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Glossolalia: an ethnographic study of the rhetorical role of speaking in tongues in the creation of the pentecostal religious culture

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Kenneth Burke (1966) argued that we understand the behavior of an individual when we grasp the meanings informing that person's activity. Although not the first to recognize mental activity as more than a Cartesian set of fixed inner processes, Burke did advance the general approach to understanding meaning by placing its nature within human symbolism. He formulated the idea that meaning is the use to which we put our symbols; symbols, such as words and language, are given meaning within our discursive interactions. Burke showed that our daily lives are not rooted in texts or contemplative reflection, but instead are found and created in oral encounters and reciprocal speech (Shotter, 1993). We live our lives within the ambience of conversation, argumentation, and negotiation; discourses that position us within our perceived realities, our ways of knowing and legitimizing truth claims.

Choices, actions, and decisions are only understood within a given discourse. Discursive practices are the daily conversational and communicative interchanges between people that foster understanding and cultivate recognizable and meaningful episodes in social life. The study of human discourse takes on a rhetorical approach to social life in that it assumes that conversational behaviors are created by communicators to address positioned concerns and goals (Tracy, 1995). The communication choices of practitioners and the positions they take up become their discourse: a place in which one has consistently positioned himself or herself within a conversational reality and thus has taken up a kind of shared, common, ethical sensibility and way of knowing from that position (Chesebro, 1988; Shotter, 1993; Tracy, 1995). Commitment to that particular discourse

limits personal freedoms by choice but provides the individual with the attainment of abilities and opportunities they otherwise would not have. Although the discursive positions humans take up in their conversational realities are fleeting and ephemeral, and therefore cumbersome to study, their occurrence generates rhetorical products worthy of investigation. The rhetorical products of discourse are the agreed upon meanings established within the communicative interchange. By naming and giving meaning to the functions and outcomes of human social life, discourse becomes a rhetorical process. Chesebro (1988) argues this is because the dialectic nature of discourse functions as a way of knowing (epistemology) and as a way of being (ontology). He explains:

Rhetorical concepts and constructions enact environments, creating situations and shaping human attitudes and espouses to these events, simultaneously, rhetorical concepts and constructions must adequately, usefully, and wisely account for and accurately name the functions and relationships within environments. (p. 176)

Discourse places participants in a give-and-take exchange that generates meaning while positioning those participants into a chosen place of being.

Cultures are created out of the meanings generated through discourse as participants position themselves within places of knowing the world and being in the world in relation to their discursively created culture (Geertz 1973). It is here that ideas, beliefs, and ways of seeing the world are realized and contested. Geertz (1973) explains that, “a society’s culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members” (p. 11). The rhetorical process of giving culturally shared meanings to human actions takes place within discourse. Discourse then becomes a unique phenomenon of study in the investigation of how significant social life episodes are rhetorically generated within a culture.

The role of discourse, however, in rhetorically creating culture does intimate several significant questions: is acting in accordance with one's own moral and personal commitments a learned ability mastering the structures of one's activity according to one's discursive positionings? If so, do the positions we take up in a particular discourse place us in a predisposed reaction to the meanings derived from that discourse?

Described by believers, glossolalia is a spontaneous, divinely generated, spiritual experience beyond the control of the practitioner. The individual is "possessed" by the Holy Spirit of Jesus. The Pentecostal Church uses glossolalia as their foundation of spiritual faith and evidence of the validity of their belief. They believe glossolalia is a "language of God" and "communication with God" (Hine, 1969). The meaning given to glossolalia by Pentecostals is paramount to both personal and group religious experiences. Glossolalia is considered one of the most important physical manifestations of church belief and ideology.

Researched primarily as a ritualistic, Christian phenomenon, glossolalia or speaking in tongues has a discourse endemic to the different religious environments in which it is found. What is not understood is whether the discourse and other interactions contribute to its occurrence. Goodman (1972) asserts that glossolalia is an unusual speech behavior in contrast with natural language because it consists of nonsense syllables and sound segments that exhibit no attribution of shared understanding. She argues, however, that it has significant meaning to its practitioners. Glossolalia bears no resemblance to any known lexical form of language, but it is an institutionalized religious ritual found in many religious communities (Kildahl, 1972).

In the academic literature, however, glossolalia is characterized as a socially constructed, facilitated discursive by-product, with significant meaning for individual and group participants. The issue addressed here is whether the phenomenon can occur in an appropriate way without the affirmation of the discursive actions validated and accepted by the practitioners. Or, is glossolalia a powerful episode of emotional, spontaneous, ritual practiced for its appeal and affect under the guise of divine possession? In other words, “how does one do glossolalia” and why?

The purpose of this study is to investigate, through ethnographic research, the individual and group significance of speaking in tongues within the Pentecostal church service: What are the discursive positionings necessary for glossolalia? Does glossolalia symbolically help create the Pentecostal religious culture? What are the meanings of individual and group experiences of glossolalia?

To explore the significance of this phenomenon, this study outlines the background literature, theoretical arguments, and methodological approach necessary for the research. Rather than viewing glossolalia as a spiritual phenomenon, this inquiry examines the communicative function of glossolalia. How is glossolalia given meaning by its practitioners and what role does that shared meaning have in creating and affecting the culture of a Pentecostal church? An overview of the religious context of the Pentecostal church is presented followed by a description of Geertz’s ethnographic method used to position observance of glossolalia as an interpretive process. Then an ethnographic argument is explored and results are presented as constructed breakdowns. Interview material used to demonstrate and explain breakdown was selected from Tracy’s (1995) Action Implicative Discourse Analysis approach to interview data as speech act choices

and argumentation strategies. Implications of the investigation, contributions to the communication discipline, and research limitations are also discussed.

Research Problem

This dissertation investigates the individual and group experiences of glossolalia within the Pentecostal religion. Specifically, the study examines the discursive interactions and rhetorical impact of how this Pentecostal church gives meaning to the experience of glossolalia and the individual and group manifestations of their meanings. The question guiding this investigation is: What is the role of glossolalia in rhetorically creating the Pentecostal religious culture?

Significance

Conservative reactions to significant socioeconomic, scientific, and political changes are an inherent part of developing cultures (Geertz, 1990). Fundamentalists of the early 20th century, however, attempted to leave more than an indelible mark upon history. They waged all out war against scientific advancement, individualist ideologies, and secular thinking of all forms (Marty & Appleby, 1991). Out of the discourse of each battle came a newly created fundamentalist identity and agenda present today.

Pentecostals are one of the popular by-products of early 20th century fundamentalist Christian revivals. They believe in the same structures, and hold to the same agenda as Fundamentalists. Their most significant rhetorical similarity is that they exist in communities where the language they speak, the stories they tell and the discourses they limit themselves to, define who they are as individuals and as a group (Ammerman, 1991, ed. in Marty & Appleby, 1991). Shared by all Fundamentalists, including Pentecostals, are the following suppositions: 1) evangelism, the obligation to

proselytize their beliefs to those people not “saved” through belief in Jesus as the messiah and personal savior; 2) infallibility of scripture, the belief that the bible is to be interpreted “literally” and that literal interpretation is infallible, inspired by God, and only understood and therefore taught by trained male bible teachers; 3) premillennialism, the belief that the world is headed toward destruction and soon Jesus will return to take the “saved” to heaven and leave the sinners on earth to suffer during the tribulation; 4) separatism, the need for Christians to separate from non-Christians, the saved from the unsaved, in order to maintain the community, immerse one’s self into Fundamentalist teaching and discourse, and not be influenced by outside social factors. The additional belief held by Pentecostals is that glossolalia or speaking in tongues is considered one of the most important manifestations of their beliefs.

Pentecostalism began in the early part of the 20th century as a response to societal changes from agrarianism to industrialism. Pentecostalism offered a unique religious experience that touched the very core of human spiritualism -- the supernatural possession by God evidenced through glossolalia or speaking in tongues (Cox, 1995).

Anthropologists Hine and Gerlach (1969) argue that Pentecostalism uncovered and made acceptable as a Christian spiritual experience, a form of primal speech recorded throughout human history as a trance-like state with extremely positive emotional cleansing effects. Spiritual possession, prophesy, miracles, faith healing, infallibility of scripture, and glossolalia, create an incredible atmosphere of religious worship intent on the greatest form of empowerment -- a supernatural connection with God. Interestingly, however, the individuals drawn most to Pentecostalism have been the most disempowered members of society (Marsden, 1980).

The first adherents to Pentecostalism were the poor and powerless. As the years passed and the religion's popularity grew, two other types of people became attracted to Pentecostalism: those who felt powerless due to crisis, abuse, or any perceived sense of loss, and those seeking empowerment through the kind of spiritualism offered and the strict religious principles they followed. Whether political turmoil or societal unrest, Pentecostalism thrives when culture is in a state of change (Cox, 1995). Those least capable of handling change find order, stability, and meaning in a religion that offers strict, unencumbered directions from God and provides them with the belief that their adherence places them in an elite position of spiritual power; a place they have no where else in society or at least perceive they do not have (Anderson, 1979). The greatest evidence believers have of their spiritual power is glossolalia. The belief that God speaks through them and for them.

Glossolalia, as a symbolic act, has important meaning for its individual and group use based on four arguments found in the academic literature: first, glossolalia may legitimize the Pentecostal religious experience by acting as a "seal of approval" from God concerning what ever message or idea was enhanced and promulgated by speaking in tongues; second, the discursive positionings necessary for glossolalia suggest a pattern of learned behavior, endemic to the particular church or community; third, the "trance-like" state operating as a catharsis may also operate as a persuasive tool enhancing commitment to the discourses that give glossolalia meaning; and finally, glossolalia gives voice to a culture of people brought together by feelings of loss, crisis, and disenfranchisement, perceived or otherwise. Their vision has become a safe haven for the disempowered, as well as a harbinger upon which a new vision of the world is being built; a vision with

significant societal implications.

Pentecostalism and its modern acceptance and popularity have become a political and social force in the United States with strongholds of power in the Republican Party's "Religious Right." Their shared fundamentalist agenda is echoed within our most contested social battles: family values, abortion, women's rights, gay rights, freedom of speech, expression, association, and American isolation from other world nations. Their fundamental argument is over "truth" based on traditional interpretations of scripture. Marty and Appleby (1994) state however, that, "Fundamentalists do not simply reaffirm the old doctrines; they subtly lift them from their original context, embellish, and institutionalize them and employ them as ideological weapons against a hostile world" (p. 818). The truth they seek is the one that suits their needs; not a retrieval of past religious wisdom, but a dependency on "literalism" that ironically requires their interpretation. This provides a sense of empowerment and answers to questions of truth by limiting access and acceptance of anything that does not add to the existing reality (Cox, 1995). Through the restrictions of their shared beliefs Pentecostals perceive a sense of control they otherwise may not perceive in any other context. Their felt sense of control, however, is juxtaposed with extremely emotional, internal, episodes of glossolalia that seem to contradict the Fundamentalist ideology present in Pentecostal beliefs.

The significance of their culture is found in the contradiction between Pentecostal acceptance of a restricted Fundamentalist world view and the primal, non-restricted, spontaneous, spiritual experience of speaking in tongues. It is interesting that in a culture where God's word is formally limited to only those meanings sanctioned by Fundamentalist ideology, that fervent acceptance of communication with God and open

translation of a heavenly language is encouraged.

Pentecostal signification of the world, however, is subject to the same limitations affecting other discourses. How they come to understand and promulgate their understanding of “reality” provides a way of seeing the rhetorical implications of this phenomenon and its role in sustaining a viable social movement. The relation of an action to an individual can only be understood and analyzed within the context of a total discourse (Harre and Gillet, 1994). A person who sells his or her home and moves into a protected commune because they believe Jesus will return soon and take them to heaven, may be acting in accordance with a discourse they have been participating in and have allowed to inform their meanings of reality. The manifestation of their behavior is an extrapolation of the discourse.

The communication discipline offers a unique rhetorical contribution to understanding the phenomenon of glossolalia by reinserting the agent into the context of the discourse to analyze how this individual gives meaning to what he or she does. Rhetorical inquiry seeks to find a way of understanding a person as an individual focus of discourse, the symbol user from Burke’s perspective, and the productive role they play in their own conscious activity, be it while performing glossolalia or engaged in discourse over its place in worship. The born-again Pentecostal believer participates in a context of discourses that influence not only their conscious actions, but also their ability to engage in a powerful, “supernatural” possession they otherwise could not perform. The practice of glossolalia may legitimize the discourses that lead up to its performance and help to create a culture entrenched in a truncated, limited view of society that has the potential to threaten the human rights of anyone not a part of the discourses that make up their beliefs.

The knowledge gained from analyzing this phenomenon is first, a better understanding of the theoretical assumption that discourse is rhetorical in its ability to shape the significations of individuals and groups and second, that reconstructing the discursive occasion through ethnographic observation and interviews, reveals the rhetorical implications of glossolalia's role in creating this culture; something the literature on this topic is devoid of investigating.

Glossolalia Defined

Glossolalia is a non-ordinary speech behavior institutionalized as ritual in many western and non-western religious communities. Pentecostals around the world treat it as one of the most significant manifestations of their belief and hold glossolalia as a primary basis for their religious doctrine (Anderson, 1979). The origin of glossolalia is from the Greek glossa meaning, "tongue, language" and lalein meaning, "to talk." References worldwide and mentions in ancient documents are testaments to its antiquity. Glossolalia is alluded to in Hebrew scriptures, mentioned in Tibetan Tantric writings and litanies of some Islamic Sufi mystics. The most popular ancient documentation comes from the narration found in the Acts of the Apostles from the New Testament of the Bible discussing the events of the day of Pentecost when the followers of Jesus spoke in different tongues or languages as the holy spirit descended upon them (Goodman, 1972).

Linguists reject the notion that glossolalia is similar to xenoglossia, from the Greek xeno meaning "stranger" and glossa meaning "language." Glossolalia is not a foreign language unknown to the user, and understood by someone else. Samarin, 1972) a linguist working with English speaking churches, that practice glossolalia regards it as a type of psuedolanguage. He defines glossolalia as "unintelligible post-babbling speech that

exhibits superficial phonological similarity to language without having consistent syntagmatic structure and is not systematically derived from or related to known languages.”

Other useful definitions of glossolalia refer to it as “tongue speech,” a phenomenon of language associated with charismatic religious movements (Laffal, Monahan, Richman, 1974); an artifact of trance because trance is the primary behavior pattern (Goodman, 1972); a peak experience that acts as commitment to a movement (Gerlach and Hine, 1969); and a catharsis and alternative form of healing because of the glossolalic’s affected immune system (Phipps, 1993). For the purpose of this investigation, glossolalia will be viewed as Pentecostal spirit possession and communication with God.

Literature Review

This investigation into the rhetorical role of glossolalia within the Pentecostal religious culture begins by exploring the significant rhetorical literature on religion and specifically religious conversion as a rhetorical act. Although, glossolalia has not been examined from the rhetorical perspective, events such as religious conversion and the narratives explaining conversion have involved glossolalia. Next the academic and religious literature on glossolalia is examined. Primarily researched by anthropologists and psychologists, the literature does point to rhetorical uses in that glossolalia enhances commitment to a social movement and may be taught discursively. A review of the academic literature on ethnography is explored to provide the necessary background into why this method was appropriate for this investigation. The literature review finishes with an examination of ethnography as an approach for investigating glossolalia as a rhetorical act, ending with specific contributions of ethnographic research in the communication

discipline.

The Literature on Rhetoric and Religion

Rhetoric has always played an ubiquitous and interdisciplinary role in religion. From the parables of Jesus to the ecstatic sermons of the televangelist, the ability to move, inspire, and persuade audiences of believers is paramount to the success of religious movements, and acceptance of religious dogmas. Scholars from St. Augustine to Kenneth Burke have focused attention on the rhetorical aspects of religion. The King James Version of the Bible states:

In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God,
and the word was God. (John 1:1)

Religious publications and communication journals contain studies of religious rhetoric ranging from advice on presenting the effective sermon (Buell, 1954; Callaghan, 1964; Crocker, 1959; Gruner, 1972; Holland, 1964; Marshmann, 1961), to detailed analysis of religious figures and movements (Hogan, 1989; Jablonski, 1988; Kuseski, 1988; O'Leary & MacFarland, 1989). The Religious Speech Communication Association is a group devoted to the study of religious rhetoric. Scholars of the field agree that religious appeals are inherently rhetorical (Bachman, 1959; Freshley, 1959; Lantz, 1955; McGee, 1970; Phillips, 1962). Burke (1970) describes the necessary relationship between rhetoric and religion:

The subject of religion falls under the head of rhetoric in the sense that rhetoric is the art of persuasion, and religious cosmogonies are designed, in the last analysis, as exceptionally thoroughgoing modes of persuasion. (p. v)

The relationship between rhetoric and religion is clearly seen in modern Christianity. Dr. Martin Luther King's civil rights sermons, Oral Roberts plea for six

million dollars to save his failing ministry, Mother Theresa's acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize, Jimmy Swaggert's adultery apology, Pope John Paul II and his public criticism of American lifestyles are all examples of rhetoric permeating religious communication. An area given special attention by scholars and pertinent to this study, is the rhetorical role in religious conversion.

Documented cases of religious conversion or "peak experiences" as termed by Maslow (1970) are frequent in psychological, sociological, and anthropological literature. The Azusa Street conversion, marked by one of the first appearances of glossolalia in an early Pentecostal church, is one of the most infamous because of the number of people who witnessed the event and its catalytic effects (Anderson, 1979). Conversion rhetoric is the antecedent discourse and evangelism leading to the dramatic modification of a listener's attitude, self-concept, beliefs, values, and actions (Alport, 1950; Maslow, 1979; Rokeach, 1972 and 1973; Sweazy, 1953).

Black (1965) challenged contemporary rhetoricians to analyze the "pathos" of communication as much as the "logos" and recognize, "the power of pathos as a legitimate means of altering men's minds through an emotional experience that culminates in conversion" (p. 249). Booth (1971) also encouraged rhetorical scholars in the pursuit of the emotionally persuasive. He argued that theorists need to turn to, "that vast neglected area of rhetoric, the rhetoric of conversion, the rhetoric with the effect of overturning personalities and changing total allegiances," (p. 29). Recognition of this rhetorical approach is apparent. Notable contributions to this body of knowledge include Golden, Berquist, and Coleman (1976); Dorsey, (1993); and numerous discussions of conversion as a standard fixture of Fisher's Narrative Paradigm, (1987); McDonald,

(1989) and Eckloff, (1989). Both papers were presented on conversion narratives at the Central States Speech Association, Kansas City, Missouri, April 16, 1989. Griffin (1990) argues that these studies and presented papers reveal the importance of personal narrative in the development of an altered identity, an account or justification for dramatic changes in beliefs, values, and attitudes. The rhetoric of narrative serves the conversion process as a form of an integrated, continuous personality that transcends the limitations and irregularities of time and space and unites all of the individual's experiences into an identifiable whole. Burke (1970) suggests that by consistently observing the insights gained through conversion in the framing of experiences, converts may construct rhetorically compelling interpretations of their lives.

Harding (1986) adds that "conversion talk" or witnessing, testifying, evangelizing, gospel preaching, and spreading the word of God, is rhetorical because it is an argument about the transformation of self that lost souls must undergo, and a method for bringing about this necessary change. Conversion rhetoric is not just a monologue that constitutes its listener as a culturally specific person, it is a clearly discursive event, engaging the individual or group in a dialectic whose ultimate purpose is to change them. Considerable literature, both popular and academic, has investigated how ritual practices and psychological "trigger" techniques result in the conversion from one worldview or mind-set to another (Griffen, 1990; Harding, 1986; Harrison, 1995). Glossolalia is considered by many theorists to be one of those "trigger events." However, no studies exist that examine a potential rhetorical role for glossolalia or the significance of the discourses that lead up to its occurrence. Perhaps the act of glossolalia is rhetorical in the sense that it assists in promulgating a change in the practitioner's character and eventually their

identity; a process Harding (1986) believes is part of acquiring, “a specific religious language” (p. 178).

The Academic and Religious Literature on Glossolalia

Speaking in tongues or glossolalia is a vocalization without linguistic structure or semantic meaning for the speaker. It is interpreted from biblical scripture as a divinely inspired “gift of the spirit.” The act of glossolalia is known among Pentecostal Christians as the most significant manifestation of their religious beliefs (Hine, 1969). Controversy has always surrounded any attempt to understand glossolalia; not only between practitioners and their critics, but also social scientists attempting to interpret and explain the phenomenon.

Early ethnographic reports of glossolalia treated it as absurd nonsense and gibberish. Until prodigious examples of glossolalia were recorded, modern forms were accepted as evidence of paranoia and schizophrenia by many psychologists because it was observed only in mental patients. The clinical opinion of glossolalia changed after numerous accounts of average working class people engaged in glossolalia as part of their religious ritual (Hine, 1969).

The pathology model of glossolalia was refuted after Vivier-van Etveldt (1960) studied two churches, one that practiced glossolalia and one that practiced strict orthodox beliefs and did not recognize glossolalia as appropriate behavior. The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) and the Personality Factor Tests were used and indicated no inherent psychological weakness in the practitioners of glossolalia. By the 1970s, the notion of glossolalia being abnormal psychological behavior was put to rest (Goodman, 1972).

Samarin (1972) a linguist working with English speaking churches that practice glossolalia regards it as a type of pseudolanguage. He defines glossolalia as, “unintelligible post-babbling speech that exhibits superficial phonological similarity to language without having consistent syntagmatic structure and is not systematically derived from or related to known languages,” (p. 12). Samarin notes that what is peculiar about glossolalia is the pattern of stress and pitch all English speaking practitioners used and the intonations they fell into when speaking in tongues. Their glossolalia had an “English accent.” He attributes this to the style of discourse practitioners assume by imitating particular preaching styles.

In an article responding to Samarin’s observations, Goodman (1972) argues that similarities do exist with people who practice glossolalia. Intonation and segmentation of sounds are two examples (Goodman, 1972). Laboratory tests using a recorder that registered changes in pressure density found significant similarities in the intonation of all practitioners of glossolalia, including cross-cultural practitioners. Also similar was the segmented, monosyllabic sounds made by all who were recorded speaking in tongues. Although the accents and sounds used reflected those found in the individual’s native language, the segmentation and intonation was similar (Goodman, 1972). This method also helped in distinguishing glossolalia from other non-ordinary speech behaviors such as sleep talking and talking during hypnotic regression.

Self-reporting by practitioners of glossolalia indicated a changed state of consciousness ranging from minimal to intense. Phipps (1993) believes it to be a self-induced trance. Goodman (1972) agreed and believes the cross cultural similarities are attributed to the trance-like state, which Phipps calls a changed neurophysiological state, as

though all the practitioners need to share the same intonation and vocalization patterns to achieve the trance, but not necessarily the same segmented words or accents. Whatever takes place in the nervous system during glossolalia seems to cause utterances to break down into phrases of equal length. Goodman (1969) compares the pattern to music, instead of linguistics because glossolalia divides the sound segments into bars, accenting on the first syllable, the bars pulsate to a rhythmic sequence of consonant -vowel-consonant-vowel.

