

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

IDEOLOGIES OF LANGUAGE AND GESTURE
AMONG Q'EQCHI'-MAYA MAINSTREAM AND CHARISMATIC CATHOLICS

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

by

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Chair

University of California, San Diego

2008

DEDICATION

For my mother, Alice del Pinal. Thank you for everything.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Signature Page:	iii
Dedication.....	iv
List of Figures.....	vii
List of Tables	viii
Acknowledgements.....	ix
Vita.....	xiii
Abstract of the Dissertation	xiv
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
The Setting.....	3
The Debate.....	8
Religion and Language	14
History of the Parish	27
Mainstream Catholics	32
Mainstream Ritual Practices	39
Charismatics Catholics	48
Charismatic Ritual Practices.....	54
The Parishioners	59
Contours of the Conflict	71
Summary and Plan.....	78
Chapter 2: Acquiring the Authority to Preach.....	82
Authority.....	84
Catechists.....	90
Charismatics	96
Practices and Ideologies	99
Conclusion	110
Chapter 3: Linguistic Codes	113
Code Choice.....	114
Code Switching in the Debate about Religious Practice	119
“Solo quieren castilla”	119
The importance of using Q’eqchi’	125
Description of Rituals	128
Preliminary “Off-Stage” Business.....	131
Switching to Q’eqchi’ before a Rosary	131

Setting out the jobs in a Charismatic ritual.....	135
Ritual Openings and Closings	137
Mainstream Opening: Introductory Rite.....	137
Charismatic Opening	140
Mainstream Closing.....	148
Charismatic Closing.....	151
Prayers	153
Fixed-text prayers	155
Individually improvised prayers	159
Hymns.....	167
Bible Readings.....	173
Mainstream Bible reading.....	173
Charismatics Bible reading.....	177
Other business: The Collection.....	181
Mainstream Catholic collection.....	182
Charismatic Catholic collection.....	186
Conclusions.....	188
Chapter 4: Embodying Difference: Gesture, Body Hexis and Cultural Differentiation	195
Bodily Comportment as a Point of Contention.....	196
Theories of Embodied Action.....	201
Habitus and Body Hexis	204
Multimodal Interaction and Gesture as a Means to Hexis.....	211
Contrasting Gestures in Context.....	220
Gesture pattern analysis	223
Singing hymns	241
The collection of offerings.....	249
Prayer postures.....	258
Conclusion	264
Chapter 5: Global Discourses and Local Histories.....	266
Religion and Maya Identity Politics	269
The Pan-Maya Movement	272
Catholicism.....	290
Mainstream Catholicism.....	292
Charismatic Catholic Movement	316
San Felipe	325
Chapter 6: Conclusion	336
References.....	349

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Catechist gesturing in M.12.25.05	228
Figure 2: Catechist gesturing in M.01.01.06	229
Figure 3: Catechist gesturing in M.12.24.04	230
Figure 4: Charismatic Preacher gesturing in C.12.11.05	233
Figure 5: Charismatic preacher gesturing on C.01.01.06	234
Figure 6: Charismatics Clip 1, " <i>Para Moverlo</i> "	244
Figure 7: Mainstream Catholics. Clip 2, Hymn.....	247
Figure 8: Mainstream Catholics. Clip 3, "Naxwotz ajwi rikin li xkomonil iklesia"	251
Figure 9: Charismatics Clip 4, " <i>Se necisita gastos hermanos</i> "	254
Figure 10: Charismatic prayer postures.....	258
Figure 11: Charismatic prayer gesture sequence	260
Figure 12: Mainstream Catholic prayer postures.....	261
Figure 13: Mainstream prayer gesture sequence	263

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Lists of events sampled for code switching.....	130
Table 2: Kendon's Gesture Continua (after McNeill 2000).....	218
Table 3: Differences in gesture units for Mainstream and Charismatic sermons.....	226

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Ideologies of Language and Gesture
among Q'eqchi'-Maya Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics

by

Eric Hoenes del Pinal

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, San Diego, 2008

Professor Kathryn A. Woolard, Chair

This dissertation examines emerging difference in the communicative practices of two distinct but related religious communities. It examines the different ways in which Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics belonging to the Charismatic Catholic Renewal and Mainstream Catholicism approach ritual speech in a single parish in the city of Cobán, Alta Verapaz, Guatemala. This differentiation can be seen in patterns of language choice between Spanish and Q'eqchi, norms of gesture and bodily comportment, as well as the social processes through which ritual specialists are authorized. I argue that the differences are engendered by two distinct language ideologies that correspond to different theologies, each with its own mode of personal piety and model of the religious community. These different practices and the ideologies that support them

have led to a low-level, but tense debate among members of the two communities about what it means to be a Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic.

The central issue in this debate is what role, if any, Spanish should have in Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic worship. Whereas Mainstream Catholics tend to be relatively consistent speakers of Q'eqchi' in their rituals, converts to Charismatic Catholicism have incorporated certain uses of Spanish in their rituals. I argue that Charismatics have incorporated Spanish into their rituals as a means to make their worship style “freer” and also to mark themselves as a unique religious community. Likewise, the new norms of bodily communicative practices that they have adopted and the institutional structures that legitimize ritual specialist speakers reinforce a vision of the religious subject that foregrounds the individual's unmediated relationship to God. In contrast, Mainstream Catholics' practices and ideologies foreground an ideal of the religious subject as a belonging to a hierarchical structure, and promote an ethos of individual control and constraint.

Because of the relationship between language and ethnic identity in Guatemala, even though this debate is about the use of language in a specific social domain (Catholic rituals), it has important implications for parishioners' constructions of what it means to be Maya. As Q'eqchi'-Maya reconfigure their ideas about language, religion, ethnicity and social solidarity, they are participating in regional and transnational discourses that affect the politics of ethnicity in Guatemala and the institutional configuration of the Catholic Church.

My focus on the two communities' conflicting uses of language and views of what constitutes proper religious practice affords me the opportunity to address several

current areas of interest in anthropology. First, the ethnographic case adds to the growing literature on the Anthropology of Christianity by examining how a local set of social actors negotiate the meaning of what it means to be a 'good Christian' through a discourse about communicative practice and its relationship to personal piety and community solidarity. Secondly, this study's focus on language use and language ideologies places it in dialogue with linguistic anthropologists' interest in the role that people's ideas about language shape their social worlds. Its focus on ritual language use allows me to address questions of language ideology in a context that is marked as highly specialized and through a mode of language use that is considered to be closely related to constructions of moral personhood. Finally, by focusing part of the study on gesture and bodily communicative practices more generally, and considering these to be integral parts of language use, I seek to expand the analysis of language ideologies to include multimodal communicative phenomena, such as gesture.

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is about an emerging difference in the communicative practices of two distinct but related religious communities. It examines the different ways in which Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics belonging to the Charismatic Catholic Renewal and to what I call Mainstream Catholicism approach ritual speech in a single parish, which I call San Felipe¹, in the city of Cobán, Alta Verapaz, Guatemala. The central issue in this context is what role, if any, Spanish should have in Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic worship. Whereas Mainstream Catholics tend to be relatively consistent speakers of Q'eqchi' in their rituals, converts to Charismatic Catholicism have incorporated certain uses of Spanish in their rituals. I will argue that Charismatics have incorporated Spanish into their rituals as a means to make their worship style “freer” and also to mark themselves as a unique religious community. This change has not been socially insignificant, and along with it has come a semi-public debate about the effects of these differing norms of ritual communication on Catholicism and on community solidarity. Thus, my study focuses on the ways in which the Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic leaders in these two groups differentially use language and the social consequences that this differentiation has had.

My focus on these two communities' conflicting uses of language and views of what constitutes proper religious practice affords me the opportunity to address several current areas of interest in anthropology. In the first place, the ethnographic case is

¹ All locations and names in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

conceived of as a modest addition to the development of the Anthropology of Christianity, which is a comparative project that seeks to study the heterogeneous local instantiations of Christianity in order to understand how this particular religious frame has become a global phenomenon (Cannell 2006; Robbins 2003; Tomlinson and Engelke 2006; Bialecki, et al. Forthcoming). This study adds to that literature by examining how a very small and localized set of social actors negotiate what it means to be a 'good Christian', or more precisely a 'good Catholic', through a discourse about communicative practices and their relationship to personal piety and community solidarity.

Secondly, this study's focus on language use and the language ideologies that undergird such use places it in dialogue with linguistic anthropologists' interest in the role that language ideologies play in shaping people's social worlds. An ancillary point to this is that by focusing part of the study on gesture and bodily communicative practices more generally, and considering these to be integral parts of "language use", I seek to expand the analysis of language ideologies in order to make them more responsive to a vision of language as a preeminently multimodal phenomenon.

Finally, this study contributes to the ethnographic literature on contemporary Maya, and in particular to the anthropological studies of the resurgence of Maya identity in Guatemala. In recent years a significant literature has attempted to explain the resurgence of Maya identity following Guatemala's civil war. Most of this work takes as its object of study a social movement known as the Pan-Maya Movement. Though my focus here isn't the Pan-Maya Movement (for this see Hoenes del Pinal

2002), this study examines the role that religious identity plays in constituting Q'eqchi'-Mayas' sense of self. In taking this focus, I attempt to show that ethnic identity and religious identity intersect in constituting Maya identity. As I try to show here, some of the work of revitalizing Maya identity and creating autonomous spaces for Maya culture within the nation can occur in contexts that are nominally apolitical, such as churches and other religious sites.

THE SETTING

Cobán is a city, or more precisely a *municipio* (municipality), in the mountains in the north central part of Guatemala. It is the capital of the department of Alta Verapaz, and has a population of about 146,500 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Guatemala 2002), making it the fourth or fifth largest municipality in the country. About 80,000 of the people who live in Cobán live near the city center and about half of them are Ladino and half are Q'eqchi'-Maya. The rest of the population lives in rural areas, organized into villages and hamlets, some of which belong to large *fincas* or plantations, and overwhelmingly ethnically Q'eqchi'-Maya. In addition to Q'eqchi'-Mayas, there is also a much smaller Poqomchi-Maya population in the southeastern corner of the municipality and a smattering of Mayas from other ethnic groups who have immigrated to the region over the last 15 years or so. However, as a matter of course the salient ethnic division in the city is between Ladinos and Q'eqchi'-Mayas.

Cobán is a commercial center as well as a political one. There are two large markets that trade in agricultural products, most of which are brought in by small-scale farmers on buses starting in the early hours of the morning each day. While some of these products are sold for local consumption (especially corn and vegetables), some are also sold to consolidators for export. Coffee, cardamom and red chilies have traditionally been key cash crops in the region, and there are several companies in town that buy these crops to export them in bulk. Commercially, Cobán is relatively vibrant by Guatemalan standards as there are a plethora of shops. More recently a McDonald's (the surest sign of entry into late capitalism) has been built adjoining a mall near the entrance to town. While not even approaching the size or amount of business done in places like Antigua, Atitlán, or Flores/Tikal, Cobán also has a small tourism industry based around the city's location a waypoint travelers going from Guatemala City and other places further south in the country to "eco-tourism" locations in Alta Verapaz and Petén.

Though the parish seat of San Felipe is located within the city boundaries, the parish itself primarily comprises rural villages inhabited almost exclusively by Q'eqchi'-Mayas, who make up the third largest of Guatemala's 21 Maya ethnolinguistic groups. The majority of the people who belong to the parish are small-scale agriculturalists, who have traditionally grown corn and a few other crops for both personal consumption and for sale. The majority are primary speakers of Q'eqchi', a Mayan language from the Greater Quichean family, although it is also the case that a

growing number, and in fact the majority in areas close to the city, speak Spanish as well.

My original goal in going to Cobán was to compare the uses of Spanish and Q'eqchi' between the congregation of San Felipe, which I knew held masses in Q'eqchi' exclusively, and that of the Cathedral in the center of town, which I knew held masses in Spanish. However, fairly early on in my field stay, I learned that the parishioners of San Felipe didn't in most cases compare their practices to those of the congregation at the Cathedral. In the first place, they viewed the Cathedral as primarily a Ladino² space for worship. The ethnic difference accounted for the difference in language use for them. Beyond this, too, they found no fault with the Q'eqchi'-Maya who worshipped there in Spanish, especially since they would occasionally go there themselves for the city's patron saint's day, for Easter Friday, or to fulfill some other personal obligation (for example to attend a wedding or baptism). I had expected to find a strong tie between ethnic identity and the language use in church, but from my early interviews with parishioners at San Felipe I got the impression that they were generally willing to accept that some Q'eqchi' preferred to attend the masses in Spanish. This is not to say that they always viewed the difference in a completely neutral fashion or that they didn't differentiate themselves from the Cathedral. Those differences could be important when it came to a situation when a member of San Felipe permanently switched his parochial affiliation. For example, one woman, Qana Esperanza, worried that some of the youth in her community, including her eldest son, were too interested

² The term "Ladino" refers to non-indigenous Guatemalans, and is roughly equivalent to the category of "mestizo" used elsewhere in Latin America.

in participating in the processions sponsored by the Cathedral during Easter week, when instead they should have been placing their efforts in helping with San Felipe's processions. She regarded San Felipe as "her" church (and by extension family's church), on both a personal and ethnic level. While she partially read the issue about where the youths were orienting their efforts for Easter as one of them trying to acculturate themselves to a Ladino social space, and thus in part rejecting their Q'eqchi' identity, she framed the problem in terms of their affiliation with a particular parish. That is to say, for her the problem wasn't that her son was spending time in a Ladino church, but rather that he was spending time in another church.

What I had also miscalculated in my initial formulation of the project was the importance of the parochial affiliation. To me the opportunity to hear mass in one's "own" language seemed sufficient reason to walk the extra distance to another church, to cut cross cut the administrative boundaries set by the Catholic Church in organizing the town's Catholic population. My perspective as a student of linguistic anthropology interested in the relationship between language and ethnic identity privileged the role of language in worship. While language is an important identity marker for parishioners in San Felipe, as we shall see, it is not the only thing that determines their religious affiliation. For my informants much of their religious life was organized according to their membership in a *comunidad eclesial de base* (CEB—base ecclesial community, ch'uutam). Membership in that local organization determines one's membership in the parish, and thus channels where one can (or should) worship.

One's location within the structure of the Diocese of Verapaz is thus an important factor in determining the kinds of rituals one participates in. The Diocese is organized into 32 parishes spread across 24 *municipios* (municipalities, the basic administrative units of the Guatemalan state), which it classifies into four pastoral zones (*zonas pastorales*). The pastoral zones are built around ethnolinguistic categories: Q'eqchi', Poqomchi', Baja Verapaz (technically referring to a state administrative unit, but also classed as ethnically Achii'-Maya), and Urban. Being in the Cathedral's district means being classed as Urban, and, while this doesn't carry any overt ethnic identification, it implies Ladino and Spanish speaking. San Felipe, on the other hand, is decidedly a Q'eqchi' parish. Language use in church sanctioned rituals is thus primarily dependent on the classification of one's parish.

Thus although the cross-parish distinction was not of much importance to parishioners, there was another issue that had them discussing the role of language in religious practice and which worried them much more than the occasional parish-crossings of a few youths—this was the growing presence of groups affiliated with the Charismatic Catholic Renewal (CCR) in their own communities. Charismatics, parishioners would say, were always yelling in Spanish, even when they didn't even speak Spanish very well. There were few Charismatic communities within the parish, but their number and their membership was growing. In some places the tension between the two groups was mounting, too, as the established leaders of the CEBs—the catechists—were increasingly trying to delegitimize Charismatics' authority both with the village by warning parishioners against affiliating with them and denying them

access to village chapels, and within the Church by filing complaints against Charismatics with the parish priest and occasionally the Bishop.

THE DEBATE

Because of the importance of communicative practices in the tense relationship between the groups, I have here chosen to frame the case at hand as a language ideological debate (Blommaert 1999). A foundational premise here is that we can gain insight into the socio-cultural formations that people inhabit by attending to their ideas, whether explicitly stated or implicitly held, about what language is, how it functions, what it can or can't do, and what its speakers are like. The promise of the "language ideology" paradigm (sometimes also referred to as "linguistic ideology", or "ideologies of language" (Woolard 1998: 2) is that it gives us an analytical tool that allows us to bring together the concerns of sociolinguistics and social theory and to make a bridge between a specific kind of social action (language use broadly conceived) and social theory (see also Woolard 1985; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Studies of language ideology have been concerned with showing how discourses about language and languages shape the way that people inhabit the world. Language ideologies affect a variety of social and cultural phenomena, such as people's social and moral identities, their political organizations, epistemologies, the aesthetics of their expressive culture. These in turn condition a wide range of related practices (*ibid.*).

Although sometimes these studies make reference to other modes of communication (e.g. Bauman 1983; Keane 2007), language ideology as a field tends to work most closely with spoken and written language, with some focusing on explicit metalinguistic statements, including language policies (e.g. Jaffe 1999) and linguistic descriptions (e.g. Bauman and Briggs 2003), and others on people's actual speaking practices (e.g. Kuipers 1998) to develop their models. While the focus on spoken and written language has been very productive, some scholars have argued that we need to think of language as something that is fundamentally multimodal in nature (Norris 2004; Goodwin 2000a). Following from Goffman's (Goffman 1981) proposal to study communication primarily as something that happens when co-present actors coordinate their actions to co-construct or jointly produce (Clark 1996) the terms of their interaction, this literature posits that spoken language is but one communicative resource among many (even though it probably is a privileged one) that people draw on when they interact with each other. In addition to speech, interactants might also draw on gaze (Kendon 1990, see especially Chapter 3; Goodwin 1981), kinesics (Birdwhistell 1970), proxemics (Hall 1968) and gesture (Goodwin 2000b) to carry out interactions. Moreover we have reason to believe that, like spoken language, these other modes of communication have ideological underpinnings. Kendon states that, "[G]esturing, like speech, is influenced by cultural values and historical tradition, and its usage is adjusted according to the setting, social circumstance, and micro-organization of any given occasion of interaction." (Kendon 1997: 117). Likewise, Haviland has pointed out that the popular view of gesture in the West as "whatever is left over" after language is

taken into account in itself suggests that gesture is subject to some ideological regimentation (Haviland 2004: 198). This suggests that bodily communicative practices are subject to a process of erasure similar to the one identified by Irvine and Gal as one of the basic semiotic processes effected by language ideologies (Irvine and Gal 2000), and points us to the idea that we should seriously consider how else ideology might shape the social experience of gesturing. Part of my aim here then is to discuss how people's ideas about communicative modes other than language (such as bodily posture and gesture) also participate in constructing their social worlds, how these can be seen as participating in a more general "communicative ideology", similar to what Keane terms a "semiotic ideology" (Keane 2007). Keane utilizes this term to describe a mode of inquiry or epistemological paradigm that can account for the ways in which language and material things can be seen as operating according to similar logics within a given cultural frame of "representational economy." While material objects certainly play a part in San Felipe's parishioner's practices, I set my aim a little lower than Keane's and restrict myself to discussing speech and bodily posture because those are the categories that are locally salient in the ethnographic context I examine.

The issue between these two religious communities in San Felipe thus offers us an excellent case study through which to explore the role of language ideologies in religious settings. More importantly, the over opposition between the two groups further highlights the role that communicative practices play. As Jan Blommaert (1999) has argued, one place where the articulation of language use and social process can best be seen is when languages become the subject of debates. The "debate" in San Felipe

rarely results in face-to-face conflict, and is instead generally mediated through implicated, varyingly sympathetic others (e.g. priests, anthropologists, and God). Nonetheless, the “debate” framework holds up because we can identify two broadly articulable positions about what constitutes proper behavior in church and by extension what counts as genuine and pious participation in Catholicism. Moreover, these two positions are implicitly placed into contact and tension with each other as the people who hold them vie for standing within the institutional church, access to its resources, and the conversion of new members or renewed participation of lapsed one. What I mean by “articulable positions” is not that there are necessarily set or fixed statements that define each group’s language ideology or stance in this debate, but rather than we can identify certain regularities in their discourses that tie communicative practice to certain key moral and ethical values. These regularities point us to several key propositions or ideas that form the foundation of their communicative ideologies. This of course, does not mean that any given parishioner would be ready and able to reproduce the position associated with their community exactly. Rather, I take there to be a range of variations on the basic position in play at either side. I would like to think that the positions are refined and re-articulated at particular moments when the issues at the heart of the debate are brought up.

The notion that we can identify certain key aspects that are central to each of these two communities’ conceptions of what counts as appropriate behavior in church comes from my contact with the leaders of these communities. The bulk of my data is made up by on-stage performances of ritual speech by Mainstream catechists and

Charismatic preachers, supplemented by informal interviews with some of those same leaders. Although this bias towards leaders could be said to limit the range of my findings, I believe it is appropriate for the framework I have chosen because community leaders are both the most likely people to have had to think about and refine their beliefs on these matters, and for whom the debate is most palpable. Both Catechists and Preachers go through certain authorizing regimens (see Chapter 2) to achieve their positions within their communities. Through those processes they come to be representatives of the *doxa* (Bourdieu 1977a) of their religion and spiritual guides for their communities. However, their maintenance of those positions is contingent on their congregations' continued wish that they serve in those capacities, and so they can never stray too far from others' expectations of what it means to be a Catholic. Thus, although we must be cautious not to conflate the practices and discourse of these specialist speakers with those of all congregants, we can posit that in some way they are representative of the communities at large.

The fact that my data comes largely from on-stage performances also offers an advantage in that it allows me to look at communicative behaviors that are not just the norm, but that are held to be exemplary. Catechists and preachers are high status individuals, and when they perform in ritual their status is invoked to authorize their speech. However, their performances are open to the scrutiny of parishioners at large, and their status and standing can potentially be questioned. The uses of language on which I focus here tend to be highly skillful ones. If they don't necessarily always manage to embody the ideal qualities of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics ritual speech, at least

aim for it. Because of this, I would suggest they help to uncover the ideological underpinnings of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics forms of ritual speech.

Provisionally, we can describe the two groups' ideological positions as centering around contrasting values of "respect" and "joy". Mainstream Catholics' sense of what is most important in religious worship is the display of "respect" towards God and towards the hierarchy of the Church. Kahn (Kahn 2006) has argued that respect is a central value in Q'eqchi' culture and is specifically figured as something that has to be enacted; it is not something that is tacitly held. While Kahn focuses on the idea of reciprocal exchange as the primary way in which respect is enacted between human beings, the manifest difference between people and God alters somewhat the way in which this value can be enacted in religious practice. As will become clear in the following chapters, I believe that principles of control and constraint are the primary means through which Mainstream Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics enact respect for God and the Church. Because of the highly structured nature of the institution and the rituals that take place within it, the proper way to be a Catholic in this context is to in some way show that one knows one's role and place within a hierarchy. Bodily stillness and linguistic purity, I argue, are the two preeminent signs of being a respectful worshiper.

For Charismatics, on the other hand, jubilation or "joy" is the main value in worship. Participating in a theology that positively values ecstatic states (e.g. speaking in tongues), leads them to adopt a form of worship that tries to enact ecstasy via lively music and active participation by all congregants. In this ritual context a premium is placed on effusive action which is seen as indexing one's deep felt commitment to

worshipping God, as well as on practices that can be characterized as “rehearsed spontaneity” (Mahmood 2001) or “guided spontaneity” (Csordas 1997: 190). The idea of “rehearsed or guided spontaneity” is perhaps a problematic one since, it would seem that the very notion of spontaneity is one of actions that are “voluntary and unconstrained” (OED.com) and thus not subject to rehearsal of regimentation. However, as Mahmood has shown, in certain ritual contexts, it is precisely through conventionalized actions (gestures in the case she describes) that one can properly display and generate the affects that are valued during religious worship. Although we may be able to find regularities in or constraints on the actions of Charismatics that would lead us to understand them as anything but spontaneous (and instead class them as prescribed), from an emic perspective, these actions are seen as serving the greater goal of deepening one’s sincere commitment to Christianity.

These characterizations will become clearer once we enter into a description of the practices of the two groups’ leaderships in the chapters that follow. However, before progressing, I want to first explain more fully why it is that language can become so critical in a religious context and what it is that we can learn by focusing on language ideologies.

RELIGION AND LANGUAGE

Central to my analysis of the debate between Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics in San Felipe is the idea that language (broadly conceived as a multimodal

phenomenon) matters deeply in constructing the religious identities and religious lives of parishioners. It matters in so far as it gives them a sense of shared ethnicity and religiosity, and it matters in so far as it has the potential to index the “bad faith” of the “other”. We might pause to ask, however, why is it that language matters so much in religious settings? Why does language become the grounds for the debate? What role does linguistic practice play in religious practice more generally?

It is certainly the case that language is a constitutive part of religious practices. If we consider religious practice to be first and foremost a social activity, and we understand language as the form of social action par excellence, then this comes as no surprise. However, is there something about religious speech that heightens its value, that makes it suitable grounds to distinguishing between the believer and the non-believer? I tend to think that there is.

Religious practice is generally understood as marked, as practice that in some sense and to a lesser or greater degree breaks from everyday practice. Durkheim’s classic formulation of the distinction between the sacred and the profane alerted us to this distinction and placed it at the center human religious experience (Durkheim 1915). Although we might want to be cautious about how strongly that dichotomy is drawn or about imagining that the categories map on to the same sorts of phenomena in all cases, it seems clear that whatever the content of religion might be, its aims and the way that people engage in it mark a special kind of action that is distinguishable from other everyday actions. While there may certainly be variations in the way in which religious practice may be constructed (e.g. being more or less distinguishable or integrated from

everyday action (see for example Csordas 1997)), in the way the boundaries between the sacred and the profane are marked and policed, and in the practices that authorize those boundaries (Asad 1993), the core notion that religious practice holds special meanings for people and power over their actions seems tenable.

As Keane has noted, “Religious observance tends to demand highly marked and self-conscious uses of linguistic resources” (Keane 1997: 48), which “suspend or alter certain aspects of everyday ways of speaking... [and are] deeply implicated with underlying assumptions about the human subject, divine beings, and the way their capacities and agencies differ.” (*ibid.* 49). He suggests that, in the study of religious speech, there are implicit questions about the interrelations of “(sensory) experience, concrete practices, and what is culturally construed to lie beyond ordinary experience” (*ibid.* 48). Keane thus posits that a belief that some sort of interaction with the “otherworldly” is occurring is a central feature of religious uses of language. Ideas about the nature of otherworldly entities and the kinds of interactions people can have with them are, of course, highly variable. What is not variable though is the idea that something out of the ordinary is happening, and thus religious situations are marked as distinct from ordinary experiences (although, again how sharply this distinction is drawn may be a matter for further inquiry.) It is often through the formal and paralinguistic features of speech that the presence of supernatural others is guaranteed (Du Bois 1986). Thus almost by definition religious practice requires specialized uses of language to bring about the right kind of interactive frame (Goffman 1981) through which humans can come in contact with the supernatural. In adopting the right kind of

framing, speakers must often rearticulate the kinds of speakers that they take themselves to be (see e.g. Robbins 2001; Keane 2002; Shoaps 2002). It is thus no surprise that parishioners in San Felipe can take violations of what they consider to be the norms for religious speech to be deep offenses to their cosmology.

Beyond the way in which religious concerns help to constitute the kinds of language uses believers take to be necessary for their rituals, language can also be said to be a substantive part of religious practice. Gary Gossen has suggested that certain kinds of language use are an intrinsic part of religion because they not only frame a given set of interactions as part of a ritual, they also have consequence for the meaning and efficacy of the ritual (Gossen 1976). Gossen offers as an example of this an interpretation of Chamula ritual language in which the performance of a certain genre of speech (“ancient words”) is understood to produce sacred heat, which is central to Chamula cosmology. The efficacy of the ritual, he says, depends on the accumulation of sacred heat, which is equally produced by material means (incense, candles, alcohol, tobacco and fireworks), the recitation of ritual texts, and the quality of the vocalization of those texts certain prosodic and structural features of speech of certain cadences and intonations in speech and cyclical repetitions within the structure of the ritual texts. Thus, speaking “ancient words” is important because it aids in creating the conditions under which Chamula understand themselves to be participating in a religious experience, and it is able to do so because Chamula have a highly elaborated metalinguistic discourse that conceives of their language as being divine in origin and capable of creating (metaphorical) heat.

As I stated above, my general theoretical frame for understanding the situation in San Felipe is the language ideological debate (Blommaert 1999). The general insights of the language ideology approach have to date been very productive for analyzing Christian religious practice. Given the centrality of “the Word” in Christianity, the idea that we can gain greater insight into the symbolic worlds that Christians inhabit and the ways in which they act in them by attending to the ways they view language is a provocative one and has proved inspirational for a number of anthropologists.

Richard Bauman’s (Bauman 1983) classic historical study of the linguistic practices of English 17th Century Quakers is a foundational work in this vein and one of the earliest monographs to propose something like the language ideological approach to the study of social relations. Bauman argues that, because one of the central tenets of Quaker theology was detachment from the material world and obedience directly to God, Quakers consciously adopted a “plain” style in order to signal their own status as holy people who were uninterested in what they took to be a fundamentally corrupt world. The “plain” style influenced a number of Quaker symbolic domains and practices including dress (buttons, for example, were forbidden as excessive decoration) and gesture (men were forbidden from doffing their caps in greeting), but Bauman shows that its greatest influence was on their speech.

Plain speech was characterized by proscriptions against verbal practices that could be construed as ornamental or “worldly.” Thus a major feature was the avoidance of speech except when it was absolutely necessary. This, Bauman says, made Quakers seem glum or aloof to non-Quakers who were often shocked by the former’s withdrawal

from normal social interaction. Moreover, the plain style asked believers to do away with politeness markers such as honorifics, and forbade them to place any human authority between themselves and God, the adoption of plain speech had severe social consequences for Quakers. Though Quakers understood their speaking practices as being necessary to their following God's will in rejecting earthly life, their non-Quaker contemporaries saw it differently. To non-Quakers the plain style violated the rules of politeness and seemed rude, contemptuous, subversive and otherwise socially unacceptable. The avoidance of honorifics, for example, from the Quaker perspective was understood as an enactment of the belief that men should only pay honor to God (and not other men), but in mainstream society it was a flouting of the strictures of a well-established class system. The plain style became most problematic in legal settings where Quakers' refusal to swear to tell the truth before the court (because the Bible proscribed the swearing of oaths) were understood as a disruption of the established jurisprudence and a subversive act designed to undermine the power of civil authorities. Thus the adoption of plain speech, though it began as a means of more accurately practicing a religious ideology, became a politically significant act and the language ideologies that underlay it can be seen as significant factors in creating the social world in which Quakers lived³.

Bauman's work alerts us to a few ideas that have been critical in the study of language and Christianity. Firstly, it suggests that religious ideology shapes linguistic

³ The broadest change that resulted from this conflict came from non-Quakers' hypercorrection of second-person pronoun use. Non-Quakers completely stopped using the second person singular pronoun "thou", which also doubled as an informal form of address, because they saw it as a hallmark of Quaker speech (Bauman 1983).

practice. But it also suggests that in some way religious ideologies entail linguistic ideologies. Taken together with the idea proposed above that religious language requires an reconfiguration of participant roles in interaction, one question to raise in any study of religious practice is how uses of religious language articulate with notions of the religious community and understandings of the self. A significant literature has tried to take up this question.

In her study of Jerry Falwell's Thomas Road Baptist Church (TRBC), Susan Harding argues that we can account for the major shift in the politics of conservative southern Baptists from an essentially inward-oriented, politically detached social group in the 1970s, to the outward-oriented, politically engaged one they became in the 1980s and '90s with reference to the way that the rhetorical strategies of its leadership changed (Harding 2000). In effecting this change in what Harding terms the "vernacular" of the TRBC, and disseminating it through a wide range of media, they generated a discourse in which certain linguistic acts—namely, witnessing and preaching— come to effect perspectival shifts in church members. For TRBC members "speaking is believing", and it is through the Word that they manifest their faith.

The idea that certain linguistic acts and rhetorical strategies become the basis for the transformation of people into "believers" has been the focus of a number of works. Peter Stromberg, for example argues that the narration of conversion stories is ultimately the means through which the conversion comes to take hold on the subject. While the stories often foreground a sort of "road to Damascus" moment of crisis and deliverance, it is actually through the repetition of a conventionalized genre of speech

that the speaker comes to inhabit the role of convert and that the conversion takes hold (Stromberg 1993).

Thomas Csordas argues a complementary point with regard to North American Charismatic Catholics (Csordas 1997). Csordas describes a system of ritual speech genres whose performance is a central component of church members' self-identification and which orient them to expect divinely inspired speech to be manifest on a regular basis. The genres do this by displacing human agency, and bringing the sacred into church member's direct experience. Prophecy is Csordas's paradigmatic example of this, since the genre is understood as being the direct word of God expressed through a human vessel, who has no control over the content or performance of the utterance. The disavowal of human agency in the linguistic act is precisely what authorizes the utterance as divinely inspired⁴ (cp. Du Bois 1986; Du Bois 1992). Thus it is a case where the regular performance of certain ways of speaking reinforces the ideological underpinnings of the group's theology and helps to create a certain kind of believer.

Beyond being able to participate in certain speech genres church members may also need to more generally shift their conception of what language is and does. Joel Robbins, for example, shows that as the Urapmin became Christians they had to adopt a conception of spoken language as a reliable mode for communication (whereas it had not been before conversion); they had to take it on face value that speech not only could be but was truthful within the context of religious services (Robbins 2001). Keane

⁴ Although Charismatics also acknowledge that there are instances in which that principle can be questioned (Csordas 1997; see also Bialecki 2007).

reports a similar case of Sumbanese Calvinists enacting sincerity as a discursive stance and the problems this raises for the location of agency in the individual (Keane 1997; Keane 2007). Both of these cases raise questions of how moral authority is constructed through speech, a topic which is explored by Mathew Engelke in a context in which the speech of “prophets” is the only real authority in what they call “live and direct faith” (Engelke 2007). Engelke’s case is interesting because the “live and direct faith” of the Masowe Friday Apostolics he studies is predicated on the absence of a physical Bible, and they instead contend that God’s true Bible must be continually reconstructed through divinely inspired yet humanly performed speech.

Vincent Crapanzano has also addressed the question of how religious texts can help to constitute religious subjectivities in a study of literalism in the United States (Crapanzano 2000). He argues that Fundamentalists’ hermeneutics translate certain interpretive strategies into maxims for action in the world. At the heart of this is an ideology of the written word— a “textual ideology” (Bielo Forthcoming)— that places this particular kind of language beyond human critique by denying the possibility of metaphor and affirming the fixity of meaning (in fact, the exact opposite of what Engelke’s Apostolics believe). Although this vision of language ideally posits a means for imagining an unmediated relationship between the Fundamentalist and the Word of God, we can also understand it as creating a certain kind of social relationship through the common identification as “Bible-believers”. Malley, discussing a very similar group and context, suggests that in fact what counts in making someone a Bible-believer is not so much strict adherence to the hermeneutic principles of literalism, as the person’s self-

identification as someone who is a literalist. Thus there is a sort of reciprocal relationship between orienting oneself to religious language and adopting a way of thinking about oneself as the kind of person who sees language functioning in this way.

My own study offers an opportunity to pursue questions about the role of language in religious practice. Fannella Cannell, in formulating a wider intellectual project under the rubric of the Anthropology of Christianity proposes that the discipline “needs to develop further a comparison of devotional practice” (Cannell 2006). I believe that the case I present here is especially suited to this call because it is built around a comparison of practices, and moreover, provides a fairly unique case in which that comparison is one that is of great interest to the people I study as well. The fact that there is a debate between the two groups that at some level identify with the same institutional body and share some of the same spaces of ritual practice suggests that language can generate divisions in very restricted contexts. As I suggested above, the issue isn’t just language, though; it is more precisely the meanings that people attach to language and its use, and it is through those language ideologies that difference is generated (cp. Keane 2007: 17). As Susan Gal has argued, “different ideologies construct alternate, even opposing realities; they create differing views arising from and often constituting different social positions and subjectivities within a single social formation” (Gal 1998: 320).

The case of San Felipe is one in which this is happening on a very small scale. However, it is important to note that while parishioners are generating the difference on the local level, they do so by drawing on discourses that extend far beyond the parish

boundaries. The representational economy (Keane 2007; see also Bourdieu 1977b) within which the local practices of parishioners' communicative differences matter is supported by transnational sources of symbolic capital such as the Roman Catholic Church, the International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services (ICCRS) office, and the pan-Mayanist discourses about language and identity.

While this study is focused on Q'eqchi'-Mayas' religious lives, another dimension of the ethnographic context makes the role of language in constituting the experience of parishioners all the more critical. Since the 1980s Guatemala has seen the rise of a phenomenon that has variously been called the Maya Nationalist Movement, Maya Movement, or Pan-Maya Movement (PMM) (Fischer and Brown 1996a; Warren 1998; Bastos and Camus 2003; Bastos and Camus 1993)}. This movement, comprised of a loose agglomeration of activists and organizations, can roughly be said to be interested in promoting a new articulation of Maya ethnic identity politics in Guatemala, which would afford Mayas a greater role in the state and civil society. In large part the PMM's work has been to increase the visibility and representation of Guatemala's Maya population within the state and its institutions (such as in education), but it has also aimed at the creation of autonomous Maya spaces within civil society. Language rights have been an important part of this agenda, since many of the first activists were Mayas who had been trained as linguists and took as their first courses of action the reform of national language and education policies (Warren 1998; England 2003; Fischer 2001). I describe this history in more depth in Chapter 5, but the crucial point is that the motivating logic for the PMM's entry into identity politics via language

was that Mayan languages both constituted a sign of authentic Mayan identity and that language policy offered a relatively low risk arena through which to challenge Ladino hegemony.

As I've suggested, part of what has made the rise of the PMM interesting and worthy of study by anthropologists is that the movement coalesced after a period of severe violence that to a large extent targeted Mayas. In the wake of strong coordinated state repression of Maya voices, the activists and organizations that came to form the PMM managed to affect state policies by articulating a discourse of cultural rights that, though on the surface might have seemed apolitical, nevertheless effected significant changes in the ways that Mayas and Maya culture were represented in the state. The PMM's early success in founding a Mayan Language Academy and reforming bilingual education programs arguably forced the state to rethink the role indigenous people should have as active agents in the nation, while avoiding a more direct confrontation of the material and social injustices that Mayas have been subject to since the time of the European Conquest.

The advent of the PMM in the 1980s thus marks a substantial change in the way that the nation was imagined, in particular vis-à-vis the participation of Mayas. The PMM as a case study also suggests an important shift in strategies for altering the politics of race and ethnicity in Latin America since the late Twentieth Century. Whereas the designation of "*indio*" has generally been a pejorative term throughout Latin America, the PMM has sought to, and to some extent successful in, putting forward a positive valuation of indigenous identity. Importantly, it has done so through

the work of a class of organic intellectuals who have been quite successful at forming a discourse and organizational structure that has allowed them to challenge not just the Guatemalan state and Ladino privilege within the nation, but the authority of foreign, mainly European and North American, scholars in characterizing what Mayan culture is (see e.g. Warren 1997). Although the PMM's origins certainly have ties to foreign institutions, its influence within Guatemala and internationally has largely come through the efforts of this new class of educated, politically aware and active Maya.

The fact that many of these intellectuals had training in linguistics has meant that issues of language rights have tended to be quite important to their political agenda (England 1996b; England 1998; England 2003; Fischer and Brown 1996a; Maxwell 1996). Within the PMM, language shift is seen as a contributing to the oppression of Mayas, and so activists have sought to promote Mayan languages through official channels as a way of fighting this trend. While there has been some success in this strategy, especially with regards to primary education (Richards and Richards 1996; Enge and Chesterfield 1996), there is still a worry about language loss within the PMM. We might thus ask to what extent the goals of the PMM are being met. Are its discourses about the value of Mayan language and culture extending beyond the sphere of action of activists and state institutions?

What is interesting in the case of San Felipe is that it has developed as a mostly autonomous Mayan space (foreign clergy notwithstanding), and that, at least among Mainstream Catholics, the use of Q'eqchi' has been an important part of this process. In this dissertation I argue that this has come about in part because of the Catholic

Church's new ideas about the role of language and culture in spiritual life. While the impetus for these discourses and the reason that they were put into practice are not the same as the PMM's, the end result seems to have converged with the latter's interest in increasing the use of Mayan language as and raising their status in civil society. As we shall see, for parishioners what is important about the use of Q'eqchi' is precisely the role it plays in constituting the religious identity, not necessarily the one it plays in constituting ethnicity, although to some extent the two are intertwined in local the local discourse. This thus brings to our attention the need to think about the specific contexts in which markers of ethnic identity become significant in people's lives when trying to understand the ways in which ethnicity is enacted.

I now turn to a general description of the parish and the two groups of Catholics with whom I worked.

HISTORY OF THE PARISH

San Felipe church is a well know place in Cobán and Guatemala generally. Along with the *monja blanca* orchid (*Lycaste skinneri* var. *alba*), the church is often used as a symbol for the city in promotional materials. While the church used to be an important site for all of Cobán's Catholics (Villacorta 1977), today San Felipe is figured as a primarily Q'eqchi'-Maya institution, and the city's Ladinos rarely visit the church. This is in part due to the formal classification of San Felipe parish as a Q'eqchi' parish within the diocese, which means that the only masses held there now are in Q'eqchi',

which few Ladinos speak. It is also, however, in part because the church's location atop a hill makes it an inconvenient place to go for mass (although this does not dissuade Ladinos from watching soccer matches held in the neighboring stadium from church grounds). While the formal Catholic seat of religious authority in Cobán is located in the Cathedral in the center of town, San Felipe nonetheless retains a special place within the religious geography of the city. Part of this is due to its location on the top of a hill in what used to be the outskirts of the city.

The elevated location associates the church with traditional Q'eqchi'-Maya spirits— Tzuultaq'a—who are said to reside in the mountains and govern access to the land (Wilson 1995; see also Adams 2001). This association can be seen in the legend attached to San Felipe, which Lola Villacorta has recorded and published two versions of (Villacorta 1977). In the first version, two hunters are walking along the hill on which the church now stands and discover an image of Jesus— specifically *El Señor en Agonía* (The Lord in Agony) which depicts Jesus prostrated after he has been removed from the cross— laying on a large rock and guarded by two tigers (jaguars). The two men are surprised by this discovery and they go tell Don Francisco Pop⁵, who was the owner of the land of their discovery. Don Francisco tells the men to go bring the image to his house. They do so, but the next morning the image is missing. When they go look

⁵ Francisco Pop was a real person who lived in Cobán in the 19th century. He is famous as one of the wealthiest people that ever lived in the city. As the story has it, he had so many heads of cattle that when he would take them to sell in the market in Salamá approximately 210 kilometers away, the head of the cattle train would arrive before it's tail left Cobán.

for it, they find it on the rock again, now lying under an *esquisuche* tree⁶ (*ehretia guatemalensis*). The men interpret this unexpected event as a sign that the image wishes a church to be built on that spot. Francisco Pop then goes to ask the hill (Tzuultaq'a) for money to build the church. The land tells him that he shall find the money and help that he needs, but that in exchange his unborn daughter will belong to the hill. It is said that Francisco Pop then became rich and became the patron of the church. A few years after the church was built, Francisco's wife became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter. However, the infant disappeared during the night, presumably taken by the hill in compensation for the church.

In the second version of the story a woodsman is on the hill looking for firewood. He finds the image of Christ under the *esquisuche* tree, so he runs off to tell the priests at the Cathedral in town. They ask that the image be brought to the church, which the town's people do, and the image is left under the care of the Dominican priests at the Cathedral. The next morning, however, the image is missing. They look for it everywhere, but it isn't until someone decides to check the hill where they had originally found it that it appears again under the same tree. Again, the people decide that the right place for this image is in the Cathedral and they carry it back. The next day the same thing happens, and the priests then understand that the image wishes to have a church built for it on the hill. When the men come to build the church, they find

⁶ The *esquisuche* tree blooms with white, odorous flowers that are believed to have curative properties. This type of tree is closely associated with St. Hermano Pedro de Betancourt, who is an important folk saint in Guatemala and was canonized by Pope John Paul II in 2001, as part of a tour of Latin America, which also saw the canonization of Juan Pedro in Guadalupe, Mexico.

that a foundation has already been traced on the ground and so they interpret this as the image's instructions about the size and layout that the church should be.

I relate these legends here not to exoticize the locale unnecessarily, but to show that in the popular imagination of Cobán, San Felipe is a special place. Whatever aspects of these stories may be true, what we do know is that the construction of the church began in 1809 and was completed a year later (Villacorta 1977). Since then, the building was remodeled and expanded three times (1910, 1954, 1985) so that the church that stands today is considerably larger than the one that was purportedly traced out by the saint in the legend. The *esquisuche* tree is no longer there either. According to Villacorta, the tree survived as an important site of syncretic worship until the mid-1930s, when it was cut down because it had become moribund and blackened due to the smoke of candles and pom that Q'eqchi'-Maya faithful would burn at its feet.

Though the church was built in 1810, it didn't become a parish until 1964. If the rumors are to be believed, it was incorporated as a parish primarily because the Bishop of the Diocese of Verapaz needed a place that would employ his nephew. Regardless of that, though, San Felipe was a natural place to use as the seat for a new parish because it was already an important ritual center for Cobán. Given the apparently miraculous nature of the image housed there and its role as the Calvary church during Easter week activities, San Felipe already had a place in the Catholic ritual cycle of the town. Moreover, it had the firm support of a group of neighbors living in the surrounding areas who had already undertaken a project to improve the church building.

Originally the parish was conceived of as just another parish for the city, but by the early 1970s the reforms of Vatican II were beginning to be felt in Guatemala and it was decided to make San Felipe a missionary parish for the Q'eqchi'-Maya population⁷. This changed the character of the parish significantly, since though its function initially was to complement the Cathedral in the center of town, it now took on a deliberately missionary tone. Initially Dominican missionaries staffed the parish, but in 1977 the Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae (CICM, or the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary) took over its administration and have continued to staff the parish.

CICM is an international missionary organization that was originally founded in Belgium in 1862 (Verhelst 1995). Because of CICM's wide range worldwide, the priests who have served at San Felipe have been from many different parts of the world. The earliest missionaries were indeed Belgian. Later Filipino priests took over the administration of the parish. In the late 1990s and early 2000s African priests, from Cameroon and the Democratic Republic of Congo, have been in charge of the parish. More recently there has also been a priest from the Dominican Republic—the first Latin American to hold the post since the early 1970s. Thus the priests at San Felipe have never been Guatemalan, much less Q'eqchi'-Maya. When I arrived in Cobán Father Augustine⁸, from the Democratic Republic of Congo (still Zaire in his memory) was the only parish priest, having served there at the time for six years. Augustine was

⁷ At the same time that this happened, a third parish was founded in town to serve as the secondary unmarked (but Spanish-speaking) parish.

⁸ I use pseudonyms throughout for the parish priests and other church workers, with the exception of Bishops who I consider to be fully public figures.

later joined by a compatriot—Juan Andres—and the aforementioned priest from the Dominican Republic, Father Manuel.

This international priesthood has been at best a mixed blessing for parishioners. On the one hand, it has allowed them to tap into the CICM's resources and international connections, so that, for example, in 2004 the North American branch of the organization funded the construction of an underground water repository for the rectory and catechist training center. On the other, it has also been the source of some intercultural conflict when the clergy and the laity don't see eye to eye on what constitutes appropriate behavior. However, priests rotate out of the parish every few years (eight years seems to be the longest anyone has stayed there due to the difficult schedule they must maintain traveling to rural communities), so parishioners rarely make their displeasure with a priest's actions known to him. However, parishioners are likely to seek out those priests who they think are more sympathetic towards them if a dispute arises with another priest, or to try to lodge a complain with the diocesan office.

There are broadly speaking two kinds of Catholics in the parish— Mainstream Catholics and Charismatic Catholics. In the next sections I outline their organization and ritual practices.

MAINSTREAM CATHOLICS

San Felipe is made up of 122 Mainstream Catholic communities or "*comunidades eclesiales de base*" (CEBs), which are divided into five pastoral regions.

Its administrative area is much larger than that of any of the other four parishes in the municipality of Cobán, since it really covers most of the area outside of the city proper. Of the 122 communities only a handful are within what is still considered the city limits, and the rest are in the rural areas. Most communities are off the main highways and the priests estimate that only 20% of them can actually be reached by motor vehicle, and then only with four-wheel drive, the rest must be walked to. What this means is that for most parishioners the primary point of contact with the church is through their CEB, which in most cases maps onto their home village, although some of the larger villages have more than one CEB. Each CEB has at least one catechist who is responsible for leading weekly “Celebrations of the Word”— rituals which mirror the mass’s Liturgy of the Word, but which do not feature the rites of the Eucharist. This is the main type of religious celebration in about 75% of the communities, since the priests can only get out to the more remote rural communities 3 or 4 times a year. Those closer to the parish center are expected to attend Sunday masses on a somewhat regular basis, though in practice a significant group only attends for feast days, special occasions such as baptisms or weddings, or when their community is tasked with leading the mass⁹. Nonetheless, there are those faithful who attend both mass and their community’s Celebration of the Word on a weekly basis.

⁹ Responsibility for “animating” the mass is rotated among the CEBs that make up the central region of the parish. A CEB charged with this task is expected to provide a catechist to deliver the sermon (see Chapter 2 below), lectors to read Bible verses, a prayer leader, people to pass the collection basket, and a chorus, including *marimba* players, to provide music during the mass.

CEBs have been a fixture of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic religious life since the 1970s (Wilson 1995). Stemming from the work of Catholic Action in the 1960s, CEBs were devised as a way to ensure that all parishioners would have access to the Word of God (Burdick 1993). The CEBs in San Felipe are mostly organized based on location and residence so that villages and neighborhoods tend to be coterminous with these religious organization. However, there are also a few that break with this and that are instead organized around extended social networks without reference to a particular locality. For example, the core of the San Eduardo CEB is an extended kin network. This group came into being when its core membership decided to split off from another CEB (which was based on neighborhood residence) due to what they believed was immoral behavior on the part of that group's leadership. Though effecting the split and gaining legitimacy in the eyes of the parish was a long and difficult process, the group managed to establish itself as a separate entity and had grown by attracting members of other CEBs who were often recruited based on their fictive kinship (*compradazgo*) with existing members.

In order for a CEB to be effective it needs several things: a gathering space; a core membership that can organize and perform the duties required for Celebrations of the Word, and a leader (or leaders) to officiate rituals. Each village has a chapel, which tends to be centrally located, often with a small adjacent cemetery and sometimes a small soccer field, and this is the preferred space used by CEBs. Depending on the resources that a CEB can muster, the chapel may be a simple wood structure or made of concrete blocks. In urban areas, especially when a CEB isn't attached to a particular

geographic area, such as San Eduardo, a meeting place may be improvised in someone's home. San Eduardo, for example, uses a shared space on a plot of land where several member families live. Although the space isn't a chapel per se, it used as one when needed. Q'eqchi' houses often have family altars, and wealthier families often construct a large multipurpose room in which to place the altar, especially if they serve or can reasonably expect to serve as *cofrades*. In San Eduardo the space used for Celebrations of the Word was an extension of such a space.

The size of a CEB can vary from a small group of about 40 (including adults and adolescents) to several hundred. In order to maintain itself, a CEB must have some core membership that is willing and able to carry out the duties in organizing and performing the weekly Celebration, as well as be able to aid when in a mass when a priest is present. CEBs generally set up small councils to manage this work and their finances, although sometimes the brunt of the work may fall on one person. In addition to a catechist, in order for a CEB to hold its weekly Celebrations (see below) at minimum it must have a few people to can act as lectors and prayer leaders, and enough people to form a chorus (which ideally includes both singers and some musicians.)

The central figure in a CEB and the person they rely on the most in performing their rituals is the catechist (*catequistas*, aj tzolol tij). One or more catechists lead each CEB. A catechist's main task is to deliver sermons at Celebrations of the Word as well as at masses either when a priest visits the village or, in the central region, when their community is called on to "animate" the masses at San Felipe. The Mainstream Catholic model of organizing parishioners into catechist-led CEBs comes from the

developments of the Second Vatican Council and the global reforms Pope John XXIII made in the 1960s. At the core of these reforms was the idea that each community of believers would work to translate the rites of the Catholic Church into its own language and culture. The Diocese of the Verapaz first began translating Catholic rites into Q'eqchi' during the tenure of Monsignor Juan Gerardi¹⁰ (1967-1974) (Zauzich 1998). Gerardi also instituted a program for training of the lay leader or catechists in 1972 (*ibid.*), though it wasn't until 1975 that the program was widely implemented in the Diocese (Wilson 1995: 173). Catechists are selected from among married parishioners who head their own households, and are thus considered sufficiently mature to exercise the office. They must be considered people with good moral standing in their respective communities and have the necessary skills to read and interpret the Bible for their communities (although this is not a particularly strict requirement since a number of older catechists are barely literate).

Although I use the term "Mainstream Catholic" to describe the members of CEBs, this is not a term that parishioners in San Felipe would necessarily recognize for themselves. I have adopted it as a sort of generalized term to mark what would otherwise be an unmarked category within the parish. The term is problematic because, if this category exists, it exists precariously and is in some ways a fairly new

¹⁰ Juan Jose Gerardi is a prominent figure in the recent history of Guatemala for his advocacy of indigenous rights. Gerardi is perhaps best known for his work in the National Reconciliation Commission and the Recovery of Historical Memory (REMHI) project to document human rights abuses during the Civil War in Guatemala. He was assassinated two days after the presentation of the REMHI report Guatemala: ¡Nunca Mas! in 1998, which implicated the Guatemalan military in the murder and disappearance of thousands of civilians.

phenomenon. It has come about as Catholics adhering to a theology of Inculturation and those who practice a more Maya-influenced version of traditional syncretic Catholicism have banded together (despite their own differences) in opposition to Charismatic Catholicism. It's worth cautioning that this new unity of Maya "traditionalists" and catechists might in itself be a surprising development in the history of Catholicism among Maya. As Jorge Murga Armas has shown, the introduction of post-Vatican II reforms to Mayan communities with a strong history of traditionalist leadership was often fraught with difficulties and occasionally engendered violence (2006). However, I believe that there is sufficient unity between people who formerly would have been self-identified themselves according to this distinction to warrant my use of "Mainstream Catholic" as a blanket term for San Felipe.

While it is important to note that this is a new religious formation and that there are still internal frictions within it, I believe that it is possible to characterize Mainstream Catholicism as a range of practices and beliefs that to a greater or lesser degree draw from traditionalist Maya beliefs and the post-Vatican II theologies of Liberation and Inculturation. This does not mean that all traditionalist practices are viewed favorably by catechists, nor that the ultimate authority of catechists (or the clergy for that matter) is always accepted by traditionalists, but rather, that presently it may be better to talk about these two religious identifications as forming a spectrum of practice rather than being two distinct religious identities. For example, while many catechists might denounce the consumption of b'oj (a local alcoholic beverage made from sugarcane juice) at *cofradía* festivals for being a gateway to immoral behavior,

their aim is not to put an end to the festivals, nor necessarily to the ritual consumption of the beverage, but rather to refocus them to be celebrations of God's glory as expressed via a patron saint, rather than allowing them to become displays of public drinking. Likewise, several men who began their religious careers as catechists have now accepted cargos within village *cofradías*, and see the two roles as being different, but equally valuable, forms of participating in the religious life of the community. This sort of relationship does not exist between Mainstream Catholics and Charismatics between whom a sharp line is drawn¹¹.

While CEBs have now become the center of religious life in many villages, *cofradías* still exert some degree of influence. Some of this has come through the cooptation of the system by official institutional body of the parish. The Hermandad del Señor del Calvario, for example, is a parish-wide *cofradía* technically made up of all of the 122 CEBs catechists. Although, its seat is the private home of a *cofrade*, rather than the church itself, and the last three titular heads of the organization have not been catechists or even regular members of the parish (and in fact two of these have been Ladinos, one of whom was originally from another part of Guatemala), the core of the group is made up of about fifteen catechists who are responsible for organizing the patron saint's festival. The Hermandad is a unique case, too, in that unlike most *cofradías*, which are maintained by networks of neighbors or kin, the organizing

¹¹ In Brazil the distinction between Charismatic Catholics and the local equivalent of the Catholic mainstream is not sharply drawn and that there is a significant level of cross-membership (de Theije and Mariz 2008), and I can anecdotally attest that while this is also the case among Ladinos in Guatemala and even in Cobán, this is most certainly not the case San Felipe.

principle here is the unity of these particular ritual specialists across their respective communities. *Cofradías* in villages, as I suggested above, have maintained some level of authority in part by drawing in catechists to serve as *cofrades*. While not all catechists relish the opportunity to hold these offices (due to the cost of doing so as well as because of misgivings about the nature of their rituals), and a significant number openly disapprove of some of the formal elements of *cofradía* rituals (e.g. drinking and dancing), because of their commitment to serve as religious leaders they will generally accept invitations to attend the celebrations and, if called upon to do so, help by leading prayers or delivering short sermons. Thus, whereas the *cofradía* had previously been an independent structure of religious authority that was sometimes antagonistic to catechists and the post-Vatican II reforms, it has now been subsumed under the wider umbrella of Mainstream Catholicism.

MAINSTREAM RITUAL PRACTICES

Having set out the organizational structure of the Mainstream Catholicism, I now turn to introducing some of the ritual events that are characteristic of their style of worship. I will discuss these rituals more fully in later chapters, and my purpose here is to provide an outline of Mainstream Catholic religious life, rather than a comprehensive catalogue of their rituals.

Masses are the most important kind of ritual for Mainstream Catholics. Sunday mass is held at 9 a.m. every week at San Felipe. Although the number of people present

at a particular mass can be greater or smaller depending on when in the liturgical calendar it is held, regular attendance at Sunday mass is considered to be an important duty for Mainstream Catholics and a source of spiritual fulfillment. Masses are divided into two main parts—the Liturgy of the Word, and the Liturgy of the Eucharist¹² (Johnsons 1994; Diócesis de la Verapaz 1999). The central aspect of the Liturgy of the Word is the reading of the gospels and the sermon or homily, which is meant as an explication of the readings (see Chapter 2). Catechists and other lay members of the congregation perform most of the duties of the Liturgy of the Word, with the exception of the reading of the Gospels, which is reserved for the priest. The focus of the Liturgy of the Eucharist is the preparation and reception of the body of Christ via the communion wafer. During this part of the mass, the priest performs most of the ritual duties although at some points the sacristan, ministers, or catechists may aid him. The Mainstream Catholics I worked with saw the taking of Communion as the primary reason to attend Sunday mass. Although they saw the Liturgy of the Word as important as well, since it was a chance to hear the word of God, it was receiving the Eucharist that they considered to be most important for their spiritual well being¹³. In San Felipe all weddings, baptisms, and first communions are incorporated into the regular Sunday mass as well.

¹² Additionally there are opening and closing rites.

¹³ While at one level this matches the expectations of the priests and the institutional Church, I also heard priests complain that some parishioners seemed to think that the wafer in itself had magical properties, and not that it was a means for them to achieve communion with God. This was a real frustration for the clergy who sometimes felt as though parishioners were ignorant of their faith. This differing understanding of the role of the communion wafer and some parishioners' use of Holy Water as health aid was often pointed to as evidence of the incomplete conversion of Q'eqchi'-Mayas.

While masses occur on a weekly basis in San Felipe, in remote rural areas masses can be infrequent as the parish priests visit some communities at most three or four times a year¹⁴. Tenamit is the only village that has gained special consideration from the parish, in part due to its large size and proximity to Cobán (and perhaps in part due to the presence of Charismatics, see below), so that mass is held there every other week. Masses may also be held at other central region CEBs' chapels or meeting houses for special occasions when the community has something special to celebrate like a patron Saint's day, an important anniversary, or if a large number of people want to get married or have their first communion there. However, in general parishioners living in the vicinity of Cobán proper are expected to go to the central church in San Felipe on a regular basis for mass. In practice, of course, attendance ebbs and flows according to the season, with July through October being lean months in terms of attendance (and church revenue) and December through Easter being a much more active season for the parish.

