BEYOND LOGOS: EXTENSIONS OF THE LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY PARADIGM IN THE STUDY OF GLOBAL CHRISTIANITY(-IES)

Towards an Ideology of Gesture: Gesture, Body Movement, and Language Ideology Among Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics

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Abstract

While much attention has been paid to how linguistic practices and language ideologies shape local forms of Christianity, relatively little attention has been paid to the role that non-verbal communicative codes and people's ideas about them play in these same processes. This paper analyzes the gestural and bodily practices of Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics belonging to two denominations (Mainstream and Charismatic Catholicism) to argue that non-linguistic practices play a significant role in constructing and performing moral and religious identities. I argue that because local discourses about what constitutes appropriate bodily behavior in religious rituals invoke some of the same kinds of value judgments and are predicated on the same semiotic processes as metalinguistic discourses, a fuller understanding of how language ideologies underpin Christian subjectivities needs to take into account how a wide range of communicative practices relate to each other. [Keywords: Gesture, language ideology, multimodal communication, Q'eqchi', Maya, Catholicism, Charismatic Catholicism]

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It's written: 'In the beginning was the Word!'
Even now I balk! Can no one help?
I truly cannot rate the word so high
I must translate it otherwise.
I believe the Spirit has inspire me
And I must write: 'In the beginning was the Mind'.
Think thoroughly on this first line,
Hold back your pen from undue haste!
Is it Mind that stirs and makes all things?
The text should state: 'In the beginning there was Power!'
Yet while I am about to write this down,
Something warns me I will not adhere to this.
The Spirit's on my side! The answer is at hand:
I write, assured, 'In the beginning was the Deed!'

— Goethe *Faust* (ln. 1224-1237)

Introduction

Catholicism, perhaps because of its claim to universality, is often imagined to be a homogenous institution. Yet what actual Catholics around the world do in their ritual lives suggest that there are myriad ways in which Catholicism is conceived and experienced. Sometimes differences in Catholic religiosity can be explained in terms of regional or ethnic differences, but in some cases they may be present in a single community and they may even be pitted against each other in questions of what it means to be truly Catholic. In San Felipe,[1] a parish belonging to the Diocese of the Verapaz in Guatemala, Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics are engaged in debates over the nature of their religion and how certain communicative practices constitute their moral and religious selves.

In this parish, Q'eqchi'-Mayas belonging to two distinct but related groups—Mainstream Catholics[2] and Charismatic Catholics[3]—actively contest the meaning of their religious identification via a low-intensity, semi-public, but often quite fraught debate over ritual forms, specifically emphasizing the linguistic and other communicative practices they use in Masses and Celebrations of the Word (weekly lay-led rituals). Mainstream Catholics, who make up the overwhelming majority of the parish, are insistent that Q'eqchi' should be the only language of ritual life in the parish, as it properly encodes the respectful attitude that they see as nec-

essary to efficacious ritual practice. Charismatic Catholics, who at the time of my fieldwork had been a presence in the parish for only eight years and were newly establishing themselves as a legitimate alternative to the Mainstream Catholicism, instead prefer to use a mixture of Spanish and Q'eqchi', claiming that bilingualism allows them the flexibility needed for the ecstatic experience of communing with the Holy Spirit. Although members of both groups are equally likely to be competent speakers of the two languages and use them in a range of social domains (e.g., at home, the market, government offices, etc.), code choice in religious settings is a key point of contention between the groups, with Mainstream Catholics accusing Charismatics of "always yelling in Spanish" and Charismatics retorting that Mainstream Catholics' purist adherence to Q'eqchi' signals that the latter are too tied to tradition to fully engage in a meaningful relationship with an immanent God.

The criticisms and complaints levied by members of one congregation at the other are not exclusively about code choice or even spoken language, but also comment on non-verbal embodied communicative actions such as gesture, body movement, and posture. For example, Mainstream Catholics might place their hands high above their heads to mimic the characteristic "hands up/palms out" posture of Charismatic prayer when criticizing the latter's loud prayer meetings. Mainstream Catholics perform this gesture to index Charismatics' putatively bad bodily practices and support the claim that Charismatics are loud and "out of control" when they should properly be quiet and respectful. Similarly, Charismatics criticizing Mainstream Catholics' practices will fold their arms and hunch their shoulders as a means of both mimicking the latter's characteristic prayer postures and advancing the idea that this sort of prayer lacks enthusiasm and is thus undertaken in bad faith. Such gestures performed within the framework of a direct critique act as iconic representations of what is supposedly wrong with the other congregation's ritual practices. They also suggest that the embodied actions of ritual participants are seen as reliable signs of people's religious commitment, and thus a critical site for contesting each other's religious legitimacy.

