary time during a match).

³ One way of expressing the positions and the distribution of players on the field – which establishes the tactical scheme – is through numbers separated by hyphens. Each number represents the number of players positioned on a section on the field, whether it is defense, centre forward or attack. The goalkeeper is excluded from this, since it is assumed that he is always the last player. This way, 4-4-2 represents that there is four players on the defense, four on the centre forward and two on the attack. In 4-2-3-1 – a modern variation of the 4-3-3 – the centre line is subdivided into two sections - the centre defensive and the centre attack. Thus, in this tactical scheme there are four defenders, two defensive midfielders, three offensive midfielders and one centre forward.

previous encounters into consideration, but they also take actions during the match in an attempt of warning the players about possible moves or foreseeing future moves hoping they become real, and they also use sound to punish potential mistakes from the players on their beloved team or to mock mistakes made by their opponent. We need to highlight the temporal perception that can both be compressed and distended for every football character, according to crucial moments of the match (Gumbercht, 2007), such as a decisive penalty or the last minutes of a match on a tournament final.

But football also has durations that go further than the period of a single match. Multiple times the winning team at the final of a tournament is the one with the most regular performances at each match or the one that wins disputes with direct opponents when competing for the title, instead of the team with the greater or most beautiful performance on specific matches. Thus, the sequence of results creates moments and periods of euphoria for the teams and their supporters, who take advantage of the excitement provided by that moment of joy to maintain a great performance. So much so that the teams that are usually crowned champions on a round-robin tournaments are exactly the ones that can pull more than one series of victories in a row, alternating with few ties and losses. This dynamic even influences the number of supporters that go to the stadium to watch the matches and their attitude towards the players. Ergo, a series of losses, depending on the moment in the championship, can induce protests for a bad performance on the field in the early stages of a tournament or it can contribute to a sold-out stadium in an attempt to interrupt a series of misfortunes and pull the team from the potential drop zone.

Greater than the diverse temporal qualities established by those dynamics, the highlight of this essay is that such diversification and articulation of temporalities can generate different rhythms for the football practice. Beyond the idea of long and short rhythms that Franco Junior (2007) refers to, we are interested in the capacity for each player to roll, synchronize and harmonize the bodies of the people involved in the game, as well as the role that a pause, an interruption or a change may have in transforming the progress of a match.

Henri Lefebvre (2013) emphasizes that the rhythms are created from repetitions and contrasts that determine measures and frequencies in which the events reappear or diverge. The author tries to perceive in which ways social life is imprinted by or affects the subjects, starting from the articulated repetitions and differences on the rhythm of society, exploring, for example, how military rhythms input discipline in the army, how contemporary media outflow makes people get used to the immediacy on a daily basis or how variations on the ocean tides or seas imply a more or less intense urban life in European cities by the Mediterranean or the Atlantic Ocean.

Lefebvre (2013) notices the rhythm as a manipulation of time and space in a manner that the impactful social changes produced by the revolutions are directly linked to the rhythmic transformations in which a previous pulse is substituted by a new one, which should be incorporated by the agents involved in it. It is believed that this perspective can be of great value to this study, since it opens a gap to analyzing how the progress of a match, a

championship or a season can be changed. After all, a defender can only run to attack to surprise his adversary and score a goal if he changes the necessary temporal registry for the performance in each position. The coach has a greater understanding of his role in the match if he chooses an unexpected lineup or makes a substitution that alters the rhythm of the team or the match. And even the supporters play a defining role by varying the chants that influence the cadency of players or by breaking into intense chaotic noise that may confuse a tough opponent which was uncertain after a defining moment. This interconnection between the noises from the stands and the performance from the players seems to find a link to the temporal aspects that usually define sonority. After all, one of its definitions is based upon the ondulatory nature which derives from vibrational aspects that cause its periodicity, i.e. the repetition of specific movements in specific times. Thus, a wide range of vocabulary which is used to describe said sonorities – sharp, medium, low, fast, rhythmic, intense, etc. – refers to the audio frequencies. This acoustic parameter not only defines the period in time during which repetitions of silence and reduced and increased pressure occur from the journey of sound, but also the acceleration and hiatus with which different reverberations happen or are repeated in a specific period of time. In this sense, the creation of melodies, progress and rhythms are a form of manipulating temporal possibilities from the world of sounds.