Although Mainstream Catholics view masses as a very important kind of ritual and hold that one should ideally attend mass on a weekly basis, Celebrations of the Word are the rituals that they actually attend most regularly and which form the core of parishioners' ritual practices. A CEB generally holds Celebrations of the Word on a regular weekly basis (although my understanding is that some, especially those in

¹⁴ The frequency of these visits also depends on the temperament and willingness to travel of the parish priests. Father Augustine traveled more than most, and was away from the parish center visiting villages from Monday through Thursday most weeks. He reported that if he could plan a route that took him through villages that were four or fewer hours walk between them, he'd try to perform four masses daily on these trips.

remote villages, hold them twice a week). Celebrations of the Word are meant not to replace masses but rather to act as supplements to them or at best as imperfect substitutes. These rituals follow a similar pattern to the Liturgy of the Word, so that their focal point is the reading of the word of God and its explication via a sermon. In addition they present an opportunity to pray in order to ask for God's intercession in their lives and to glorify God through hymns. At the end of Celebrations of the Word there is often some chance to socialize with neighbors and catch up on community gossip. The board of directors of a CEB will often set up a small stand selling snacks to encourage this socializing and earn some funds. The social aspect of Celebrations also makes these events ideal for recruiting people to perform collective tasks such as help in building a house or sowing during the planting season. Because priests can only visit some villages to hold mass a few times a year, in remote areas of the parish Celebrations of the Word become not just the most regular, but the most salient and focal part of Catholic worship.

In addition to these weekly rituals, there are certain yearly events of special feasts that are especially important. January 15th is the day of El Señor de Esquipulas, who is the patron saint of San Felipe, and his feast is celebrated for nine consecutive days. El Señor de Esquipulas, a black crucified Christ, is an important Saint in Central America based in the basilica in the eastern town of Esquipulas, Chiquimula. El Señor de Esquipulas is widely held to be a very miraculous figure and Esquipulas is a major pilgrimage site for Guatemalans, Salvadorans, Hondurans and Mexicans (Kendall 1991). Because of the saint's importance there are many churches and *cofradías* in

Guatemala¹⁵ who are dedicated to this figure— San Felipe is one of them¹⁶. Because of the association of the black Christ with indigenous people, the patron saint's day is a major feast. It consists of nine days of masses and twice daily rosary prayers, and culminates on the patron's day with an all-night celebration that includes a midnight mass, a fireworks display, music and a communal meal. Thousands of parishioners come for some part of the celebration and many of those who come from rural areas stay in the dormitory of the adjacent catechist formation center for a day or two.

New Years Day is also held to be an especially significant day at San Felipe. Because of the aforementioned association of San Felipe with the Tzuultaq'a, the church is held as an especially propitious place to ask for blessing in the coming year. On New Year's Day the line of supplicants who wish to pass behind the image of El Señor de Esquipulas to say a short prayer of thanksgiving and ask for blessings in the coming year is tightly packed against one side of the nave and snakes out the church door. What is remarkable about New Year's Day is that although the majority of petitioners are Q'eqchi'-Maya, this is the one day of the year that many Ladinos visit the church as well. Most are Cobáneros, but a significant number also come from neighboring towns. A large number of Poqomchi-Mayas from neighboring towns visit the church as well. There are three masses held for New Year's day— all in Q'eqchi'—

¹⁵ Patterns of transnational migration have also caused the image to travel and there are now several sites in the United States where Guatemalans pay tribute to the Cristo Negro. To my knowledge there are *cofradías* dedicated to the saint in Queens, New York, Los Angeles, and San Bruno, California.

¹⁶ The Hermandad is dedicated to El Señor de Esquipulas, and there are several *cofradías* in villages around the parish (including one in Tenamit) and the city that are dedicated to him as well.

and throughout the day and impressive collection of lit candles and votives grows in front of the altar. Although there is a multicultural and multilingual crowd of people in the church that day, the formal services are targeted at Q'eqchi'-Mayas.

The Holy Week (Easter) cycle is an important feast for all Catholics in Guatemala. Guatemala is famous for its Easter processions, and while the ones held in Cobán are much smaller than those in Guatemala City or Antigua where these rituals have become both expressions of faith and important sources of tourism business, the week is filled by a complex rotation of activities among the parishes in the city. Preparations for the procession assigned to San Felipe that is held on Holy Wednesday¹⁷ begin during lent and finish just hours before the procession actually happens. During this period the Hermandad is responsible for collecting funds to decorate the biers that they will parade around town and organizing a series of activities. The largest bier (*anda*), which is carried by men, is about twenty feet long and is used to carry an image of Jesus carrying the cross. There is a smaller bier which bears an image of Mary and which is the responsibility of women. To get funds and people to help, the Hermandad buys time on a local radio station during lent to advertise itself and its events, interspersing recordings of brass band funeral marches that customarily accompany these processions with Bible readings, sermons, and calls to aid them with the processions. Every Friday during lent they also perform the Stations of the Cross as small processions around the neighborhood. Each stop during those processions is hosted by a family who makes a cash donation to the Hermandad to help with the cost

¹⁷ Other parishes and confraternities are responsible for organizing the other processions and the practice is common to both Maya and Ladinos.

of the Holy Week procession. Finally, the Saturday before Holy Week, accompanied by a flute and drum player and a truck bearing loudspeakers to play funeral marches, the Hermandad takes the image of Christ carrying the cross on a small bier around the entire city in a practice locally known as a *talácha*. Along the way, people will signal for them to stop in front of their homes to pray and receive a blessing from the image (by kissing the statues feet or touching it and then one's forehead). Depending on the size of the donation given, the image will stay there while one or two funeral marches play and people pray.

On Holy Wednesday a mass prepares parishioner for the main procession, which descends from the church in the late afternoon and returns sometime around three in the morning. The procession winds around the town, stopping at the homes of certain families to rest and pray. The host families prepare refreshments for the people bearing the Christ image and construct elaborate carpets made of colored wood shavings and flower petals. The biers weigh several tons and the process of carrying them at a slow pace is meant to help parishioners imagine and embody Christ's pain as he bore the cross.

In addition to the procession, San Felipe celebrates special masses for Palm Sunday, and each day during Easter week. Most of these masses only have about fifty people in attendance, but attendance is much greater for Palm Sunday and Holy Saturday. The Palm Sunday mass is unique in that it begins in the patio overlooking the city and moves into the church to symbolize Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. On Holy Saturday the mass begins at sundown with the lighting of a large fire in front of the

church, after a prayer is said over this fire (which is related to a traditional Q'eqchi' ritual known as a mayejak'¹⁸ [lit. "offering"]), the congregation lights candles and enters as a procession into a darkened church. Once inside, candles are lit and the lights turned on to symbolize Jesus' resurrection.

Christmas, All-Souls' Day and All-Saints' Day are also marked by special masses although these are nowhere near as elaborate as those described above. The week before Christmas a crèche or *Nacimiento* is installed in the church and stays there until just after New Years. During Christmas Eve mass the image of Baby Jesus is uncovered and following the mass people give offerings in the form of coins, ears of corn and eggs to the image. The *Nacimiento* is interesting because it represents Joseph and Mary as Q'eqchi'-Mayas. While there is a longstanding and strong tradition of building elaborate *nacimientos* among Ladinos and Mayas throughout the country, the practice of explicitly associating the holy family with indigenous culture is a fairly new development and most certainly is one of the aesthetic legacies of Liberation Theology. The masses held for the All-Souls' and All Saints' Day follow the same pattern as regular Sunday masses except that this is understood as a special time to ask for the

¹⁸ The mayejak was described to me as an authentically Q'eqchi'-Maya ritual. While the term can refer to almost any offering or sacrifice, and in fact is used during mass to refer to the money collected there, the mayejak proper involves building a large fire. After a prayer over this fire, individuals are invited to light their own candles and say a personal prayer. The candles are then placed in the ground around the main fire and this is left to burn. My understanding is that often a turkey's blood is also sprinkled on the fire, but the priests and most of the catechists frown on this. In any case, some effort has been made to "inculturate" the mayejak and make a more regular and properly Christian part of Mainstream worship, but, at least in the central region of San Felipe, it is not generally performed under the direct auspices of the church, and instead is usually performed by a traditional curer (aj ilonel) with no formal standing in the church.

blessing of one's dead relatives (*difuntos*, aj kamenakeb')¹⁹. Some CEBs may also request special masses in their villages on or around these holidays.

In addition to these calendrically determined group rituals there are other minor rituals that make up Mainstream Catholics religious lives. Rosary prayers are built in to some of the rituals described above (for example during the patron saint's feast and Easter), but these are not the only contexts for these prayer. Members of a CEB may also perform a Rosary on an irregular basis to aid individuals or families in need. When someone becomes especially ill or after a death in the family, members of a CEB may be asked to come pray the Rosary at private home. Sometimes those requesting the prayer may not even be members of the CEB or regular attendees at parish services. Since some groups have a reputation as being particularly pious or willing to help (such as the women in San Eduardo), they find themselves in demand for this ritual task.

Confessions are an irregular occurrence among Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics. Priests in San Felipe generally only hear confession when someone is about to receive her first communion or get married. Otherwise the only time that confessions are common is during Holy Week, when the priests schedule several periods to hear confession. There is no tradition of frequent confessions among Mainstream Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics. Although, of course, I was not privy to any particular confessions, the priests at San Felipe reported that the confessions they heard were mostly about what they took to be minor social infractions, rather than bigger sins.

¹⁹ It's also traditional to visit one's dead relative's graves and lay out offerings of flowers, food, and kakaw (cacao) or b'oj. This practice is common among both Maya and Ladinos.

The final elements of Mainstream Catholics' ritual life that is worth mentioning are individual prayers. Many of my informants said that one should begin every day with a short prayer and the burning of some pom (a resin which is used locally as incense) in a censer at each corner of one's house and at the door. The pungent smoke released by the burning of pom is said to attract God's good will and to offend evil spirits. Burning pom, they say, ensures that one has God's blessings for the day's work and that one will be protected from evil. Mainstream Catholics also say very short individual prayers before eating, before starting out on a journey (especially by motor vehicle), and at the end of the day. Their prayers are usually the recitation of the Our Father or Hail Mary prayer, which they sometimes supplement with a short individualized request for God's blessing (see chapter 3 for more on prayers). It is also common to start non-ritual church-related gatherings of any sort (such as *cursillos*, or business meetings) with a prayer.

While this list of rituals is not exhaustive, it should give the reader a sense of the degree to which ritual and religious practice fills up a Mainstream parishioner's life. In the next section I will describe the organization and ritual lives of the Charismatic Catholic.

CHARISMATIC CATHOLICS

As I stated above, the vast majority of parishioners are Mainstream Catholics. Although I do not know exactly how many Charismatic groups meet on a regular basis

across the whole parish, within the central region where I was focused there were only four groups at the time of my fieldwork. The largest of these was the group in Tenamit, which would regularly draw 60 people on a Wednesday night and about 90 on Sundays, and it is largely on their practices and experiences that I base my analysis (although this is supplemented by my observation of several rituals in other communities outside of the central region of the parish). On two occasions I also had a chance to observe the discussions between the priests and Mainstream delegations from distant rural communities who had come to lodge complaints about the presence of Charismatics in their villages. In what follows I give the history of the group and outline their religious practices.

The origins of Charismatic Catholicism go back to a series inter-faith meetings between Roman Catholics and Pentecostals in Pennsylvania in 1967 (McGuire 1982; Csordas 1997). Drawing their inspiration from Pentecostal forms of worship, and perhaps seeking to develop a form of spirituality that promoted a ‘personal relationship’ with Jesus, these first Charismatic Catholics, or Pentecostal Catholics as they are sometimes also called (McGuire 1982), became interested in practicing a “renewal” of the faith (Csordas 2007). The signs of this renewal would be the manifestation of gifts of the spirit or “charisms”, which include glossolalia, faith-healing, and speaking prophecies (Csordas 1997), and which are a central part of Protestant Pentecostal practice and theology²⁰ (Robbins 2004; Synan 1997). During the 1970s, the Charismatic Catholic Renewal spread through the U.S. as a growing number of people began to

²⁰ The Biblical basis for a belief in charisms is usually held to be in 1 Corinthians chapter 12, particularly verses 7-10 and 28.

participate in informal prayer groups, and eventually intentional “covenant communities” (Csordas 1997). By the mid 1970s the Charismatic Catholic Renewal (CCR) had been recognized by the Pope. According to the Consejo Central de Renovación Carismática Católica de Guatemala, the central coordinating office for the CCR in the country, Charismatic Catholicism first appeared in Guatemala in 1973 (Renovación Carismática Católica de Guatemala n.d.: <http://rcc.guatemala.tripod.com/id1.html>). However, in San Felipe, Charismatic Catholicism goes back less than ten years.

Although the group in Tenamit is not the oldest CCR group in San Felipe’s central region it is now the largest²¹. The story of the group, as recounted to me by Hermano²² Rigo²³, is as follows. A CCR group in a neighboring town— Carchá— had been the first Charismatic group that had specifically sought to recruit Q’eqchi’-Mayas to the movement, which it started to do in late 1980s²⁴. The group from Carchá took an

²¹ Its size, however, is dwarfed by that of other Ladino or mixed Ladino/Q’eqchi’-Maya Charismatic Catholic groups in Cobán. Moreover there are much larger Q’eqchi’-Maya CCR groups in Carchá, Alta Verapaz, which is the seat of the Q’eqchi’-Maya branch of the CCR.

²² The terms Hermano and Hermana are Spanish terms (lit. “brother” and “sister”) used among Charismatic along with personal names when addressing each other and referring to a third person. Throughout this dissertation I follow this naming convention for Charismatics. Mainstream Catholics use a different naming convention, see note 25 below.

²³ This name is a pseudonym. Throughout this dissertation I use pseudonyms for all parishioners.

²⁴ I don’t know how Charismatic Catholicism was introduced in Carchá, or in Guatemala more generally, but Csordas says that the general pattern of spread in Third World regions is that, “a missionary priest visits the U.S.A., is exposed to Baptism in the Holy Spirit, organizes a prayer group on his return, and subsequently calls on outside help for doctrinal instruction, healing services, or administration of the ‘Life in the Spirit Seminar’” (Csordas 1992: 5). If this is the case it bears some very interesting

active interest in evangelizing to other communities and helped to set up in a village called Chirepek, which fell under the jurisdiction of San Felipe parish, around 1995. That community was relatively small to begin with and revolved around two interrelated families. Because of the charisma of the preacher leading the group, it eventually grew to about seventy regular members (Hermano Rigo, himself joined about two years after the group had formed). The group in Chirepek never entered into formal relations with the parish, however, instead orienting itself towards the group in Carchá for institutional support.

In 2001, because of interpersonal problems between some of the members and the group leader, and because many of the new members actually lived in Tenamit and found it difficult to travel to Chirepek at night, Hermano Rigo, Hermano Guillermo, and a few others decided that they would split off from that group and form their own. Initially they met at people's homes, because there was no structure (or sympathy) for them in either the parish or the village. Father Raul, who was the parish priest in San Felipe until 2002, and Madre Chin, who is the parish's CEB coordinator, were especially hostile towards them and refused to recognize their legitimacy, insisting that the group's members should re-integrate themselves into the Mainstream CEBs. Finding no support in San Felipe, the group in Tenamit instead sought out the support and guidance of another parish (Santo Lorenzo) that already had an established urban, Ladino Charismatic community. Eventually this led them to petition the Bishop to allow them to formally attach themselves to Santo Lorenzo. Hermano Rigo says that the

structural parallels to the narrative told to me about how the Tenamit group was founded.

Bishop was going to authorize their transfer, but when Father Raul left and Father Augustine assumed the leadership of San Felipe as parish priest, he made accommodations for them, including granting them use of the village chapel in Tenamit. That access, however, was conditional on Charismatics' willingness to attend masses regularly and generally remain under the purview of the parish.

Despite having official recognition from the parish and the cooperation of Father Augustine, the Charismatics in Tenamit continue to have problems with the five Mainstream CEBs in Tenamit, and especially with Qawa²⁵ Emanuel, who is the sacristan for the chapel and lives next door to it. However, Hermano Rigo believes that they have been relatively successful at coexisting with the local Mainstream leadership, and cites the doubling in size over the last three years as a sign that they are doing well. This has not been the case elsewhere, however, where the differences between the groups have erupted into more serious conflict. In one extreme case in a community in the western part of the parish the conflict even led to physical violence between a catechist and a preacher. More often, however, it has been a case of criticisms, which Q'eqchi'-Maya take very seriously, and people ceasing to talk to or greet each other, which constitutes a major social slight. Sometimes Mainstream Catholic groups have written to either Father Augustine or the Bishop asking them to formally denounce the Charismatic group and forbid them access to the village chapel or meetinghouse.

²⁵ "Qawa" and "Qana" are honorific Q'eqchi' terms for adult men and women, respectively. They are used in front of personal names in order to demonstrate respect and recognition of the person's status. Throughout this dissertation I use these terms when naming Mainstream Catholics, as this is how I would have referred to them in Cobán.

Neither Father Augustine nor the Bishop have done so, however, and both are to various degrees supportive, if conditionally so, of the CCR groups.

As the story of the origin of the CCR group in Tenamit suggests, although they operate largely independently (this will become clearer in the next chapter when we examine how preachers are authorized to lead their communities), Charismatics nonetheless have a set of relationships that tie them to the Catholic hierarchy and to other CCR communities in the region and nation. Within the diocese there is an organizing body that coordinates local CCR groups and gives them some structure in terms of the style of worship they adopt. A subdivision of this group is specifically tasked with organizing Q'eqchi'-Maya CCR activities. Beyond this there is a central coordinating office that oversees the CCR in the country, and there are higher organizations that do so at the regional and international level, up to the International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services (ICCRS) in Rome.

As CEBs depend on their catechists to organize and officiate rituals, so CCR groups depend on their preachers (technically *predicador*, but often simply referred to as an *hermano* internally). While there are important differences between the two roles and how certain individuals come to fill those offices (see Chapter 2), there are significant overlaps at the organizational level. A preacher's primary function is to deliver sermons at the biweekly Celebrations. However, because of the smaller size of the group and the less-differentiated distribution of duties within the group, the preachers also play other roles within the Celebration. Hermano Rigo, for example, is also the keyboard player and choir leader, which means that he takes responsibility for

directing and performing the music played during rituals (of which there is quite a bit), and is also responsible for convening the musicians for regular rehearsals.

CHARISMATIC RITUAL PRACTICES

Although technically the arrangement with Father Augustine calls for all the members of the CCR group in Tenamit to attend mass when it is held in the village every other week, in practice few do so. Instead, Celebrations of the Word are the main rituals performed and attended by Charismatics. Celebrations are held Wednesday nights and Sunday mornings, and each lasts approximately two hours. Although Charismatic Celebrations share some of the same formal elements that make up Mainstream ones (both have readings from the Bible, sermon, and hymns for example) their structure and the way that they are performed are measurably different (see Chapters 2 and 3). Charismatic rituals build up to a prayer to the Holy Spirit, and they imagine coming into contact with or (ideally) being inhabited by this entity as the way in which one properly comes into communion with God. Although members may still seek out communion via the Eucharist a few times a year, for Charismatics the ideal form of communion is a direct one that manifests itself either through a feeling of euphoria and of “lightness” (“*siento como que estoy en el aire*”, said Hermano Rigo; “I feel like I’m in the air”), or through the manifestation of a charism, usually glossolalia (although this actually happens fairly infrequently in this group.)

Besides the semi-weekly Celebrations of the Word, Charismatics occasionally hold *vigilias* as extraordinary rituals. *Vigilias* are lengthy and intense rituals held a few times a year. They begin at dusk and last until dawn. Rather than being held in the village chapel, *vigilias* are celebrated in a congregant's home. The houses of relatively affluent Q'eqchi'-Mayas often have a sort of large multipurpose room or a woodshed that can be called into service for celebrations. Although there are no specific dates that *vigilias* must be held, they are often scheduled to coincide with holidays both because the days are special and perhaps to ensure that congregants don't stray from the fold. For example, I attended on *vigilia* on All Souls Day during which congregants were frequently reminded that, while many thought that day belonged to the devil or to death, they were there to glorify God. Similarly, a *vigilia* scheduled for New Years Eve both served as a celebration of the coming year and the renewal that this symbolized, but likely also served as a way to ensure that men did not spend that night visiting non-Charismatics acquaintances who might serve them alcohol (which is strictly prohibited by Charismatics). The central focus of a *vigilia* is a healing prayer and blessing that occurs at midnight. Congregants consider this prayer to be especially effective in solving a person's problems, be they spiritual or physical. Besides the healing prayer, there is a sermon, several moments of individualized prayer, a chance for congregants to give testimonials about how God has helped them personally, several snack breaks and sometimes a full meal, a lot of singing, and sometimes a sketch or video presentation if a TV and VCR can be procured for the event.

Charismatics tend to distance themselves from Mainstream rituals, which they see as being too closely linked to traditionalist Maya religion (often called “*costumbre*”, see below). Easter week processions, for example, are viewed suspiciously and are said to be more about displaying and worshipping idols than coming into direct and joyful contact with God. *Cofradía* celebrations are completely off-limits for several reasons, including the presence of alcohol, the veneration of idols (instead of God directly)²⁶, and the feeling that the hierarchy of *cofrades* detracts from the ideal brotherhood of all Christians. Charismatics’ detachment from traditional rituals of communal participation in the parish and the village is often held up by Mainstream Catholics as a sign that the former are not really Catholics or that they are bad neighbors. Likewise, Charismatics hold those rituals to be signs of Mainstream Catholics’ unnecessary attachment to *costumbre* (custom) to the detriment of the development of their relationship with God.

As I suggested above, one of the major points of friction in the relationship between Charismatics and the clergy is the formers’ attendance at masses. Whereas among Mainstream Catholics the Celebration of the Word is intended to supplement the mass if one is able to attend the latter, or to be an imperfect substitute if one doesn’t

²⁶ Charismatics’ relationship to saints is a problematic one. For the most part, they are not present in their rituals, and I did hear comments that suggested that they thought Mainstream Catholics were actually worshipping the saints’ images rather than God. Other than in reference to the Gospels and the Epistles, saints are not talked about in church. The Virgin Mary, however, does have a special place in Charismatic Catholic worship and is invoked in prayer alongside the Holy Spirit and Jesus. Chesnut argues that the major role that the Virgin Mary plays in Charismatic Catholicism has come about as a way for the CCR to distinguish itself from Protestant Pentecostalism and “brand” itself as truly Catholic (Chesnut 2003). My informants likewise often pointed to their love for the Virgin Mary as one of the things that paradigmatically made them Catholic, too.

have regular access to a mass, Charismatics hold the Celebration of the Word to be sufficient (provided it's paired with individual prayer and clean living) to meet their spiritual needs. Thus, mass at best becomes a redundant event, and at worst becomes something that isn't really part of what they take to be important in their ritual lives (though this latter sentiment would probably be an extreme position, as Charismatics still desire masses for special occasions such as weddings). The clergy, of course, does not see it this way, and instead feels that the Eucharist is the most important part of Catholic ritual practices and the sign par excellence that one is a good Catholic. Charismatics' apparent rejection of this part of religious life can seem like a rejection of Catholicism as a whole. Charismatics do occasionally ask for special masses, but these are very infrequent, so that for example the group in Tenamit only once asked for and received a mass during the twenty months I was in the field.

While Father Augustine is relatively conciliatory towards the Charismatic community in Tenamit, he sees its members' absence from mass as a problem that needs to be rectified. In order to correct for this problem, upon recognizing the CCR as part of the parish he set as one of the conditions that they would attend the bi-weekly mass he held in Tenamit. This was difficult to regulate, though. So while Hermano Rigo and his wife are always there and make sure that Father Augustine sees them, many (if not most) other members of the CCR do not attend the masses. Seeing that he can't just mandate attendance, Father Augustine has also attempted to adjust his practices to entice Charismatics to come to mass. As Augustine understands it, for some reason Charismatics "prefer" to hear the Gospel in Spanish. Seeing this as one of the main

reasons that Charismatics weren't attending, Augustine decided that he would bring the Spanish language Bible and missal with him to Tenamit so that he could read verses in Spanish as well as in Q'eqchi'. This hasn't been a popular move among the Mainstream Catholics, who see it as an unnecessary accommodation of or perhaps even deference to the judgment of a group that to them seems to have signaled its desire to leave Catholicism. However, because it is something instituted by the parish priest, they tolerate it. Father Augustine's position as a priest makes this change in practice legitimate in their eyes, or at the very least makes it something that they do not contest in public, though privately (after it was well established that I was not a priest myself) I did hear a few complaints about it.

Beyond these group rituals, of course, Charismatics practice their faith in a number of personal ways. Because a direct relationship with God is one of the goals of the Charismatic Catholic worship, congregants make a lot of use of personal prayer. They report saying a personalized prayer when they wake up, and a longer one before going to sleep. They also sometimes accompany this with an Our Father, although that is not necessary for successful prayer. While some Charismatics make use of pom in their homes, some see it as an unnecessary *costumbre*, which does not positively affect one's relationship with God²⁷.

²⁷ They do, however, retain some use of pom in public group rituals.

THE PARISHIONERS

I do not have exact figures for how many people are active in the parish. I can report that in the central region of the parish there are twenty-four Mainstream CEBs, each with a core group of active members that ranges from about forty to a hundred and fifty people. To these we must also add parishioners who are nominally Catholic or who attend rituals on special occasion, but who do not regularly participate in CEB activities. As I stated above, there are, to my knowledge, four Charismatic groups in the central region, the largest of which is the group in Tenamit that counts on about sixty people to attend Celebrations on Wednesday nights, and ninety to a hundred on Sunday mornings. For large events like *vigilias* they might see as many as two hundred and fifty attendees. In comparison, the bi-weekly Mainstream Catholic mass in Tenamit regularly draws more than two hundred people, and twice as many on Christmas or other special occasions. Regular Sunday masses at the main church in San Felipe draw between three hundred and seven hundred people, and special occasion can bring in many more.

San Felipe is a large parish with large population, and while the inhabitants are all Q'eqchi'-Mayas, they are a heterogeneous group. As I mentioned above, most Q'eqchi'-Mayas are subsistence agriculturalists who also grow some cash crops and take seasonal agricultural work. However, many, especially those living near the city center, have found employment in other fields such as construction, carpentry, and low-level clerical jobs. The people I worked most closely with are all literate because of their positions as catechists and preachers, although this is not the case for parishioners

at large. Nonetheless, parish members vary in their level of education with some having only a few years of schooling and some, especially, younger members of the parish, having the equivalent of a middle school education. A select few young men and women have a high school education, but no one I had contact with had ever attended college (although a few of the adolescent children of my informants aspired to this). Parishioners tend to live in wooden houses with corrugated tin roofs and packed dirt floors, although as I describe below, some have managed to build houses made from concrete blocks. Most of the leaders are in sufficiently good positions both economically and geographically to have some access to electricity, although certainly there are many who do not, especially the further away from the city that they live. While most have access to some form of running water, often this is no more than a single spigot attached to a *pila*, which is like a freestanding multiuse sink made of concrete that has traditionally been a fixture of all Guatemalan homes. Very few parishioners have access to indoor plumbing and most have outhouses. Everyone owns an AM/FM radio, which is their main source of news and entertainment, and some of those who have regular access to electricity and live in areas where TV signals come in have small TVs. Refrigerators are uncommon and most people cook using wood. Bicycles are the most common form of transportation, although most rely on walking and taking buses, and only a select have been able to purchase cars or motorcycles.

It is difficult to generalize too much about parishioners and so I offer the following biographical sketches as a means of giving readers a sense of who some of the parish's lay leaders are. While these sketches shouldn't be taken as representative of

everyone in the parish, they are illustrative of some of the men and women who shared their lives and work with me. The names and a few personal details have been changed to protect their privacy. I begin by describing some of the Mainstream Catholics, for whom I use the titles Qana and Qawa (roughly Mr. and Mrs.) which is considered respectful for married adults. I use *Hermano* and *Hermana* (Brother and Sister) to designate Charismatic Catholics, since this is their preferred form of address.

Qana Esperanza, a woman in her mid 30s, is one of the most highly ranked women in the parish and one of the most active parishioners of any gender. She is a catechist for the San Eduardo CEB and has become a minister of communion— one of only ten parishioners to do so. She is regularly called upon to give talks to instruct parents and godparents seeking to have a child baptized at San Felipe about the meaning of the baptism and their duties during the ceremony and throughout the child's life. Qana Esperanza is also the acting vice president of the parish improvement association, and trusted enough by Father Augustine to help count the money that comes in through the donation boxes in the church each month. Beyond these duties, Qana Esperanza helps to coordinate the donation of flowers to decorate the church for Sunday masses and runs a small concession stand on Sunday mornings that brings in a bit of supplementary money for the parish. She does all of these duties of her own volition and receives no salary or other material compensation for the work.

Outside of the church, Qana Esperanza is a homemaker with four children, one daughter (the eldest) and three sons, who at the time of my fieldwork were between four and nineteen years old. The three older children are in school. Her daughter is studying

to be a bilingual secretary and has hopes of attending college, while her eldest son is interested in learning to work with computers. Her daughter, Lix Rosa, seems to be following in her mother's footsteps in terms of being involved in church activities, but she is taking a decidedly different course in her professional life. Qana Esperanza's husband is a truck driver who works in one of the port towns on Guatemala's Atlantic Coast and is only in Cobán for two weekends out of each month. He gives her money every other week, which usually covers the family's expenses, but occasionally she must borrow money from one of her relatives to get by until her husband comes home again. Her husband is nominally Catholic, but not particularly religious. However, since he is away most of the time this does not often conflict with her church duties.

Qana Esperanza's home is a two room concrete block house with concrete floors set on a lot just outside of the city proper, but well within what we might call the peri-urban area of Cobán. The lot had once been a small agricultural plot that had belonged to her father, and is now shared by the homes of the families of some of his children. While they keep some chickens and grow a few stalks of corn and some vegetables on the land, none of them engage in subsistence farming anymore. Each family has its own house and they share a few bathrooms with indoor plumbing. They have also built a meetinghouse on the lot that serves as the meeting center for the San Eduardo CEB. Several of Qana Esperanza's siblings are also catechists, and the extended family is overall quite involved in the parish. Her family is the nexus of San Eduardo, and the group was formed and is sustained through interpersonal connections.

Qawa Luis is one of the most important men in the parish and in his village. He is in his early 40s and is a catechist for one of the four CEBs in Tenamit — a large village approximately 10 kilometers outside of Cobán. Qawa Luis is also a communion minister, and is the president of the parish improvement association. He is entrusted with counting and recording the offerings given each week at mass. He has also served as a mertoom or lead *cofrade* for two of the *cofradías* in Tenamit, and is thus one of the catechist most closely associated with that religious tradition. Qawa Luis has a relatively large house compared to his neighbors in Tenamit, which sits right next to the highway that connects Cobán to points east and south in Guatemala including the Atlantic Coast and Guatemala City. His home is actually made up of three free-standing wooden buildings with packed dirt floors: a two-room building that serves as bedrooms; a long room that is primarily used for special occasion, like *fiestas*, but which is also used for storage; and a kitchen that is attached to a small store that his wife runs. His home has electricity, thanks in large part to its location next to the highway and access to running water, although no plumbing.

Qawa Luis is primarily an agriculturalist, and he has a small plot behind his home where he grows a few cash crops and a large plot further away on which he has a corn *milpa*. He is quite entrepreneurial, too, so in addition to his agricultural work, he sometimes purchases calves to raise for later sale. He has also outfitted family's store with a large oven so that his wife and daughter can bake bread for sale, and at one point owned a car that he used as a taxi (this was a major achievement as very few parishioners own motor vehicles). By the village's standards this makes him fairly well

off, although unforeseen circumstances such as crop failure, animal disease, and the theft of his car can weigh heavily on him, and he has occasionally had to borrow money from his father to maintain his home. Qawa Luis has six children— two sons who have become primary school teachers and moved out of his home, a daughter who recently married a man from a neighboring village, and unmarried adolescent daughter and two younger sons, one of whom was born during my field stay. His wife is a member of the church and attends mass regularly, but she has no official role in either the CEB of the parish. Qawa Luis has a primary education, but did not advance past the sixth grade.

Qawa Luis is the third eldest son of Qawa Emanuel. Qawa Emanuel, a man in his mid-60s, is one of the most prominent residents of Tenamit and also an important figure in San Felipe. Qawa Emanuel was one of the first catechists in the village and has long served as a sacristan both the main church on Sundays and at the village chapel for biweekly masses. He is also an active member of the *cofradías* in the village and is often the *mertoom* for the Esquipulas *cofradía* there. His family has long been important in the village and at one time owned much of the land there. Qawa Emanuel's father donated land to build a cemetery in the interior of the village and he himself was responsible for donating land on which the chapel was built (one of his sons has also recently overseen the remodeling and expansion of the building). Qawa Emanuel has had a dozen children, most of who still live in the village. Three of his sons (including Qawa Luis) are catechists and two other sons are active in the village's *cofradía* system. His home sits right next to the village chapel and is a made up of four freestanding structures, three of which are made of concrete. He shares his home with his wife and

the family of one of their daughters. Another son lives on the land immediately next to his. Although Qawa Emanuel has always maintained some *milpa* land, his main source of income has been the sale of firewood and lumber. This has actually made him one of the wealthier members of the village, although by the standards of the city he would not be. Qawa Emanuel is also one of the loudest critics of the Charismatics and would like to see them banned from using the village chapel. Although his influence in the parish has waned a bit as he has grown older, Qawa Emanuel was once important enough to develop a friendly relationship with the previous bishop of the diocese. This relationship was strong enough so that when Qawa Emanuel and his wife's celebrated their golden anniversary, he was able to convince the bishop to officiate the mass.

Qawa Hugo is about forty and has been a catechist for nearly two decades in the San Vicente CEB, which is just on the outskirts of Cobán proper. He works as a carpenter, sometimes out of a workshop if he can find a contract, but mostly taking in piecework at home. He also occasionally takes on construction work. Qawa Hugo's economic conditions are decidedly less stable than those of the other catechists I have described above, although he does own a small plot of land with a house in an area that began to develop about eight to ten years ago, and which now has electricity and running water. One of his siblings has migrated to the United States and he hopes to do the same some day as well, although he worries about the trip and being able to ever accumulate enough money to pay a coyote. He has been married since he was 18 and has had three children, but neither his children nor his wife are particularly involved in the church (although one of his brothers is also a catechist and member of the

Hermandad). Like the others, he has a primary school education. Qawa Hugo is very active in the *Hermandad del Señor del Calvario* and often takes the lead in organizing the design and decoration of the biers that they carry in Easter week processions as well as in organizing a radio show during that the group sponsors during Lent. Qawa Hugo is well established within his CEB, and the parish generally, as someone who can be depended on to deliver thoughtful sermons, and he is known as a joker outside of the church.

Qawa Felipe is in his late 20s and though he is no longer a practicing catechist, he was at one point and remains active within the parish, primarily with the parish improvement association and the *Hermandad*. He is married and has one child. About a year before I met him, his wife converted to Evangelical Protestantism and this has been a source of tension within his household. It has also perhaps prompted him to become more active in the parish as well. Qawa Felipe works for a wealthy Ladino in Cobán doing odd jobs including light carpentry and maintenance, as well as running errands. His job gives him a fairly steady source of cash and has allowed him to put together a home in a peri-urban area near Cobán proper. Of all of the people I was close to in San Felipe, Qawa Felipe was perhaps the most interested in the Pan-Maya Movement. He had attended several workshops co-sponsored by the Diocese and Pan-Maya organizations and was generally aware of their work, although he had not himself sought to become active with them. Because of his job, Qawa Felipe speaks Spanish most of the time, but is equally fluent in Q'eqchi'. He also has had more of a formal

education than many of the catechists, having completed the equivalent of ninth grade before leaving school to go to work.

Qana Luisa is in her early forties and married to a man almost ten years her senior. Both are catechists, and Qana Luisa is also active in the parish improvement association. Furthermore, she is often called on to help in the kitchen of the parish when the catechist center holds a large meeting or *cursillo* for people from rural areas. She and her husband live in a small concrete house within the city proper, and all of their children have moved out. Both Qana Luisa and her husband lost several family members who were active in the Catholic Church during Guatemala's civil war. Her relatives number among the hundreds of catechists who were "disappeared" by the Army as part of its counter-insurgency campaign in the early 1980s. This continues to be a source of a great deal of sadness for her, and her involvement in the church seems to be a way for her to deal with that loss. Her husband is a carpenter who works steadily out of a furniture workshop.

Hermano Rigo is one of the leaders of the Charismatic group in Tenamit, the choir leader and a preacher. He is in his early 30s and earns most of his money as an electrician, and also grows some cash crops and corn for personal use and for sale. He owns a plot of land near the village chapel, close to Qawa Emanuel's home and the chapel. His home is wood with packed dirt floors, and is made up of three structures, which include living quarters, a kitchen, and a large multiuse room, which is sometimes used as a meetinghouse by the Charismatic group if they can't get access to the chapel. Additionally, he has built a very small store from which his wife sells candy, snacks and

eggs. He has two children who are both attending primary school. His home has electricity, which makes it a suitable place for the choir to rehearse, and running water.

Hermano Rigo first became active in the Charismatic Catholicism Renewal in a group in a neighboring village (Chirepek), before going on to co-found the group in Tenamit. He soon became a member of the choir and played keyboard for them, as he does now in Tenamit. The Charismatic congregation stores its communally owned musical instruments and equipment at Hermano Rigo's house and he has been responsible for organizing people to get the money together to purchase some of the instruments and equipment. When he was younger and a Mainstream Catholic, Hermano Rigo had played *marimba* for his CEB. He also trained to be a catechist, although my understanding is that he only occupied the office briefly.

Hermano Rigo's wife, Hermana Dominga, is also very active in the group and often acts as a prayer leader. At large events, such as *vigilias*, she also often takes a leadership role in coordinating the preparation of food for guests. My understanding is that they both converted at approximately the same time just before they were married. Hermana Dominga had been moderately involved in her Mainstream CEB before converting to Charismatic Catholicism, but now she is a very active member in the Charismatic group. My understanding is that she also spent a bit of time with a Protestant Pentecostal church, although she has not retained this affiliation.

Hermano Guillermo is in his mid 30s and is one of the leaders of the Charismatic group in Tenamit. He has a house in the interior of the village and is primarily an agriculturalist, though sometimes he takes on construction work as well.

By village standards, Hermano Guillermo is neither particularly well off nor poor, however, this should not be taken to mean that he is materially comfortable. His home is a partitioned single structure, and though he has access to water, there is no electricity there, though he hopes that the next extension of wiring in the village will reach his home. He has four children, none of who have pursued a professional education. His wife is a regular attendee at Charismatic rituals, though she does not hold any particular office herself.

Like Hermano Rigo, he had been member of the Charismatic group in the neighboring village, and was foundational in starting the group in Tenamit. He says that he had not been particularly active in the church until he found the Charismatic group in Chirepek. After a few years of attending celebrations and occasionally being called upon to lead prayers there, Hermano Guillermo says that he felt the call to preach. He was allowed to preach occasionally in that group, but it wasn't until the group in Tenamit was founded that he became a regular preacher. Hermano Guillermo is a powerful speaker, and although he speaks Spanish less fluently than many other Charismatics, he has become the main preacher for the group.

Hermanita Felicia is in her late teens and as of yet unmarried. She lives with her parent in Tenamit in a small wooden house near the road that leads to the chapel. When I met her she had studying to become a primary school teacher and was also expected to help her mother around work the house. It is not clear that she will be able to afford to finish school, but she is working towards that goal. She is also beginning to think about getting married, although she does not feel rushed to do so. She is a regular attendee at

Charismatic events, although her parents are not. She was brought into the group through a neighbor her own age, whose family has been active in Charismatic Catholicism for several years. Her parents allow her to attend the Charismatic celebrations because the neighbors have promised to take her there and bring her back, which eases their fear that she might just be using this as an excuse to be outside of the house. Hermanita Felicia is actually quite devoted to her religion and she occasionally acts as a hymn or prayer leader in the group. She has also been given the gift of speaking in tongues, which is not common in the group. Her involvement in the group and gift for speaking in tongues suggests that as she grows older, she might take on a larger leadership role within the group.

These brief biographical sketches should give the reader some sense of what San Felipe's parishioners are like, and also I hope, suggest that there are many social similarities as well as differences between Mainstream Catholics and Charismatics. As time goes on, there may be increasing social differences between members of the two groups, especially since Charismatics tend to be younger and are making a concerted effort to encourage adolescents and young adults (like Hermanita Felicia) to take more active roles as ritual specialists, but this is not clear yet. It is also not clear if younger Mainstream Catholics like Lix Rosa will continue to be involved in the church as their social opportunities expand in other domains.

It is important to remember that Mainstream Catholics are the majority group and that catechists are the religious elites in these communities. Catechists are the people who most directly exercise religious authority over the community as a whole.

Charismatic Catholics are still a small population in San Felipe, and Mainstream Catholics tend to consider them marginal, if also potentially threatening, actors. This may change over time, and there is certainly indication from other parishes that Charismatic Catholicism can have a broad-based appeal, but for now these two groups of Catholics enter into this debate on unequal footing in terms of both sheer numbers and political influence.

CONTOURS OF THE CONFLICT

I've already suggested some of the differences in the practices of the two groups and some of the points of tension between them. In this section I want to draw out a bit more the grounds upon which parishioners in San Felipe play out this conflict and how it is that they enter into a debate about what constitutes good or pious ritual practice.

Qawa Emanuel, who I introduced above, is among the harshest critics of the CCR in Tenamit. Among Qawa Emanuel's many church duties and offices is that he is the unofficial caretaker of the village chapel, which was built on a piece of land that his family donated to the parish and stands maybe 40 feet from his front door. He finds Charismatics using the chapel to be a nuisance. "*Toda la noche se pasan gritando en Castilla. Solo gritan. Hacen escándalo. Parecen puros protestantes*"²⁸, he would say

²⁸ My notes of this incident record that Qawa Emanuel used the term "*protestantes*", which is interesting, since the more common appellation for Protestants of any kind is "*evangélico*" (lit. evangelical). Robbins notes that while that term is often translated as "Evangelical" in English, the descriptions of those groups actually conform more closely to Pentecostal protestant forms of Christianity (Robbins 2004: 119).

(“All night they scream in Spanish. They just yell. They make a ruckus. They’re just like Protestants”.) Qawa Emanuel’s comparison of the CCR group and “Protestants” clearly suggests that to him, these people are not Catholics (like himself) and should not therefore have use of the chapel.

So what exactly are the terms of the debate in San Felipe? In the first place, language choice is a major point of contention between Charismatics and Mainstream Catholics. The use of Spanish in Charismatic rituals is something that Mainstream Catholics comment on often. Although as it turns out, Charismatics do not “only” use Spanish in their services. In fact all the rituals that I observed were predominantly in Q’eqchi’, although there are certain key uses of Spanish that are salient to them and that have come to be emblematic of Charismatic worship. On the other hand, the restrictive use of Q’eqchi’-only is an important part of Mainstream ritual practices, and a factor that Charismatics pick up on as a sign that the former are unwilling to dispense with tradition in order to “renew” their faith. Thus language choice, which I treat more fully in Chapter 3, is a critical component in differentiating the two.

Along with language choice, the sonic quality of speech is important. Note that Qawa Emanuel doesn’t just say that Charismatics “speak” Spanish, but rather that they “yell” it. Although I do not fully treat this aspect of language use here, it is important to note that at some level the quality, especially the volume, of the sound of speech and music produced during rituals is meaningful for parishioners. As Stephen Feld has noted, sound carries meaning and we should understand sounds as comprising a culturally constituted system of symbols, through which certain expressive forms can be

said to have special aesthetic and affective value (Feld 1990). Certainly in San Felipe there are certain ways of vocalizing speech, playing music, and otherwise creating sound²⁹ that both help create a context for proper religious action and easily become indexical of what is good or bad in a group's practice— "yelling" becomes a sign of Charismatics' lack of respect, whereas "silence" becomes a sign of Mainstream Catholics' lack of a deep connection with God.

If language acts as an audible sign of difference, bodily movement and gesture are visible signs that attest to the separation between the groups. Bodily comportment in church is seen as closely tied to parishioners' moral dispositions and by extension their ability to participate in efficacious ritual. The way in which bodies are regimented can tell us a great deal about the social context in which this occurs (Foucault 1995). In this particular case there are complementary issues of visible communicative action that parishioners draw upon to differentiate and critique each other. Mainstream Catholics put a premium on bodily stillness and, while also incorporating certain highly charged conventional gestures (e.g. making the sign of the cross), work to constrain their bodily actions while delivering ritual speech. Charismatics, on the other hand, make effusive gestures and have a style of worship in which bodily motion is essential to communing with the Holy Spirit. These opposing styles of movement are, again, used as proof that members of the other group somehow are failing to properly engage in ritual practice, and more deeply signal a moral fault in their approach to religion.

²⁹ I have in mind especially the use of fireworks in Mainstream Catholic rituals and clapping in Charismatic rituals.

The debate is thus largely about communicative systems because parishioners locally interpret their communicative behaviors as indexing particular moral dispositions. Mutual monitoring of communicative practices is thus also about monitoring morality, and it is this that is at the crux of the difference that has emerged between the two groups. In criticizing each others' communicative styles, what they are really doing is making statements about the ethics of religious action— both what is right about their own practices, and what is wrong about the other's.

There are also several other issues at stake that to a greater or lesser extent map on to communicative practice. One of the most apparent issues is the location of religious authority in Catholicism. While both groups see themselves as part of the larger whole that is the Catholic Church, it is clear the each kind of community has a different kind of relationship to that global institution. This issue can perhaps best be understood as one that questions the role of mediating authorities in the way that parishioners relate to God. On the Mainstream side mediation is a key component of worship, and it is through a series of mediations that one can be assured of having some contact with God. The mediation of this relationship can, depending on the context, be achieved through material objects (e.g. the Eucharist, pom, lighting candles) and through authorized others (e.g. catechists, priests and saints), and in both cases it's the presence of the mediating object that can in some sense guarantee relationship between the parishioner and God. For Charismatics, on the other hand, the goal of worship is to achieve a direct personal relationship with God and the signs for success in this project are the charisms, which attest to the direct presence of the Holy Spirit in the

parishioner's life. Because of this differing construction of the ideal type of contact one can have with God, each group's construction of what constitutes religious authority and who gets to exercise it is quite different. More concretely, Charismatics' minimization of humans' role as authorities directly undercuts the social standing of catechists and *cofrades*, which may well explain why these two formerly antagonistic classes of specialist now find themselves coming together to face a common enemy. Conversely, the heavy weight that Mainstream Catholics place on ritual specialists would seem antithetical to Charismatics' spiritual project which emphasizes the ability of each individual believer to commune directly with the divine. In rejecting the authority of catechists and *cofrades*, Charismatics can detach themselves from the established social hierarchies that the former represent, and instead set up a parallel system of religious authority.

This question of authority is a critical one, and it must be understood in relation to the changing religious landscape in Guatemala over the last sixty or so years. The growth of Protestant churches during the 20th Century in Latin America and especially in Guatemala was swift and dramatic (Garrard-Burnett 1998; Stoll 1990; Martin 1993). Both of the movements within Catholicism that gave birth to the CEBs and CCR groups in San Felipe can be understood as reactions to the spread of Protestantism and attempts to maintain the hegemony of the Catholic Church. We needn't necessarily adopt the model of "the religious market" (Chesnut 2003; Berger 1967) to recognize that there is some competition between religions not just for individual believers, but also to set the terms of social relations between neighbors.

This is to say that rifts at the religious level can and do have broader social consequences for Q'eqchi'-Mayas. Wilson argues that before the advent of something like a pan-Q'eqchi' identity (much less a pan-Maya one) the village and the municipality acted as the primary referents for self-identification (Wilson 1995). While Wilson's argument is that this very local and circumscribed form of identification has diminished since in the 1980s, it is still the case that most Q'eqchi'-Maya maintain residence in a single village for most of their lives and there is still a sense of a permanent civic community there, most often expressed when there is a call to push for public works like schools, wells, or roads. Protestantism has already made some of these relationships strained, and some worry that Charismatic Catholicism will do the same. If formerly at least nominal Catholicism and participation in some of the communal rituals ensured some level of social contact between families, the disappearance of this has meant that there are growing rifts between people at the village level.

The worry about the loss of community solidarity is compounded by a sense that ethnic identity may also be in danger. While Q'eqchi' language use is still a marker of Q'eqchi' identity, the majority of parishioners in the central region of San Felipe are to some degree functionally bilingual. Moreover, a growing number of the younger ones are increasingly becoming Spanish dominant, following a generalized pattern of language shift in Guatemala. While parishioners may increasingly come to use Spanish in secular contexts, at least for Mainstream Catholics Q'eqchi' purism (cf. Hill 1998) within the context of religious rituals is still important. It is one of the things that they

say marks their parish as their own. While, as I stated above, parishioners are generally willing to accept the idea that in other parishes Q'eqchi'-Mayas may worship just as well in Spanish as in Q'eqchi', there is still some sense in which Q'eqchi' is the most appropriate language to use in church. Charismatics' use of Spanish violates this ideal, and opens them up to criticisms of attempting to cross ethnic lines in addition to religious ones.

My goal in this dissertation then is to use this debate to address the role that linguistic practice and language ideologies play in shaping the religious communities and identities of members of the two kinds of congregations. Taking language as a substantive part of ritual practices and the main method through which ritual is enacted, I argue that in these two congregations' distinct linguistic practices, in particular their code choices and patterns of gesture use, generate two very different modes of being Christian. These linguistic practices are intimately tied to two differing primary values for religious life (namely "respect" and "joy"), which in turn engender two ethics of ritual behavior ("control and constraint" and "(rehearsed) spontaneity and effusiveness"). Although we can characterize each group as having different sets of values and ethics, this may not be sufficient to explain the tension between the two groups. I propose that part of the reason that this debate has become so tense is because of the relationship that these two kinds of congregations maintain structurally within the Catholic Church. Both make claims of being representative of what true Catholicism should be like, but each does so in different ways, and thus they contest the very definition of that term and vision of what it means to be a Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic. The

tension is heightened because the two groups' language ideologies overlap in their fundamental assumptions about the way that linguistic and embodied practices signal something about the morality of believers, and thus the debate in San Felipe can best be understood with reference not just to the emerging differentiation between the groups, but rather must also ground itself in what remains shared between them.

SUMMARY AND PLAN

The present chapter has served as a general introduction to the issues addressed in this dissertation and the case at hand. In what follows we will move to examining how the communicative practices of parishioners, and in particular ritual specialists, evidence these differing constructions of what counts as a correct communicative style in ritual settings.

Chapter Two begins to sketch the difference between the practices of the two sets of ritual specialists (and by extension the ideological underpinnings of these practices) through a description of the way that Mainstream catechists and Charismatic preachers achieve their positions as community leaders and the ways in which they consolidate their positions by drawing on different sources of authoritative religious text and speech. The chapter begins by examining the authorizing practices (Asad 1993) of each congregation to show where each locates spiritual authority and how this affects the roles that ritual specialists play in the community. I then consider the role that the Bible plays as a source of moral authority. I argue that each group values the Bible, both

in terms of its content and as a material ritual object, slightly differently, and accordingly each group applies a different set of reading conventions and interpretative practices in invoking its authority during sermons.

Chapter Three analyzes the varying roles that Q'eqchi and Spanish play in each group's religious practices. Through a systematic sampling of key ritual speech events (e.g. sermons, prayers, hymns, and ritual openings and closings), I trace the use of each linguistic code in the rituals of the two congregations. I show that Mainstream Catholics tend to be consistent and conservative users of Q'eqchi', whereas Charismatics, in contrast, use both languages. Although Charismatics primarily speak Q'eqchi' in rituals, I show that the ways in which they incorporate Spanish are interactionally meaningful in a local context. I argue that the basic contrast between Mainstream Catholics' code-consistency and Charismatics code-switching index the basic opposition of the two ideological positions ("control, constraint and respect" and "spontaneity, effusiveness and joy") I set out in the previous chapter. Moreover, I argue that these differences in language code choice index significantly different understandings of how my informants configure the relationship between religious identity, ethnic identity and language use.

Chapter four focuses on the role that bodily communicative practices play in creating and perpetuating the ideological differences between the two congregations. In this chapter, I make use of video recorded data of rituals to argue that there are significant differences in these communities' ways of using their bodies as communicative resources. I pay special attention to the role of gesture and posture, to

show that the basic ideological stances of “control, constraint and respect” and “spontaneity, effusiveness and joy” inform even unreflective bodily actions and dispositions. I synthesize a micro-interactional approach to the study of gesture and Pierre Bourdieu’s theories of “bodily hexis” to suggest that bodily practices, as much as spoken language, are ideologically influenced and are important resources for the creation of salient social identities. Drawing on recent anthropological work on religion and embodiment, I argue that the normative behaviors of the two congregations are strategically deployed to allow members to become pious subjects. The strong meaning attached to bodily practice, thus in part also helps to explain why differences in behavior have become such a heated topic of debate between the two congregations.

Chapter five situates the ritual practices of San Felipe parishioners and the conflict that has arisen among them in the context of two larger institutional discourses. First, I trace out the development of two strands of Catholic theology— the Theology of Inculturation and the Charismatic Catholic Renewal— that engender the two ideological stances that my informants take vis-à-vis religion. This chapter argues that when these transnational currents of theological discourse come into contact through the local practices of Catholic communities, they have the potential to create a minor cultural crisis. Secondly, I situate my informants’ sense of ethnic identity in context of national and international discourses about ethnicity and indigenous rights. I argue that my informants’ practices point to a construction of Q’eqchi’-Maya identity that is different from the one being promoted by the Pan-Maya Movement, but which may nonetheless have the potential to afford them more social autonomy. I argue that the local debate

about what it means to be Catholic and Maya has consequences beyond my informant's local practices, and the potential to affect their social, political and religious standings in the nation and beyond.

The final chapter (six) serves as a general conclusion and weaves together the arguments of the previous chapters. It argues for an expansion in the study of language ideologies to include a wider range of communicative practices, in particular gesture and bodily comportment. Finally, it posits that the social change that is occurring among Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics because of their different configurations of how a good Christian is supposed to behave has the potential to initiate rapid social change and lead to greater social distance among members of their communities.

CHAPTER 2:

ACQUIRING THE AUTHORITY TO PREACH

An important focus in research on the ethnography of Christianity has been the role that discursive practices play in constituting Christians' worldviews (Harding 2000), how Christian understandings of what language is and does (language ideologies) engender new kinds of religious practices (e.g. Keane 2002; Robbins 2001)) and how these might in turn influence their actions in the world (Bauman 1983). Before continuing to a close examination of the speaking and bodily practices of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic ritual specialist in the next two chapter, I want to briefly examine the ways in which these social actors acquire the authority to perform their roles.

Because of the centrality of sacred text in most varieties of Christian practice, it is reasonable to suggest that in order to understand how these discursive practices and the ideologies that undergird them engender particular worldviews (and vice versa), we also need to understand the basic hermeneutic practices that people apply in their relation to the central text(s) of Christianity (e.g. Crapanzano 2000; Malley 2004). This entails investigating how members of particular groups understand the nature of text, the act of reading, and their own relationships, both temporary and enduring, with text. In short, this project calls for us to build models of how Christians relate themselves as readers, consumers and interpreters of the Bible.

While there is certainly much to be gained from studying the ideological constructs behind people's interactions with text (what Bielo (Forthcoming) calls

“textual ideologies” (see also Collins 1996 for a use of the term in a non-religious setting)), we must also be attentive to the social processes that authorize social actors to maintain those relationships to sacred text. The question of how social actors gain legitimacy as authoritative exegetes within a community of (potential) interpreters will be my primary concern here. I want to examine how people come to be seen as legitimate interpreters of the Bible, and how they are authorized to perform a particular genre of speech—the sermon. In this chapter, I sketch out two distinct social models for how Q’eqchi’-Maya Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics ratify speakers as a legitimate exegetes, and thus authorize them to perform sermons. Each model, I argue, is based on different ideas about the nature of religious knowledge, its source, and how one may access it in order to authoritatively interpret the Bible. Likewise, each model is tailored to meet different goals and concerns vis-à-vis how group leaders attain that knowledge and communicate it to their congregations. Furthermore, these models support the ideologies of “constraint, control and respect” and “effusiveness, spontaneity and joy” that I have sketched out in previous chapters.

In Mainstream Catholic groups, one can become a catechist (*catequista*, aj tzololtij³⁰) by entering into a particular kind of pedagogical relationship with local representatives of the Roman Catholic Church. Catechists’ authority derives from their membership in the church’s institutional hierarchy, through which they receive formal (and somewhat circumscribed) models of what counts as proper exegesis of the Bible, and also the authorization to speak in certain kinds of rituals. The preachers who lead

³⁰ The use of italics indicates that a word or phrase is in Spanish. The use of underlining indicates that the word or phrase is Q’eqchi’.

Charismatic Catholic groups (a small but growing minority in San Felipe), on the other hand, receive no formal training and operate more or less independently of the clergy and each other. Their authority to perform sermons is attributed to their individual ability to receive unmediated, divine inspiration during religious rituals. Each group thus figures what constitutes a legitimate exegete quite differently. Given those differences and the uneasiness that each group's practices produce in the other, I argue that by paying close attention to the social processes that ratify the two kinds of speakers as legitimate performers of sermons we can gain further insight into the ways that discursive and hermeneutic practices engender particular visions of Christianity.

AUTHORITY

Malley has argued that by paying close attention to the ways that members of Christian communities approach and interact with the Bible we can gain some insight into the ways they organize their theologies and subjectivities (Malley 2004). Understanding the ways in which people construe the Bible as a unique and privileged text that carries moral, ethical, cosmological and historical authority can help us to understand the symbolic worlds that Christians inhabit. I want to try to expand this project by suggesting that another way in which we might approach the question of what role the Bible plays in Christians' lives (sometimes referred to as Biblicism) is to look beyond textuality and hermeneutics to consider what social processes are involved in creating legitimate interpreters of texts.

Talal Asad (Asad 1993) has reminded us that in order to fully grasp the way that symbolic systems come to exercise some degree of meaning in people's lives, we must also be aware of the power dynamics that underlie the exercise of those symbolic systems. Asad notes that, "religion requires authorized practice and authorizing doctrine," (39) in order to become meaningful. Through religious discourse, certain practices, ideas, symbols and narratives are defined as meaningful and truthful, while others are discarded and excluded from it as irrelevant, false or heretical. These processes of inclusion and exclusion, of authorization and proscription, themselves depend on social actors' participation in a set of disciplinary practices (*ibid.* 125) that make the discursive structures of religious institutions concrete in their adherents' lives.

For example, as Brian Malley argues, Biblicism among North American Fundamentalists is as much a discursive practice that upholds the Bible as a complete and authoritative text, as it is a guiding principle for religious actions (Malley 2004: 144). This group's Biblicism, Malley suggests, is structured by particular ways of reading and discussing the Bible, of claiming one's individual belief in the Bible as the basis for religious knowledge, and, just as importantly, of self-identifying as someone who is a "Bible believer." Those practices depend on a set of social conventions and ideological positions (e.g. that a Christian should adhere to what is in the Bible, what exactly constitutes the Bible) that are authorized and reinforced the social groups they belong to in their churches.