These particular gestures and their accompanying critiques are part of a wider discourse held by Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics about norms of bodily behavior and their relation to the moral self. In order to explain these local meanings and advance our understanding of communicative practices as being fundamentally multimodal (Clark 1996, Kendon 1990, Norris 2004),

this paper aims to offer some insight into how we might begin to develop a framework for analyzing the relationship between bodily action, language, and ideology. It does so by bringing together two distinct literatures that are not often in dialogue with each other: 1) linguistic anthropological work on language ideology; and 2) studies of communication as multimodal interaction. In putting these two literatures in dialogue, I aim to shed some light on how we might interpret the relationship between bodily movement and culture to explain the religious divide in San Felipe.

The central argument of this paper is that like spoken language, gestures and other visible bodily communicative practices are subject to ideological regimentation, and that the core idea behind "language ideology" may be productively expanded to other communicative resources that people mobilize in their interactions. The language ideology paradigm has been a very productive in the study of Christianity (see e.g., Bauman 1983; Harding 2000; Crapanzano 2000; Robbins 2001, 2004; Keane 2002), and the model proposed here seeks to expand on that work by offering a way to think more deeply about bodily practices alongside language and discourse. This paper also suggests that anthropological studies of the body and culture can benefit from adopting some of the technical language developed for the study of multimodal interaction.

Language, Gesture, and Ideology

A foundational premise of the language ideology paradigm is that attending to people's ideas, whether explicitly stated or implicitly held, about what language is, how it functions, and what its speakers are like gives invaluable insight into the socio-cultural formations that they inhabit (Woolard 1998:2). The promise of this approach is that it offers an analytical tool that allows us to link specific micro-level social actions ("language use" broadly conceived) to larger sociocultural processes (Woolward 1998:2; see also Woolard 1985, Woolard and Schiefflin 1994). By analyzing discourses about the nature of language in general and specific languages in particular, we are able to gain greater insight into a variety of social and cultural phenomena, such as people's social and moral identities, political relations, epistemologies, and the aesthetics of their expressive culture. We can also see how these macro-level phenomena in turn shape or regiment related communicative practices. This paradigm has been greatly influential in linguistic anthropology over the last two

decades (Duranti 2003), and although these studies occasionally make reference to other modes of communication (e.g., Bauman 1983 [see below]; Keane 2007), scholars working in this vein have tended to focus on discourses about spoken and written language whether focusing on explicit metalinguistic statements, such as language policies (e.g., Jaffe 1999) and linguistic descriptions (e.g., Bauman and Briggs 2003), or inferring them from people's speaking practices (e.g., Kuipers 1998, Pujolar 2000).

Of course, speech and writing are not the only forms of human communication. A number of scholars have argued that communication needs to be understood as something that happens when co-present actors coordinate their actions to co-construct or jointly produce the terms of their interaction (Goffman 1981, Clark 1996), and that although verbal language is an important component of this (perhaps even a privileged one), interactions are fundamentally multimodal in nature, encompassing a wide range of embodied semiotic practices (e.g., Goodwin 2000, Norris 2004). In addition to speech, one might consider the role of gaze (Kendon 1990, Goodwin 1981), kinesics or body movement (Birdwhistell 1970), proxemics or spatial arrangement (Hall 1968), and gesture (Goodwin 2000, Kendon 2004) in shaping human communicative behavior and social interaction. Understanding how these practices are themselves ideologically regimented can give us new insights that previous work on the ideological dimensions of spoken and written language may have obscured.

Gesture seems to be a particularly fruitful point from which to start a conversation about the ideological dimensions of embodied communicative action because it is prevalent in human interaction and because it displays some important structural parallels to spoken language. Importantly, too, gesture studies as a field has developed more fully than studies of other embodied modes of communication, and there is a methodology and a robust technical language in place for discussing gesture (Kendon 1997, 2004; Goodwin 2000; McNeill 2000). Thus, this literature offers us a means of describing, analyzing, and interpreting micro-level actions, which can then serve as a basis for further discussion of discourses and macro-level social and cultural processes.