Hine (1969) argues that trance is the primary behavior, with vocalization being secondary. With the help of a variety of stimuli found in the religious services that practice glossolalia, such as singing, dancing, clapping, and drumming, glossolalia often becomes an expected prelude. The research suggests that the trance is an altered state of consciousness with strong feelings of reported ecstasy and catharsis, like a purging of one's soul. Phipps (1993) believes glossolalia tunes the nervous system and releases tension. This accounts for the beneficial effects of the experience.

Ethnographic observation indicates that the trance state is primary in Western and non-Western religious communities. What appears to be learned behaviors are the vocalization patterns and accents used (Williams, 1981). Glossolalia may have cross-cultural similarities in its ability to induce trance. Research also indicates, however, that the trance and the vocalization patterns are affected by the religious environment in which they are practiced. Nonsense syllables often occur with vernacular forms of words from the practitioner's native language. Pentecostals frequently include words such as "Jesus" and "Hallelujah" in their glossolalia. Shamans among Inuit North American Eskimos use glossolalia as part of their secret language during sacred religious rituals. There is a

mixture of segmented vocalization, similar to other forms of glossolalia and the vernacular of their native language. Master Shamans teach these secret trance dialects, as they would a natural language, to their neophytes.

During a cross-cultural study that included four different cultural settings and two different languages, Goodman (1972) found several common characteristics distinguishing glossolalia from ordinary language:

- (a) Phonetically every pulse begins with a consonant and there are no initial consonant clusters, nor do segments end with consonants.
- (b) The bars of sound are usually of equal duration, especially when pauses are also considered.
- (c) The stress sounds or accents fall on the first pulse of each bar and the primary stress is always preceded by a pause.
- (d) Sound segments are of equal length.
- (e) Glossolalia is not productive, meaning the utterance is internalized and stereotyped after spoken. Within a particular group utterance patterns do not vary significantly. There are always similarities.
- (f) Glossolalia is noncommunicative and it does not share a message with the listener. (p.236-237)

Goodman's final analysis revealed two theories in need of further research. First is the state to which the glossolalist places himself or herself as responsible for the vocalization. Second, is that glossolalia is an artifact of the trance and is generated by the trance, thus the cross-cultural similarities. Goodman describes glossolalia as a multi-layered event with the trance state being primary, followed by the vocalization patterns, and then the

discourse/linguistic element.

Phipps (1993) concurs with Goodman's analysis and adds an additional finding from a psychological study arguing the role of the context of the Pentecostal church service in creating an environment for catharsis. As a result, Phipps concludes that glossolalia, as an "act" seems to have positive affects to the immune system. She argues that the catharsis they experience when speaking in tongues may be considered a form of alternative healing.

However, Hine (1969) provides the most significant information for the proposed research. Her theory is that the trance and its affects, the probable learned vocalization patterns of glossolalia are all components in the process of commitment to a movement. Hine and Gerlach (1969) conducted a comparative anthropological investigation of the Pentecostal movement in the United States, Mexico, Haiti, and Colombia combining the use of questionnaires, interviews, and participant observation. They suggest that glossolalia has significant effect on personal and social changes. Glossolalia often appears before and during many non-Western rituals, rites of passage, and other religious ceremonies. Pentecostals, cross-culturally, use glossolalia during important, often emotional episodes within the service. The use of glossolalia, as well as its effects intimate significant implications for rhetorical research, an area deplete of scholarly studies. Before these implications can be suggested, a summary of the Pentecostal movement is necessary to establish the potential use and effect of glossolalia in their church services.

The Literature on Ethnography

A review of the history of ethnography reveals its interdisciplinary origins. Born

out of several social scientific traditions, ethnography has become a popular research tool and the subject of heated debate over its scientific validity. Ethnographic investigation is seen by many researchers as a balance between subjectivity and objectivity or the difference between science that is involved and science that is detached from its subjects (Adler & Adler, 1995).

Social scientists began venturing into the field of ethnography in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Malinowski originated the contemporary anthropological practice of making extended visits to a single research site in the later part of the 19th century (Adler and Adler, 1995). Despite his ability to speak the dialects, however, Malinowski remained an outsider at the research sites and made little attempt to participate in his subject's daily activities. Wax (1972) states that the roots of sociological fieldwork can be traced to the British social reform movement. Using a combination of direct observation, interviews and statistical data, Booth studied the social conditions of the urban poor. Beatrice Potter Webb also wrote about the lives of the poor in London, often visiting them in their homes and dwellings. Webb even took a job in a sweatshop to experience the conditions herself (Keating, 1976).

In the United States, the University of Pennsylvania sponsored Professor DuBois in a fieldwork study of the black slums of Philadelphia in the late 1890s. DuBois chose to live in the slums to collect his data and later published The Philadelphia Slum in 1899. During this same time anthropologists were making even greater strides leading to contemporary ethnography. Students of Boas and Malinowski were in the field visiting cultures never visited before, learning their languages, and living with the native peoples (Wax, 1972). Adler and Adler (1995) argue that these early efforts to learn about and

document primitive peoples has preserved many of their traditions, lost in the onset of Western technological culture.

In the 1940s and 50s a new generation of sociological and anthropological fieldwork emerged. Centered around the University of Chicago, faculty members Blumer, Hughes, Warner, Redfield, Strauss, and Riesman created an intellectual atmosphere that nurtured many now classical field studies (Emerson, 1983; Platt, 1983). The most significant theoretical contribution to come out of this era was the sociological shift to a reflexive methodology, leading to the refinement of participant observation data collection (Emerson, 1983; Platt, 1983; Adler and Adler, 1995). This change in emphasis began a figurative balance between scientific objectivity and subjectivity. Researchers were getting closer to their subjects, gaining new insights, and recognizing their biases (Adler and Adler, 1995).

In anthropology, a broader range of data collection was being developed. The spectrum included the extremes of unstructured depth interviewing, participant observation, and total immersion field experiences with more formalized, structured practices such as kinship analysis, construction of layered taxonomies, and collection of census data (Adler and Adler, 1995; Emerson, 1983; Platt, 1983; Spradley, 1980). As ethnography began to emerge as a viable approach in social science research, opposing schools of thought formed. The extreme “objectivists” were labeled ethnoscientists. They used highly formalized elicitation frames and systematic fieldwork (Werner, 1966, 1983) to establish linguistic boundaries and prescribed denotative meanings. At the opposite extreme, early ethnomethodologists argued that the social scientist must become a part of the phenomenon they are studying to truly understand.

Other theoretical trends in ethnography did not exhibit such extremes. For some researchers the history of ethnography began as an early interest in case studies, then became an interest in community studies in the 1930s and 1940s. An interest in occupational studies was also popular in the postwar decades of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. Deviant group study became the interest of the 1960s and 1970s and the 1980s and 1990s have seen a plethora of diverse topics studied by the ethnographer (Lofland and Lofland, 1984).

Currently, ethnographic research is supported by a wide variety of journals and publications reflecting the explorations of early ethnographers and the advances of current theory, some of those include Current Anthropology, Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, Urban Life a Journal of Ethnographic Research, Social Inquiry, and Human Organization. Since 1970 numerous textbooks and anthologies have offered important contributions to ethnography as a method of data collection and analysis (Agar, 1986; Bogdan and Taylor, 1975; Burgess, 1982; Douglas, 1976; Emerson, 1983; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Johnson, 1975; Lofland and Lofland, 1984; Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979; Shaffir, et al., 1980; Silverman, 1985; Van Maanen, 1983). Many university press publications have also been receptive to ethnographic research. Mentioned by Adler and Adler (1995) as most notable are the University of Chicago Press, Columbia University Press, Rutgers University Press, Temple University Press, and the University of California Press. In addition to university publications, several monograph series have also featured ethnography.

Ethnography has a history of rich tradition, but as it continues to provide an unique analysis of our world, its future remains clouded by controversy. Any literature review on

ethnography, however seminal, would not be complete without addressing the controversy of ethnography as a “real” science. Ethnography has earned a place among research methods as an alternative to dominant methodology in communication, sociology, anthropology, and psychology, but even its subordinate position is regularly contested. At issue with more traditional quantitative sciences is that all human studies that involve reflexive modes of inquiry intrinsically include the interpersonal nature of this form of discovery, making quantifiable science impossible, or in need of an additional approach for analysis (Aunger, 1995; Crapanzano, 1970; Douglas, 1976; Freilich, 1970; Hammersley, 1983; Manning, 1982; Silverman, 1985; Werner, 1986). Aunger (1995) argues that, “the goal of the interpretive approach is to provide the reader with an intuitive understanding of a particular culture... while the goal of the scientific approach is to explain ... that is to find, the general processes operating in human society” (p. 106). Therefore, to legitimize the research of ethnography some researchers demand that it be placed in a technical framework that facilitates the qualitative approach through quantitative means. The opposing argument maintains, however, that any established scientific protocol for ethnographic inquiry introduces an artificial structure and potentially influences informant behavior. Ultimately then the question posed by contemporary theorists is whether ethnography requires an analytic technique that separates social interactions for quantitative analysis or if qualitative practices engender the kind of discoveries ethnography best reveals. The answer to this question may lie in the ongoing development and debate of the status quo of social scientific investigation. Aunger (1995) states, “the battle over objectivist epistemology has been won: it is now widely agreed that it is dead. Perhaps it is time for social scientists, including ethnographers, to

turn their attention from solipsistic concerns with texts to substantive questions about what variations in cultural practices can tell us about the human condition,” (p. 107).

The communication discipline is also inundated with similar social scientific criticisms. The use of ethnography by communication scholars, however, has provided a unique look at variations in cultural practices because of the emphasis communication scholarship places on the creation of shared meaning. Cultural practices do not simply exist as formal linguistic occurrences. They are part of the discursive life of the people of a culture and different cultures use different practices to communicate. The communication event serves as the basis for making human experience meaningful. It is through shared meaning that cultures are able to constitute themselves. Ethnography of communication is the application of ethnographic methods to investigate language and meaning in context (Carbaugh, 1990).

Carbaugh (1990) argues that the first responsibility of communication ethnography is to discover the type of shared identity created through the culture's communication. This begins the process of uncovering the shared public meanings and exposing the dialectical tensions that produce the contradictions and paradoxes of human communication acts.

Comparative ethnography is an additional approach to the study of human communication. By developing theories or schemas that attempt to account for a communication event, the ethnographer gains an understanding of ways of communicating that can be tested against other explanations (Agar, 1986; Hymes, 1974). A useful and prodigious variation on comparative ethnography, and methodologically similar to this study, is the quantity and quality of clinical ethnographies that incorporate the schema

approach. McElroy and Jezewski (1986) explored the intercultural communication patterns present in a pediatric clinic serving a multi-ethnic, inner-city community. The method used to observe and describe interactions between clinicians and patients was derived from Michael Agar's concept of ethnography as an interpretative, problem-solving method. The focus of Agar's model is breakdown or awareness of a problem in understanding, to resolution or applying knowledge structures or schemas to bounded phenomena or strips that ultimately lead to coherence.

Before the preceding literature review can establish the necessary knowledge structures that provide a framework for what can be inferred as a schema when a breakdown in understanding occurs, the context of the Pentecostal religion must be explored. Pentecostals of the 20th century share similar concerns with their 19th century believers. Their sense of loss, however, comes not from encroaching industrial progress, but from the belief that society is taking something away from them and is therefore inherently malevolent. Pentecostalism as a religious context reveals the histories, behaviors, and attitudes informing much of the communicative actions present in the Pentecostal church used for this study. The next chapter operates as a guideline for what to observe and describe within the Pentecostal religious culture and the role glossolalia has in creating that culture.

Summary and Conclusions of the Literature Review

Discovering the ways of knowing and being in the world, for a particular group, begins by situating oneself among them to participate and observe. The mental tools and background information necessary for the investigation have provided methods for framing what is being seen and done. In this investigation, discourse as a place where

social life is realized, served as a frame of understanding. Here shared cultural meanings are rhetorical because they are created out of the interactions of human discursive practices. The meaning given to glossolalia by the culture of a Pentecostal church is rhetorical because the practitioners take action based on how they have come to share the meaning of glossolalia within their culture.

Three areas of research have helped to create the preceding frame of understanding. The "rhetoric of religion" section of the literature review established the significant role rhetoric plays in the conversion of believers. Conversion rhetoric emphasizes the "pathos" of communication and places the act of conversion in a discursive setting. Potential believers do not spontaneously convert. They are guided through a discursive arrangement of persuasive speeches, conversations, and experiences that lead toward their conversion.

In the second section of the literature review, glossolalia was explored as an academic and religious occurrence. Glossolalia is documented as a trance-like state of spiritual expression representing no known form of language. Its meaning, however, is paramount to the religious experience of Pentecostalism. Glossolalia is considered communication with God and the greatest manifestation of Pentecostal belief. Although a significant spiritual encounter, glossolalia never occurred when new believers had become born again or converted during this investigation. The literature review established that glossolalia is a learned behavior that may help to legitimize the Pentecostal message, also that it operates as a catharsis, and that it reinforces commitment to the movement. This places the act of glossolalia within a discursive context. The meanings given to the act of glossolalia are the rhetorical by-products of the discourse. Understanding how glossolalia

helped to create the culture of this Pentecostal church required a better understanding of what cultural practices tell us about the human condition. Ethnography of communication is a method that seeks to interpret the meanings that various performances and behaviors have for a culture.

Ethnography, as a method of social scientific inquiry, moved the investigation of glossolalia's rhetorical role in creating the Pentecostal culture, away from finding out the general processes of Pentecostalism, to an interpretive approach to understanding the role of glossolalia in creating the religious culture. The final section of the literature review explored the academic debate on ethnography and argued that comparative ethnography is an appropriate method of analysis for this investigation.

The literature review reinforced the argument that actions based on an individual's beliefs and personal commitments were a learned ability based out of the individual's discursive positionings. The remainder of the study explores whether the positions we take up in a particular discourse place us in a predisposed reaction to the meanings derived from that discourse. If the Pentecostal church has a shared meaning for glossolalia that is taught to its believers within the discourse they have taken up, then that meaning is rhetorical and helping to create their culture.

Organization of Remaining Chapters

Chapter two explores the religious context of Pentecostalism, specifically, its history, political and social character, and spirituality. The third chapter discusses the methods and procedures involved in the investigation. Here Geertz's method for achieving "thick description" in an ethnographic encounter is described, followed by the method for ethnographic argument using Agar's (1986) ethnographic language and

Tracy's (1995) Action Implicative Discourse Analysis. Procedures cover the group being studied, the site, how access was gained to the site, how interviews were conducted and why, and how the methods used guided the investigation. In chapter four, the ethnographic experience is divided into four episodes that tell the story of participation and observation. Results are presented as breakdowns. Chapter five is devoted to the implications of the investigation. A discussion of the research question is included in the summary and conclusion section of chapter six including the study's contribution to communication scholarship, ideas for future research, and limitations.

CHAPTER TWO

American Pentecostalism

The name “Pentecostal” comes from the biblical account of the day of Pentecost when the promised Holy Spirit of Jesus descended upon the new Christians and “they began to speak in other tongues as the spirit gave them utterance” (Acts 2:1-4). The Pentecostal movement originated in the United States in the early part of the 20th century. It began as a protest against increasing religious formalism and societal industrialization (Williams, 1981; Anderson, 1979; Kildahl, 1972; Marsden, 1991). Pentecostalism is fundamentalist in nature, meaning it identifies with certain fundamental tenets of the faith: evangelism, inerrancy of scripture, premillennialism, and separatism. This form of Christianity centers on the emotional, mystical, and supernatural: miracles, faith healing, signs of the “last days” on Earth, and gifts of the spirit, especially speaking in tongues or glossolalia (Marsden, 1991).

Pentecostals constitute three major groupings: 1) Those who designate themselves “classical Pentecostals” trace their denominational origins directly to the early 20th century Pentecostal revivals of the United States. They are the primary focus of this study. 2) Those who call themselves charismatic and also speak in tongues, trace their origins to early 20th century Pentecostal revivals, but remain non-Pentecostal Christian communities usually associated with more traditional Christian churches such as the Catholic or Methodist Churches. 3) Those who hold to the essential beliefs of Pentecostalism and speak in tongues, but are not accepted or acknowledged by the classical Pentecostals because their practices are viewed as heretical and non-Christian. These groups tend to be nonwhite or Hispanic. Barret (1982) estimates that the global population of

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Religious and Spiritual Beliefs

The principle religious and spiritual belief in Pentecostalism is experience over doctrine. Besides their acceptance of the tenets of Fundamentalism, their only distinctive doctrine is the baptism in the Spirit. Most American Pentecostals believe that the “initial evidence” of Spirit baptism is glossolalia or speaking in tongues. Some Pentecostals believe that glossolalia is often a known language, unknown to the practitioner or that the language spoken is of divine origin.

Charismatic Christians, however reject most of the fundamentalist heritage of the Pentecostal movement and the belief that glossolalia is a known language. They have concentrated on the individual experience of glossolalia and how it enhances the spiritualism of their non-Pentecostal churches (Anderson, 1979).

Tantamount to Pentecostalism is the worship service. Their services were and still are known for emotionally bound episodes of prophecy, speaking in tongues, healing, and religious conversion. In the early days of its inception, a Pentecostal service appeared chaotic to the newcomer, but as the movement spread, spiritual practices were subjected to clearly understood conventions and norms of what was appropriate or not, including tongues (Anderson, 1979). Marsden (1991) argues that the worship service was and continues to be a place where spiritual “gifts” and the reenactment of the Day of Pentecost is displayed. He believes the worship service provides the believer with an opportunity for personal religious expression, forging an emotional bond with the spiritual community, bringing consolation and assurance, and lifting one into a state of contentment. The believers objective is to “feel the Spirit move them.”

Similar to most Christian church services, Pentecostal worship involves ritualized behaviors including sermon, prayer, singing, testimony, and scripture reading; all orchestrated within an organized format. The unique characteristic found in Pentecostal services, besides glossolalia, states Anderson (1979) is the “folkish culture,” (p. 14) exhibited. During numerous studies Anderson observed what he termed a subculture at the heart of the Pentecostal movement that had a great influence over their religious services. Anderson argues that the remnants of an older “rural-agrarian” culture still dominates and operates as the spiritual basis for the religion. Any attempt to alter that basis is seen as intolerant and potentially threatening. For example, their music exemplifies an extreme difference from mainline Protestant religions in that it reflects the ethos of its folkish tradition. The music combines mournful hymns like “Old Rugged Cross” with hand clapping, tambourines, honky-tonk piano and guitar, rather than a more traditional organ. Clearly, the movement’s origins reflect both the culture from which it came and the traditionalist philosophies it holds most sacred.

Political and Social Character

The Pentecostal movement began among the poor and disenfranchised working class, which seemed lost within a newly emerging industrial world of the 20th century. Pentecostalism offered a strict fundamentalist structured lifestyle and clear, unencumbered biblical explanations of world changes. It appealed originally to a “white” culture with little education and eased the transition from agrarian society to industrialism, but quickly became a popular religious movement among minority groups of Christians as well (Williams, 1981). Glossolalia became the spiritual manifestation of all that Pentecostals believed.

As Pentecostalism spread it continued to appeal, almost without exception, to the marginalized peoples of the country. It became the religion of the working class and its social character reflected their views (Marsden, 1991). Pentecostalism served as a bridge between the traditional world and the newly emerging modern world of the 20th century. Hollenweger (1972) points out that contradictions in Pentecostal beliefs and teachings were part of its allure. For example their pre-scientific adherence to scripture and its infallibility was juxtaposed with subjective, emotional religious experience as the hallmark of its doctrine. Belief in faith healing, miracles and exorcism, similar to extremely primitive religions, was inculcated with an ethic of hard-work, discipline, obedience to authority, and self-denial. This included prohibitions against alcohol, dancing, gambling, movies, cosmetics, and jewelry.

Pentecostals, throughout the 20th century, tended toward strongly conservative, often reactionary political views. Their solution for a better society continues to be religious conversion and spirit baptism. However, the only way they feel society can be completely healed of decadence and corruption is through the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. The signs of his return are increased immoral behavior, weakened family structure, conflict, and social unrest as defined and understood by Pentecostals (Anderson, 1979).

Early 19th century Pentecostals rejected and opposed all “man-made” organizations that did not recognize Spirit baptism and acceptance of Jesus. They were extremely separatist; a trend history has seen change over the decades. A break in the isolationism of Pentecostalism came in 1943, when several churches and denominations joined the National Association of Evangelicals (Marsden, 1991; and Anderson, 1979).

As their ecumenism toward other Evangelical denominations increased so did their political and social exposure. Pentecostalism is best understood as a social movement (Anderson, 1979; and Cox, 1995).

The Movement

The radical, separatist wing of the late 19th century Holiness movement was the actual birthplace of Pentecostalism. It was an amalgam of extremist views on premillennialism, dispensationalism, faith healing, and the “Baptism in the Spirit” evidenced by speaking in tongues (Bartleman, 1980; Anderson, 1979; Cox, 1995; Harrell, 1975; Spittler, 1976).

Charles Fox Parham, an independent Holiness preacher and former Methodist is generally regarded as the founder of modern Pentecostal movement. It was in his Bethel Bible “College” in Topeka, Kansas that speaking in tongues and other “Spirit-filled” behavior broke out in January of 1901, during one of his sermons. On the basis of his teachings and faith healings the movement spread in the Midwest (Harrell, 1975). William Joseph Smith, a black Holiness preacher converted by Parham, took the movement to Los Angeles in 1906. Seymours Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission became the center of a great revival and visitors carried the movement across the country (Bartleman, 1980).

In the beginning the Pentecostal movement was condemned and ostracized by other Christian churches, but it found a stronghold of followers from lower Appalachia to the Osarks and in the urban centers of the north and west. Adherents were drawn from vastly different religious, racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds, but they did share similar economic backgrounds. Anderson (1979) theorizes that these differences divided the movement into several conflicting sects. By 1916 the American Pentecostal movement

had separated into three different doctrinal camps. The first was the Finished Work or Baptism Pentecostals. They believed in the original three acts of grace, conversion, sanctification, and baptism of the Spirit. In 1908 William Durham introduced his “Finished Works of Calvary” doctrine combining conversion and sanctification into a single act of grace. Most Pentecostals accepted this doctrine. In 1914 a Finished Works denomination was organized. They are the Assemblies of God.

The Second Work Pentecostals were those that held to the original three acts of grace. They are, the Church of God in Christ, The Church of God, now headquartered in Cleveland, Tennessee, and the Pentecostal Holiness Church. Finally, the Oneness or Jesus Only Pentecostals rejected the trinitarianism of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, maintaining that all three are different names for one God, Jesus. The largest group of these believers was Garfield T. Haywood’s interracial Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. It consisted of the poorest Pentecostals and was most popular in the upper midwest (Anderson, 1979; and Cox, 1995).

Institutionalization of the movement and a changing American economy after World War II brought a decline in the fervor of Pentecostal worship especially in the larger white denominations. This began a renewal movement. A group of faith healing evangelists reorganized to introduce a new generation to charismata and deliverance from sin. The healers and preachers reintroduced tent revivals and attracted multitudes of non-Pentecostals (Cox, 1995; and Harrell, 1975).