Similarly, the Friday Masowe apostolics in Zimbabwe that Matthew Engelke (Engelke 2007) describes engage in a set of discursive practices that lead them in a direction opposite to Malley's Fundamentalists. Because the Friday Masowe apostolics

believe that reliable religious knowledge can only come “live and direct” from the Holy Spirit, they discount the written Bible as a possible source of legitimate knowledge. Whereas Malley’s Fundamentalists understand the permanence of the written the Bible as endowing it with legitimacy, Masowe apostolic see that very same quality as delegitimizing it since it distances the word of God from immediate experience. The emphasis on immediate experience instead shifts the central authority of Christianity away from the canonical text, to charismatic speaker who channel divine presences into the here and now and who are constantly in the process of making God’s intentions newly relevant to their congregations.

In both cases people’s social practices work to enact particular understandings of what constitutes religious authority and how one ought to go about being a good Christian. Both constructions of Christianity depend on the authorization of certain practices, and the proscription of others. Thus, an important part of the project in the anthropology of Christianity might be to consider some of the ways that Christian communities authorize or legitimate certain kinds of discursive actions to form their relations to their religion’s central text.

Whereas it might be true that Christianity generally makes its central text(s) available in a way that (theoretically) allows all people to engage in the activity of interpreting it, it is also the case that in many, if not most, contexts social conditions exist that make it so some people are considered to be more legitimate interpreters than others. In Catholicism this is especially true. The massive global institutional structure of the Catholic Church depends on certain classes of people who are positioned as legitimate ritual actors, who are authorized bearers of doctrine and public interpreters of

Biblical text. Traditionally this had meant that the clergy held a monopoly in interpretation, but following the Second Vatican Council (1962) and the developments of Liberation Theology and the Theology of Inculturation that role was opened to some of the laity. In Mainstream Catholicism in Guatemala, catechists—lay church workers who act as liaisons and intermediaries between the clergy and church members at large—have in many cases come to assume some of the functions that priests used to. Charismatic Catholicism, likewise, has developed as a parallel structure to traditional forms of religious authority within the Roman Catholic Church. Taking their cue from Evangelical Protestantism, Charismatic Catholics posit that all members of the church have the ability to access divine Truth directly. Charismatic groups organize around lay leaders (preachers, *predicadores*) and act more or less independently of the local clergy. Also, although there is some organization of groups at the regional and national level, and the movement has diocesan recognition, most of the groups' activities are conducted independently of each other. Arguably, the role of these particular semi-professional exegetes is all that more critical in a context, such as the one I will be discussing here, where there is a low level of literacy.

Among Q'eqchi'-Maya the most important function that catechists are charged with is performing sermons, which may be given either during regular masses when a priest is present and at religious rituals known as Xnimqehinkil li Raatin or *Celebraciones de la Palabra* (Celebrations of the Word) over which no priest presides³¹. Celebrations of the Word are weekly or semiweekly events held in each Base

³¹ Catechists' other main function is to act as group leaders and coordinators for their CEBs. Catechists are also responsible for giving religious instruction to people planning

Ecclesial Communities (CEB according to the Spanish *Comunidad Eclesial de Base*), that incorporate hymns, prayers, the reading of verses and sermons. *Celebraciones* follow the structure of the Liturgy of the Word (which is the first part of a regular mass), but omit the Eucharist. In the absence of a priest to officiate, it falls upon the CEBs catechists to organize and conduct the ritual. Officially, the main purpose of these meetings is to strengthen the faith of parishioners at large by both regularizing ritual participation and having the Gospel speak “more directly” to them. However, besides being religious rituals, Celebrations of the Word also serve as general community meetings and as social gatherings for parishioners. Most Charismatics do not regularly attend Sunday masses, so Celebrations of the Word constitute the basis of their ritual lives. Structurally Charismatic Celebrations are largely like Mainstream ones, albeit slightly longer due in large part to the inclusion of more hymns and the extension of a few elements, namely prayer periods and sermons. However, the ways in which any of the given elements are performed can vary quite a bit. Charismatic preachers give sermons, but they may also act as prayer leaders, lead the band, or perform other necessary functions as well.

Members of the two religious groups construct particular models of what kinds of speakers may legitimately and authoritatively perform sermons. In giving sermons catechists are supposed to explicate the sacred text by clarifying its message, extrapolating a moral stance from it, and relating it to the lives of believers, usually as

to go through several of the main sacraments of Catholicism, such as marriage, confirmation, and baptism. Less formally, catechists are looked upon as *de facto* community leaders, and may be called upon for help in mediating in personal disputes, or for help by individuals facing personal difficulties.

an ethical imperative to help them live as a good Christians. Charismatic preachers also seek to give congregants an ethical imperative and help them construct what they take to be a properly Christian moral self, but the basis of their sermons need not be a particular set of Biblical verses, and they expressly rely on the idea of divine inspiration to authorize their speech.

My goal here is to argue that by considering the social processes through which individuals become legitimized as certain kinds of speakers with the authority to publicly interpret canonical text (that is, how they take up the roles that allow them to perform sermons), we might be able to illuminate something about the relationship between discursive practices and social practices in the construction of Christian communities. If the question in the study of Christianity is about the ways that social actors construct certain understandings of and relationships to sacred text, and how those understandings and relationships order their religious practices, then attending to the ways that value and legitimacy are assigned to certain types of specialist speakers who have privileged positions as interpreters of texts will help us to understand the social dimensions of Biblicism.

I now turn to descriptions of the social processes through which catechists and Charismatic preachers become authorized as specialized ritual speakers.

CATECHISTS

On the last Sunday of every month, forty or so catechists³² from the CEBs closest to the parish center meet in the church's training center hall for a cholob'ank (lit. "explanation"). The cholob'ank is meant to both prepare the catechists to give their sermons and ensure that there is some agreement in what is being preached in each CEB. Madre Chin, a Filipino nun who has been working in the Parish since the mid 1980s and currently the person in charge of Q'eqchi' catechist training (*formación*) in this and several other parishes, leads the meeting. She is supported by four Q'eqchi'-Maya *instructores* (instructors) who receive a salary from the Diocese to aid in the catechist *formación* project. The instructors (three men and one woman) are all experienced catechists, who have been handpicked for the job and have received (and continue to receive) extra training as expert exegetes. The job of instructor is not the sole or even primary source of income for any of the four *instructores*, but holding it does place them in a position of being professional lay church workers, and thus distinguishes them somewhat from the other catechists, whose participation is strictly voluntary and pro-bono. Madre Chin and the four instructors work closely together, and meet with each other over the course of the month to prepare for the cholob'ank. Although Madre Chin is directly accountable to the parish priest, Father Augustine, for this work, the latter recognizes her long-term experience and allows her to work more

³² Most are men, but about fifteen of the catechists in the zone are women.

or less independently from him in this capacity. She is nonetheless answerable to him, her own order's supervisor and diocesan-level coordinator for catechist training for her work.

As the catechists arrive for a cholob'ank, they arrange rows of white plastic chairs in a semicircle around a central area in the room from which the instructors speak. The instructors' area is furnished with a heavy wooden table and an old dry-erase board for which there are rarely useable markers. Although the meeting is supposed to start at 8:00 a.m., and Madre Chin asks people to arrive by 7:45, it is usually almost 8:30 before enough people have arrived to start. The event opens with the singing of a hymn a cappella and a brief period of prayer which includes the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and an individual prayer for blessings and guidance. After this ritual opening, Madre Chin asks one of the catechists to read the corresponding verses for one of the coming Sundays. A set of verses includes a reading from the Old Testament, one from the Pauline epistles, and one from the Gospels. Psalm readings, which are included in the mass but not the Celebration of the Word, are not discussed at the cholob'ank. The verses for each week are assigned in a small ecclesiastical calendar (lectionary) that each catechist is expected to own and have with him or herself at the cholob'ank. Additionally, each catechist is expected to have a copy of the Bible.

As the designated lector reads the passages, the other catechists sit and listen. It is rare to see someone reading the passage along in his or her Bible. When the catechist is done, one of the instructors will give an explanation to the central message of those verses. The instructors' main task is to explain how the verses fit together as each is seen to reinforce a central message. He also outlines the main points that the catechists

are expected to touch upon when preaching to their base communities later in the month. The instruction takes 30 to 45 minutes. The process is then repeated for each set of Sunday verses for the month, with a new lector and a new instructor taking the lead each time. Occasionally, one of the catechists will have questions about the material, but usually they sit, listen, and, if they are good enough writers, take down a few notes in half-sized notebooks. The entire meeting takes about four hours, and though there is no formal break, people will occasionally wander outside to get some air or buy a snack from the small concession stand that a few women run for the benefit of the parish.

At the end of the session each catechist pays Madre Chin one Quetzal (about 0.13 USD, or the price of 6 corn tortillas) for a set of four or five photocopied pages of notes about the readings. The meeting formally closes at about noon with a hymn and the same prayers that opened it. Cholob'ank meetings have been happening in roughly the same way, twelve times a year since the mid-1980s, and a few of the men and women who attend have been coming since their inception³³. Because the ecclesiastical calendar cycles around every few years, some of the catechists have attended multiple cholob'anks for each set of verses. However, both the parish and the diocese feel that it is important for them to continue to receive this training on a monthly basis to strengthen both their understanding of the Bible and their conviction to continue serving as catechists.

Catechists' preparations for giving weekly sermons do not end at the monthly cholob'ank, though. Every week the catechists in each base community (there are

³³ Wilson (173) says that the catechist program was first organized in 1975. However, the cholob'ank meetings in their current format did not start until later.

usually at least two active catechists in each of the communities in the central region and some of the larger ones have four) meet with each other for an hour or so to discuss the plans for the coming week's Celebration of the Word, and the Sunday mass if it should be that community's turn. They read through the corresponding verses, go over Madre Chin's notes, and discuss their understanding of the verses to map out a general outline of the sermon that one of them will give at the upcoming ritual. At these smaller meetings catechists seek to form a consensus about what should be said in the sermon. Although they need not emerge from the meetings with an exact plan of what he or she will say, the catechist who is preparing to give the sermon uses this time to check his or her interpretations and understandings of the key points with the others so as not to produce too idiosyncratic an interpretation of the central message. Though Madre Chin's notes and the cholob'ank lectures serve as important guidelines for what a catechist should say, the consensus that is developed during the smaller meetings is also an important part of the way that catechists set up their sermons.

In both masses and Celebrations of the Word, sermons are preceded by ritual readings of text. Lectors (usually young men and women) are assigned to each verse (Old Testament, Psalm, Pauline Epistle, and, at Celebrations of the Word, Gospels) before the ritual commences. In masses, the reading of the most important verses, those from the Gospels, are done by the priest and marked by the burning of incense, the ringing of a bell, and the raising of the Bible to display it to the congregation, and the reading is closed with a short hymn. Likewise, during Celebrations of the Word, lectors will perform some of the same ritual actions, albeit in less marked a way than the priest would.

After the readings, the designated catechist, who never acts as both lector and sermon-giver, will take the microphone and deliver his sermon in Q'eqchi' for about ten to fifteen minutes, carefully repeating and elaborating the central message of the day and generally hewing fairly closely to the ideas presented at the monthly meeting. Catechists generally open their sermons by stating that they want to share one or two ideas with the congregation. They will then paraphrase or otherwise retell the narrative presented in the particular Gospel verses that were read and extract what they take to be the key message given by Jesus there. The rest of the sermon tends to be an explanation of the importance of that point for the way parishioners might live their lives. It is often a theme of humility, forgiveness, faith or some other ethical stance that is presented as a key to a proper Christian life and the catechist explains its importance for salvation.

Sermons thus follow Biblical readings, both temporally and logically. Mainstream Catholic sermons are explicitly figured as explications of the text. Their relevance to lives of parishioners follows from the text's placement within a cycle of teachings that the Catholic Church, as a global institution, determines in making its calendar of verses. Although catechists occasionally do go "off message" (and ironically the parish priest was perhaps the person who I observed doing this the most), the structure is always in place for them to restrict their sermons to a single topic. The authority of the sermon, in a sense, precedes the actual act of speaking it because its production depends on a routinized and formalized ritual structure for the reading of sacred texts. The texts, the order in which they are read, and, by extension, their relevance for parishioners is pre-determined by the global institution of the Catholic

Church. Moreover, the cholob'ank is in place in order to regularize the interpretations of the texts that catechists might include in their sermons

A catechists' ability to be taken seriously by the congregation in their function as someone who can give sermons depends on his or her position as a particular kind of church worker who is authorized to perform this task. Catechists are members of an institutionalized hierarchy of speakers that (theoretically) includes the Pope, local clergy, Madre Chin, the instructors, the catechists themselves, and parishioners at large. This structure of authority is unmistakably ranked and though the catechist is ultimately expected to be the point of contact between the parishioners at large and the clergy, he is expected to defer to those above him in most matters³⁴.

The catechist *formación* program relies on a diffusion of information that stresses the orthodoxy of interpretation as it crosses occupational, cultural and linguistic classes of people within the Church. Despite the hierarchy implicit in this model and the clear educational and social divisions that exist between clergy and laity, there is an expectation that the message of the text will be reproduced with fidelity. There is a slight paradox here, though, because part of the task of the catechists is to act as a cultural translator who can make particular the universal message of the Gospels. However, catechists' social positions within the parish are contingent on their continued participation in the cholob'ank. Madre Chin takes attendance every week, absences are noted, and repeat offenders can be prohibited from officiating their community's Celebrations of the Word until they reestablish regular attendance. Moreover, the

³⁴ This does not mean that there are not serious disagreements between catechists and the clergy. When these disagreements occur, though, catechists often find ways to work around the authority of the priests.

Church requires every catechist to reaffirm his or her desire to continue serving every year, and individuals may choose to either cease their work or to take time off after they have begun. However, because of the investment of resources and the clergy's complaint that it is difficult to find intelligent and committed people to serve as a catechists, every effort is made to keep the same people in the positions for as long as they are willing and able to do so. Whether it's an expression of faith or the increased social position that comes from being a catechist, most people who become catechists remain so for the rest of their lives and work to keep their positions by attending the necessary meetings, studying their texts and participating in the appropriate weekly rituals with their CEBs.

CHARISMATICS

Before every Charismatic Catholic Celebration, while the band is tuning up and people are arriving, the three men who lead the group meet for five or ten minutes in a corner of the church hall to prepare for the event. They talk about that meeting's sermon and mark a few verses in one of the Bibles with pieces of string or scraps of paper, before assuming their usual positions (one is band leader, another a greeter, and the third oversees the set up of the space) and starting the Celebration. Sometimes the verses are selected according to the same lectionary that catechists use, but just as often that week's preacher suggests another set verses. When the ritual gets to the point of the sermon, the man who has been designated to preach will kneel before the altar, his

Bible in hand, while the other two men stand by him, their hands above his head and upper back to pray. One of the men will lead the prayer by entreating God to bless that man (and occasionally the microphone, cable and speakers, too), to give him knowledge (naleb'), to give him strength (metzew), to inspire him to preach, and to literally “put Your [God’s] word in his mouth” (“*pon Tu palabra en su boca.*”) This prayer is primarily directed to God the Father, but it is also understood that the instrument for the inspiration is to be the Holy Ghost (*Espíritu Santo*, Santil Musiq'e). The other members of the congregation join in, too, saying their own prayer for the preacher, holding their hands, palms out, towards him. This prayer lasts for three or four minutes, and when it is over, the preacher will stand, ritually greet the congregation, and begin speaking.

The preacher will first set out the general theme of his sermon in a brief introduction of the topic that explains its importance to the spiritual lives of the congregants. This is often done with specific reference to their membership in Charismatic Catholicism— *la Renovación*. The introduction often follows a highly rhetorical structure that requires the participation of the congregation, with the preacher posing questions that require either formulaic (e.g. “*Amen*”) or original responses (e.g. reasoned responses based on their knowledge of scripture). After he has properly introduced the topic and hinted at its importance, he will read a relevant Bible verse (usually from one of the Gospels). From there he will enter into the main body of the sermon, using the Bible reading as a platform from which to further expand on the topic. On some occasions he might return to the Bible to read more verses aloud before continuing with the sermon.

Sermons last twenty to thirty minutes, and are likely to elaborate on the central theme by introducing related topics. Thus, unlike in Mainstream sermons where one or two specific ideas form the crux of the sermon, Charismatic preachers begin with a general trope, which they elaborate with several interrelated topics. As in Mainstream sermons, the theme of Charismatic sermons tends to center around certain ethical or moral stances that one ought to take in order to be a good Christian. There is a slight difference in the emphasis, though, since Charismatic sermons usually couch that stance as being related to one's membership in and proper participation in Charismatic Catholicism.

Bible verses tend to be incorporated into the sermon in two ways. First, and most commonly, preachers often make use of brief quotations of well-known verses, spoken from memory to exemplify basic theological points. They may also return to their Bibles to read longer passages. The preacher's Bible usually rests on a nearby loudspeaker so that it is within his reach and the congregation's sight while he gives the sermon. The passages that were marked before the start of the Celebration are usually read sometime during the sermon, but it is also the case that often they are not all included in the performance. While the prayer for knowledge and strength ritually marks the beginning of the sermon, the readings are not marked as distinct parts of the ritual, but are, rather, subsumed in the sermon. Here, unlike in mainstream Catholic rituals, the sermon and readings of the text are intertwined as part of the same speech event. The sermon is not figured as a further exploration of the text, but is rather an independently formulated message and the text is used to support it. Thus the

relationship of relevance is reversed. Bible passages are made relevant to the sermon, not the other way around.

The upshot of structuring sermons this way and marking the start of this portion of the ritual with a prayer for knowledge and strength is that, as far as the congregation is concerned, it is by virtue of God's grace that the preacher is able to effectively weave together a moral narrative from the Bible verses. Although there are only roughly as many Charismatic preachers per group as there would be catechists in a mainstream base community, their position is not determined by their training nor by their membership in a class of specialist speakers. Ideally, anyone could become a preacher as soon as they received the gift of preaching from God. There are no human intermediaries between the Charismatic preacher and the imagined source of religious authority, rather, his authority emanates directly from the divine presence invoked by the ritual.

PRACTICES AND IDEOLOGIES

These two styles of preparing for delivering sermons and, more crucially, acquiring the right to give them, contrast quite strongly and suggest that each of these groups has quite different ideas about what kind of authority one needs to have in order to publicly interpret the Bible in the form of a sermon.

Mainstream Catholics' methods stress social chains of authority that one can only enter into at the bottom, but which can also be moved up in through a process of

careful study and assimilation of information given from those higher up in the hierarchy. The interpretative style catechists are supposed to adhere to stresses the dissemination of information from the top (Madre Chin and the instructors working as mouthpieces for the priests, bishop, etc.) down, as well as a need for community consensus about what the essential message of scripture might be before authoritative speech can be produced. The clergy carefully selects who they want the catechists for each community to be, ensuring that the person chosen is respected in their home community and can assimilate the ideas they consider to be important. In order to be taken seriously as someone who can deliver a sermon a catechist must be someone who has the necessary practical skills (e.g. literacy, some talent for public speaking, etc.), sufficient social maturity (i.e. be married and the head of a household³⁵) and a good moral standing within the community he will lead. The people who work as catechists are expected to read their Bibles according to the ecclesiastical calendar and attend meetings regularly in order to keep their positions. Because catechists' personal authority is in large part dependent on their ability to access the institutional authority of the Catholic Church, their interpretation of religious texts are only authoritative insofar as they are seen as emanating from the Catholic Church.

Charismatics, on the other hand, (unsurprisingly) value charismatic speakers who receive their authority to give sermons as a result of divine inspiration. Though there may be de facto consensus about the meaning of a particular Bible verse, this is not derived from a community of interpreters (integrated either vertically or

³⁵ Marriage is the key event that changes an individual's status from youth to adult. Q'eqchi'-Maya tend to marry in their mid to late teens, and it is unusual for someone in their mid-twenties to remain single.

horizontally), but rather, they believe, from the singular meaning God intends for the text to carry for the congregation. This style of preaching stresses the immediacy (in both senses of the word) of the message, since ideally its explanation is produced in the very moment of inspiration as a more or less direct emanation from God. The Biblical text, in fact, may even be seen as secondary, since it is really just an artifact through which humans can access God's will, but the inspiration to preach provides a more direct means through which people can hear God's word.

What then should we make of the fact that the people in these two groups, belonging to (at least nominally) the same religion, have such different styles of acquiring the authority necessary to perform exegesis? I want to argue that these differing practices index two distinct language ideological positions that are recursively manifest in a number of social practices revolving around the role of speech in rituals (cp. Irvine and Gal 2000), and that when we analyze these practices as part of larger ideological constructs, we gain some insight into a process of schismatic religious differentiation. The ideological positions of these two groups both derive from and help to construct their ideas about how one should relate to the divine, and by extension, what each group holds to constitute a good, moral self. The idea of what makes a good preacher and how one goes about acquiring virtuosity in preaching is heavily dependent on what each of these religious communities values as the proper moral position during ritual. The authorizing practices of Mainstream catechists and Charismatic preachers can be respectively characterized according to the basic models of "control, constraint and respect" and "spontaneity, effusiveness and joy" that I have argued are central to organizing their ritual communicative practices.

Mainstream Catholics' formal and routinized system of acquiring competence in Biblical exegesis and their careful practices in forming interpretations of these works, evidence a conservative disposition that highlights one's ability to manage and control what one thinks and says. Catechists achieve their positions by submitting themselves to a hierarchy of authorized speakers. The ordering logic here is that in order to serve his ritual function, the catechist must be in a properly humble position vis-à-vis those above him in that chain. Following the instruction of those above him or her in this chain and doing one's best to assimilate their knowledge, is a way of showing the proper respect for other people and integrating oneself into the institution of the Catholic Church. Once a person is selected to be a catechist he or she must be willing to incur the expenses associated with receiving the monthly courses, attending a yearly "retreat", and otherwise carrying out the duties of a catechist. This investment of time and money is understood as strictly voluntary, but it can weigh quite heavily on the catechist and his family, even if, in return the catechist earns a measure of deference and respect from parishioners at large.

Charismatic Catholics' apparent dependence on inspiration and the idea that it is a divine gift for preaching that authorizes their religious authority, suggests that their approach relies on spontaneity and the idea that one can only really enter into relation with the text if one gives up human mediation and comes into direct contact with the divine. The only desirable submission is to the divine presence itself, since that is the ultimate source of religious knowledge. The spontaneity of the performance is valued as a marker of the preacher's independence of other human speakers and as a sign of

unmediated access to the sacred³⁶. The preacher's willingness to skip around topics and introduce other genres of speech (readings and hymns) into the sermon create the appearance that little of the performance is preplanned. Hymns, for example are introduced by singing a little bit of the song to check if the band recognizes the tune, before striking up its full performance. Charismatic preachers are, like catechists, afforded a measure of respect and deference due to their religious position. However, because everyone is theoretically endowed with some divine gift and there is a much greater emphasis on the parity of congregants before God, Charismatic preachers' social gain is smaller.

The ideologies behind these practices can best be seen when we consider what is highlighted and occluded by each of the two models of preparing to give a sermon. Each of the two models involves the erasure (Irvine and Gal 2000) of certain aspects of people's actual practices and the foregrounding of others. It is in the gaps in orthodoxy, and how participants negotiate them, that we can best see how the system works.

For all their preparation, catechists still essentially "wing-it" when they give a sermon. No catechists I ever saw give a sermon carried a prepared paper, a set of note cards, or, for that matter, even an annotated Bible up to the podium. While catechists do prepare a sort of mental outline of what they are going to say when they go up to the podium, they essentially rely on their experience performing this particular speech genre to get through it. The cholib'ank, Madre Chin's notes, and meetings with the

³⁶ Cheryl Wharry (2003) has argued that in 'traditional Black' churches in the U.S., spontaneity is an important value in the production of sermons, since it is considered to be a marker of "spiritual" talk. The use of discourse strategies such as call-responses and the establishment of particular rhythms mark sermons as properly "spiritual" by configuring them as spontaneous and (co-)constructed on the spot.

other catechists in one's CEB may serve as a rough guide for the sermon, but its production in the end depends upon the catechist's ability to put those ideas into his or her own words.

The congregation, for its part, accepts that a catechist's sermon is authoritative by virtue of the latter's having been selected to perform that duty and appropriately trained by the clergy. The catechist's training confers him or her with a degree of authority and thus legitimizes the speech. When the priest steps aside to allow a layperson to perform a sermon during a Sunday mass, that reinforces the idea that layman can take up some of the priest's religious authority, too, because the catechist comes to occupy the physical and ideological spaces set aside for legitimate exegetes. If at the moment that the sermon is performed we see and hear only the catechist, we also know that he or she has the backing of the Catholic Church and is acting on its authority.

Mainstream Catholics do recognize that some people have more talent than others as public speakers, though they do not necessarily equate that ability with effective preaching, because ultimately preaching depends on the person entering into the right kinds of relations with the Church hierarchy. For example, in the San Eduardo CEB, Qana Esperanza and her brother serve as catechists, and although it is widely acknowledged that the brother is a more talented preacher, it is Qana Esperanza who is granted greater religious authority. Her authority rests on her regular and diligent attendance at cholob'anks and the close working relationship she has developed with the clergy through involvement in a number of church-sponsored activities and para-church organizations. While even she acknowledges her brother's superior competence

in giving interesting and moving sermons, she is widely acknowledged as a stronger source of religious authority. The brother's somewhat more distant relationship with the clergy and his lack of involvement in other church activities or groups (due in large part to the pressures of running his own business) place him a bit further down on the list of religious authorities, but several people, both clergy and lay, often commented that if he fully committed he would be a very important person in the parish.

Because both groups' practices work to both refine and display those ideological positions, performing these ritual functions in a manner consistent with their ideas about what constitutes a good moral self is crucial to maintaining their sense of religious identity. By studying, going to meetings, and transmitting a particular orthodox line of thought catechists show that they have self-control, are humble, and obedient to and respectful of God's manifestation on earth—namely, the Catholic Church. Legitimacy in this case comes from the idea that the catechist has learned to adequately “voice” the intentions of the church hierarchy and, to a lesser extent, the community's. In a Bakhtinian sense, the catechist's authority depends on his ability to master the language of the global institutional Church and reproduce its intention in a way that is accessible to Q'eqchi'-Maya parishioners (Bakhtin 1981)). Ideally, the Catechist's duty is to faithfully reproduce the meanings and intentions of the hierarchy of the Church in a language and idiom that is accessible by parishioners with no specialized religious knowledge. Technically any individual may be able to become an effective catechist, provided he is literate, has a good moral character, and is able to keep up with the demands placed on him by Madre Chin and the priests. However, achieving the status

of catechists depends on, more than anything, submitting oneself to the Church's hierarchy.

Being a preacher in a Charismatic community does not require formal study, and is rather thought of as status that inheres from the individual's relationship with God. Charismatics understand their ability to be good preachers in terms of having received a "charism" or divine gift (Sp. *don*) for preaching. They say that God gives his gifts according to a plan by which everyone is useful in some way or another, and so one may only become a preacher if one has been given the gift of preaching³⁷. This is not to say, though, that these men are cavalier about their positions within the group—they are well aware that people may lose faith in them and leave the group or move to have them replaced³⁸. Charismatic preachers *do* study their Bibles at home and they also make mental outlines of the key points that they want to make when speaking. The preachers' Bibles are well worn and they indicated to me that they spent time every day studying the Bible. Qawa Rigo even goes so far as to study his Q'eqchi' and Spanish copies of the Bible side by side in order to better understand the text. Charismatic preachers thus make an equal, if not greater, investment of time and effort to develop their skills as givers of sermons as the most dedicated catechists.

In addition to that basic preparation, they spend a good deal of time and effort honing their skills as preachers and becoming more sophisticated in their religious

³⁷ Other charisms included the ability to heal through prayer, to speak in tongues, and musical talent. (cp. Csordas 1997)

³⁸ The Charismatic group in Tenamit, as we have seen, was founded when a group of people left the Charismatic group in Chirepek. Most explained their separation as a desire to have meetings closer to home, but I also heard that at the time of the split some had questioned that group's preacher's moral character.

knowledge. The primary way that Charismatic Preachers do this is by listening to Christian radio programs. They listen to Evangelical radio stations as well as Catholic ones to draw ideas for their upcoming sermons. Preachers also attend regional conferences for inspiration and education. Finally, by talking to each other, they try out ideas for sermons and check to see if their understandings of Bible verses match other community members'. Thus, preachers do not enter into preaching as blank slates. The few men who are authorized as preachers have achieved that position by virtue of being thought of not just as good speakers, but also because they are seen as having some insight into what the Bible means and skill in producing sermons. It is no coincidence that many Charismatic preachers in the parish were catechists before converting to Charismatic Catholicism. Whether this suggests that in some ways the authority of the Mainstream institution carries over into this new religious context, or simply that there is a recognition that the skills developed in one context are useful in the other, is not clear. However, it is unlikely that these men would have been accepted as preachers if the other congregants thought they did not have some mastery over the material beyond the ability to be divinely inspired (or perhaps it is the case that divine inspiration can only happen if one is already in some way comfortable with the text). Far from relying strictly on divine inspiration, Charismatic preachers spend a considerable amount of time and effort expanding their religious knowledge. Because there is no institutional structure beyond the local group that guarantees their positions, and because technically anyone could be called on to preach (and replace them), Charismatic preachers must invest time and effort to secure their status as religious experts within the community. However, what is ideologically important at the moment of producing a sermon is the

authority that they acquire by virtue of having been given the charism for preaching and divine inspiration. The ritual act of praying for inspiration is a way of disavowing direct control over the speech produced and authorizing it by placing the agency with God.

Like catechists, Charismatic preachers are held to high moral standards within their communities. Likewise, because of their position and “gift” they are taken to have strong moral characters. However, their ability to speak convincingly as exegetes depends less on the individual’s moral standing in the community than it does for catechists, and instead hinges on the ethical position taken during the ritual. To be a convincing preacher, the Charismatic preacher has to make ritual gestures that signal his giving up agency, and turning over his speech to the will of God. To put it in Goffman’s terms, the Charismatic preacher has to create a context in which he is the animator of the speech event, but where God is understood as the principal (Goffman 1981). The framing of the ritual event is thus predicated on the disavowal of personal agency in interpreting God’s intentions. By ritualizing the moment in which the preacher asks for and receives divine inspiration to give a sermon, the Charismatic community ratifies the preacher as a specialist speaker, whose status nonetheless rests with God’s will rather than with his person. Ideally, the Charismatic preacher is not involved in a human interpretive community, but is rather directly voicing the divine author’s intentions. The public and dramatic disavowal of agency in producing sermons through prayer ties in neatly with other Charismatic practices that also foreground an unmediated and immediate experience of the divine in their rituals (e.g. glossolalia, faith healing, etc. (Csordas 1997)). Unlike the catechists (and for that matter Mainstream Catholics in general) for whom control over one’s body, desires and thoughts indexes a properly

humble and submitted self, for Charismatics the humble and submitted person is the one who has absolutely no control over his actions and who has allowed the divine to inhabit him completely.

This stance is not an unusual stance in religious speech, where the authority of speech is often predicated on a separation of the animator of the speech and the principal behind it. Du Bois (1992) for example argues that in order for divination to be accepted as authoritative, one must disavow human agency in the production of the message because human capriciousness is liable to subvert the validity of the information produced by the ritual. In divination, Du Bois argues, there are formal linguistic means through which ritual specialists are able to convincingly distance themselves from the message produced, while at the same time solidifying their control over the process through which that divination is produced. To this I would add that the ways in which interactants co-construct the necessary frame for the speech to be produced likewise alters the location of the agency and authority that the speech conveys. In the Charismatic case, the distancing of the animator from the principal is achieved by the initial prayer asking for inspiration and the various discursive techniques that make the sermon appear to be the product of inspired improvisation. In the Mainstream case the reliability of the sermon is in part based on the authority of the written text that exists independently of the catechist and the rest of the Church hierarchy.

These two models for becoming authorized practitioners of public exegesis require catechists and Charismatic preachers to figure themselves as being in particular kinds of relationships to the holy and to the institutional body of Catholicism. By

becoming authorized speakers in these ways, catechists and Charismatic preachers are not only participating in their own self-fashioning as moral beings, but are also modeling these constructions for other parishioners. Their respective emphases on studied submission and divine inspiration index ideas about how one is to properly become a pious person. In neither case is the person speaking the sermon seen as the ultimate source of the interpretation of the Biblical text. Rather, in both cases knowledge of the Bible is acquired through submission to the divine, however in one case this submission is mediated through the human institution of the Catholic Church and in the other it is unmediated submission to God. By encoding these ideas about the relationship of self to text and religious institution, these two processes work to make each of these denominational positions more like themselves (cf. Woolard 1998: 12).

CONCLUSION

The social processes through which Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic community leaders become authorized as legitimate performers of sermons tell us quite a bit about what they value in this type of ritual performance. One of the central problems seems to be about the way that the meaning of the text is mediated for the sermon's audience. In both of these religious communities, the ultimate responsibility for the meaning of the message lies well outside of the speaker, in an entity which the sermon-giver only ever has partial and limited access to. The sources of the authority are imagined quite differently, though, and this has consequences for a number of aspects of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic's ritual lives. By describing these two contrasting models of how people

become authorized as preachers, I hope to have shown that if we want to understand the hermeneutics of a particular group of people, we need to pay close attention to the social processes through which people enter into that intellectual work. This includes looking into the ways that people figure themselves as interpreters in general and the differentiations that might emerge from those emic models of interpretation. Those social processes through which people come to be authorized as legitimate interpreters, I believe, can provide us greater insight into peoples theological and social concerns.

These ritual processes of legitimation derive from the two distinct basic language ideological structures that shape the communicative ritual practices of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics. These ideologies, thus don't just organize how one may speak (or gesture) in church, but whether one may speak during ritual. Of course, the fact that each group has different models for legitimating speakers, further works to divide the two communities. The (limited) legitimation of Charismatic preachers within the local Catholic Church has placed into question catechists' position as de facto community leaders. Claiming the ultimate legitimacy of the source of one's authority to speak and lead is an important way to consolidate one's power, and so it should come as no surprise that the catechists are not happy about having their social standing challenged by a schismatic group from within what they consider to be their own structures of power. Ironically, in the 1970s it was the catechists who were the challenging existing structures of religious authority by introducing new sets of religious practice that displaced "traditionalist" Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholicism (Wilson 1995; see also Warren 1978; Falla 2001; Murga Armas 2006). Charismatics, for their part, are seeking to gain a measure of legitimacy while somewhat awkwardly standing

with one foot inside the institutional structure of the Catholic Church and another outside of its traditional hierarchies of authority. In this oppositional context, competing ideas about the source for religious and moral authority have engendered two sets of practices that put into question the solidarity of a community of people who may nonetheless still share some of the same social, political and religious interests.

The next chapter focuses on the differing ways in which Q'eqchi' and Spanish are used in ritual speech in these two congregations and the relationship between code choice and the two constructions of Catholicism.

This chapter appears in a revised form as "How Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics Become Legitimate Interpreters of the Bible: Two models of Religious Authority in the Giving of Sermons." in *Biblicism: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on the Social Life of the Christian Scripture*, James Bielo, ed. Forthcoming, Rutgers University Press. The dissertation author was the primary investigator and author of this paper.

CHAPTER 3: LINGUISTIC CODES

At the heart of much of Mainstream Catholics' discourse about the impropriety of Charismatic Catholic practice is the idea that Charismatics only ever use Spanish in their rituals and that this signals their separation from the Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic community both ethnically and religiously. Moreover, their use of Spanish is seen as suspicious because, as some Mainstream critics are wont to put it, "Charismatics don't even speak Spanish that well", and thus the implication is that they are trying to pass themselves off as something they are not. Their contention that Charismatics "only ever speak Spanish", I will show, is not literally accurate and, in fact, Q'eqchi' is spoken more often than Spanish in Charismatic rituals. Nonetheless, the fact is that for Charismatics themselves the presence of Spanish **is** an important component of their ritual practices.

In this chapter I sketch out the actual speaking practices of both Mainstream Catholics and Charismatics Catholics to show the differences and similarities in the two congregations' repertoires of ritual language use. By examining both the differences and similarities in the two sets of practices I hope to better understand the nature of the language ideological debate between the two groups. Through this examination of speaking practices we will see how each congregation marks its ritual space, defines itself, and ultimately sets up the basic contrast with the other. I show that Mainstream Catholics value code consistency, whereas for Charismatics the presence of both codes

is a crucial component of their self-identification as members of the Charismatic Catholic Renewal (CCR). Because of that fundamental difference in their attitude towards the presence of Spanish, code choice becomes the touchstone for the broader conflict between the two groups. Since code consistency marks Mainstream Catholic ritual space, the fact that **any** Spanish is present leads Mainstream Catholics to claim that Charismatics only ever use Spanish. This would thus be less a case about actual language use, and more one of Mainstream Catholics generalizing from variable practices to make categorical judgments about the other (Labov 1969). Similarly, that there are certain parts of their rituals that Charismatics only perform in Spanish should alert us to the importance that these code choices have for constituting Q'eqchi'-Maya Charismatic Catholics' rituals.

CODE CHOICE

The topic of code switching (CS)— the use of two or more language varieties in a sequence of talk— has been an important focus for scholars working in multilingual communities for a long time now and has produced a large and wide ranging body of literature (Woolard 2006). The work of Blom and Gumperz on the systematic ways that residents of a Norwegian village switched between two dialects— Ranamål and Bokmål— to convey information about their social setting is usually taken as the departure point for studies of CS (Blom and Gumperz 1972). Their initial work proposed that code switching can fulfill several different functions— a situational

function and metaphorical function— in talk that both respond to and help shape the social situations that speakers find themselves in. “Situational switching”, they say, occurs when change in language use accompanies a change in the social context of the interaction, for example a change in social domain, a change in speech genre, or the presence of a different kind of interlocutor. In these instances, a change in language use implies a change in the way participants regard each other and define “each other’s rights and obligations” in the interaction (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 424). In metaphorical switching on the other hand, a change in language does not effect a change in the structure of the social situation, but rather invokes, alludes, or otherwise indexes a set of meanings and relationships that would not necessarily be obvious in the interactive event. Metaphorical CS is a way of using pre-existing ideas about what languages mean or what values are attached to them in order to forge new meaning within the context of preexisting some interaction. Situational CS, on the other hand, is a way in which language is used to distinguish between different social domains or contexts. The upshot of this work was to suggest that there was systematicity in people’s to code switching and that far from being deficient practices, speech events in which multiple codes were co-present were skillful verbal performances through which social actors could shape and comment on their social worlds.

This model also suggested that in most situations, especially where the two codes at issue were one local ethnic language and one national language, the use of the former would be regarded as a marker of social solidarity and the latter one of social distance. Gumperz argued that this distinction between “we” and “they codes is primarily symbolic, and is not predictive of actual language use (Gumperz 1982: 67).

However, the stability of these associations does seem to rely on a fairly static view of how meaning is attached. As some have argued, this model tends to assume that the relationship between codes is fairly stable, and thus tends to over-determine the degree to which code switching is strategic and contextualizing because it assumes that all code alterations in some way tap into the social meaning of codes (e.g. Auer 1984; Errington 1998).

Building on this model, scholars interested in the social meanings of code choice have gone on to study the various ways in which meanings are constructed and activated through language use. One of the schools of thought that has come from this has adapted the idea that code switching serves as a contextualization cue (Gumperz 1982), that is, that it conveys information about the kind of situation and relationships that interactants find themselves in and thus allows them to shift their alignments accordingly. To this end, Auer (1984) proposes an approach that, rather than starting from a macrosocial perspective that almost a priori sees the juxtaposition of codes as a meaningful event, orients itself towards discerning the discursive functions that code switching plays in interaction. Through close attention to these forms, he argues, we can more accurately understand when and how social actors understand linguistic codes to be interactionally meaningful. In addition, this sort of a perspective, I would suggest, might allow us ask in what instances an absence of code switching, or to put it in positive terms, a case of code consistency might be meaningful for interactants. Such a perspective then is useful for the analysis of the use of Spanish and Q'eqchi' in San Felipe because in this case we have to contend with several rather complex ways in which Q'eqchi'-Maya find code choices to be meaningful.

In some respects the present case conforms to Gumperz's model about the ways that "we" and "they" codes are utilized (Gumperz 1982). Q'eqchi' does in most instances work as a "we" code in Cobán since it is usually only spoken by ethnic Q'eqchi'-Mayas (and a few sympathetic others, like the priests). Q'eqchi' thus can be a strong marker of ethnic identity and it can connote familiarity and ethnic solidarity, although it is not necessarily always the case. Moreover, the history of Maya marginalization and exclusion based on language use in the country has also set up a relation of opposition between Mayan languages and Spanish, which would seem to indicate that this context is ripe for labeling the codes in this way (see e.g. Wuqu' Ajpub' (Arnulfo Simón) 1998; Cojtí Cuxil 1996; Cojtí Cuxil 1990).

However, it is also the case that many Q'eqchi' are fully competent speakers of Spanish and that it can also be a code for limited solidarity in certain contexts³⁹. Since Q'eqchi', like all Mayan languages in Guatemala (Hawkins 2005), is experiencing some language shift, it is possible that the equation of Q'eqchi' language with in-group membership might decrease, too. Even if the Spanish language can also be considered a "we" code by Q'eqchi'-Maya in some contexts, they are also aware that there are differences between their own uses of Spanish and that of Ladinos. Q'eqchi'-Maya are well aware that within the larger social context of Cobán, Spanish is the prestige code and that mastery of the language can serve to open up social and economic opportunities.

³⁹ The main example I have in mind is of young men selecting Spanish when drinking or watching football in town as a way of signaling both informality and participation in a more cosmopolitan lifestyle.

They are also aware that lines can be drawn based on the way that one speaks Spanish, and that they can just as easily be negatively marked as *indios* not because they don't speak Spanish, but precisely because of how they do. Thus there is some ambivalence about the role of Spanish in the lives of all bilingual Q'eqchi'-Maya, and the meanings that are attached to both it and to Q'eqchi' can vary.

What is particularly interesting about this case, though, is that within a fairly small population and a circumscribed sphere of activity, competing discourses about the meaning of code switching and code consistency have been developed. For one group the singular use of Q'eqchi' is the marker of group membership and solidarity. For the other group, code switching between Spanish and Q'eqchi' has been taken up as that marker. Moreover, for Mainstream Catholics, the very presence of Spanish in Charismatics' practices has a strongly negative connotation. How is it that these meanings get attached to these two codes? Under what circumstances can Q'eqchi' be used to achieve social solidarity? And how is it that Spanish can also sometimes have that valence? We can find a partial answer to this if we attend to the ways in which language use is regimented to enact certain ideological stances within the context of religious rituals. In San Felipe religious settings seem to be a special context in which the meaning of code choice is heightened and the fact that these two groups of Catholics adhere to differing norms of language use in these settings creates a palpable social tension.

As I stated in the previous chapter, most members of both of these congregations are bilingual speakers of Q'eqchi and Spanish in most social contexts. However, within the context of religious rituals, Mainstream Catholics tend to be largely consistent

Q'eqchi' speakers, whereas Charismatics speak both Spanish and Q'eqchi', and this difference has become the topic of a debate between the two religious communities. I argue here that the reason that this is so is because of the ways that people understand the relationship between their linguistic practices and their religious ideologies. If we can understand the ideologies that underlie the code choices that members of these two congregations make in ritual settings we can uncover some of what is driving the conflict between the two groups.

I use the term “code choice” here because I think that it is just as important to explain Mainstream Catholics' code consistency as it is to explain Charismatics' code switching. As Woolard has suggested, the question of why “people who have multiple ‘ways of speaking’ would restrict themselves to a subset of them” (2006: 75) is just as compelling as the question of why people use multiple codes. In order to try to get an answer to this, in what follows I document the ways in which code choice, both as code consistency (or restriction) and code switching, shapes the speaking practices in San Felipe Parish.

CODE SWITCHING IN THE DEBATE ABOUT RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

“Solo quieren castilla”

As I have already suggested, many, if not most of Mainstream Catholics' complaints about Charismatics center on the use of Spanish in religious practice. The

sentiment that “*Esos solo quieren castilla*⁴⁰,” (“Those [people] only want Spanish”), much more than being a simple statement about the putative desires of members of the other group, is best understood as a negative characterization of “those people” that implies a number of things about both Charismatics and Mainstream Catholics and their values. In order to understand why these criticisms hold such weight for Mainstream Catholics, we need to trace out the valences that these codes hold for both sets of Catholics

Mainstream Catholics’ complaints about Charismatics’ use of Spanish center around three key points: 1) the use of Spanish is potentially a rejection of ethnic identity; 2) it suggests Evangelical (rather than Catholic) religious identity; and 3) they aren’t even speaking it all that well anyway. This last point underscored what they think is ultimately wrong with Charismatics’ desire to use Spanish— that it is ridiculous that people who don’t have full mastery over the language to seek to incorporate it into their religious practices, which are by definition, they would say, highly formal events which require ritual specialists to be fully aware and in control of their actions. Implicit in the Mainstream catechists complaints may also have been a hint that they, as the intellectual elite of their communities, knew more Spanish than the Charismatics, and thus had the good sense to know in which contexts it is appropriate to use it and in which it is not. After all, a good working knowledge of Spanish opens up certain social and economic possibilities that aren’t available to Q’eqchi’ monolinguals. However, what is crucial in

⁴⁰ “*Castilla*” refers to Spanish broadly. The term is derived from “*Castellano*” (lit. “Castilian”), which is also sometimes used, but typically Mayas use the former term. The Q’eqchi’ word for Spanish is kaxlan aatin, (lit. “foreign word”).

this debate is the context in which Spanish is allegedly being (mis)used— namely, church.

Of course, the use of Spanish in Catholic ritual is not a foreign concept to Mainstream parishioners. On the contrary, Spanish plays some part in every parishioner's experience of Catholicism. When San Felipe's parishioners attend a mass at most any other church in the Diocese (or elsewhere in Guatemala), they are likely to hear Spanish as the ritual language. Thus, for example, when they attend the city's patron saint's day mass at the cathedral, or a wedding in another parish, they are likely to hear the complete mass spoken in Spanish⁴¹, and this is not problematic for them in the way that Charismatics' use of Spanish in local rituals is. Moreover, the parishioners with whom I worked in the central region, especially the catechists, know all of their prayers in Spanish, and it is not difficult for them to participate in a mass in Spanish. This was driven home for me when I was invited to attend the wedding of Qawa Luis's daughter in a neighboring town. The wedding mass was given entirely in Spanish despite the fact that, or perhaps precisely because, while the bride and her family were native speakers of Q'eqchi', the groom and his family were native speakers of Poqomchi'. Although nearly all of the guests were Maya, the mass was in Spanish because it constituted a "neutral" code in this context that would be at least partially accessible to everyone present. As far as I could tell, the majority of the people present

⁴¹ At Cobán's patron saint's day mass at held in the Cathedral in 2005 part of the sermon was delivered in Q'eqchi' as well as in Spanish. This was due to the Bishop's desire to be more inclusive of the Q'eqchi'-Maya part of the audience, both those who were present and those who were listening on the radio. However, as far as I know, this was a rare occurrence done specifically because of the perception that Mayas are particularly interested in celebrating patron saints' days, and other masses held at the Cathedral are in Spanish only.

(the exception being some of the older women) participated in the mass entirely in Spanish. That is to say, they sang hymns, recited their prayers, and offered the correct ritual responses all in Spanish. This was a bit surprising, since some of those in attendance were among the most vocal critics of Charismatics' use of Spanish. Speaking Spanish in the context of an inter-ethnic wedding between a Q'eqchi'-Maya and a Poqomchi'-Maya in another town, however, was perfectly justified both by the necessity of finding a common ground and because the priest performed the mass in Spanish, and so it was only natural and respectful to answer him in that language⁴².

The issue then isn't about a global proscription against Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics' use of Spanish, but rather about when and under what conditions it is legitimate to speak it. Certainly, from the perspective of the Mainstream leadership, village-level religious celebrations do not seem like a legitimate context for Spanish. Part of the reason that village-level events aren't legitimate spaces for Spanish is because they are figured as being performed in ethnically homogenous spaces, exclusively Q'eqchi'-Maya spaces, and religious events are all the more marked because of the particular identification of (local) religious practice and language.

⁴² As far as I was able to find out during the wedding or in my subsequent talks with Qawa Luis and others informants, although the distance between Cobán and Santa Cruz is only about 30 kilometers and several of the villages covered by San Felipe are virtually on the edge of the Q'eqchi'/Poqomchi' border, few people speak both languages. Although this has probably not been the case for very long, it seems that most people carry out their cross-group interactions in Spanish. Indeed, from what I was able to observe the relationship between the bride and groom in this case had developed and continued to be carried out in Spanish, although both are fluent speakers of their respective Mayan languages. As far as I know this is generally the case in Guatemala and there is not to my knowledge much literature that examines Mayan language multilingualism in the country (though see Fox Tree 2003 for some discussion of contested boundaries between Mayan languages).

Language use has long been a significant marker of ethnic identity in Guatemala (Smith 1990; England 1992; French 1999; Cojtí Cuxil 1990), and the line between Ladino and Maya has as often as not been drawn on the grounds of one's competence in Spanish⁴³. Despite several governmental attempts to shift the country towards Spanish monolingualism, Mayan languages have been remarkably resilient. In the 1980s and 90s the state's multicultural turn also opened up the space for Mayan languages to act as emblems (cp. Silverstein 1996) of ethnic identity and political orientation. Among the parishioner in San Felipe the political dimensions of Mayan language are minimal (see Chapter 5), but they still understand language use as being a key marker⁴⁴ of the ethnic community membership. Thus the use of Spanish (and especially their "poor" use of Spanish) can be interpreted as marking Charismatics as people seeking to distance themselves from Q'eqchi' ethnic identity.

The sticking point for Mainstream Catholics is precisely that Charismatics seem to want to create social the distance between themselves and "traditional" Q'eqchi' values and mores. That distance isn't just figured in ethnic terms, though. Religious identity is also an important component of what's wrong with the use of Spanish. The issue of ethnic crossing is compounded by the fact that Spanish is perceived as the de facto language of Protestant Evangelical worship. Although there has been a sustained effort to establish Evangelical churches in Q'eqchi' communities since at least the 1950s, and there are certainly Q'eqchi' language services in some Protestant churches

⁴³ This is especially true for men. For women, dress is arguably just as important, if not more, as a marker of ethnic identity (Hendrickson 1995; Nelson 1994).

⁴⁴ In addition to dress (see n. 3 above), food preferences are also read as markers of community membership. A preference for corn tortillas over bread and the enjoyment of dried red *chiles* are seen as indicative of Q'eqchi'ness.

and Evangelical radio stations that broadcast part of the time in Q'eqchi', for many Q'eqchi'-Mayas Evangelical Protestantism is associated with the Spanish language. Thus, Charismatics' use of Spanish (as well as the similarity in the way that their and Evangelical rituals sound) is associated not just with ethnic crossing, but with religious crossing as well.

In the ears of Mainstream Catholics, Charismatics' use of Spanish equates them with Evangelical Protestantism. It is this equation, I believe, that renders Charismatics most problematic for Mainstream Catholics. While the clash between Protestants and Catholics hasn't been as strong in Alta Verapaz as it has been in, for example, Chiapas (Darling 1992, cited in (Cahn 2003)), there is some tension between Evangelicals and Catholics. Catholics view Evangelicals as a threat to their religious authority in the communities, and generally as a disruptive influence in the community. Evangelicals' refusal to participate in traditional Catholic rites and festivals (including masses, but also rituals that have some civic or social quality as well, such as *cofradía* celebrations) creates a self-imposed social distance between them and Catholics. From the Mainstream perspective, then, Charismatics seem to be rejecting both Q'eqchi'-Maya ethnicity and Roman Catholicism while siding with Protestants and acting in some ways like Ladinos.

Charismatics, for their part are also ambivalent about their relationship to Evangelical Protestantism. In the first place, the development of the Charismatic Catholic Renewal movement is intimately tied to the broader tradition of Charismatic Protestantism and especially to Pentecostalism (see chapter 5). Secondly, Charismatics tend to be more ecumenical than Mainstream Catholics, with a leadership that is on

much friendlier terms with local Protestants (of which there is no shortage) than with Mainstream Catholics. However, Charismatics also reject the notion that they are *Evangélicos*, and are adamant about their self-identification as Catholics and their pedigree within the Catholic Church. On several occasions I heard Charismatic preachers making precisely this point during their sermons, exhorting congregants to remember that they are members of the Catholic Church and warning them against going off to services at *Evangélico* churches or from consuming Protestant media. There is thus some basis for the claim that Charismatics have some ties to *Evangélicos*, but it is also the case that the Charismatic leadership is very conscious about retaining its Catholic affiliation.

The use of Spanish in Charismatic rituals is thus subject to double scrutiny for the implicit messages it is seen to carry about those congregations' members' ethnic and religious identities.

The importance of using Q'eqchi'

If the above can be said to characterize Mainstream Catholics' complaints about Charismatics' use of Spanish, what can we say about the positive value that Q'eqchi' holds for Mainstream Catholics?

One basic reason that Q'eqchi' is understood as a marker of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic identity is due to San Felipe's institutional position within the Catholic Church. The Diócesis de la Verapaz administers its territory and mission as four regions that are coded: Urban (Ladino Spanish-speaking); Q'eqchi'; Poqomchi'; and Baja

Verapaz (which includes some Achii speakers in addition to Ladinos and Poqomchi's) (Diócesis de la Verapaz 2004). San Felipe is a part of the Q'eqchi' region which extends into the mountains and lowland rainforest. Since the mid 1970s, the parish has been the city's Q'eqchi' parish, and accordingly, following the principles of Vatican II, its mission is to be carried out in the Q'eqchi' language. Although one other parish in the outskirts of town and a semi-parish both regularly hold some masses in Q'eqchi', they are not marked as specifically Q'eqchi' parishes by the Diocese. Thus it makes sense that Q'eqchi' is the preferred code here for simple organizational reasons. However, there are also ideological reasons why Q'eqchi' is the preferred code.

When I started asking about why it was so important to speak Q'eqchi' the answer I most often got first was that Q'eqchi' is in the "heart." Q'eqchi' was described as the language "sa' xch'ool", in the heart or soul of the person. In the Q'eqchi' worldview the heart is the seat of life, feelings, and thought, and so to have a language of the heart suggests that it has both affective and intellectual qualities. Because of this it becomes the language through which Q'eqchi'-Mayas can best or most naturally express themselves. Also, many, if not most, Mainstream Catholics consider Q'eqchi' to be their primary language in both a developmental and a utilitarian sense. Speaking Q'eqchi' is thus tied up with the way that people conceive of themselves as Q'eqchi'-Mayas.

Second, to speak Q'eqchi' correctly in the right kinds of situations is tied up with the ability to enact respect. Hilary Khan (2006) argues that "respect" is central to Q'eqchi' formulations of relationships between persons as well as between persons and the world, and as such it is a core organizing principle in many domains of Q'eqchi'

life. Q'eqchi' is understood to signal respect by virtue of its connection to one's tradition via the metaphor of the heart language. Respect is the ideal moral disposition for Mainstream Catholicism, and thus it follows that the preferred code in ritual settings is Q'eqchi'.

Finally, part of the importance of Q'eqchi' code choice is related to the special role that Catechists play in the social organization of the parish. As I described in the previous chapter, the CEB is the primary site for religious practice for Q'eqchi'-Maya, and can play a significant role socially, too. CEBs are usually organized around neighborhoods, so that in a sense they exist mainly as a geographically situated network, but it is also true that the Catechist (aj tzolotij) who leads the group has a degree of charismatic authority (Weber 1947) and is also in some way responsible for the maintenance of the group. My informants did not often admit to the importance of the individual person leading the group for its success, but the fact that CEBs can and have been broken apart because of who the acting aj tzolotij is nonetheless suggests that there is some importance placed on who the person holding the office is. Because catechists are in some sense "master speakers" (Haviland 2007) whose main function is to perform certain linguistic acts that enable the efficacious performance of religious rituals, there is a connection between language and authority. Thus to undermine the relationship between language and religious practices is also to call into question the social order.

DESCRIPTION OF RITUALS

This section is an attempt to illustrate some of the ways that speakers in these two religious groups use Q'eqchi' and Spanish in various parts of the ritual event. In what follows, I analyze some of the features of the two religious communities' rituals to show how they function as linguistic performances and illustrate the role that code switching or code restriction play. During my fieldwork I collected approximately 100 hours of audio recordings of rituals. This large sample (not to mention the complexity of the rituals recorded) makes it very difficult to quantify the entire set of my data, so I have instead chosen to sample from this body of material to illustrate certain key features of language use.

I have chosen four parts of the rituals to examine: ritual openings and closing; prayers (which are further subdivided into sub-categories— fixed texts, improvised prayers, and hymns); Bible readings; and the collection of offerings. Each of these is more or less its own genre of ritual speech, and, for reasons that I will make clear below, is a critical element of the unfolding of the ritual as a whole. Additionally I have included a discussion of some examples of “off-stage” actions taken in preparation of rituals, although I do not have a comprehensive sample of this kind of speech. In each section below I describe both the overall pattern of linguistic code choices for this genre and offer one or two transcribed examples to illustrate what I take to be the normative

way each is performed and the role of linguistic code in these. In general, I will examine Mainstream examples first and Charismatic ones second.

My sample consists of eighteen rituals total (nine from the CCR group and nine from the Mainstream group) selected from my corpus of recordings. The sample is not random, but was instead put together to reflect a variety in the types of events that make up the annual ritual cycle of the two groups. For example, for my Mainstream sample, I purposely include ordinary masses alongside feast days (e.g. Christmas, Easter Monday, etc.), as well as a events held in locations other than the main church in San Felipe (e.g. the Hermandad house, village chapels.) Likewise, for the CCR I have included samples from vigils alongside those from regular celebrations. I have, however, restricted my samples to significant, well-attended ritual events— Masses, Celebrations of the Word, and Vigils— with one exception for a rosary prayer on the Mainstream side (see below). The Charismatic sample covers a much shorter time span (four months) than the Mainstream one (seventeen months), because it was relatively late in my fieldwork that I started attending their rituals regularly.

Although the sample is not random, it was selected before listening to the recordings or consulting my field notes. The samples were initially chosen based on the moments of the year that they captured. I then listened to a snippet of the recording at a random point to confirm the audio quality, although having now listened to the recordings in full, I realize that some choices were not optimal. Because I was present at many more ritual events than those recorded, I can confirm that the sample is a reasonably accurate representation of observable linguistic behavior and that the

patterns that emerge from it should likewise be construed as applicable to Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic practice in San Felipe.

Table 1: Lists of events sampled for code switching

Mainstream Catholics			
<u>Date</u>	<u>Location; Type of event</u>	<u>Time</u>	
9/19/04	San Felipe; Ordinary Mass	2:03:04	
10/24/04	Hermandad; Mass for Virgen de Dolores	1:51:49	
1/1/05	San Felipe; Ak' Chiab' (New Year's Day Mass)	1:25:25	
1/16/05	San Felipe; Mass to end vigil for patron saint	1:29:38	
3/21/05	San Felipe; Lunes Santo (Easter Monday Mass)	0:58:14	
5/3/05	San Felipe; Día de la Santa Cruz (Mass for the Day of the Holy Cross)	1:10:14	
6/5/05	Tenamit; Ordinary Mass	1:34:35	
12/24/05	San Felipe; Ralankil (Christmas Mass)	1:34:35	
1/6/06	Hermandad House; Rosary prayer	0:58:49	
	Total Time	13:06:23	
Charismatic Catholics			
<u>Date</u>	<u>Location, Type of event</u>	<u>Time</u>	
10/23/05	Tenamit; Wednesday night Celebration	1:57:15	
10/31/05	Private Home / Secondary meeting house; Día de los Muertos Vigil (4 pieces; fragment into 11/01/05))	0:25:30	1:09:34
		0:25:06	1:57:27
11/9/05	Private Home; Recent Death, Wed. Nigh Celebration	2:02:11	
11/30/05	Tenamit; Sunday morning Celebration	1:51:41	
12/11/05	Tenamit; Sunday morning Celebration	2:03:40	
12/28/05	Tenamit; Wednesday night Celebration	2:05:37	
12/31/06	Private Home; New Year's Eve Vigil (3 pieces; fragment of event running all night to 01/01/06)	1:53:26	0:08:45
		0:37:06	
1/4/06	Tenamit; Wednesday night Celebration	2:14:26	
	Total Time	18:51:44	

PRELIMINARY “OFF-STAGE” BUSINESS

One of the central premises of my argument is that the ways in which language is used helps to create the ritual space. In order to illustrate why I think this is, I begin by discussing how participants prepare themselves to carry out rituals. The examples in this section illustrate the use of the two linguistic codes— Spanish and Q’eqchi’— in setting up ritual events. The instances of talk described here are decidedly “off-stage” (Goffman 1959) interactions that are not part of the ritual itself, but rather are preliminary actions to help set up the conditions necessary for the ritual.