Kendon states that, "gesturing, 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). As Haviland (2004) has pointed out, we need only examine our own assumptions about gesture to recognize the

extent to which communicative ideologies color our understandings of embodied communicative actions. In the West, gesture tends to be seen as "whatever is left over" after language is taken into account,[4] and is often seen as epiphenomenal to the work of language rather than as a constitutive part of mutually achieved communication (Haviland 2004:198). This suggests that gesture as a category is subject to a process of erasure (Irvine and Gal 2000)—that is to say, it is rendered invisible by our discursive construction of what matters in communication. As such, we should seriously consider how else ideology might shape the social reality of gesture. While a growing number of scholars are fruitfully employing methods of multimodal interaction analysis to shed light on a number of topics such as literacy socialization (Baquedano-Lopez 2008, Fader 2009, Goodwin 1994, Moore 2008), informal and formal disputes (Goodwin et al. 2002, Lempert 2005), and curing (Hanks 2006, Perrino 2002), there is not yet a literature that attempts to theorize the role of "gesture ideologies" in shaping culturally specific understandings of embodied action. Thus one question we need to ask is, how might we join extant understandings of the role of gesture in interaction to our models about the meaning of bodily practice?

To begin, it is necessary to define what we mean by "gesture." This paper follows 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, thus, that co-participants in interaction take to be meaningful in communicating with each other. To this, one might add that gesture usually means actions taken with the hands or arms—although there are gestural systems that primarily engage other parts of the body, such as head movements to mean "yes" or "no" and Kuna lip pointing (Sherzer 1972). Kendon's definition implies that the bodily phenomena under consideration here are movements that have some value in the immediate interactional moment. This definition is open enough to include a wide range of actions provided they serve some sort of communicative function, but also excludes bodily actions that respond to some immediate biological need like scratching an itch, sneezing, etc. Though gestures don't necessarily have to be consciously produced by the speaker/gesturer, they must have some communicative value for at least some participants (even it is just for the gesturer him- or herself.)

Verbal language and gesture share certain key features that make it possible to draw parallels between the two communicative modes and

adapt some of the descriptive and analytical metalanguage about speech to gesture. Much of the scholarship on gesture has found that verbal utterances and gestures tend to be co-occurring features of communication. That is, people tend to use these two channels simultaneously and complementarily,[5] often in sync with each other. (Kendon 2004, McNeill 1992, Goldin-Meadow 2003). Seen as part of the larger communicative act, gesture can be said to serve two functions: 1) a semantic one, whereby gestures supplement the meaning of verbal utterances sometimes in relatively regular and predictable ways; and 2) a pragmatic function, which allows co-participants to use gesture as a way of managing their interaction by encoding contextually-specific meanings. The combination of gestures can also contextualize or help regulate participants' turns at communication, thus lending them a sort of discursive function as well.

Gestures, or more precisely *gesture phrases*, are fundamentally made up of three elements: 1) preparation; 2) stroke; and 3) withdrawal (Kendon 2004:112). It is the stroke that is colloquially associated with the meaningful part of the gesture (see e.g., Calbris 1990), but preparation and withdrawal also play an important role in conveying meaning in so far as they mark the beginning and end of the gesture phrase, thus conveying important syntactic meaning. Gesture phrases may be combined into *gesture units* (GU), which encompass the entire range of actions in the movement of the articulator's body between periods of rest in a neutral position (Calbris 1990:113). Gesture units can be thought of as rough gestural equivalents to verbal utterances in so far as they are complex acts of meaning-making composed of smaller segmentable and discrete components. Understanding the performance of gesture in terms of the combination of smaller segmentable actions allows us to scale our analysis down to specific phrases and their immediate meaning or up to larger performances encompassing several gestural phrases, gesture units, or interactional turns. Finally, just as the meaning of spoken phrases is supplemented by paralinguistic features such as volume and pitch, gesture units have varying "utterance qualities" (for example, velocity, intensity, or relative use of space) that evince their meaning.

Although gesture and spoken language tend to complement each other, it is important to note that their performance and meaning unfold in different fashions. Relative to spoken language, gesture is much more idiosyncratic and improvisatory. While the intelligibility of language depends on co-participants' knowledge of shared grammatical structures

and a lexicon with generally fixed meanings, most kinds of gestures do not have conventional forms and their combination need not exhibit a regular syntactic order.[6] This is not to say, however, that gestures are somehow not culturally shaped, but rather that as a mode of communication gesture has a wider range of ways in which it produces and conveys meaning relative to spoken language. The meaning of individual gesture phrases is thus much less fixed than that of comparable units of spoken language (Kendon 2000, 2004).