By the 1950s the healing revivals were waning. With the help of new preachers like Oral Roberts from Tulsa, Oklahoma, a different theme was promulgated: prosperity. It was God’s will that all believers be wealthy. The devout follower and generous

contributor to God's work would be rewarded in Heaven as well as here on Earth. Organizations were formed and alliances made that pushed the Pentecostal movement into a more visible social and political arena. In 1951, Oral Roberts organized the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International with the help of a recent wealthy convert, Demos Shakarian, a California dairyman. Their goal was to support evangelical ministries and involve Pentecostals in the business community, as well as involve the business community in Pentecostalism (Cox, 1995; Harrell, 1975; Spittler, 1976). Many male converts had first contact with the movement at these luncheons and dinners sponsored by the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International. Anderson (1979) surmises that they served as a building block for the next decade's efforts at bringing the movement into the mainstream.

When Father Dennis Bennet, pastor of an Episcopal church in VanNuys, California, announced he had received the baptism of the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues, an explosion followed in the denominations speaking in tongues had become more than just a Pentecostal anomaly. Widespread media coverage, supported by Oral Roberts Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, became the seeds of growth for a charismatic revival in the Protestant denominations. Pentecostalism was no longer seen, by mainstream religion as fanatical or schismatic. Pentecostals had reached the other denominations and demonstrated restraint and professionalism at their business meetings. Pentecostalism was finally an acceptable "American" religion with enormous potential for influence over the decades that followed.

The 1960s and 70s, with all their social upheaval, became the battlefield for the next generation of messianistic signs and evidence of the planet's demise. Pentecostals,

unlike other Fundamentalists, saw the Second Coming of Jesus as the only salvation for a world in moral decay. Political involvement was not unknown to Pentecostals; they supported the same beliefs as other Fundamentalist denominations. The difference was their approach to what they believed could repair society; salvation and separation from modernity. Cox (1995) argues that because Pentecostalism continues to be a protest movement for the most disenfranchised people in our country, until a particular church becomes overly institutionalized, the primary concern remains the experience it provides for the individual believer, not the doctrines the church is based around. Protest against and rejection of science, technology, and industrialization however, are articulated well in Fundamentalist beliefs. Which is why, according to Cox (1995) alignment with Christian orthodoxy, like Fundamentalism, has always been a part of the Pentecostal movement.

Over the last three decades American Pentecostalism has grown with great fervor and devotion; converting not only the marginalized people of society, but as Cox (1995) states appealing to the many who feel disinherited from the world. Pentecostalism continues to be reactionary in its beliefs, rejecting the modern world and concentrating more on the need to be possessed by spiritual power. This is not to suggest, however, that their political influence has waned.

Televangelism has created a new medium of exposure for Pentecostalism and a new supply of potential believers. Promotion of Pentecostal beliefs and their Fundamentalist political views are more pervasive than ever. Membership is strong and converts continue to flock to both organized and independent "Spirit filled" churches (Cox, 1995). Which brings us to an important question -- Why? Why has a movement that began as a protest among poor and disenfranchised people who were displaced and

overcome by early industrialization, continued to survive and thrive as we approach the 21st century? What does neo-Pentecostalism offer to modern society? To address this issue we need to investigate the sources of this continued movement.

Pentecostalism: Primal Spirituality and the Liberated Soul

American Protestantism was seeking ways to inculcate the scholarship and “sensibilities” of the modern world of the late 19th century into church beliefs, when they were met head-on by people who saw any such changes as heresy. These people declared to defend the traditional beliefs against modern thinking. During the first two decades of the 20th century they produced numerous works battling modern social and scientific ideas (Cox, 1995; Bartleman, 1980; Marty and Appleby, 1994). Among the most important of these works were a series of short scholarly essays written between 1910 and 1915. The essays were titled “The Fundamentals.” The name grew in use and became the designation of threatened religious beliefs (Marty & Appleby, 1994). In 1920, Curtis Lee Laws, the editor of the Northern Baptist newspaper, wrote that a Fundamentalist was, “a person willing to do battle royal for the fundamentals of the faith.” The name became both a description and a call to action.

Fundamentalists, however, are not synonymous with all conservative Christians. Marty (1994) states that Fundamentalists may share some of the same traditional Christian beliefs like the virgin birth of Jesus, but a Fundamentalist is a subset of the larger conservative whole. Fundamentalists are grouped with a branch of conservative Protestantism known as evangelicals. These people believe the human being can only be saved from inevitable earthly destruction by following Jesus and winning other “souls” to Jesus. Most evangelicals speak of this experience as being “born again.”

Pentecostals are Fundamentalists who fall into the evangelical group. Their most significant difference from other Fundamentalists is their belief in the revelatory power of religious experience over religious doctrine (Marty, 1994). While Fundamentalists seek to confine revelation and spiritual power to scripture alone, Pentecostals make it the most significant manifestation of their religion. There are three themes, however, that recur in the literature on Fundamentalism that are common with Pentecostal beliefs. The first is the paradox between a kinship with evangelism and winning souls to Jesus, with the need to separate from the rest of the world. The second theme is the belief that both Pentecostals and Fundamentalists are the keepers of true holiness and called to keep modern life from advancing or incorporating anything they deem non-traditional. The third theme is the tension and distrust Pentecostals and Fundamentalists exhibit toward the intellectual community. Each of these themes are the undertones of more than a century of protest against the modern world. These “fundamentals” laid the foundation for widespread reaction from many political and religious groups. Fundamentalism alone, however, did not create Pentecostalism nor does a resurgence in Fundamentalist beliefs in the 1990s sustain Pentecostal popularity today.

Built on the tenets of Fundamentalism, Pentecostalism provides the means for a different type of protest. Anderson and Cox agree that the conditions for radical social reaction were planted by Fundamentalism, but Pentecostalism gave believers the spiritual empowerment they needed to cope with what they could not control. This is not to suggest however, that industrialization and social change are entirely responsible for the Pentecostal movement. Anderson (1979) argues that Pentecostalism attracted a certain type of person for particular reasons: first, the working poor, who came largely from

rural-agrarian origins and experienced “culture-shock” from transplantation into urban areas. Those who remained on farms witnessed the decline and decay of rural living due to urban industrialization.

Second, research shows that early Pentecostal membership was primarily made of the lowest in social status. Marty and Appleby (1994) believe this only exacerbated the situation leaving the working poor with a feeling of malaise and helplessness. The working poor were generally unequipped to perceive their position in the social order or alter it. The working poor did not entirely make up the Pentecostal movement, however. Two other groups also became attracted to the movement and they continue to make up a prodigious amount in modern times.

Anderson (1979) refers to the first group as people in crisis. They may have been poor or felt socially outcast, but they were predisposed to Pentecostalism by some personal crisis they could not resolve: the death of a loved one, substance abuse, career failure, are some examples. These people typically are reached by a proselytizer who found them at the right moment and persuaded them to replace their sorrow with spirit filled belief.

The other group Anderson (1979) maintains is pulled in by the personal power they feel from a religion that encourages spiritual expression. The consensus is that religion is a matter of the heart and miracles, wonders, and spirit possession like speaking in tongues have a central place in worship. Finally, all these people seem to accept one significant belief. That their commitment to Jesus and specifically to being born again, sets them apart as special in the eyes of God. Cox (1995) asserts that the Pentecostal believer will tell you the world is a bad place that God is going to destroy and they will be spared

because they have been saved.

This may explain the attraction for neo-Pentecostals. Their world is completely different from the changes of the early 20th century. As Ammerman (1994) explains, however, they still live with perceptions of deprivation (real or imagined), loss of prestige, and the belief that the modern world is taking something away from them or causing bad things to happen to them and they are powerless to do anything about it.

Cox (1995) has found that the feeling of loss and deprivation does predispose most of the neo-Pentecostal recruits in the same way social status and poverty did in the first part of the century. He states that Pentecostals, old and new, claim that before their conversion they felt, “empty and hungry for God,” or for something they could not articulate. They felt deprived and in need of some method for controlling their environment. For many Baptisms in the Spirit, evidenced by speaking in tongues, was an empowering attraction.

Research across the disciplines is replete with accounts of human spiritual expression that is a consequence of perceived “supernatural” experience. Glossolalia is an example found not only in Christian denominations, but also throughout the world. Pentecostal spirit-filled possession is unique to other religions and groups that perform glossolalia, due to their struggling origins, assumed subculture, fatalistic beliefs, and modern popularity. Their use of glossolalia creates an interesting research phenomenon, yet to be investigated from a rhetorical, discursive perspective. Which brings us back to the research question and the purpose of this investigation: What is the function of glossolalia to the Pentecostal religion, and how does it help create their culture?

Providing an effective interpretive frame for exploring the Pentecostal culture and

addressing these issues is Geertz (1973) descriptive ethnographic approach. The focus of the descriptive approach is not to order and sort out the meanings and established nuances of a particular culture, but to superimpose, through thick description, the multiplicity of conceptual human behaviors. Thick description is about constructing an account of human action that is meaningful to the practitioner, while providing adequate data for the application of analytic tools. The tools for this investigation were Agar's (1986) ethnographic language and Tracy's (1995) Action Implicative Discourse Analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

Method and Procedures

Method for Ethnographic Description

The world cannot present itself objectively to the observer. Instead it must be known through human experience, which is largely influenced by language. How reality is understood emerges out of the use of language in social interaction. Humans become suspended in their own symbolic creations. Understanding the significance placed on these creations is the essential role of ethnography (Geertz, 1973).

Reality is socially constructed by the interconnected patterns of communicative behavior. Within a particular culture reality is defined not necessarily by individual acts, but by complex patterns of ongoing actions. Geertz (1973) states that, “behavior must be attended to because through the flow of behavior or social action, cultural forms find articulation” (p. 17). In order for ethnographic research to reveal the flow of behavior and its meaning, the articulation of cultural forms must be recorded. Ethnography is about thick description. Thick description is the process of accounting for the meanings given by the culture studied, its members, and its collective conceptual systems. It is the writing down of their voice. Cultural forms become more than passing events that get written about, they become accounts deeply inscribed.

Ethnographic description does not insist on formulaic procedures but Geertz (1973) does describe characteristics necessary for bringing about the account. First, ethnography is interpretive and it interprets the flow of social discourse. Second, the interpretation involves, “trying to rescue the ‘said’ of such discourse from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms,” (p.20). Finally, description must also be

microscopic. Through the many brief and extended acquaintances with great and small matters, the significant social meanings are revealed. Small actions speak to large issues, because social actions are comments on more than themselves.

Geertz (1973) labels this process the “semiotic approach” to culture and thick description. The focus of the approach is interpretation that provides access to the conceptual world of a culture, not a systematic assessment of the culture. Instead the semiotic approach uncovers the conceptual structures that inform the actions of the subjects being studied; the said and meaning of social discourse. The ethnographer participates in and observes the interactions of the culture in order to construct a system of analysis that gets at the ideas generic to the structures of the culture. It is the search for what belongs to them and what will stand out against other determinants of human behavior. Then the job of thick description is to provide a vocabulary for the symbolic actions of the culture giving them a new voice for expression, and a vehicle for integrating ethnographic argument. The essential role of thick description is not to provide answers to important questions about the culture, but to make available the answers that are given by the culture about what it is.

Sociocultural reality presents itself to the ethnographer in fragmented pieces, dependent on the cooperation of informants and other uncontrollable factors of the culture’s environment. In addition, the ethnographers own cognitive position influences the fieldwork outcome and ultimately the knowledge structures produced. This may imply that the knowledge produced by ethnographic research is incomplete, distorted, and therefore contestable. How the ethnographer’s field experience is translated into research findings is the primary concern of the section on the method for ethnographic argument.

Appendix B contains examples of some of the ample field notes necessary for the construction of an ethnographic experience.

The ethnographer comprehends experience by occupying at once, both participant and observer roles. The “working-out” of this experience allows the ethnographer to analyze culture. The dialectical nature of ethnography guides this investigation into the rhetorical role of glossolalia within the Pentecostal church. Because glossolalia is an act with purpose that contains symbolic meaning for the individual engaged in the act, it is rhetorical. Harding (1987) states that, “witnessing and conversion talk or more generally, testifying, evangelizing, gospel preaching, and spreading the word is rhetorical in the sense that it is an argument about the transformation of self that lost souls must undergo and a method for bringing about that change in those who listen to it”(p. 167). In question is the role of glossolalia. Does glossolalia have a rhetorical role similar to other forms of conversion talk, and does it require a particular discourse for its occurrence?

A two step approach, Agar’s (1986) ethnographic model and Tracy’s (1995) Action Implicative Discourse Analysis, was adopted for several reasons to better understand first, the ethnographer’s stance; second, the flow of ethnographic field activities; third, what these practitioners need to know individually and collectively to do glossolalia; and finally, examination of the potential rhetorical implications of the role of glossolalia. Just as Geertz persuades the ethnographer to create a meaningful vocabulary out of the thick description, Agar was chosen because his model provides a way of placing social action within a context of problem solving through an ethnographic language. Tracy offers a method for viewing social discourse as rhetorical, which is the focus of the investigation. To bring together these two forms of analysis and the elements they

require to make knowledge claims begins by establishing a language of ethnography that reflects the dialectical process.

Method for Ethnographic Argument

McElroy and Jezewski (1986) state that no systematic methodology exists that allows for description of the ethnographer's "cognitive stance, basic premises, or schema from which data are perceived, categorized and correlated" (p. 204). The studies cited within their research have individual methodological strengths, but no commonality between observational and evaluative techniques. Agar (1986) has suggested the need for an ethnographic "language" that describes what ethnographers do and how they may think in the field encounter. Agar's approach reflects the interpretive philosophies of many theorists cited in the literature review, including Geertz.

Influenced by cognitive anthropology, Agar's ethnographic language does not claim to describe models of the mind. Instead, he describes ethnography as an interpretive process, with the ethnographer as mediator of frames of meaning. It is this ethnographic language, extrapolated from the clinical pediatric ethnographic study conducted by McElroy and Jezewski (1986), that was used as a problem solving research model for this study.

Three traditions function within Agar's model that help to understand the ethnographer's stance. These traditions operate as perspectives by which ethnographic research is viewed and evaluated. They are 1) the group being studied; 2) the ethnographer's culture, including professional training; and 3) the audience for the report. Agar believes that the ethnographic task is to link these traditions in such a way that problems in understanding are resolved when traditions encounter one another. These

traditions are discussed in greater detail in the procedure section of the study.

Agar's ethnographic language involves several concepts for structuring and analyzing the ethnographic encounter. "Breakdown" is the term used to denote problems in understanding. A breakdown is the awareness that something within the ethnographic encounter does not make sense. The definition of an ethnographic encounter is any meeting, conversation, or symbolic interaction experienced in the field (Agar 1986). Those encounters reduced for the purpose of study are the encounters that relate to the guiding research question and the ethnographer's ability to build a schema that leads to breakdown. The nature of the breakdown depends on the impinging traditions of the ethnographic encounter. To better understand possible breakdowns in ethnographic encounters, this study extrapolates from the typology in McElroy and Jezewski's (1986) pediatric clinic research. Their typology is taken from Agar's interpretive, problem-solving model. Based on the problems that can result when different traditions encounter one another, the typology is used to assist the ethnographer in giving an account of why breakdowns may have occurred by categorizing them according to type. Table 1. demonstrates this.

TABLE 1. TYPOLOGY OF BREAKDOWNS IN AGAR'S ETHNOGRAPHIC MODEL*

	Mandated	Occasioned
Core	1	2
Derivative	3	4

- TYPE 1: Core and mandated breakdowns; the focus of the study; intended; ones that the ethnographer set out to create.
- TYPE 2: Core and occasioned breakdowns; the focus of an ethnographers work; derived from breakdowns that emerge unexpectedly in the course of doing ethnography; unintended.
- TYPE 3: Derivative and mandated breakdowns; less important breakdowns; less a focus for the ethnographer; yet ones that the ethnographer set out to create; intended.
- TYPE 4: Derivative and occasioned breakdowns; less important for the ethnographer; breakdowns that came up in the course of doing ethnography; unintended.

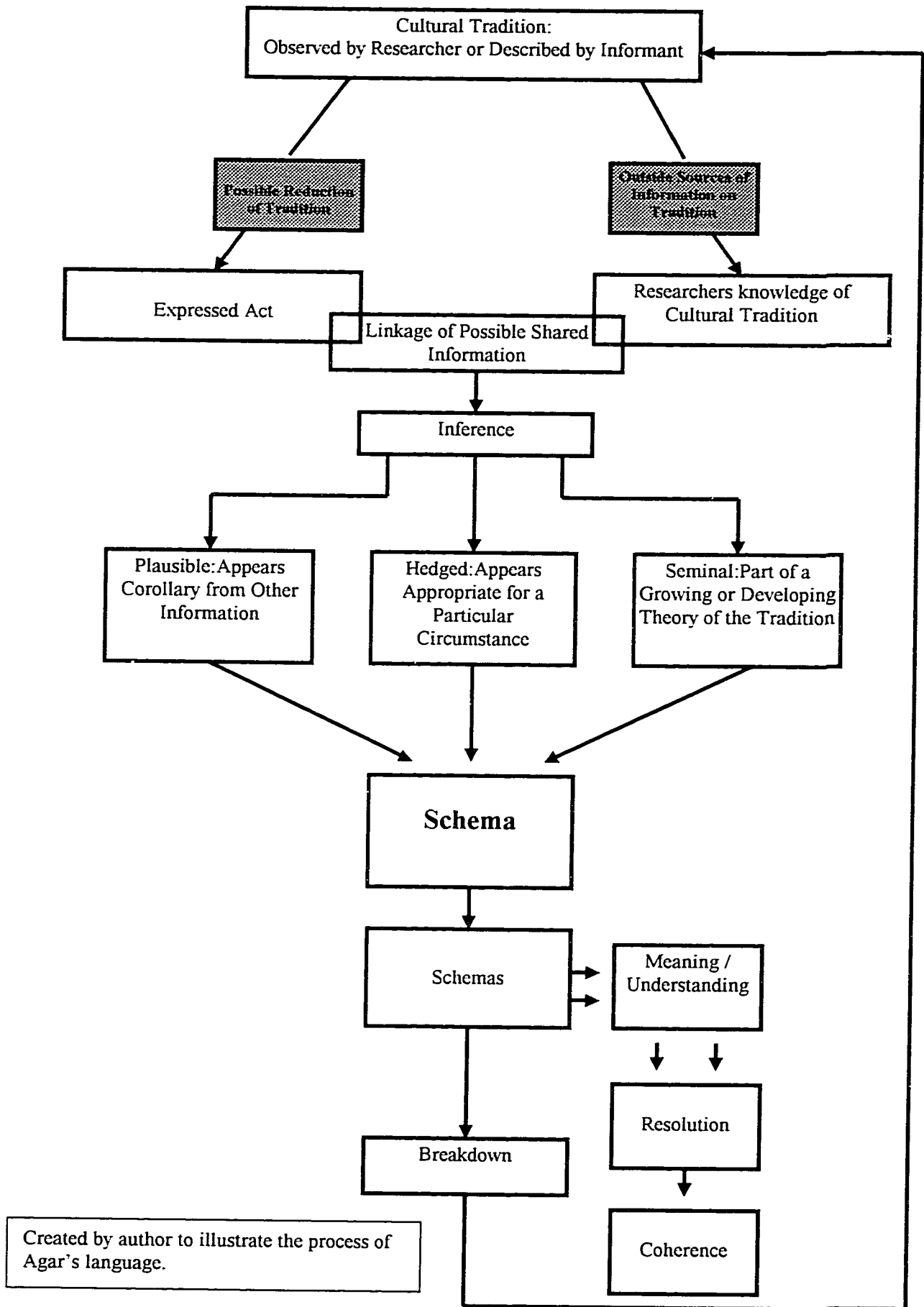
* Source: typology taken from McElroy and Jezewski (1986) and developed from Agar's terminology (p. 204).

A mandated breakdown is an expected discovery. The occasioned breakdown is unexpected and initially perplexing. The core breakdowns are central to the work of ethnography and can lead to theoretical advances. Derivative breakdowns are peripheral to the researchers concerns, but significant because they can lead to other things. It is important to note that these categories are not fixed. Agar (1986) states, "it is one of the special strengths of ethnography that a breakdown that was originally mandated disappears or becomes derivative, while something that came up serendipitously as an occasioned breakdown moves to the center and becomes core" (p. 207). Therefore the role of the ethnographer is to give an account that eliminates the breakdown. An example

of this would be to encounter a member of the church engaged in glossolalia, who explains she is feeling dark forces speaking through her that she cannot control. Attempting to understand her meaning of glossolalia is the focus of the investigation, making this a core breakdown. Because her form of glossolalia is not communication with God, but dark forces, the breakdown also becomes occasioned. It is part of the focus but through the course of doing ethnography the behavior emerges unexpectedly and does not make sense. The ethnographer needs more information to overcome the breakdown.

The process of moving from breakdown to understanding is called resolution. A resolution is accomplished by applying schemas to strips. A strip is a bounded or abstracted phenomenon against which ethnographers test their understanding of the group. The schema is a set of structures, goals, plans, etc. taken from established information on the subject and used by the ethnographer to interpret a strip. When a schema is applied to a strip to test understanding, lack of fit produces a breakdown. Table 2. is a flow chart developed to better illustrate this process.

TABLE 2: FLOW CHART OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC PROCESS



Created by author to illustrate the process of Agar's language.

As the ethnographer confronts a tradition within the culture, knowledge structures from outside sources of information, participation and observation of the culture, interviews with informants or a combination are applied. For example, a cultural tradition within the Pentecostal Church is a specific code of dress for women including no pants, jewelry, makeup, or other forms of outward adornment. This information may come from the prior training and research the ethnographer uses to make sense of the tradition. Reduction is the ethnographer's attempt at editing the tradition down to its basic motives to reveal an expressed act as defined by participants of the tradition. In this case the ethnographer can reduce the tradition of female adornment to observations of what the women are wearing in Church. These ethnographic procedures serve to link possible shared information that potentially provides understanding about the tradition. From this understanding the ethnographer can then make an inference about the meaning of the tradition.

Inferences, for the purpose of organization and argument, can be grouped and categorized in three ways, (1) plausible, they appear corollary from other information, (2) hedged, they appear appropriate for a particular circumstance, and (3) seminal, they are part of a growing or developing theory of the tradition or the culture as a whole. Inference grouping was used minimally in this study as an approach for discovering possible schemas. For example, the tradition of female adornment may at first appear as a plausible inference taken from other information known about Pentecostals, but once investigated may become something else within the schema. Inferences that develop and overlap or generate continuity and understanding of a tradition or several traditions become schemas. A schema is a set of structures, goals, plans, etc. taken from developed

inferences and used to interpret a strip. A strip is a bounded or abstracted phenomenon that may be part of a particular tradition or it may be the tradition. Strips are tested for breakdown: can the schema provide meaning and understanding to a strip that ultimately brings resolution to the ethnographic question and coherence about the tradition and the culture. If not then the ethnographer begins again starting with the observation/participation process that leads to inference development. If a schema is developed based on inferences about how women are supposed to dress in the Pentecostal culture and the observation/participation process reveals that women dress in entirely modern clothes, wearing makeup etc., then breakdown has occurred and the ethnographer goes back to examination of the tradition, participant/observation, and development of new inferences that lead to testable schemas.