Switching to Q’eqchi’ before a Rosary

This first example shows how a restriction to Q’eqchi’-only is one way in which the start of a ritual is marked. The example comes from a meeting to pray a Rosary for the parish *Hermandad*’s patron saint— El Señor de Esquipulas. This rosary is a necessary preliminary ritual held before moving the image of the saint from the house of the mertoomb to San Felipe church for a nine-day long fiesta leading up to the patron saint’s day (January 15). There were less than a dozen people in attendance— all of them (save the anthropologist) active members of the confraternity’s board of directors. The event had begun an hour or so earlier with people arriving, greeting each other, greeting the saint’s image (performed by kneeling and crossing oneself in front of the

image), discussing the coming week and a half's plans, checking the group's funds, and cleaning the image for the start of the fiesta. After all of this was completed, people moved into the room with the image and started the task of preparing for the ritual prayer.

Preparation for this ritual involves a number of actions that are meant to bring about the proper material conditions for the recitation of the rosary. These actions include the lighting of candles, filing the censer with embers, choosing a starting hymn, and selecting which members of the group will be in charge of leading each part of the rosary prayer. Most of this background business was conducted in Spanish, but it was given that the ritual itself would occur in Q'eqchi' exclusively. Just before the prayer starts four participants are having a discussion to figure out how many rocket bombs they should burn and in what order this should be done. This discussion happens entirely in Spanish, even though all of the participants are native Q'eqchi' speakers and there is nothing about the discussion that would necessitate that it happen in Spanish (Q'eqchi' has all the lexical items needed, for example.) As soon as the ritual begins, though, Q'eqchi' becomes the preferred code.

Rosary at Hermandad house 1/06/06 [0:00:00] – [0:01:16]	
H: <i>cuatro entonces</i>	H: <i>four then</i>
F: <i>ehhh</i>	F: <i>ehhh</i>
H: <i>cuatro da...</i>	H: <i>four makes...</i>
F: <i>tres de inicio::: tres a la mitad</i>	F: <i>three to start::: three in the middle</i>
H: <i>y seis de...</i>	H: <i>and six at...</i>
N: <i>seis</i>	N: <i>six</i>
F: <i>ala mucho ah? cuatro cuatro</i>	F: <i>oh too many ah? four four</i>
H: <i>pero por eso</i>	H: <i>but that's why</i>
G: <i>cuatro cuatro</i>	F: <i>four four</i>
N: <i>entonces mejor cuatro cuatro</i>	N: <i>then better four four</i>

As we can see, once Qawa Luis (marked L in the transcript), who is a high ranked catechist and the aj tijonel (prayer leader) for this event, takes the floor he effects a switch to Q'eqchi', which the other present members of the *Hermandad* all take up. A significant shift occurs in the footing (Goffman 1981) of the four participants who were having the discussion about the protocols for burning fireworks (Qawa Hugo [H], Qawa Francisco [F], Qawa Oscar [O], Qawa Manolo [M], and Qana Noelia [N]). They move from a participant framework where they are more or less equal co-participants in a conversation about how the event is to be carried out to one in which they are ranked at a lower-level members in stratified system of ritual participants and must defer to Qawa Luis in his capacity as aj tijonel. The change in the role that they occupy goes along with a switch into Q'eqchi' for the business of praying the rosary. In this case, then, we see a clear example of the restriction of speech to a single code—namely, Q'eqchi'— as a critical part in the commencement of the ritual. What we have here then is something like Gumperz's situational code switch in which the context that the participants are moving into necessitates the use of Q'eqchi' as a formal code for worship, as distinct from the Spanish spoken before.

The start of the ritual isn't just signaled by the switch to Q'eqchi', though. In fact, the start of the ritual is equally marked by the whoosh and explosion of a firework rocket-bomb, since as soon as this occurs the discussion is tabled and Qawa Luis gives his welcoming speech. However, once the switch is achieved, that is once the ritual has commenced and participants take up the frame of the ritual, all the speech that follows

is necessarily in Q'eqchi'. I don't take the borrowing of "*novenario*" to be a problem for this interpretation, since this term and several others similar technical Catholic terms for which there is no direct Q'eqchi' equivalents are regularly used.

In any case, what this example shows is that even when Spanish is the preferred code off-stage, once the ritual time is marked the preference changes to Q'eqchi' code consistency. I would argue that a similar process could be observed in all Mainstream Catholic rituals, although it's a bit harder to track the way that the restrictive use of Q'eqchi' occurs at the start of a mass or Celebration of the Word. The structure of those rituals makes it so that I could not capture any analogous moments in which a switch as clear as this one was caught on tape. Nonetheless, as I will show below, Q'eqchi' is really the only legitimate code that can be used Mainstream rituals. The restriction of code is built in to the structure of the event, so that from start to finish masses at San Felipe and celebrations at the various CEBs throughout the parish are held in Q'eqchi'.

Setting out the jobs in a Charismatic ritual

Before Charismatic rituals begin, the group leader distributes some of the ritual duties to congregants. The list is actually generated before the event and people come to the church knowing that they are will have a part to play in it. Nonetheless, the duties are repeated just prior to starting the event so that everyone remembers what it is that they are supposed to do. This list is read out over the loudspeaker system so that everyone present can hear it, although it is really directed at the people who will perform the duties. There is no analogous moment to this in Mainstream rituals, for

which the duties of the various participants are assigned away from the performance space of the ritual. The following is partial transcript that exemplifies how Charismatics distribute ritual roles.

Charismatics T. 10/23/05 [0:00:00] — [0:00:29]	
Hermano Rigo	Hermano RIgo
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>li alabanza hermana J.</u> 2) <u>invocación del espíritu santo A.</u> 3) <u>oración sobre el mensaje U.</u> 4) <u>oración de ofrenda T.</u> 5) <u>li teeoksink a'an:: li hermana M. ut</u> 6) <u>ehh oración fina:final a'an naru</u> <u>naxb'anu li hermano R.</u> 7) <u>ut nintzamach eeru hermanos naru</u> <u>neekexnume chaq taqapatz li oración</u> 8) <u>re li qawa Dios re naq a'an taatenqank</u> <u>teexbantioxink li xkanjel</u> 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>the praise</u> (hymn) <u>sister J.</u> 2) <u>invocation of the holy spirit A.</u> 3) <u>prayer over the message U.</u> 4) <u>prayer over the offering T.</u> 5) <u>The introduction that (is):: sister M. and</u> 6) <u>ehh prayer of close: closing that can be done</u> <u>by brother R.</u> 7) <u>and I ask you (pl.) brothers it can we pass</u> <u>(dist.) we will ask for the prayer</u> 8) <u>of (for) lord God so that (with) that you will</u> <u>help us to thank his work</u>

The uses of Spanish in this example are primarily matters of nomenclature, having to do with the various functions that members carry out in the ritual (e.g. “*alabanza*”, “*oración sobre el mensaje*”, etc.). From a purely semantic point of view, it would be possible for Charismatics to name these duties in Q’eqchi’, since most of them have direct analogues in Mainstream rituals (e.g. “*oración de ofrenda*” is analogous to the “tijok sa’ xb’een li mayej”). As with the use of “*novenario*” in the previous example, the use of these technical terms doesn’t necessarily evidence conversational code switching. Unlike the Mainstream example, though, there are Q’eqchi’ equivalents for these words, and thus the choice to use the Spanish terms signals something about the nature of the ritual— namely that it is a Charismatic

Catholic ritual in which it is legitimate to talk about “*oraciones*” rather than “*tij*”. This is further borne out when we see that the switch from Spanish to Q’eqchi’ in line (6) is a way for Hermano Rigo to elaborate on who will do that job, whereas in lines 1-4 that is left implicit. Also, this is in contrast with line 5, in which a Q’eqchi’ name for a ritual duty that is not specifically a Charismatic ritual function (that is it’s shared with Mainstream Catholicism) is used. What is at issue here then isn’t the semantic value of the Spanish, but its metaphorical value as a way of setting up the ritual as a multilingual CCR event.

RITUAL OPENINGS AND CLOSINGS

Having proposed that what happens off-stage has a slightly different quality than the ritual itself, I now move on to examine the ways that Mainstream and Charismatic Catholic rituals are formally opened and closed.

Mainstream Opening: Introductory Rite

Mainstream masses begin with the entrance of the priest to the church. As he approaches the altar the priest kneels before the cross, kisses the altar and censes the space. His entrance and performance of these actions are accompanied by a hymn (for the moment we will leave hymns to the side, but see below). Once the hymn ends, the priest performs two verbal acts as a way of opening the ritual. First, he leads the

congregation in the opening invocation while making the sign of the cross. Immediately after, the priest utters a short prescribed greeting, the text of which is laid out in the missal, which the congregants are compelled to respond to with a fixed answer. Taken together all of this is known as the “introductory rite”.

Transcription from Mainstream Mass 09/19/04 [0:00:23] – [0:00:39]	
<p>Father Augustine, closely followed by congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>Sa'xk'ab'a li Dios aaYuwab'ej.</u> 2) <u>Li Dios K'ajolb'ej</u> 3) <u>Ut li Dios Santil Musiq'ej</u> 4) <u>Jo'kan taxaq.</u> <p>Augustine:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5) <u>Li rusilal li Qawa' Jesukriisto.</u> 6) <u>Li xraham li Dios Yuwa'b'ej</u> 7) <u>Ut li xjunajihom li Santil Musiq'ej</u> 8) <u>Chi wanq taxaq eerik'in</u> <p>Congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9) <u>Jo'kanaq taxaq aawikin</u> 	<p>Father Augustine closely followed by congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>In the name of the God Father,</u> 2) <u>The God Only Son</u> 3) <u>And the God Sainted Spirit</u> 4) <u>So it shall be (amen).</u> <p>Augustine:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5) <u>The goodness of the Lord Jesus Christ</u> 6) <u>The love of God the Father</u> 7) <u>And the companionship of the Sainted Spirit</u> 8) <u>may it be with you (pl.)</u> <p>Congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9) <u>So shall it be with you (sing.)</u>

Transcription from Mainstream Mass 05/03/05 [0:05:21] - [0:05:39]	
<p>Father Manuel closely followed by congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>Sa'xk'ab'a li Dios Yuwab'ej.</u> 2) <u>Li Dios K'ajolb'ej</u> 3) <u>Ut li Dios Santil Musiq'ej</u> <p>Congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4) <u>Jo'kan taxaq.</u> <p>Manuel:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5) <u>Li rusilal li Qawa' Jesukriist,</u> 6) <u>Li xraham li Dios Yuwa'b'ej</u> 7) <u>Ut li xjunajihom li Santil Musiq'ej</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8) <u>Chi wanq taxaq eerik'in</u> <p>Congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9) <u>Jo'kanaq taxaq aawikin</u> 	<p>Father Manuel closely followed by congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>In the name of the God Father,</u> 2) <u>The God Only Son</u> 3) <u>And the God Sainted Spirit</u> <p>Congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4) <u>So it shall be (amen).</u> <p>Manuel:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5) <u>The goodness of the Lord Jesus Christ</u> 6) <u>The love of God the Father</u> 7) <u>And the companionship of the Sainted Spirit</u> 8) <u>may it be with you (pl.)</u> <p>Congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9) <u>So shall it be with you (sing.)</u>

The samples from my recordings match the text as it appears in the official missal (Diócesis de la Verapaz 1999 : 1-2)⁴⁶, and in the hymnal that many congregants own. It is thus not surprising that the introductory rite is performed regularly in the eight samples, with only minor variations. The three variations I can observe are: 1) the addition of what sounds like a second person singular possessive particle in line 1 of the first example (“li Dios aaYuwab'ej”; “God **your** Father”) as in the first example; 2) the

⁴⁶ The missal also presents two variations that would replace lines 5-8 in the above transcription, but these are not represented in my sample. The English translation above is my own based on my understanding of Q'eqchi'. The Standard English text according to (Buckley 1986 : 67) is as follows.

Priest: In the name of the Father, and if the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

Congr: Amen.

Priest: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you.

Congr: And also with you.

addition of “-o” to Jesukriist as in the first example in line 5; and 3) the priest not speaking line 4, instead allowing the congregation to say it by themselves as in the second example. Of these three variations the only one that potentially subverts the expectation of Q’eqchi’ code consistency is the second, which is produced by Father Augustine in the six examples where he is in charge. Full Q’eqchi’ lexicalization of Jesus Christ, according to the Q’eqchi’ missal and other Q’eqchi’ language official texts is supposed to be “Jesukriist”. Indeed, Father Manuel produces the word this way in his readings of the text. However, this is actually a newer way of saying the name, and Jesukristo is locally understood as acceptable pronunciation. As a proper nouns, “Jesukristo” and “Dios”, like Pedro or Juan, are understood as reasonable and acceptable Spanish borrowings, that fit in with regular Q’eqchi’ speech. Though there has been some effort from within the Church to shift to more Q’eqchi’ sounding and looking equivalents (e.g. Jesukriist, Tiox, Peedr, and Jwan), parishioners at large as well as most of the clergy tend to accept and produce the Hispanicized versions.

Mainstream Catholics thus perform the Introductory Rite in a relatively fixed and regular way. Code consistency is established from the start of the ritual, and, as I hope to show, is carried out throughout various parts of the ritual.

Charismatic Opening

Charismatic rituals open with less fanfare than Mainstream ones. In part this is due to the fact that all members of the congregation are theoretically on more or less equal grounds. Though there are specialized tasks that some will be called on to

perform, and though there are de facto leaders of the group that mirror the Mainstream catechists, there is no priest who is solely responsible for officiating the ritual. Instead the ethos of a Charismatic ritual is more or less cooperative and egalitarian.

After the ritual duties are assigned to various members of the congregation, those who are called on to play some specialized part approach the altar and say a short individualized prayer asking for guidance in performing their duties. After this, one of the group leaders will take a microphone and more formally address the congregation, welcoming them to the event and setting up the first part of the ritual, an invocatory prayer that is bracketed by fixed texts, but which is in itself individualized and improvised. What I want to concentrate on though is the improvised, albeit highly conventionalized greeting that I take to be the moment that establishes the frame of the ritual and extends the participatory framework to everyone present in the building.

Because this greeting is improvised, there is a good deal of variation in its exact content, however there are a few features that are present in the all of the examples in my sample. The following examples illustrate those features.

A: Charismatic opening 10/26/05 (2:22 – 2:44)	
<p>Hermano Rigo: 1) <u>Jarub naxye junaj</u> “Gloria Dios” <i>hermanos?</i></p> <p>Congregation: 2) <i>Gloria Dios</i></p> <p>Rigo: 3) <i>A su nombre</i></p> <p>Congregation: 4) <i>Gloria</i></p> <p>Rigo: 5) <i>Gloria dios</i> 6) <u>jo’kan hermanos sa’ li hoonal a’in</u> 7) <u>naru na nume chak li hermana...</u></p>	<p>Hermano Rigo: 1) <u>How many say a</u> “Glory to God” <i>Brothers?</i></p> <p>Congregation: 2) <i>Glory to God</i></p> <p>Rigo: 3) <i>To His name?</i></p> <p>Congregation: 4) <i>Glory</i></p> <p>Rigo: 5) <i>Glory to God</i> 6) <u>so then brothers in this hours</u> 7) <u>it’s possible for (her) to pass here the</u> <i>sister...</i></p>

Opening Rite Transcription from Charismatic 12/11/05	
<p>Hermano Rigo: 1) <i>Bien hermanos y hermanas quien vive</i> <i>hermanos y hermanas?</i></p> <p>Congregation: 2) <i>Cristo!</i></p> <p>Rigo: 3) <i>Cuanto dice Gloria Dios?</i></p> <p>Congregation: 4) <i>Gloria Dios</i></p> <p>Rigo: 5) <i>Cuanto dice un amen?</i></p> <p>Congregation: 6) <i>Amen</i></p> <p>Rigo: 7) <i>Hermanos levántense hermanos aj- aj- aj</i> <i>siaman leeru hermanos</i> 8) <u>li Jesús kixye estén despiertos chan</u></p>	<p>Hermano Rigo: 1) <i>OK brothers and sisters who lives</i> <i>brothers and sisters?</i></p> <p>Congregation: 2) <i>Christ!</i></p> <p>Rigo: 3) <i>How many say glory to God?</i></p> <p>Congregation: 4) <i>Glory to God</i></p> <p>Rigo: 5) <i>How many say amen?</i></p> <p>Congregation: 6) <i>Amen</i></p> <p>Rigo: 7) <i>Brothers get yourselves up brothers wa-</i> <i>wa-wake up your souls brothers</i> 8) <u>Jesus said be awake he said</u></p>

<p>Congregation: 9) <i>Gloria:: Dios</i></p> <p>Rigo: 10) <i>Amen:: Y firmes en la fe <u>chan</u> amen</i></p> <p>Congregation: 11) (unintelligible) <i>amen</i></p> <p>Rigo: 12) <u>Jokan naq naxye hermano se'eb'al li qachool aj aj qu hermanos ut jokan sa' li hoonal a'in, be yaal, okex li xloqoninkil li Dios</u></p>	<p>Congregation: 9) <i>Glory to God</i></p> <p>Rigo: 10) <i>Amen:: And strong in the faith <u>he said</u></i></p> <p>Congregation: 11) (unintelligible) <i>amen</i></p> <p>Rigo: 12) <u>So then its says brother let's quicken our hearts (minds) let's be alert brothers and so that in this hour, right, begin the worship of God</u></p>
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These examples are representative of the pattern of code switching that is present in the ritual greeting of every Charismatic event in the sample. Though no two performances are exactly the same, there are sufficient similarities in the speakers' code choices to enable us to identify the specific, if somewhat restricted, role that Spanish may play in ritual openings. All of my examples of ritual openings exhibit recurring uses of certain Spanish lexical items and conventionalized phrases. By speaking in both codes from the outset, the group leader establishes the legitimacy of both Spanish and Q'eqchi' for the ritual. Additionally the call and response formulas he uses help to mark the interactive frame of the ritual as one in which there is an expectation that all congregants will participate actively, joyfully, and ideally equally, which is especially important given the emphasis placed on lay participation in the CCR (see Chapter 5). Spanish is used here in three ways to accomplish these goals: for specialized terms; conventional phrase pairs; and for voicing quotations (cp. Gumperz 1982: 75-6). Taking these two instances as exemplary, let us tease apart the features of the mixed code performance (see Hill and Hill 1986).

The use of “*hermano/a*” is a form of personal reference borrowed from Spanish, but employed to signal a particular kind of religious identity. In San Felipe, the use of “*hermano*” and “*hermana*” as the preferred term of address for co-religionists has strong implications. At a basic level, the use of these terms is meant to reinforce the idea that all coreligionists are equal members in the family of God. This is mirrored in Mainstream Catholic’s use the terms “-as”⁴⁷ and “-itzin”, respectively “older male sibling” and “younger male sibling”, when addressing the congregation to denote inclusive membership in the Christian community envisioned as the family of God⁴⁸. While the Spanish terms can be used as nouns without any religious implication, when they are used as generalized pronouns or terms of address (“*levántense hermanos*”, B line 7 above) or as titles (e.g. *Hermano Rigo*) they become emblematic of membership in a certain kind Christian communities that makes Charismatic Catholicism suspect to Mainstream Catholics. That is because the use of “*hermano/a*” is often associated throughout Guatemala, including among monolingual Spanish speaking Ladinos, as an index of membership in Protestant Christianity. In San Felipe among Q’eqchi’-Maya Catholics, this valence isn’t lost⁴⁹. Charismatics use “*hermano/a*” constantly and consistently throughout their rituals. Just in the two examples above we see some

⁴⁷ In Q’eqchi’ possession is shown by adding a prefix to the root word determine the case and number. So that the roots “-as” (older sibling) is modified as was (my older sibling), “aawas” (your older sibling), “ras” (his/her older sibling), “qas” (our older sibling), “eeqas” (your [pl.] older sibling), and “eeras” (their older sibling). The term in itself presumes a male sibling, but here it is used as an unmarked form.

⁴⁸ The most commonly used for used by Mainstream Catholics is in the formula “ex was witzin”, which would translate as “you [pl.] my older brothers younger brothers” and would be inclusive of everyone present.

⁴⁹ People who attend Mainstream services in Spanish-language parishes may use the terms without implying allegiance to Evangelical Christianity, provided that they know to switch to the proper Q’eqchi’ forms when participating in a Q’eqchi’-language mass.

variant of the terms used 12 times, and when we examine the entire sample of the first few seconds of each ritual we see them used nearly 40 times. While the use of “*hermanos y hermanas*” is sometimes used as part of larger Spanish phrase (B line 1), we also see that its use can be marked as in A line 7 (“naru na nume chak li hermana”), where the Spanish term comes at the end of a long phrase in Q’eqchi’ (see also B line 12). Charismatics use “*hermano/a*” deliberately as a discourse marker that both reinforces a sense of solidarity among members of the community and helps to set them apart from Mainstream Catholicism. This isn’t lost on Mainstream Catholics, and it is not unusual for them to point to this feature of Charismatic speech as evidence that the latter are neither properly Catholic nor Q’eqchi’.

The second feature I want to point to here are the conventionalized call and response phrases used in the introduction to the ritual, for example A lines 1-2 (Jarub naxye juan ‘*Gloria Dios’ hermanos? / Gloria Dios*’), and B lines 1-2 (“*Quien [es el que] vive? / Cristo*”). These call and response pairs set up a dialogical relationship between the preacher and the congregation. This formulaic back and forth between the master speakers and the congregants is meant to keep congregants involved in the ritual activity and to, as line B 8 suggests, “keep them awake.” Recall, that in the previous chapter I said that one of Charismatics’ main criticism of Mainstream Catholics’ is that they often look disinterested in the ritual. These short exchanges in Charismatic rituals are expressly meant to focus the attention of congregants and keep their interest in the ritual. In doing so, the terms of the ritual are set in way that figures everyone present as an active co-constructor of the event. Although the Mainstream mass also opens with an exchange between the ritual specialist and the congregation, that relationship has a

different character due to the hierarchy implicit in the split between congregant and priest.

Some variation of these call and response pairs is performed each time a new speaker comes to the microphone to address the congregation during any point of the ritual. Typically, as in the examples above, at least two call and response pairs are performed each time, although in some cases I observed as many as four. It is important to note that the stock question or request and its corresponding response are always spoken in Spanish⁵⁰, even if these are embedded in Q'eqchi' phrases, for example as in A Line 1. In my sample of this group's ritual openings, no speaker initiates one of these call and response sequences in Q'eqchi'⁵¹. If a speaker begins an utterance in Q'eqchi' (as in A line 1), he will switch to Spanish to ask the question. The congregation predictably takes up the new code and produces the response in Spanish as well. Of course, these pairs are highly conventionalized and what is sought in performing them is more along the lines of brief moment of give and take between the ritual specialist and his audience. These phrases are conventional greetings with fixed answers that allow the speaker to legitimately take the stage before the audience. However, they may also play another function by giving the interaction an appearance of cooperation and co-authorship (Wharry 2003). Through the call and response pairs the prayer leader initiates a sequence that legitimates his position as an authorized ritual speaker, ensures that he gets the following turn, and at the same time constructs a moment of interaction in which it appears as though everyone has a stake in producing ritual speech.

⁵⁰ There is a sole quasi-exception that is a call for a "*grito de júbilo*" (shout of joy), that is appropriately responded to with a high-pitched "Ooo."

⁵¹ Not even the standard Q'eqchi' greeting Ma sa sa' la (lee) ch'ool? / Sa.

Finally, in B line 8, we see code switches that are performed to animate a pseudo-quotation. In these line the speaker gives directives to be smiling and awake, but also displaces his authorship of the command by attributing. In this phrase the speaker makes use of a voicing strategy to animate Jesus himself to exhort the congregation to pay attention. When he says “li Jesús kixye estén despiertos chan” (“Jesus said be awake he said”), the speaker is animating Jesus’ voice in Spanish, but bracketing the quotation in Q’eqchi’, both by marking the purported speech as occurring long ago (ki- marks the verb tense as distant past) and also with the discourse marker “chan” (roughly “it/it is/he/she said”), which gives the phrase the status of being something that was actually spoken by someone else (although it isn’t necessarily clear who). In B Line 10, the speaker again uses the Q’eqchi’ evidential “chan” to mark an addendum to the pseudo quotation in Spanish (“*y firmes en la fe*”). I am not aware of any direct quotation in which Jesus calls on people to be “awake”, but this does not necessarily lessen then force of the preacher’s call. What is interesting, for our purpose here is that Jesus is voiced in Spanish. In part this is done because setting off the pseudo quotation in Spanish allows the speaker to distance himself from the words and thus imbue them with a bit of Jesus’s authority (Gumperz 1982: 75-6).

The two codes thus play several functions in this instance, but the main thing is that both codes are present and in a way this sort of opening interaction sets the tone for the rest of the ritual event to have the two codes present and playing a number of functions. Once it is established that both codes have a legitimate place at the ritual, code switching may serve a metaphorical function, but the very presence of code

switching in itself serves to contextualize the ritual event as a particular kind of interaction.

Mainstream Closing

As with openings, the way in which the ritual event is closed is important because it gives us a sense of how people exit the ritual interaction and close the ritual space. Catholic rituals have relatively simple formulas for marking the end of an event, and they are largely a denouement to the high point of the ritual that is communion.

The Concluding Rite, like the Introductory Rite, follows a fixed text from the missal and is comprised of two parts: a blessing and a dismissal. In all of my selected samples, the Concluding Rite is spoken exclusively in Q'eqchi' although there are some variations in exactly what is said. The only Spanish root loan words used is "Dios/Tiox", which as I have established above is completely conventionalized and lexicalized in Q'eqchi' speech, with no overt Spanish valence.

Concluding Rite Transcription from Mainstream 06/05/05 Tenamit Mass [01:33:11] – [1:33:30]	
<p>Father Augustine: 1) <u>Erik'inaq taxaq li Qaawa'</u></p> <p>Congregation: 2) <u>Jo'kanaq taxaq aawikin</u></p> <p>Augustine: 3) <u>Chexrosob'tesi taxaq li nimajwal Dios Yuwab'ej, Kajolb'ej, Santil Musiq'ej</u> 4) <u>jo'kan taxaq</u> 5) <u>Ut li nimajwal Dios li nimajwal taxaq chi b'eeresinq eere</u> 6) <u>ut chi osob'tesinq eere</u> 7) <u>ut tooxiq sa' tuqtuq'il uusilal.</u></p> <p>Congregation: 8) <u>B'anyoox re li Qawa Dios</u></p>	<p>Father Augustine: 1) <u>May the Lord be with you (pl.).</u></p> <p>Congregation: 2) <u>So may (he) be with you (sing.)</u></p> <p>Augustine: 3) <u>May you (pl.) be blessed (by) the almighty God Father, Son, Holy Spirit</u> 4) <u>So may it be (Amen).</u> 5) <u>And the almighty God the almighty may he guide you (pl.)</u> 6) <u>And may he bless you</u> 7) <u>And you will go in peace⁵²</u></p> <p>Congregation: 8) <u>Thanks to Lord God⁵³.</u></p>

⁵² Lit. “tranquil goodness”

⁵³ Buckley (94) gives the following formula as the sanctioned version in English:

P: The Lord be With you

C: And also with you

P: May almighty God bless you.

The Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit

C: Amen

P: Go in the Peace of Christ (alternately “The Mass is ended, go in peace.” Or “Go In peace to love and serve the Lord”)

C: Thanks be to God.

Concluding Rite Transcription from Mainstream 06/05/05 Hermandad Mass	
<p>Father Augustine: 1) <u>Eerik'inaq taxaq li Qaawa'</u></p> <p>Congregation: 2) <u>Jo'kanaq taxaq aawikin</u></p> <p>Augustine: 3) <u>Chexrosob'tesi taxaq li nimajwal Dios Yuwab'ej, Kajolb'ej, ut Santil Musiq'ej</u> 4) <u>jo'kan taxaq</u> 5) <u>Ut li Qaawa' Dios taxaq chi b'eeresinq eere</u> 6) <u>ut chi osob'tesinq eere.</u></p> <p>Congregation: 7) <u>B'anyoox re li Dios</u></p>	<p>Father Augustine: 1) <u>May the Lord be with you (pl.).</u></p> <p>Congregation: 2) <u>So may (he) be with you (sing.)</u></p> <p>Augustine: 3) <u>May you (pl.) be blessed (by) the almighty God Father, Son, and Holy Spirit</u> 4) <u>So may it be (Amen).</u> 5) <u>The Lord God may he guide you (pl.)</u> 6) <u>And bless you</u></p> <p>Congregation: 7) <u>Thanks to God⁵⁴.</u></p>

Again, there is little variation in the way that this part of the ritual is performed, although there is some rearranging of the words. What is going on here in terms of the larger framework of the ritual? The priest is the only one that has the authority to dismiss the congregation. It is dependent on him to formally announce that the congregants may leave the building, and though he doesn't explicitly say so, it is implicit that the must wait for him to exit first. The spoken part of the Concluding Rite is followed by the priest's formalized exit from the church. The congregation is asked to stand during his exit and, like he does during his entrance, the priest kisses the altar and

⁵⁴ Buckley (94) gives the following formula as the sanctioned version in English:

P: The Lord be With you

C: And also with you

P: May almighty God bless you.

The Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit

C: Amen

P: Go in the Peace of Christ (alternately "The Mass is ended, go in peace." Or "Go In peace to love and serve the Lord")

C: Thanks be to God.

bends down to one knee in front of the altar facing the cross. Once he performs the kneeling action, the choir begins to play a hymn to accompany his and the congregation's exit from the church.

The priest is followed by the ministers, if there are any present, and the sacristan, who carries the ritual accoutrements (holy water, oleo, the paten⁵⁵, and the chalice) A few lay members of the congregation, usually no more than a dozen or so middle aged and senior women, also follow him into the sacristy to receive a blessing in the form of a brief prayer and a sprinkling of holy water. Once the priest is in the sacristy, however, the ritual is for all intents and purposes over. Although there are several tasks that still have to be completed by the priest and sacristan (e.g. ritual objects have to be cleaned and stored, vestments must be hung, and the offerings counted) these are "off-stage" actions that do not impact the ritual itself. We can see that there are important parallels in how the mainstream mass is opened and closed, with a stable script that must be performed.

Charismatic Closing

Charismatic rituals end with a short individual prayer and the recitation of two fixed prayers (Hail Mary, and Doxology). One of the group members is charged to act as prayer leader for this, and as soon as he or she speaks the last words, congregants begin to head out the door. The band/choir and the group leaders also begin to put away the musical equipment, which they then have to carry a hundred meters down the road to

⁵⁵ The plate on which the communion wafer is placed.

store at Qawa Rigo's house. There are also a few congregants who are charged with cleaning up the chapel by giving it a quick sweeping and moving the benches out of their rows and stacking them next to the walls.

Charismatic closing 12/11/05 (Sunday) [2:38:56] – [2:39:24]	
Hermano Jonas:	Hermano Jonas:
1) <u>Sahaq aachool aat Maria</u>	1) <u>Greetings (hon.) to you Maria</u>
2) <u>wankat santil usilal</u>	2) <u>You are in a state of grace</u>
3) <u>Wan li Dios aawikin</u>	3) <u>God is with you</u>
4) <u>Usilatenabil laat lix b'een xteepal ixq</u>	4) <u>Blessed you are the first (among) all⁵⁶ women</u>
5) <u>usilatinanbil Jesukriisto laa walal</u>	5) <u>Blessed Jesus Christ your son</u>
6) Santa Maria <u>laa xna li Dios</u>	6) Saint Mary <u>you are mother of God</u>
7) <u>??? laa'o aj maak</u>	7) <u>???⁵⁷ we sinners</u>
8) <u>Li honal li jun kamik</u>	8) <u>the hour of death</u>
9) <u>jokan taxaq</u>	9) <u>Amen</u>
10) <u>terqusinbilalq li dios yuwabej. li dios kajolbej. li dios Santil musiqej</u>	10) <u>Elevated be God Father, God Son, God Holy Spirit</u>
11) <u>chanchan ru sa' xtiklajik anawan junelik junque junque kutan. Jokan taxaq</u>	11) <u>As it was in the beginning now always (and) every single day. Amen</u>
12) <u>sa' xkab'a li Dios Yuwabej kajolbej santil musiqej</u>	12) <u>In the name of God Father, Son, Holy Spirit</u>
13) <u>li Qawa Dios rikineb' a'an</u>	13) <u>Lord God is with this one</u>

In seven of the samples the closings are spoken in Q'eqchi' only. I do not have a recording, nor was I present for the end of the vigil held on 10.31.06, which lasted approximately ten hours. However, in one example, 12.31.06 (again a ten hour long vigil for which I was present until the end) Spanish was the code chosen. Additionally I have field notes indicating that this was the case in at least one other occasion not included in this sample as well. Thus, although there is an overwhelming preference for the use of Q'eqchi', there is no actual proscription against using Spanish to perform this

⁵⁶ Teepal is literally earth or kingdom, but can also be used to mean all or every.

⁵⁷ This phrase is indistinguishable in all of my samples, but it should read something roughly like "pray for us" or "intercede for us".

duty. Moreover, during the individual prayers that precede these closing some congregants opt to use Spanish. This suggest to me that one of the markers of the Charismatic ritual space is the presence of both Spanish and Q'eqchi'. While the two codes may play different functions and indeed be used unequally, the possibility is open for the two languages to be used throughout the ritual, whereas Mainstream Catholics work to maintain code consistency. Although I do not have systematic recorded data to back up this point, my observation is that people leaving rituals seemed to opt to switch to a greater use of Q'eqchi' after the event is closed.

PRAYERS

In the ritual practices of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics there are several kinds of prayers that we can generally divide into two categories: 1) prayers that exist as authorized texts or scripts whose wording is stable from performance to performance; and 2) those that have no authorized text and that are instead situational improvised by the speaker. Examples of the first category might include the Lord's Prayer (Patre Nostre), Credo, and Hail Mary. The text of these prayers is available to parishioners in the Q'eqchi' hymnal, the missal, and it is also orally transmitted as part of a parishioner's upbringing in the church. These prayers have a fixed text, and although there are some variations in the quality of their performance, the words spoken remain fairly constant. As a subset of these prayers I also want to briefly discuss hymns, because my informants categorized hymns as a kind of prayer, due to the fact that they are addressed to God and their purpose is to praise God. Prayers in the second category,

what I'm calling improvised prayers, have no fixed text (although there may be conventions about how one should form the prayer), and are instead composed by the speaker more or less on the spot. These prayers, though they are spoken by everyone at once, are understood as more personal addresses to God, though which one can individually express one's love for God and ask him for his blessing.

Because prayer (tijok) is its own genre of speech within Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholicism and its performance entails entering into a particular mode of speaking that is considered appropriate for addressing God, one could also consider the act of praying as constituting a code in and of itself. Since the act of praying requires that the speaker re-align her stance as she addresses God and takes up certain appropriate roles, one could argue that whenever prayer enters into these rituals the fundamental form of communication shifts from one where there is communication among humans to one where humans are communicating with God.

It is also worth noting that the relationship that each congregation has to scripted and improvised prayers is the inverse of the other. Mainstream Catholics rely much more heavily on scripted prayers than do Charismatics, and vice versa. Because of that it is a little difficult to make direct comparisons between the prayers that each congregation uses in their rituals. However, the relative weight placed on each of these is instructive in itself since it shows us what members of each group value when they address God directly.

Fixed-text prayers

Mainstream Example: The Lord's Prayer

The Lord's Prayer (At Qayuwa') is a regular part of every Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic ritual, including masses, Celebrations of the Word, and Rosary prayers. In a mass the prayer comes at the start of the Communion Rite. At this point the Eucharist has been presented and the ritual is building towards its climax. In Celebrations of the Word, the Lord's Prayer is also recited after the sermon just before closing. The prayer also has a role in the praying of the rosary and is widely used during other events as well. For example, when the parish development association holds a business meeting one of the group leaders will be charge with leading a short period of prayer starting with the Lord's Prayer before the meeting commences.

Mainstream Our Father prayer	
1) <u>At qayuwa' wankat sa' chooxa</u>	1) <u>Our Father in heaven,</u>
2) <u>Usil aatinab'il ta laa k'ab'a</u>	2) <u>Praised is your name,</u>
3) <u>Chi chalq ta laa nimajwal awabejihom</u>	3) <u>May your almighty kingdom come,</u>
4) <u>Chi uxq ta li nakawaj arin sa' ruuchich'och' jo' sa' chooxa</u>	4) <u>May what you want be done here on earth as well as in heaven.</u>
5) <u>Chak'e ta qe hoom li qawa chi rajlal kutan</u>	5) <u>May you give us now our food (tortilla) every day.</u>
6) <u>Chakuy chasach ta li qamaak</u>	6) <u>May you leave forgotten our sin</u>
7) <u>Jo' laa'o xqakuy xmaak li ani xmaako' chi qu</u>	7) <u>Just as we forgive the sins of those who sin against us.</u>
8) <u>Ut mohaakanab' ta chi t'ane'k sa' li aaleek</u>	8) <u>And may you not let us fall in temptation</u>
9) <u>Chohaakolaq b'an chi ru li maa'us</u>	9) <u>May you save us in front of the devil</u>
10) <u>Jo'kan taxak</u>	10) <u>Amen</u>

In a mass the text of this prayer (and others like it, such as the Credo) is always recited in full as written, but there may be some variation in the way that it is vocalized. In San Felipe the prayer may be spoken in two ways: either as a straight recitation; or, more commonly, as a song with the accompaniment of the marimba. Variation in the mode of performance for this prayer as far as I could tell can be because of one of two factors: 1) because of institutional constraints (e.g. during Easter there is no instrumental music allowed until after the resurrection); and 2) due to the idiosyncratic behavior of the choir (e.g. the marimba missing it's cue to play the introductory bars of the tune that accompanies the prayer). While the text of the prayer itself does not vary, each of the two ways of saying the prayer change its timing. When the prayer is just recited, the prayer leader tries to model the appropriate cadence for the prayer by emphasizing the first three syllables of each line. Usually, though, congregants end up reciting it at different paces so that one hears a staggered prayer. When the prayer is sung, the melody keeps the time for the congregation and there sound produced appears more like a single voice, which is the desired outcome. The attempt to achieve uniformity not just of the word spoken, but of the cadence and timing in which they are spoken suggests that this is another way in which Mainstream Catholics value consistency.

It is also important to note that a prayer such as this one, in as much as it can be understood as a profession of certain tenets of the religion, also serves a didactic purpose in that it makes congregants recall certain basic points of theology and, by speaking them, align themselves with them. The Credo also does this, albeit in a more

direct way by actually having the person praying say that she believes a set of propositions about the nature of the cosmos (i.e. “Nin ka’uxla li Dios Yuwab’ej...” etc.)

Charismatic Examples

We have already seen one example of a fixed text prayer in our discussion of Charismatic ritual closings (see above), and in practice that closing prayer is usually the only fixed text prayer that is compulsory in Charismatic rituals. The recitation of two prayers there— the Doxology and the Ave Maria are used as a way for to align the speech of all of the ritual participants in closing the event. By reciting these texts together, a sort of consensus is formed that the ritual is finished. Although these are the only two fixed text prayers that must be recited in Charismatic Celebrations, there is another way in which these prayers are used in these rituals. Charismatics sometimes incorporate the fixed text prayers to supplement their own improvised prayers. The example below illustrates this.

Charismatic fixed text prayer vigil 10.31.05 part 4 [1:50:51] - [01:51:31]	
<p>Hermano Rigo:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) [Li Jesús] <u>Wan chi aakat</u> 2) <u>wan chaawu wan chaawix</u> 3) <u>Wan sa' aabeen</u> 4) <u>awjí laa't aj wan ninnaw taaye re</u> <u>li k'aru naqataw ru li xkojwi</u> 5) <i>Gracias Señor</i> 6) <i>Y todos juntos decimos</i> 7) <i>Gloria al padre, Gloria al hijo</i> 8) <i>Y Gloria al espíritu santo</i> 9) <i>Como era en el principio</i> 10) <i>Ahora y siempre</i> 11) <i>Por los siglos de los siglos</i> <p>Congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12) <i>Amen</i> <p>Hermano Rigo:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13) <i>Amen</i> 	<p>Hermano Rigo:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) [Jesús] <u>is by your side</u> 2) <u>is in front of you is behind you</u> 3) <u>is above you</u> 4) <u>also you are I know you will say to him</u> <u>what you (pl.) like his valor</u> 5) <i>Thank you lord</i> 6) <i>And all together we say</i> 7) <i>Glory to the father, Glory to the son</i> 8) <i>And Glory to the holy spirit</i> 9) <i>As it was at the beginnings</i> 10) <i>Now and always</i> 11) <i>By the centuries of centuries</i> <p>Congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12) <i>Amen</i> <p>Hermano Rigo:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13) <i>Amen</i>

Qawa Rigo uses the doxology prayer to close his own individual prayer while acting as a prayer leader at the *vigilia*. He recites the prayer in Spanish, and in doing so effects a code switch from Q'eqchi'. Although the other congregants are not required to take up his use of that prayer some of them do and respond with an "Amen" as they would if this prayer were actually at the end of the ritual. This uptake is a bit surprising, but we may be able to make sense of it if we take the incorporation of this text to act as a conventional way of ending the period of prayer. That is to say, the fixed text works as a conventional conclusion to the improvised prayer.

Finally, it is worth noting that both the call and response formulas that I described above and hymns (which I describe below) share some features with fixed text prayers. Call and response segments are completely conventionalized and entextualized. Furthermore those formulas can serve to coordinate congregants' verbal

actions and produce moments of unitary action. Hymns share the feature of being a fixed text that is spoken wholly and in unison. Moreover, they can serve some of the same didactic features that something like the Lord's Prayer has by setting out certain key beliefs or pieces of theology.

Individually improvised prayers

Unlike the fixed text prayers above the individual prayers offered by parishioners as part of larger rituals do not follow a single formula, and are instead improvised on the spot. As we will see, there is more space and indeed more emphasis placed on the improvised prayer in Charismatic rituals than in Mainstream ones. Nonetheless, improvised prayers still play an important role in Mainstream rituals.

Mainstream Catholics: Tzaamank

There are two spots in Mainstream rituals for individual prayers. The first one of these is the tzaamank, which comes after the recitation of the Credo and before the collection of offerings. The second comes after the parishioner has received communion. This prayer after the communion is always said extremely quietly to oneself and some people do not actually vocalize it all. I do not have any recordings of that kind of prayer so we will concentrate on the tzaamank here.

The tzaamank (lit. "supplication") is a prayer in which parishioners address God directly to ask for his intercession for themselves, their families, and for the people who have been named in the mass as requiring the prayers of the faithful. This prayer is

unique in the context of Mainstream Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholicism because it is the moment in which every person speaks individually (albeit with collective goal) out loud. As with the fixed text prayers, a parishioner is tasked with leading this prayer and immediately after the homily he or she will approach the pulpit, briefly introduce the prayer and begin saying his or her individual prayer. As soon as the prayer leader begins to speak everyone else joins in, but unlike in the fixed text prayer where congregants are expected to follow along with what the prayer leader says, once the prayer begins everyone is on his or her own in speaking the prayer. The prayer leader begins speaking his or her prayer fairly loudly, but after a phrase or two will lower his or her voice and move back a bit from the microphone so that that voice becomes indistinct, too. Each person's prayer is unique both in its construction and delivery, and since everyone says this prayer out loud, the church becomes quite noisy. After about five minutes, the prayer finally begins to die down, and the PL formally closes the prayer period by ending his or her prayer with an audible "jok'an taxak" (Amen).

It is very difficult to make out what any one person says during this prayer since everyone speaks out loud at once, and this has the effect of drowning out even the amplified voice of the prayer leader. Usually one can only make out the first phrase (which tends to be some variation on Aat nimajwal Dios... ("You great father")) before the voices of congregants join into an indistinct wall of sound, and in any case, the communication is supposed to be between the parishioner and God only and not involve other congregants. I collected a few samples of these prayers by asking close trusted informants to wear a lavalier microphone during the mass. Because of the personal nature of this kind of prayer I am a bit ambivalent about reproducing much of a

transcriptions of these prayers, since unlike other parts of the ritual I discuss here, these can't be said to be public speech and since in a few of the instances the speaker addresses very personal problems having to do with family troubles and the confession of personal faults. I will thus restrict myself to saying something about the nature of these prayers based on my analysis of the samples and my conversations with parishioners about these prayers, and transcribe only the opening portion of one of the prayers.

Mainstream individualized prayer.	
1) <u>At qa nimajwal Dios b'antiox xaq aawe rikin li qa yaum</u>	1) <u>You our great God thanks be to you with/for our life</u>
2) <u>li qa kawilal li qa naleb'</u>	2) <u>our health our knowledge</u>
3) <u>aat Qa Yuwa</u>	3) <u>you Our Father</u>
4) <u>Bantiox aawe aat qa nimajwal Dios</u>	4) <u>Thank you, you our great God</u>
5) <u>naq junelike naaqake laa santil us [sa'] qa b'een at Qaawa</u>	5) <u>that everyday you give you saintly goodness over use you Lord</u>
6) <u>Waeeko chaq sa' laa muheb'al a'in</u>	6) <u>We are in this your house</u>
7) <u>Re xtab'inkil aawaatin</u>	7) <u>To hear your word</u>
8) <u>re xteerqunsinkil aawatin aat Qaawa b'antiox aawe</u>	8) <u>To praise your word you Lord thank you</u>
9) <u>Wa'eeko at Qaawa chi xpatz re xtenke laa walal aa kajol eb' a'in</u>	9) <u>We are here you Lord to ask for help for your children here</u>

As far as I could discern, everyone recites this prayer in Q'eqchi'. The structure of the prayer is usually as follows. The first thing to do is to address God and humble oneself before him. One may profess that one is a sinner or simply identify oneself as a poor servant of God. This may also include stating that one tries to live a good life or that one makes every effort to go to church as much as he can. This is followed by thanking God for what one has. The transcription above exemplifies this aspect of the prayer. These thanks may be as general as thanking God for life or the sun, or it may be

as specific as naming one's family or business as gifts from Gods. The next stage is to ask directly for God's help and intercession in one's life. Sometimes this is simply asking for a general blessing, but other times one can ask for specific help solving a problem for oneself or a family member. The final part of the prayer is a short profession of faith and usually the recital of "In the name of the father, son and holy spirit" to close.

While this prayer is important to Mainstream Catholics and hearing hundreds of people speaking at once can be a quite dramatic moments in a mass. Structurally this prayer is of minor importance in the overall ritual, and acts primarily as a preface to the communion which is the climax of the mass. Personally, parishioners seem to invest themselves to a high degree in these prayers. Parishioners also say similar prayers individually when they feel that they have pressing problems for which God must intercede. When a tzaamank is said individually it is often accompanied by lighting candles as well and can be considerably longer than the tzaamank spoken in the context of a mass or Celebration of the Word.

Charismatic Improvised Prayers

Charismatics place much more emphasis on the individually improvised prayers than do Mainstream Catholics. In a regular Celebration of the Word there are at least five places where individually improvised prayer occurs. Like the Mainstream tzamaank, each congregant speaks his or her prayer out loud in full, clear voices. The sound of Charismatics offering individually improvised prayers can be somewhat overwhelming. There is also a Prayer Leader who recites his prayer into a microphone,

and unlike the one in the Mainstream ritual, he does not back off once starting and instead continues to speak loudly into the microphone. On top of this, a choir member often plays some chords on the keyboard over the prayers. The effect is a wall of sound that is likely exactly what Mainstream Catholics have in mind when they complain about the ruckus that Charismatics make. Moreover, since each of these prayers normally lasts anywhere between five and fifteen minutes, and sometimes they go on longer (usually at vigils), a significant amount of time is spent praying out loud. Individual prayers are thus much more important than fixed text prayers for Charismatics. I have included two examples below of the speech delivered by prayer leaders over an amplification system to illustrate the way that improvised prayers may be part of rituals in which the co-presence of multiple codes is most important for Charismatics.

Charismatic Prayer Before a Sermon

As I described in the previous chapter, sermons are always preceded by a moment of prayer over the preacher in which the congregation addresses the God, generally in the aspect of the Holy Spirit, to ask for guidance and inspiration for the preacher. As with all improvised prayers, there is a congregant who is charged with leading the prayer, but everyone present is expected to perform the prayer for the benefit of the preacher.

Charismatic 10.26.05 prayer before a sermon.	
1) <u>Junelik chi xyaal sa komonil xeeek'aakilal xwankilal li santil musiqe.</u>	1) <u>(It is) Always true among us is felt the power of the Holy Spirit.</u>
2) <u>entonces taakanab' li qu sa' xb'een li hermano como apoyo ut nakaye chi re li Dios chi jokain</u>	2) <u>Then let us place our hands over the brother as support and say to God like this</u>
3) <i>Padre bendito</i>	3) <i>Blessed father</i>
4) <i>En esta noche señor</i>	4) <i>In this night Lord</i>
5) <i>Nos encontramos</i>	5) <i>We find ourselves</i>
6) <i>De Nuevo padre en este lugar (pause)</i>	6) <i>Once again father in this place (pause)</i>
7) <i>Una vez mas señor Jesús (pause)</i>	7) <i>Once again Lord Jesus (pause)</i>
8) <i>Este varón se inclina:: delante de ti (pause)</i>	8) <i>This man kneels himself in front of you (pause)</i>
9) <i>Porque es un:: un hijo tuyo</i>	9) <i>Because he is a (pause) a son of yours</i>
10) <i>Que los has escogido señor (pause)</i>	10) <i>That you have chose Lord (pause)</i>
11) <i>Y lo has elegido para predicar tu palabra</i>	11) <i>And you have chosen him to peach your Word</i>
12) <i>Pon lo señor tu palabra:: en la boca de este hombre</i>	12) <i>Put it Lord your Word in the mouth of this man</i>
13) <i>Como le hiciste a Elías señor (pause)</i>	13) <i>Like you did to Elijah lord (pause)</i>
14) <i>Como le hiciste a [unintelligible] padre</i>	14) <i>Like you did to [unintelligible] father</i>
15) <i>Pon tu mano divina sobre este hombre señor Jesús</i>	15) <i>Put your divine hand over this man lord Jesus</i>
16) <i>Dale? Palabras para predicar señor</i>	16) <i>Give him words to preach lord</i>
17) <i>A este hombre señor ábralo la boca y a cada uno de nosotros señor abra nuestros corazón y nuestra mente</i>	17) <i>To this man lord open his mouth and to every one of us lord open our heart and our mind</i>
18) <i>Para escuchar y para guardar tu palabra señor</i>	18) <i>To listen and to keep you word lord</i>
19) <i>Porque nosotros tenemos hambre y tenemos sed de ti señor</i>	19) <i>Because we have hunger and we have thirst for you lord</i>
20) <i>Señor acompáñanos</i>	20) <i>Lord accompany us</i>
21) <i>Queremos escuchar tu palabra</i>	21) <i>We want to hear your word</i>
22) <i>Queremos escuchar tu voz señor</i>	22) <i>We want to hear your voice lord</i>
23) <i>Porque tu estás presente en esta noche padre</i>	23) <i>Because you are present this night father</i>
24) <i>Hermanos y hermanas</i>	24) <i>Brothers and sisters</i>
25) <i>Brindemos un aplauso al rey de reyes</i>	25) <i>Let give a applause to the king of kings</i>
26) <i>Gloria al señor que esta con nosotros esta noche</i>	26) <i>Glory to the lord that is with us this night</i>
27) <i>Y el tiempo para usted hermano</i>	27) <i>And the time is for you brother</i>

This example of the prayer before the sermon is interesting as it demonstrates a full switch to Spanish once the prayer begins. I have included a few lines of the PL's speech addressing the congregation and introducing the prayer to show how the two

languages articulate. In the first two lines, which are addressed to the congregation (and not God), the prayer leader introduces the idea of the coming prayer, asks the other congregants to join him in praying, and finally marks the start of the prayer. He does this primarily in Q'eqchi', but switches to Spanish to: a) mark a transition between a more general statement about the power of God to an action to be taken by the congregants (laying hands → prayer); and b) to classify the preacher as a brother who must be supported. His switch back to Q'eqchi' to mark the start of the prayer helps to then contextualize the prayer itself as a distinct part of speech from the build up to it. Code switching here serves as a way of setting off different modes of addressing present others (including God) and can be understood as a discourse marker. The final switch to Spanish also marks the boundary between introducing the prayer and the prayer itself.

Once the prayer proper begins, the PL speaks consistently in Spanish. His speech also takes on a slightly plaintive tone and the structure is such that there is a direct supplication to God in every line of the prayer. The repeated uses of “*Señor*”, “*Padre*” and “*tú*” make the addressee clear. Taken together I think that these features suggest that what is happening at the moment of code switch is that the prayer leader marks the speech as distinct from his previous address to the congregation. He does so by adopting a speaking register that allows him to more readily affect a stance of subordination to God and to take on the role of a supplicant.

Although this prayer leader fully switches to Spanish in order to address God, this is not the case in all of my examples. Of the eight examples I reviewed, two are in Spanish only, three are in Q'eqchi' only, and three have switches between the two codes. This suggests that it is not precisely the linguistic code used that matters, but

rather the kind of register used that allows the speaker to direct his prayer in the right manner to the divine addressee. However, a shift in linguistic code may facilitate this by the sheer fact of marking a change in the quality of speech. It is telling that in all but one of these examples (1.04.06) the preface to the prayer has some element of code switching to it, either in that both codes are present in that introduction or that the prayer is introduced in one code but then is said in the other (e.g. Spanish introduction with a Q'eqchi' prayer.) This suggests that the co-presence of codes is one of the elements that marks and efficacious Charismatic ritual.

Charismatic Healing Prayer: Tongues

This second example of Charismatic improvised prayer comes from a prayer for healing performed as part of a *vigilia*.

Charismatic 10/31/05 [00:23:15] - [0:23:58], healing prayer w/ glossolalia	
Hermanita Felicia:	Hermanita Felicia:
1) <i>Que tu mano de poder padre santo lo levante y</i>	1) <i>May your hand of power holy father lift him and</i>
2) <i>que traigan almas que están perdidas mi Dios</i>	2) <i>Let them bring souls that are lost my God</i>
3) <i>No queremos almas que ya conozcan el Evangelio si no que queremos almas que están perdidas padre</i>	3) <i>We don't want souls that already know the Gospel but rather we want souls that are lost father</i>
4) <i>Fortalezanos a nosotros mi Dios</i>	4) <i>Strengthen us mi God</i>
5) [glossolalia] SOMAMAMAMA BARRABA	5) [glossolalia]SOMAMAMAMA BARRABA
6) PORRRIBIBI SHAMAMAMAMAMA	6) PORRRIBIBI SHAMAMAMAMAMA
7) <i>Gracias espíritu santo</i>	7) <i>Thank you Holy spirit</i>
8) <i>Gracias espíritu de poder espíritu de sanidad y espíritu de sabiduría</i>	8) <i>Thank you spirit of power spirit of health and spirit of wisdom</i>
9) <i>Gracia gracias espíritu santo de Dios</i>	9) <i>Thank thank you Holy spirit of God</i>
10) <i>Bendice señor a cada joven [0:23:58]</i>	10) <i>Bless Lord every youth</i>

In this prayer the young woman is praying a fairly standard prayer asking God to help her bring converts to the church. I've included the excerpt because in lines 5-6 she breaks off from Spanish into glossolalia. Although glossolalia was relatively rare in this group, it was a valued state for people to enter into and most certainly understood as a sign of God's blessing upon the person. As a third code, one that is thought to be of supernatural origin, the presence glossolalia further exemplifies the importance of a multiplicity of codes for Charismatic Catholics. The occurrence of glossolalia, I think clearly evidences the difference between prayer in Mainstream rituals and prayer in Charismatic rituals. The loss of personal agency that comes with glossolalia would be completely antithetical to Mainstream Catholic ritual, where control is a primary value. If Mainstream Catholic speech is predicated on consistency and control, Charismatic speech seems to instead favor spontaneity and effusiveness, and glossolalia is an example of this. For Charismatics the presence of glossolalia signals the direct presence of the Holy Spirit, and its performance cannot be planned. Instead it is seen as a propitious intervention of the divine in the event which is outside of the control of congregants.

HYMNS

Hymns play an important part in both Mainstream and Charismatic rituals. Both Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics hold hymns to be a particularly important part of their rituals. Qana Esperanza, who was a key consultant in my fieldwork, once told me that she thought that hymns are especially important because they are doubly pleasing

to God. God, she said, likes them because the words are like a prayer⁵⁸, and on top of that the music helps people to really express their love for God⁵⁹. Hymns, then, would seem to heighten the affective quality of language, and thus the efficacy of ritual language as well. Qana Esperanza's statement expresses the idea that there is a close relationship between the aesthetics of language use and their ritual importance. The music is performed, like other prayers, in order to praise God, and it is God who they imagine they are addressing through hymns. While the performance of music is pleasurable to parishioners, they relate this pleasure to the act of speaking to God.

As with other aspects of their religious life, there are important formal differences in the two groups' practices, but we also find an interesting convergence. Namely, that both Mainstream Catholics and Charismatics use a single linguistic code in their ritual music. Mainstream Catholics sing hymns exclusively in Q'eqchi'. In every one of my samples, as at every ritual I attended with Mainstream Catholics, every hymn was sung in Q'eqchi'. This is perhaps not surprising given the general pattern of code consistency we see emerging, but it is further reinforced by the fact that the primary source for Mainstream Catholics' hymns is a small paperback hymnal in Q'eqchi'. The hymnal is widely available in the parish and was originally written by a

⁵⁸ Note that as I discussed above in the example of the Lord's Prayer, sometimes music is added to prayer blurring the lines between prayers proper and hymns.

⁵⁹ Besides this explicit statement about the importance of music, if we take into consideration the significant investment that parishioners make to put together and maintain choirs for their CEBs. They purchase instruments (the *marimbas* that Mainstream Catholics use cost several thousand dollars), recruit and train musicians (usually young men), send representatives to conferences to learn new hymns, and otherwise work to ensure that there can always be music at their gatherings, we can see that hymns hold a special place in this religious context.

Belgian Priest— Father Esteban Haeserijn⁶⁰—in the 1960s (Wilson 1995: 171; Stewart 1980: xxi). The hymnal is produced as a small, bound paperback with a glossy cover and sold relatively cheaply (about GTQ 15). It is also expanded on a regular basis, both through the issue of new editions every other year, and through supplemental pamphlets that appear semi-annually. It includes both original compositions and translations or reinterpretations of foreign tunes⁶¹. The hymnal also includes an abridged catechism that sets out the congregant's role in the mass, as well as the text for the Our Father, Ave Maria, the Rosary and other important prayers. Most parishioners with some basic literacy skills own a copy of the hymnal and sometimes this is the only text written in Q'eqchi' that they have access to.