While there are similarities between spoken language and gesture, it is also clear that they are not exactly the same kind of communicative phenomena and that they do not work in human interaction in precisely the same ways. How then do we begin to uncover the ideologies behind meaningful bodily movement? How does a close reading of gestural practices advance our understanding of the cultural worlds in which they are embedded? The seeds of such a project may be found in Pierre Bourdieu's formulation of the relationship between body *hexis*[7] and *habitus*. Although Bourdieu's ideas are about more than what I have defined as gesture and are, perhaps, more closely about what the multimodal communication literature calls "kinesics" (Birdwhistell 1970) or bodily comportment more generally, his theories offer a solid basis for linking bodily movements which in and of themselves may appear inconsequential to larger structures of meaning.[8]

Bourdieu invokes the term hexis to talk about the culturally specific ways that social actors routinely engage their bodies in everyday daily life. He uses this concept to argue that habitus is not just a mental construct, but rather something that is deeply embedded, indeed embodied, in the social actors' everyday practices. Because habitus is inscribed in the dispositions of the body and because there is a cultural specificity to body hexis, everything about the person's experience of being in the world down to the most basic and unreflexive activities (such as standing, walking, etc.) is contingent on the values of her culture: "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, emphasis in original). How one inhabits one's body is always contingent on one's social and cultural position, and thus bodily actions are necessarily culturally mediated acts.

Although Bourdieu suggests that one's hexis, as a "permanent disposition," lies beyond the realm of self-reflection or conscious manipulation,

we also need to account for the hermeneutic process through which embodied actions are evaluated and given social meaning (Csordas 1997, Starrett 1995). Although Bauman (1983) does not focus on gesture or embodiment as such, his classic work on the speaking practices of 17th Century Quakers shows that the way communicative styles are interpreted have important social consequences (Bauman 1983). A key point in 17th Century Quaker theology was that excess in any form was potentially dangerous for the soul, which prompted them to adopt a semiotic style that they described as "plain" and led them to deliberately strip away what they viewed as linguistic ornamentation. This included a proscription against performing certain conventional gestures, such as men's tipping of hats and bowing in greetings. English society at large, however, interpreted the non-performance of these gestures as rudeness or disrespect. Though Bauman subsumes his discussion of greeting gestures within his larger discussion of honorifics, politeness markers, and interactional openings and closings, this work alerts us to the importance that others' evaluation of gestural performance can play in constructing a social world.

Likewise, in a contemporary setting, Saba Mahmood (2001, 2005) has shown that people can and do reflect on their habituated actions, and may engage in practices designed to change them. For Egyptian Muslims participating in the women's mosque movement, the body is a tool to be used in order to achieve certain kinds of emotional and cognitive states, and they actively engage in an ethical project of body disciplining in order to achieve a pious moral state (Mahmood 2001:84; see also Hirschkind 2006 for an analogous example focusing on ethical development through somatic modes of attention among men). Thus, rather than this being a case of ideology colonizing the body through a fixed and unreflexive set of dispositions, these women deliberately and self-consciously adjust their bodily practices in order to mold themselves into the kinds of religious subjects they wish to become. Here, far from being durable and unconscious, hexis becomes a means of reshaping habitus. As Tanya Luhrmann (2004) has suggested in a discussion of North American Evangelical Christians' bodily disciplining techniques, it is through cultivated bodily disciplines that people may come to experience religious ideals as real possibilities in the world, which is a critical step in the conversion process.

These cases suggest a relationship between hexis and habitus that is more complicated than what Bourdieu initially posited. By adding attention to the discourse of evaluation and interpretation that social actors

develop about bodily practice to Bourdieu's basic insight about the deep imprint of culture on embodied action, we arrive at a generalized model for how gestures, and indeed bodily practices more generally, articulate with culture. This approach would suggest that bodily actions may be seen as both reflective of the ideological underpinnings of a group as well as a means for people to cultivate those ideologies. When gesture is monitored and a discourse about it develops, it can also become a means for marking difference between social groups. By returning to the ethnographic example of San Felipe, we can see these processes at work.

Gesture and Body Movement among Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics

This paper is based on field research conducted between June 2004 and January 2006 in Cobán, Guatemala. I observed a range of rituals performed by both Mainstream and Charismatic Catholic congregations including regular weekly Masses and Celebrations of the Word, as well as extraordinary events such as special Masses, vigils, and prayer meetings. These events were held in a range of settings, including the parish's main church near the center of town, Basic Ecclesial Community[9] (CEB, by its Spanish initials) chapels both within the city limits and in villages served by the parish, and private homes. I supplemented my observations with interviews and informal discussions with lay members of these congregations including CEB leaders and regular congregants, as well as with clergy and other church workers. During my field research, I collected over 100 hours of audio recordings and approximately 35 hours of video recordings of rituals.