Learning about the discursive positionings that inform and signify the behavior of glossolalia practitioners is what guides this study's use of Agar's ethnographic model. Specifically, the study brings new insights and understandings to how glossolalia is done and why. The task of understanding the rhetorical situation as discursive positioning necessary for glossolalia and its critical analysis required that the individual speaking in tongues be investigated as part of the Pentecostal spiritual experience and observed within that context. The believers give meaning to the experience. They are the focus of the research. Therefore, the criteria for determining schemas or that which guides observation of ethnographic encounters and ultimately abstracted strips used for analysis, are those encounters that reduce individual acts or traditions, such as glossolalia, to their personal or discursive motives, references, and meanings. Appendix B is an example of field notes used as strips. These encounters were observed and analyzed through

observations of church services, interviews of the people performing glossolalia, and tape recordings of sermons. Glossolalia episodes that occurred publicly during sermons were also tape recorded and used as schema development. Individual interviews were not taped but were used as abstracted strips where schemas could be tested. Individual interviews provided key opportunities to ask specific questions related to glossolalia's role during sermons and how one comes to understand and implement its practice. Three questions about glossolalia and how it is done were asked of each interview participant:

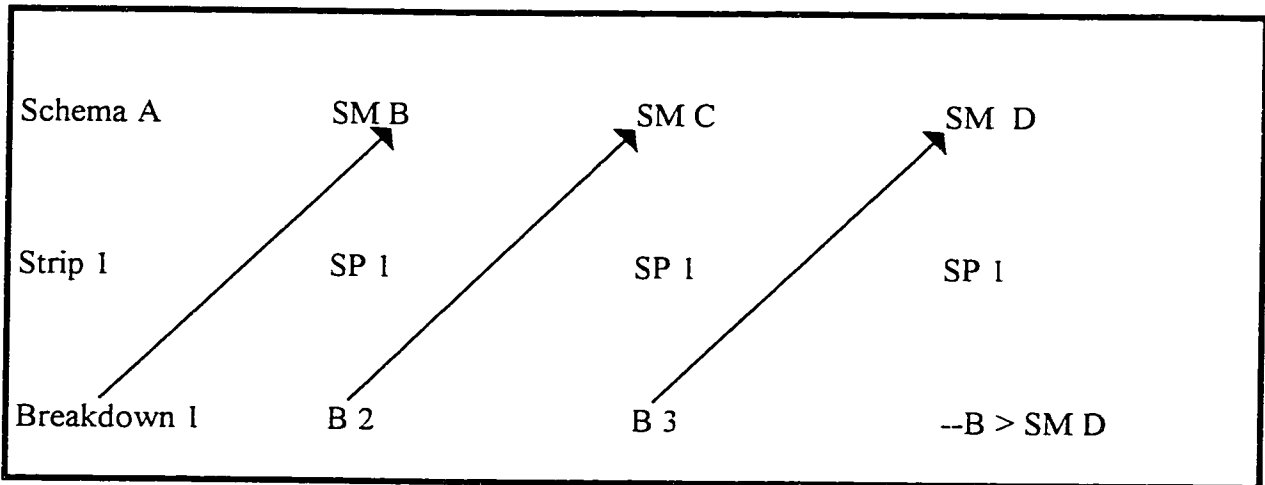
- 1) What is the meaning of glossolalia;
- 2) How did you come to know how to do glossolalia;
- 3) What is the function of glossolalia in your prayer sessions and church services?

These questions were used because they aided in the testing of two core/mandated schemas derived from the guiding research question: was glossolalia rhetorical and did glossolalia require the knowledge of or participation in a particular discourse for its appropriate occurrence? Both questions attempted to look at the rhetorical function of glossolalia within the Pentecostal culture. Direct quotations were transcribed from each interview concerning answers to the questions. The interview served as the abstracted strip. The information provided by the interviews was tested against the developed schemas.

Testing understanding due to lack of fit between schema and abstracted strip requires that the ethnographer apply a resolution process that potentially leads to coherence. In Agar's model this process is strip resolution. Strip resolution asks that the abstracted strip, in this case the interviews and field encounters, be tested for coherence

and meaning against the developed schema. Schemas that resulted in breakdown or lack of understanding were modified and retested according to Agar's model. The possible generation, development, testing, and modification of a schema is illustrated in figure 1.0.

FIGURE 1



* Source: taken from Speaking of ethnography, Agar (1986)

EXAMPLE 1 OF OPERATIONS

- Strip 1: While interviewing a woman after the church service, the ethnographer notices she is wearing makeup, especially deep red lipstick.
- Schema A: Ethnographer knows that most Pentecostal denominations discourage this type of female adornment and consider it to be too "worldly."
- Breakdown 1: This woman is the wife of the church Pastor. Ethnographer is confused because typically she sets an example for other churchwomen about the dress code.
- Schema B: Ethnographer notices that the majority of women in the congregation do not adhere to traditional Pentecostal norms of dress and adornment. Ethnographer summates that this church is more progressive in its attitudes toward women.

- Breakdown 2: Conversations and interviews with both men and women emphasize the importance of traditional male/female roles for Pentecostals as described in the bible.
- Schema C: Ethnographer assumes that modern dress for women is not viewed as normatively inappropriate for Pentecostals.
- Breakdown 3: Ethnographer quickly learns that women who wear what men typically wear, such as jeans, overalls, masculine shirts, shoes, etc. are viewed as inappropriate.
- Schema D: Pastor's wife informs ethnographer that being feminine and dressing feminine is part of God's plan.
- Breakdown: Other church women affirm that feminine adornment is acceptable so long as it does not appear masculine by modern popular culture standards.

The schema needs to be modified and then retested, as illustrated in figure 1.0.

The generation of the schemas and breakdowns are depicted first as symbols, such as SM B which means, the next modified schema resulting from a breakdown, followed by the corresponding schemas that did not provide understanding for the strip (SM C, SM D, and B 2, B 3, for the breakdowns as they occur). This process continues until a schema is formed that allows the ethnographer to understand the abstracted strip without breakdown depicted as ---B. After the schema is applied to other strips, a multiple strip resolution occurs attempting to discover a schema that applies to several strips without causing breakdown.

Further levels of resolution and then coherence can occur when ethnographic problem solving involves interpretation based on interconnected or higher order schemas.

The final product in ethnography is coherence; the ability to produce insight and clarification based on ethnographic schema development and strip resolution.

Action-Implicative Discourse Analysis

Action-implicative discourse analysis comes from a family of discourse analysis methods interested in inquiry as it moves in a hermeneutical circle of preinterpretation, action, critical reflection, reinterpretation, and further action. Tracy (1995) explains action-implicative discourse analysis as a method designed to assist scholars with problematic communication; the character of interactional problems; the conversational strategies used to address them; and participants situated ideals about appropriate responses to them. Her research that originally incorporated this form of analysis dealt with identity problems. Tracy (1995) addressed questions like: who should I be in this particular situation? What will my talking imply? How do I reconcile competing constraints and concerns? However, she argues that action-implicative discourse analysis is a methodological reasoning process with potential utility for many communication problems because it makes use of interview discourse in a different way. Within action-implicative discourse analysis, interview discourse or discourse about the problematic communication situation, provides the central site for reconstructing the web of interactional problems that participants face and their situated ideals. Analyzing interview discourse creates a picture of the taken for granted evaluative context in operation during the speech occasion of interest (Tracy, 1995). However, saying that interviews are used to characterize participants beliefs about problems and ideals, should not imply that explicit answers to questions are the central vehicle for characterizing beliefs. It should be presumed that when an individual is asked to explain or reflect on their own practices in

a communication occasion, they will discuss it in ways that convey evaluations that the individual would not or could not articulate explicitly. The job of action-implicative discourse analysis is to take these evaluations and reconstruct the interview discourse so that the researcher can examine the language and utterance choices and determine when questions make salient, different inferences or schemas for the situation. The features of Tracy's (1995) action-implicative discourse analysis are:

- 1) It presumes that conversational action is rhetorical and that communicators take action in light of the implicit ways they have framed a situation's problems.
- 2) The purpose of analysis is to reconstruct the web of actor problems, conversational techniques to address problems, and participant's situated ideals.
- 3) The understanding of an occasion will be enhanced by analyzing the discourse of an occasion (the interaction) and the discourse about an occasion (interviews).
- 4) Analysis is an interpretive activity grounded in and constrained by, the discourse materials and larger context, but shaped by the research purpose of creating a grounded practical theory.
- 5) A productive level at which to analyze discourse attends to evidence of actor planning problems (non-fluencies, word and utterance repairs) and highlights those features about which people can and do reflect word utterance and speech act choices (p.126).

Procedures

Group Being Studied

The culture of a southeast Michigan Assemblies of God Pentecostal church was the research site for this investigation. Six months of regular attendance and participation including services, social gatherings, prayer meetings, and Wednesday evening classes provided the participant /observer perspective. The church membership totaled approximately 120 families mostly of white Anglo-Saxon background. Several families were second and third generation Italians who had converted from Catholicism. The church was unable to provide specific demographic information about the membership, but the pastor did say that it reflected the demographics of the area, which is predominantly white and blue collar.

Although Pentecostalism is a popular religion among African-Americans, none were members at this church. In the early history of the Pentecostal church segregation was popular. Today, many Pentecostal churches are interested in spreading their message at a grass roots level. Instead of church names like the Evangel Temple, many churches now call themselves "Family Living Centers" and provide outreach programs for single parents, AA meetings, and classes on how to live a better life. The church used for this investigation provided many programs for the community it served, but was committed primarily to that community.

Site Being Studied

The site of the investigation has been a part of the community for 12 years and it now has its second Pastor. It sits on five acres of prime land and has a baseball diamond, and two adjoining buildings used for classes and a multi-purpose room. The church is

considered to be a “Family Living Center” providing programs that reflect the needs of a white, blue collar neighborhood. Some of the popular classes on Wednesday evenings deal with parenting, relationships, and how to be a better wife or husband. Each class is held in an adjacent building that resembles a school. Classrooms come equip with a film screen, overhead projector, and access to a VCR. The church has e-mail access and its own web page.

Similar to other Pentecostal churches that can afford it, this site has a multi-media system for the main congregation hall where a large screen comes down from the ceiling to show films and a wall behind the pulpit slides open to reveal a large stage used mostly by the choir. There is a sound and lighting both in the back capable of creating many different effects. Great effort has been made to make services not only entertaining, but modern.

Gaining Site Access

The church has a friendly open door policy to all visitors. A personal friend and member of the church, however, assisted in gaining access to significant church functions. Also, the Pastor wrote a letter of permission for the investigation. Church members and interview informants were given full knowledge of the nature of the research and told their privacy would be protected. Wayne State University granted permission for the use of human subjects. That form appears as Appendix A.

Interviews

Volunteer interviews with glossolalia practitioners totaled 37, including 31 adult women and 6 adult men. The discrepancy in the ratio of men to women presents an additional research element addressed in the results section and the limitations of the

study. After three weeks of regular church attendance, members were approached and asked if they would be interested in being interviewed for the study. These members had been witnessed practicing glossolalia and were specifically asked to discuss their experiences. Interviews took place mostly in the homes of informants or a nearby restaurant. The interviews became an essential component for developing testable schemas and revealing the discursive positionings of the practitioners.

Cohesion of Theories

Reality is created through the inter-connective patterns of communicative behavior. Individual acts do not define entirely a culture's reality, instead it is the complex patterns of ongoing actions. In order to grasp the meanings informing these complex patterns three complimentary methodological approaches needed to be employed for this investigation. To pull out of the participant/observer experience and attempt to interpret and give voice to the flow of social discourse Geertz's "semiotic approach" to thick description provided access to the conceptual work of this Pentecostal Church. By uncovering the structures that inform the action of the church members being studied, a system of analysis was necessary that could recreate what was generic to them concerning how glossolalia was done and why. Agar's ethnographic language was used to provide a vocabulary for the symbolic actions of the culture. Agar's approach also revealed significant places of discursive struggle, creating the breakdowns used for schema development and further analysis. Because the participant/observer could not provide enough information, interviews of individual glossolalia practitioners were used. Their responses to three questions about glossolalia were analyzed using Tracy's (1995) Action Implicative Discourse Analysis, which presumes that conversational action is rhetorical,

and that communicators take action in light of the implicit ways they have framed a situation. These three methodological approaches worked to reconstruct the discursive flow, analyze the discourse of a glossilalic encounter, and analyze the interview discourse about a glossolalia encounter. Implications are discussed that argue Pentecostalism seems to have its own institutional discourse that allows for a rhetorical creation of the Pentecostal Church through the discourses that lead up to the act of glossolalia and why it is done.

Ethnographic Experience: Achieving the Insider Perspective

This research focused on the discursive communication patterns of church members at an Assemblies of God Pentecostal Church; specifically church services, conversations and personal interviews concerning the act of glossolalia; how it is done and why. Agar's method helped create a "language" with useful boundaries that directed interpretation of breakdowns and served as an approach to problem solving. The "insider" perspective was achieved through ongoing church attendance and involvement with those church members willing to talk about glossolalia and volunteer to be interviewed. Agar (1986) states that achievement of the insider perspective, although always limited, can be based on the back and forth "working out" or problem solving of interpretive data. In its truest form, Agar sees ethnography as dialectic between the "self" of the ethnographer and the "other" of the informant or experience. Eastland (1986) adds to the insider perspective by contending that, "variously liminal positions emerge from the contradictory aspects of individual projects and that the struggle involved in negotiating a stance enables the ethnographer in 'getting-into' the experience of the other" (p. 123). The dialectical struggle directs and eventually becomes the insider perspective, negotiating between

Agar's three traditions of ethnographer, culture observed, and audience for the research.

As stated in the literature review, the Pentecostal Church is a unique environment, displaying emotional episodes of individual and group spirituality. Although their displays of spirituality may appear to be personal to an outsider, church members openly invited conversations about their religious experiences. This made the establishment of relationships and participation in Church services comfortable. Monthly and some bi-monthly church attendance and involvement with members began in July, 1995. In addition to weekly services the "insider" research also involved attending prayer meetings and conducting numerous discussions with church members about their beliefs and glossolalia. It was made clear to church members that the discussions were part of background information needed for possible research on glossolalia, but conversations strayed into other areas such as family, morals, problems with society, and especially why that individual converted to this type of religion. However, no formal interviews took place. Other Pentecostal churches were also visited for the purpose of background and general interest.

Ethnographic Narrative: Experiencing the Insider Perspective

Encounters began in March of 1996 with the help of a friend who had been a regular member of the church for several years. After an informational interview with the Pastor, I began attending church once per week. During the first few weeks I would sit with my friend, observe the service and write up field notes later or attend a service she was not at and sit in the back and write up field notes. I never felt comfortable writing notes during the service with people around me.

As my presence became familiar, people began to approach me and ask questions.

They were genuinely interested in the research and openly discussed their experiences. About three weeks into my research, I went to a party at my friend Josie's house and got to know several people. The party gave me the opportunity to interview three women. By the sixth week I was attending Sunday morning service and the Wednesday evening classes. Schema development came easily from all the previous research and my active church attendance. Strip or encounters to test schemas with were more difficult. I had little appreciation for what was happening around me and I felt like just an observer with some outside knowledge of this group, but I did not really know them. My perspective as an insider changed drastically after meeting Gwen on a Wednesday evening.

Gwen invited me to a Sunday evening service. She said the "spirit" was always stronger on Sunday nights. It was eight weeks into my research and I had never been to a Sunday night service. We sat with her born-again friends. Most of them were single and between 20-35 years old. There were no children at this service and few people over 50 years old. The service revolved more around prayer and singing than the message of the sermon. People began to speak in tongues much sooner than the morning service and with more energy and passion. People actually stood in the aisle and prayed, danced, and cried.

When the altar call began I decided to go up with them and stand off to the side. It was the first time I had experienced an altar call from the front of the church. I stood there with my head down and tried to subtly observe the others. One woman was praying for her mother who had breast cancer. She was so sincere in asking for God's help, I felt myself moving toward her just to offer my presence as comfort and support. A woman next to me grabbed hold of my hand and we both laid our hands on the crying woman. She began to sob and shake almost from our touch. Slowly her crying abated and she

seemed at peace. She took my hand in hers and the woman next to me took my other hand and we lifted our arms into the air. All attempts to observe these people were gone. I decided to just experience. The woman to my right was crying and speaking in tongues. I could feel her body shake and tremble. She held tight to my hand and as she prayed and cried, I realized she was doing it for me. I was lost in the experience as she spoke in tongues so that God would hear her prayers for me. This was the first time I had ever been so close to the act of glossolalia. It made me nervous and excited because I felt moved by the experience. I lost complete sense of my position. Was I still the ethnographer, was I a part of this, or something in between. It made me feel I was part of something extraordinary. I felt the energy and the passion of those around me. Although I did not speak in tongues, I had achieved a different perspective on these Pentecostals. This became a defining moment for my research because I felt I had earned some amount of limited passage into their world. Trying to understand how glossolalia was done and why, became a different kind of journey because I was in a different place with my relationship to members of the church. From that point, I became far less an outsider and a little closer to being a participant.

Summary

In order for ethnographic research to reveal the flow of human behavior and its meaning, the articulation of cultural episodes must be recorded. The literature review provided the background information necessary for schema development and Geertz (1973) provided the approach for thickly describing encounters. The methods used for analyzing the world of glossolaliacs was first Agar's (1986) ethnographic language and Tracy's (1995) Action Implicative Discourse Analysis. Together with the literature review

these methods allowed for an investigation into what members of this Pentecostal church need to know individually and collectively to do glossolalia. Developed schemas were tested against field note strips taken from church encounters and reflected in the following four episodes. Episodes created from field notes were also tested for breakdown against interview strips and discussed in the final section of chapter four as ethnographic argument.

CHAPTER FOUR

Ethnographic Description and Argument

Human situations are invested with meaning. Gaining access to the event or situation, however, does not necessitate access to the meanings informing the behavior of the individuals participating in the events and situations. Beyond achieving an “insider perspective” the most arduous task of the ethnographer is deciding what to display as an exemplar of the abundant field notes and observations necessary for access to the research site and its shared meanings. How does six months of church attendance, participation, and incredible experiences translate as meaningful to the reader of this investigation?

Using Geertz (1973) as a selection guide and the research question, “what is the role of glossolalia in rhetorically creating a Pentecostal religious culture,” four detailed episodes were chosen from six months of field notes and ethnographic observation. In addition, those field notes and observations that helped to explain breakdowns in meaning, according to Agar's terminology, were also used. Probably the most significant criterion, however, for the selection of these four episodes, is the experience of the ethnographer.

After six months of regular church attendance and approximately 300 hours of logged time with the members of this church, certain experiences, both planned and unplanned, stood out as defining moments for what it meant to be part of this group. It is not possible to accurately recreate the experience of watching someone become born again and then later learn to speak in tongues; and at no point can this extensive research bring about an actual account of learning how to speak in tongues. The researcher of this investigation can, however, share the most moving and intense experiences that occurred and use the methodology as a way of exploring those experiences to see if they address

the research question. All of the episodes described here took place after the fifth week of observation and participation by the researcher, because it was not until the researcher witnessed speaking in tongues and laying upon hands in a way that directly involved her, that the experience became more thick and deeply felt. Geertz (1973) explains that defining moments like this are key to ethnography because they move the ethnographer closer to the group being studied which provides a better understanding of the symbolic behaviors of the group.

Effectively recording the significant social life episodes of this Pentecostal church involved tape recordings of regular Sunday morning or evening services and field notes describing activity during the service. Field notes revealed that services were orchestrated similarly from Sunday to Sunday and unique activities and discourses could then be isolated and compared to other Sunday services. Episode one is a Sunday morning service that demonstrated one of the best examples of how a service is orchestrated to induce glossolalia. In total 18 Sunday morning or evening services were recorded through field notes or on audiotape.

Episode two was selected because it reveals the amount of glossolalia that can take place during a Sunday evening service and it attempts to provide some of the translations of tongues. Participation in personal development classes was also significant in getting to know church members. Over the course of six months five Wednesday evening courses were attended. Here church members learned about how to act and think as a born-again Christian. Episode three describes the most emotionally moving class experienced.

Revivals and guest ministers generate another important episode in the ongoing discourses of Pentecostal life. Revivals guarantee glossolalia and usually represent an

attempt at awakening the congregation to the evils of the world and why they must be born-again. Episode four was the only revival during the six months of ethnographic experience and it seemed to renew the passion and energy of those who attended.

Ethnographic Description

Episode One

Three women stand below a velvet likeness of Christ. They are the first members you meet as you enter the spacious pastel lobby of the Church. One member approaches, "hello darlin, this is our church bulletin, you can sit any where you want." The choir has just started. The people are clapping their hands to the music and the entire room is packed with eager believers. On the chorus of the third hymn the Pastor stands and waving his right arm over his head sings, "praise you Jesus, praise you." The entire congregation joins in by praying, some quietly and some out loud with arms in the air. The excitement and energy is incredibly strong. It is unlike any other Christian worship service I have attended. The woman sitting next to me leans toward my ear and says, "we are gonna have 'church' today, I can feel it."

After church announcements, the Pastor shares with the congregation his dismay over the stories he has read in the newspaper. "What has our world come to when children kill children." He shares with us that God wants adults to be in charge of children. He encourages parents to be better leaders in the home and to remember the roles each parent should have in the household according to God's word. "When parents ignore God's word, children go bad." Then he invites a young woman on stage who sings, "Jesus walks with me." She looks about 14 and sings beautifully. People are praying with hands in the air as she sings. Her message is felt passionately by the congregation. It is a

message about having a close personal relationship with God. When the song ends, no one claps. They pray.

The Pastor is an effective speaker. He mixes an organized presentation with emotion, charisma, and intensity. His sermon is orchestrated as he leads us through appropriate motions that appear to be anticipated. He asks for affirmation by saying, "can you say praise the Lord." And the congregation answers, "praise the Lord." He reads the scripture, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock, if any man hear my knock, open the door and I will come in and sup with him and he with me." This is the theme of his sermon today. The message asks for service to God. Are you ready to serve God if he calls on you? The pastor preaches about family responsibility and American responsibility. "What does God want from us?" He answers, "that we follow him." The congregation responds with comments like, "Amen, Praise the Lord."

I learn that the only way to follow God is to give my life to him. This means becoming "saved" in front of everyone. "Do you hear God's knock? Is there anyone here today that does not know Jesus as his personal savior?" He asks us to open the door of our hearts and let Jesus in. Then the pastor invites all sinners and those that have fallen short of the glory of God, to step up and be saved. He leaves the pulpit with his microphone in hand, walks toward the front row of the congregation. The entire church is praying out loud. The pastor reaches for middle aged woman in the front row. "Do you need prayer sister," he asks. "Jesus is here for you." He places his right hand on her head and begins to pray into the microphone loudly, asking God to first forgive her of her sins and then help her. Everyone is praying and the woman is sobbing as other members come up and place their hands on her. The pastor begins speaking in tongues, but only a few

syllables and then back to "praise the Lord and thank you Jesus." The praying and laying on of hands lasts for several minutes. Then the pastor announces that there is someone else in the audience with a heavy heart. "Someone else needs Jesus and I want you to come up here and accept him into your heart. Even if you already know the Lord and you just want to feel his power, come up and pray with me." Slowly people begin to approach the altar. Some kneel and raise their arms in the air. Others stand behind them and lay their hands on them. Many people are speaking in tongues and praying loudly. Four people kneel in a circle around one woman. They place their hands on her and pray out loud. A man leads the pray saying, "take this burden from her Lord, take it with all your great might, release her, let her live without sin." The woman throws her arms in the air and yells out, almost a howl, and nearly falls backward, but the people catch her. She continues to sob and pray.