Those shapes of sound appear in our social life beyond music and dancing, defining body movements on a series of social practices. Tia DeNora (2000), with an ethnographic study on the daily uses of music, demonstrates how this cultural representation is used to measure a number of basic activities, including practicing sports. With a field work in aerobic gymnastics classes, this researcher studied how the appropriate choice and concatenation of musical pieces can drive and support the athletes during exercises, to the point that a wrongful choice of music by the instructor can harm the students' progress, not only in terms of choosing melodic, rhythmic and adequate *repertoires* for each moment of the presentation, but also its proper sequencing. This way a gymnastics class always wraps up with a sequence of slow movements in order to follow the relaxing moment. The class usually begins with a faster rhythm than it ends; the rhythm is intense up to the half of the class, when high impact exercises take place, and then it slows down again. Metronymic and marked rhythms and simple and ethereal melodies set the pace for the class. "Music here is a medium of describing 'how' – how to move, how to think, how to include, how to begin, how to end, how to mingle" (DeNora, 2000, p. 93).

SOUND AND AGENCY: SONIC TECHNIQUES

Sonic techniques are rules and conventions for the use of sound that take advantage from potentialities that exist in its acoustic applicability, in order to perform certain tasks. Sonorities have specific characteristics or parameters such as intensity (volume), frequency (rhythms, melodies, duration, progress and tones) and spatiality (reverberation, direction, range) that stimulate its appropriation when composing certain tasks and with different sensibilities. The sound agency is constituted by manipulating all the

acoustic parameters of audible events simultaneously. Thus, instead of asking about the significance of sound, this essay examines the possibilities of it. This same line of work guides the work of Tia DeNora, who mapped the common uses of music by subjects with the intention of achieving specific goals, such as mediating social interactions, autocontrolling affection, composing subjectivity, rejecting risks and "insinuating and inspiring faith" (DeNora, 2000). In this sense, the author perceives music as a technology, as musical vibrations imply a shared agency between music and its users that manipulate it as a device: not even sound is capable on its own of producing specific effects and music cannot be randomly accessed when trying to achieve the results expected by its creation.

This research proposes a pragmatism of the sound with the intent of investigating how football fans manipulate the acoustic parameters for sound vibrations in order to obtain desired intentions. When analyzing their way of exploiting certain rhythms and melodies, the percussion of specific objects, the situations and intentions when supporters scream intensely, in different tones and prosodies, or how they take advantage of their local acoustic settings, it is possible to establish a *repertoire* (Faukner & Becker, 2009) of sonic techniques that create sports as a spectacle. This can help understanding the power of the sound applied by the supporters to trigger the acceleration and deceleration of actions and/or the maintenance and changes in velocity and rhythm for a team during the match.

The idea that sonorities have potential and agency implies a duality of the audible world that can be perceived as a text that produces meanings or as a force that acts directly on the bodies of agents. Martin Daughtry points out a study on the sounds of war, in which he highlights that "these and other sensory stimuli assault adrenalineinfused bodies, creating extreme affective states of intensity and vulnerability, stimulation and abjection, aggression and fear" (2014, p. 25). The author discusses that the double standard for strength and meaning from the sound vibrations creates gnostic or cognitive and drastic or haptic receptions. Consequently, besides producing meanings, the world of sound also causes impact on the bodies, since sound creates shape when occupying an area equivalent to the space where it has been heard; it has a mass since it builds pressure on the skin with an interface between the audible and the tactile, especially when it comes to low frequencies; it also presents both directionality - with a target – and omnidirectionality – coming back to its transmitter. That which sounds always assumes it has a listener who vibrates with empathy, according to what is established by the sounds in question and also with the bodily disposition of the subjects immersed in a culture. In this sense, sounding - as producing sounds - is also listening and capturing it; the sound event perceived as a unique entity is, actually, "a symphony of dispersed sympathetic vibrations" (Daughtry, 2015, p. 164).