Although I use the term "Mainstream Catholic" to describe some of the members of the parish, this is not a term they would necessarily recognize for themselves. I have adopted it as a term to mark what would otherwise be an unmarked category within the parish. Making up the overwhelming majority of the parish, Mainstream Catholics are organized into 122 CEBs varying in size from a few dozen to several hundred active members. CEBs meet at least once a week to perform a Celebration of the Word—lay-led rituals that feature a sermon, Bible readings, prayer, and hymn singing—in community chapels and private homes. Those living close to the parish center also attend Sunday masses there, while those living far from it may only attend masses a few times each year when a priest visits their community. Sunday masses have a variable attendance depending on the sea-

son, but average about 500 attendees, with well over a thousand being present for major feast days.

Charismatic Catholics are a small but growing minority in San Felipe. Within the central region of the parish where I focused my research, there were four active Charismatic groups (compared to 24 Mainstream CEBs) who met at least once per week. The largest of these groups and the one on which I based most of my observations, holds two Celebrations of the Word per week, drawing about 30 people on Wednesday evenings and just under a hundred on Sunday mornings. An additional 200 or so people may attend infrequent special events such as vigils. Although Charismatics are supposed to attend masses, their own Celebrations of the Word take precedence in their ritual lives. It is important to note that at the time of my field research, every one of the adult and adolescent members of Charismatic congregations was a convert from Mainstream Catholicism. Most had converted within the previous three or four years, meaning that this was a relatively new identification for many congregants. While the ritual practices of the Charismatic Catholics of San Felipe bear a striking formal resemblance to those of Protestant Pentecostals, the former strongly self-identify as Catholics and maintain that, far from being schismatic, they are engaged in a project of renewing the Church.[10] Although Charismatic Catholicism has existed since 1969 and has been recognized as a legitimate branch of Catholicism by the Vatican since 1993 (Csordas 1997), this is still a relatively new religious identification in San Felipe and a source of consternation among Mainstream Catholics.

Mainstream Catholic parishioners and church workers often complain about Charismatics by commenting on things like the level of noise that they make during their meetings, that they sing too much, that they prefer to use Spanish instead of Q'eqchi', that they gesticulate wildly, and that, in general, they are "*escandalosos*" or out of control in their meetings. As one consultant put it while trying to enlist my help in convincing the parish priest[11] to ban a Charismatic group from using his village's chapel, "*No dejan dormir. Toda la noche hacen relajo gritando*" ("They don't let us sleep. They make a ruckus yelling all night"). Rather than referring to overt creedal differences between themselves and Charismatics (of which there are several, most notably the role that the Holy Spirit plays), these criticisms focus on the praxis of the other and, ultimately, can be boiled down to the idea that Charismatics do not know how to behave themselves in Church. This in turn is taken as a sign that

Charismatics are engaging in religious ritual in bad faith. Mainstream Catholics see Charismatics as violating norms of comportment, which they take to be so well-established that any transgression of them is immediately read as a serious offense to their faith. For example, singing is a necessary and desirable part of any religious celebration; but singing the way that Charismatics do, while dancing and clapping along to music, is no longer being done out of a desire to worship. Instead, they say, it is indulgence in making noise and creating a ruckus for its own sake. Similarly, Mainstream Catholics hold that, unless one is properly authorized to speak or carry out a certain ritual function, one is supposed to sit or stand quietly during religious rituals in order to listen and reflect on what is being said. Even when the general audience is authorized to participate in the ritual, like during the singing of hymns or the recital of the Lord's Prayer, one should do so somewhat quietly—almost to one's self—and try not to stray from the pace that the group leaders set. Charismatics regularly violate this norm by interjecting stock phrases like *"Amén"* and "*gloria a Dios*" ("Glory to God") during sermons.

Respect has traditionally been a paramount cultural value for Q'eqchi'-Mayas (Kahn 2006:8); and for Mainstream Catholics giving the proper respect to God via the institutional hierarchy of Catholicism is a critical component of religious practice. For Mainstream Catholics, the enactment of respect is formulated as bodily restraint and self-control. This general principle is supposed to extend into all areas of one's life, but is especially important with regards to how one behaves in and around churches. While there is some leeway for children and others with low status, adults and especially people in leadership roles (such as catechists[12]) are held to very high standards 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. Mainstream Catholics base their criticism of Charismatics on this fundamental understanding of the moral person's relation to his or her body. When somebody from their community converts to Charismatic Catholicism, what Mainstream Catholics see is someone who has lost their sense of respect and religious commitment, evidenced by that person's adoption of a new set of norms of bodily behavior (cp. Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1991). Because all Charismatics in San Felipe were until recently members of Mainstream Catholic congregations, even a relatively small number of conversions has been seen as a rash of people losing their faith.