Although the lyrics of hymns can be transmitted via written text, the musical aspects of hymns are transmitted “by ear.” Once a year San Felipe hosts a two-day conference for choir leaders. Each community sends a few representatives to the parish center to learn the new hymns. Led by employees of the Salesian Center in neighboring San Pedro Carchá, the attendees spend all day listening to and then singing along with the melodies of new hymns. The idea is that having learned the new hymns at the conference, the choir leaders will go back to their CEB's choir to teach them the melody. The marimba then works out how to play the tune to accompany the sung

⁶⁰ A CICM missionary like those in charge of San Felipe, Esteban Haeserijn, worked in San Juan Chamelco from the 1960s to the 1980s, and was one of the people most involved in the creation of a Q'eqchi'-Maya Catechist training program. He intended it as a way to increase spirituality through music, but it also came to serve as a didactic tool and is said to have been important in spreading literacy among Q'eqchi'-Maya (Stewart 1980).

⁶¹ I recognized the melodies of “Michael Row Your Boat Ashore”, “When the Saints Go Marching In”, and “Jingle Bells” attached to Q'eqchi' hymns.

melody. The rest of the group comes to learn the hymn when the choir performs it at a Celebration (usually before the formal start of the meeting.)

The hymns are performed at several moments in the mass. Hymns accompany the procession of the priest at the start of a mass, the collection of offerings, communion, and finally the procession of the congregation out of the church. It is left to the choir to select an appropriate hymn or hymns for each of those moments. There are additionally several places where the choir plays to accompany other fixed parts of the ritual (e.g. Alleluia, Kyrie, before the readings of the Gospel, etc.). The preferred instrumentation for Mainstream Catholic hymns is a marimba⁶², and if a CEB can afford it they usually add a drum kit and a bass. Each choir has a degree of flexibility when playing the hymns, so that if a CEB happens to have a particularly talented *marimba* band, they may seek to make the performance of the hymn “their own” by adding flourishes to the melody or altering the tempo and feel of the music.

Charismatics also consistently use a single code in hymns — Spanish. Although Mainstream Catholics often complain about Charismatics’ over-use of Spanish, in fact the only part of their rituals that is consistently in Spanish are the hymns. All other ritual genres (sermons, other kinds of prayers, welcomes, etc.) may be spoken in either Spanish, Q’eqchi’, or a mixture of the two (although, as we’ve seen there are also certain lexical items like “*Amén*” and “*Hermano, hermana*” that are consistently in Spanish, too.) So when Mainstream Catholics accuse Charismatics of “shouting in

⁶² However, in rural communities where there is not enough money to afford a marimba (these cost upwards of 10,000 GTQ depending on size and quality), they may make due with an acoustic guitar.

Spanish”, often what they have in mind are the *cumbia*-style songs that they sing⁶³. For Mainstream Catholics, Charismatics’ Spanish language hymns sung at loud volumes are the iconic instance of latter’s bad behavior.

There is no fixed hymnal for Charismatics, though there are ad hoc collections of songs that circulate as simple photocopied and stapled booklets⁶⁴. Charismatics don’t usually rely on written hymnals for their ritual music, and instead they learn the songs as oral texts and rely on memory to sing along with the music. This is not difficult since the repertoire that the band performed was limited to a little over a dozen hymns (whereas the Mainstream hymnal is nearly two hundred pages long). Furthermore, congregants are expected to be able to sing along with the chorus of a song and not necessarily the verses, which the band often sings by itself. There is also a practice designed for on-the-spot teaching of the lyrics of a hymn. When the band wishes to introduce a new hymn they will teach the chorus to the congregation a few lines at a time. They do this by singing the chorus one line at a time and repeating the melody enough so that it will “stick” with the congregants.

⁶³ The musical genre in which ritual music is performed seems to generally go a long way in shaping congregants’ understandings of who they are as religious subjects. As de Theije and Mariz have argued, in Brazil the use of similar genres of “modern” music helps Charismatics shape their identities as cosmopolitan Christian subjects in contradistinction to others who perform hymns with “folkloric” music (de Theije and Mariz 2008; see also Lange 2003; Rommen 2007)

⁶⁴ I purchased a copy of one of these at a regional charismatic event. Unlike the Haeserijn hymnal, this one is not bound, but is rather a simple set of 8.5” x 11” photocopies stapled at the center. It appears to have been set on a computer word processor perhaps at different moments since several different fonts are used. This hymnal is such that rather than being produced by a single authoritative source, it appears to be purposely designed for easy expansion, copying and wide distribution. It does not include the text of any prayers or any description what a congregant might expect to hear or say at a ritual event.

Charismatic hymns tend to be up-tempo songs with simple melodies that are meant to elicit movement from the congregation. The Charismatic choir band in Tenamit is made up of a keyboard, electric bass, drums and hand-percussion. In addition to this, congregants clap along with the music as a default accompaniment, which further adds to the percussive element of the music. The way that hymns sound in a Charismatic ritual are thus quite different from how they do in a Mainstream one.

As with the improvised prayers, there is also measurably more singing in Charismatic rituals. In an average Celebration of the Word eight hymns are played, and vigils, which last ten hours, are approximately 30% hymn singing. The choir's instruments, as I described above, are also used to accompany some of the prayers. Thus, whereas in Mainstream rituals songs are compartmentalized, in Charismatic rituals music suffuses the entire event, occurring not just during the set hymn singing period near the beginning of the ritual, but through out it. Sometimes hymns are even introduced in the middle of a sermon or at the end of a prayer period to "lift up" the congregation. This gives the impression of an event that is free-form and dynamic and reinforces the idea that effusive and spontaneous action are not just desirable, but normative.

The code choices made in hymn singing to a great extent shape the "feel" of each congregation's ritual and seem to be iconic of what those rituals are like for members of the other group. It is in large part the singing in Spanish that provides the evidence for Mainstream Catholics' criticism of Charismatics. It is also the case that the latter view the former's sacramental music as a similarly condensed representation of why there is little joy in Mainstream practices.

BIBLE READINGS

Bible readings play an important role in both Mainstream and Charismatic rituals by laying the foundation for sermons. In this section I briefly contrast the ways in which each of these religious communities mobilizes the linguistic codes at its disposal in presenting Bible verses to its congregation.

Mainstream Bible reading

Bible readings in Mainstream masses are the first part of what is called the Liturgy of the Word. The Liturgy of the Word is the second part of the mass, which consists of the Bible readings, the sermon or homily, and the profession of faith. In Mainstream masses Bible readings follow the following sequence: the Old Testament is read; a Psalm; an Epistle; and finally, following a song of Hallelujah, a verse from one of the Gospels. That sequence holds for regular Sunday masses and for important feasts (solemnities e.g. Christmas, Easter), but for extraordinary (i.e. those not held on Sunday or a feast day) masses the Psalm readings are omitted. The corresponding verses for each mass are laid out in a monthly magazine-style missal that the parish receives from the Diocesan offices and in the small agenda that is produced for catechists and owned by a significant minority of the parishioners⁶⁵.

⁶⁵ The agenda is produced yearly under the auspices of the Diocese by the Salesian center that also produces the hymnal. The agenda is relatively inexpensive (GTQ 4 at the printer's and usually resold for 5-6 to generate a small profit for the CEB, parish, or

In Mainstream masses it is often young men and women from the CEB in charge of the mass who are designated as lectors for the Old Testament, Psalm and Epistles readings. Performing this service is often a first step towards moving up in the religious hierarchy of the CEB, and good lectors often find themselves recruited to be catechists. The reading of the Gospels is reserved for the priest, except in Celebrations of the Word where the catechist, as the presiding ritual specialist, takes on the duty.

As with other parts of Mainstream rituals, Bible readings are in Q'eqchi'. There is one interesting aspect about this that is worth noting though, and that is that at the time of my fieldwork the only complete translation of the Bible that was available was the one that had been produced by the Wycliffe Bible Translators (WBT), and was thus a Protestant version of the Bible. Besides being a Protestant translation, it also followed outdated orthographic conventions for Q'eqchi' (which itself is spelled K'ekchi'), and was thus a less than ideal text. However, it is what people had to work with and, though the Diocese was in the process of producing a full translation that was both catholic and followed the current orthography, as of 2005 all that was available were Genesis and Exodus, Psalms, and The New Testament⁶⁶. Of these the only one that was regularly used was Psalms, which has been printed as a stand-alone volume that also lays out the formula for determining the correct Psalm for each Sunday's mass.

enterprising individual) and popular among parishioners who use it for both its religious purpose and as a regular date book and calendar. Besides tracking the liturgical cycle of the Catholic Church, it also tracks secular holidays and the phases of the moon, which one informant suggested helped him in determining when to plant his crops.

⁶⁶ Since then a complete Catholic version of the Bible has been produced, but I don't know how widely it has been adopted yet.

Although catechists are required to own a copy and many lectors are encouraged to have one as well⁶⁷, the parish keeps a copy of the Bible specifically for use by lectors during a mass. Before the mass the relevant passages are marked and the sacristan places the Bible in the cubbyhole of the pulpit. When the Liturgy of the Word begins, the lector approaches the pulpit, crosses herself as she steps up to the altar, takes out the Bible and begins the reading. Each lector will follow a similar procedure, until it is time for the Gospel to be read. At this point the priest takes over to present the gospel. Before reading the priest reads the Gospel the congregation sings an Alleluia. The priest then names the gospel, crosses himself and passes the censer above the book. He reads the verse and at the end holds up the book saying of singing “A’an a’in raatin li Qawa.” There is no specification about whether that phrase should be spoken or sung, but it always determines the way in which the congregation offers its response (“Nimla loq’la qawa Jesus.”) Thus the way in which the priest performs his part sets the parameters for the congregants’ response within the context of the mass.

Because the readings are done directly from the text and there is a single set of physical books (the SIL Bible and the Psalms) that is used at masses, the readings are invariant with regards to the codes used. It should suffice to say then, that at masses readings from the Bible are always and only ever in Q’eqchi’. Likewise, at CEBs’ Celebrations of the Word, readings are exclusively in Q’eqchi’.

⁶⁷ A Bible is a popular gift for First Communion and Confirmations.

Mainstream 01.16.05 Bible reading. Mass ending Esquipulas feast [00:20:17] – [00:21:15]	
<p>Lector:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>Xkab' raqal raatin li Qaawa Dios</u> 2) <u>Li tzibul li xKorinto</u> 3) <u>Raatin li Qaawa Dios naxye chi jokain</u> [line 4-15 reads I Corinthians 1:1-2] 4) <u>“Laj in laj Pablo⁶⁸ b'oqb'ilin chi k'anjelak</u> 5) <u>Choq' x'apostol li Jesukristo</u> 6) <u>Jo x'ala sa' sch'ool li Dios</u> 7) <u>Wochb'een li wiitz'in las Sostenes</u> 8) <u>Nintz'iiba'ak rik'in li iglesia li Dios wan Korinto</u> 9) <u>Erik'in laa'ex li santob'resinb'ilex</u> 10) <u>sa' xk'ab'a li Jesukristo li Jesus</u> 11) <u>Erik'in laa'ex li b'oqb'ilex chi wank</u> 12) <u>sa santilal</u> 13) <u>eerochb'eeneb' chixjunil li nek'exyaab'a xka'b'a li Jesukristo</u> 14) <u>yalak b'ar li Qaawa' xQaawa'eb' ajwi</u> 15) <u>a'an:: xQaawa laa'o”</u> 16) <u>Xkab' raqal raatin li Qaawa Dios</u> <p>Congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 17) <u>B'antiox re li Dios.</u> <p>[00:21:15]</p>	<p>Lector:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>Second part of the Word of God</u> 2) <u>The letter of the Corinthian</u> 3) <u>The word of God says like this</u> [line 4-15 reads I Corinthians 1:1-2] 4) <u>“I, Paul called to work</u> 5) <u>as an apostle by Jesus Christ</u> 6) <u>by the will of God</u> 7) <u>accompanied by my younger brother Sostenes</u> 8) <u>I write with/to the church of God in Corinth</u> 9) <u>Together in with you (pl.) (who) praise</u> 10) <u>in the name of Jesus Christ, Jesus</u> 11) <u>Together with you (pl.) who are called to be</u> 12) <u>in holiness</u> 13) <u>you are accompanied by all who sound the name of Jesus Christ</u> 14) <u>[he is] truly the Lord, their Lord also,</u> 15) <u>he is:: ourLord”</u> 16) <u>The second part of the Word of God</u> <p>Congregation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 17) <u>Thanks to God.</u> <p>[00:21:15]</p>

The example above is typical of Bible readings in Mainstream rituals. The short introduction describes the type of reading (line 1 “Second part of the word of God”, i.e. from the Epistles⁶⁹), names the book from which the reading comes (line 2 “the letter to Corinthians”, though he does not make it clear that this is I Corinthians 1:1-2), and then uses a discourse marker to signal the start of the quotation (line 3 “the word of God says

⁶⁸ The word “laj” is a preposition used to denote a young (unmarried) male. The female equivalent is “lix”.

⁶⁹ X'b'een raqal li raatin li Dios would refer to the Old Testament. The loan words *Evangelio* and *Salmo* are used for the Gospels and Psalms.

like this”). Lines 4 through 15 are quoted almost verbatim from the source text (although he stumbles and repeats Jesus in line 10). At the end of the quotation he restates the type of reading (line 16 “Second part of the word of God) to mark the end of his turn and elicit a response from the congregation to formally close the reading (line 17 “Thanks be to God”). Proper names retain their Hispanicized form both in the text and in their pronunciation. Again, I don’t interpret this as a codeswitch because the names in this form have been adopted as a part of the Q’eqchi’ rite.

What is important in this part of the ritual is the way in which the Bible reading fits in to the broader ethos of consistency of code as well of, in as much as it is possible, performance.

Charismatics Bible reading

In Charismatic celebrations readings of the Bible are often incorporated into the larger performance of the sermon. Usually the preacher will give some sort of a topical introduction to the subject of the sermon, eventually coming to a place where he feels he must use the Bible as a grounding point for the sermon. He will then read a few verses before proceeding with his sermon. On most occasions a single passage from the Gospels is used as the lynchpin of the sermon. The preacher asks the congregation to stand for the reading and performs an introduction of the sacred text similar to that of Mainstream Catholics. Occasionally the preacher may come back to the Bible for additional evidence either from the same passage or from a related one, but the reading of the verses is only minimally marked off from the sermon, unlike in the Mainstream

Mass where it the reading of the bible is marked off from the sermon by changes in speakers and the performance of some physical movements (e.g. raising the Bible).

One interesting feature about the way that Charismatics incorporate Bible verses into their sermons is that on some occasions they will read the same verse in both Spanish and Q'eqchi'⁷⁰. This example illustrates one such case and the Charismatic preacher's justification of the use of both Bibles. This example is somewhat idiosyncratic in that it is one of a few cases I witnessed where another person besides the preacher performs the reading, but it nonetheless exemplifies the relatively common occurrence of parallel readings in Spanish and Q'eqchi', and suggests something about how the codes function within Charismatic rituals.

Tenamit Charismatics 11.06.05 [1:04:33] – [1:05:04]	
Hermano Guillermo:	Hermano Guillermo:
1) <i>Entonces <u>naqaye chi jokain</u></i>	1) <i>Then we say like this</i>
2) <i><u>naru... noqoxaklik</u></i>	2) <i>one can... let us stand</i>
3) <i>entonces <u>hermanos qaye [?] tzakal</u></i> <i><u>tinsiiq juanj li hermano sa' li</u></i> <i><u>kaxlan aatin</u></i>	3) <i>Then <u>brothers let us say [?]</u></i> <i><u>exactly I will search for some</u></i> <i><u>brother in the foreign language</u></i> ⁷¹
4) <i><u>sa... li castilla</u></i>	4) <i><u>in... Castillian [Spanish]</u></i>
5) <i><u>re naq naqaye naq reetal chan ru</u></i> <i><u>naxye aran ut chan ru naxye arin</u></i> <i><u>porque <u>mare taaru naxye</u></u></i>	5) <i><u>so that he can say to us what its</u></i> <i><u>message how it says there and</u></i> <i><u>how it says here <u>because maybe it</u></u></i> <i><u>will be possible to say</u></i>
6) <i><u>'es que <u>mare mala</u> [Guillermo]</u></i>	6) <i><u>'its just that <u>maybe bad</u>(ly)</u></i>

⁷⁰ Father Augustine adopted this tactic in his biweekly masses in Tenamit, but for other reasons.

⁷¹ The term kaxlan aatin literally translates as “foreign word”, but in general usage it means “Spanish”. The adjective kaxlan is used to designate all things which are thought to not properly be of Q'eqchi' origin. For example, kaxlan xam (lit. foreign fire) is used to refer to electric light, and kaxlan wa (lit. foreign tortilla) is used to refer to bread. Interestingly, when kaxlan is used as a noun it means “chicken.” This may evidencing a form of covert resistance to foreign intrusions by equating the Spanish conquistadors with their most valuable contribution to Q'eqchi' livelihood—the chicken. (Wilson 1995: p. 23)

<p>nekerok[ksi’ 7) <u>inka hermano</u> 8) <u>entonces</u> taaqaye chi jokain 9) <u>sa xkab’a li Dios yuwabej</u> <u>kajolb’el ut li Dios santil musiqej</u></p> <p>[Hermano Guillermo reads San Mateo 25:1-13 in Q’eqchi’, then Hermano U. reads the same in Spanish]</p>	<p>[Guillermo] says it to us 7) <u>no brother</u> 8) <u>then you will say like this</u> 9) <u>In the name of God the father son</u> <u>and God the Holy Spirit</u></p> <p>[Hermano Guillermo reads San Mateo 25:1-13 in Q’eqchi’, then Hermano U. reads the same in Spanish]</p>
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In this instance, the preacher (Hermano Guillermo) says that he will have another member of the congregation read from the Spanish version of the Bible. Hermano Guillermo’s request to have someone else read the Spanish translation was likely due to two things. In the first place, Hermano Guillermo, despite his status as one of the three group leaders, was not very comfortable speaking in Spanish and I suspect he had trouble reading Spanish. His deferment of the task to another person who would be more comfortable reading in Spanish might have been Hermano Guillermo’s strategy for maintaining his own authority as a master speaker by hiding his less than perfect Spanish.

Why though does he introduce the Spanish version of the Bible to the service in the first place? Hermano Guillermo’s stated purpose in doing this is so that the congregation can hear and compare the two versions. He claims that the goal of this is so that they can see that what he is saying about the verse is true, that it’s message is the same whether spoken in Q’eqchi’ or in “*Castilla*.” This points to the idea that there is some underlying core of truth to the texts, which the congregation will be able to discern if they hear both versions. In this sense the juxtaposition of the two versions of the Bible is meant to cement the idea that the message of the text remains stable across translations and that in fact it is just as good to hear it in Spanish as in Q’eqchi’. Just as

importantly, though, making this claim allows Hermano Guillermo to ensure that both languages are used, thus marks the ritual as a distinctively Charismatic event.

The dual reading has another consequence as well, in that it is presented as a move that opens up the structure of the ritual, since presumably the other reader was not expecting to be called upon to perform this task. Unlike in the Mainstream case where there is a single Bible present for ritual use, Charismatic leaders encourage congregants to bring their own Bibles with them to Celebrations. It is thus possible for Hermano Guillermo to say that he will search for an *hermano* to do the reading in Spanish since there is likely to be someone there that has a Bible in Spanish. As it turns out, the person who is called upon to read the text in Spanish is one of the core members of the choir, and someone that Hermano Guillermo knows is likely to have a Spanish Bible with him. Nonetheless, the framing of the speech event is such that it is presented as an opening up of the role of the lector. This opening up of the structure of the readings to incorporate multiple animators (Goffman 1984) of the “Word of God”, I think, points to the value placed by Charismatics on the idea that they are relatively flexible in their ritual practices, because after all, from their own perspective, what they are doing is responding directly to the divine, rather than following a dogmatic set of actions like the Mainstream Catholics might be.

The use of Spanish, then, is important as a counter-point to the use of Q’eqchi’. What I mean to say is that, given this example, we can see that part of the function that Spanish plays is to strip away the value placed on the form of the speech (i.e. the code that is used) and, instead there is an elevation of the underlying message. This echoes what Charismatic informants would say when asked directly about their choice to

incorporate Spanish into their practices—that they did it because there are some things that they can more easily express in Spanish than they can in Q’eqchi’. Taken together with Charismatics’ privileging of an immediate experience of the divine, this strategy of reading the text twice makes sense as an attempt to break through what is available through a single linguistic code to access the underlying “Truth” of the message.

OTHER BUSINESS: THE COLLECTION

In addition to the more formally religious aspects of the rituals I have been describing, there are other key speech events that must be performed as part of the ritual event. These serve often serve to prepare participants for some future action in the ritual. In this section I briefly describe one such moment in the ritual— short speeches that are given as a preface to the collection of offerings.

My focus here is not on the actual ritual act of the collection, but rather on the way that that ritual moment is introduced, however it is worth pausing to describe the features of the collection generally first. Both types of congregation depend on the collection of money from congregants to continue functioning. The “gifts” pay for utilities, the materials needed for the performance of rituals such as incense and candles, and occasionally the transportation costs of group leaders when attending workshops or conferences. The offerings may also go towards paying a priest to perform special masses for the group or for purchasing new musical or sound amplification equipment. Besides their practical significance, as I’ll explain below, offerings also have ritual meaning.

The ways that the collection happens in the two congregations are much more similar than some of the other parts of the rituals I have described thus far. In both cases the collection occurs after the sermon and before the communion (Eucharist in Mainstream Catholicism, and prayer to the Holy Spirit in Charismatic Catholicism). In both congregations, lower ranked members of the group are asked to perform the duty of passing around the basket in which congregants deposit their money. A hymn is always played during the collection, too.

Mainstream Catholic collection

Despite their importance, it is also true that the collection of alms is not always an easy thing. During the “low season” between Pentecost and All Souls Day, the amount of money received during a mass at San Felipe is very low, and the church depends on the increased collection between Christmas and Easter to sustain itself through the year. There are, of course, important reasons why parishioners’ offerings are not always forthcoming. In the first place, most parishioners live in conditions of poverty and so they do not always have cash available to give to the church (this is especially true for those who live in truly rural villages and whose only source of cash comes from the sale of surplus crops.) This means that often what they can give is a very small contribution of a few *centavos*. While this makes sense on a purely economic level, there are also cultural reasons why a small coin is seen as an appropriate offering.

In the context of the mass, the offering (mayej) is understood as much as a token of devotion as it is an actual contribution to the maintenance of the church. The

prevailing logic here is one of sacrifice, in which the monetary offering is understood as a token given by the believer as a sign of faith in God and the church, and not as a direct contribution to the workings of the institution. That is to say, the money is seen as being dedicated to God, not to the support of his church. This is not the case in all types of Q'eqchi'-Maya ritual. For example, at *cofradia* events the mayej is explicitly figured as a contribution to the host to help him recuperate part of the cost of the event. When the chinameb' (*cofrades*) come together at the main table to eat, money is collected with the express purpose of defraying the expenses needed to hold the event. At these events cash is solicited, collected and counted at the table before anyone is served his ritual meal. The total is announced publicly and the mertoomb (head *cofrade*, or *mayordomo*) thanks those present for their contribution. The logic here is not that the money given is dedicated to God, but rather that it is intended for the very real material cost of maintaining the *cofradia* running and holding the necessary feast for the saint. At mass, on the other hand, the intention is to show faith in God through one's sacrifice. Thus the actual amount of money give is beside the point, what counts is the act. This is all compounded by a widespread belief among parishioners (and really Cobáneros in general) that there is money at San Felipe, and that thus giving more money to the parish would be like taking sand to the beach. This is actually far from the truth. The parish is in debt most of the year and depends on external funds from the Diocese and the priests' missionary order to stay afloat.

CEBs, on the other hand, seem to be able to maintain their incomes through offerings a bit more effectively than the main church. I believe that this is in part because membership in the CEB in a sense invests the person in the community and

because the immediate effects of the collections are visible at the CEB level. If, for example, a CEB wishes to undertake a special project (e.g. to upgrade its musical equipment), special collections might be taken up, which are then immediately ratified by the fact that a new marimba eventually shows up at Celebrations. Or, in a less extreme example, since the responsibility for the provision of flowers, incense and candles, rotates among families in a CEB, they are likely to get to know exactly what the financial state of the group is and recognize their role in it. On the other hand, few parishioners see San Felipe's telephone bill and are unlikely to think of things like that as having a bearing on their religious community. It is also the case, of course, that a CEB requires much less cash to operate than the parish itself.

In any case, what this means practically is that the parish is often running on fumes, and there is an economic pressure to try to increase the alms that come in. To this end, the collection is often prefaced with a short speech meant to remind congregants of their duty to give to the church, even though this is not a required part of the mass. The following example is a fragment of this kind of speech and illustrates the way in which group leaders broach the subject during mass.

This example of a Catechist introducing the collection is fairly straightforward. The catechist, Qana Maria, states out the idea that one can see God's work in the world and then exhorts people to "share" that money with the Church. Because everyone is in God's heart, they should be willing to share their own money with others and especially with their "friend" the church. Qana Maria delivers her speech from the pulpit that is also used for Bible readings and for the sermon, thus linking this bit of improvised speech to the more formal readings and sermon. Although there is no fixed text for her

to follow in making this plea to the congregation, the way in which Qana Maria voices it makes it sound authoritative. She consistently speaks in Q'eqchi' and uses a measured cadence to project her authority within the church. The hope is that congregants will acknowledge her authority and do what she proposes is the right thing to do— namely “share” (wotzok) with the church.

Mainstream mass at San Felipe 12.31.05 (55:03 — 55:54) collection of offerings	
<p>Qana Maria:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>Naril ru li kaj kamonkil li xkanjel</u> 2) <u>jokan naq</u> 3) <u>ink'a naaxkanab' sa' li xbookx</u> 4) <u>ink'a naaxkanab' sa' li xmuheb'al ka ajwi choq re</u> 5) <u>laa walab' a'an sa' li xch'ool</u> 6) <u>xwotzb'al rikin li xkomonil</u> 7) <u>rikin li xjunkab'al</u> 8) <u>naxwotz ajwi rikin li xkomonil iklesia.</u> 9) <u>Jokan anawan chi sa sa' xqachool [unintelligible]</u> 10) <u>xqeb'al li qa loqbal mayej re li komon li yoo chi xnume.</u> 11) <u>Bantiox</u> 	<p>Qana Maria:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>One can see the ends of his work.</u> 2) <u>so then</u> 3) <u>don't leave it in your pocket</u> 4) <u>don't leave it in your house also for that</u> 5) <u>your child is in his heart</u> 6) <u>share with your friends/companions</u> 7) <u>with your family</u> 8) <u>share also with your friend church.</u> 9) <u>So now if it is in our heart [unintelligible]</u> 10) <u>We will give our valuable offering to the companions who are passing by.</u> 11) <u>Thank you.</u>

In several interviews with Father Augustine and with some of the Catechists (Qana Esperanza and Qawa Luis) the concept of wotzok came up as an important cultural value. The idea behind sharing (although perhaps “reciprocal exchange” is a more accurate description) in this context is that it is through the movement of material goods that respect is evidenced and perhaps even formed among members of a community. As Kahn characterizes it, it is a form of “morality as action” (2006: 2) that is at the heart of showing respect. In this model, one’s moral standing is reaffirmed through the “sharing” of goods and money. Qana Maria, thus is not just asking people

to give to the church, but in fact calling upon them to model themselves as respectful people who can enter into this sort of relationship with the church. Her demeanor as she speaks, I believe, reinforces my claim that at the heart of the way that Mainstream Catholics use language in religious settings is an ethic of “respect.”

Charismatic Catholic collection

In the following example Hermano Ernesto introduces the collection of alms at a vigil held by the Charismatic group in Tenamit (see next chapter for a fuller ethnographic description of the event.) In this case, Hermano Ernesto gives a much more pragmatic explanation of the reason for the collection than Qana Maria and uses both Q’eqchi’ and Spanish to make his statement.

Charismatics Tenamit 12.31.05 Collection of offerings	
<p>Hermano Ernesto:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>A’an ok re chi x::kamb’al jun li ch’ina najej b’e yaal re li ofrenda</u> 2) <u>naqoyb’eni toolaatenq’a b’e yaal porque</u> 3) <u>taa’q’e reetal</u> 4) <i>para estas actividades se necesitan</i> 5) <i>ehhh gastos hermanos</i> 6) <i>por eso <u>naqaye eere</u></i> 7) <i><u>naqainvitar jun li hermanito</u></i> 8) <i><u>ajwi texkam li oración sobre la ofrenda</u></i> 9) <u>ut nanume chaq sa’ li hoonal anaqwan</u> 	<p>Hermano Ernesto:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>This enters here to leave a small space, right, for the offering</u> 2) <u>you accompany us you we will give you right because</u> 3) <u>the message is given</u> 4) <i>for these activities are needed</i> 5) <i>umm expenses brothers</i> 6) <i>because of that <u>we tell you</u></i> 7) <i><u>we will invite a little brother</u></i> 8) <i><u>also they will give the prayer over the offering</u></i> 9) <i><u>and it will pass [distance] in this hour now</u></i>

The bulk of Hermano Ernesto’s utterance is in Q’eqchi’, but he uses Spanish for several purposes. First, the phrase “*para estas actividades se necesitan gastos*

hermanos” (line. 4-5) works as a sort of quotation for the speaker. The phrase is meant as a piece of given knowledge that justifies the reason that the group leadership is asking for monetary help. By placing the phrase in Spanish, the speaker is able to distance himself from asking for the money directly. The phrase becomes a pseudo-quotation for which he is the animator, but not the author or principal. Unlike Qana Maria’s call for wotzok as a moral position, Hermano Ernesto brings out the issue of costs directly. If there is an ethical or moral dimension to his request it is left implicit in the contrast between the pseudo quotation and introduction of the collection as a moment in the larger ritual.

The other uses of Spanish in the speech are more of the technical uses of tokens that help Charismatics signal their religious identity in contradistinction to Mainstream Catholics. The use of “*hermano*” and “*ofrenda*” are less full-blown switches into Spanish than the correct nomenclature for things within Charismatic practice. As I suggest above, the various parts of the Charismatic ritual are commonly known by their Spanish names as a way to distinguish them from their “frozen” analogues in Mainstream practice. Likewise the term “*hermano*” is often used as a generic for person, or in some instances almost like a pronoun.

Besides accomplishing that congregational differentiation, or perhaps as part of accomplishing it, the effect of using Q’eqchi’ and Spanish here in juxtaposition is to give an impression of spontaneity and individual autonomy. The flexibility in code use here, as in the other parts of the ritual creates a context in which it appears as though individual congregants are using all the resources available to them linguistically to accomplish their religious goals.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter has been to determine some of the ways in which code switching and code restriction work in the ritual practices of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics. As we have seen, Charismatics make use of the two available codes in most aspects of their ritual lives. In some cases it is the limited inclusion of formulaic phrases and tokens, which nonetheless signal the ability and desire to move across codes, and in others it is the full adoption of the two codes for ritual speech. The inclusion of glossolalia further evidences the idea that Charismatic rituals are open to a number of communicative possibilities, even ones that are radically alter. Mainstream Catholics, on the other hand, work to remain consistent in their use of Q'eqchi' and find other ways of restricting the ways in which language is use during rituals. Taken with the idea that respect is the primary cultural value that must be displayed in church, Mainstream Catholics' basic language ideological position can be characterized as one of "control, constraint and respect." Charismatics on the other hand might be described as being guided by an ideology that privileges "spontaneity and effusiveness" which in turn are read as evidence for an engaged, joyous believer. However, although I believe these characterizations to be accurate and supported by the evidence I have examined above, it is also the case that the relationship that these groups have to the two linguistic codes can be quite complex. To problematize this, I want to describe an extraordinary event that I witnessed during my fieldwork.

The first time I had contact with the Charismatic Catholic group in Tenamit was on New Years Day, 2005. The Charismatic group had asked for a mass to celebrate the start of a new year, which was a rare occurrence, since as I explained above normally Charismatics don't attend masses. I rode out with Father Augustine that afternoon, and as he pulled his little red Suzuki Samurai up to the chapel, I could hear the band playing upbeat *merengue*-style music on electric instruments (bass and keyboards) and the congregation singing in Spanish and clapping along to the music. I noted that it sounded a lot like one of the Pentecostal Protestant churches that I often passed around Cobán, and I immediately understood why my Mainstream informants often said that the Charismatics were just like *Evangélicos*. As we were getting out of the car, I heard the bandleader inside the chapel saying something to the effect of “*Amen hermanos. Están listos para cantar en Q'eqchi'?*” Ma nekeeraj xniqehinkil sa' Q'eqchi'?” (“*Amen brothers. Are you ready to sing and celebrate in Q'eqchi'?*” Do you want to celebrate in Q'eqchi'?”) The congregation responded with an “*Amén*”, that signaled their readiness to switch languages, and that they would pray, sing and otherwise worship in Q'eqchi' for the rest of the mass.

I assume that Father Augustine heard the same bit of metalinguistic talk that I had, but it seemed that he didn't quite believe them, because as he was putting on his cassock and laying out his ritual implements, he asked one of the group leaders what language they wanted to hear the mass in. He was told that they wanted Q'eqchi'. He then asked the congregation again to double-check that they really did want to hear it in Q'eqchi'. They answered that they wanted Q'eqchi'. He didn't ask a third time and with a shrug he put away the Spanish missal he always took with him to Mainstream masses

in that village precisely in order to attract Charismatics and proceeded to give the mass in Q'eqchi',⁷².

The reason that Augustine had been prepared, and indeed expected to give the mass in Spanish, was because, like the Mainstream Catholic leaders in Tenamit and elsewhere, he had the idea that the Charismatic group celebrated all of its rituals in Spanish. This time, though, it seemed that the Charismatics wanted to hear a Q'eqchi' mass, which was somewhat confusing. Still, all the Charismatics were actually at a mass, which is what Augustine was most interested in, so he decided to be flexible and accommodate what initially seemed like an odd request by performing the mass mostly in Q'eqchi'. I say mostly, because when he delivered the homily, Augustine pointedly used some Spanish to emphasize certain points he felt were important about the need for unity and peace between the two Catholic groups.

On the way back to San Felipe after the mass, feeling rather confused and excited about the large scale situational linguistic code switch (Gumperz 1982), we had just witnessed, I asked Augustine what he thought was going on there. He said that it was strange that they had wanted to hear Q'eqchi', because they always wanted to hear Spanish, but he offered no insight as to why that might have been. I tried to press him on it, but Augustine wasn't interested in trying to figure out what, if any, had been the Charismatics' intention in choosing to have the mass celebrated in Q'eqchi'. He was a little annoyed that they had contravened his expectations, but otherwise he was willing to chalk it up as yet another instance of what he felt was a series of irrational choices

⁷² Augustine, who at the time had been working in the parish for about six years, is a native speaker of Lingala and French, and is also fluent in Q'eqchi', Spanish and English.

that Q'eqchi'-Maya sometimes made in their religious lives. We rode back to San Felipe saying little and listening to a bootleg Bee Gees' Greatest Hits CD that was always on heavy rotation in the car.

I never witnessed another event quite like this one again, since the following year the Charismatic group decided to forgo the mass in favor of a *vigilia*. When we visited Charismatic communities in more remote villages for similar celebrations, Augustine went with the expectation that he'd use Q'eqchi' since it was the more "natural" language to use in the *aldeas* (rural villages), and this was always the language they preferred. This was never an issue among Mainstream Catholics either, who expected Q'eqchi' to be used, but who were also prepared to listen to Spanish if need be (such as when a substitute priest had to be called in from another parish to cover a Sunday mass or while Father Manuel was gaining confidence in his Q'eqchi'-speaking ability). Though I never heard any congregation explicitly call for a single language to be used again, this example helps us to see some of the contours of the conflict over language use in San Felipe, and it is worth unpacking it a bit in light of the preceding discussion of the normative ritual speaking practices.

Going into that mass with the Charismatics in Tenamit, like Augustine, I had expected it to be fully performed in Spanish because my Mainstream Catholic informants had been telling me for several months that Charismatics only ever spoke Spanish in their celebrations. Because I had that expectation built up, the code switch had thrown me that first day I witnessed a Charismatic ritual. Of course, as we have seen it is the case that Charismatics do use Q'eqchi' quite a lot in their rituals, and the stereotype of the Spanish only speaking Charismatic is a categorical perception (Labov

1969). But this begs the question, why were the Charismatics in Tenamit adamant about using just Q'eqchi' for this one particular mass? Why the need to confirm that everyone would celebrate the mass in Q'eqchi' before the event started? These aren't easy questions to answer, but they point us back to the overarching issue about the role of language in religious practice among Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics.

Although most parishioners in San Felipe can and do speak both Q'eqchi' and Spanish in a variety of contexts (at the market, work, government offices, etc.), the two codes have special valences for their constructions of religious identity. The situational code switch on New Years Day seemed like an unusual occurrence at the time, but the social process behind it was perhaps in line with what I witnessed at other ritual events. The bit of talk confirming the use of Q'eqchi' I heard as we pulled up to the chapel was a practical matter of co-participants aligning their speaking practices to meet their expectations of how the event should unfold. What was unusual was that the group subverted our expectations of the way in which its members aligned their practices. Normally Charismatics use the presence of both Spanish and Q'eqchi' as a way of marking the spontaneity that they hold to be important as a sign of a joyous personal relationship with God. In contrast, Mainstream Catholics strive for Q'eqchi' consistency to signal their respect for the God and the institution of the church. On that New Year's Day Charismatics adopted the practices of Mainstream Catholics to signal that they wanted to participate in a different kind of event than they usually did. That shift required some effort on their part including an explicit statement about the course of action they would take, as well as some negotiation with Augustine about how the event would play out. Why do this in the first place, though?

I think that they were trying to accomplish two things. First, they wanted to signal their alignment with the Catholic Church and with the parish in particular. This mass was an opportunity to show Augustine that they were willing to play by his rules and attend a mass at least sometimes. Moreover, they would do so in the manner that Mainstream Catholics did, which, I would later find out, they believed Augustine strongly preferred. Of course, the problem was that Augustine didn't necessarily have an emotional investment in performing masses in Q'eqchi'. To him the code choice didn't matter much, and he, perhaps taking on a more cosmopolitan vision of Catholicism, had prepared himself to deliver the mass in the language that he assumed was the normative one for the Charismatics. The unexpected change in plans did irk him, however, which the Charismatics had not anticipated.

The second message that the congregation's switch signaled, and which is closely related to the first, was that they recognized the "formality" of the event. This mass was clearly a special event, and called for a different orientation than the regular Celebrations of the Word or even the *vigilias*. As Irvine has noted, ideas about what constitutes formality and how one goes about meetings and its social requirements vary (Irvine 1979), but in this case I think we can propose that this was a more "formal" event than most for Charismatics. It is important to remember that despite Charismatics' current preference for the co-presence of both codes in rituals, all of them are recent converts from Mainstream Catholicism. As such, their previous religious experiences were regimented by the same ideological principles that are used to attack them now. The relationship between Q'eqchi' code consistency and respect is a strong one and in trying to figure out how to act at a "formal" event they defaulted back to the behaviors

they knew to be normative previous to their conversion to the CCR. I noted above that as we pulled up, I could hear the group leader using both codes to prepare the group to switch into the restricted use of Q'eqchi'. Likewise, as we were leaving, I heard the group switched back to a mixed use of the two codes. The event itself was marked as special by the very fact that it was a mass and the presence of the priest, and part of the way that the congregants signaled that they recognized the importance was by restricting their code use to Q'eqchi'. Charismatics were thus reconfiguring their normative ritual practices to mark this event as a special one with heightened stakes for them, since keeping Augustine happy ensured their continued access to the chapel. They were in a sense pulling off not just a linguistic code switch, but actually something like a religious code switch (McAlister), that is a change in the form of their ritual practices in the face of an unusual social context, in order to meet a particular set of social and religious goals. The goals of the mass were much more like those of a Mainstream event than what was normally expected at Charismatic events, but that was precisely the point of bringing in Augustine to deliver a mass in the first place.

This should point us to the idea that in analyzing the debate between Charismatic and Mainstream Catholics in San Felipe, we need to attend not just to the ways that the two groups diverge in their practices and beliefs, but also to the points at which they converge.

CHAPTER 4:

EMBODYING DIFFERENCE: GESTURE, BODY HEXIS AND CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

In the previous chapter we saw that code choice plays an important role in creating difference between the two kinds of congregations. The patterns of choice between Spanish and Q'eqchi', though not necessarily dramatic, are locally important because of the values attached to each of these codes. In this chapter I examine another difference in ritual communicative practice— gesture. My agenda here is two-fold. First, to argue that gesture and visible embodied communicative practices more generally are, like code choice, locally salient markers of difference for Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics. Second, to advance the idea that we may analyze the social significance of gesture, like spoken language, by examining the ideologies that condition its practice and inform its interpretation. Thus, I propose that, like language ideologies, gesture ideologies can be productively invoked in examining the role of visible communicative action in shaping parishioners' social worlds.

In my introduction I proposed that, following an interactionist approach, language has to be understood as embedded within and constitutive of the context of social interaction (Clark 1996; Kendon 1990; Norris 2004). I argued that in order to understand the split between Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics we need to examine how their practices evinced two incommensurable views of what ritual practice is meant to accomplish and how it is meant to accomplish it, and that this can be seen in

the ways they order their interactions during ritual. The goals that each group sets itself for ritual action depend on its theological outlook, and I suggested that we could learn about these by uncovering the language ideologies that underlie their members' practices. I suggested that we can see Mainstream Catholic's language ideology as being based around values of "control, constraint and respect"; and that Charismatics' language ideology could be likewise characterized as emphasizing "(rehearsed) spontaneity, effusiveness, and joy". In preceding chapters, I argued that we could see these basic positions systematically enacted in the way that ritual specialists are authorized and in the code choices that they make when enacting those roles. I now want to turn to consider the role that embodied "visible action" (Kendon 2004) plays in shaping the context for interaction and specifically suggest that gesture and bodily posture, like language, also display Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics' language ideologies.

BODILY COMPORTMENT AS A POINT OF CONTENTION

Fairly early on in my fieldwork I noticed that along with comments on code choice (See Chapter 3) and the purported level of noise coming from Charismatic Catholic rituals, many of the complaints that Mainstream Catholics made about Charismatics were about the kind and quality of people's bodily movements. For example, they would imitate Charismatics' characteristic prayer posture of holding both arms out and above their heads with palms flat facing outward (henceforth, the "hands up, palms out" posture) while repeating phrases like, "*Amen hermanos*," as proof that Charismatics were "*escandalosos*" (boisterous) or out of control in their meetings.

Thus, though the putative use of Spanish might have been seen as the main difference between the two religious communities, bodily posture and gesture were also salient differences for them, and in mimicking that one characteristic posture they could index a whole range of behaviors that they took to be improper.

My Mainstream Catholic informants' criticisms of Charismatics' behavior come down to the idea that the latter's bodily practices are signs that they don't know how to show respect in Church, and thus that they are not being properly pious. To Mainstream Catholics, Charismatics' entire set of bodily practices seem to violate the most basic common sense assumptions about the way that people ought to carry themselves in a religious setting. For Mainstream Catholics, unless one is properly authorized to speak by carrying out a certain ritual function, the proper behavior during religious rituals is that one should sit or stand quietly in order to listen and reflect on what is being said. Even when the general audience is authorized to participate in the ritual, such as during the singing of hymns or the recital of the Lord's Prayer, one should do so somewhat quietly, almost to oneself, and try not to stray from the pace that the group leaders set. Mainstream Catholics hold that one shouldn't yell, or dance around, or clap during the mass. Rather, an adult person must have a respectful demeanor, which is evidence by controlling and minimizing his or her bodily actions. Bodily stillness is supposed to allow the person to reflect on the message and meaning of the ritual. These common sense assumptions about proper behavior in church are justified by the idea that one must show the proper respect for God, the church, and ritual co-participants. Respect (*respeto*, loq'al) is a primary value for Mainstream Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics (cf. Kahn 2006, who describes it as a central value for Q'eqchi'-Maya culture generally) and the

way that one shows respect is by showing that one is in control of oneself and minimizing one's physical presence before people of higher rank according to the hierarchies of the political community, the institutional Church structure and, ultimately, the cosmos.

The general principle of respect through self-control is supposed to extend into other areas of one's life as well. While there is some leeway for children, adolescents and other low status individuals, adults and especially people with leadership roles, such as catechists and ministers, are held to a very high standard in this regard. A lack of outward physical control is thought to index a lack of moral and spiritual control, which would make someone unsuitable for holding religious office, and it has been the case that communities have asked that a catechist be replaced if they feel that he has acted in an uncontrolled, and thus immoral, way. Drunkenness is perhaps the most commonly cited kind of uncontrolled behavior, and is seen as especially egregious for catechists. The case of the San Eduardo CEB, which I described briefly in Chapter 1 attests to this, as it was the catechist's dancing and drinking which was the catalyst for members seceding from the group. The argument was that his drunkenness at the party was evidence of his unfitness to lead them in worshipping God. Those who took offense claimed that this man (and others who had similarly drunk and danced) had sinned by not properly respecting the occasion as a religious celebration. While the same behavior might have been slightly more tolerable from non-catechists, the man's status as a religious leader made his actions egregious. Although there is, as a matter of fact, some variation of opinions as to how much drinking should be acceptable for parishioners at large, and a range of actual practices regarding the consumption of alcohol, most

catechists hold that someone in a leadership position should be sober, especially in any context where they might be taken to be exercising their authority as ritual specialists⁷³. The issue at heart is one about self-control as it relates to moral authority and piety. The central contention is that a lack of outward physical control is understood to index a lack of moral and spiritual control, which in turn evidences a lack of respect for God, and would thus make someone unsuitable for holding religious office.

Mainstream Catholics base much of their criticism of Charismatics on this basic understanding of the moral person's relation to her body, and tend to view the latter as out of control in the ritual practices. Mainstream Catholics point to Charismatics' loud music and effusive bodily actions as signs of that lack of control. When somebody from their community converts to Charismatic Catholicism what Mainstream Catholics see is someone who has lost his or her sense of respect and religious commitment, and has entered into a religious community that encourages uncontrolled behavior.

Of course, what is a lack of respect to one person might well be the proper way of engaging a joyous celebration to another. Charismatic Catholics, for their part, consider Mainstream Catholics to be somewhat shallow in their faith because they don't know how to adequately express the joy that they should be feeling as Christians. Charismatics value not control and constraint, but rather achieving a joyous emotional state during religious celebrations, which is displayed through effusive action.

⁷³ This is a bit of a slippery proposition, however, for catechists who still participate in *cofradía* celebrations, in which *b'oj* (a local alcoholic beverage made from cane juice) and less frequently rum are ritually consumed. *Costumbre* calls for alcohol to be consumed, but one of the major social reforms that programs like Catholic Action sought to introduce in the 1950s and '60s was an end to the ritual use of alcohol, which it saw as contributing to alcoholism and material poverty. I discuss Catholic Action in more detail in Chapter 5.

Charismatics engage in a set of ritual practices that are meant to demonstrate this emotional state, as well as, I shall argue, help them achieve it. Singing hymns loudly, clapping, dancing, and shouting are understood as techniques for entering into an unmediated relationship with the Holy Spirit, and uncontrolled shaking and speaking in tongues are seen as “gifts” that confirm one’s piety and closeness to God.

Charismatic Catholics see Mainstream Catholics’ relative reserve as a lack of joy in being Christian. Since Charismatics figure themselves as participating in a “renewal” of the true spirit of Christianity and understand their actions as being more closely in line with the spirit of early Christianity, they are apt to criticize Mainstream Catholics for not properly understanding what it is to be a good Christian and for adhering to practices that aren’t really Christian. From this perspective, Mainstream Catholics’ practices look like a lack of interest in Christianity, and thus a lack of sincerity in their participation in religious ritual. If one isn’t happy about being in church and celebrating God, then one isn’t really engaging in real religious worship. To remain quiet or still as Mainstream Catholics do suggests that one is not happy to have God in one’s life.

The difference between these two positions on how to behave in church is quite important for Q’eqchi’-Maya Catholics, and is subject to widespread commentary and discussion. Both sides believe that how one carries oneself in church is a reliable index of one’s internal emotional and moral state, and thus affects one’s commitment to effectively participate in the ritual. However, the form that that behavior is supposed to take is radically different.

In order to better understand why these behavioral norms are subject to cross-congregational monitoring and why they become important in the debate in San Felipe, we need to consider the role that visible embodied communicative practices play in creating the ritual context. In this particular case I think that we see quite clearly the fact that conventions of bodily behavior are meaningful in as much as they help to order the types of ritual practices that Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics engage in, or put another way, they help to condition the interactional order of their rituals. Understanding how habitual and unreflexive actions, such as the way that one stands or walks, may be deeply entwined with cultural values and be subject to tacit ideologies of what constitutes a culturally competent human being, is thus a necessary step to our understanding of the debate in San Felipe.

THEORIES OF EMBODIED ACTION

The development of a social theory of the body and embodiment has been an important focus of study in a number of strands of social science and critical theory writing in the last few decades. Nick Crossley has suggested that there have generally been two approaches to theorizing the relationship between the body and culture within these fields. The first proposes that the body is more or less a passive vessel or surface upon which meaning is “inscribed” by social-historical forces. The second instead figures the body as the active and “lived” grounds for human subjective experience of the world (Crossley 1996).

Michel Foucault's analysis of the historical development of modern forms of disciplining the body is an example of the "inscribed" body approach. Foucault's argument in Discipline and Punish is that the rationalization and industrialization of Western European states in the 18th and 19th centuries led to the invention of technologies that called for a series of micro-adjustments to the way that people could move, and that this conditioned their experience of the world (Foucault 1995). These technologies subtly shifted people's sense of being in the world and ultimately led to a new understanding of the human subject. The regimentation of bodily movements in total institutions, such as armies and prisons, for the sake of efficiency and order, shaped the ways in which people in those institutions came to experience the brute fact of corporeality. For Foucault, the human body is acted upon by the social system and molded by the vicissitudes of power exercised within this system. Bodily behaviors thus become an expression of power relations.

The second view, one that derives from phenomenology and particularly the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, in contrast to the Foucaultian version, places its emphasis on the role that the body plays as the primary site of human experience. Merleau-Ponty's philosophy rejects the idea that reason inheres in human consciousness, and instead proposes that human knowledge begins with sensual experience, which is only later assimilated in higher cognition (Merleau-Ponty 2002). It is through the body's sensory organs that people have knowledge of the world, and it is through the habituation of repeated sensory experience that the basis of human subjectivity is formed. What this means is that rather than social systems conditioning human bodies, the experiences of those bodies' collective regularities and the

habituation of certain ways of experiencing the world offer the basis for the development of the cultural subject. Human physiology determines the possibilities of human sensory experience, but it is through the habituation of certain regular kinds of relations between subject and object (i.e. perceptions of objects in the world), that we come to order experience into cultural forms (Csordas 1990). In this view, the sensory engagement of human bodies becomes the building block for the cultural.

As Nick Crossley (1996) has pointed out, these two general theories of embodiment need not be mutually exclusive, and indeed there are ways in which they can be seen as mutually constitutive in creating the human subject. Foucault's model of inscription requires bodies that exist and act in the world, and which are understood to be conditionable through the varying techniques he describes. Likewise, the habituated ordering experience that forms that basis of Merleau-Ponty's approach would seem to imply that there are forces outside of the subject, beyond the brute sensory encounter with the world, that help to regularize its experiences and develop them into systems of meaning that can then form the basis of culture. These two perspectives (and their synthesis) alert us to the fact that the human experience is an embodied one. The body is the primary ground for experience, but it is also true that social and historical forces shape that grounding. In order to develop a model for embodied interaction that would explain the conflict between Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics, however, we must be able to account for how embodied practice comes to act as a vehicle for ideology.

Bourdieu's ideas about the embodiment of *habitus* and his discussion of the cultural basis for "body hexis" (Bourdieu 1977a) give us a useful entry into a discussion of the ideological dimensions of embodied practice. However, as some of his critics

have pointed out, Bourdieu's formulation of body hexis may need revising in order to account for the change and internal variation present in certain ethnographic cases, such as this one. I draw on models of multimodal communication, especially from Adam Kendon's work on gesture, following my discussion of Bourdieu to propose that close analysis of visible bodily actions (i.e. gestures) can give us some insight into how these are informed by culture. By framing the issue of body hexis in terms of human communicative interaction, we may be able to better understand why Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics find embodied communicative practices and bodily dispositions to be significant markers of difference between the two kinds of congregations.

HABITUS AND BODY HEXIS

“Body hexis is political mythology realized, *em-bodied*, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable manner of standing, speaking, and thereby of *feeling* and *thinking*.” (Bourdieu 1977: 93-4, emphases in original.)

Bourdieu has two concerns when he talks about body hexis⁷⁴ and habitus. First, he wants to show that culture is not just a mental construct, but rather something that is deeply embedded, indeed, embodied in the social actor. Secondly, his theory of the cultural specificity of body hexis allows him to claim that everything about human experience, down to the most basic and unreflective activities (such as standing,

⁷⁴ Marcel Mauss developed an earlier formulation of hexis and it is unclear to me exactly to what extent Bourdieu borrowed from it, since Bourdieu does not actually cite Mauss. Mauss starts from the observation that certain techniques of the body (techniques du corps) seem to be historically situated, and thus he might be arguing that the ways in which we inhabit our bodies can be said to be socially conditioned (1979).

walking, etc.), is in fact culturally mediated and motivated. The experience of having a body is always already a social phenomenon because how one inhabits one's body is always contingent on one's social and cultural position.

For example, Bourdieu argues that Kabyle body hexes are intimately related to gender hierarchization, so that men's and women's body hexes are fundamentally different, subject to local understandings of what is properly male and female (1977: 93-94). The former is straight, upright, and bold; and the latter is bent, horizontal, and constrained. Kabyle understandings of gender differences are thus always manifest in people's body posture, ways of walking, working, etc. (*ibid.* 94.) This has the effect of ordering all social relations in what feels like a perfectly natural and perhaps inescapable way, even though this differentiation and the form that it takes is quite clearly socially constructed. Ethnographically, the fact that this basic opposition is recursively manifests in myriad domains of human action argues for the centrality of that distinction in that cultural context. Theoretically, it implies that habitus has the ability to reproduce itself through people's most basic daily practices. Motor functions can thus be the unconscious and unreflective vehicles for those "structuring structures" that order our lives.

How do people come to inhabit their bodies in these culturally specific ways? Bourdieu argues that a person becomes culturally competent through practical mimesis that she engages in from infancy. Mastery of the cultural forms is thus achieved in large part through observation, imitation, and trial and error as she goes about daily routines. As the social actor grows up, she learns to imitate the correct actions that pertain to her social position, without these needing to be consciously adopted or discursively

assimilated (Bourdieu 1977a).

Bourdieu claims that,

The principles embodied in this way [through the teaching of manners, dress, bearing, etc.] are placed beyond the grasp of consciousness, and hence cannot be touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit; nothing seems more ineffable, more incommunicable, more inimitable, and, therefore, more precious, than the values given body, made body by the transubstantiation achieved by the hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy, capable of instilling a whole cosmology, an ethic, a metaphysics, a political philosophy, through injunctions as insignificant as ‘stand up straight’ or ‘don’t hold your knife in your left hand. (Bourdieu 1977a: 94)

However, in a case like my informants’, where it appears that behavioral norms are changing among a segment of the population and where that change is becoming the central point in a debate about who *really* counts as a pious Catholic, we might want to reconsider Bourdieu’s claim that bodily hexis is entirely “beyond the grasp of consciousness” or “incommunicable.” How could we account for changes in these “unconscious” and “ineffable” habits of the body if we understand them as being entirely outside the realm of signification and interpretation?

In part the answer lies in the fact that the realm of human action in which the changes are occurring is not normal, everyday interaction, but rather a marked context in which certain kinds of actions are deliberately cultivated. The role of the catechists and preachers in San Felipe is that of religious, hence moral, authorities. Part of their function is to embody the ideal moral dispositions. While Bourdieu’s model proposes that everyday bodily behaviors implicitly carry cultural meaning, in ritual contexts those values are sometimes made explicit and thus it is natural that we might find groups of people deliberately trying to regiment their actions. Moreover, Bourdieu tends to

downplay the role that monitoring and evaluation play in making salient the values attached to bodily dispositions.

Gregory Starrett has argued that when we speak of bodily hexis, we need to take into account the interpretative processes through which social actors come to recognize, ascribe and evaluate the meaning of bodily dispositions (Starrett 1995). Starrett's main goal is to call into question Bourdieu's formulation of bodily hexis as necessarily unconscious and ineffable, and to instead draw attention to the way that active monitoring constitutes the meaning of a bodily hexis. As evidence he examines the multiple competing discourses around a set of ritualized Muslim educational practices in 19th century Egypt. The multiple interpretations, he argues, suggests that the ideological content of a hexis depends on the stance of whoever it is that is asserting that meaning. Starrett says that European travelers were perplexed by Egyptian students' rocking back and forth as they repeated verses in unison during their lessons at Qur'anic schools. This performance of these repetitive actions in unison (along with the way the students were seated in a circle around the teacher), violated European ideas about what constituted proper pedagogy and led them to argue that this would inculcate 'poor habits' in the students. What they interpreted as rote repetition and an unnecessary emphasis on bodily action, pointed to the "lower" nature of Islam. In contrast their Protestant pedagogies emphasized the need for students to remain still and silent, because it engaged their minds, which constitute the "high" part of the person, and not their "lower" bodies. From the Egyptian perspective, however, repetitive bodily actions were understood as a way of invigorating the students' bodies and drawing them in to the process of learning. By engaging both the body and mind, teachers hoped to

inculcate their lessons into the very fiber of the students' being. Thus each set of observers saw the same behavior, but drew different meanings from it that were informed by their own assumptions about modes of pedagogy, norms attentive comportment, and the relationship between mind and body. Thus, concludes Starrett, bodily actions and the discourse about them are actually interdependent. Not only is hexis not beyond the realm of reflexive thought, as Bourdieu would at some points seem to suggest, it is in fact open to multiple interpretations at any given time. Moreover, the social legitimacy of a body hexis is dependent on an interpretative regime, and these can change over time. In situations of cultural contact where the meaning of bodily habits are called in to question, like Starrett's 19th Century Egypt or San Felipe as I describe it here, the interplay of ideologies becomes all the more evident and important, and leads us to examine the discourses about the body and how these are formed in relation to other assumptions about human values.

Starrett's argument is worth considering in the case of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics for a couple of reasons. First, it opens up the possibility that there are multiple interpretations that can be given for any given set of dispositions and behaviors. It is clearly the case that Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics read their own and each other's behavior in different ways, leading them to the debate about what is and isn't correct behavior. Where one sees respect, the other sees disinterest; where the latter sees joy, the former sees a ruckus. It should also come as no surprise that there is variability within these groups not just about what the limits of correctness are, but also about who or what sets those limits. Second, Starrett's argument rests on the idea that evaluations of bodily practices are in themselves instances of active stance taking. If Bourdieu

seems to want to foreground the taken-for-granted nature of body hexis, Starrett reminds us that in talking about how body hexis shapes culture we are also dealing with the way that people evaluate, interpret and react to these bodily practices and dispositions, and that those hermeneutic practices may in fact be highly contested. This approach leads us to try to figure out the discursive field in which the meanings are ascribed in order to understand the role of bodily movement and hexis in a cultural system.

Saba Mahmood (2001; 2005) picks up on Starrett's argument about the multiplicity of meaning, but goes a step further by suggesting that not only are social actors capable of ascribing and reflecting on the multiple meanings of bodily actions, they are also able to consciously and willfully modify the way they use their bodies in order to become the kinds of subjects they want to be. The Muslim women that Mahmood describes actively engage in body disciplining techniques in order to become the pious moral subjects that they desire to be. For them, the body is a tool to be used in order to achieve certain kinds emotional and cognitive states (Mahmood 2001: 84). Achieving these states is part of a process of shaping oneself into a properly pious Muslim woman, and thus adopting the right kinds of bodily postures and engaging in right kinds of embodied ritual practice are part of the larger project of being pious person (cp. Starrett 1995). None of this would be possible, however, if these women did not decide to seek out religious instruction in how to use the body in order to mold the soul. Thus, these women volitionally adjust their bodies in order to inhabit the moral positions that they wish to attain. Because these women's prayer practices are the result of a preexisting understanding of what certain bodily positions mean and how they can

affect the subject's moral composition, Bourdieu's basic formulation would seem to be inverted so that it is ideology that precedes bodily action.