In extremely sensitive and audible contexts, such as wars with sudden and very intense noises in the middle of the silence of a battle field, or sports events where crowds produce an intense and unrelenting sonority, those haptic properties take advantage regarding the cognitive aspect of the sound, once they are "directed onto bodies that reveal themselves as frail, as vulnerable to the violence with which they resonate" (Daughtry,

2014, p. 32). In these situations, the sound possesses the body, making its agents capable of losing rationality and modulating their actions according to what is shaped by their acoustic characteristics. This state of audible exasperation activates the memory and can possibly reappear in the future, when similar sounds are received again. Thinking about sonorities in these terms points us to a theoretical chart that handles sound as affection, in which bodies imprint and are imprinted with the effects coming from kinships that happen between the physicochemical, biologic and cultural spaces. Thus, sonorities conform themselves as an "acoustic entry into affective fields" (Thompson & Biddle, 2013, p. 16). When submitted to such conditions for long periods of time, the bodies develop

sophisticated listening skills (...) enabled service members and civilians alike to engage in a kind of culturally and topographically inflected hermeneutics (...) In this sense, ambient sound served as a profoundly democratic source of tactical information for those who had the skill to decode it. (Daughtry, 2014, p. 26)

Acquiring decoding abilities and thus taming the forces of sound in order to redirect them by means of sonic techniques, bearing certain purposes in mind, is a process of pedagogy and sensitive understanding that is not systematized when it comes to football. There is no book, workshop or course where people can learn about how to support their team. It is acquired knowledge by means of extensive experience in watching football matches where fans learn the sonic actions they are supposed to engage in, the correct timing each sound is required and which acoustic aspects should be employed in this agency for each situation. Therefore, they are usually engaged by supporters at the stadium in the heat of the moment, and that makes it difficult to correlate a functional rationality to every action.

In order to acquire these abilities, it is essential for every individual to find a perfect harmony with the match, when their attention is synchronized with the "presence of something that is present", creating an aesthetic perception that "supports the consciousness (which is deeply welcoming to abstractions, anticipations and flashbacks) through periods of an intense appeal to presence" (Seel, 2014, pp. 26-27). Such connection is linked to a perceptive state of embodied attention, usually "non-proposital, noncognitive, creaturely orientation and expectancy towards the physical environment" (De-Nora, 2000, p. 84) and that intimately enhances abilities to visually perceive the tactics and strategies for the match, to anticipate possible moves from the players, to listen to chants, rhythms, screams and watchwords emanated by the public and to act according to or against this perceptive data.

ACCELERATION AND DECELERATION

The first two sonic techniques that concatenate the temporal dimensions of football matches and sonorities proposed in this article are acceleration and deceleration. In the first one, rapid and marked rhythms, with accents on the strong beats of the drums played by the supporters' club, are used in conjunction with shouted melodies of few notes to encourage a fast speed to the team on the field.

Meanwhile, the second one consists of accessing slower and more cadenced songs, whose rhythmic *crescendos* also fall into weak times, packing longer and winding melodies in order to slow down the actions in the match. It is important to notice that the instrument used to build metric to these rhythms is low tuned, which is the part of the audible spectrum better perceived by the skin; this emphasizes the haptic aspects of these dynamics.

Some songs used to accelerate the crowd of Clube Atlético Mineiro, object of investigation of this essay in a research conducted between 2008 and 2016⁴, are: *Go get them, Galô; Let's win the [name of the championshop]and let's go, let's go Galo; Atlético Mineiro, and go, go Galo; Ole, ole, ole and Galo is the winning team.* All these musical pieces are composed of few verses and very similar melodies that employ few notes. The parody for the carnival song *Mulata bossa nova* also triggers acceleration and is chanted one or two times at full force, frequently when the *Galo* almost scores a goal. For deceleration are often used well-known songs and themes, such as *Valeu a pena* by O Rappa, a band from Rio de Janeiro; *Samba rock do Molejão*, by an homonymous *pagode* group; a parody for *Mas que nada*, by Jorge Ben Jor; the soundtrack to *The bridge on the river Kwai*; and the popular North-American song *When the saints go marching in*. While only the chorus of the foreign songs are chanted, the national ones are sung in completion and not more than two times in a row.