I am one of the few people left sitting in the pews. Almost the entire congregation is at the altar. The pastor speaks quietly into the microphone, "Jesus hears your prayer any where you are. You don't have to be down here with us; all you have to do is give your heart to Jesus right where you are, give your heart to Jesus... give your heart to Jesus." He repeats the phrase several times as he walks among the people at the altar touching them with his right hand, pausing with some to pray specifically for them.

The altar call lasts for almost 30 minutes. Slowly people begin to move away and take their seats. The Pastor steps behind the pulpit again and closes the service with a prayer, briefly reviewing his message of Christian responsibility. As we leave the building, I notice how content so many of the people seem to be. Several people invite me back next week.

Episode Two

Sunday evening service is intended for those that cannot make it to the Sunday morning service. I recognize, however, many of the same faces from the morning service. The atmosphere is less formal. Most members are dressed in relaxed clothes, rather than suits and dresses. The choir is smaller than the morning choir, but their singing seems more intense. People around me seem almost anxious to have a spirit-filled evening. As the choir begins their second song a transformation takes over. Already I can hear people around me speaking in tongues. They are ready for a spiritual experience and as they participate in the music they also experience something very personal. There is absolutely no concern for how they look or what someone might think of their behavior. Little attention is given to my presence. Everyone is concerned with his or her spiritual experience.

At the end of the song, "I'll See You in The Rapture," the choir breaks into prayer. The music continues as the praying gets louder. The congregation raises their arms. All around me I hear tongues mixed with crying and "praise you Jesus." The music gets louder. A man leaves his pew and paces in the aisle, up a few steps then back as he says Jesus, Jesus, Jesus. It is the first time I have witnessed a man moved so strongly in the spirit.

The Pastor speaks from the pulpit in prayer and then tries to settle the audience. As people quiet a woman in the third row begins to speak in tongues. Everyone is listens. Her sounds come in single syllables: ali, ali, ali, mon, do, see, mon, ni, on, no, see, de, ah, la, see, ah, la, see, mon, do. She closes her eyes as she speaks with her face toward the ceiling and arms raised high. When she is finished, she waits. After several seconds

another woman on the opposite side near the front row stands and begins the translation. She says, "I am the most high God, bow down before my love... I am the true God... my love is ever lasting... believe on me this day for I am the only true God."

The pastor leans into the microphone and with a slow hushed voice says, "thank you Jesus, thank you Jesus." This is only the first 30 minutes of the service and already people are experiencing the spirit. The praying continues with most people speaking out loud. The woman next to me cries, "Help me Lord, help me do your work." The frenzy of emotion abates. People take their seats, still praying. I can hear tongues being spoken around me and it is similar to the public display of tongues just heard. As the pastor speaks, the people slowly become interested in what he is saying. They are at peace and content, ready to finish their service.

The sermon is powerful, but shorter than a Sunday morning service. The minister's message is positive, "what God can do to turn your life around." Most of the people here seem to be seeking something. They listen intently and many cry or pray quietly to themselves. As the minister speaks, his words bring back some of the despair that began the service. It is as though the people want to cry and create the frenzy of emotion that seems to bring about glossolalia. The minister speaks for about ten minutes and unlike the Sunday morning service, there is no obvious transition from the service to prayer, to singing, to church altar call. The congregation has the control. As members react to the message of the sermon others join in and move the entire group toward another emotional episode of speaking in tongues. The same woman from the beginning of the service stands and announces that "she has a heavy conviction on her soul," and God needs to speak through her again.

This woman is a frequent tongue speaker and translator. She is more vocal during the Sunday evening service than the Sunday morning service. She is also the woman that many in the church do not like because she is too spiritual, according to some of the church members I have interviewed. They say she is almost too frequent with her tongue speaking and too wildly spiritual. It was explained to me in an interview that there is a limit to how much God should spiritually move an individual. People will begin to wonder about you and how you live your life.

The minister asks for an altar call to pray for a new born-again Christian. Slowly members leave their seats and move toward the altar where they lay hands on a man about 35 years old. He kneels and cries as the minister places his hand on the man's forehead and prays for him. People around the man speak in tongues. He continues to cry as he raises his arms in the air praying for forgiveness. The altar call lasts for more than 20 minutes. Prayer and speaking in tongues dominates the Sunday evening service. I am told this is the reason people attend.

Episode Three

The Wednesday evening class marks the mid-week point in the life of the Pentecostal believer. The classes offered are geared mostly toward families, with activities for children and teaching and fellowship for the adults. On Wednesday evening from 7:00pm to 9:30pm the church is transformed into a place of learning about how to live a Christian life rather than worship.

The same great hall where members enter on Sunday morning is now darker and less formal. No one greets us at the door are people are dressed casually in slacks and shirts -- no jeans. My friend directs me to a bulletin board down the hall where a list of

the classes offered this month is posted. Classes are divided by gender and age. Women have a group of classes they choose from and men and children. There are also special classes for teenagers girls from 12-18 years old and boys from 14-18 years old. I asked why 12 and 13 year old girls had a separate class but not boys and was told that girls mature faster than boys and therefore needed more Christian guidance early on in life.

Women could choose from classes like, "What the Apostle Paul really said about women," "Jesus and Motherhood," "Living a single Christian life," and "The Christian Marriage." Men had choices like, "Heroes of the Bible," "Managing your finances the Christian way," and they could also attend the, "Christian Marriage" class. We chose, "What Paul really said about women," taught by a male leader of the church.

Classes always begin with a group prayer. On Wednesday evening, the prayer is far more informal than Sunday morning service. Speaking in tongues would never be anticipated. Tonight's lesson would be about the gospel of Paul and the letters he sent to the new Christians. Our teacher was in his late fifties, well groomed with perfect hair. He wore a sport coat, conservative tie, and beige pants, The teacher shared with us that he had been in a Christian marriage with his wife for 33 years. Although they had different roles within the marriage and the raising of the children, they were equals in God's eyes. He told us he understood women.

Our lesson began with a question, "what was Paul's message to women?" The teacher explained that Paul took literally the fall of Adam and Eve and placed the blame on Eve. When Jesus gave his life for our sins, women could once again find forgiveness and salvation. Then he reminded us that everyone from Paul's day had a different attitude about women than what we have today. Women can and should find their place in the

Christian church through Jesus.

He spoke for about 20 minutes and then asked all of us to get into groups of three or four. The purpose of our group was to discuss how women today reconcile "worldly ways" promoted especially by the media with what is expected of us by God. I was in a group with two other women, both mothers of children in their early 20s. One woman was married, but she explained her husband was not saved. The other woman was divorced many years ago and she was looking for a good Christian husband. They immediately asked me if I was "saved" and I answered by explaining my research project. That seemed to be a satisfying answer. Both women were friendly and had little trouble talking about themselves or their opinions about Christian living.

The first woman began by telling us about her newly married son whose wife is a bartender on the weekends and has divorced parents. She and the son are not speaking because she does not approve of the new wife and no longer goes to church with her. She wonders if the son has backslide. The second woman also has a married son, but he and his wife attend the Catholic Church with the father, her unsaved husband. The greatest concerns of both women are with family. I asked them what they would change about their families and both women agreed they would bring them to Jesus. The second woman talked about how, although she did love her husband, she could not understand why he did not want Jesus in his life. He could see how Jesus changed her life and how her life is now "on fire." Why did he not want this?

Our teacher overheard our conversation and asked the woman to share with the rest of the class. When she finished, he asked the entire class, "what does the bible say women should do in this situation?" A woman in the back of the room answered that,

"your husband is still head of the household, but you now become the spiritual leader, because it is up to you to lead him to God." Everyone discussed this idea. Our teacher asked us to make a circle around the woman from my group and put our heads on her and pray for her to give her strength. He lead the prayer, "Jesus we call on you to help this woman in her home, help her share your love with her husband without taking his place as the head of the household, help her find the strength ... As the prayer continued other women could be heard share supportive words like, "thank you Jesus, praise you Jesus." The woman we prayed for spoke quietly in tongues and cried. When the prayer was over she hugged everyone in the class. Our teacher summed up the lesson and then turned the class over to the youth minister's wife. She announced some children's church activities and then began passing out Mary Kay makeup products some of the women had ordered a few weeks before.

Wednesday evening classes end with cookies and punch for everyone in the multi-purpose room where the younger kids have been playing games and doing crafts. I arrange to interview three women from the class and the teacher. He will be the first male I have talked with about speaking in tongues. As we leave, I notice that the night sky is a strange deep purple. I mention this to the woman next to me and she confidently says, "yes, he is coming."

Episode Four

Church revivals have the most incredible glossolalia performances. At this revival the guest speaker was from an Assemblies of God missionary project. He had just returned from Russia. Because he had already delivered a lengthy sermon during the morning service, tonight's sermon would be short so that we could get down to the

business of “doing church.” It was explained to me that the purpose of a revival was to save sinners and “revive” the spirit of born again Christians. Sometimes revivals took place at a camp or someone’s home and sometimes they took place at the church. This one was at the church.

The youth Pastor had organized a coed sleepover with teenage boys on one side of the multipurpose room and teenage girls on the other side. As we entered the church, the teenagers and some young adults carried sleeping bags and overnight accessories into the multipurpose room and then headed into the congregation hall. The entire focus of the evening was on the teenagers and young adults. Older church members would help the young sinners become saved and the ones already saved would receive the Holy Spirit of Jesus tonight. This meant they would speak in tongues if they had received the Holy Spirit.

A tape of modern Christian gospel music played during the beginning of the service. The Pastor moved quickly into the sermon. He talked about how Jesus was changing Russia. He said the older people were closed to the word of God, but the young people were hungry for the word of God. They had not lived through generations of Communism. The young people of Russia wanted freedom the way Americans had freedom. They did not want to be poor; they wanted to live in a prosperous country. The youth of Russia, the Pastor explained, knew that Jesus was the only way they would live better lives.

The visiting Pastor shared a story with us about a 21-year-old man who gave his life for Jesus. Now the young man wants to be a minister. He is raising enough money to start his own church and tonight we need to dig deep into our pockets to help. The Pastor

begins to pray loudly through the microphone. Telling everyone in the congregation he is reaching out to us. Then he asks all the young people to come up to the altar. The youth minister and his wife, along with three other adults, lead the group to the front of the church. They stand bunched together in a line as the Pastor steps down from the pulpit and lays his hands on each one.

At first there is just loud praying. Then the Pastor starts calling out to God to, “enter this room, move us Lord, and show yourself to these young people.” He speaks in tongues loudly over the microphone. The people left in the pews move toward the altar and choose a teenager to lay hands on. The noise is intense with shouts, cries, and people speaking in tongues. The visiting Pastor moves slowly through the crowd praying and touching people. He drops to his knees to pray for a young man weeping on the floor. Other men gather around him and pray for him. I notice now that only women are laying hands on girls and men are laying hands on boys. An older woman stands and begins dancing and jumping as she speaks in tongues. The visiting Pastor moves toward a group of women and girls. He places his right hand on the head of a teenage girl and shouts into the microphone that she will sin no more she belongs to God. He speaks in tongues and prays loudly. The girl’s knees buckle and she falls to the floor. The women rush to her and the Pastor moves to another teenager.

The altar call continues for about 20 minutes before the Pastor regains his composure and steps behind the pulpit again. He calms the group with softly spoken words about Jesus’ love. Quiet weeping can still be heard and no one moves from the altar. I am told that the young people, ages 17 to 21, will go back to the multipurpose room and sit in groups with an adult leading a discussion on their experience. They have

activities planned until midnight and those that choose to can spend the night. When I leave, there are still several women and the Pastor praying for the girl that collapsed to the floor. She is still on her knees crying.

Ethnographic Argument: Breakdowns

Conversation and discourse are rhetorical because communicators take action based on how they come to understand and give meaning to a situation. This study examined the unique meaning given to the ecstatic experience of glossolalia by the culture of a Pentecostal Church. The research question guiding this investigation was: What is the role of glossolalia in rhetorically creating the Pentecostal religious culture? Ethnographic observation/participation and the literature review provided data for the development of schemas that helped to address the rhetorical role of glossolalia in the Pentecostal culture. Using Agar's ethnographic model, two mandated/core breakdowns or hypotheses were tested against two developed schemas concerning the meanings given to the act of glossolalia and the discourses that lead up to its performance. In determining the meanings of individual and group experiences of glossolalia and the discursive positions necessary for a Pentecostal religious culture, Action-Implicative-Discourse-Analysis was used to select appropriate interview data that helped to explain or better understand mandated/core breakdowns.

The first schema was tested against the interview data and participant/ observation notes that established glossolalia as a rhetorical act; the focus of the study and an intended mandated/core breakdown. The second schema, also tested against a mandated/core breakdown, addressed the inferences that developed glossolalia as a learned behavior or epistemologically created by the particular group; taught out of positioned acceptance of a

particular discourse. The third schema was tested against a derivative/mandated breakdown that looked at glossolalia as a commitment act to the religious movement. The fourth breakdown was unintended. It came up in the course of doing ethnography, and was not tested against an established schema, but all inferences and schemas that gave understanding to the differences between women's and men's explanation of the primary function of glossolalia; making it derivative and occasioned. Each of the developed schemas and breakdowns are described in detail with excerpts from interview data and participation/observation notes.

Schema Development and Breakdown

Mandated/Core Breakdown

Schema One: Glossolalia as Rhetorical Act

The literature supports the following inferences about Pentecostalism:

- 1) that gospel preaching is rhetorical because it presents an argument about the need for transformation of the soul from a "worldly perspective" to one supported by the church;
- 2) that there is a method for bringing about this change known as "becoming born-again;"
- 3) that witnessing is a process of pointing out what is wrong with the world and providing the means for an individual to become born-again; 4) that becoming born-again is a triggering event causing cognitive restructuring.

Glossolalia is the most significant manifestation of Pentecostal belief, yet it rarely is part of the conversion process or the trigger event within the conversion process that is the moment a believer accepts "Jesus as their savior" and becomes born-again. The schema developed from these inferences is that glossolalia would play a key role in the conversion process, especially the Pentecostal conversion that places preponderant

importance on speaking in tongues as evidence of God's presence. Instead glossolalia usually develops months later, depending on the individual.

Female Informant: When I became born-again I felt first like I hit a brick wall, I was so over-whelmed and then I was so light...everything came so clear to me. No, that time I did not speak in tongues yet.

Glossolalia did not occur with any informant involved with this study when the new believer first became born-again. The amount of time, church involvement, and other conditions varied between informants as to when they spoke in tongues following the initial event of becoming born-again. The explanation given by the Pastor was that "baby Christians" develop their "gifts of the spirit" as God chooses them to. Noted was that most of the female informants spoke in tongues before male informants.

This breakdown in understanding was recovered through observation notes of sermons and informants explanations of what glossolalia means to them and how they came to understand its use. Glossolalia is rhetorical based on the following observation: first, it must be witnessed as an act by new Christians so that they know how to do it appropriately; second, it serves as a symbolic seal of approval for the sermon; and finally, it provides each individual with the final step of purification.

Informants spoke in tongues during prayer. Prayer occurred privately or during a sermon. The common element among every informant was that glossolalia did occur during prayer and prayers were seen as truly blessed when glossolalia was present.

Female Informant: When words do not come, when you are lost in God's love, you will speak to him in only a way he understands and he will forgive you.

Male Informant: If you don't know what to say let God say it for you.

Informants believed that God spoke through them when they spoke in tongues. It was their most direct communication with God. Praying to God was always first about sin and forgiveness. Before anything could be asked for in prayer, the believer had to know that they had appropriately asked for forgiveness. Glossolalia was part of the forgiveness process but also evidence that they had been forgiven.

Female Informant: If your heart is not right with Jesus, he is not going to choose you as his messenger.

In telling the story of their conversion, informants described their past as sinful and evil without Jesus. Guilt permeated every aspect of most informant's speech when discussing their past. The only way they felt like decent human beings was through their born-again status, yet many admitted still feeling "unclean" or inherently sinful and therefore needed to pray for forgiveness each day. Glossolalia offered ecstatic evidence that the guilt of sin could be purged from the soul.

Male Informant: I want to know I am heard by God, this is how I know

Female Informant: [It] means I'm free... I'm going to heaven and livin on streets of gold... this life is not important here, because we are all sinners...

Informants explained that unless you gave your life to Jesus and became born-again you would never live eternal life. Daily they chose to reinforce this belief with the experience of prayer that led to speaking in tongues. For the soul to be purged and catharsis reached, leaving the individual with a feeling of forgiveness; glossolalia had to be present. Yet the most significant account of prayer and forgiveness, the born-again conversion event, was void of glossolalia. Becoming born-again was one of the most important days in each informant's life, but they did not speak in tongues.

Only after the new Christian was inculcated into the Pentecostal culture did they discover the cathartic benefits of glossolalia. Typically, the first experience with glossolalia was witnessed during a sermon.

Female Informant: People get chosen by God, that's how it happens. Everyone has gifts of the spirit, you just may not know at first what yours is, but when you grow strong in God's love, you will find you gifts...

The congregation is taken through a clearly orchestrated spiritual program when attending a Sunday morning service. Certain individuals have parts they play and church members come to expect particular elements within the service such as singing in the beginning, followed by prayer. There is an appropriateness as to when a public display of glossolalia can take place. Usually it is during the third congregational prayer or the end of the sermon.

Glossolalia reinforces the message and leads the congregation into intense prayer or an altar call for all the sinners that have not asked Jesus to be their savior. The performance of glossolalia is rhetorical in that it teaches the new believer the appropriate way to speak in tongues, something that does not come naturally at conversion, and it operates as the symbolic evidence that God is speaking through the individual and to the entire congregation.

Glossolalia is also a rhetorical act because informants use prayer as a path toward redemption. As sinners they are polluted. Purification is manifest through the trance-like state of glossolalia and the subsequent emotionalization. Contact with God in a supernatural way such as glossolalia provides evidence of purification and ultimately redemption: the goal of prayer. Burke's theory of rebirth or pollution, purification,

redemption can be used to demonstrate a rhetorical function of glossolalia when used in a prayer for forgiveness. Whether prayer is done individually, collectively, or as a performance for the entire congregation, the purpose of prayer is to recognize the inherent “pollutedness” of the human being and ask for guidance and forgiveness to redeem oneself. Glossolalia is rhetorical within this act because it serves as a means of purification and catharsis that leads to redemption. The believers take themselves through a process of self-persuasion by engaging in the act of prayer, with glossolalia, that provides them with the belief that they have been forgiven.

Female Informant: God will forgive you, but you have to come to him, you have to get down on your knees and pray...I one time got down on my knees in a mall because I knew I was wrong and I had to ask his forgiveness.

Parts of the day-to-day actions of believers are interactions with non-believers and the “world.” Self-imposed restrictions and denials however, are not always maintained. Church doctrine teaches that humans are born into sin and therefore must be forgiven every day. Guilt is a permanent part of the Christian’s belief system. Redemption is what they want to achieve. Glossolalia is the demonstration of the deep felt guilt, closeness with God, and the conduit that leads to forgiveness or rebirth. It is rhetorical in that the act itself becomes the tool or method for engaging the process that allows the believer to reach rebirth and be persuaded that they are forgiven.

Mandated/Core Breakdown

Schema Two: Glossolalia as Epistemological Process

Extensive research supports the argument that glossolalia is a learned behavior endemic of a particular church culture. Wood’s 1965 study of “Pentecostal personality

types,” however, provided no evidence of any kind of demographic pattern related to why people become Pentecostal or “born-again.” The study did support one significant hypothesis: that Pentecostal and other types of born-again Christians talk about the need for what Wood refers to as a “state of personal integrity.” Wood found that participants in his study described themselves as lost sinners, before discovering Jesus. Hine’s 1969 investigation also discovered, “that in spite of wide differences in socio-economic, educational, or church background, respondents were strikingly similar in the area of pre-conversion conceptual orientation” (p. 219).

In this study interview participants came from diverse cultural, economic, and religious backgrounds but shared similar experiences with pre-conversion and pre-glossolalic speech. Glossolalia became a by-product of prayer for those Christians that were beyond the initial event of becoming born-again and had been fully indoctrinated with church beliefs and appropriate behaviors.

Female Informant: When I was a new Christian, I did not speak in tongues for a long time. I thought it was not going to be one of my gifts of the spirit and then we had a revival at the church and the minister said every born-again Christian could do this, that all of us had the ability to feel God’s presence. We just had to believe; ask Jesus for his holy spirit.

All the participants in the study had two elements present when they become born-again 1) a feeling of loss or separation from love and a sense of worthlessness; 2) pre-conversion talk that capitalized on the sense of loss and provided a way to be fulfilled.

Female Informant: I did drugs, I had an abortion.. the day before I was saved I got so high I thought I might O.D. Then my friend took me to church with her and those people immediately just loved me and I felt the presence of God and I saw how wrong my life

was. When I was called to that altar, my life changed.

The church provides new Christians with instructions and education concerning church doctrine, individual guidance and support through other Christians known as decipels, and inculcates them with normative rules of behavior, thought, and spirituality. A new Christian literally learns what it means to be born-again and act like a Pentecostal Christian. Glossolalia, however, is usually an entirely new experience, which may explain why few new converts speak in tongues when they are originally “saved.” Glossolalia instead develops later as new Christians learn about their gifts of the spirit and desire a super-natural experience with God. The ability to perform glossolalia is expected by those who are viewed as adult Christians.

Female Informant: My brother says he is born-again but I know he back-slid. You do not live with a woman, a divorced woman, that you are not married to and think you are still in favor with God... he never hardly comes to church and you never hear him speak in tongues any more.

Inferences developed from the research and informant interviews suggest a schema that glossolalia is learned through church involvement, witnessing, and actually seeing mature Christians perform glossolalia. Breakdown occurs, however, when glossolalia is used by informants as a “rite of passage” or as a “way of knowing” who are the real born-again Christians. Academic literature supports theories of cognitive reorganization and attitude change associated with glossolalia, however, no research suggests that glossolalia is taught as a rite of passage. Informants explained that glossolalia is expected by born-again Christians that have been saved for a few months and regularly participate in church services and activities. In fact, a Christian’s faith and strength as a believer is questioned if

they do not speak in tongues. They are encouraged to pray and try to discover why their heart is not right with God. Glossolalia demonstrates a level of maturity and expectancy of church belief; a rite of passage.

Female Informant: Jesus speaks through me, that is my gift... I did not choose this gift, it was given to me because God knew I was ready for it... I am a much stronger Christian this time, before when I was saved I could not speak in tongues my heart was not right...