Mahmood's main critique of Bourdieu is that he has failed to pay proper attention to the pedagogical strategies that help to reproduce a body hexis. While Bourdieu does reference things such as instruction in table manners (1977a: 94) as part of the way that a culturally appropriate hexis is developed in a child, he mainly relies on the notion of imitative action as the main mechanism for the reproduction of body hexis. While it is likely that imitation does factor into the way that a hexis is adopted and embodied, it isn't the only or maybe even the main way that hexis is transmitted. Imitation might well be a mechanism through which Muslim women learn to use their bodies, but it is not the source for their desire to change their bodily hexis.

I want to suggest a slightly different take on how we might think about this process by drawing on theories of linguistic interaction. I would like to suggest that the vast majority of human action occurs as interaction, and that therefore, when asking questions about how the reproduction of certain social meanings occurs, we need to think not in terms of a bundle of information being passed from one person to a generally passive other, but rather in terms of social actors co-creating the conditions under which certain actions can be said to have specific meanings. After all, people do not arrive at these techniques for self-formation in a vacuum. At least in some cases, they seek them out and learn them as an explicit part of a larger project of self-formation.

This work on body hexis helps to set up the general cultural problem that I am working with here: how it is that the two groups in San Felipe have come to view each other's practices as mutually exclusive and why those differences are consequential for

their definition a good Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic. However, this literature also tends to deal with generalized descriptions of bodily action and posture, and privileges the individuated actor as the site for the study of body hexis, rather than the social context in which the meaning of body hexis is generated. The creation and maintenance of a culturally meaningful body hexis depends on multiple actors interacting, monitoring, and evaluating each others' practices, and thus we need to adjust our theories to foreground the way in which learning and finding meaning in bodily comportment is done through interaction. I think that a finer-grained analysis of the micro-processes that make up the overall disposition invoked by the term "hexis" will allow us greater insight into both how the meaning of body movements are constructed as well as how it is that people learn to adopt a particular set of bodily practices. I now turn from this theory of the relationship between body and culture, to a discussion of a methodology that focuses on the way that micro-interactions constitute human communication and thus the context for meaningful action in the world.

MULTIMODAL INTERACTION AND GESTURE AS A MEANS TO HEXIS

Before I enter into a discussion of gesture and bodily movement as they relate to the construction of culturally specific meanings, it is worth briefly recalling Erving Goffman's ideas about interactional frames. Goffman argues that whenever two or more individuals come into contact with each other, they engage in a process of negotiating the conditions or rules of their interaction (Goffman 1981; Goffman 1982). Through talk people enter into in a process of stance-taking that allows them to manage each

others' social positions, their relation to one another, and boundaries of what it is appropriate to say and do while interacting with each other. Goffman acknowledges that bodily hexis (though he doesn't use the term) plays a role in the construction of these frames of interaction, but his main interest is in talk. Nonetheless, the basic idea that participants in a given set of interactions work to negotiate the conditions of the event is a useful one to explore how it is that my informants possess such different looking (and sounding) constructions of ritual. While the process of practical mimesis that Bourdieu focuses on would seem to be an important part of the development of the socially competent actor, the maintenance of the interaction depends much more on the actors' ability to negotiate a complex set of conventions to a mutually satisfactory conclusions. The main idea then is that no matter how it is that those sets of dispositions are first learned, the real work happens in the way they are mutually enacted in interaction.

The basic point of the literature on gesture as part of everyday interaction and communication, and particularly Adam Kendon's work, echoes Goffman's call for a detailed analysis of frames of interactions. It also adds to this basic formulation by drawing our attention to the multiplicity of actions that are meaningful in interaction and thus helps us to figure out how in greater detail how people coordinate their actions (Clark 1996; Norris 2004; Goodwin 2000a). This approach is useful, because it allows us a way to think through Bourdieu's idea about hexis from a perspective that doesn't assume the stability of behavioral norms, instead seeing them as emergent in interaction. Although certainly people do have ideas, whether explicit or not, about how to carry themselves or how they should act in a given context, if we focus on the way that they enact these in a given situation, we can allow for variation and change more

readily, which in any case is an important aspect that Bourdieu's practice theory brings to the social sciences. Moreover, it offers us a methodology for collecting data and a language of classification for dissecting a wide range of phenomena.

Kendon's work on gesture (Kendon 2004) and kinesics (Kendon 1990) supplements Goffman's theory by opening up the various ways in which co-construction is achieved through non-verbal means. Kendon proposes that people draw upon a number of communicative resources, or "channels" of information, to manage and coordinate their interactions with each other. These channels include speech, gesture, gaze, and bodily orientation, all of which overlap and reinforce each other in various ways, to pass on information about each social actor's intentions, feelings, etc.⁷⁵ These various channels of communication can actually be seen as aspects of the same interactive process, although we may want to consider each in turn for analytic purposes (Norris 2004). Interaction, Kendon says, needs to be understood less as the work of individual actors with individuated agendas who happen to be working more or less in concert, and more as the production of synchronous or complementary coordinated action achieved through the monitoring of multiple communicative channels. Though we might want to think about social actors coming into situations with specific intentions, what is impressive about social interaction is the way that these get coordinated in fairly regular ways. If we want to understand the way that people interact

⁷⁵ Charles Goodwin's study of the way a man with aphasia relates to his family and caretakers (1995, 2000) is especially illustrative of the way that gesture and spoken language are used in tandem in the construction of interaction. By studying a case where one of the participants faces extreme limitations in what he can do with language and gesture, Goodwin sharply draws our attention to the way in which meaning emerges from interaction.

with each other, then, we should pay attention not just to their talk, but also the more subtle ways that they communicate things about themselves, each other, and the social context they inhabit.

Although studies of gaze and bodily orientation are certainly important parts in deciphering the true complexity of interaction, here I want to focus on gesture. In part my reason for doing this simply derives from my informants' focus on the "hands up, palms out" prayer posture as something emblematic of what was wrong with Charismatics. However, it is also the case that gesture offers us a type of data that is very close to linguistic data and thus might be more suitable than, for example, gaze, to include in the larger discussion of language ideology. This is because, I will show below, certain categories of gesturing behavior can be said to have a syntax and morphology that is fairly complex⁷⁶, and thus more amenable to a language-like analysis.

What is gesture, though? Although there is some debate about just what kinds of things ought to be included in this category, I follow Kendon in taking the term to broadly refer to those "visible bodily actions [that] are employed in the accomplishment of expressions that, from a functional point of view, are similar to... expressions in spoken language," (Kendon 2004: 1) and that, thus, co-participants in interaction take to be meaningful ways of communicating with each other⁷⁷. To this we might also add that usually when we talk of gesture we mean actions taken with the hands or arms, although

⁷⁶ This is not to say, of course, that gaze and other sorts of behaviors are meaningless or simple. See for example Kendon's close analysis of the gaze (Kendon 1990).

⁷⁷ This excludes things like scratching, sneezing, etc., not because of the level of conscious control one has over these sorts of actions, but rather because they are usually not deemed to constitute communicative action per se.

there are certainly gestural systems that primarily engage some other part of the body, such as nodding your head to mean “yes” or Cuna lip pointing (Sherzer 1972). This definition implies that the bodily phenomena in our discussion of gesture are those actions, movements, and hand shapes or poses, which have some value in the immediate interactional moment. Though these actions don’t necessarily have to be consciously produced by the speaker/gesturer, they must have some communicative value for participants (even it is just for the gesture herself). Admittedly this definition of gesture predisposes us to think of gesture as meaningful and in some way intentional, but I think that this is acceptable given that we are dealing with a context (i.e. ritual action) in which these aspects of gesture are particularly salient⁷⁸.

Analytically, gestures, or more accurately *gesture phrases*— meaning-bearing units of gestural action— can be described as being made up of three phases: 1) preparation; 2) stroke; and 3) recovery (Kendon 2004: 112). It is usually the stroke that we associate with the meaningful part of the gesture, but preparation and withdrawal also play an important role in conveying meaning because they allow us to identify the beginning and end of the phrase, and thus carry syntactic meaning. An analysis of gesture requires that we identify these different phases and see how they coordinate with the speaker’s action. We also need to think about the way that gesture relates to the speech produced. Gesture phrases may then be combined into *gesture units*, which encompass the entire range of actions in the movement of the articulator’s body (*ibid.* 113). However, what we usually think of as “a gesture” is what Kendon describes as the

⁷⁸ Some scholars’ definitions of gesture start from other premises, for example there is a literature that is interested in gesture’s relation to cognition. Their definition of gesture would thus be a different one (see e.g. McNeill 1992).

gesture unit, and specifically what we tend to focus on as the interactionally meaningful part of the action.

Because of gesture's meaningfulness in interaction, it is possible to make some parallels to spoken language and adopt or adapt some of the descriptive and analytical metalanguage about speech to gesture. Much of the work on gesture proposes that verbal and gestural utterances tend to be synchronized; it has been proposed that really they are part of the same communicative and cognitive processes (McNeill 1992). This synchronicity allows gesture to have two main functions: 1) a semantic one, whereby gestures supplement the meaning of verbal utterances; and 2) a pragmatic function, which allows co-participants to use gesture as a way of managing their interaction. These two functions almost always occur alongside spoken language, but it is important to note that gesture unfolds slightly differently than verbal language. Relative to spoken language, gesture is much more idiosyncratic and improvisatory. While the intelligibility of language depends on co-participants' knowledge of a regular grammatical structure and a lexicon of generally fixed forms, most kinds of gestures do not have conventional forms and their combination does not really exhibit a syntactic order⁷⁹. This is not to say, however, that gestures are somehow not culturally conventionalized, but rather that as a mode of communication gesture has a wider range of ways in which it produces and conveys meaning. In important ways, the meanings of gestures can be thought of as emergent from the interaction and much less fixed than

⁷⁹ I've qualified my statements here because some gestures do exhibit these features. Sign languages, which are often considered a sub-category of gesture, are the clearest example of this. That kind of gesturing isn't actually that prevalent in most human interaction. (Kendon 2004)

those of spoken language. Moreover, we can say that gestures display an “utterance quality”, in that there are salient features in their production that interactants can use to evaluate each others’ gestures. Combinations of gesture phrases can also produce complex interactional turns that supplement spoken language or produce greater contextualization of speech. We might also suppose that gesture phrases have a sort of phatic quality, so that they carry meaning beyond the purely referential and affect or set the parameters of the interactional frame in which they are produced.

While there is some overlap between spoken language and gesture, it is also true that they are not exactly the same kind of phenomena, and that the two modalities work in human interaction in different ways. This is particularly true in terms of the communicative function that gestures can play in interaction. Kendon proposes that we can differentiate among four broad categories of gestures (gesticulation, pantomime, emblems, and signs), each of which performs a different function and relates to spoken language in different ways (2004). We can arrange these four basic types of gesturing along four continua that relate them to their different features: 1) relationship to speech; 2) relationship to linguistic properties; 3) relationship to conventions; and 4) character of semiosis (McNeill 2000: see table 2 below).

Emblems are what we often think about when we colloquially talk about gestures. They are (mostly) conventional gesture phrases with discrete meanings mapping onto some “dictionary meaning.” For example, touching the thumb and forefinger to make a circle while extending the other three fingers upwards and presenting the hand forward, is well understood by American English speakers to mean, “ok.” Likewise, tapping one’s left wrist, with the index finger of the right hand is

generally understood as meaning, “What time is it?” Because the meaning of emblems is largely set, they can usually be performed with or without spoken language. Despite the relative fixity of their meanings, though, the particular way and emblem is formed and performed can be quite variable.

Table 2: Kendon's Gesture Continua (after McNeill 2000)

	Gesticulation	Pantomime	Emblem	Sign
	“he grabs a big oak tree and bends it way back”	Defining a spiral	Ok sign; “What is the time?”	Sign languages (e.g. ASL)
Relationship to speech (1)	Obligatory presence of speech	Obligatory absence of speech (?)	Optional presence of speech	Obligatory absence of speech
Relationship to linguistic properties (2)	Linguistic properties absent	Linguistic properties absent	Some linguistic properties present	Linguistic properties present
Relationship to conventions (3)	Not conventionalized	Not conventionalized (but constrained in some ways)	Partly conventionalized	Fully conventionalized
Character of semiosis (4)	Global and synthetic	Global and analytic	Segmented and synthetic	Segmented and analytic
<p>(1) Along this continuum we are marking whether there is a tendency for speech to be produced alongside gesture</p> <p>(2) For this continuum “linguistic properties” mainly seems to refer to systems of constraint in usage. McNeill seems to be thinking mainly of syntactical or morphological systems (with discrete pieces that can be recombined in a systematic way).</p> <p>(3) This continuum measures for the stability and social agreement on how the gesture should be produced.</p> <p>(4) “Global” means that the meaning of the part is derived from the meaning of the whole. “Segmented” means that discrete gestures have individual meanings. “Synthetic” means that the gesture’s meaning carries over the entire accompanying utterance. “Analytic” means that each action’s meaning is mapped on to a specific part of the utterance.</p>				

Pantomimes are similar to gesticulation in that their action resembles some real world action. A prime example of this is twirling a finger in a circle from high to low to mimic a vortex or spiral when attempting to describe what a vortex or spiral is. They are also somewhat like emblems in that while they are not necessarily fixed, they do depend on some shared conventions about what is being represented. The spiral example

requires that people understand that movement as tracing the shape of an object in the world. However, unlike emblems or signs, pantomimes seem to be largely improvisatory. It is significant that pantomimes are usually not translatable into a single meaning and that generally they are performed without accompanying speech. Speakers often use pantomimes to fill in gaps in spoken language.

Signs are the most fixed and conventional type of gesture and because of this they are the most like spoken language. The best examples of signs are the gestures used in sign languages. Kendon says that signs don't supplement or accompany spoken language; rather, they are a direct replacement for speech. Because of their specific nature signs tend to only occur in very specialized contexts where for one reason or another speech is not possible or desirable.

This typology and the associated continua offer us a way of thinking through the form and function of a range of actions, and allows us to analyze bodily movement more generally. The continua highlight the various functions and features of gesture as communication and draw our attention to the types of actions that might be meaningfully translated into broader sociocultural processes, like the one I have been concerned with here. Kendon's methodology of closely analyzing short pieces of video-recordings of gesture and looking for the way that gesture relates to spoken language allows us to posit that bodily movements such as these may well have features that enable us to subject them to the same sort of language ideological analysis as spoken language.

It also complicates our ideas about the influence of ideology on body movement, because it suggests that different types of movement are subject to different standards

and conventions. Emblems and signs tend to be learned as part of language socialization and thus it seems that they would likely be subject to the same kind of cultural vicissitudes. The improvisatory nature of pantomime and gesticulation, however, would seem to place those kinds of actions beyond explicitly held ideologies. It may well be the case, however, that whether one engages in these types of actions in the first place could be subject to cultural conventions. Thus the type of gesture we look at can tell us different things about cultural context of the people performing them.

CONTRASTING GESTURES IN CONTEXT

I want to now turn to discussing the general patterns of bodily behavior exhibited by Mainstream and Charismatic Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics that I think illustrate the emergence of two distinct modes of embodiment.

In the initial part of my fieldwork, when I was working with Mainstream Catholics only, I had no sense that there was anything particularly interesting about their manner of comportment during religious rituals. This was in part because I was focused on their spoken language, but also because my own assumptions about how one ought to behave in church matched theirs. What I saw in the masses I attended was a large group of people who were very familiar with the workings of the liturgy, who knew its structure and who participated in a regular and prescribed manner. Participation in this context largely meant sitting (or standing) in a single spot, while focusing attention on the ratified speakers who occupied the altar and pulpit areas. Beyond this, there were specific postures, actions, and recitations that one was expected

to carry out, but only at specific times during the mass⁸⁰. Anyone with a passing familiarity with a Catholic mass will know that there are moments when congregants are asked to stand or kneel, that there are times when one makes the sign of the cross on one's body, and that there are moments that call for the recitation of, for example, the Lord's prayer. However, by and large, congregants sit in the pews quietly, looking towards the altar, watching and listening to the priests, catechists, and chorus who run the ritual⁸¹.

Because we are predisposed to view non-movement as non-action, it is easy to look past the way that Mainstream Catholics behave in church and assume that their limited mobility implies a limited engagement in the event in question. However, as Charles Hirschkind has pointed out, we need to take listening seriously as human action, and not just as a passive stance that is formed as a necessary (and uninteresting) complement to speaking (Hirschkind 2006). Far from being a passive state, listening, he says, is a culturally constituted practice that engages the person in a number of affective and kinesthetic ways. The Egyptians with whom Hirschkind worked understand the practice of listening to pre-recorded sermons as an activity that helps them to form and refine their moral character, but in order for listening to do this work, the individual subject has to attend to the sermon in particular ways. This may mean adopting certain

⁸⁰ As a non-Catholic and only tentative speaker of Q'eqchi', the first few times I attended a mass, I was largely at a loss as to what to do, but I took my cues from the congregation at large imitating their postures and behaviors. I eventually discovered that the hymnal I had bought during a pre-fieldwork trip to Cobán laid out the structure of the mass and had specific instructions on how to participate. Most congregants did not need this text since they had picked up the correct behaviors directly through participation in masses.

⁸¹ Young children are for the most part exempt from this rule of stillness, and they are allowed to move around the church or chapel.

physical postures, gesturing⁸² and speaking in response to the sermon. Taken together, these actions are meant to not only perform attention, but also to create an ethical stance of piety in response to the message of the sermon.

Listening in the Mainstream masses I attended is a similar process. Sitting still and listening is a default, socially sanctioned response to the mass, but this does not mean that it is the only, or natural option. Young children are allowed a great deal of leeway in their behavior in church. Babies and toddlers always remain with their mothers, but children between about four and eight years old are allowed to wander around and there is often a small group of them playing in one of the back corners of the church. At the upper end of this age range, children start to be prepared to receive their First Communion, which marks an initial step into the religious community, but even then there isn't a strong expectation that children should attend masses. In fact, it's really only after confirmation or marriage, both rites that admit the individual into the full community of the church, that a person is expected to participate regularly in religious services. This is all to say that for this group, the ability to engage in the right way in rituals is seen as an adult activity that must be cultivated as one matures.

The immobility and general restraint I have identified for Mainstream Catholics became evident as a specific construct only when I compared it to Charismatic Catholic practice. My Mainstream informants' pantomime of what they thought Charismatics looked like when they prayed (the "hands up, palms out" posture) was meaningful only

⁸² It's important to note that Hirschkind does not employ Kendon's categories to describe what kinds of gestures. Instead he bases his argument on a lesser known and much more abstract (though also provocative) conception of the "gesturing subject" developed by Marcel Jousse (Jousse 1990).

because it stood in such stark contrast with the ways they themselves behaved in church—praying with their hands close by their bodies (either clasped together at the chest or near the face, or with palms facing up at about the bottom of their rib cage) and with their heads turned downward. Of course, once I started attending Charismatic rituals more regularly, Mainstream Catholic's stillness began to seem unfamiliar and I began to see it as an artifact of the basic language ideology that underlies their theology. With the contrast now in mind, I began to attend to the larger difference in overall dispositions displayed.

Gesture pattern analysis

The problem, from each congregation's perspective, is with the other's general norms of communicative behavior in church. That the Mainstream Catholics use the "hands up, palms out" pose as an icon for what they see as the worst of Charismatics' behavior and that Charismatics read the relative immobility of Mainstream Catholics as boredom or disinterest suggests that certain gestures do quite a bit of work in marking the group's perceived differences. It also suggests that there is a high degree of mutual monitoring across congregations. We might well ask what the basis for their appraisals is. To what extent are these stereotypes reflective of real differences in practice and to what extent is their real importance that they can act as emblems for difference? If part of the discourse in San Felipe is about the forms of bodily behavior that are characteristic of the two kinds of congregations, an equally important part is the degree to which the body is used by each. Although my consultants sometimes talked about

differences in terms of more or less gesturing (or more radically about the presence of gesturing in the first place), my analysis of a random sample of sermons given in each of these churches suggests that what is at issue here is not precisely the amount of gesturing that occurs, but the value that is placed on gesturing itself.

As I argued in Chapter 2, an important site for the production of the conventions of behavior in religious ritual is the sermon. Sermons are a particularly useful starting point because despite the some of the differences that occur in how each kind of congregation approaches them (see Chapter 2), they share a similar function in their rituals, and are largely comparable across congregations. Moreover, since the catechists and preachers who give sermons are the de facto community leaders, their bodily behavior can be taken as an exemplary model that parishioners at large might emulate. As ritual specialists, much of the efficacy of any given ritual action depends on their ability to perform their part correctly and to display the proper dispositions for the ritual. Thus, in this section, I try to show that in sermons we can see patterns of action that evidence the basic language ideologies of “control, constrain and respect” and “spontaneity, effusiveness, and joy.”

I selected six sermons at random from my video library as samples for analysis of the incidence of gesture. Three examples are from Charismatic events (coded with the preface “C-“) and three from Mainstream events (coded with the preface “M-“). In order to determine what role gesturing plays in the two kinds of sermons I counted the number of gesture phrases performed by the preacher or catechist in each video. I take a gesture unit (GU) to be the sequence of arm, hand or finger movements performed between periods of rest that work in conjunction with spoken utterances to

communicate either semantic or pragmatic meaning. Gesture units are bracketed by periods of rest of arms/hands/fingers in a “neutral” position in relation to the speaker’s body (e.g. hands resting on the pulpit, hands resting against the chest, or the arm hanging to the waist). These neutral positions indicate a withdrawal of the extremities from the “gesture space” (Haviland 2000) in which the person performs meaningful actions. This specification allows for gestures that are deployed and held in the gesture spaces to still be considered part of a gesture phrase. Thus gesture units are above all marked as starting when the gesture space is entered and as ending when the extremity is removed from the relevant gesture space. The gesture space is the area, usually directly in front of the speaker’s upper body, which is used to gesture in and is considered as a meaningful zone within which communicative practice occurs⁸³. Because gesture space is construed in relation to the speaker’s body, it is by definition dynamic and subject to the speaker’s own understanding of where gestures may properly be performed. A gesture unit may contain one or more gesture phrases (instances of specific gesture items being prepared, stroked and released), but is counted only as one in so far as it constitutes a single bodily motion on the part of the speaker. Four of the five performances were not captured in full due to my panning away to capture the actions of the congregation (the exception is M.01.01.06), so I have

⁸³ Logically, too, there may be spaces in which bodily actions may occur, but which do not count as gesture spaces because they are not interactionally meaningful. For example, in most contexts foot movements are not relevant to interaction, since participants do not focus on these for cues about the nature of the interaction, and so the space in which foot movements occur would not be deemed a gesture space (though of course there may be other contexts in which this same space is considered meaningful).

corrected for this by counting only the time when speaker's torso and arms are visible as relevant to this analysis. Table 3 below summarizes my findings.

Table 3: Differences in gesture units for Mainstream and Charismatic sermons

Video	C.12.11.05	C.12.28.05	C.12.31.05	M.12.24.04	M.12.25.05	M.01.01.06
Time (min:sec)	41:39	26:16	61:10	12:28	15:29	10:01
Gesture units	189	110	340	112	124	28 (42)*
Gesture Unit/Minutes	~4.5	~4.2	~5.6	~9	~8	~2.8 (4.4)*

*The number in parentheses represents a less conservative count of visible hand motions that includes small wrist movements that are nearly imperceptible.

The difference in Gesture unit/time ratio in the Mainstream cases presents a problem for a theory that posits that Mainstream Catholics gesture less than Charismatics (and thus exhibit an ideology of control and constraint), especially since example M.12.25.05 and M.12.24.04 evidence such a high number of gestures for a short time, and M.01.01.06 is such a low number, ignoring wrist movements. The Charismatic range seems to fit in between those extremes, and thus could perhaps be said to be more normative. Thus these initial numbers wouldn't seem to indicate the difference in gesturing practices since there is clearly a range in the gesturing practices of these ritual specialists. That is to say, if following Kendon we count a gesture as that set of actions that includes a preparation, stroke (or indeed multiple strokes), and withdrawal, then the incidence of gesture phrases is more or less the same in sermons given by catechists and preachers.

However, an important difference that isn't reflected in these figures is the quality of the gestures performed. The speaker in M.12.25.05, who had the second highest ratio of gesture units, also produced the shortest phrases, and used the second least amount of space to do so (after M.01.01.06). Of his 124 gesture phrases less than ten could be described as multi-phrase gesture units. The vast majority of his gesture phrases were performed in a small space directly in front of him, close to the surface of the pulpit, within a space no higher than his collarbone and no wider than his shoulders. He stood close to the edge of the pulpit, initially resting his forearms on its surface, so that the stroke of the gestures was about the length of his forearm away from his solar plexus. Throughout his sermon, this speaker kept his elbows close together, and his default position was clasped hands a few inches away from the body on the surface of the pulpit. Twenty-four of the gesture phrases I counted for this catechist were performed with the fingers and would have been barely visible to most of the congregation. Only one gesture phrase involved raising a hand to shoulder-level or above, and only two gesture phrases extended into the horizontal space beyond his shoulders.



Figure 1: Catechist gesturing in M.12.25.05

The speaker in M.01.01.06 likewise restricts his movements to a limited gesture space in the area immediately in front of him close to the surface of the pulpit. Like the other catechist, he holds his elbows close in and defaults to a position in which his hands lie on the pulpit and touch each other (though it doesn't seem like he clasps his hands together). I counted 28 full gesture units during his sermon, but there are also 14 small motions that he makes with his right wrist that I take to be consciously suppressed gestures. These moves could also be read as small gestures performed as a meter to help him regulate his speech or as adjustments for bodily comfort. If they are comfort adjustments, then they automatically fall out of our area of interest here, since the actions were not meant to communicate anything to an audience. If they are meter markers meant for his own use, then they are not meant as part of the performance of the sermon and can thus be bracketed from this discussion of the performative aspects of the sermon. If they do constitute evidence of suppressed gestures, however, then they



Figure 2: Catechist gesturing in M.01.01.06

suggest that at least this catechist understands his performance as entailing a minimization of bodily movement as a means of displaying his position as a properly respectful ritual specialist. This interpretation would be supported by the observation that the larger and more visible gesture phrases the catechist does perform are quickly deployed and retracted, and that they remain within a tight space in front of him, with the exception of two gestures that point deictically to the right and upwards. The low number of gesture phrases, their relative constraint to a small gesture space, and the movements that appear to be suppressed gestures suggest that this speaker is consciously trying to figure himself as someone who is able to constrain his actions and act appropriately in his role as a catechist. This analysis doesn't directly answer why that would be important, but it does suggest that there is some value placed on control and constraint of the body. Likewise, the small space used by the catechist in the previous example suggests that constraint is part of the performance of the sermon, even

if his numerous gestures would seem to belie his ability to successfully refrain from gesturing as he speaks.



Figure 3: Catechist gesturing in M.12.24.04

The catechist in M.12.24.04, who of the Mainstream examples exhibited the highest ratio of gesturing, deviates a bit from the other two, in so far as his gestures are a little larger and more frequent. However, he also has a tendency to default to a bodily position in which he clasps both hands together on the surface of the pulpit. From this position he deploys for the most part quick single stroke gestures, although he also performs about a 13 multi-stroke gesture units. About half of his gestures are single stroke gestures with him raising either his left or right hand just below shoulder level while keeping his elbow resting on the pulpit or very close to it. The rest of his gestures tend to be beats performed with both of his hands clasped and there are a few (eight or fewer) gestures where he opens his clasped hands briefly before clasping them again. Although this speaker tends to employ a slightly larger gesture space than the other two catechists, it is still relatively constrained when compared to that employed by

Charismatics.

The Charismatic preachers in the other three examples are freer in their movements than their Mainstream counterparts. The absence of a pulpit opens up the space from which they may deliver the sermon (although this is still limited by the set-up of the chapel and their need to stay within the radius that the microphone cord allows). Though preachers have to hold the microphone in one hand, and thus have only one hand with which to gesture (the catechists have a microphone stand on the pulpit and so are free to use both hand), they have a larger physical space to employ for gesturing. The preacher in examples C.12.11.05 and C.12.28.05 uses a space that ranges vertically between his face to his stomach, is slightly wider than his body, and extends outwards approximately three quarters the length of his arm. The preacher in C.12.31.05 on several occasions extends his gestures approximately an arm's length both vertically above his head and horizontally to his right and left. His stomach still more or less marks the lower limit of the vertical axis and he also uses approximately a three-quarter's arm length forward. The Charismatic preachers are also free to walk around and can thus extend their gesture space beyond their normal reach when they need to make a point especially dramatic. Charismatic preachers could theoretically use a smaller gesture space, but it is evident that they prefer to construct larger ones than their Mainstream counterparts are able to. The difference in the space that is available and used by members of each of these two groups suggests that the differences in gesture need to not only be analyzed in terms of frequency of use, but also in terms of the conceptual spaces that is available for their performance.

Most of the gesture units that the preachers in C.12.11.05, C.12.28.05, and C.12.31.05 perform contain multiple gesture phrases. That is to say, once the person's hand or arm is in motion it tends to flow from one gesture phrase to the next, without releasing the unit. A single gesture phrase might then cut across a series of verbal utterances, allowing the speaker to demonstrate the connection between ideas, illustrate conceptual movement, or to hold his turn or place in an interaction (i.e. when asking a question of the audience and expecting to be able to take up his place in the utterance immediately). The number of individual phrases in these examples is thus much higher than my count of units suggest, but because certain kinds of gesturing (gesticulation in particular) are not easily segmented into discrete units it is difficult to give an exact number for the gestures performed. The fact that their gesture units incorporate a series of strokes and gestures suggests that more of an emphasis is placed on the role of gesture to help convey the meaning of the ritual speech.



Figure 4: Charismatic Preacher gesturing in C.12.11.05

Because Charismatics both tend to construct larger gesture spaces and gesture in longer units, not only do they in fact gesture “more” than Mainstream Catholics, they also gesture more effusively. Mainstream Catholics’ tendency to restrict themselves to a small gesture space, to employ short single-stroke phrases, and to work to avoid gesturing, I believe, evidences a disposition towards control and constraint on the body in ritual communication. Thus, these patterns in gesture usage suggest that the ritual spaces that catechists and preachers inhabit in these kinds of interactions are constructed

quite differently. The body hexis that a ritual specialist assumes during his performance is intimately tied in to his configuration of how he should inhabit ritual space. The difference in the spatialization of gestures thus becomes significant because, while it shows that the unreflexive action of gesturing as a component of communication is present in both cases, it also allows us to posit that the forms of gesture are differentially produced. This would suggest that there is some conscious or intentional regimentation of the body in ritual speech.



Figure 5: Charismatic preacher gesturing on C.01.01.06

In order to further illustrate the differences between the two groups, I want to now turn to analyze several video clips in more detail from these sermons.

Clip 1 is taken from C.12.11.05 sermon. In this part of the sermon the preacher (Hermano Guillermo) is encouraging people to extend their religious education outside of the formal events held by the group. In doing so he encourages congregants to listen to more preaching via electronic media (radio and cassettes), but he also has to warn congregants not to listen to Protestant Pentecostal preaching instead of Catholic preaching. This part of the sermon is interesting because it brings to bear the careful negotiation of members of the CCR with the larger Catholic Church and with Protestants, too. The transcript codes the preacher's gestures along with his speech.

Clip 1: Charismatic sermon “Radio”

Key: *Italics* = Spanish
Underlined = Q’eqchi’
Bold = from Latin/Spanish, stock phrase
 [] = gesture
 ←/→ = walking
 0 = stop/standing

Original:

- 1) wan *emisora hermanos* wan kaqreru wan *Radio Estrella*
 0 ← [begin gesture 1] 0 stroke
- 2) aran taawab’i li *mejor predicación*
 1. [end gesticulate 1]
- 3) wi ink’a naroq sa’ laa *radio* taaloq laa *casete* **re** *predicación*
 → [gesture 2]] 0
- 4) re *ósea* re *católica*
 [gesture 3]
- 5) malaj re li *renovación carismática católica* junajaj
 [gesture 4]]
- 6) *pero* wan a’an naxnaw *casete* aj re ajwi chi *evangélica* naxloq a’an wi loq chi
rabinkil
 [gesture 5]] 0
- 7) *mejor* ma sach *hermanos* nab’al anwan yoo xq’eb’al *confiar* sa’ li *emisora* a’an
 → [gesture 6] [gesture 7]
- 8) ink’a *hermanos* taake taawix loq’al li qawa *Dios* bar wan
 [gesture 8] [gesture 9]] ←
- 9) wan sa’ li *renovación carismática católica.* **Amen?**

English translation:

- 1) There are *stations* brothers There are some there is *Radio Estrella*
 0 ← [begin gesture 1] 0 stroke
- 2) There you will hear the *best preaching*
 [end gesticulate 1]
- 3) If it doesn’t come in on your *radio,* go buy your *cassettes* of *preaching*
 → [gesture 2]] 0
- 4) Of, *that is* of *Catholic* [preaching]
 [gesture 3]
- 5) Or of the *Charismatic Catholic Renewal* only
 [gesture 4]]
- 6) But there are, one knows, *cassettes* of *also of* *Evangelical* one buys that if you buy
to listen to
 [gesture 5]] 0
- 7) *Better* forget (those), *brothers* many now are giving their *trust* to those *stations*
 → [gesture 6] [gesture 7]
- 8) No, *brothers* you will give your *faith/respect* to the *Lord God* where he is
 [gesture 8] [gesture 9]] ←
- 9) he is in the *Catholic Charismatic Renewal* **Amen?**

In this 34 second clip we see that as he talks, Hermano Guillermo moves back

and forth between the speaker that serves as an improvised lectern and a spot a few feet away that seems to constitute his preferred speaking location. As he moves he also changes the direction he is facing in several places to focus his attention to the Bible or the audience in front of him. Throughout the fragment, Hermano Guillermo performs nine gesture units that can best be described as gesticulations. That is, they don't have any particular referent, but are instead hand and arm motions that help to visually supplement speech. For example in gesture 8, he extends an index finger and swipes it in front of his torso at about waist level to emphasize "no" in line 8. In gesture 6, is likewise a hand with index finger extended but with the stroke performed with a downward motion to emphasize the warning to forget *Evangélico* preaching in line 7.

We can contrast this with a clip of one of the Mainstream Catholic catechists delivering a sermon. In Clip 2, taken from the sermon in M.01.01.06, the catechist, Qawa Esteban, is telling a version of the story of John the Baptist announcing the coming of Jesus. In this twenty second clip Qawa Esteban performs four small gestures that are primarily hand and wrist moves. Through the clip, as through most of the sermon, the catechist keeps his hands lying on the pulpit. All of the gestures that he performs are simple raises of the hand, with a quick return to his rest position. Because of the pulpit, he cannot walk around like Hermano Guillermo in Clip1, nor does he adjust the direction his body is facing. His gestures are also gesticulations in that they don't serve a particular referential function, but rather supplement the speech. His gestures seem mostly to accent the key concepts of his story. Two of his gestures come with matched pairs of phrases that qualify or elaborate on each other. For example, he performs gesture 3 along with a qualification of the statement "I will bear, I will

Clip 2: Mainstream Sermon: Announcing the savior

Original:

- 1) Laj Juan Naxye, “Li china kulalal
[gesture 1]
- 2) Malaj xra:: rala:: li Dios yuwab’ej
[gesture 2]
- 3) Tinkuy titye reesil
[gesture 3]
- 4) Wanqeb’ li ak’ ch’ooleji
[gesture 4]
- 5) Re qanima kajwi li kolol li ruchichoc”
- 6) A’an kixye Santa Maria

English:

- 1) John he says “The small baby
[gesture 1]
- 2) Or the s::son::: of God the Father
[gesture 2]
- 3) I will bear [witness?] I will announce
[gesture 3]
- 4) [That] there will be a new heart/soul
[gesture 4]
- 5) For our greatness also the savior of the Earth”
- 6) That he said to Saint Mary

announce” in line 3. Similarly gestures 1 and 2 go along with the qualification of “small baby” as “son [of God]”. Although the function of his gestures seems to be similar to those of Hermano Guillermo in the example above, they are performed in a much more constrained fashion. Since the arm movements are relatively, it would appear that he is conscious of minimizing these bodily actions.

We can see similar bodily dispositions exhibited in other parts of the rituals as well. I have chosen to focus on four video clips taken from parallel moments in two celebrations held as part of New Year’s Eve celebrations on December 31, 2005. I will draw on the basic distinctions I set out above about the types of gestures in these clips

and use those as a jumping off point to discuss what it is about bodily movement that carries so much meaning for Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics.

The Mainstream Catholic examples are drawn from an evening mass held at the San Felipe parish's main church in the city. New Year's Eve events at the church are fairly simple, consisting of an evening mass to mark the end of the calendar year, and not much more. New Years Eve is a feast day, albeit comparatively a slightly lesser one than the other that occur during a period of heightened activity at the church, beginning on Christmas Eve and ending with the feast of *El Señor del Calvario* on January 15th. The New Years Eve mass is seen as a sort of prelude to the celebration of New Year's Day for which three masses are held and thousands of people, both Q'eqchi'-Mayas and Ladinos, visit the church to light a candle asking for health and prosperity in the New Year. Structurally of this mass is largely the same as regular Sunday masses, with the exceptions of the time of day that it is held and that there is an additional part of the priest's liturgy, which I won't address here. Parishioners arrive at the church shortly before the mass is scheduled to begin (8:00 p.m.) and leave as soon as it is over. Parishioners told me that the most important thing for them in attending this mass is to receive communion to ensure God's grace at the end of the year, and that it's largely preparation for the next day's activities, when thousands of people come to light candles and ask for God's blessing in the new year. Communion comes near the end of the mass, and after the event is over, people return to their homes to eat a small meal and rest. In at least a few CEBs communal meals are organized as well, but this appears to be the exception rather than the rule. On this particular New Years Eve, the church was

moderately full⁸⁴, there were maybe four hundred and fifty people there—well below the number who crowd in on New Year’s Day or during Easter.

The Charismatic examples are drawn from a *vigilia* (or vigil), which was also held on New Year’s Eve in a private home in Tenamit about 10 km outside of Cobán proper. As I explained in Chapter 1, *vigilias* are large group prayer meetings that Charismatics hold between sunset and sunrise on special occasions. They are held a few times each year at a group member’s house, and in this case in the space was a large structure that normally serves as woodshed and garage attached to one group member’s home. The space for this celebration is not consecrated, or at least not consecrated in the same way as the church that the Mainstream Catholics use is, but during the occasion of the *vigilia* it temporarily becomes a legitimate meeting space. In fact, this space had only been called into service for this *vigilia* because the group had invited a well know preacher and band from a neighboring city to animate the event and they expected that this would draw a particularly large turn out. The central part of any *vigilia* ritual is a prayer of atonement and healing that happens at or around midnight and lasts for about a half an hour. The rest of the time is spent on a variety of other activities, and on that night included singing hymns, a skit performed by members of the youth group, people testifying and giving their conversion narratives, a raffle, and a fairly substantial meal served in the early hours of the morning. Though the prayer of atonement is the most

⁸⁴ Concerns about personal safety unfortunately played a factor in this. During the time I was in Cobán, the hill on which San Felipe stands was increasingly coming to be seen as a dangerous part of town due to several assaults and even rapes that had occurred there. Though the church steering committee was trying to counteract this by working with the police and even hiring private security to help guard during holidays, there was generally a bad impression of the area.

important part of the *vigilia*, the event is not over after this focal point has been reached. On this occasion the prayer period ended sometime around 1:30 a.m., but people are expected to stay and participate until dawn, when a sequence of standard prayers (“Our Father,” “Hail Mary,” etc.) formally closes the event. As a matter of practice, some people (especially those with small children) do leave as the night progresses, but more than half of the audience stays until the very end at dawn. Adult members of the community especially are expected to maintain some level of active participation in the event by praying, singing and otherwise engaging themselves in the ritual. Women may also be expected to help in preparing and serving refreshments during the event. All of this makes for a long and tiring night, and there are continuous exhortations from the ritual specialists to stay lively and use the power of the Holy Ghost to stave off exhaustion and sleep. The various activities of the event are meant to elicit direct participation by the congregants, and thus keep their attention on religious worship. That night there were perhaps two hundred and fifty people at the *vigilia*, well above the eighty or so who regularly attended weekly Sunday meetings.

Singing Hymns

The first two clips I want to examine contrast the way that each of these groups sings hymns. I want to use these clips to propose that in each of these congregations we can see that the way the body is used evidences dispositions that map on to the basic ideological positions of “spontaneity, effusiveness, and joy” in the Charismatic case, or “constraint, control and respect” in the Mainstream case that I proposed in previous

chapters. As I explained in the previous chapter, hymns are an important part of both Mainstream and Charismatic rituals, although perhaps the latter consider them to be even more so. It is also important to recall that within the debate about language in San Felipe, many of Mainstream Catholics' complaints about Charismatics are couched with special reference to the way that the latter sing. In the first of these clips, we see a male preacher teaching the Charismatic congregation a hymn in Spanish that they are about to sing. He is teaching them both the lyrics (although it is probably the case that at least some of them already know them), and a little bit of choreography that he wants them to perform as they sing along. The lyrics of the hymn are all about the Holy Spirit inhabiting the singer and making her move, involuntarily, but not presumably exactly against her will. This accompanying dance is meant to represent the loss of personal agency as one becomes closer to God, which is considered a desirable end in Charismatic rituals. What is happening here, then, is a modeling of a desired behavior. The hope is that by play-acting that loss of control, one is opening up the possibility of actually being inhabited by the Holy Spirit, either now or in the future. Thus in this context, the choreographed dance is a necessary part of the successful performance of the song. As we see in the second part of the clip (not transcribed), the majority of the crowd does participate by carrying out this dance. Those who do not dance perform other complementary actions like clapping along to the music⁸⁵ or dancing from side to side. In these ways, everyone in the congregation actively participates in the song

⁸⁵ This clapping is sort of a default action carried out by Charismatics whenever music is played, so that even those who cannot or do not want to sing, participate somewhat in the music. Rodney Needham has argued that percussive elements are a general feature of almost all instances of people engaging in religious activity (Needham 1967).

performance of the song. The intention in the performance is for the congregants to evince “joy” (*jubilo*), which is the desired emotional disposition for the event. The people participating are making a claim about their authentic participation in the ritual, not just as believers, but as joyful believers. In doing so, they are complicit in the production of the necessary moral and emotional conditions for the desired outcome of the ritual— the ecstatic joy that comes from being in contact with the Holy Ghost.

Clip 1: “*Para Moverlo*”

Key: *Italics*= Spanish
Underlined = Q’eqchi’
Bold= from Latin/Spanish, but used as a stock phrase
 < >= sung
 Normal= transcriber’s comments/notes
 x/X= beats in the form of head nods or shakes

Note that this clip has two parts. Part A is transcribed below. Part B is not transcribed; it shows the performance of the song’s chorus (i.e. “para moverlo pa’ qui pa’ ‘lla”).

Original Clip1A:

- 1) **Amen** *hermanos, sí?* <La [cabeza] tengo tiesa como un:::: compás> **Amen?**
X
- 2) <El espíritu santo voy a cama para moverlo pa’ ‘qui pa’ ‘lla:::
x x x prep [13:16]
- 3) *para moverlo pa’ ‘qui pa’ ‘lla para moverlo pa’ ‘qui pa’ ‘lla* >
stroke [14:07—15:21] [repeat gesture phrase...]

Direct Translation:

- 1) **Amen** *brothers, yes?* < I have [my head] stiff like a::: metronome. **Amen?**
X
- 2) *The Holy Spirit I am going to bed to move it to here to there:::*
x x x prep [13:16]
- 3) *to move it to here to there to move it to here to there* >
stroke [14:07—15:21] [repeat gesture phrase...]



Figure 6: Charismatics Clip 1, "*Para Moverlo*"

Recall that Charismatics hold “joy” to be the central emotional disposition that they need to feel and enact in order to properly participate in Christianity. The dance is most certainly effusive in the sense that it asks participants to carry out certain bodily actions which would be out of the norm in everyday behavior and are meant to be exaggerated pantomimes of the lyrics of the song. While the dance is choreographed, and thus is not spontaneous in the sense of unplanned personal volitional action, its

performance, I would argue, is tied up to the ideal of spontaneity in two ways. First of all, the behaviors and movements that it seeks to represent are those that are locally understood to be what happens when the Holy Spirit inhabits an individual, which is a spontaneous occurrence beyond the person's control. In this sense the dance is a representation of what spontaneous action is supposed to look like. More than just being a representation of the spontaneous movement, though, performing this dance in this way is also meant as a way for people to become used to inhabiting the position of someone who is directly experiencing the presence of the Holy Spirit. Performing these sorts of choreographies is meant to give congregants a sense of what it is like to be inhabited by the Spirit and thus facilitate this actually happening, and as we can see in the video and the images below, the appearance of someone performing this dance is of a person having an ecstatic experience. Thomas Csordas has discussed a similar set of practices among North American Charismatic Catholics in terms of "ritualized" or "conventionalized" (1997: 79) or "intentionally coordinated spontaneity" (*ibid*: 113), as has Saba Mahmood with regards to Egyptian Muslims in terms of "rehearsed spontaneity" (Mahmood 2001). The crux of both of their arguments is that precisely because the value of spontaneity is solidly culturally established as a desired affective stance in ritual practice, there must be a social mechanism that encourages its expression. It is important to note that while spontaneity is generally valued in all of these contexts, it is actually a circumscribed set of practices that get counted as properly pious and the "right" kind spontaneity. Thus, practices like the dance described above (and the spontaneous vocalizations described in Chapter 3) are means of inculcating an ethos of spontaneity through ritualized and regularized bodily practices. Presumably,

once congregants have properly adopted this ethos, the possibility of truly spontaneous loss of bodily control through contact with the Holy Spirit is opened to them.

The effusive display of spontaneous “joy” in Clip 1 is all the more interesting when compared to an analogous situation in the Mainstream mass. In Clip 2, we see people singing as part of the Mainstream mass. They are singing a hymn that addresses the three parts of the Trinity in turn (Father, Son and Holy Ghost) to praise and thank them for the things they do (i.e. give life and law, pardon sins, move people’s hearts). At the beginning of the clip we see a woman who is a group leader standing and singing with her hymnal open at around chest level. She shifts her footing a little and looks up the camera in one instance, but otherwise her body remains relatively still. In the second part, I have panned the camera around to show the audience in the main nave. We see three women in the front row who are singing the hymn, but they do so in a very reserved fashion. Two of the women (one on the far left dressed in a burgundy huipil and the one in the middle wearing a cream colored sweater) keep their arms folded for the entire clip. The third (on the right dressed in the peach huipil) starts off with her arms crossed, uncrosses them (8:08), and then presses her hands together (9:01), before returning to crossing them. I interpret this action as a simple comfort move to warm her hands, and thus do not count it as part of the sort of bodily action I am interested in here.



Figure 7: Mainstream Catholics. Clip 2, Hymn

Comparing the two clips we see two very different approaches to participation in ritual music. Involvement in the song among mainstream Catholics isn't marked by clapping, dancing, or even necessarily by singing along. The proper way to participate here is to read from the hymnal (as the first woman does), sing along to oneself quietly, or just stand and listen. Although the song is written from the first person plural perspective and is perhaps also meant to model a certain frame of mind (gratefulness) or action (thanking God directly), unlike in the Charismatic performance, the proper position one takes in order for the desired result to be achieved is one of restraint, that is, controlling oneself in order to be in the right frame of mind for receiving communion, etc. The bodily ethos adopted by congregants in this context is one of control and constraint, which is understood to index respect for the activity at hand. Again, this posture is conventionalized among congregants and is understood as critical to proper participation, so that deviations from this norm would be considered unusual and be sanctioned.

In both of these congregations people understand their bodily actions as being part of what is necessary for successful participation in the community and its ritual activities. They know, too, that engaging in something other than that would constitute a failure to adhere to community norms, and probably elicit some sort of social sanction. In the Mainstream context unauthorized noises would merit at least some disapproving looks. In Charismatic celebrations, there are often exhortations for everyone present (anthropologists included) to clap and sing along, and though they are not directly or individually addressed to taciturn participants, they are hard to ignore as instructions. Although the two ways of acting are diametrically opposed, we can understand each to be a form of (literally) stance taking vis-à-vis an idea about the appropriate moral state for participating in religious ritual. As Bourdieu puts it,

...the attention paid to staging in great collective ceremonies derives not only from the concern to give a solemn representation of the group (manifest in the splendor of baroque festivals) but also, as many uses of singing and dancing show, from the less visible intention of ordering thoughts and suggesting feelings through the rigorous marshalling of practices and the orderly disposition of bodies, in particular the bodily expression of emotion, in laughter or tears. (Bourdieu 1990: 69)

These two contrasting regimentations might evidence different constructions of the how one becomes a pious person, but fundamentally they work off of the same logic that relates the body and the soul in how one becomes that kind of subject. The modes of bodily comportment that each congregation adopts during hymn singing are taken as reliable indicators of people's internal states. They are also meant to help congregants achieve the desired frame of mind. This is most clear in the Charismatic example, but I would argue is also the case for Mainstream Catholics for whom a adopting respectful,

controlled and constrained bodily posture is also a critical component of the right way to behave during mass.

The Collection of Offerings

The following two clips are taken from moments in the two rituals (mass and *vigilia*) in which ritual specialists are introducing the collection of alms to their congregations.

In Clip 3, taken from the Mainstream Catholic mass, one of the community's group leaders is introducing and explaining the offering of alms. Again, what is noticeable is the almost complete absence of bodily movement in the speaker's performance. She delivers her speech with no visible arm or hand movements, her head remains still, and she generally holds her body very stiffly and upright. In this speech we see an even more controlled and constrained performance even than those I described in the section about sermons above.

Clip 3: Naxwotz ajwi rikin li xkomonil iklesia

Original:

- 1) Naril ru li kaj kamonkil li xkanjel jokan naq ink'a naxkanab' sa' li xboolx ink'a
0
- 2) nakanab' sa' li xmuheb'al kaajwi choq re laa walal b'an sa' li xch'ool xwotzb'al
- 3) rikin li xkomonil rikin li xjunkab'al naxwotz ajwi rikin li xkomonil iklesia

English Translation:

- 1) One can see the ends of his work, so the don't leave it in your pocket don't leave it in
0
- 2) your house also for that your son is in his heart share with your friends/companions
- 3) with your family share also with your friend church.

There are some structural constraints that affect this speaker's performance that are worth discussing in this context. The set-up of the physical space (i.e. a consecrated church) is such that the people who are ratified as speakers occupy a clearly delimited space that is both physically and symbolically marked as different from the space that the audience occupies in the main nave. This area is itself subdivided into at least two different spaces: the high altar (covered in white cloth in the video), which is used exclusively by the priest; and the podium, which is used by everyone else who is authorized to speak to the congregation⁸⁶ (catechists, group leaders, etc). In this clip we see that the speaker is restricted to standing behind the podium to deliver her speech. This structural constraint is in part a matter of practicality, since that is where the microphone is located. However, it is not just the presence of the microphone that sets

⁸⁶ The only exception to this general rule is the choir leader, who is authorized to call out song titles and page numbers to the congregation from his or her position just outside of the altar area.

that space apart, rather it is widely understood that that is the only appropriate point from which lay people may address the congregation during mass.

Besides this constraint on the use of space, the speaker herself also clearly works to minimize her bodily movements. In the accompanying transcript one can note that there is only one mark in the lines meant to notate the use of the body, and that is to indicate that she is standing still. There is a complete absence of hand gestures, head bobs or other movements to mark the speaker's talk. That level of stillness is highly unusual in everyday interactions, and it suggests that the speaker is at some level working to control this type of action. There seems to be a premium put on bodily stillness here, which, is meant to index respect through an ethos of control and constraint. This does not, however, mean that the speaker is not engaging her audience



Figure 8: Mainstream Catholics. Clip 3, “Naxwotz ajwi rikin li xkomonil iklesia”

or providing them with other paralinguistic cues. The speaker uses a vocal cadence to emphasize certain aspects of her speech, even as she refrains from any and all gesturing. However, the inflections in her speech are very regular and in fact constitute a particularly ritualized and formal mode of talk employed by Q’eqchi’-Maya when they

wish to project authority. By showing physical constraint and control, along with using an authoritative voice, this speaker is projecting the authority that she needs in order to convince people to give money to the church. As I suggested above, the catechist's social position and religious authority depends on her perceived moral standing within the larger community, and one of the most salient ways that she can display her standing is to evidence control over her body and, thus over her moral self. Thus it makes sense that in this case where she is activating her authority within the parish, she should try to enact that idea of control and constraint.

This fourth clip is analogous to Clip 3 in that it shows one of the Charismatic group's leaders⁸⁷ giving a short speech to introduce the collection of offerings during the *vigilia*. He explains that in order for the group to continue its work and have events like this, they need money to cover their expenses, and so they will be asking the congregation for offerings. He gives this speech on the stage and paces around a bit, holding the microphone with his right hand. There are several bodily actions that the speaker performs: pacing, head nodding and a single hand gesture. All of these actions give us some clue as to the differences between what goes on in Charismatic celebrations and what goes on in a Mainstream mass. For one, the pacing that the speaker can do suggests that the set up of the space is quite different from that of the Mainstream Church. Although the congregation's attention is directed towards a small group of ratified speakers on a stage, those speakers are not constrained in their movement by a sacred altar (a small table with a few candles and a picture stands serves

⁸⁷ This particular person is not a preacher, but he is someone who is deeply involved in the group's activities and helps to coordinate them.



Figure 9: Charismatics Clip 4, "*Se necesita gastos hermanos*"

What I really want to focus on though in this clip is the single large hand gesture that the speaker performs towards the end of the utterance (12:28—14:19). I believe that it presents some evidence to support my claim that Charismatics have deliberately adopted a communicative style in religious rituals that places value on effusive bodily action. The gesture phrase can be described as follows: he raises his left hand out of his left pants' pocket, raises it to about head level, makes a conventional hand shape (closed

hand, thumb touching the index and middle fingers while pointing upwards) or emblem according to Kendon's typology (see above), and then withdraws his hand back to his pocket. The hand shape that the speaker makes in his gesture's stroke is a well-known, conventional emblematic gesture in Guatemala that means "money." It is usually performed with a light rubbing of the middle and index fingers with the thumb to suggest fingering a billfold, although it is easily recognizable even if it is performed without that movement, as it is here⁸⁸.

There are two interesting things about this particular gesture. In the first place it is a very visible gesture that in the context of the speech is meant to convey some information about the interaction to the congregation. This performance clearly contrasts with the woman in Clip 3 above, who holds herself very still while performing a similar speech act, and thus already tells us something about the way that the request for monetary sacrifice is made in each of these groups. Thus on one level this is just an example of the interactive value of gesture in this context. Secondly, though, it is also interesting that this man's performance of the gesture is poorly synched to his speech, so that by the time that the speaker performs the gesture, he has already switched his topic from explaining what the money is for (in the form of a quote, or quasi-proverb),

⁸⁸ The gesture may be made in slightly different ways to convey slightly different meanings. For example, making this gesture low and close to one's body could suggest "bribery" or some other unsavory monetary transaction, while making it with an outstretched arm could suggest a demand for payment for services rendered. In any context in Guatemala, though, it is instantly recognizable as relating to money. This gesture is so conventionalized that curbside grey-market moneychangers use it as a silent way of advertising their services along a particular three-block stretch in Guatemala City. The moneychangers will only use their voices as a way of clarifying the service they are offering ("*Dólares, Euros*") to people who they take to be non-natives and thus not likely to know what the gesture means.

to describing how the alms will be collected (by a younger members of the group to conduct the prayer).

Why is this lack of synchronicity interesting? The study of gesture suggests that speech and gesture are in fact tandem processes in communication (Kendon 2004) and cognition (McNeill 1992; McNeill 2000). That is to say that the two channels exist simultaneously as part of the same communicative process, and tend to be deployed nearly simultaneously. In general, there is a slight tendency for gesture to be performed just before speech occurs. However, here the gesture phrase is deployed very late relative to the accompanying speech. By the time the speaker actually performs the stroke of the gesture, he has already moved on from talking about the expense of the event, to prefacing the invitation to the boy who will help with the collection. While this is not necessarily a violation of some hard and fast rule about the way that gestures function, and we may note that Kendon's typology suggests that there need be no necessary correlation between speech and emblems, I think that this speakers' action is actually a "repair" or a conscious amendment of his utterance, through gesture. The fact the he delivers the gesture out of sync after awkwardly extending his hand out of his pocket suggests that perhaps he had preplanned the gesture as a part of his of public speech. Semantically, the gesture phrase accompanies a code-switch from Q'eqchi' into Spanish for the phrase "*para estas actividades se necesitan gastos hermanos,*" and particularly it reinforces the word "*gastos*", which he also stresses in his speech with a slight aspiration. "*Gastos*" and the gesture do not directly refer to the same thing, since the gesture itself is more generally understood to mean money and "*gastos*" actually refers more specifically to expenses, but in this context they can be understood as

reinforcing each other to make a deliberate point about the necessity of congregants giving monetary offerings during the ritual. Despite this semantic relationship, though, the speaker does not actually initiate the gesture phrase until he begins speaking the phrase says “*por eso naqaye eere*,” which is semantically unrelated to his hand motion, and marks a referential switch (i.e. money → a saying) as well as a codeswitch back to Q’eqchi’⁸⁹. Thus there is dissonance between the gesture phrase’s semantic and structural places in relation to the utterance as a whole. This suggests that there is a conscious dimension to the way that the speaker here chooses to employ a hand gesture to go along with speech in so far as the evidence points to him deploying this gesture as means of reinforcing his speech. Thus it is not just in the performance of explicitly religious actions that Charismatics are conscious of using their bodies. I believe that they might actually strategically be changing the style of their embodied communicative practices to create the appearance of what they take to be a less controlled religious subject. There is, of course, some irony in the fact that this new subjectivity can likewise be read as a regimentation of bodily practices, even if this regimentation is explicitly formulated as displaying effusiveness and spontaneity, and thus a lack of control and constraint in the traditional sense.

⁸⁹ The words “*hermanito*” and “*oración sobre la ofrenda*”, as I explained in the previous chapter are the sort of token uses of Spanish that are common in Charismatic speech.

Prayer Postures

We can discern something about the differing embodied communicative styles of the two congregations by looking at the way that they pray as well. Prayer, as I suggested in the Chapter 3, is an important ritual genre that occurs in a few different forms as part of both larger rituals and individualized ritual practices.



Figure 10: Charismatic prayer postures

As I've already suggested, the "hands up, palms out" pose is characteristic of Charismatic prayer to the point of being stereotypical for Mainstream Catholics. In reality there is some variation in the embodied actions that Charismatics perform when they pray, varying primarily according to how far they extend their hands. It is also the case that some Charismatics gesture while they pray. That is to say, as they pray with

their eyes closed and face turned slightly upwards, these parishioners will move their arms and hands along with their speech.

When Charismatics do this in prayer the effect is that the person is having a very animated conversation with God. In prayer the person will use his or her hands to point or to spatially arrange ideas. The rest position that they usually return to after each gesture unit is the “hands up, palms out” pose. The following example taken from a period of individualized prayer helps to illustrate the way that Charismatics gesture in prayer. As the images below show, during a 13 second period this congregant puts his hands and arms in motion to supplement his speech to god. Because of the level of sound in the chapel, which includes prayer leaders speaking into the amplification system, keyboard music playing, and every congregant praying out loud, it was impossible to capture the speech of this person’s prayer, but we can analyze his bodily motions. The images below illustrate his sequence of actions.