During the field work in Independencia and Mineirao stadiums, it was noticed that the acceleration technique is always used at the beginning of the match, especially when a specific number of scores is necessary to guarantee classification during matches for eliminatory rounds in championships. It is also used when the visiting team opens the scoring. In these occasions, the supporters always respond by chanting Galo is the winning team, composed by four simples verses, two of each constituted simply by onomatopoeias. Other similar songs are chanted with the intention of maintaining a fast pace on the match up to the point when Atletico turns the scoring to their favour. An example of this dynamic took place in a match against Independente Santa Fe, from Colombia, that occurred on February 12th 2014, for the classification round on that year's Libertadores Cup. On that occasion, the Colombians were the first to score and the supporters responded to this adversity with rapid rhythms and simple melodies until the score turned on their favour, by the end of the match. At this moment, everyone on the stands were chanting Valeu a pena whilst making their way out of the stadium, marking a deceleration after an intense acceleration. The other parodies quoted before are also used during the matches when the scoring is already established, which means that they have conquered an advantage that guarantees an easy victory against their opponent, ergo the actions on the field don't prompt that same interest from supporters. We still record the use of this technique in cases where the game is heading towards its end and the opponent does not seem to have the breath to change the result. In such moments, it often becomes

⁴ A definition and an analysis on the methodological procedures of this research can be found on Marra, 2015.

necessary to slow down the actions of the opponent who still seeks a minor disadvantage or a draw.

The control of the speed of the game, and therefore of the temporal dimensions of football matches by means of slow or fast sonorities, seems to be intimately coupled with the game strategies adopted by Atletico Mineiro during the period of analysis. Between 2012 and 2016, the board of directors of the club managed to maintain the base of players, and with that, established a pattern of game based on the scheme 4-2-3-1, in which it tries to always keep the possession of ball in the opponent field in search of the attack, either by means of the exchange of passes and movement, or by means of high balls in the area or long passes by the defense directly to the attack, that will be disputed by a strong and tall centre-forward who will pass it to a point of speed that penetrates in the diagonal. If such a stance on the pitch is intended to stifle the opponent, forcing him to stay in the defense, he shows the weakness of having a very advanced defense, which increases the distance between the last line of defenders and the goalkeeper, thus offering the counterattack to the opponent. The antidote to this Achilles heel is the rapid rebuilding of the defense, which does not always happen efficiently. It is in this sense that a great speed is needed at the beginning of the dispute: a favorable score quickly built allows the Atletico team to exploit the counterattack and thus maintain the built advantage. With a victory assured, the deceleration is used to make the team more relaxed regarding the offensive actions, and consequently less exposed on the defense, as this is one of the weaknesses of the chosen tactical scheme.

INERTIA AND SONIC TORTURE

If acceleration and deceleration are effective techniques connected to specific moments of the match on a synchronic axis, on a longer and diachronic temporal clipping, the repetition of fast and slow states outlines one other sonic technique: the inertia. In this way of expressing support for the team, the fans try to sing incessantly as long as possible – reaching the unison at times – thus keeping in motion in the same direction, until an unexpected event in the match causes them to change their attitude. The analogy here is with the principle ruling the first law of dynamics and which establishes that bodies tend to stand still or in motion, unless the balance of forces acting on it is undone, which initiates a trajectory, changes its direction or ceases altogether. The intention is to produce a kind of trance, which packs the team into an offensive and agile attitude – or defensive and slow, if it is to suffer the pressure from the opponent. The fans, in this sense, try to keep their breaths on their sonic emissions in order to, at the same time, "lend" it to the athletes in the field and "withdraw" it from the opponent. Cornered by the actions of the leader and by the audible persistence of the public, the visitor presents difficulties to breathe, succumbing metaphorically by asphyxia if the technique is successful.