Chesebro (1987) defines epistemology as, "the theory or science of the method or grounds of knowledge," (p.177). Knowledge systems or places, in which knowledge becomes grounded, are socially constructed. Actions and decisions based on a particular knowledge system can only be understood within a given discourse. Commitment to a particular discourse limits other cognitive options, but provides the attainment of other cognitive opportunities grounded in that knowledge system (Chesebro, 1987). This process is rhetorical because glossolalia as a symbolic act is created and sustained by born-again Christians through their talk about its practice and the norms they teach for its performance. New Christians are emerged in the discourse of what it means to be a Christian and should take up or position themselves within the discursive reality in order to learn how to do glossolalia.

Male Informant: You speak in tongues through faith... and yes as you grow and become a stronger Christian it becomes easier to speak in God's heavenly language...not everyone has the gift, but all mature Christians should. If you have reached that point in your spiritual life, then you should know how.

Glossolalia requires a discursive formation for its practice otherwise it cannot be done appropriately and will not serve as a rite of passage or evidence of the maturity of the

believer. Its rhetorical function may be that it achieves and sustains specific objectives within the Pentecostal context through the meaning of the symbolic act. Glossolalia becomes a way of knowing and understanding the world because it seems to operate as a seal of approval from God. It is epistemic because no one can just do glossolalia. They must be a part of the discourse that creates and grants permission for the symbolic act of glossolalia. Glossolalia as a rite of passage, requiring the existence of a discursive formation in order to be taught and shared among Pentecostals, symbolically helps to create a specific Pentecostal reality.

Mandated/Derivative Breakdown

Schema Three: Glossolalia as Commitment Act

Pentecostalism is an evangelizing religion called to share its message with the world. Since the early revivals at the turn of the century, Pentecostal groups, such as the Assemblies of God, have organized themselves within communities, creating social institutions that reinforce Pentecostal beliefs and immerse believers in a Pentecostal culture of discourse. They are a social movement proselytizing a fundamentalist version of Christianity.

Inferences about Pentecostalism as a movement suggest that believers show their commitment through church involvement and becoming born-again. Being “saved” or born-again, Hine (1969) argues, serves as a significant commitment act in two ways: first it alters the individual’s image of her or himself in a direction of Pentecostal ideology; and second the act of being saved becomes a bridge-burning action, setting the individual apart from the larger society and identifying her or him more closely with the particular Pentecostal group. This in turn commits the individual to certain changes in their attitude

and behavior that is appropriate for a member of the church. Hine (1969) defines commitment to the movement as: 1) primacy of concern with and conceptual clarity of the belief system of the movement; 2) participation in the social organization of the movement; 3) risk of social, economic, or political sanctions exercised by persons or institutions opposed to the movement; 4) behavioral change.

Based on the inferences, the developed schema suggests that glossolalia is also used as an identity altering experience and a bridge-burning act. Glossolalia clearly reinforces commitment to the church and the Pentecostal movement.

Female Informant: The first time I spoke in tongues I did not know what I was doing, people were praying for me and laying hands on me because I was going through a really hard time and while I was praying something just took over me and I started speaking and then the people around me started speaking ... that was the first time I really felt the presence of God and shared that with the people praying for me ... people I love.

Glossolalia is evidence to believers that God is present in them and in the church service. That presence is encouraged at each church meeting and believers feel cheated if it is not present.

Female Informant: I left my last church because it was not spirit filled. Not that people didn't speak in tongues, it was just so rare. The bible says something is wrong in your house if the spirit is not present.

Breakdown occurs when glossolalia seems to act as the believers "emotional fix" something many informants say they need almost every day.

Female Informant: You can't keep your faith strong without the holy spirit... you need that, you need to be spirit filled every day... I know I do.

Glossolalia is a large part of the appeal of a Pentecostal church. Coupled with strict normative rules for behavior and the embracing of a primal, ecstatic experience that reinforces belief and commitment, the church provides the members with the kind of support many of them say they need.

Female Informant: I used to be Catholic and before I came to this church I thought that was the only way to be a Christian... I thought I could get to heaven that way.. I came here and I found truth and I found love.. I never felt loved before, not even from my family... this church changed my life and I have never been this close to God or felt this loved or like I could actually do something with my life.

As stated in the literature review, Pentecostalism as a movement has appealed to the disenfranchised members of society or those people who feel lost and unloved.

Glossolalia serves as the super-natural evidence of God's love and commitment to the church. Many of the informants in this study revealed that they experienced overwhelming joy and peace of mind after praying and practicing glossolalia. Four women and one man disclosed that they were recovering alcoholics. Several others described drug abuse problems and explained that they did not need an artificial substance to get high, now have their "Jesus fix."

Male Informant: Boos is limited, it always fades and you end up feeling bad anyway. Jesus is the best high ever and he never lets you down.

Most informants explained that glossolalia gave them a special closeness with God they otherwise could not have and that they never would have found that closeness if they did not attend this church. All informants seemed "hooked" on the experience and felt more committed to the church and its Christian causes after they began to speak in tongues.

Informants explained that after an exciting, spirit filled service, believers felt more equip to leave the church and do a better job of living God's rules. The primal experience of glossolalia and its subsequent catharsis was a reward for living the strict rules of the church and a method of purging the sinful nature from the soul.

Cox (1994) compares the Pentecostal appeal and "emotional fix" believers get from speaking in tongues to new age movements. Unlike the previous century of followers who were displaced mainly because of economic and societal changes that left them stripped of options, today's converts feel lost in a world with too many possibilities. For many their isolation manifests itself through abuse of drugs and alcohol; the only place love and acceptance can be found. Similar to new age spirituality, Pentecostalism is concerned more with the experience of the divine for each individual believer than religious dogma. It is the spiritual encounter with God that is primary. Glossolalia replaces one fix for another and the rigors of Pentecostal behavior provide a strict guide to a life that leads to love and acceptance so long as the rules of the church are followed. Glossolalia functions rhetorically as a commitment act in that it becomes the bridge-burning or separation behavior for believers, between them and the world, and provides a necessary emotional fix that helps to manifest the most salient behavior for recreating the Pentecostal culture; glossolalia.

Derivative/Occasioned Breakdown

Schema Four: Glossolalia as Male Transcendence and Female Purification

The Pentecostal church adheres to the biblical account of the essential differences between men and women. These beliefs recognize differences not only in biological form, but also in men's and women's inherent capacities and appropriate functions in society.

Men are, according to the church, naturally ordained as leaders and administrators of the church community because they were created in the image of God. This places men in a more powerful position than women in the church and in the home; but it does not mean men are superior to women. Although men are allowed more voice, leadership, and power in all church matters, including those related directly to women's lives, bodies, and childbearing, men and women are spiritually equal in the eyes of God.

These inferences, taken from church teachings and informant interviews, suggest a schema that men and women have clearly defined functional places within the church, encouraged by Pentecostal fundamentalist beliefs. Since the late 19th century, Pentecostalism has emerged as the religion of the people. Its basic premise has been that God is assessable to all people. The most significant manifestation of this premise is ecstatic, supernatural communication with God; glossolalia. Additionally, the goal of Pentecostalism has been to give permission to all believers for a close personal relationship with God.

Spiritually, women are allowed the same opportunities as men to experience the power of God through glossolalia. It is only here, in the experience of the spiritual, that women share an equal place with men in God's eyes. Furthermore, it was women during this study that exhibited more openness in discussing their experiences and it was women that were observed performing glossolalia more often than men during services. The women involved in this study fully accepted their subordinate place in church and family affairs, but felt deserving of their shared spiritual equality with men. The women did not feel it was unusual or inappropriate that they appeared to openly engage in glossolalia more than men. One male informant explained that it was "natural" for women to be more

emotional that men and speaking in tongues was an extremely emotional experience.

Breakdown first occurred in reconciling fundamentalist, male-centered norms of behavior with the primal, ecstatic, spiritual experience of glossolalia. Becoming born-again is a process by which believers give up worldly impurities and divorce themselves from a life outside the Pentecostal community and take up those discourses accepted by the church. One function of glossolalia is to serve as a bridge-burning or commitment act that reinforces the significance of the believer's decision to become born-again. They admit to getting "hooked" on the feelings they experience during glossolalia. Adopting the fundamentalist Pentecostal way of life, appears to be reinforced through frequent experiences of glossolalia, and may actually empower the believer.

Female Informant: When God chooses you and he speaks through you, remember you are just the vessel... but it is the most powerful thing you will ever feel.

Derivative of this breakdown are the inferences suggesting that in order for born-again believers to transcend the world, rejection of worldly things and maintenance of Christian behavior must take place frequently. Regular attendance of classes and activities that teach proper Christian thinking and behavior are an obligatory expectation. The majority of these classes focus on appropriate behavior for men and women, but especially family issues, childbearing, the behavior of women, women's bodies and sexuality.

During the study a disproportionate amount of classes and meetings dealt with specific aspects of women's behavior in relation to church, God, and man, than with men's behavior. In one class single women prayed for forgiveness of their impure thoughts and were lectured about the importance of virginity. They were told that being born-again meant they were virgins again, but that a Christian man would not want them if they

became unclean again sexually before they were married.

Newly married women were given strict instructions on what could and could not be done to please their husbands and married women with children were told they were responsible for the proper Christian development of their children. Men, however, attended classes on political issues and ancient bible heroes.

Female Informant: I believe I am doing what is right for my family...I believe in what the bible says and I think that women who do not stay home and care for their families are the reason we have so many problems... that's why kids grow up bad.

Glossolalia for men and women is personally satisfying because of the way it makes them feel. Both described a feeling of release or catharsis and a sense of spiritual power.

Male Informant: To be this close to God...to feel this kind of power and joy... there is nothing like it in the world ... and I thank God I am a child of his

Male informants, including the church minister and a visiting minister, described speaking in tongues as a "powerful spiritual experience" and of feeling close to God and receiving messages from God they then have the ability to act upon. Glossolalia becomes the most salient way to transcend the earthly world into the supernatural because males not only have the ability to experience the power of God they also have the right to act on that power. Although women have the power to experience, they do not have the power to act. For men, glossolalia seems to reinforce their close personal relationship with God and their ordained right to have power over nature, including women. This power is male transcendence.

Lerner (1993) explains that, "religious transcendence of this world invariably

entertains the greatest contempt for things of nature, bodily emanations, flesh, sex, as well as for the people associated with those things; women” (p.153). Although glossolalia serves a significant spiritual role for women, cleansing them of impurities and reinforcing their close, personal relationship with God, allowing women to emote more than men during glossolalia reinforces the belief that women are more emotional beings, part of nature, and therefore in need of spiritual cleansing. Glossolalia is not about transcendence for women, it is about emotional release and forgiveness for their naturally unclean state.

Female Informant: Jesus is the son of God and he came to save everyone from sin, but the bible says that men and women sin differently. We are weaker than men in spirit and have a tendency to become unclean more than men, that’s why there are so *many rules* in the bible about women...because nothing can take a man down the road of sin faster than a sinful woman...

Believers are concerned with closeness to God. They are constantly preparing for their afterlife and working toward ultimate transcendence of this world. This means transcendence from the natural processes of life often associated with women. The more power the church has over the appropriateness of those processes in this life, the closer they feel to God. Glossolalia serves as a symbolic link between believers and God. For men, this link reinforces their power position in the church and their power over nature. It is rhetorical as a symbolic act of transcendence and a symbol of their power. For women, glossolalia is more about the feelings and the soul cleansing they receive. The power of the experience still exists except that now the act helps to rhetorically create catharsis and a sense of forgiveness for their naturally unclean state.

Implications

Pentecostalism offers a unique religious experience that has touched the very core of human spiritualism -- the supernatural possession by God evidenced through glossolalia or speaking in tongues. Pentecostalism uncovered and made acceptable as a Christian spiritual experience, a form of primal speech recorded throughout human history as a trance-like state with extremely positive emotional cleansing effects. Spiritual possession, prophesy, miracles, faith healing, infallibility of scripture, and glossolalia, create an incredible atmosphere of religious worship intent on the greatest form of empowerment -- a supernatural connection with God. The individuals drawn most to Pentecostalism, however, have been the most disempowered members of society.

Glossolalia, as a symbolic act, has important meaning for its individual and group use based on four arguments found in the academic literature: first, glossolalia may legitimize the Pentecostal religious experience by acting as a "seal of approval" from God concerning what ever message or idea was enhanced and promulgated by speaking in tongues; second, the discursive positionings necessary for glossolalia suggest a pattern of learned behavior, endemic to the particular church or community; third, the "trance-like" state operating as a catharsis may also operate as a persuasive tool enhancing commitment to the discourses that give glossolalia meaning; and finally, glossolalia gives voice to a culture of people brought together by feelings of loss, crisis, and disenfranchisement, perceived or otherwise.

Through the restrictions of their shared beliefs Pentecostals perceive a sense of control they otherwise may not perceive in any other context. Their felt sense of control, however, is juxtaposed with extremely emotional, internal, episodes of glossolalia that seem to contradict the Fundamentalist ideology present in Pentecostal beliefs.

The implications of their culture are found in the contradictions between Pentecostal acceptance of a restricted Fundamentalist worldview and the primal, non-restricted, spontaneous, spiritual experience of speaking in tongues. It is interesting that in a culture where God's word is formally limited to only those meanings sanctioned by Fundamentalist ideology, that fervent acceptance of communication with God and open translation of a heavenly language is encouraged.

This paradox is key to the success of the Pentecostal movement. The church used as the research site for this investigation made it clear that spiritual connection with god was the primary purpose of worship. If worship also meant adherence to a particular political agenda, the membership accepted this. Pleasing God and doing what God wants ensures the super-natural connection that is coveted by the members. Learning about what God wants from his people comes from the guidance and direction of the clergy and is specifically outlined in the Sunday morning and evening service.

The congregation is taken through an orchestrated spiritual program during the worship service. Certain individuals have parts they play and church members come to expect particular elements within the service such as singing, prayer. There is an appropriateness as to when a public display of glossolalia can take place. Glossolalia reinforces the message and leads the congregation into intense prayer or an altar call where sinners are asked to receive Jesus as their savior. The performance of glossolalia is rhetorical because it operates as the symbolic evidence that God is speaking through the individual and in some cases to the entire congregation.

The rhetorical act of glossolalia, its performance, translation, and orchestration takes place as a result of the message or sermons acceptance. Sermons within Pentecostal

churches, like many fundamentalist institutions, echo a shared political ideology that reinforces the agendas of powerful right-wing groups. When Ralph Reed, the former Director of the Christian Coalition visited the research site, his message became God's message and glossolalia performances reinforced God's seal of approval.

As believers take up the agenda of their church, they are taught not about the source of the agenda, but that it is God's agenda. Learning to take up the discourses that lead to glossolalia strips believers of access to counter ideas. The super-natural experience of glossolalia is real and significant to believers. They have to have it like a drug and their obsessive behavior for it is "tolerated" by fundamentalist groups that do not practice glossolalia but promote the political agendas of family values and anti-abortion.

The paradox of strict adherence to a Fundamentalist lifestyle and a supernatural craving for the touch of God is the very core of the Pentecostal experience and essential for this church. It gives them power, and entrenches them deeper into the world of the religious right. In this church Pentecostalism has become more than a religion. It provides access to God.

A final implication of this investigation is the difference between what glossolalia is to the women rather than the men. It is accepted that women are more emotional than men are and therefore more inclined to perform glossolalia. Frequent and more expressive glossolalia, however, does not imply that women are closer to God than men are. Instead it implies that emotionality is part of being female. In some cases it allows for women to reach a greater state of forgiveness, releasing their naturally impure state. In other cases, it has been seen as too expressive and powerful and therefore sinful or "of the Devil" (Lawless, 1988). This fuels the Religious Right agenda that women are too volatile,

emotional, and unable to make “Godly informed” decisions, even if they concern their own bodies, such as abortion.

Religion and politics are rarely separate in any human controversy. It is no wonder that the religious right has found a way to capitalize on a moving and beneficial experience such as glossolalia to make it a vehicle for political agenda setting. Giving limited but significant credence to tongue speaking usurps its true power and purpose and continues to ignite the belief that women must be marginalized from political decision making.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Conclusions

Daily lives are created in oral encounters. Through our discursive practices the daily conversational and communicative interchanges we have between people foster understanding and help to cultivate meaningful episodes in social life. This is where the focus of this investigation lies; within the recognizable discursive encounters of a Pentecostal church. This investigation of human discourse has taken a rhetorical approach because it argues that conversational behaviors are generated to address the positioned realities of the communicators. The study demonstrates that commitment to a particular discourse limits personal freedoms by choice, but provides the individual with the attainment of abilities and opportunities they otherwise would not have. The rhetorical products of this culture's discourse are the agreed upon meanings established within the communicative interchange. By naming and giving meaning to the functions and purposes of glossolalia, the church members engage in a rhetorical process with substantial consequences.

The culture of this Pentecostal church is ultimately constituted by their positioned discourses. These discourses lead to shared meanings. Therefore, in addressing the probative questions from the opening of the study, it is argued that the investigation supports the question concerning the ability of mastering one's own behavior according to one's personal commitment to a particular discourse. Additionally, the positions we take up within a particular discourse do place us in a predisposed reaction to the meanings derived from that discourse.

The purpose of this study was to investigate, through ethnographic research, the

individual and group significance of speaking in tongues within the Pentecostal church culture. Explored by this study was the discursive positionings necessary for glossolalia and how glossolalia symbolically helps to create the Pentecostal religious culture. The research question employed by this investigation was: What is the role of glossolalia in rhetorically creating the Pentecostal religious culture?

Through ethnographic exploration, the investigation makes the following arguments concerning the rhetorical functions of glossolalia within this Pentecostal church culture: 1) a symbolic seal of approval from God when performed during services and prayer; 2) an epistemological structure or way of knowing what it is to fully participate in the church culture; 3) a commitment act and addictive, spiritual, trance-like expression; 4) a tool for manifesting appropriate gendered church behavior, empowerment and transcendence for men, and purification and subjugation for women.

Ethnography, as a methodological enterprise, is intricately involved with discourse concerns. In addition to being an approach for gathering discourse and interview data, ethnographic methodology also helped to reveal the socially constructed realities of Pentecostal believers. This study focused on the situated and accountable descriptions of Pentecostal believer's social world as it involves glossolalia; not to contest or predict that world, but to better understand its creation and place in their lives. The believers actions are understood within their given discourses. This is their place in which they have constantly positioned themselves within a conversational reality and thus taken up a kind of shared or common way of knowing from that position. Commitment to their particular discourse may limit personal freedoms by choice but it provides them with the attainment of abilities and opportunities they otherwise would not have. The purpose of this

discussion section is to address first, the mutual relevance of ethnography and discourse analysis and second extrapolate upon the rhetorical function of glossolalia and the discursive formations necessary for its occurrence.

Pentecostalism as an Institutional discourse

Rhetorical concepts and constructions must adequately account for the functions and relationships within an environment (Chesebro, 1988). Acting in accordance with one's own moral and personal commitments makes accountable the environment that helps to produce those commitments. In the case of this particular Pentecostal church, glossolalia is a learned ability created by mastering the structures of one's own activity according to one's discursive positioning. The positions taken up in a discourse place individuals in a predisposed reaction to the meanings derived from that discourse.

The Pentecostal church exists as an institutional discourse because it is consistent with the fundamental assumptions, ideologies, and meanings of members and their usual ways of interacting with each other. Based on interviews of believers, it is understood what it is to be a member of this particular church and how that member should behave. The creation of Pentecostal talk institutionalizes their discourse in that shared and standardized frameworks for anticipating and interacting within that talk are created. It can be argued that believers actually allow other members to organize their interactions around standardized ways of doing so and produce conditions of responding to issues in predictable ways. Pentecostal discourses also serve as accountability frameworks to which believers can organize their behavior in social settings to assess and respond to others behavior. The mutual relevance of ethnography and discourse analysis is clearly identified in the institutionalization of Pentecostal discursive formations. Their social

settings could be viewed as conditions of reality construction leading to the acceptance of and ability to perform glossolalia.

Miller (1994) argues that reality construction cannot be viewed as an accurate method of prediction for behavior because interactional conditions may make some reality claims more available than others. Relevant to this study is how Pentecostal institutional discourses are opportunities to view how organizational interests create hierarchies of power and dominance built into the discourses. Based on interview data and observational notes, believers created and participated in discursive dominance by making some interactional resources available to themselves and others and acting to make others less available. For example, the concept of “backsliding” when a believer disconnects from regular participation in church activities; taking up more involvement with “worldly” things, Pentecostal discourses become less available to them. In order to gain acceptance into the church again there are expected behaviors to engage in and acceptance of the dominant perspective to demonstrate, before the backslid member is seen as a true Christian. The best and most persuasive indicator of a return to church discourses and acceptance of the dominant perspective is glossolalia.

Glossolalia and the Rhetorical Creation of a Pentecostal Culture: Answering the Research Question

Glossolalia is a product of Pentecostal discourse endemic of this particular church. It is part of their dominant perspective in that it reinforces shared beliefs and is learned through participation in church discourses. These discourses are reflected in the rhetorical functions of glossolalia. As a rhetorical act within church services, the discourses are institutionalized to explain and account for glossolalia episodes as an acceptable and

encouraged practice. Performance of glossolalia is expected practice or rite of passage, reinforcing church culture for mature Christians. It is their way of knowing who are the true Christians and what is their status in the community. Once glossolalia becomes a part of the believer's spiritual expression, others in the community are then informed of their commitment to the church. This rhetorical function serves to situate glossolalia as an important convention of the church culture. Its performance also becomes a ritualized fixation for many believers, necessary for their connection with God, the church, and what the church teaches. The glossolalia fix is essential for empowerment and a feeling of transcendence, especially for men. Rhetorically, glossolalia provides women with the symbolic achievement of purification and forgiveness, something they seek more so than men. Ultimately, the rhetorical functions of glossolalia within this Pentecostal church culture are: 1) a symbolic seal of approval from God when performed during services and prayer (corresponding to Burke's concept of acceptance); 2) an epistemological structure or way of knowing what it is to fully participate in the church culture (corresponding to Burke's concept of epistemic); 3) a commitment act and addictive, spiritual, trance-like, expression (corresponding to Burke's concept of purification); 4) a tool for manifesting appropriate gendered church behavior, empowerment and transcendence for men, and purification and subjugation for women (corresponding to Burke's concept of redemption).

The investigation of institutions, such as the Pentecostal church, as situated conventions is linked to two different approaches to discourse (Miller, 1994).

Ethnomethodologists and conversation analysts both are interested in talk as a socially organized feature of social settings. For these theorists, social settings are interactional

forums within which social realities are talked into being. This is revealing of the Pentecostal culture involved in this study and glossolalia as a rhetorical function within the creation of that culture. Believers that were interviewed participated in both the created interview setting and the generally shared institutional expectations and practices within the social reality of their church culture.

Action Implicative Discourse Analysis was useful in pulling out and setting apart those conventions of the interview that revealed the generally shared, constitutive aspects of the Pentecostal social reality. In creation of a Pentecostal culture for this particular church, glossolalia functions as a rhetorical product reinforcing as well as helping to create the socially constructed reality of the church culture.