The congregant has been praying with his hands lowered to his chest. As the clip begins, he steps forward and raises his right hand in a fist. He shakes that fist five times in front and slightly to the right of his cheek, and then raises his left hand to briefly adopt the “hands up, palms out” pose. He then clenches both hands into fists and shakes the two together above and in front of his head five times while simultaneously bending his knees and leaning back slightly. After this, he lowers both arms, places his hands on his chest and takes a step backward. Similarly complex sequences of action are not uncommon and are an instance in which Charismatics would seem to truly act spontaneously, albeit according to certain strictures (e.g. incorporating the “hands up,

palms out” pose as a starting and ending point in the prayer and also as a bodily position that fits in to the other sequences of action).



Figure 11: Charismatic prayer gesture sequence

Mainstream Catholics also have certain characteristic prayer poses that I observed regularly. One of the most common has the person holding both hands clasped together near the navel or solar plexus, with the elbows held closely against the rib

cage. A second pose is similar in that the elbows are held to the torso, but the hands are unclasped and held either flat against the stomach or with the palms flat and facing upwards, usually with one hand's finger tips laying on top of the others'. Some pray with their arms folded as well, and yet others hold their hands clasped together in front of their chest. Finally, there is a prayer pose in which the person holds his or her hand to the face covering the eyes with a partly opened hand. These various prayer postures can be seen in the images above.



Figure 12: Mainstream Catholic prayer postures

Mainstream Catholics also sometimes gesture as they pray. The most common form of this that I observed involved people switching from the clasped hands to opened hand poses during their prayer. Several catechists associated the two poses with

different prayers, so that in the standard sequence of fixed text prayer they would pray the “Our Father” with hands clasped and open them for the “Hail Mary”. Qana Esperanza explained to me that she had learned that these were the appropriate hand positions for these prayers when she was a child, but while some adopted that practice they were in the minority. During individualized prayer Mainstream Catholics tend to suppress their hand movements, something which is done in part by the way that the hands come together or are otherwise constrained against the body, however, it is also the case that some Mainstream Catholics do gesture as they say their prayers.

The following example helps to illustrate this. In this 21 second clip taken from a Mainstream Mass, the man closest to the camera (bald, wearing glasses and white polo shirt) can be seen performing a series of hand actions while he prays. He begins with his hands together and near his solar plexus, but as he prays he opens them slightly and shifts them so that the hand that was underneath is now on top. We can also see him move his thumbs and forefingers and change the overlapping position of his hands. At one point he opens them fully and punches his right fist into his left palm and then returns to holding his hands together, until at the end he clenches his right hand into a fist and thrusts it forward before explosively releasing the hand shape. Again, we have no audio of his speech, but it is clear that these motions accompany the monologue of his prayer.



Figure 13: Mainstream prayer gesture sequence

Also worth noting in the above sequence, though, is the relative stillness of the four people surrounding this man. They do not appear to move as they pray, instead holding a single posture for the duration of this bit of prayer. In contrast to the previous example, thus we have some evidence here to suggest that Mainstream Catholics adopt an ethic of constraint over their bodies as they pray.

What is particularly interesting about these prayer examples is that they occur in a part of the ritual where there would appear to be no mutual monitoring among congregants. In both of these congregations, people tend to pray with their eyes closed

and become engrossed in the act of dialoguing with the sacred while shutting out the people around them. That the behavioral preferences for control and constraint and effusiveness and spontaneity are present here suggests that these do not just apply to the ritual specialists, but are also at least in part taken up by congregants at large as guidelines for how to act in church.

CONCLUSION

Using a few examples, I have shown that Mainstream and Charismatic Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics exhibit two different and perhaps conflicting norms ways of using their body in religious contexts. Parishioners' uses of the body seem to be ways of entering into the proper emotional and mental states to successfully engage in religious activity. Because each group figures what counts as proper behavior differently, these conventions have become strong indexes of group membership. Bourdieu's idea of body hexis is useful as a way that we can try to draw a link between people's bodily practices and the ways in which their identities are configured as ideological constructs. As I have tried to show above, those ideologies are displayed and embodied in people's interactions.

The methodologies supplied by interactional and gesture studies give us a way to collect concrete data about body movement and its relation to interpersonal communication. The analytic categories of gesture allow us to closely analyze that data and work through a wide range of actions and behaviors. By paying close attention to the variety of gestures and the way that these may vary across different social and

cultural contexts we can expand on Bourdieu's basic ideas about the embodiment of culture. By adding these ideas about gesture and the body to my analysis in previous chapters of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics' speaking practices, I believe we have developed a better understanding of the division between Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics in the parish of San Felipe.

In the following chapter I move to considering the larger institutional discourses against which the practices Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics can be understood in order to further understand the stakes of the debate.

CHAPTER 5:

GLOBAL DISCOURSES AND LOCAL HISTORIES

One of the major topics in Guatemalan studies in the last twenty years has been the rise of what is known as the Pan-Maya Movement (PMM, also sometimes referred to as the Maya Movement, Maya Nationalism, Maya Cultural Revitalization Movement, or *Movimiento Maya*⁹⁰.) The PMM is a wide and diffuse network of activists and organizations that have sought to gain state recognition of cultural rights for Guatemala's Maya via bottom-up social activism. Taking shape in the 1980s the PMM presented a distinctly new form of social mobilization among Maya in Guatemala, and, more surprisingly, seemed to be effective in achieving several of its goals for cultural rights, most notably the recognition of Mayan languages as national languages in the constitution, the implementation of bilingual education programs, and more recently the provision that social services should be available in Mayan languages.

Anthropological interest in the PMM has centered around three central questions: 1) How was it that in the wake of a violent Civil War that primarily targeted Mayas, a political space had opened for Mayas to begin asserting cultural rights? ; 2) How was it that they managed to receive concessions from a state that was still controlled by the same interests that had overseen the violence of the 1970s and '80s? What discursive strategies had the PMM adopted to make their demands convincing and

⁹⁰ This is actually the preferred term used by Maya activists themselves, while the PPM appellation is primarily used by North American anthropologists (Fischer and Brown 1996a; Warren 1998)

effective in bringing about political change? ; and 3) What were the new articulations of Maya identity that supported the discourses and political projects of the PMM? The PMM grew during the 1980s, and eventually came to increased international awareness following the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize won by Rigoberta Menchú Tum. With this attention and the further political mobilization of the PMM, questions were also raised within Guatemala about the place of Mayas within the state, how interethnic relations shaped society, and what character the nation should have.

In the same period that the ideological foundations of Pan-Mayanism started to come together and first instances of Maya cultural mobilization started to appear, the Catholic Church globally, but perhaps especially in Latin America, was undergoing a series of ideological and organizational innovations that would change the way that its pastoral agents conceptualize their role in places like Guatemala, and by extension the way that lay members would practice Catholicism. Driving these changes were discussions about how the Catholic community should be configured and what role the Church should play in this world. Far from being simply organizational questions, these concerns were driven by new evaluations of what salvation meant in a Catholic context, how this should be taken into account in forming a religious subject, and what responsibility the clergy had to their parishioners in making salvation attainable. The Second Vatican Council and the reforms that it produced are perhaps the best known and most far reaching instances of these discussions, but in the context of Latin America we can also name the Catholic Action program, the formation of Christian Democratic political parties, the development of Liberation Theology and later the Theologies of Inculturation as participating in these projects. Moreover, the

development and institutionalization of the Charismatic Catholic Renewal Movement first in the United States and later elsewhere can also be seen as part of this larger trend. All of these movements would in various ways transform the relationship between the church's institutional body, its representatives (i.e. the clergy), and its base membership. Each approached this project in different ways and perhaps with differing priorities for what needed to be addressed most urgently, but in general they all had the effect of increasing the lay participation in the day-to-day working of the church. The work that the catechists and charismatic preachers have assumed in San Felipe is a direct consequence of these transformations, and the debate between them about language use must be understood in terms of these institutional changes within Catholicism. These changes were not just organizational either; at their heart they also posited different constructions of the Christian project of salvation — that is, the liberation of humankind from sin— and thus offered distinct models of what it meant to be Christian. From a Christian perspective, then, these changes were not undertaken lightly, and their social consequences need to be understood in relation to the ideological stances that they represent.

The question I want to raise in this chapter, then, is about how these two broad discursive fields— the politics of ethnicity in Guatemala following the advent of Pan-Mayanism and the various lay-centered reconfigurations of Catholicism might be affecting the ethnographic case we have been discussing here. What are the overlaps between the PMM and the shifts in Catholicism, and how have they conditioned the situation in San Felipe? My goal here is to draw out the overlaps and disjunctions in these discursive fields to further elucidate the stakes that make the debate so pressing in

San Felipe. I take as my object of study here the intersection of the discourses of Maya identity politics in Guatemala and those of culture and spirituality within Catholicism. I then ask how these wider discourses impact the lives of parishioners in San Felipe and participate in the debate between Mainstream Catholics and Charismatics. How do these discourses articulate to create viable religious and political communities for parishioners? How do Pan-Mayanism, the Theologies of Liberation and Inculturation, and Charismatic Catholicism impact the lives of parishioners? To what extent are the debates in San Felipe and the linguistic practices of parishioners instantiations of these wider discourses? To what extent do they refine or challenge them?

RELIGION AND MAYA IDENTITY POLITICS

As C. Matthew Samson has pointed out, while “religion seems to play a supporting role in Maya activism and Maya nationalism..., [it] is largely absent from the discussion” of Pan-Mayans as a social movement (Samson 2007: 49; see also LeBaron 1993). There are two reasons for this absence. In the first place, Pan-Mayanism is largely predicated on the ideal of rescuing and reintroducing pre-contact Maya culture in the modern world, and Christianity is most certainly not a pre-contact phenomenon⁹¹. Secondly, as Fischer has pointed out, even though Pan-Maya “ideology appeals to individuals across religious boundaries” (Fischer 2001: 101) “religion has

⁹¹ However, as we shall see below, one of the claims made by certain branches of Inculturation Theology is that “God was already there when Columbus arrived”, suggesting that there is something in Maya religion that participates in the “universal truth” of the Abrahamic religions.

been a troublesome point for many pan-Maya activists,” since it potentially “presents the greatest threat to Maya unity [by] highlighting ideological differences with the weight of religious fervor” (189). Thus as an organizational principle, some activists and organizations have tended to downplay the importance of religion in the development of a Pan-Mayan identity. This is not to say, of course, that religion has no place in Pan-Mayanism, and in fact Fischer’s statement can perhaps best be understood in terms of the differences between Catholic and Protestants. When religion is activated as a part of the broader Pan-Mayan discourse, however, it is usually ‘traditional’ Maya religion, and not Christianity, that enters the discourse on Mayan identity. Figured as an autochthonous cultural trait, *Costumbre* (lit. “custom”, but understood to denote ‘traditional’ Maya religion), is seen as a relatively “pure” cultural practice that distinguishes Mayas from Ladinos. The preservation of *Costumbre* and ensuring that Maya priests have free and open access to important religious sites, whether these are on private or government administered property (such as at archaeological parks such as Iximche’ or Tikal), are often listed as goal for the PMM. Likewise, it is not uncommon for events sponsored by Pan-Mayan organizations or others sympathetic to the PMM’s goals, such as the inaugurations of projects and Maya studies academic conferences, to be opened and closed by traditionalist Maya rituals. Christianity, on the other hand, most certainly plays a role in the lives of many Maya, but is often left unaddressed by the PMM. This is despite the fact that after nearly five centuries of Christianity certainly many (or most) Mayas see themselves as Christians, and that Christian organizations (especially Catholic ones) played a significant role in the early forms of Maya social mobilization. Moreover, there are several ways in which

Christian ideas and practices converge, sometimes in surprising ways, with the politics of ethnicity in Guatemala (Samson 2007).

The ethnographic record makes it clear that Christianity has long played an important role in constituting Maya identity in Guatemala and has had an impact on the political lives of Maya at a number of levels. For example, Eric Wolf held that the *cofradia* was key in sustaining the Maya “closed corporate community” because it provided a central institution for social organization and could act as a mediator between the people and the state (Wolf 1957; see also Bunzel 1959; Reina 1966; Holleran 1949). Sheldon Annis, working several decades later as Protestantism began to gain converts and the notion of the homogeneous Maya community was being questioned, argued that religious affiliation had measurable economic effects on Maya and in turn affected people’s political standing (Annis 1987). Protestants, Annis noted, rejected the “*milpa* logic” of the traditional community, and despite losing important social ties within the village and the symbolic capital that would come from them, gained others by expanding their economic sphere to neighboring villages and towns. Warren (1978) argues that mid-century Catholic social organization programs (e.g. Catholic Action, see below) were instrumental in laying the foundation for less-locally circumscribed vision of Mayas’ ethnic identity. Wilson follows up on Warren’s observations, suggesting that it was precisely that shift away from local identification that facilitated the Mayas’ coming to see themselves as national citizens, and thus as political actors with stakes in the state (Wilson 1995). More recently, Samson (2007) has shown how two Presbyterian congregations, one Mam-Maya and one Kaqchikel-Maya, have taken up different models of community activism. While the Kaqchikel

group has adopted a style much closer to that of the direct engagement of identity politics similar to that advocated by the PMM, the Mam group has instead focused itself on developing a mode of activism which it figures as being more fully “Christian” in the sense that it makes religion and not ethnicity or culture central to its mobilization. Virginia Garrard-Burnett has also tried to show the intersection between new articulations of Catholicism, particularly via the Theology of Inculturation and the development of Mayan theology, and Pan-Mayanism, arguing that these theological movements serve to further the larger strategic goal of promoting Maya self-determination, and thus share an underlying goal with the PMM (Garrard-Burnett 2004).

There is thus ample reason to treat Pan-Mayanism and religion together, and in this chapter I sketch out the development and ideologies of the PMM and the various movements within Catholicism to point to some of the ways that their interests overlap. I conclude by tying these back to the debate in San Felipe to show how that very small-scale debate participates in these larger global and regional flows of ideas.

THE PAN-MAYA MOVEMENT

As I’ve suggested above, organizationally the PMM is not a single cohesive group, but rather a network of activists and organizations working towards several interrelated objectives to benefit the Maya people (Bastos and Camus 1993; Bastos and Camus 1995; Fischer and Brown 1996b; Warren 1998; Thirakaroonwongse 2001). The organizations have varying degrees of overlap both ideologically and practically, but

they are all dedicated to furthering some versions of Maya ethnonationalism. The foundational idea of the PMM is that, due to a history of discrimination and marginalization at the hands of non-Mayas (variously the Spanish invaders, colonial Creole elites, and more recently Ladinos), Maya have been prevented from shaping their material conditions, planning their social and political lives, and participating in meaningful political action (Cojtí Cuxil 1994; Cojtí Cuxil 1996). This is especially egregious because Mayas are a majority population in Guatemala (although this claim is often disputed by the state). The PMM seeks to redress this history of colonialism and end its effects by placing Maya people at the center of the political process in Guatemala. In order to do so, they claim, Mayas must first be allowed to practice their culture and have it recognized as a legitimate and valued component of the nation. This requires that Ladinos change their racist images of Mayas and that the state restructure itself to afford Mayas proper recognition as members of the nation and as stakeholders within the state. “The approach [of the PMM] is two-pronged: to work for the conservation and resurrection of certain elements of Maya culture while promoting broad-based reform in the Guatemalan state structure and policy” (Fischer 2001: 98). While reform of the state structure has been difficult to achieve, the cultural aspect of the project has been a relative success and is often the focus both within the PMM and for outside observers.

Because of the diffuse nature of the PMM, it is difficult to lay out a comprehensive list of the historical elements that went into its creation, but we can identify a series of events that contributed to the unprecedented conjunction of a new form of Maya ethnicity and a political opening following some of the worst parts of the

Guatemalan Civil War. This historical moment, roughly beginning in the mid-1970s, provided young Mayas a series of opportunities to both find common ground with peers within their own and other ethnolinguistic groups, and to begin to develop the organizational and political skills that would allow them to form the PMM. Though this is not the place to fully treat the origins of the movement and there are several excellent works that do a much better job (e.g. Bastos and Camus 1993; 1995; Warren 1998; Fischer 2001; Fischer and Brown 1996a), it is worth rehearsing the outlines of its origin in order to understand how it was that PMM took the form that it did and what role religious institution played there.

Material, ideological, and social factors can all be said to have contributed to the early development of the PMM. The history of the PMM is usually traced back to Guatemala's mid-century (1945 – 1954) Revolutionary Government that spanned the presidencies of Juan José Arevalo and Jacobo Arbenz. The Revolutionary Government was broadly interested in democratic reform and in improving material conditions in Guatemala. One of its major policy initiatives was a program of agrarian reform that would undo the consolidation of land in the hands of a few elites, which had been the result of policies introduced nearly sixty years earlier by President Justo Rufino Barrios. The agrarian reforms adopted under Arrevalo sought to end forced labor and redistribute agricultural lands to *campesinos*, who as a matter of course tended to be Maya. This period kicked off a transformation of the economics of the Maya community since in giving Mayas increased control over their labor (previously many had been required to perform labor for landholders for minimal wages) had allowed them to increasingly cultivate and market cash crops and thus have access to cash

(Adams 1990; Smith 1990). With this came modest increases in literacy and access to education, too. The construction of the Pan-American Highway during this period also increased the mobility of Maya, and though this was largely for the purpose of seasonal labor in lowland plantations, it had the effect of increasingly bringing them into contact with their peers from other *municipios* and linguistic groups (Arias 1990). That increasing contact across linguistic groups allowed for the first stirrings of a pan-Maya identity, although in practice political mobilization at the time was figured almost entirely according to class status. Thus, though the Revolutionary Government did not directly address Maya culture (and in fact as was common at the time its policies tended to see Maya language and culture as obstacles that the nation needed to overcome), it was during this period that Mayas began to have access to a vision of indigenous identity that extended beyond the local community.

More overt forms of ethnicity-based political mobilization began taking shape in the 1970s. Fischer, for example, cites the foundation of regional political parties that had the specific aim of representing themselves as indigenous parties among K'iche'-Maya in Quezatlénango (in 1972) and Kaqchikel-Maya in Tecpán (in 1974) as precursors to the PMM (Fischer 2001). Arturo Arias suggests that some of the rescue and rebuilding efforts led by young Mayas following the 1976 earthquake were an important site for social organization and saw Mayas take on and exercise political responsibilities by coordinating workers and administering what material aid was available, something which had not happened before (Arias 1990). The basis for this political work had in turn been that of Catholic Action (which I treat in more detail in the section of Liberation Theology below) in the 1950s, which gave Maya early

experience in organizing themselves and an exposure to ideologies of resistance to the dominant culture.

Another significant part of the reforms of the Revolutionary Government that helped to pave the way for the PMM was that they instituted the first serious effort to develop an educational system for rural Maya. Adrián Chavez, who was K'iche'-Maya and a teacher, was active in promoting the idea of Mayan literacy both as means to promote literacy in Spanish and as an end in itself. Chavez is often cited as one of the originators of Pan-Mayanism since his work in the 1950s on various aspects of Maya linguistics (including proposing a set of orthographic conventions different from Spanish for K'iche' and Kaqchikel, and translation and interpretation of the Popol Vuh) would lay the symbolic foundations of the movement. For Chavez language was at the heart of Mayan identity; his work on language was meant to elevate K'iche' as a literate language and help its promotion through education. This was in contrast to the state's interest in the use of Mayan languages, since their agenda was largely one in which Mayan languages were to be used as a means of promoting Spanish, which it saw a necessary tool for rural development. Chavez's interest in promoting literacy in Mayan languages led him to organize the Primer Congreso Lingüístico Nacional in 1949, which would bring together linguistics working on Mayan languages and become an important inspirational event for the PMM later on (Arias 1990).

Chavez's work on Mayan linguistics would serve as an inspiration for the work that would lead to Pan-Mayanism's first and most surprising victory—the foundation and officialization of the Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala (ALMG, Academy of Mayan Languages of Guatemala). As Fischer has argued, “political

linguistics” has been one of the primary means through which the PMM has managed to gain political recognition, and it precisely because of the apparent innocuous nature of linguistics that the PMM was able to gain a foothold in the state. Founded in 1986 with the purpose of furthering the study and conservation of Mayan languages and with the immediate goal of promoting adoption of a unified set of orthographic conventions for Mayan languages (López Raquec 1989), the ALMG gained state funding in 1990 via a congressional decree. Despite its governmental recognition, the ALMG has maintained autonomy and operates independently of the congress or any other branch of the state, which is probably just as well, since it has rarely if ever received the amount of funding promised to it (Fischer 2001).

The ALMG’s origins can be traced to the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín (PLFM, Francisco Marroquín⁹² Linguistic Project), which trained young Maya as linguists to collect data in their home communities starting in the mid 1970s, with the ideal that Mayas themselves would become responsible for the production of linguistic materials in their mother tongues. Originally the PLFM was a Catholic project funded by the Maryknoll Fathers and the Oklahoma Diocese designed to teach missionaries Mayan languages (Kaufman 2003: 12). The project also began teaching Peace Corps volunteers. In 1970 Terrence Kaufman, a secular linguist, became affiliated with the project and the project began to refocus itself and became a Mayan language research institute. In 1971 the PLFM’s leadership was formally handed over to secular linguists (Kaufman and several graduate students) who secured funding from

⁹² Francisco Marroquín (1499 – 1563) was the first bishop of Guatemala, and wrote several Mayan grammars.

the Peace Corps, OXFAM and the Ford Foundation. The PLFM then sent out North American researchers to rural communities to both collect linguistic data and train native speakers in linguistic research methods: “[T]he project recruited locally nominated Mayas between the ages of twenty and thirty-five with strong social ties with their home communities and no more than six years of education” (Warren 1998: x-xi). This project thus offered an unprecedented opportunity for rural Maya to gain the skills and credentials in linguistics and to develop a sense of collective identity (Warren 1998). By 1975 the PLFM had become a self-governing body with a Maya leadership and the vanguard of Mayan language research⁹³ (Fischer 2001). It was a group of PLFM-trained linguists who, at the Segundo Congreso de Lingüística Maya in 1984, passed a resolution calling for the formation of the ALMG and elected a provisional council from their own ranks to preside over the body. The story of how this came about is worth reviewing briefly since it will tell us something about the ideals that the ALMG would adopt and give us insight into why that organization became important.

One of the core ideas that had begun to emerge from the PLFM and that became one of the most important agenda items for the provisional council of the ALMG was that of a unification of Mayan language alphabets. The PLFM’s work on alphabets, which had grown out of Kaufman’s fieldwork, was published under his name in 1976 as Proyecto de alfabetos y ortografías para escribir las lenguas mayances. Kaufman’s

⁹³ Although the PLFM no longer trains Mayas as linguists, it is still an active organization in Guatemala. The PLFM is split into two divisions: one that works, often quite closely with the ALMG, on the promotion of Maya languages and the development of materials for Maya language literacy; and another that is a language school catering to North Americans and Europeans studying Spanish and Mayan languages. This organizational strategy allows the PLFM to be relatively self-sufficient since it generates a good portion of its own funding through the language school.

system was proposed as an alternative to the orthographies adopted by the governmental body that was in charge of regulating Mayan languages in education— the Instituto Indigenista Nacional (IIN, National Indigenist Institute). The new PLFM orthography, he contended, was more representative of the way that the languages are spoken since it was based on a transcription system used by academic linguists and faithful to the phonological features of real speech, whereas the IIN's orthography tried to follow the conventions of written Spanish to represent Mayan languages. Moreover, Kaufman claimed that the PLFM orthography had the advantage that it was easy to learn. The PLFM's method was to teach informants to use it, and then have them subsequently teach it to others as well. They claimed that this proved that people could easily take up the system and that moreover this method produced uniformity in Mayan language orthography. The PLFM's main criticism of the IIN's orthography was that it hewed too closely to Spanish orthographical conventions, for example using *c/qu* and *hu* instead of *k* and *w*, because the latter two letters do not appear in Spanish orthography. He said these choices were made by “two classes of people: a) Spanish speakers who aesthetically disliked the lightest divergence from Spanish orthographic practices”; and b) “indigenous people who wanted to reduce the differences between Spanish and indigenous languages...because they felt that a divergence from the orthography of Spanish meant a sign of strangeness, or inferiority, of their vernacular tongue” (Kaufman 1976). These people, he continues, had the goal of teaching literacy to the country's inhabitants in Spanish and saw anything that didn't work towards that goal as a setback. Kaufman rejects this view and sets out the PLFM's orthographies as a means to enable indigenous literacy. Beyond its claims to practical applicability, Kaufman and

the PLFM's work had two important symbolic dimensions. First, that it set out Mayan languages' distinctiveness from Spanish at the graphical level. By adopting writing conventions that are different from those of Spanish (e.g. using /k/ /q/ and /w/; doubling letters to indicate elongated vowel sounds; and getting rid of diacritic marks), written Mayan languages came to have a look all their own, even in the Latin alphabet. Secondly, the unified alphabet was a powerful symbolic representation of the unity of the 21 Mayan languages and by extension their corresponding ethnolinguistics groups. In the late 1970s (and arguably well into the 1980s) this was a novel idea that contrasted with the predominant view that while Mayas could all be categorized as "*indios*", they were not necessarily culturally related to each other.

The view that each Mayan group was sufficiently distinct from the others to be classed, both linguistically and culturally, as its own ethnicity was the view accepted and promoted by the IIN. The cultural distinctness model had informed the state's policies especially regarding bilingual education, and was supported by the IIN's main linguistic advisor— the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). Though officially the SIL is a secular organization that works to document and describe the world's languages, it is funded by the Wycliffe Bible Translation Society (WBT), and SIL workers are evangelical Christians with training in descriptive linguistics whose work is meant to set the stage for translation of the Bible into the vernacular languages of all the peoples on Earth (Stoll 1982). The SIL received a contract in 1952 to serve in an advisory capacity to the Guatemalan state and specifically with the IIN and the Ministry of Education. In this capacity it had advocated the idea that each Mayan language needed to be treated as distinct, and that the state would be better off promoting a set of

orthographic conventions that resembled those of Spanish in order to ease the transition from Mayan language L1 literacy to Spanish. The IIN and the SIL were fully committed to the idea that each Mayan language needed to be treated separately; however, this had led to some problems, especially in bilingual education, where there was a need for some form of standardization of writing conventions⁹⁴. The PLFM had tried to propose the idea that there ought to be a single alphabet, but they had been unsuccessful in advancing that idea and this led to some hostility between the PLFM and the IIN/SIL camps (Richards 1993: 211). In 1977 the IIN officialized a set of alphabets for each of the 21 Mayan languages as well as Xinca and Garifuna, which were based on the work of SIL fieldworkers. Nonetheless the PLFM continued advocating for a unified alphabet.

By the mid-1980s things changed, though, and the issue of standardization was revisited at the Segundo Congreso de Lingüística in 1984. As a response to the increasingly negative international opinion about Guatemala, the Government and the Army began to make a few high-profile (though perhaps not deeply felt) moves to appear less hostile to indigenous communities (to be sure not an easy task in the wake of a civil war that had in large part become Maya genocide). One of the most important of these was the creation of the Programa Nacional de Educación Bilingüe (PRONEBI)

⁹⁴ This was especially true following the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) implementation of DIGEBI (Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe) in 1985. DIGEBI had grown out of an earlier, smaller project (PROBNEBI, Programa de Educación Bilingüe) that sought to use L1 literacy to aid in teaching Spanish to rural Maya in four hundred Maya communities. DIGEBI's scope and the idea that the program would be implemented in all rural Maya communities meant that the lack of appropriate teaching aids was a major logistical problem that needed to be solved as quickly as possible.

which was meant to facilitate primary education in rural areas by allowing a gradual transition into “castillianization”, and in doing so give the appearance that the state was interested in helping Mayas. In order for PRONEBI to work, it needed literacy materials that it could use in educating rural Mayas, but because of the ongoing debates about orthography these had not been produced. The Segundo Congreso, then, was called to address the issue of standardizing the alphabets (again), but more specifically to develop some set of unifying criteria that could be applied to all literacy teaching materials so that PRONEBI would have a uniform corpus of materials with which to teach. The PLFM, the SIL, and several other groups and institutions were represented at the five day meeting. Tension between the two camps continued and by the end of the meeting no alphabet or orthography, either extant or emergent, had been definitively adopted as the standard by everyone present. There was, however, a new recommendation made that an academy of Mayan languages should be created under the auspices of the IIN in order to regulate work on Mayan languages.

Instead of waiting for the IIN to organize an academy, as was proposed at the Segundo Congreso, several Mayas who had been working on linguistic and educational issues, and who, it bears mentioning, had mostly been trained by the PLFM, organized in an ad hoc fashion to form the Junta Directiva Provisional, which was to be the basis for the future academy. The new twist was that the academy was to be composed of Mayas only (though this was later amended.) Two factors probably contributed to the success of this plan more than any others: 1) the organizers of the nascent ALMG had the experience and credentials to make a reasonable claim to authority in the matter; and 2) they didn't bother to ask anyone's permission to organize as an Academy. Had they

tried to go through the IIN's channels to found the Academy, it is likely that they would have been stymied in the process and that the Academy would have ended up under somebody else's control. Instead, they circumvented the bureaucracy and politics by refusing to participate in it.

In 1987 the Junta Directiva Provisional called a meeting to address the alphabet issue again. The SIL, PLFM, and others were invited to participate, but the meeting was held under the auspices of the nascent Academy. The seminar decided that, for expediency's sake, the graphemes that were common to three main alphabets in use (SIL/IIN, PLFM, and the ALMK—Academia de la Lengua Maya Kí-chè, which was Adrian Chavez's organization) would be adopted without further question. A vote was then held to decide what graphemes would be used for the nine phonemes on which there was disagreement. In a departure from the practices of earlier meetings, this time the only people who were given a vote were native Maya speakers. Previously, key decisions had been made by North Americans and Ladinos, who, for as well intentioned as they may have been, had a much different stake in the issue than Mayas themselves, and Native Maya speakers had been underrepresented. What emerged from the voting was a set of graphemes that closely resembled the PLFM's, which is not surprising since mainly it was PLFM-trained Mayas who got to cast votes. The new, unified alphabet was ratified by a governmental accord in 1987. Three years later, the ALMG

received congressional approval and became a state funded, but autonomous organization⁹⁵.

The process of standardizing Mayan orthography was thus the ground for one of the earliest victories of the PMM's struggle for the Maya autonomy. While overtly, the debate over the orthographies was carried out in the language of linguistics, the issue of the unified alphabet was first and foremost one of how Mayan ethnicity should be represented and each side had ideological reasons for advocating its set of orthographic conventions. The ALGM's ideal was that there is an underlying unity to the twenty-one Mayan ethnolinguistic groups in Guatemala, thus there is unity to the languages they speak, and this drove their desire to see the languages symbolically (re-)united through a new set of writing conventions. In making the vote on the final alphabet only open to Maya, it also made a statement about the new active role that Mayas would take in determining how they would be represented. Finally, since the alphabet was adopted for the express purpose of a Ministry of Education project, it allowed Mayas to have some say over state policy, something which they had heretofore been largely denied.

The victory over the unified alphabet helped to establish the legitimacy of the ALMG, and set the stage for it to become the governing body over the study of Mayan languages. Following the congressional act that gave the ALMG its semi-governmental status, it became the highest authority on Mayan languages and thus also a sort of clearing house for the government's use of Mayan languages. It also opened up the door for the legitimacy of PMM organizations within the state. Though the ALMG is no

⁹⁵ The ALMG's congressional approval seems to have been more a matter of persistence in pursuing the support of congressmen than of any other sort of show of power.

longer the central institution within the PMM (this role has been taken over by the COPMAGUA (Coordinación de Organizaciones del Pueblo Maya de Guatemala, or League of Organizations of the Maya People of Guatemala) — it still maintains an important role and continues its work promoting Mayan languages. This victory also allowed for the PMM’s broader agenda to be taken up in a public context.

I have dwelled on the institution of the ALMG and the fight over language because these are indicative of a significant part of what Pan-Mayanism advocates. The PMM is largely a cultural rights movement. Most of its work has been in the vein of what Nancy Fraser calls the “politics of recognition” (Fraser 1997). That is to say, a politics that seeks to remedy cultural injustices that are “rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication” and are actualized as “domination”, “nonrecognition” and “disrespect” (Fraser 1997: 14). The remedy for this kind of injustice requires some sort of cultural or symbolic change, which might even “involve the wholesale transformation of societal patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication in ways that would change *everybody’s* sense of self⁹⁶” (ibid 15, emphasis in original). These changes, however, usually have to be enacted through the state (Postero 2007). Pan-Mayanism’s project, as we saw in the case of the ALMG and the standardization of the alphabets, has at its roots a project that calls for a re-signification of Mayan culture. In this particular case, it means recognizing Mayan languages as literate modern languages and making Mayas themselves the ones responsible for controlling the ways they are represented.

⁹⁶ Fraser recognizes that these kinds of injustices are often linked to economic or material injustices, which require a “politics of redistribution” for remedy. She argues that the two are analytically different, and need to be theorized in different ways.

The politics of Maya revindication (*reivindicación*) aim to claim some measure of autonomy for Maya people within the Guatemalan state (Cojtí Cuxil 1996). The level of autonomy varies in its formulation, depending on whether what is at stake are cultural rights, socioeconomic rights, or political rights, and in what forum the issue is being discussed. In terms of cultural rights, for example, organizations within the PMM have sought to gain official recognition of Mayan languages as official languages within Guatemala, and protection of and access to Mayan religious sites. Other organizations are interested in promoting socioeconomic rights, which might include reforms regarding Mayan language bilingual education or collective land rights. Finally, others take a more direct political approach and have advocated for Maya to become politically autonomous from the Guatemalan state. While few call for outright separation from the state, some have proposed the idea that there ought to be parallel political and judicial systems for Mayas and Ladinos since this would be the only way in which each population could be properly served. In effect some of what the PMM calls for is the creation of a “multinational” society and state, in which in which each “nation” (Maya and Ladino) can have the greatest level of autonomy possible while maintaining civil relations (Cojtí Cuxil 1996).

The notion that there is such a thing a single “Mayan culture” is at the very center of the discourse of the PMM. This has been somewhat problematic for sympathetic anthropologists, since the PMM vision of Maya culture is an essentialist one and largely a materialist one at that (Fischer 2001; Nelson 1999; Warren 1998). Raxche’, for example, characterizes Maya culture as being composed of “material goods as well as spiritual goods that groups of people generate as part of their

reproduction and development” (Raxche’ (Demetrio Rodríguez Guaján) 1996: 74). Raxche’s notion of culture as a set of “goods” suggests that there is some finite set of beliefs, ideas and practices that can be catalogued and classified as genuine Maya cultural elements, and that implicitly there are other things that are foreign impositions. More over, it gives culture a possessive quality, whereby what counts is that a person hold or adhere to certain traits that are a priori deemed to be uniquely and authentically Maya. Raxche’ continues, “The process that gives birth to the unique culture of a people takes place over hundreds or thousands of years, creating deep roots difficult to remove in a short time” (*ibid.*) This *longue durée* vision of cultural stability also intimately links culture to the very soul of a people. Indeed the idea of the ancient character and uniqueness of Mayan culture underlies activists’ claims to why they deserve special consideration from the state. In this model there would appear to be little room for innovation or hybridity, despite the fact that it is largely new forms of “old” culture that form the vision of a Pan-Maya cultural identity. The PMM thus employs “strategic essentialism” (Conklin 1997) to construct the idea that there is a unitary and ancient Mayan culture which they have been alienated from by colonialist conditions.

Chief among the cultural traits that the PMM holds to be at the heart of authentic Maya culture is language, since Mayan languages represent a pre-contact Mayan cultural trait that has survived and largely remained unchanged (Fischer and Brown 1996a; England 1996a; England 2003). As Demtrio Cojtí has put it, “Maya people exist because they have and speak their own languages” (Cojtí Cuxil 1990: 12). Moreover, Raxche’ lists as one of the conditions needed to achieve a democratic society as, “breaking the cultural domination that the Ladino community has maintained over the

Maya, starting with the officialization of Mayan languages in their respective rights” (Raxche' (Demetrio Rodríguez Guaján) 1996: 83). Mayan political linguistics has been central to the PMM project, both as a rallying point for shared identity and as a battleground on which to fight its demands for government recognition. As we saw with the rise of the ALMG, language serves as the basis for Maya unity, but it is also interestingly, one of the key things that separates the twenty-one ethnolinguistic groups. This notion of unity in diversity is one of the central organizing principle of the PMM, though this is sometimes in tension with the idea of a shared pre-Conquest past. The ALMG again serves as a model, since the organization maintains a separate office for each linguistic community, each of which has equal say, despite the number of “speakers” it represents, in the governance of the institution.

What are the constructions of the community and the individual in Pan-Mayanism? Certainly this is a complex question, but it is possible to say that Pan-Mayanism, as we have seen, has at its core a vision of Maya identity as a wide-spread, perhaps diffuse, but geographically specified vision of the “imagined community” (Anderson 1991). The idea of the interrelatedness of Mayas, it has been argued, is advanced through certain symbolic acts and representations. Fischer, for example, notes that the production of maps helps to put forward the idea of a Mayan homeland that extends from southern Mexico to El Salvador and Honduras, and perhaps tellingly, is centered in the Guatemalan highlands. Some of these maps also erase the state’s political administrative boundaries and replace them with the boundaries between Mayan ethnolinguistic groups (Fischer 2001). Erich Fox Tree argues a similar point regarding the diagramming of the Maya language “tree” as a way of signifying the

common origin of contemporary Mayan languages (Fox Tree 2003). Both of these representations send the message that the community is territorially specific and that all Maya share deep ancestral roots. This new vision of Mayanness is in contrast to the pre-PMM view of ethnic identity in Guatemala under which “Indian identity [was] rooted in the [local] community” or *municipio* (Smith 1990: 18 ; Wilson 1995: 18). That element hasn’t been lost, but has rather been subsumed under a more general principle of unity through (a limited) diversity. Surface heterogeneity actually helps to support the ideal of a single Mayan *pueblo*, because it is read as indexing a deeper level of unity— often phrased in terms of a singular Mayan “cosmovision”.

Thus the subject in the Pan-Mayan vision is primarily a culturally situated one. That is to say, in this view the person’s primary locus of identity is to be his or her “cultural” background. This vision of personhood becomes problematic within the state, which tries to put forward a construction of the subject that is more in tune with liberal individualism, and which views culture as secondary to a political subjectivity. This has led to criticism of the PMM articulation of Mayan identity both on the grounds that its claims to authenticity are opportunistic and in fact mask a hybrid “mestizo” identity (see for example Morales 1998), and as being incompatible with Neo-liberal visions of the autonomous, rights-bearing individual as the modern subject (Hale 2002; 2004).

Of course all Maya do not necessarily share the PMM’s vision of the cultural subject either. In fact I would argue that among the lay leaders and ritual specialists in San Felipe a different form of identification predominates precisely because they identify primarily with their religion, and subsume ethnicity in this. In the following

section I treat the various discourses within Catholicism that have shaped their religious identities.

CATHOLICISM

As we've seen in previous chapters there is considerable heterogeneity within the Catholic Church, both at the local level (i.e. the parish or even the village) and globally. In San Felipe we have seen that the most salient opposition has been the one between Charismatic Catholicism and what I've dubbed "Mainstream" Catholicism. However, as I cautioned at the outset, this second category is itself a sort of hybrid category that actually encompasses several distinct traditions within Catholicism—namely Liberation Theology and the Theology of Inculturation, but also *costumbre*, that is, "traditionalist" or "syncretic" Maya Catholicism. In this section I want to trace out the history and features of these traditions in order to try to explain how they fit together to form what I've identified as Mainstream Catholicism in San Felipe.

Liberation Theology's primary focus has been on constructing a "preferential option for the poor" in the Church and concomitantly on working to achieve social justice for them through real world actions; it is in this sense a spiritual-social project. The Theology of Inculturation, on the other hand, has as its focus the development of culturally specific liturgies and the uncovering of the seeds of God's truth (i.e. Christianity) in each and every culture around the world; its project is thus much more focused on the relationship between culture and spirituality. This is not of course to say that the two are incompatible, just that their emphasis is different. As we can see in the

San Felipe case the two strands come together for Q'eqchi'-Maya precisely because both social and cultural issues are important in their experience, and the two theological strands inform their beliefs and organization.

Syncretic Maya Catholicism stands as sort of background against which the other two influences come into being. In the case of Liberation Theology and the Catholic-sponsored social development projects that preceded it, *costumbre* presented an established tradition against which these newer visions had to compete. In the case of Inculturation, *costumbre* became an autochthonous vision of (proto-)Christianity, which spoke to the people and which had to be rescued and reestablished in a new authentic version of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholicism.

Against these socially and culturally specific visions of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholicism stands the rather more universal ideal of the Charismatic Catholic Renewal, which offers an alternative and equally compelling interpretation of Catholicism to a small minority in San Felipe and quite a large population in Latin America more generally. By proposing an experientially immediate version of Christianity that for all intents and purposes does away with group differences, Charismatic Catholicism has a tendency to “purify” (Latour 1993) Christianity. That is to say, it subjects religion to an ideological process that separates the spiritual from the cultural and social and reifies it. In the following pages I lay out these traditions' historical development and ideological foundations to show they produce two interrelated, but distinct, constructions of the religious community and subject, which are taken up by parishioners in San Felipe.

Mainstream Catholicism

Although, the Second Vatican Council (1962 – 1965) is usually cited as the starting point for the broad changes that occurred in the Catholic Church during the second half of the Twentieth Century, as Daniel Levine has pointed out, there were a number of independent reforms occurring already in local Catholic Churches in Latin America (and elsewhere) before Vatican II began (Levine 1992). Latin American dioceses and missionary orders active in the region had begun setting up new programs that focused on lay participation and started to develop new perspectives on the Church and its works since the 1940s. These independent reforms were variously concerned with a number of issues, but all had as one of their principles the increased participation of lay people in Catholicism—a theme that would be central to Vatican II, especially via its *Ad Gentes* document. Thus, Vatican II can best be understood not as a initiating an entirely new project, but more as an event that confirmed and legitimized key features of the work that was already underway. Along with this increased emphasis on lay participation came increased tolerance for organizational innovations that would help them achieve this goal, thus setting the stage for what would become a genuinely Latin American theological tradition, eventually producing Liberation Theology and the Theology of Inculturation.

In Guatemala, as elsewhere in Latin America, Catholic Action was one of the pre-Vatican II institutional mechanisms that attempted to increase lay participation. Throughout the colonial period the Catholic Church had been a powerful central institution in Latin America exercising a great deal of influence socially, politically and

economically, but that power came to an end with the Liberal reforms that many of the new Latin American states adopted in the 19th Century. Guatemala was no exception to this. Justo Rufino Barrios' Liberal reforms of the early 1870s were strongly anticlerical and designed to divest the Catholic Church of its political and economic power. Barrios' plan included laws that seized Church properties for the state, dissolved religious orders, expelled foreign Catholic missionary orders, and nationalized church-run schools. This effectively undid the central social and political role that the Catholic Church had played in the country, especially among Maya, since colonization. Some estimates suggest that there were approximately 200 priests in the entire country following the full implementation of Barrios' reforms, which would remain in place largely in the same form until the middle of the Twentieth Century (Warren 1978). Nonetheless, there were some brief openings which would set the stage for a partial reestablishment of Catholic institutions and with them a rethinking of the role of the Church in the nation. During the presidency of Jorge Ubico⁹⁷ (1931 — 1944), for example, there was some loosening of these restrictions and the Church saw a brief expansion of its social role, even though politically it was kept in check. The subsequent Revolutionary Government (1945 — 1954) also allowed the church to reestablish itself

⁹⁷ Ubico is an interesting figure in Guatemalan history, and especially in the history of Alta Verapaz. Ubico was originally from San Juan Chamélico, a town in Alta Verapaz neighboring Cobán, and it is rumored that he had some Q'eqchi'-Maya descent (Adams 2001). His strong-arm authoritarian form of government led to many human rights abuses, especially his policies that forced labor from anyone deemed to be "indigent" (i.e. who couldn't prove that they owned land), but he is also fondly remembered as someone who could ensure order and under whose presidency there was little crime. As one elderly Q'eqchi'-Maya man told me, in Ubico's day, "You could just sleep by the side of the road (on a journey) and nothing would happen to you. There were no thieves in those days."

as a civil institution, although it maintained policies that ensured that the Church would not become involved in politics (for example, priests could neither hold office nor vote, all education remained state-run, etc.; Warren 1978).

Despite those openings, between the 1870s and the 1940s there was a vacuum in the religious life of the country and it was during this period that *costumbre* consolidated itself as the preeminent form of religion among the Maya. *Costumbre* (lit. custom) can be described as a syncretic religion that combines elements of Catholic Christianity and Maya religion. Its main focus is veneration of saints through rituals which often involve offerings of pom, candles, and turkey or chicken blood. In *Costumbre* Catholic saints are often identified with regional earth spirits (like the Q'eqchi'-Maya Tzuultaq'a) and are venerated through a ritual cycle that coincides with the agricultural one (see Watanabe 1992; Reina 1966). The main institution of *Costumbre* is the *cofradía* system, which had been set up early in the colonial period as a means of institutionalizing Catholicism within Maya communities⁹⁸ but which in practice took on a different quality than Ladino *cofradías*. During the period when institutional Catholicism was largely absent from Maya communities, *cofradías* become all-encompassing civil-religious hierarchies (Holleran 1949). As Annis describes it, although the *cofradías*' main purpose was to care for and venerate a saint's image, in practice they had a lot of social and economic power since it regulated the individual's

⁹⁸ Van Oss in his study of Catholicism in the colonial period says it is impossible to discern the exact moment when the *cofradías* were instituted, but that they likely part of the process of “*reducción*” by which indigenous people were settled into towns as the colonial governments and churches were first instituted. This would place their origin back to the early 16th Century. Importantly, he also notes that from the beginning the pattern was that *cofradías* were segregated so that Ladinos and Mayas belonged to different groups (Van Oss 1986: 109-10).

integration in the community: “*Cofradia* participation imposed on the individual a progressively burdensome obligation for communal service and financial contribution... [and thus] acted to level wealth within the village” (Annis 1987: 61). Annis further argues that one of the effects that this had is that it repurposed material poverty as social capital by transforming it into a sign of piety. The heavy monetary expenditures required for full participation in the *cofradía* system meant that in order to accumulate moral authority one had to divest oneself of capital. Annis argues that this helped to institutionalize the idea that poverty was not just an inevitable consequence of the small scale agricultural mode of production, but perhaps something that was desirable and could be used as a positive marker of one’s moral standing (especially in contradistinction with Ladinos). Because there were no longer priests to regulate the *cofradías* (e.g. by officiating masses, overseeing their finances, confirming their officers, etc.; Van Oss 1986), following Barrio’s liberal reforms, they would come to take on a power all of their own.

It was in this context that in 1939 the newly appointed Bishop of Guatemala, Mariano Rosell y Arellano, instituted the *Acción Católica Rural* (Catholic Action) program, which would try to reestablish orthodox Catholicism and change the material conditions of Mayas (Warren 1978). Catholic Action’s primary goal was to establish Catholic orthodoxy throughout Guatemala, and to do so it would need to find a way to aid the few priests who were working in rural areas in carrying out their mission. The solution was to recruit lay people to act as liaisons between the priests and their communities by training them in an orthodox version of Catholic practice. In order to establish Catholic orthodoxy, it would also be necessary to erode the power of the

cofradías at the community level by de-localizing religious authority and instead promoting a more universalistic vision of what it meant to be Catholic. Beyond the spiritual goals that Rossell had set for Catholic Action, he saw its institutional organization as a way to keep Mayas away from what he took to be radical leftist politics that were beginning to have an influence in the region especially in light of the Mexican Revolution. Catholic Action would also importantly give Mayas an organization that would keep them away from the Protestant missionaries who had begun to enter the country during the liberal period. The governments of Barrios, Ubico and Manuel José Cabrera Estrada (who held the presidency between the other two) had all seen Protestant churches as allies in developing a modern nation and in displacing the Catholic Church from the social order in Guatemala, and had thus allowed them to set up missions⁹⁹ in both urban and rural areas (Garrard-Burnett 1998). Catholic Action's political perspective was conservative, in that it sought to maintain a strong hierarchy even as it helped to better the material conditions of Mayas. Its development aspect, though largely paternalistic in nature, did promote the idea that social justice should be a goal for the Church, and that this could be achieved in the short term by improving Mayas material conditions. It sought this by advocating the idea that Mayas should be paid just wages for work, have access to schooling, and land ownership (Warren 1978). Catholic Action also tried to improve Mayas' conditions through educational programs focusing on literacy, health promotion, and the introduction of new agricultural technologies (e.g. chemical fertilizers and pesticides).

⁹⁹ Barrios, for example, personally invited Presbyterian missionaries and granted them land in Guatemala City for a church and national headquarters (Berryman 1984: 40).

Following Carlos Castillo Armas' CIA-backed 1954 overthrow of the Revolutionary government of President Jacobo Arbenz and the Revolutionary State, foreign missionaries were allowed back into the country and Catholic Action expanded its reach from a few communities to a nation-wide initiative. Castillo Armas saw the Catholic Church as an ally against the return of socialism and during his presidency Catholic Action was encouraged to grow, and develop its "second evangelization" of Maya communities. North American Maryknoll Missionaries were at the vanguard of this project and spread out around the country to train local lay people to aid the priests, act as religious instructors for parishioners, and help to translate between the priests and the parishioners (Calder 2004). However, even as Catholic Action promoted a conservative political program, the Maryknoll missionaries, and others around Latin America like them, found that their theological training in North America and Europe did not correspond to the social realities they came to face in Latin America, especially among rural indigenous communities. In the face of poverty and massive social inequalities they began to question that training and develop new ideas about the role of the Church in people's lives, which in turn led to them to shift their focus in implementing these programs with more concern for a "worldly" agenda (Berryman 1984; 1994).

The goals of Catholic Action as a social program were primarily aimed at material development. Warren describes the ideology and goals of Catholic Action as comprising the following principles: "spiritual membership in the universalistic Catholic Church should supersede ethnic identities; [singling] out local Ladinos as the major stumbling block for the actualization of economic equivalence for all individuals;

and [proposing] ladinoization as a means to achieving social and economic equivalence of Indians and Ladinos in broader society” (Warren 1978: 94). There is a slight paradox here in that while, from a salvationist point of view ethnicity and culture are supposed to be irrelevant (due to universality of the soul), the road to economic equality and social justice is paved by the assimilation of Mayas to the dominant culture of Ladinos. This may of course speak more to the way in which Ladino culture becomes invisible because of its dominant position (cp. Lipsitz 1995) and thus make claims to universalism, than a failure to take into account the importance of culture in general. The relationship between Maya ethnicity and peasant class status (and the relationship of these to “development”) would remain an important factor in the Church’s attempts to find a new way of relating indigenous people to this new vision of Catholicism. “Ladinoization” in this context perhaps wasn’t so much about ethnic identification or culture in a symbolic sense, but rather more a term than was meant to index the improvement of material conditions and the breaking apart of traditionalist social structures and modes of production¹⁰⁰. Nonetheless, if a process of “ladinoization” was part of Catholic Action’s project, it was not necessarily one that converts wanted or fully took part in, nor was it something that ended up being practicable in the face of the real social and material inequalities that existed between Mayas and Ladinos. Richard Wilson describes a similar conflict among Q’eqchi’-Maya in and around the area where

¹⁰⁰ The conflation of class and Indigenous identity has been well documented within the anthropology of Latin America. Judith Friedlander’s (1975) work on the meaning on “Indian” identity in Hueyapan, Mexico is perhaps the first and best know ethnography treating this issue. Friedlander describes the term “Indian” as being a term that, in essence, describes the opposite of “modern” and “Mexican mestizo” identity, and which comes to be as much a class marker as anything else.

my own study was conducted. Rather than “ladinoizing”, he says, what was constructed was a “new, liminal ethnic identity” (Wilson 1995: 201), by which he means a vision of their identity that was neither fully Q’eqchi’-Maya nor fully Ladino.

This “liminal” identity however shouldn’t be read as the erasure of Maya ethnic identity, but instead as a new articulation of it, and, in fact, one that opened up the possibility for a more broad-based Pan-Maya identity. The “liminality” only makes sense in terms of the difference between new Catholic Action-sanctioned ways of identifying as Catholic and older ones that had the *cofradía* at their core. The introduction of Catholic Action often led to a serious intra-community conflict between the new “converts” to orthodox Catholicism and the *cofradía* hierarchy (Warren 1978; Falla 2001; Murga Armas 2006). Warren, Falla, and Murga Armas all describe the sharp separation between new “converts” to Catholic Action and traditionalist Maya elders that occurred in Kaqchikel-Maya, K’iche’-Maya, and Tz’utujil-Maya communities as these programs were introduced. In these contexts, the religious orthodoxy of Catholic Action converts, especially their emphasis on the spiritual dimension of worship (in opposition to the physical one— e.g. the need for material sacrifice), clashed with the accepted practices of traditionalists’ “*costumbre*” which required a material commitment to the ritual cycle of celebrating the saints. These conflicts tended to be generational ones, since by and large it was younger Mayas who were chosen to receive catechist training. In addition to tapping into training as catechists, some of them also were selected to receive training to be “*promotores*” for education, health, and agricultural projects, which gave them social and occasionally economic authority as well as a religious authority in the community. These factors thus

set up a “dual structure” of authority in the community and effectively eroded the extant civil-religious hierarchy (Calder 2004).

However, this new structure of authority did not emerge easily. Warren describes both Ladino resistance to Mayas’ attempts to adopt a social place more in tune with the idea of a universal Catholic identity and Mayas’ own resistance to shedding cultural identity as factors that created a new form of religious identification. In response to these factors the Kaqchikel-Mayas she studied negotiated different domains for what counted in Catholicism and what counted in terms of indigenous identity, so that the metaphors of “soul” and “blood” respectively indexed two differing symbolic domains that organized their religious and ethnic identities (Warren 1978). This of course did not come easily or immediately, but was rather the result of intergenerational conflict within the Maya community as well as the catechists’ reflection of the social relations they had with Ladinos. The upshot of this process was that where Catholic Action was instituted a new class of educated, socially aware Maya came to claim local authority. Moreover, they were given opportunities to come in contact with other similarly situated Mayas, which, as we saw above, was one of the factors that laid a foundation of community organization and activism that dovetailed with the origins of the PMM.

What was it about Catholic Action ideologically that allowed this structure to develop and lay the basis for a new articulation of Catholic identity? In traditionalist discourses locus of identification for Maya was the local *municipio* (Warren 1978; Wilson 1995). *Costumbre*, too, identifies saints with local spirits, such as the Tzuulta’qa, and thus creates a geographically circumscribed idea religion (Wilson

1995). *Cofradías*, thus, despite their identification with Catholic saints, tend to direct their worship to particular sites in and around the *municipio*. Catholic Action, on the other hand, encouraged a form of identification with a universalistic vision of Catholicism. By placing people into contact with their peers from other villages and *municipios*, Catholic Action opened up the possibility of a less geographically circumscribed vision of Catholicism. This universalistic principle did not however wipe out ethnic identification. Rather, as Warren suggested, it forced new articulations of it because of increased contact between Mayas and the foreigners and Ladinos with whom they interacted through their religious training. Catholic Action prompted converts to articulate a more universalistic vision of Catholicism vis-à-vis traditional Mayas, but when dealing with the Ladino and foreign leaders of the catechist training programs they paradoxically found themselves still categorized as Indians, and therefore as having a lower cultural status than Ladinos (Warren 1978).

The subtext of “development” in Catholic Action is important to note, because it marked an important shift in the way that the idea of material poverty was treated in Maya communities. Sheldon Annis has argued that the *cofradia* system served an important economic function in that it leveled wealth by funneling it into fiestas. In doing so, he argues, it enforced but also legitimized personal material poverty as a sign of good social standing and piety (Annis 1987: 61 ; see also Warren 1978). Catholic Action’s work to displace the *cofradía* system was, besides being about religious orthodoxy, also a means for economic improvement for individual Mayas. Under Catholic Action poverty would no longer necessarily be seen as pious, and instead it became a social problem that needed to be fixed. Though poverty remained a feature of

life in Maya communities as a shared social problem, it no longer had the power to confer any symbolic value to the individual.

Development projects, a concern for reducing poverty, and increased lay participation had a place from the very start in Catholic Action, and they continued to be an important part of it through the 1960s. By placing the clergy in closer contact with the laity throughout Latin America, programs like this one set the stage for the development of Liberation Theology in the 1960s and '70s. In the face of stark social and economic inequalities and certainly in part inspired by the Vatican II reforms, some clergy were forced to rethink the theological training they had received in Europe and North America, which tended to deemphasize those issues in favor of a purely spiritual vision of salvation. In this process they had to reconsider what evangelism meant and what the work of the Catholic Church ought to be. The answers that eventually arose were that the Church ought to be both more engaged in this-worldly concerns, especially with regards to issues of social justice, and that it ought to become more sensitive to the social realities that the people it was serving were living in. As Cleary and Steigenga (2004) put it, the Church changed its relationship to the poor and indigenous from being paternalistic to being one of “accompaniment¹⁰¹”, meaning that ideally the clergy instead of setting the terms under which Catholicism would be practiced, would instead (in theory at least) be sensitive to cultural difference and help indigenous people facilitate their encounter with God.

¹⁰¹ “‘Accompaniment’ (*acompañamiento*) refers to the pastoral practice of being with those who are suffering from adversity, thus demonstrating concern and solidarity and providing human support” (Calder 2004: 124n67).

Liberation Theology has been described as an original Latin American form of theology, developed as a regional response to the challenges of Vatican II (e.g. Levine 1992). However, though its origins are in some sense rooted in the missionary encounters described above, at its inception it also drew from a European vision of political theology that had emerged following World War II and had laid the groundwork for Vatican II. Political theology within Catholicism had previously largely been with justifying the power of states via theological means, and had for the most part been a means of legitimizing the *status quo*. The new European political theology that began to develop post World War II posited that faith had to be publicly engaged (i.e. not relegated a “private” matter), and thus had to introduce its basic tenets to social life. In doing so it joined the theory with practice of theology and imagined the Church as an instrument for social criticism (Assmann 1975: 30-1). This view implied that religion had to be seen as actively engaged in the history of this world. The Latin American priests who would develop Liberation Theology would take those principles but expand on them in the face of the reality of the situation they faced.

Although the Second Vatican Council is often thought of as the inspirational origin for what would become Liberation Theology and the Theology of Inculturation, the 1968 Second General Conference of the Latin American Episcopal Council (CELAM) in Medellín, Colombia is perhaps a more proximate foundational event for those strands of religious thinking. CELAM had first convened in 1955 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in order to try to organize the various dioceses and establish some basis for a unified institutional identity for the region. Though little came from the Rio conference, it did set the stage for the second meeting in Medellín which would go a

long way to establish the tenor of Latin American Catholicism. The Medellín conference is especially notable for the Church's adoption of the idea of the "preferential option for the poor", that is, that a critical component of the Christianity is that its adherents show compassion and look after the material and spiritual well being of the poor. One of the ideas proposed at Medellín was that the social reality of Latin America was marked by two evils— "external dominance" and "internal colonialism" — which made it impossible to lead a good life (Cleary 1985: 42). The Church had a duty to call attention to and help fight those problems. Following Medellín, the Church, it was held, could no longer tolerate the misery of its faithful in the here and now, but instead had to take an active role in aiding them to improve their lives, which would in turn help them practice their faith more fully with human dignity. Thus, from a theological perspective, salvation came to be intimately tied to social development project (Bendaña Perdomo 1996; Berryman 1984). In order to accomplish the goals, CELAM would increase lay participation through a new pastoral plan, and at the center of this would be the CEBs.