In the vast majority of matches recorded in the field work, the inertia used at the beginning of the game had an accelerating character, especially in the way the sonic technique is used by Galoucura, the main supporters' club for Galo. When the team comes on the pitch, supporters traditionally chant the anthem and then yell or sing verses with the names of the

players. Other very popular songs among the lovers of the team from Minas Gerais at the moment are those that denote the territorial domain of the Independencia stadium, like *Vou ficar de arquibancada pra sentir mais emoção* (I'll watch from the stands to feel the emotion). After the initial whistle, the stands start the acceleration process described above and the organized fans start the melodies from the musical repertoire that make up the acceleration technique. The procedure lasts several minutes, or until an important event – a risky move, a goal, a controversial foul – happens on the field. Sometimes the rest of the bleachers enter into the trance suggested by prolonged repetition, echoing Galoucura.

The first 12 minutes of the match for the last 16 on the Brazilian Cup, between Mineiros and Palmeiras, in São Paulo, are a good example of these dynamics. On this occasion, the Galoucura sang only two verses during those 12 minutes: Vai pra cima deles, Galo (Go get them, Galo) and Dá-lhe, Galo (Go, Galo); the song Mulata bossa nova was chanted only one time, when Atletico was at risk of suffering a goal from Palmeiras. At this moment, the alviverde supporters, who were in a small number, became loud on the alvinegro sector on the stands; they were there after a risky shot against Galo. And then it became crucial to chant out loud to silence the opponent. During the chanting, all sections broke into sound, like vibrations, curses, booing, cheering, comments, watchwords and complaints. From time to time, the stands would synchronize with the sounds coming from the supporters' club, which is always heard, even if on the background, from all sections, and suddenly a goal was scored from a corner. Inertia plays its part, insisting with acceleration up to the moment when the goal was scored. Then a celebratory deafening pandemonium broke out; the recorders did not support the intensity of it and the log got distorted. The instruments stopped playing and a sound mass could be heard with individually disorganized screams and vibrations, creating an imprecise sea of voices. Fifteen seconds later, the Galoucura reorganizes and chants the watchword Uh uhu, it's Galoucura followed by the team anthem, which is always chanted through the stands after a goal. By the end, as usual, the supporters chant Galôoo with a gospel melodic harmony from When the Saints go marching in. The goal, in this sense, marks a break in the temporal flow of both the match and the sounds emitted by the stands, instituting an event that changes its tempo and constituting, therefore, a rhythm. Thus, inertia articulates sonic torture, which in the case of football consists of intense and momentary sound production in key moments of the game, such as when the ball hits the goalpost, the opponent goalkeeper makes a difficult defense in a sequence of corner kicks, or in case of a charge of dangerous foul. Sonic torture sometimes manifests itself in disjointed manners in shouts, howls, beats on percussion instruments and objects from the stadium, such as chairs, bars and supporting beams, that result in a disorganized and deafening babble; on other occasions in unison, chanting brief motivational songs or watchwords easily recognizable by the stands. The term is borrowed from the work of Suzanne Cuisick (2006) who investigates the ways in which music and sound are used as weapons or in practices that are considered torture because they violate international human rights protocols, such as interrogation of prisoners of war in North American counter-terrorism efforts. In the latter, agents are subjected to long exposure to musical

material described as irritating or offensive, in high intensity and in unfavorable environmental conditions, such as dark and damp rooms, producing a form of torture without direct contact — and therefore without leaving visible marks — which is more effective at inducing psychological states of sensory disorientation and ego breakdown than, for example, deprivation of sleep and food, or physical violence. In the case of football, the unexpected, disruptive and loud noise coming from the stands from events unfavorable to the opponent would impact their bodies and produce a state of neglect at moments when concentration is key to a good athletic performance. By contrast, the triumphant sonority of joyful howls, songs and victorious watchwords would inflate the egos of the athletes from the supported team, increasing their momentum and even anticipating the intended success in the next play.