Contributions to the Communication Discipline

People communicate to interpret events and to share those events with others. How reality is understood at a given moment is determined by the conventions of communication in force at that time. It is from this perspective that glossolalia was examined; within the context that communication helps to socially construct a particular culture's reality by trying to get at the meanings informing that reality. The contributions of this investigation to the communication discipline are the ability to reveal the processes by which individuals account for the world and their experiences.

The communication discipline offers a unique rhetorical contribution to understanding the phenomenon of glossolalia, as well, by reinserting the agent into the context of the discourse to analyze how this individual gives meaning to what he or she does. Rhetorical inquiry seeks to find a way of understanding a person as an individual focus of discourse, and the productive role they play in their own conscious activity, be it

while performing glossolalia or engaged in discourse over its place in worship. The born-again Pentecostal believer participates in a context of discourses that influence not only their conscious actions, but also their ability to engage in a powerful, “supernatural” possession they otherwise could not perform. The practice of glossolalia may legitimize the discourses that lead up to its performance and help to create a culture entrenched in a truncated, limited view of society that has the potential to threaten the human rights of anyone not a part of the discourses that make up their beliefs.

The knowledge gained from analyzing this phenomenon is first, a better understanding of the theoretical assumption that discourse is rhetorical in its ability to shape the significations of individuals and groups and second, that reconstructing the discursive occasion through ethnographic observation and interviews, reveals the rhetorical implications of glossolalia’s role in creating this culture.

Ideas for Future Research

This investigation has argued that language and shared meanings created through language, shapes the reality of a culture. Discourse and human interaction have been viewed as the social basis of the culture of a Pentecostal church and the vehicle through which glossolalia is produced. Although the arguments of a discursively based world are widely accepted, much room exists for further research. The western perspective that reality is independent of human interaction is in direct opposition from this notion. The idea, for example, that language structures are universal and cultural differences in languages are merely superficial is an obvious place to explore further research. Could the same arguments be made about the uses of glossolalia through a more quantitative approach? Without an outside or objective reality there may be no way to test the validity

or quality of discursively constructed knowledge.

A second area for further research is the affective and physical impact of glossolalia on its practitioners. Glossolalia has only recently been accepted as a religious behavior with possible physical benefits. Comparative anthropological investigations reveal that glossolalia has significant affect on personal and social change (Hine and Gerlach, 1969). Glossolalia often appears before many non-western rituals, rites of passage, and other religious ceremonies. Pentecostals, cross culturally, use glossolalia during important, often emotional episodes within the service. The use of glossolalia, as well as its affects, intimates significant implications for physiological inquiry.

Finally, Pentecostalism as a social and political movement has ramifications in need of further exploration. As the religion continues to grow rapidly among the poorer nations, questions about its impact must be addressed. If glossolalia does act as a seal of approval from God, what effect will it have in dissuading or persuading public opinion in favor of the pulpit? Further investigation is needed to explore the impact of the Pentecostal culture created by the super-natural experience of glossolalia. God's seal of approval may become more significant in the shaping of public opinion and shared knowledge than any other source of discourse.

Research Limitations

As researchers attempt to establish a certain "way of knowing," do they not also create that way of knowing from their own way of knowing. Accepting that certain biases of the researcher may offer needed and useful insights to the study means accepting that interpretive research is not merely offering an interpretation of an interaction, it is participating in the larger enterprise of social science inquiry.

The most significant limitation of this study to many in the scientific community is that it does not rely on traditional criteria for determining reliability and validity. However, many in the scientific community do contend that the interactional world cannot be known entirely through quantitative resources and must be ascertained through symbolic constructions that involve positioned knowing; but positioned knowing leads to a more significant limitation: the ethical concern with appropriating the voices of others. Ethnographic critiques are filled with similar questions of this nature. Is it ethical to observe, interpret, analyze, and make social scientific judgment about the spiritual behaviors of others? Behaviors, that in the final analysis, can only be given meaning by a believer. Therefore, it has been the mission of this research project to make consideration of personal bias and the ethicality of appropriating other's voices an obligatory duty of the investigation. This provided a more insightful path for the advancement of a coherent argument on the rhetorical function of glossolalia within the Pentecostal religious culture.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW RELEASE FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF SPIRIT-FILLED PENTECOSTALISM AT THE ASSEMBLIES OF GOD CHURCH

Doctoral Dissertation
Shaye J. Dillon
Ph.D. Candidate
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Church Member,

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for this study. Your involvement is strictly confidential and appreciated. Please read the following statements before signing:

Purpose of Study

I have been asked to participate in a research study exploring the unique religious culture of the Pentecostal church and specifically its spiritual expressions. The study will examine my personal testimony of being saved and spirit-filled and observation/participation of church services.

Procedure for the Study

I am being asked to relate my personal experiences to the researcher, that include my testimony or reasons for joining the church, initial experience of spirit baptism, and what the church and its community bring to my life, in an informal interview setting.

Risks

I understand that my personal interview is between the researcher and me and that there are no known risks to my physical or psychological health associated with this study, except for confidentiality which will be maintained.

Confidentiality

The principle researcher has informed me that confidentiality will be strictly enforced. My identity as a volunteer participant will not be revealed.

p. 1 of 2

INTERVIEW RELEASE FORM

Compensation

In the unlikely event of any injury resulting from my participation in this study, Wayne State University offers no reimbursement or compensation.

Voluntary Participation

I am voluntarily participating in this research study and I am free to withdraw from the study at any time. I have read all the information and all my questions have been answered. I hereby consent and voluntarily participate in the study.

Questions

In case of questions concerning the study, now or in the future, the principle researcher can be reached at 810-650-7271 or the advisor to this study, Dr. Jack Kay, at 313-577-2943.

I have read the previous statements and I agree to there terms.

Signed

Date

PLEASE RETURN TO:

SHAYE DILLON

1651 Bedford Square
Rochester, MI 48306
810-650-7271
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MEMORANDUM

TO: Shaye J. Dillon, Speech Communication
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Rochester, Michigan 48306

FROM: Peter A. Lichtenberg, Ph.D. *Peter A. Lichtenberg Ph.D.*
Chairman, Behavioral Investigation Committee

SUBJECT: Exemption Status of Protocol # E 07-45-96(B03)-X; "An
Ethnographic Study of the Rhetorical Role of Speaking in
Tongues in the Creation of the Pentecostal Religious
Culture"

SOURCE OF FUNDING: No Funding Requested

DATE: August 8, 1996

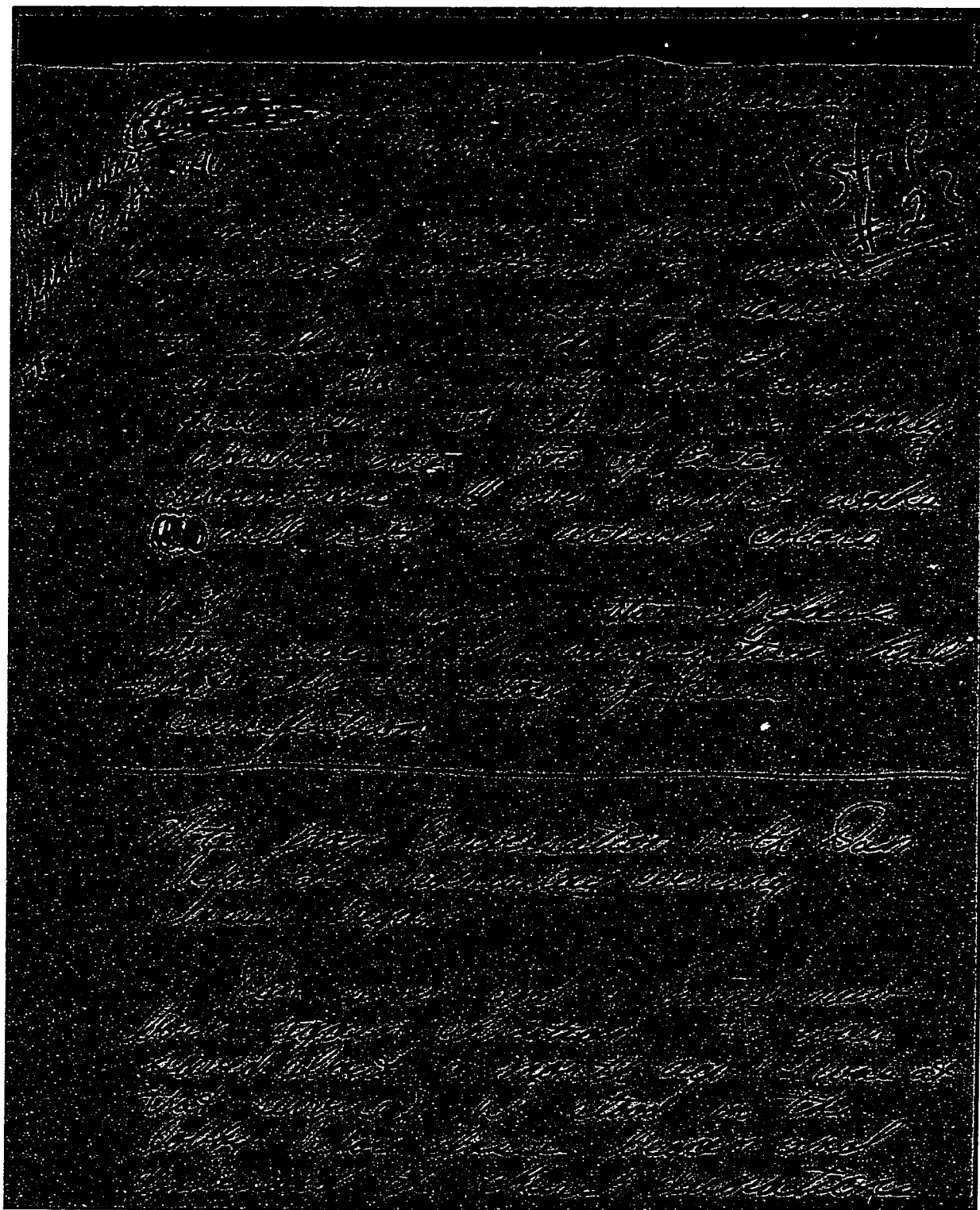
The research proposal named above has been reviewed and found to qualify for exemption according to paragraph #3 of the Rules and Regulations of the Department of Health and Human Services, CFR Part 46.101(b).

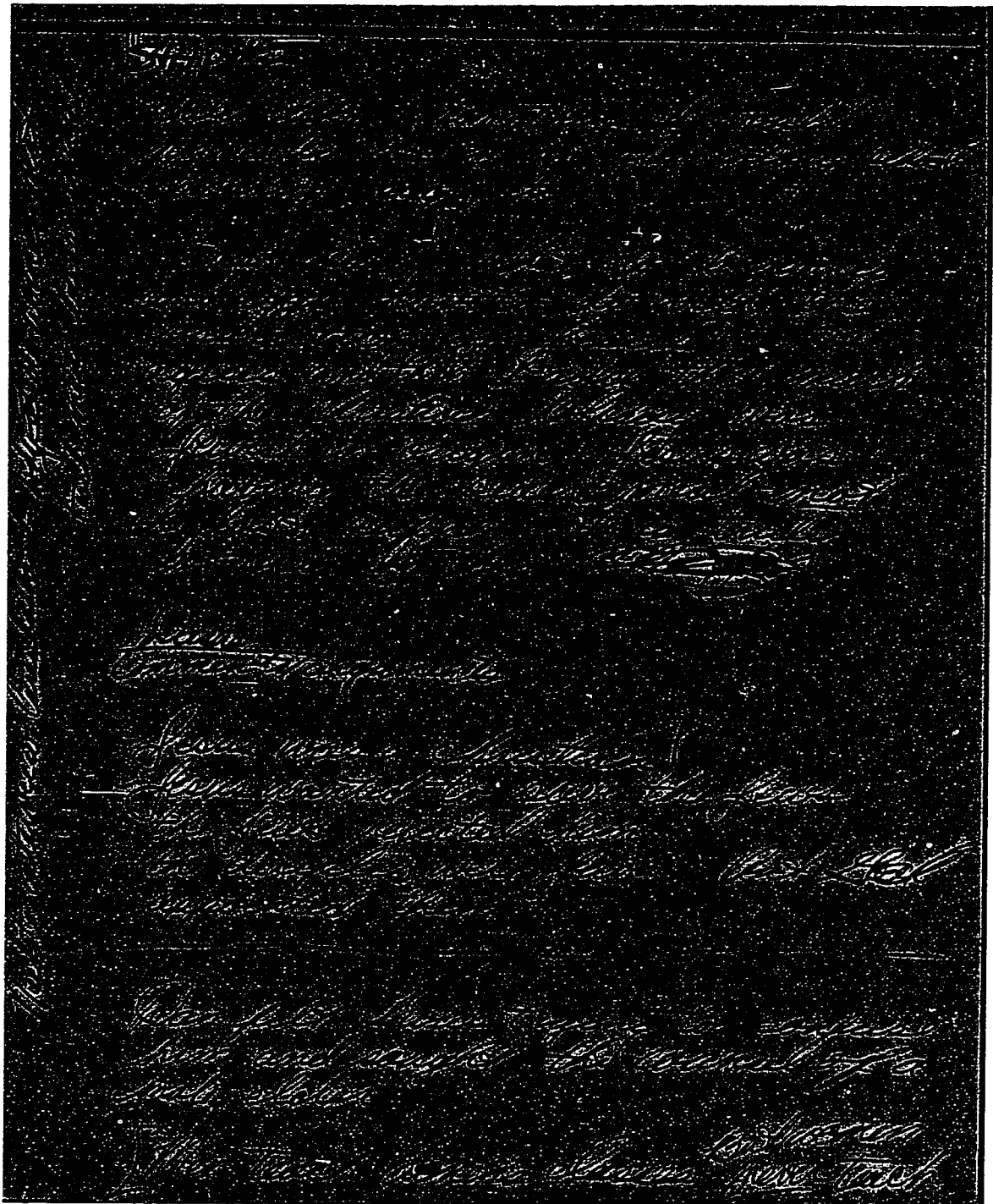
Since I have not evaluated this proposal for scientific merit except to weigh the risk to the human subjects in relation to potential benefits, this approval does not replace or serve in place of any departmental or other approvals which may be required.

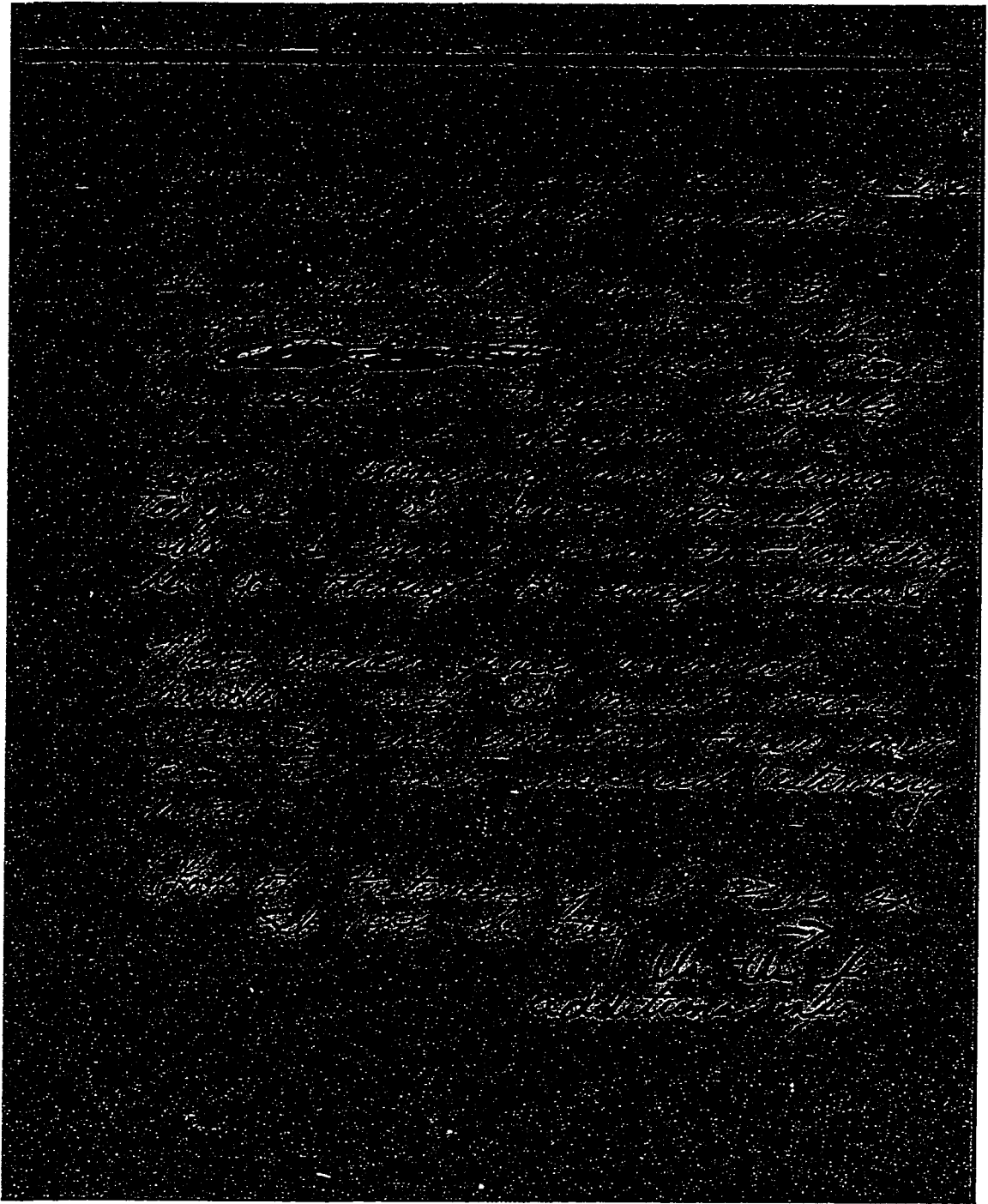
This protocol will be subject to annual review by the BIC.