According to Berryman, Liberation Theology proposes the following central points: 1) the adoption of an idea of the history of humankind as a single "plane", rather than separating the spiritual from the temporal, and thus justifying political engagement of the church; 2) a critique of the Church's own history and a recognition that it had always been involved in temporal matters; 3) the kingdom of God can partly be realized in this world; and 4) conflict and class struggle are part of history and must be dealt with even if this may cause division within the church (Berryman 1984: 28-9). The effect of these basic principles was to develop a method of missionization that would

seek to make political engagement a central part of its work. Ideologically, it had the effect of establishing a new way of thinking about this world as part of the larger salvationist project. In this new view, humankind's deliverance from sin and ability to enter heaven was directly tied to the actions of people on earth, since one of the central tenets of Liberation Theology would be that salvation could in part be made manifest by improving conditions in this world

The features that Berryman describes are in some form present in Gustavo Gutierrez's Teología de la liberación (originally published in 1971), which is often considered the clearest exposition of Liberation Theology. Gutierrez sets up theology as a "critical reflection on praxis" that responds to the Vatican II call for the Church to be a Church of service and one which responds to the "signs of the times" (Gutiérrez 1988). He sees in Latin America material circumstances consolidating poverty under the guise of "development", practiced as a form of external oppression which places Latin American countries and especially the poor in a state of dependency. Under dependency, people cannot be proper agents, and thus cannot properly live their lives. Gutierrez's solution is that the Church must take an active role in liberating people from these states of dependence. The Church has a responsibility to do this because, in Gutierrez's reading of scripture, this world and the next are intimately related. Whereas earlier theologians made a distinction between the trajectories of secular and sacred history that would unite only in the end times, Gutierrez sees them as being part of a single movement of salvation history. In his view, eschatology becomes not just a religious project but a social and historical one as well. This is because socio-historical conditions make sin manifest. Sin is seen as being a "break with God... a breach of the

communion of persons with each other, it is a turning in of individuals on themselves which manifests itself in a multifaceted withdrawal from others... [and is thus] an obstacle to life's reaching the fullness we call salvation" (Gutiérrez 1988: 85). Gutierrez thus develops an idea of sin that is largely about alienation, and he argues that development and economic oppression constitute forms of sin because they alienate people from God and each other and strip away their agency to live full lives. Thus, in order for salvation to take place, people must be liberated from sin.

Because sin works in multiple ways, Gutierrez formulates the idea of "liberation" as having three dimensions. The first of these is a political one: it is liberation in the sense of liberty from economic, social and political forms of oppression and highlights the imperative that the poor to be freed from oppression by the rich. The second dimension of "liberation" is related to the conception of a single historical trajectory, and posits that we must conceptualize history as a process of liberating humankind from its own limited conditions, and through which people come to assume a conscious place in history and the agency to adapt its destiny. In this context, "liberation" is a liberation from the psychological self-impositions, and liberation from these leads to a permanent cultural revolution that constructs of a new kind of person and a new kind of society in which people are truly free. Finally, "liberation" also has spiritual connotations because the Bible represents Jesus as liberating humankind from sin, which is itself the root of all oppressions (Gutiérrez 1988: 59-60). The three dimensions all come together in a single narrative of salvation that ensures the end of humankind's political psychological and spiritual oppression. This vision is possible because Gutierrez finds a basis for seeing possibility of part of salvation occurring in

the here and now. In this system working towards social justice (through advocacy and protest) is a tangible means of working towards the fulfillment of salvation. Gutierrez says, "the historical, political liberating event *is* the growth of the Kingdom [of God] and *is* a salvific event; but it is not *the* coming of the Kingdom, not all of salvation. It is the historical realization of the Kingdom and, therefore, proclaims its fullness" (Gutiérrez 1988: 104, emphases in original).

While advocacy for the poor becomes a central activity for the Latin American Catholic Church, it is still up the laity to do the work of bringing about salvation. In order to organize people for this purpose, Liberation Theology established the *comunidad eclesial de base* (CEB or base ecclesial community). Originally a product of Brazilian Catholicism in the early 1960s, the CEB model spread rapidly through Latin America following Medellín. The Brazilian model called for a relatively small group that would have regular contact and in which all members actively participated in bible study and worked to improve the spiritual and material situations of all Catholics. In the case of Guatemala and particularly among Maya populations it took on a slightly different character than it had in Brazil¹⁰². While Catholic Action had implemented a system for training lay leaders, the Brazilian CEB was not easily applicable in rural areas where distances between neighbors and high levels of illiteracy made it difficult for everyone to actively engage in Bible study. Instead, as we have seen what developed was the CEB as more of a ritual group, for whom catechists served as mediators of the gospel.

¹⁰² In fact what CEBs look like around Latin America can be highly variable (Levine 1992: 45).

Not surprisingly, the more engaged form of Catholic participation and the attention placed on improving material conditions eventually found its critics both in the political structures of power in Latin America and within the Catholic Church itself. Liberation Theology found several critics in the Vatican¹⁰³. Of these, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger (now Pope Benedictine XVI) was one of the most prominent. Ratzinger's "Instruction on Certain Aspects of 'Theology of Liberation'" [dated August 6, 1984; reprinted in (Segundo 1985)] is illustrative of the critiques of Liberation Theology, which begin from the idea that that Liberation Theologians have made a grave error in privileging the social over the spiritual, because ultimately salvation is a personal issue. By placing too much emphasis on the idea of sin as a social phenomenon, they have neglected the basic Christian idea that salvation is primarily spiritual. Moreover, he argues that the structures that liberation theologians see as the origin of sin (i.e. dependency and economic oppression) are in fact only symptoms of evil, while the root of the problem lies with individual human actions (IV: 15). This error has come about by reading a Marxist analysis into the "signs of the times" and applying it uncritically in Latin America (VII). Besides the problem of Marxism's atheism, Ratzinger criticizes priests for wanting to apply it because it is a "partisan praxis" (VIII: 5) that conflates "the poor of scripture and the proletariat of Marx" (IX: 10) and does not adequately reflect the Church's teachings about the meaning of poverty. Ratzinger concludes that in adopting a worldly mission, Liberation Theology ends up focusing too strongly on the social group and the relationships between human beings, and denying the New

¹⁰³ Pope Paul VI issued an encyclical in 1975 that cautioned Latin American bishops against allowing their CEBs from becoming too politicized (Lehmann 1996: 75).

testament's focus on the communion between the individual and God. He does not deny the "preferential option for the poor", but tries to reframe it in terms of "charity" and says that it is secondary to the love of God.

By the time that CELAM held another extraordinary meeting in Puebla, Mexico in 1979, there was significant opposition to Liberation Theology within the conference. A conservative wing had formed within CELAM to counteract Liberation Theology, and though as an institutional body CELAM largely upheld what had come out of Medellín, the ambitions of Liberation Theology were scaled back. Part of this shift was due to the Vatican's growing concerns about Liberation Theology and Pope John Paul II's more conservative outlook. At Puebla Pope John Paul II expressed his objection to the image of Jesus as a political revolutionary (Norget 2004: 172). While Puebla's final documents upheld the "preferential option for the poor", they were clear to spell out that this was not the Church's only mission and added an option for youth, action among elites, and a broader concern for human rights to the agenda (Bendaña Perdomo 1996). Puebla also began to introduce the idea that "culture" rather than class interest as a focal point for missionary work as well, thus diminishing the overriding emphasis on social justice (Lehmann 1996). Finally, Puebla affirmed the idea that the institutional Church hierarchy had a vested interest in and needed to oversee the actions of the CEBs to ensure that they were kept doctrinally in line.

After a brief period of relative openness and democracy, the socio-political context of Latin America began to become more tense in the time leading up to Puebla as well, leading to a scaling back of Liberation Theology and the Catholic Church's involvement in politics. In the context of Guatemala's Civil War (1960 – 1996) and

especially during the late 1970s and early 80's when the conflict would become more heated, Liberation Theology would become dangerous ideology to practice. Liberation Theology's impact in Guatemala placed it in direct conflict with the state's increasingly reactionary stance against any form of social organizing that might have or adopt socialist leanings. Catechists and priests, as community organizers, became suspected agents of the guerilla and were placed under surveillance by the Army and in many cases became the direct targets of violence (Wilson 1995; Berryman 1984; Bendaña Perdomo 2001). Under these circumstances an similar ones in El Salvador, Nicaragua and elsewhere (Berryman 1994), Liberation Theology became quite dangerous to adhere to in principle, and perhaps more so to practice. The Theology of Inculturation attempted to offer a similarly engaged form of pastoral work and evangelization that would not be read as such a threat politically.

Rather than being a direct break from Liberation Theology, the Theology of Inculturation can best be seen as growing out of some of the same concerns, but finding its application in a different way. Importantly it marked a transition in the Church's engagement with marginalized people by shifting from a focus on "the poor" as a master category, to trying to find the grounds for engagement in culture. While in Latin America these concerns dovetail in many cases, since class and ethnicity are often closely related, Inculturation's aims are explicitly cultural rather than economic or political. If Inculturation takes as part of its task the establishment of social justice, it does so by means of an overtly cultural project rather than a socio-political or economic one. As Orta characterizes it, the shift is one that "coordinate[s] with globally

identifiable shifts from class-based politics of identity to those premised on ethnic difference and multiculturalism” (Orta 2004: 482).

The fourth extraordinary meeting of CELAM, which was held in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic in 1992 to coincide with the Columbus Quincentennial, can be seen as the transition point between Liberation Theology and the Theology of Inculturation. Santo Domingo had as its main theme the idea of a “new Evangelization” in Latin America through which Catholics would come to a fuller understanding of their faith and which would energize them (Gill 1999). This was in part a response to the growth of Protestantism, but also to Liberation Theology. It sought to take up the framework of the CEB organizations, but redirect them away from a political project to a spiritual one. In some ways too this was a call back to parts of Vatican II. One of the most well known changes in Catholicism following Vatican II was the adoption of vernacular languages for the liturgy. The impetus behind this was to make the words of the mass accessible to the laity. The idea that one did not need a specialized sacramental language for masses, and that instead the Church should endeavor to translate the content of its rites so that they would be accessible to everyone, seemed to acknowledge the necessity of making the formally universal rituals linguistically particular. This would become a starting principle for Inculturation, but it would also try to move beyond just translation. In justifying his version of the Theology of Inculturation¹⁰⁴, Diego Irrázaval cites the Church councils and meetings in Latin America that we have

¹⁰⁴ It’s important to note that unlike Liberation Theology, which is largely a Latin American phenomenon, the Theology of Inculturation has multiple global versions. Africa, India and the Philippines for example all have strong traditions of Inculturation, which in fact are used locally in Alta Verapaz as models for the work to be done there.

been discussing, but says that these in and of themselves do not adequately describe the project he envisions for Inculturation. Medellín, he says, was conceived of as a way for the Church to respond to the social and political changes that they saw occurring in Latin America— a way of responding to the “signs of the times” (Irrázaval 2000; Cleary 1985: 47-8). As we saw above, the emphasis was on developing a sense of participation for the poor, and one of the important developments was the historical emphasis, which can be seen as directly related to the concern with culture. The Medellín documents also set the stage for a Latin American Inculturation in that its documents make reference to the “Latinamericanization” of Church practices, that is, the necessity of adapting them to the local context of the continent (Cleary 1985). While the Puebla documents do not make culture their central issue, they propose it as an alternative to class identities and make a call to new evangelization that is directed at specific groups of people. Moreover, Puebla criticizes the idea that there is a universal culture (secular or Christian) that flattens differences; instead, CELAM proposed that the Church should respect difference. Irrázaval characterizes Santo Domingo as being in many ways a restatement of Puebla, but points specifically to the ideas that catechesis is an ongoing process and that it promotes placing more value on lay people as signs that the Church is moving steadily towards a true position of Inculturation.

What are the characteristics of Inculturation? Inculturation means “the process of insertion/incarnation of the Gospel in the heart of the peoples and culture” (Comisión de Pastoral Indígena 2003: 5). Ideally, Inculturation makes Catholicism anew in each culture as a means of having it speak more directly to each and every population. One of the starting points of the Theology of Inculturation is the principle of “logos

spermaikos”, which was originally formulated in the Second Century as a means of forging some continuity between Greek and Christian thought. This principle held that, “the seeds of the Word were already present in ancient philosophy, subsequently disseminating to refer to all cultures and to a worldwide religious process” (Velho 2008: 277-8) This idea was echoed in the Second Vatican council’s *Ad Gentes* decree which told missionaries to “lay bare the seeds of the Word which lie hidden among their fellows” (quoted *ibid.*) This principle has been carried forward in Inculturation, which proposes that what missionaries should seek to do in their work is not precisely to convert indigenous people, but rather to guide them and aid them in uncovering the fundamental underlying Christian truth of their culture: “Inculturation is... not about winning over followers but about giving multiculturalized [sic] witness to the God who saves humankind” (Irrázaval 2000: 9).

The Scriptural basis for this is the incarnation of Christ, and it is this metaphor that encapsulates the idea of creating particular churches to express a universal truth. The idea is that through Jesus, god became particular— both particular as an individual, but also culturally particular as a Jew. One can read Paul’s letter to the Galatians as being an early attempt to reconcile the universalistic character of the incarnation with cultural particularities. However, Inculturationists argue that as the Church developed into a centralized institution a mistake was made in assuming that the way that Catholicism (specifically the Roman Rite) developed from that incarnation was to be the only acceptable model. Instead, Inculturation proposes that Catholic faith has to be recognized and allowed to develop in each and every culture in its own particular way. As Pope John Paul II says “Faith is lived in concrete reality and it takes its body in it

and through it... A faith that does not make itself culture is a faith not fully grasped, not thought fully through, not faithfully lived... A faith that would place itself at the margins of what is human, and therefore what is culture, would be a faith unfaithful to the fullness of what the Word of God manifests and reveals, a decapitated faith, even worse, a faith in the process of self-dissolution”¹⁰⁵ (Address to Intellectuals, Students and University Personnel at Medellín, Colombia July 5, 1986, quoted in Ak’ Kutan 1994).

Inculturation is seen as something that is a continuous process with no necessary end. Moreover, it can be read as a dual process whereby the clergy who accompany the community’s process of Inculturating the Gospel are through that experience led to see new aspects of their own faith. Theoretically, the agents of Inculturation have to be the “natural leaders” of the communities and the clergy’s job is to “motivate” and accompany” them (Centro Ak’ Kutan 1994). We can say that this closely responds to Liberation Theology’s emphasis on lay participation, however it differs in its application because, as we saw above, Liberation Theology often favored younger community members, whereas in Inculturation, it is already established leaders (including for example, *cofrades* or traditional healers) who are allowed to take a more prominent role. Thus in the Inculturation project the relationship between clergy and

¹⁰⁵ “*La fe, se vive en la realidad concreta y toma cuerpo en ella y a través de ella... Una fe que no se hace cultura es una fe no acogida plenamente, no pensada por entero, no fielmente vivida... Una fe que se sitúe al margen de lo humano y, por tanto, de la cultura, sería una fe infiel a la plenitud de cuanto la Palabra de Dios manifiesta y revela, una fe decapitada, más aún, una fe en proceso de autodisolución.*” The full text of the speech is available at:

http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1986/july/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19860705_intellettuali-medellin_sp.html (consulted September 12, 2008.)

laity is figured more as one of reciprocity, rather than of guidance as tended to be the case in Liberation Theology. It is interesting to note that if Catholic Action was responsible for the downfall of the *cofradía* system, one of its successors—Inculturation— seeks to rescue it as a means of promoting a truly Mayan vision of the universal Church. This speaks to the complex way in which Catholicism has constructed its mission in Latin America over the last half-century.

Inculturation is a rethinking of what it means to have a “universal” Church. The ideal in Inculturation is that it is through the particular that the universal can be known; it is through local churches that the universal church can be actualized. Culture offers a necessary mediating point for spiritual life and salvation. If the aim nonetheless remains one of saving individual souls, the means for salvation must necessarily be tailored to the culture in which each soul has developed. The relationship of the group to the salvation is thus a slightly different one than the one proposed by Liberation Theology. Liberation Theology saw salvation as historically situated, but it did so according to one key narrative of how people could be situated, namely a Marxist vision of class status. Inculturation replaces that narrative with a multiculturalist one, and proposes at least in theory that there are myriad ways in which the process of salvation may be figured, each according to the partial seeds of truth that exist in it. If the two share an ideal of uniting this- and other-worldly histories, the way that they see their conjuncture and the parts of the this-worldly experience that counts are quite different.

The scope of what precisely constitutes Inculturation is also debatable. In its most limited form, it seems to present a generalized idea for the continued development of participation in the Church by subaltern groups, who are granted a certain level of

autonomy to affect surface changes on the ways in which the Roman rite is performed. This might include not just the use of vernacular languages, but also the appropriation of local forms of music, dance, sacred foods to serve as the Eucharist, etc. More radical forms of Inculturation question some of the deeper foundations of the Roman Rite. For example, in one publication the Dominican father of the Ak' Kutan center in the Diocese of the Verapaz asks "Why is celibacy demanded as a condition for receiving the priestly order in these cultures where God himself is expressed as Father-Mother, and where community religious services must be performed, necessarily, by a human couple?" (Centro Ak' Kutan 1994: 185-6), or "How can we incorporate in our pastoral work the importance that Holy Mother Earth represents for Maya?" (ibid. 186). These questions haven't been resolved, and to my knowledge the Diocese of the Verapaz has not instituted the answers they imply, but they suggest that at least in some sectors some very serious work is being done to question the assumptions about what constitutes the core of Catholicism.

Charismatic Catholic Movement

The standard story of Charismatic Catholicism's origins is that it began during a series of prayer meetings held at Duquesne University in Pittsburg in 1967 when a group of Catholic faculty members and students, all lay men and women, asked some Protestant Pentecostals to join them in prayer. The Catholics had independently formed their prayer group and had been talking about ecstatic religious experience before inviting the Pentecostals. Over a weekend retreat with the Pentecostals several members

of the Duquesne group received the “Baptism of the Spirit” and manifested “charisms” (e.g. glossolalia, healing, deliverance from demons, and prophecy).

From those first meetings, the nascent movement spread rapidly across North America, then to Europe, and eventually to the rest of the world. The story is of course a little more complicated than that. The Duquesne group initially spread its form of worship through personal contact with other similarly situated student groups in the Northeast and Midwest U.S. (primarily at Notre-Dame and MSU). Within a few years those groups began to attract more of a middle-aged and middle-class following and the CCRM began to institutionalize itself. This institutionalization came through establishing permanent prayer groups that would meet on a regular basis; sometimes they were attached to specific parishes and other times not. The movement’s rapid growth led to the establishment in 1970 of a National Service Committee that would help organize and coordinate the prayer groups in the U.S., and by 1975 a International Communications Office was established to do the same on a global scale (McGuire 1982; Csordas 2007; Chesnut 2003). The growth of the movement was fast and impressive. McGuire gives the example of attendance at national conferences in the first few years of the movement as one measure of its growth— starting with just 150 attendees in 1968 (already more than a doubling of the original groups), by 1974 attendance at national conferences had reached 25,000. Some estimates placed the total membership of the CCRM in 1974 at roughly 350,000, and a year later at 500,000 (McGuire 1982: 5-6).

Early on CCRM prayer groups were highly ecumenical, although as time went on that began to diminish as some began to identify more strongly again with

Catholicism. Though members of the earliest groups often referred to themselves as “Catholic Pentecostals” or “Pentecostal Catholics”, the “Pentecostal” label gradually gave way to “Charismatic” as a way for members to differentiate themselves from Protestant Pentecostals (McGuire 1982: 4). During the early period of growth the CCRM also formed a liaison with the Vatican via Cardinal Leon Joseph Suenens, who had been one of the main architects of Vatican II and remained an important presence within the Church. Until his retirement in 1984 Suenens would be the movement’s greatest supporter in the Vatican, and would both advocate for the CCRM’s institutional recognition and produce theological writings to support its beliefs and practices (which after all had been lay-initiated and thus lacked the patina of theological authority). Suenens’ recognition of the CCRM was not the only one, either, and the movement began to attain some recognition from local Catholic hierarchies as the 1970s wore on. However, many within the Church viewed the movement with some suspicion, and as the group spread it encountered varying levels of acceptance. U.S. bishops formally recognized the group as early as 1969, but also set up provisions that required that local priests supervise the groups. In 1975 Pope Paul VI first addressed the group at an international convention of 10,000 members in Rome, granting the CCRM recognition within the Catholic Church, but reaffirming the U.S. bishops’ requirement of sacerdotal supervision (Chesnut 2003: 60). The global expansion of the CCRM continued through the 1970’s and in 1978 the International Communications Office moved from Michigan to Belgium, effectively establishing the U.S. born movement as an international phenomenon. Papal approval of the CCRM continued under John Paul II and Benedictine XVI, both of who have seen the socially conservative politics of the

movement as a useful counterbalance to the more progressive elements in the Church(Csordas 2007). In 1993 the International Charismatic Catholic Renewal Services (ICCRS, formerly the International Communications Office) received an official charter from the Vatican in 1993 recognizing it as the central organizing and coordinating institution of the CCRM (International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services 1993).

The ICCRS now estimates that the world population of the CCRM is somewhere in the neighborhood of 120 million people (more than 11% of all Catholics), with upwards of 73 million of those living in Latin America (International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services 2005). Since its inception the movement has spread world-wide both through the missionary efforts of extant groups and when individuals visiting a group received the “baptism” and subsequently organized prayers groups in their home countries. Although there have been varying degrees of clerical involvement, the movement’s spread has remained primarily a lay phenomenon.

The CCRM first appeared in Latin America in the mid-1970s. Chesnut describes the movement’s acceptance within Latin America as being at first one of “critical tolerance” (2003: 69), with the relationship becoming increasingly complicated as the movement grew. A central issue coloring its reception was a question of what relationship exactly existed between the CCRM and Protestant Pentecostal “sects”. In some situations, the CCRM could be seen as a powerful ally that could provide the same “services” as Pentecostalism, but keep people within the Catholic fold. In a best-case scenario, it might even prompt nominal but non-practicing Catholics to greater involvement with the Church. The recommendations made for increasing participation

in Catholicism and curbing the effects of the “sects” at the CELAM meeting in Puebla in 1979, for example, could and were being met by CCRM groups (*ibid*: 71). In other cases, the CCRM was seen as Pentecostalism masquerading as Catholicism, so that, for example, in the Diocese of Durango Mexico the bishop prohibited the use of the CCRM name and many of the practices associated with their style of worship (e.g. clapping and rhythmic movement, as well as display of charisms and Baptism in the Holy Spirit; Chesnut 2003b: 72). Another important issue had to do with the social composition of the group. As Latin American Catholicism increasingly identified itself with the “preferential option for the poor” and incorporating “popular” Catholic practice, the CCRM tended to have a more middle-class, if not elite, social make-up, and its more fundamentalist approach to Catholicism also meant that members rejected local cultural practices as “superstitions”, if not outright diabolizing them. The current of Charismatic Catholicism within Latin America is this in some sense a response to the discourses of Liberation Theology and Inculturation and their more socially conscious agenda.

In Guatemala the first initiative to introduce the CCRM came from a wealthy layman, although it was eventually the Archbishop of Guatemala who in 1974 invited North American representatives to hold a retreat for some members of the clergy (Chesnut 2003b: 75-6). The first CCRM groups in Guatemala were set up in the capital city in relatively well to do parishes, continuing the idea that this was a middle-class movement. The CCRM seems to have spread among Ladinos first, and only later was introduced to Maya communities. Though there was strong supervision and participation from some parts of the upper echelon of the Church hierarchy in Guatemala, the CCRM became largely a lay phenomenon practiced by urban Ladinos.

Unlike Liberation Theology, Theology of Inculturation, or Catholic Action, which had their genesis in the clergy's reflection on the conditions they found in Latin America, the CCRM was at its inception a lay movement. Its focus is on the personal experiential dimension of spirituality, unlike the other movements, which place their emphasis on building community and this-worldly development as a means to achieving spiritual fulfillment. This focus on the individual's personal experience reinforces the critical role of the laity, since theoretically everyone can have access to the experience of the Holy Spirit. This has meant that unlike Liberation Theology or Inculturation, which were formed through theological writings first (albeit ones highly grounded in the experiences of the clergy) and put into practice afterwards, Charismatic Catholicism was instead grounded in the practices of lay people and only subsequently theorized theologically by, for example, Suenens. This "reversal" of the relationship between lay practice and theological writing has made the movement problematic in certain contexts where the clergy have resisted the movement as unorthodox. However, certainly Cardinal Suenens' attachment to the movement near its beginning as a global phenomenon helped to give it some theological legitimacy. Pope Paul VI's address to the CCRM's international conference in 1975 also gave the movement critical institutional recognition from the Vatican.

What are the theological or creedal bases of the CCRM then? Central to the CCR's theology is a belief in the manifestation of the gifts of the spirit via things like faith healing, glossolalia, prophecy, and delivery from evil. The scriptural basis for this is the description of the Pentecost in Acts 2:4, which describes glossolalia as a sign of the Holy Spirit, and St. Paul's description of the gifts given by the Holy Spirit in 1

Corinthians 12:4-11. The charisms are signs of “Baptism in the Holy Spirit”, which is the “overwhelming realization of the loving nearness of God proclaimed in the Church’s message and encountered in the individual act of faith” (Cordes 1997: 12). The Holy Spirit plays an important role in Charismatic Catholicism, as the part of the trinity that is accessible to humans following the ascension of Jesus (Suenens 1974). The exhibition of a charism is also described as being accompanied by strong emotions and a greater self-understanding (Cordes 1997). Baptism in the Holy Spirit is categorically different from the sacrament of Baptism (with water), in that while the latter is a necessary condition for salvation, the former is a personal transformative experience that signals of God’s power in the believer’s life (McGuire 1982: 28; cp. Cordes 1997: 15-19). Along with the central role played by charisms and the Baptism in the Holy Spirit comes the idea that these are signs of a new Pentecost¹⁰⁶ within the church, which in turn signals that the Church is in a phase of renewal. Some within the CCRM have suggested that this Pentecost in some way is connected to the renewal of the Church initiated by Vatican II, citing especially the call for “holiness” and “mission” as foundational aspects of the experiences and duties of Charismatic Catholics (Cordes 1997). Finally, as the CCRM has increasingly moved to establish its Catholic roots and differentiate itself from Protestant Pentecostalism, the Virgin Mary has been afforded an important role as a model of holiness (*ibid.*; see also Chesnut 2003; de Theije and Mariz 2008.)

¹⁰⁶ The original Pentecost as described in Acts chapter 2 was feast fifty days after the resurrection at which the Holy Spirit was supposed to have descended on Jesus’ followers.

McGuire, a secular writer, characterizes the core beliefs of Charismatic Catholicism as revolving around a certain idea of “power” with four interrelated features: “(1) a belief that the power of God is given directly to ordinary humans (through the ‘gifts of the Holy Spirit), (2) that, as a result, members have the power to see the relevance of religion in their everyday lives, and prayer groups experience a power which serves as the basis for meaning and moral norms, (3) this power has a strong experiential component, and (4) all these beliefs and experiences compel members to seek out a community of fellow believers— a community which both produces and is the product of power.” (de Theije and Mariz 2008; McGuire 1982: 7-8) The idea that believers can have a direct experience of the “power” of God, and that this can transform their lives, has led some branches of Charismatics to create intentional communities in which they can live according to these principles (see Csordas 1997 for a discussion of this). For the majority, though, these ideals must be woven into their lives in an otherwise secular world (Lehman 2003). The direct experience of “power” is thus central to the Charismatic Catholic conception of Christianity.

This vision of Catholicism, much more so than Liberation Theology of Inculturation, proposes a universalizing view of Catholic practice and identity, in which culture does not play a determining role. The strategy may be less one of denying that culture plays any role in adherents’ lives, and instead one of avoiding the conversation about what role culture, or for that matter class status, play in religious experience. De Theije and Mariz discussing the case of the CCRM in Brazil say that, “[it] has avoided discussing the tension between the universal and the local values, and it presents itself as a universal or global discourse... The movement refers to universal faith rather than a

localized, Brazilian, or Latin American Catholicism. It regards universal Catholicism, as well as humanity in general, as the community of all individuals, without mentioning any peoples specifically” (de Theije and Mariz 2008: 41). Suenens’ early theological formulation of Charismatic Catholicism in the “Malines document” also elides the question of culture, except as a way to talk about the possibility of ecumenism between “theological cultures” (Suenens 1974: 27-8). This, of course, is not surprising given the emphasis placed on personal experience and transcendence via the Holy Spirit. In such a situation what counts isn’t a socially situated individual, but rather the universal principle of divinity. This perhaps is more in keeping with pre-Conciliar theologies, but it stands in stark contrast with the heavy emphasis on culture and the social that was more normative in late Twentieth Century Catholicism at least as it was formulated from the top down in Latin America.

However, the CCRM’s claims to cultureless universality need to be understood as particular stances taken with regard to what they envision as an ideal form of Christianity. De Theije and Mariz, for example, suggest that the CCRM’s use of mass media and popular music genres is a means of embodying an idealized universal Christian culture (2008). In certain forms of expression from mass media and popular culture, Brazilian members of the CCRM lay claim to a modern, “global” identity that contrasts with the localized, “folkloric” vision of Brazilian popular religiosity. We can understand this move as signaling the purification of Christianity, which seeks to make a claim to universal authenticity by excising “culture”. Nonetheless, from an ethnological point of view we can recognize that the ways in which modernity and universality are themselves culture bound concepts, so that the Brazilian (and indeed the

Q'eqchi') modes of expression that are meant to embody these principles are recognizable as culture. David Lehman approaches the question of what culture the CCRM has by suggesting that because it is a lay initiative and because it adapts popular forms of expression for the goal of religious worship, Charismatic Catholicism might be best understood as part of Catholicism's "repertoire of popular religion [albeit one] adapted to a more global context" (Lehman 2003: 135), and thus not all that different practically from what is envisioned by Inculturation. Members of the CCRM's in Latin America would not likely agree with that assessment however, and instead highlight the way in which the CCRM is a global renewal of an original Christian experience that transcends culture.

SAN FELIPE

As we've seen in previous chapters, there is palpable tension between Charismatics and Mainstream Catholics in San Felipe today. Moreover, there are some ways in which that tension is analogous to what happened at the local level when Catholic Action was introduced two decades earlier (see Wilson 1997; also Warren 1978, Falla 2001), and perhaps also with what was happening in the Latin American Catholic Church more broadly during the 1970s and '80s vis-à-vis Liberation Theology. These tensions, I'd argue, end up being productive, because in raising the differences between the two conflicting discourses about what Catholicism is and how it is to be put into practice and putting them in direct contact with each other they prompt the articulation of new answers to those questions.

There are numerous ways in which the discourses overlap and intersect with each other. In the case of Catholic Action and Liberation Theology we see one following directly from the other. Between Liberation Theology and the Theology of Inculturation we see a sort of parallel development that veers off at a critical juncture (i.e. regarding the importance of culture vs. class). *Costumbre*, I suggested, offered a fixed point against which Catholic Action would define itself, but it would also become a valued trope to be rescued and reinstated by the time Inculturation became important in Guatemala. Charismatic Catholicism sets itself in part against Inculturation, but can perhaps also be read as stemming from the conservative response to Liberation Theology. Unlike Inculturation, though, which sees culture as a necessary component of religious practice, Charismatic Catholicism and Liberation Theology construct ideally “universalist” versions of salvation, which do not factor in the cultural identity of the subject (although the latter certainly does consider class status). *Costumbre* and Charismatic Catholicism can both be understood as properly lay projects, whereas the others to a greater extent require the clergy (or their authorized stand-ins— catechists) to actively participate in them and had their creedal foundations laid much more strongly by the clergy as well.

Each of these stances proposes a slightly different formula for the Christian community and the kind of subject that inhabits it, which can help us to understand some of the tensions between the groups. *Costumbre*, through its central institution of the *cofradia* seems to propose an all-encompassing social order, organizing the social, political and spiritual, that is geographically circumscribed and limited to the village, or at best the *municipio*. In that context, relationships among community members and

between community members and local spirits (figured as both Catholic Saints and earth spirits like the Tzuultaq'a) are the most important. The individual's job here is to ensure that the community practice of "feeding" the spirits is maintained so that the community can be maintained. *Costumbre* and ethnic identity are closely linked because of the way it is figured as local and as distinct from Ladino practices, and in fact also draws lines between different groups of Mayas. As a response to this Catholic Action and later Liberation Theology sought to promote a vision of Christian identity that located its point of reference outside of the boundaries of the village. Although in these formulas the local human community is still important organizationally, it also asks adherents to situate themselves in a global community of Christians by foregrounding a relationship between the believer and a universal God. Although ethnicity does not play an overt role in these discourses, as we saw, it does figure in in a dissimulated way through the language of class. By applying a discourse of class to Mayan Catholic practice, too, Catholic Action and Liberation Theology laid the early groundwork for a more broadly based Mayan identity as people began to recognize similarities across local communities. However the two diverge in their idea of salvation since Catholic Action takes more of a personalized model, while Liberation Theology sees salvation as a community-based project. Inculturation followed on that trend, but introduced the idea of "culture" as a way to mark the distinctiveness of Mayas. In its formulation of a universal Catholicism made out of particular churches and the proposal that each culture has some primary access to God, it strikes a balance between the particularism of *Costumbre* and the universal vision of the Christian subject in Liberation Theology. The Christian community in Inculturation is simultaneously culturally specific and universal

in its ability to access God. Though it still cultivates the idea of individual's salvation, it sees this as being necessarily mediated by the primary culture of the individual. Finally, Charismatic Catholicism places greater weight on the individual subject in salvation by offering the idea that it is through the Baptism of the Holy Ghost that each person comes to know God directly. Christian communities exist in a sense as a means of ensuring the individuals' ability to enter into that personalized relationship with God. In this way it can be seen as a sort of inverse of the *Costumbre* model.

The religious discourses I've described here also have implicitly constructed a political stance for its adherents (Assmann 1975). As we saw in the first sections of this chapter, too, these religious discourses played a significant role in helping to develop Pan-Mayanism as an ethnicity-based political stance. The community organization initiated by the Catholic Action program, Warren, Falla, and Wilson have argued, was a direct contributor to an increased sense of shared ethnicity and laid the foundation for political organization. More recently, Pan-Mayanism and Inculturation overlap in their attitude about the autonomy for cultural groups and their right to self-determination. This is especially true in terms of language use rights, since the PMM sees language as a central part of Mayan identity and Inculturation is predicated on the use of vernacular languages in rituals. Likewise, both hold the idea that each culture has a certain "cosmovision" that grants it a particular kind of access to understanding the nature of the world, and which is inalienable from the subject.

Liberation Theology had more natural ties to the *campesino* movements of the 1960s and '70s, and of course to the leftist movements during the Civil War, because of their convergent use of Marxist analysis. The PMM however, shares in Liberation

Theology's use of a language of internal colonialism and oppression to critique the social situation of Maya in Guatemala. Although the emphases of the two movements are different, they share in the sense that Mayas need some measure of autonomy in order to live their lives in a full and dignified way. It bears mention, though, that one of the criticisms that has been leveled at the PMM is that in focusing too much on cultural rights, it neglects taking action on economic injustices and thus perpetuates social inequality (Warren 1998).

Costumbre has a special role in the PMM since it is seen at least by some of the leadership as containing crucial elements of "millennial" Maya culture. That is, they regard it as exhibiting key features of pre-invasion Maya culture, which must be rescued and reestablished in order for Maya to become truly autonomous agents within the nation. Although certainly not everyone within the PMM wants to be a *costumbrista*, some of the practices of *costumbre*, recalibrated to downplay the Christian influences and emphasize the pre-Colonial Maya ones, have become important emblems of PMM identity, so that it is common for PMM sponsored conferences or other events to open and close under the watch of a Maya priest.

Finally, Charismatic Catholicism tends to focus on the individual's unmediated access to the Holy Spirit. This kind of Christian subject's form of identification is based on participation in a global community of "renewed" Christians. For them cultural, ethnic and class boundaries don't matter so much because the way to salvation is through the individual's faith. While the prayer group or ritual community is important as a means of achieving Baptism in the Holy Spirit and there is some sense in which those groups are modeled on early Christian communities, the Baptism in the Holy

spirit is by and large a personal experience and it is thought to be entirely possible that a person can realize it without a group. In figuring themselves as members in a global community of believers, each of who has the ability to access the Holy Spirit directly, Charismatics are able to bracket questions of social and cultural difference in this world and instead focus on individual salvation in the next.

How do these discourses end up being lived in San Felipe? As we've seen, the distinction between Charismatics and Mainstream Catholics is the main issue in San Felipe, but there are also still some traces of the division between *costumbristas* and more orthodox Catholics. As we have seen, the discourse that Mainstream Catholics marshal against Charismatics sometimes implies that the latter are denying their ethnic identity by speaking in Spanish, adopting a different expressive style, and most importantly separating themselves from established CEBs. However, it is also the case that in some ways those very same claims (except those about the use of Spanish, which was not an issue in the earlier debate) were made by *costumbristas* against catechists in the 1970s and '80s. Charismatics for their part want to retain their ethnic identity; when asked, they say that they do not see themselves as "ladinoizing" or in any way rejecting Q'eqchi'-Maya identity. However, their vision of what it means to be Q'eqchi'-Maya is a different one than Mainstream Catholics'. Because cultural identification is not a necessary part of their religious identity, they see no need to foreground it in their practices. In their view, for example, Spanish and Q'eqchi' are interchangeable languages in ritual because both are adequate means for communicating with each other and God, and neither is necessary for the personal communion of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit that they seek. For Mainstream Catholics however, the Q'eqchi' language

runs deep and is intimately tied to one's ability to express what is in the heart. Understood as a culturally specific trait that expresses the ethnic community's true means of expression, Q'eqchi' becomes the best medium through which one can communicate with God, even if Spanish is available to them in other contexts. Language and culture thus play a different role in each of these two groups' religious identities. While Mainstream Catholics interest in preserving "Q'eqchi'ness" in their religious practice via language and certain key elements borrowed from *Costumbre* (e.g. pom, ritual uses of corn as offerings, and occasionally performing a mayejak or watesink, etc.) would seem to be closely in tune with the PMM's vision of cultural autonomy (and with the stated goals of Inculturation as well), in practice most of the community leaders and ritual specialists that I had contact with in San Felipe did not identify themselves as "*Mayistas*", and a few even rejected the PMM's agenda as being irrelevant to their interests and livelihood.

In a population as large as a parish, there is bound to be variation in the political affiliations and leanings of its members. The overwhelming majority of the parishioners of San Felipe with whom I worked did not self-identify as Maya nationalists, nor did they have formal ties to the PMM. While there is certainly a PMM presence in Cobán, through organizations like the *Comunidad lingüística Q'eqchi'* office of the ALMG, and local offices for various national and international NGOs with PMM ties, and diocesan institutions have ties and occasionally cooperate with some of these, the catechists and preachers I spent time with did not closely identify with the political stances of the PMM. This is not to say, however, that they always disagreed with the PMM or that it didn't impact their lives, rather that it wasn't a particularly important

source of their own self-identification. For them the Catholic Church played a central identifying role and colored their politics. Their social and political concerns were not particularly “cultural”, but rather more focused on economic status. This was especially evident to me on an occasion when two young researchers came from Guatemala City to conduct a survey for a new initiative that the office of the Vice President was setting up to address Maya concerns. The three representatives that Father Augustine selected to complete the survey (all three well respected catechists and ministers) were asked to list their main concerns. Although they framed the issues slightly differently and ordered them differently it was clear that the main areas of concern for them were the rising cost of living and increased feeling of personal insecurity due to crime (especially gang-related crime). Issues like language rights or rights to culture were not on their agenda. One of the respondents, Qana Esperanza, included education in her list, but her main concern about education was not whether it would provide adequate representation of Maya culture or whether her children would receive Q’eqchi’-language education, but whether it would be available and affordable so that all of her four children could attend school. Access to land, or more precisely, the idea that one’s rights to titled land would be protected was a concern for Qawa Luis, perhaps in reaction to the rather sensationalist coverage of land “invasions” by CUC groups (Comité de Unidad Campesina) in the department of El Quiché. While land rights are of some concern to PMM organizations, these often advocate for collective land rights, squatters rights, or increased access to untended agricultural land, not on ensuring private property rights, per se. Thus at least these parishioners’ conception of what the

government's responsibility towards them should be framed more in terms of liberal notions of citizenship, than culturally specific ones.

Again, allowing for some variability, these sorts of political stances were fairly common among the ritual specialists with whom I worked. It was especially true that ensuring some sort of material security was a prominent concern for them and their families. Several of the catechists had sought or were seeking ways to become small scale entrepreneurs, whether this meant setting up a small general store (*tienda*) out of their home, purchasing young livestock, or, as in one case, buying a car to lease out for taxi service. Similarly, many expected their children to go to school and receive professional-level secondary education degrees (for secretarial work, primary school teaching, or accounting). This was true for both Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics, and while certainly these sorts of entrepreneurial activities wouldn't be anathema to the politics of the PMM, they show a different focus of attention in regard to what is considered to be a pressing social goal.

Parishioners' experiences with the Guatemalan civil war were likewise varied and might have also colored their attitudes towards Mayan nationalism. Many of the communities, especially rural ones, that comprise the parish of San Felipe were greatly affected by the violence of the 1980s. Many communities saw people murdered or "disappeared" by the military and a few assassinated catechists are remembered as martyrs. A few parishioners also recalled with some nostalgia the much stronger social agenda that former priests seemed to have in comparison to those today (a history which was attested to by the boxes of books on Liberation Theology and Marxist social theory and social science were silently yellowing in a corner of one of the rooms of the

catechist formation center). On the other hand, a few of the catechists were also proud to have served in the army or had jobs at the military base on the outskirts of Cobán during this period. These catechists, unsurprisingly, remembered the formerly more socially engaged clergy less favorably, believing that they had been leftists guerillas and not properly focused on their work as spiritual leaders. Several parishioners, too, had stories about how they had encountered or nearly been kidnapped by the guerilla, and few had positive recollections of that side in the conflict either.

What all of this suggests, of course, is simply that none of the religious and political discourses that helped shape the San Felipe of today have been hegemonic. Rather, there seems to have always been an interplay between different ways of approaching the role of the Catholicism in Q'eqchi'-Mayas lives. It also suggests that one of the major upshots of the co-presence and occasional conflict between these discourses has been that in some measure the CEBs within the parish have achieved the central goal of the PMM— they have forged social spaces that are (or are nearly) autonomously Maya.

While the CEBs are still subsumed within institutional hierarchy of the Catholic Church, their regular function depends on the actions of the lay membership. Although the CEBs were formed as part of the Church's social project, the ways that they have developed have succeed in, perhaps not fully but at least in part, allowing Mayas to shape their religious lives and destinies. The debate in San Felipe over the use of the two languages is largely a debate that occurs within a Maya social space and involves few outsiders. It is a pressing concern precisely because of the way that it forces a discussion of language, culture, and religion within a circumscribed ethnic community.

If the PMM does not seem to be a bigger force in San Felipe's parishioner's lives, it is because for both Charismatics and Mainstream Catholics what is most salient are their religious identities, and, while these articulated with ethnic identities, it was as Catholics that they primarily self-identified and wished to be seen by others. The PMM offers one means through which Mayas may seek to carve out autonomous spaces in Guatemalan society, but I think that small-scale religious groups (like CEBs, *cofradías*, and Charismatic prayer groups) are sites where we can see Q'eqchi'-Mayas exercising a high degree of autonomy. The debate in San Felipe is not after all a debate fueled by the clergy (although certainly they do take sides and exhibit preferences), but can rather best be seen as consequence of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics engaging with these larger regional and global debates about what it means to be a Christian. In these small groups Mayas are the protagonists of their history, and given that they understand the work of those groups as participating in the Christian history of salvation, the determinations they make and the actions they take are for them quite far reaching.

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUSION

Catholicism in the post-Conciliar period has adopted a number of organizational strategies and theological positions that have sought to increase lay participation by incorporating “this worldly” concerns in the larger salvationist project of Christianity. In Latin America the most prominent movements to do this have been Catholic Action, Liberation Theology, and the Theology of Inculturation. While each theorizes the relationship between the institutional Church and the religious subject in different ways, variously formulating the particularity of each congregation’s socio-historical situation and the universality of salvation, they have all sought to make lay people in some sense responsible for their religious and material development and future. These shifts within Catholicism helped to create a new model of Q’eqchi’-Maya Catholicism and increase their role as agents within the Catholic Church. Coming into existence during roughly the same period of time as the other movements but originating in a very different social context and starting from different theological principles, the Catholic Charismatic Renewal Movement (CCRM) has also sought to increase lay participation. However, the idiom through which the CCRM does this has less to do with mediating between the universal nature of Christianity and the particular social or cultural worlds that people live in, and instead posits a sort of primary experiential form of worship which places the religious subject in direct contact with the sacred almost independently of his or her community. In this version of Catholicism, the person is meant to find a particular

individual salvation precisely because the Christian subject is universal and independent of the social or historical conditions in which the individual person lives. Broadly characterized, these two theological orientations try to answer the question of how Christian subjects are meant to relate to each other, and while there have certainly been tensions between proponents of the more socially oriented theologies (Catholic Action, Liberation Theology and Inculturation), the contrast between them and the CCRM has been a much more pressing one in recent years as the latter has grown both globally and regionally.

The debate over language that this dissertation examines is on the frontier of the expansion of the CCRM in a parish that has only relatively recently seen CCR groups take shape and demand access to the resources of the institutional Church (namely village chapels, but also recognition from the clergy). Even though the CCRM has been present in the diocese for a much longer period, in the Q'eqchi'-Maya communities that make up San Felipe the formation and expansion of CCR groups has led to conflict between the leadership of established Mainstream CEBs and the new Charismatic groups over what constitutes proper religious practice. Interestingly, the current debate over the CCRM's presence in the parish and its role as a legitimate form of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholicism mirrors the problems that arose when Catholic Action and the catechist program challenged *Costumbre* and the *cofradías* a generation earlier. Although they do this with reference to different theological concerns, in both of these cases the introduction of a novel articulation of the religious subject has had consequences for the way that the religious community is organized and for established modes of religious practice. These changes upset established structures of local power

and engender conflict between extant community leaders and newly authorized ones seeking to promote new articulations of religious practice.

The conflict in San Felipe can thus be read as a case in which competing visions of what it means to be a Christian are vying for legitimacy, as each side makes claims about what constitutes proper piety. Importantly, though, the debate in San Felipe plays out largely in the form of a discourse about ritual communicative practices. The leadership of each of the two groups claims that the other is misusing language and thus approaching Christianity in the wrong way. Metalinguistic discourse in this case is a way for catechists and preachers to comment upon what they see as the fundamentally wrong moral orientations of the other group. In order to understand why each thinks that the other is mistaken in its practices, I have examined the ways in which the two groups figure their ideal speakers—the ritual specialists who are tasked with guiding lay participants' spiritual lives through the performance certain linguistic acts.

I began my discussion by contrasting what is highlighted and occluded in the authorizing practices of the Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics as a means of laying out the key differences in what I take to be their key values (Chapter Two). Because ritual specialists are in some sense exemplary speakers, the constructions of authorized ritual specialists give us insight into what each group holds to be important for parishioners more generally. I argued that Mainstream catechists' authority comes from their structural position within the institutional body of the Catholic Church, and that thus the practices that authorize them tend to stress the role that catechists are supposed to play in that institutional hierarchy. In order to place themselves in that hierarchy, catechists must adopt a position of studied submission and act as a link in a chain of

authoritative speakers. Their ability to act convincingly as exegetes for their communities depends on their standing within the institution and, though there are also moral requirements that they must meet, their authority depends on their formal authorization by the priests and nuns who coordinate the catechists' work. Charismatic Catholic preachers, on the other hand, receive their authorization by divine grace. That is to say, as far as the community is concerned what is crucial in making a successful preacher is that the individual has received the "gift" of preaching from God and that this gift is properly activated during the Celebration.

We can say that both groups ritualize the authorization of these specialist speakers albeit in very different ways. Mainstream Catholic's monthly ch'olob'ank meetings frame authorization as an ongoing process of studied submission through which the catechist slowly assimilates the language of the institutional Church. His duty then becomes the transmission and translation of that message to the non-specialist parishioners in his CEB. In contrast, Charismatic preachers' authority is understood as emanating more or less directly from contact with God (via the divine bestowal of the gift of preaching), and thus the authorizing practices they have elaborated are meant to ratify that relationship. The invocation prayer I described for Charismatic Catholics is meant to highlight the unmediated contact that the ideal Christian is supposed to have with the Holy Spirit. Here the point is that only through contact with the Holy Spirit can the Christian subject be transformed into a properly pious speaker. Of course these two formulations of the authoritative speakers are relative, and each group's model incorporates elements of both formal institutional authorization and individual talent or selection in the way it constitutes the ideal specialist speaker. However, in placing their

emphases on different aspects of the speaker's training, each group advances a distinct vision of the ideal relationship between the Christian subject, the institutional Church, and the sacred.

In Chapters Three and Four I described in greater detail the actual communicative practices of these specialist speakers. I focused on the two aspects of communication that were of most concern locally in San Felipe— namely code choice and gesture. As I explained in the introduction, to Mainstream Catholics the use of Spanish and the “palm up” gesture were characteristic aspects of Charismatic ritual, and emblematic of their uncontrolled nature and lack of “respect.” Conversely, Charismatics read Mainstream Catholics’ restrictive use of Q’eqchi’-only and constrained bodily dispositions (often signaled by folded arms) as the latter’s clinging to custom rather than authentically engaging with Christian spirituality in the here and now. To them this is especially egregious because it signals Mainstream Catholics’ lack of “joy” in worship.

Chapter Three focused on role that code switching and code consistency play in the two groups. I showed the concrete linguistic differences in the two groups’ speaking practices at the level of code choice by examining several parts of masses and Celebrations of the Word. Charismatics’ use of Spanish is a central concern for Mainstream Catholics— a sign that the former are in some sense rejecting their identity as Catholics and Q’eqchi’-Mayas. For Mainstream Catholics Q’eqchi’ code consistency signals an appropriately respectful mode of speech. I showed that in both scripted and non-scripted parts of rituals Mainstream Catholics employed code consistency and suggested that this was evidence for the basic language ideological position of control

and constraint. For Charismatic, on the other hand, the use of Spanish alongside Q'eqchi' is an important element of their ritual practice and is a key way in which they construct and signal their identity as members of the CCRM. Specifically, Spanish is employed in two ways against the background of Q'eqchi'. First, Spanish is employed in emblematic ways that help them to differentiate themselves from Mainstream Catholics and perhaps also align themselves with a more universalist or cosmopolitan Spanish-speaking Christian community— for example, through the pronominal *hermano/a*, the use of *Amén* (as opposed to the Q'eqchi' equivalent phrase— jokan taxaq), and in hymns. Second, some uses of Spanish are construed as increasing “freedom” in worship or the ability of congregants to engage personally with God irrespective of language code. Thus, for example, the use of both Spanish and Q'eqchi' in a single prayer may be understood as allowing the person to express him- or herself more authentically to God, and the use of both the Spanish and Q'eqchi' Bibles can be a means of indexing the underlying universal truth therein.

In order to try to advance an understanding of communicative ideologies as fundamentally multimodal phenomena, in Chapter Four I examined the differing ways that Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics employ their bodies as communicative resources in ritual settings. Focusing my analysis on the gesturing practices and the bodily dispositions of the ritual specialists, I argued that the language ideological positions taken by these two groups are manifest in their non-verbal communicative practices as well. Mainstream Catholics' bodily behaviors evidenced an ethos of control and constraint, and those of Charismatic Catholics evidenced one of effusiveness and rehearsed spontaneity. In my analysis of video recordings of speeches, hymns and

sermons I found evidence to suggest that catechists work to reduce their bodily actions. Catechists do this by controlling the quality and frequency of their arm and hand movements while speaking and by employing a relatively small, circumscribed space when they do gesture. I argued that these behaviors are locally understood in San Felipe as evidencing moral authority and indexing respect. Charismatic preachers, on the other hand, make broad gestures as they speak, making ample use of a large gesture space and purposefully using gestures as part of their rhetorical strategy. There is an ethos of effusive action underlying their bodily communicative practices. Moreover, this is accompanied by certain displays of “rehearsed spontaneity” (Csordas 1990; Mahmood 2001)—semi-regimented actions that are nonetheless strategically meant to display their free engagement in worship—which helps to further a feeling of freedom in preachers’ ritual speech. Together effusiveness and rehearsed spontaneity are understood as indexing joyous participation in the ritual.

As with their uses of spoken language the differences, though measurable and in some instances dramatic, are less absolute than relative. While both catechists and preachers tend to gesture at approximately the same rate, there are significant differences in the quality of those gestures. Catechists and preachers tend to use their bodies, in particular their hands and arms, as communicative resources in qualitatively different ways because the values that they hold to be important for religious practice are different. This also relates to the ways that the two groups configure ritual space, since the space available and employed for legitimate ritual action sets the parameters for catechists’ and preachers’ actions. While both types of congregation configure the ritual space as having a special area or “stage” from which the specialists perform, the

space is marked in different ways. In Mainstream rituals the altar and pulpit are clearly marked as specialized areas where only a select few may act. The altar area is marked by being slightly raised and in some buildings cut off from the main nave by a low wall. More importantly, the pulpit acts as a constraint on catechists' bodily actions by grounding the speaker to a particular place. Charismatics, on the other hand, tend to "flatten" the difference between the altar and the main nave both by moving ritual action in front of the altar, and by allowing more congregants to enter that space, either to perform specialist tasks (since the belief in charisms posits that each congregant is given a gift and the lay nature of the group spurs more participation) or to be prayed over.

Using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of bodily *hexis*, that is the idea that bodily dispositions are culturally constituted and locally meaningful, and subsequent arguments that a person's *hexis* can be deliberately cultivated, I proposed that the embodied communicative practices of catechists and preachers can be read as deliberate regimentations of the body through which the ritual specialist model the ideal behavior of congregants. My analysis of the ways in which non-specialist parishioners participate in hymns bears this out. Members of Charismatic Catholic congregations clap, sing and dance along with hymns as a way of displaying joy and potentially modeling their openness to being inhabited by the Holy Spirit. Mainstream Catholics, on the other hand, tend to remain still and sing only quietly, almost to themselves, allowing the designated chorus to perform the sacramental music. These two differing approaches to participation in hymn singing suggest that the ideal bodily dispositions displayed by

ritual specialists are also taken up by parishioners at large and carry meaning for how one ought to behave oneself in order to be a properly pious subject.

Taken together, speech and bodily communication offer Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics convincing audible and visible evidence that there are fundamental differences between the two groups. Intra- and cross-group monitoring of these differences and the subsequent attachment of singular meaning to the fact of difference creates a conflictual relationship between Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics. Although there are important similarities in the two groups' practices as well, these tend to be erased and the differences highlighted. What emerge are diacritical differences (cf. Barth 1969), which are used to maintain the boundary between the two groups' approaches to Christianity.

On a theoretical level, my goal in examining these three broad domains of ritual specialists' communicative practices (code choice, gesture/bodily posture, and the authorization of speakers) has been to show that the same basic ideological principles underlie them all. In each of these domains Mainstream Catholics display an ethos of control and constraint, while Charismatics display one of effusiveness and rehearsed spontaneity. This makes the case for expanding our ideas about how language ideologies influence linguistic practice. Social interaction is preeminently multimodal, so that spoken language is but one communicative resource among many (even though it probably is a privileged one) that people draw on to communicate with each other. The way that ideas about language play in influencing linguistic behavior has been amply explored, but there is yet some work to be done in examining how it is that peoples ideas about other modes of communication may also influenced their

communicative practices. Chapter Four attempted to address this question by suggesting that Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics' ideological constructs of what bodily movement means in ritual are central to the ways in which the two groups constitute themselves and differentiate themselves from each other.

What does this difference in communicative ideologies ultimately mean in the context of San Felipe? As Susan Gal has argued, "different ideologies construct alternate, even opposing realities; they create differing views arising from and often constituting different social positions and subjectivities within a single social formation" (Gal 1998: 320). In the case of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics these two opposing ideological constructions have created not only a differentiation in practices and identifications, but have also raised certain problems for people attempting to define their social and moral identities in a context where formerly Q'eqchi'-Maya ethnicity and (at least nominal) Catholicism were closely linked. The days of in which the *cofradía* served as a total institution regulating civil and religious life may be over, but as I discussed in the previous chapter there have since been multiple discourses that seek to forge new links between religion and ethnicity, and have offered models of religious practice that in varying ways address the social through the spiritual.. Part of the struggle between the two groups has no doubt been about who gets to exert influence in the village. The legitimation of Charismatic preachers within the local Catholic Church, limited though it might be, has placed into question catechists' position as de facto community leaders, and by extension the organization of the Catholic community in these villages.

It should come as no surprise that Mainstream catechists are not happy that Charismatics are challenging their monopoly on religious authority. However, when we consider the fact that Protestant Pentecostal churches are also present in these communities, we also realize that this is problem is neither new nor unique. The clergy and the diocese take the expansion of Protestant churches to be a much more serious problem than the emergence of Charismatic Catholicism groups within Q'eqchi'-Maya communities. Why then is the debate in Tenamit and elsewhere between Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics, and not between Catholics and Protestants? Why do Mainstream Catholics take the presence of Charismatics to be so problematic? The case of San Felipe would seem to indicate that it is precisely because the challenge comes from within what catechists' would consider to be their own institution (i.e. the Catholic Church) that Charismatics are problematic. This is not competition in a sort of "religious marketplace" (Chesnut 2003), but rather an attempt to displace catechists from within their own structures of influence. Charismatics, for their part, are seeking to gain a measure of legitimacy while somewhat awkwardly standing with one foot inside the institutional structure of the Catholic Church and another outside of its traditional hierarchies of authority (not to mention those of the village). In this oppositional context, competing ideas about the source of religious and moral authority have engendered two sets of practices that put into question the solidarity of a community of people who may nonetheless still share some of the same social, political and religious interests.

Moreover, the language ideologies that are in question here, the positions that each group takes regarding how to communicate during rituals and how those forms fit

into their construction of the pious religious subject have certain underlying points of convergence that make the debate all the more immediate for them. Mainstream Catholics and Charismatics do not hold incommensurable ways of understanding themselves. While each congregation adopts a different behavioral ethos, members of both groups share the basic assumption that one can know something about the moral dispositions of other people through their communicative behaviors. While Mainstream Catholics and Charismatics might differ in what exactly one should feel in order to be a properly pious person, there is no question for them that language use, spoken and embodied, plays a significant role in making one a pious person. Within this representational economy speech and gesture have value, enough so that disagreement about what speech of what kind of gestures emerges there are significant social consequences.

The debate in San Felipe is overtly one about language use, but it is only about language use in one particular domain of social life— religious rituals. Outside of the church or chapel, the use of Spanish is acceptable to both Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics and, although it remains to be studied, their bodily dispositions appear to be approximately the same. Why then are communicative practices in this one domain the subject of so much monitoring, commentary and criticism? Why is language use, broadly conceived to include gesture and bodily posture as well as the spoken word, of such concern to these ritual specialists and their congregations? The story I have told here is largely about the way in which language helps to construct the authority of ritual specialists, but these modes of authority are only meaningful in the context of a community of adherents. In as much as the ritual specialists can be taken to be models

for pious action and their practices representative of the ideal forms religiosity, we must also acknowledge that it is in the end the community that vets them and allows them to exercise their positions as specialists. The ritual specialists I have focused on here play prominent roles in their religious communities not just because of their ability and authorization to carry out certain tasks, but in part because they serve as signs for an imagined community of Christians. As exemplary speakers, catechists and preachers are expected to serve as models of moral behavior that parishioners at large aspire to be like. In serving this function, these specialists (despite their personal human failures) embody the possibility for pious action in this world and salvation in the next.

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