The timing of the goal, therefore, exemplifies as much as possible the technique of sonic torture. Recapturing the previous match report between Galo and Palmeiras we notice how the strategy takes effect in the sequence of the match. The euphoria of the public is contagious to the Atletico players and ends up defeating Palmeiras — who already needed a victory away from home to qualify for the next phase: five minutes after the first goal, Atletico scores for the second time, settling the confrontation.

From there, the stands launch until the end of the dispute in an inertia of deceleration, chaining the slower, sinuous melodies and cadenced rhythms from the repertoire of this sonic technique. Figure 1 shows a visualization of the first 12 minutes of the match in question, evidencing these marks and rhythm breaks introduced in the soundflow of the match by high intensity sonic torture.

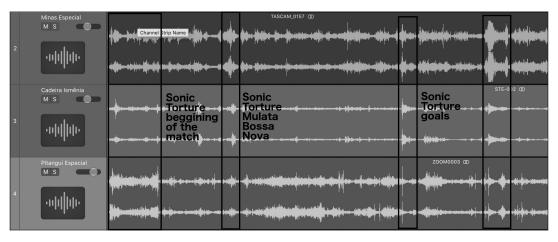


Figure 1: Waves from the first 12 minutes of recording from the match Atletico x Palmeiras. The rectangles show moments of sonic torture

Other examples of repertoires used in the dynamics of sonic torture are the shout of *Uhhhhh*, the intense vibrations and the song *Mulata bossa nova*, chanted when an attack goes near the goal, the ball hits the goalpost, or the referee makes a favorable decision to the Galo. In addition, curses and watchwords like *Hey [opponent player, institution or judge]*, *fuck you!* and *Faggot!* after an error from the opponent, referee or athlete from the beloved team, a chance of goal for the opponent, or when the rival goalkeeper tries a goal

kick are also chanted in order to trigger the same action. In the specific case of shouting faggot during the goal kick, a unison is produced that is not always easy to understand, but it has great intensity and defines a specific situation in the game flow. The result is a disruption of the audience's pitch, which introduces a rhythmic change in both the performance of the supporters and the athletes of the match. Not always this temporal break is beneficial to the Galo. The cry of "faggot" – which has become popular among fans throughout Brazil after being introduced in the country by Mexican fans during the 2014 World Cup – is reprehensible, for example, beyond its sexist and homophobic connotation. It rarely is effective in disrupting the opponent's throw-in, but almost always disarticulates the stands, producing a brief silence after its pronunciation. Resumption of inertia can then become difficult as the crowd finds themselves confused and finds it harder to decide what to sing. Table 1 summarizes the four sonic techniques worked on in this article, explaining the match situations, the acoustic characteristics of the sounds used and the repertoire of predominant songs.

Sonic Techniques	Period of the match	Acoustic charac- teristics from the sounds	REPERTOIRE OF PRE- DOMINANT SONGS
Acceleration	Beginning, after risky move, need to build, turn or main- tain a tight score while the opponent keeps pressuring	Rapid and marked rhythms (acento do surdo nos tempos fortes)	Go get them, Galô Let's win the [title of the dispute], and let's go, let's go, Galo, Atletico Mineiro, and go, go, Galo Galo is the winning team Parody of Mulata bossa nova
Deceleration	In the midst of matches with satisfying scores and number of goals, when in need to maintain the score, at the end of an easy match, when in need to slow the game down.	Cadenced and slow rhythms (surdo pontua tempos fracos ou contratempos)	Valeu a pena (O Rapa) Samba Rock do Molejão Parody of Mas que nada (Jorge Ben) Parody of the soundtrack The Bridge on the river Kwai Parody of the poupular theme When the saints go marching in
Inertia	During the flow of a match, between key moments of a dispute like goals, fouls, possible chan- ges in the score, etc.	Non-stop chanting of the songs that build the acceleration and decelera- tion repertoire, in order to trigger a state of trance.	Acceleration and deceleration repertoires, except Mulata bossa nova.
Sonic torture	Right after key moments of a match, like goals, fouls, possible chan- ges in the score, etc.	Brief chants, screams and other sonorities, with great intensity.	Screams like Uhhhhh, intense vibrations, Mulata bossa nova, curses and watchwords like Hey [opponent player, institution or referee], fuck you and Faggot