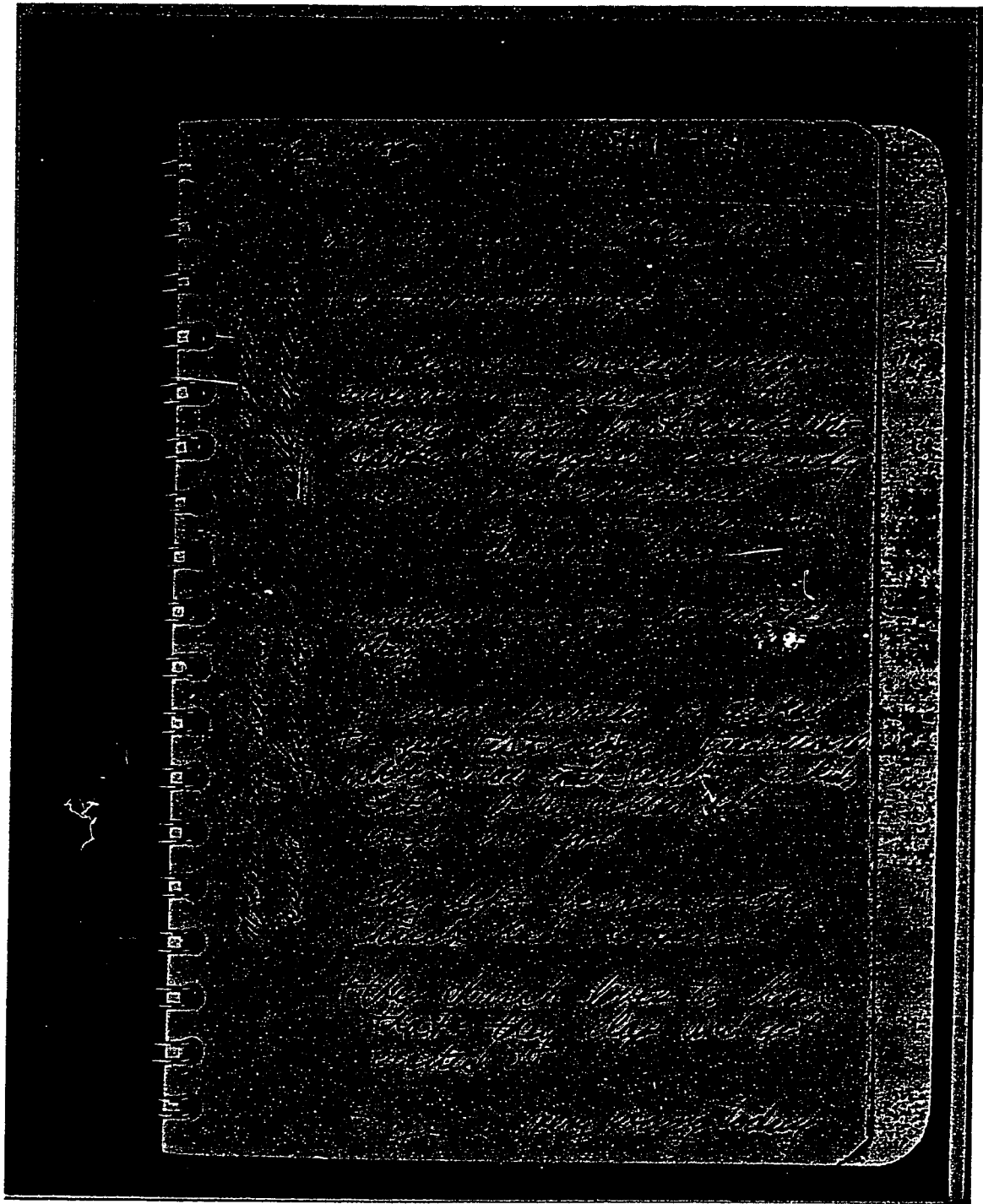
cc: J. Kay/585 Manoogian Hall

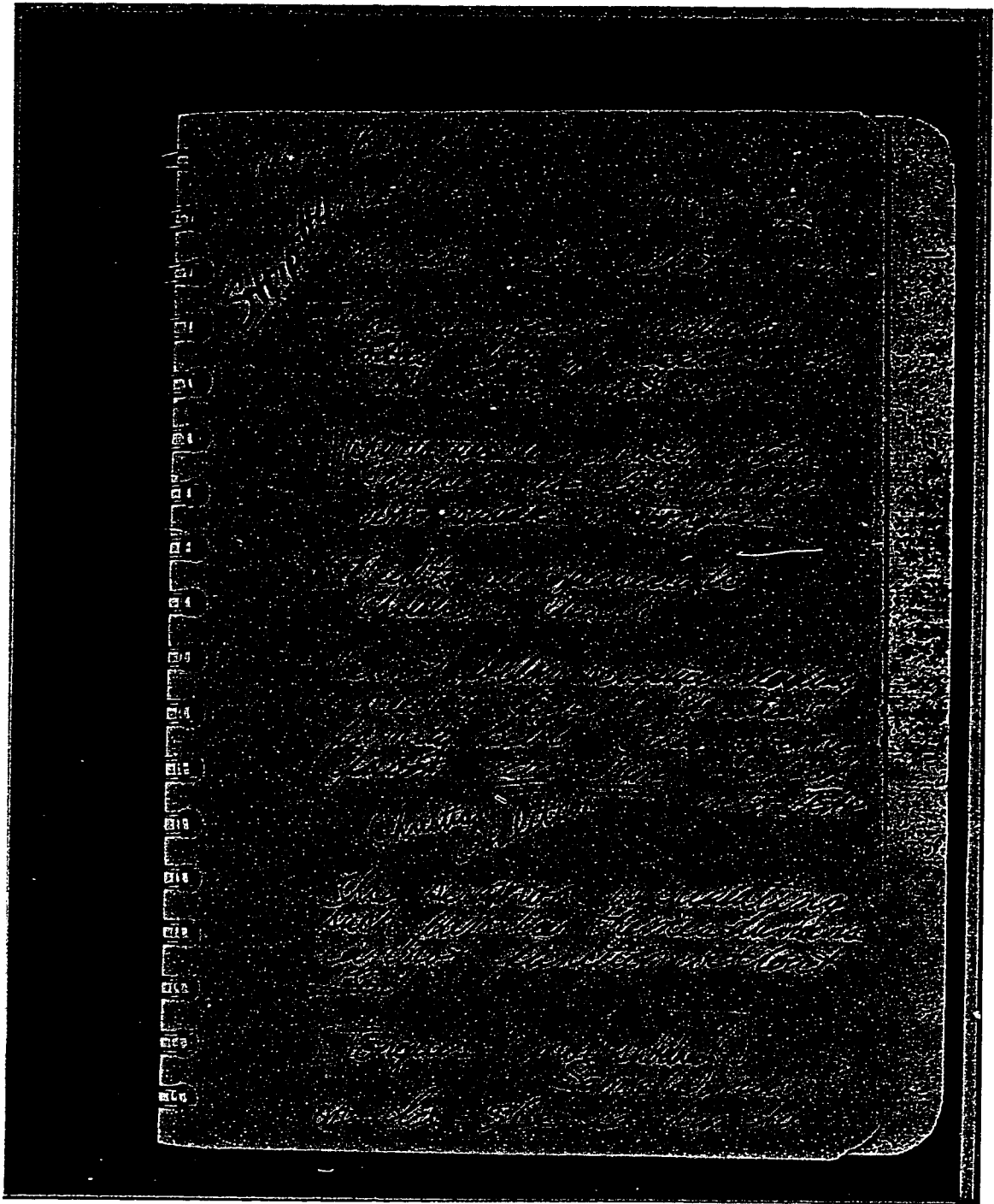
APPENDIX B

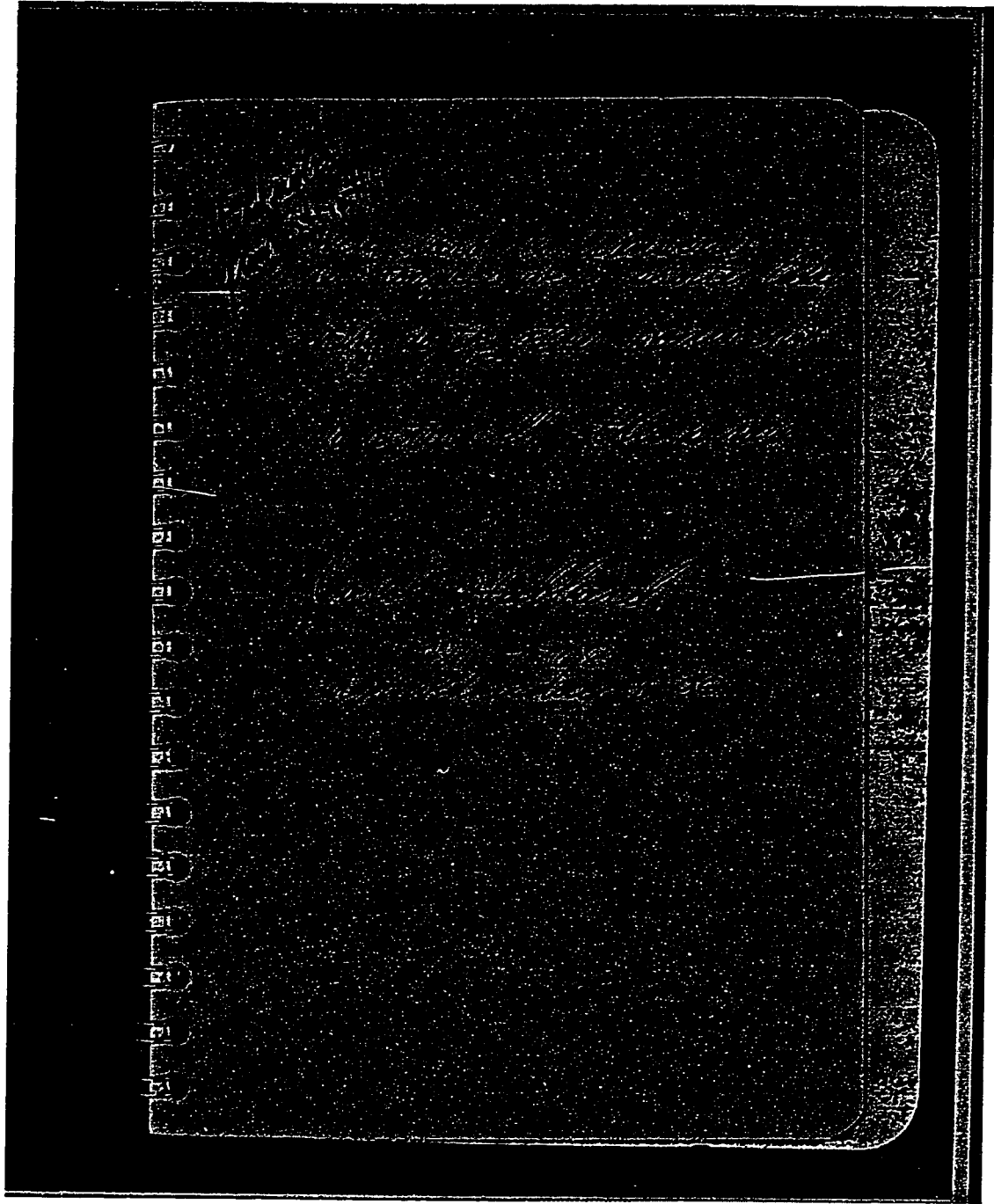


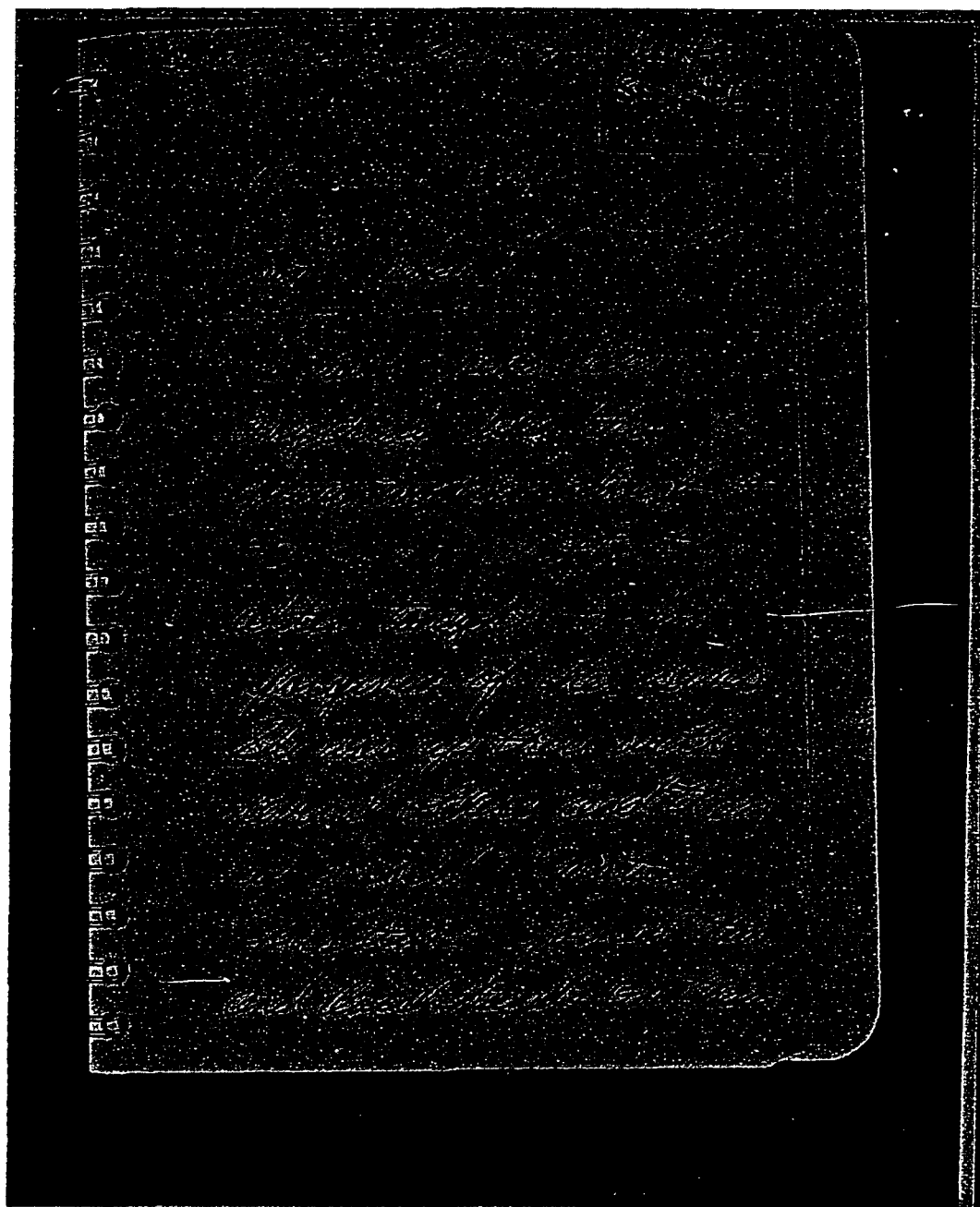


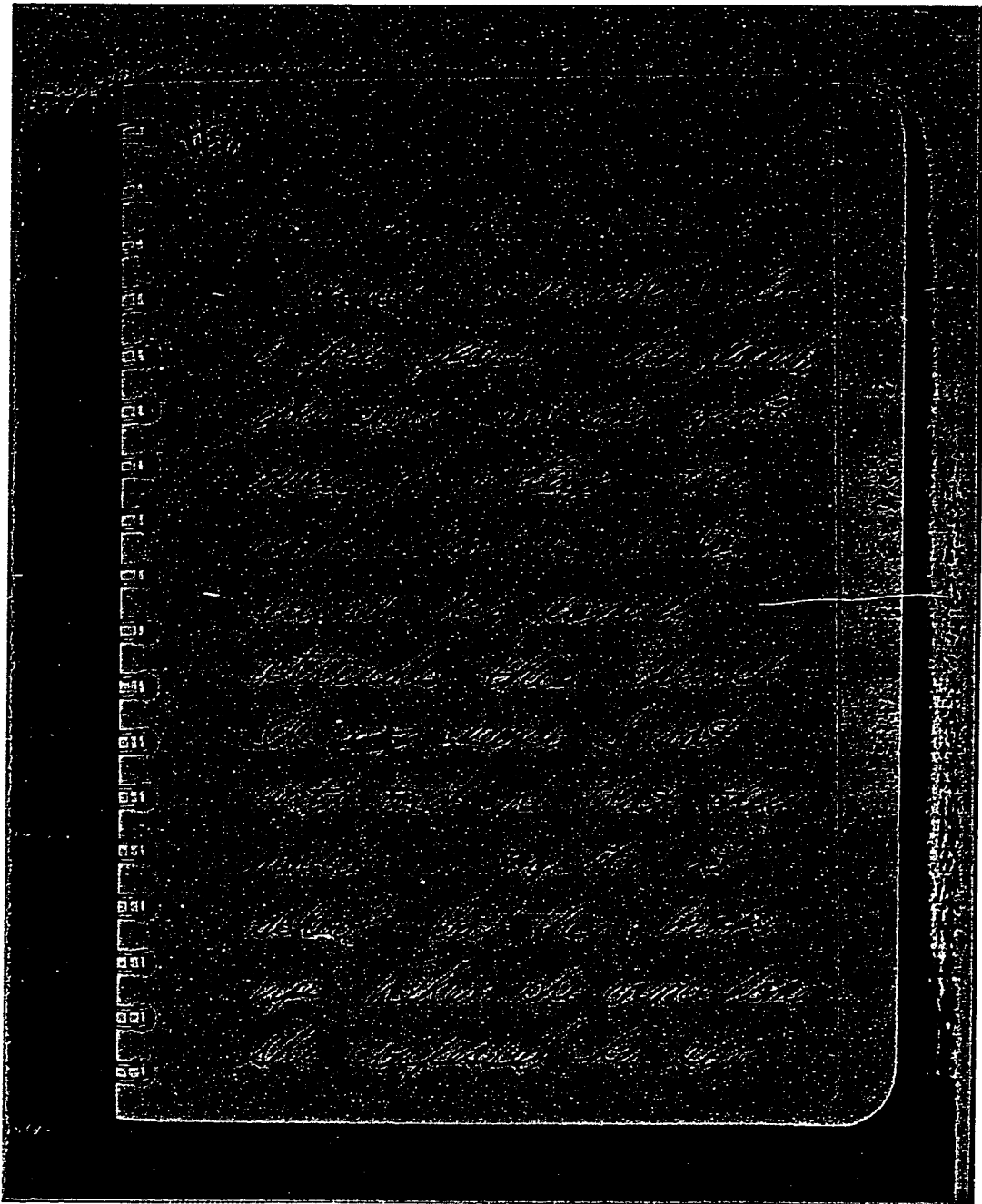


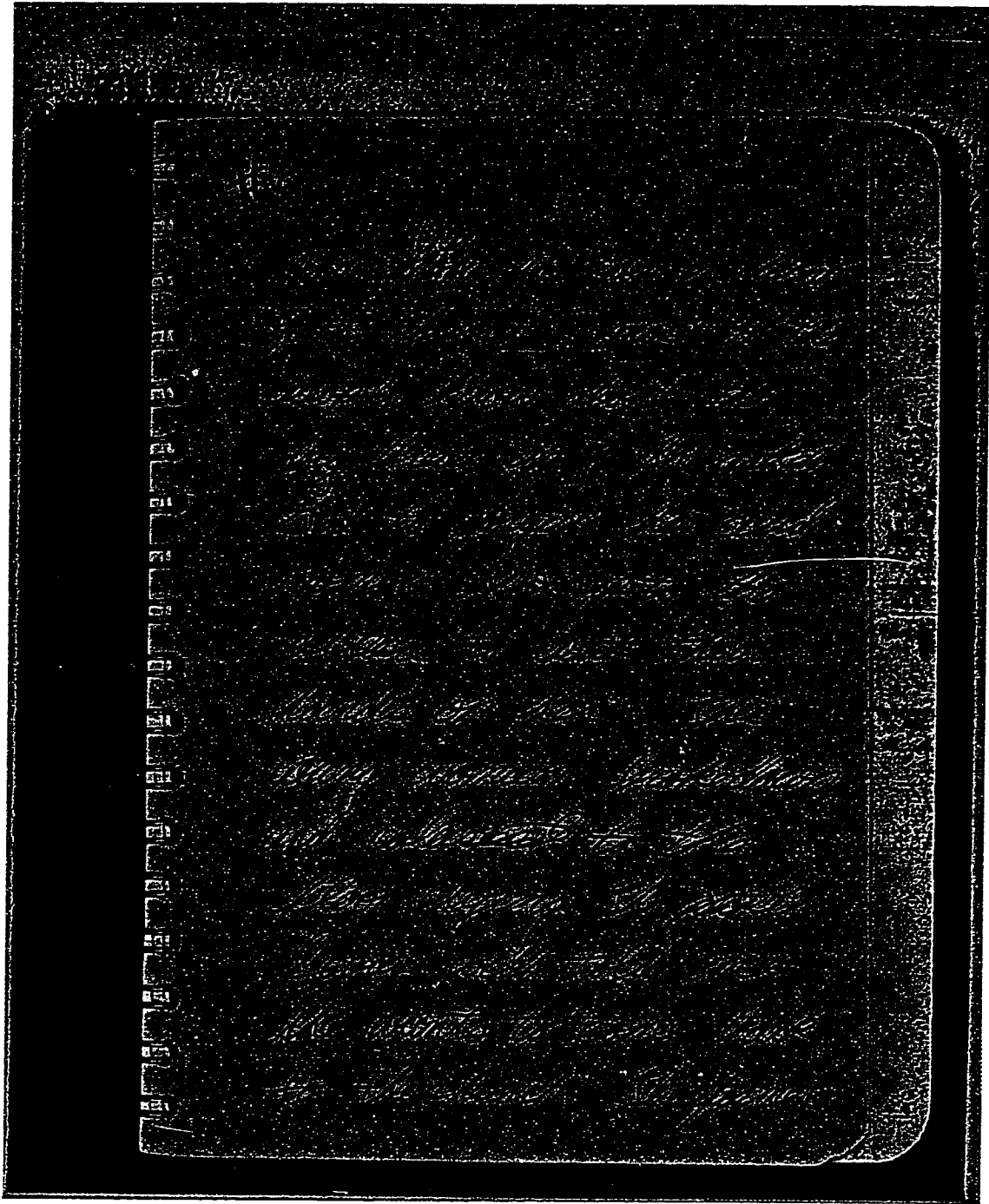


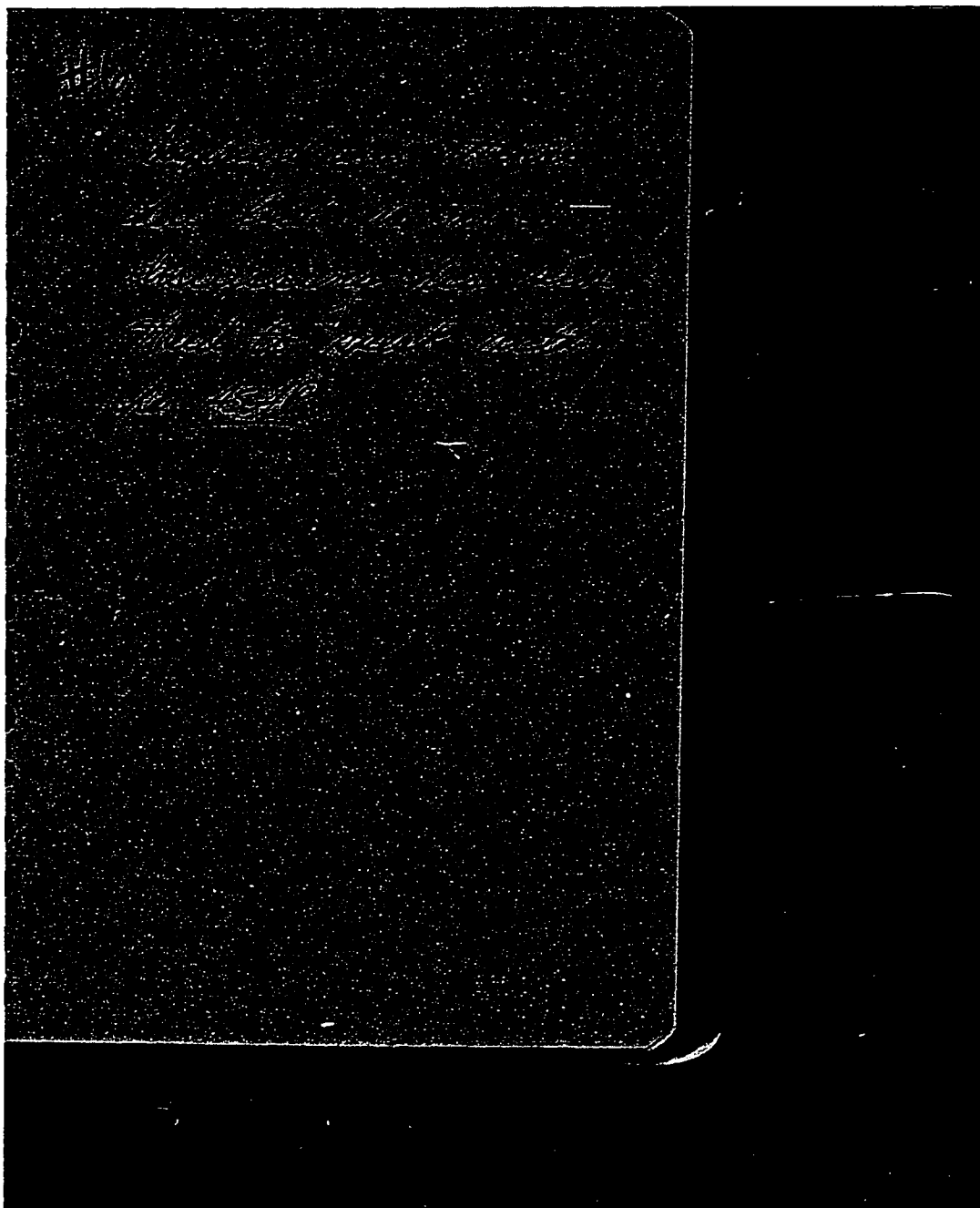












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ABSTRACT

GLOSSOLALIA: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE RHETORICAL ROLE OF SPEAKING IN TONGUES IN THE CREATION OF THE PENTECOSTAL RELIGIOUS CULTURE

by

SHAYE DILLON

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Advisor: Dr. Jack Kay

Major: Communication

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

This study investigated, through ethnographic methodology, the individual and group experiences of glossolalia within a Pentecostal church. The study examined the discursive interactions and rhetorical impact of how this Pentecostal church gave meaning to the experience of glossolalia or speaking in tongues and the individual and group manifestations of those meanings. In addition to being the approach for gathering discourse and interview data, ethnographic methodology also helped reveal the socially constructed realities of Pentecostal believers. The study focused on the situated and accountable descriptions of Pentecostal believer's social world as it involved glossolalia; not to contest or predict that world, but to better understand its creation and place in their lives. In the case of this particular Pentecostal church, glossolalia is a learned ability created by mastering the structures of discourse endemic to that church culture. The positions taken up in the discourse place individuals in a predisposed reaction to the meanings derived from that discourse. Glossolalia is rhetorical in that it serves as a

symbolic act that reinforces shared beliefs and is learned through participation in church. As a rhetorical act within church services, the discourses are institutionalized to explain and account for glossolalia episodes as an acceptable and encouraged practice; a rite of passage; a seal of approval from God; a commitment to the culture; and a tool for manifesting appropriate gendered church behavior which means empowerment and transcendence for men and purification and subjugation for women. Societal implications, based on these findings, are also discussed, as well as ideas for further research.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Shaye Dillon is a Ph.D. candidate in the Communication Department at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan. She has a Masters Degree in Communication from Eastern Michigan University and a Bachelors Degree in Communication from Oakland University. Currently, Shaye lives in Sacramento, California where she has worked for the past two years as an Assistant Professor of Communication and Director of Forensics, for the University of the Pacific in Stockton, California. She is a consultant for the ExecutivEdge of Silicon Valley, where she works as an executive communication coach with business leaders throughout the Western United States. If you are interested in this research, please contact Shaye at Polemic@quicknet.com.