Table 1: Sonic techniques overview

The decisive factor in these temporal dynamics of a football match seems to be the perception of which is the most appropriate moment, or where it becomes necessary to introduce a rhythmic change. The game between the Galo and the Atlas of Mexico, valid for the qualifying rounds of the Copa Libertadores 2015, evidences this search to act on the events of the game by means of introducing transformations of progress through the alternation of the four sonic techniques. This match proved difficult, with the Mexicans demonstrating a defensive tactical strategy that prevented the *alvinegro* team from advancing. In addition,

the team from Minas Gerais had not yet demonstrated a satisfying performance in that year, which left the fans skeptical and anxious for a good result and performance. In the 30th minute of the first half, an attacker from Atletico risks a long distance kick that an opponent defender intercepts with the head. The deviation almost confuses the rival goalkeeper and the ball goes out dangerously in the bottom line, to the left of the goal. Predicting a decisive moment in the oncoming corner, Galoucura increases the intensity of the chant Atletico, we like you very much, heard by everybody on the stands, who started singing together in harmony. In addition, another supporters' group, Movement 105, stopped singing their verses Let's go, Galo, inspired by Argentinian music, and joined into the chanting from the supporters' club. Although the cross that follows is not well executed, crossing the entire area with no touches from any athlete and coming out again through the bottom line, the crowd remains singing intensely for a minute. The rhythmic change does not have the expected effect of maintaining the pressure on Atlas, who in sequence played forward and also got a corner. The public perceives the necessity of a new rhythmic change and tries to produce a new state of inertia, spending the next two minutes between boos and curses that configure sonic torture. The Movement 105 even brings back the Atletico, we like you very much chant, but with no success in spreading it throughout the stadium, since that moment of the match demanded a new tune.

This match against the Atlas demonstrates the importance of the rhythmic variation from the fans and the team so that they obtain their desired victory, evidencing a limited effectiveness of the techniques for acceleration, deceleration, inertia and sonic torture. The Mexicans defensive strategy stole the offensive momentum for Atletico during the 90 minutes of play, making it possible for the visitors to define the scoring on a goal for the team from Minas Gerais. The one-touch football in search for spaces for infiltration in the opponent defense produced few opportunities of goal, and with this a small number of opportunities of sonic torture. In addition, these rare moments of increased intensity – sonic and athletic performance – were not effective at impacting Atlas players and breaking the rival's defensive tactical scheme. Thus, the inertia of songs such as *Galloôô, let's go Galo, Go get them, Galo* and *Champions of Libertadores*, very persistent at the time, instead of suffocating the opponent, disturbed the Galo in their own domains.

FINAL REMARKS

In this article, we seek to explore the temporal relations of the football dispute, trying to evidence how the control of the passage of time and the changes in the progress of a match – which introduces rhythmic transformations from events and actions – both by players and the crowd are fundamental for the construction of the results of that match. In these dynamics, certain agents play specific roles, such as organized fans who assume the role of master of the stands and occupy a privileged role in proposing what the public should sing at each moment of the dispute. There is also evidence of negotiations and confrontations between organized disputing the sound of the stadium, since part of the effectiveness of the techniques for acceleration, deceleration, inertia and sonic torture

discussed here involves different potentialities from those collectives is engaging other supporters with their songs and, consequently, affections, values and desires, creating a unison that usually describes the performance of football fans in the stadium. In this process, cheering and playing complement each other in the football spectacle. Therefore, it is imperative that the agents – athletes, supporters, referees – involved in the sport practice develop a state of embodied attention obtained from an education of the senses introjected through the continuous experience in sports. Thus, these agents learn how to act according to the opportunity in order to achieve a goal, make good decisions or push their beloved team towards the.

Translation: Marianna La Vega

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