Of course, what is a ruckus to one person might well be an expression of deeply felt faith to another. Charismatic Catholics, for their part, consider Mainstream Catholics to be somewhat shallow in their faith precisely because they don't know how to adequately express the joy that they should be feeling as Christians. Charismatics put a premium on achieving a joyous and effusive emotional state during religious celebrations, not on control. Charismatics engage in a set of ritual practices that are meant to help them achieve and demonstrate this emotional state that is in itself a moral state (cp. Mahmood 2005). Singing hymns loudly, clapping, dancing, holding their hands out towards the sky, and shouting are all techniques for displaying joy and entering into an unmediated relationship with the Holy Spirit—a relationship where, in fact, the goal is to lose control over one's self and become subsumed by the divine. Charismatics are apt to criticize Mainstream Catholics' relative reserve as being an improper way to worship, because it does not physically evidence joyous piety. From this perspective, Mainstream Catholics' practices look glum and suggest that they are neither sincere in their participation in religious life nor interested in being good Christians. After all, they say, if one isn't happy about being in church and celebrating God, then one isn't really engaging in meaningful worship.

These, then, are two opposed norms of behavior in church that, in turn, point to two different sets of values that parishioners seek to enact in their rituals. I have labeled the basic ideological positions of the Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics respectively as "control, constraint, and respect" and "spontaneity, effusiveness, and joy." These ideological positions incorporate a moral stance ("respect" vs. "joy") as well as orientations to action that are read as ethical imperatives ("control and constraint" vs. "spontaneity and effusiveness"). Having laid out the discursive foundations for the difference in praxis, the next sections turn to parishioners' actual gesturing practices to illustrate how these ideological positions are enacted.

Patterns of Gesture Use

That 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 lack of interest suggests that certain gestural and postural habits do quite a bit of work in marking the group's perceived differences.

It also suggests that there is a high degree of monitoring of bodily behavior across congregations. On what, we might ask, are these appraisals based? Why is it that these bodily postures function as icons of difference?

Differences in how sermons are performed are a useful point of departure for examining both the local meaning of embodied actions and the discourse about them. Although there are some differences in the ways that sermons are delivered and constructed in these two communities (see Hoenes del Pinal 2009), both hold them to be very important for parts of their ritual lives, and their basic function and placement in larger rituals are similar enough to allow comparison across congregations. Likewise, although there are some differences in who delivers the sermons in each of the congregations—Mainstream catechists and Charismatic preachers—in both cases these are ritual specialists and "master speakers" (Haviland 2006), who are expected to perform their task in an appropriate manner and whose behavior is considered a model that parishioners should try to emulate.

I have selected six sermons at random from a data set of 22 video recorded sermons to act as representative examples of how this genre is performed—three are from Charismatic events (C-) and three from Mainstream events (M-). In order to determine what role gesturing plays in the two kinds of sermons, I quantified the number of gesture units performed by the speaker in each video. Following Kendon (2004), I take a gesture unit (GU) to be the sequence of arm, hand or finger movements performed between periods when rest of the relevant body part(s) (usually arms, hands, or fingers) is 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) in conjunction with spoken utterances to communicate some meaning. Neutral rest positions indicate a withdrawal of the gesturing body part from the "gesture space" (Haviland 2000) in which the person performs meaningful actions. This specification allows for multiple gestures that are deployed and held in the gesture spaces to be considered part of a single complex communicative action. 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. When a speaker faces another, the relevant space is generally directly in front of his or her torso. As described above, a GU may contain one or more gesture phrases (instances of specific gesture items being prepared, stroked, and withdrawn), but it

is counted only as one in so far as it constitutes a single sequence of bodily motions on the part of the speaker. Because these videos were initially meant to document the entire ritual, including the audience, and not focus on the specific performance of sermon givers, four of the six performances were not captured in full. I correct for this by only counting the time when I have a reasonably clear view of the speaker's torso and arms on the videotape, allowing us to calculate the relative frequency (ratio of GU to time) with which each speaker performs gestures. Although this method is imperfect, it allows for a rough comparison across performances. Table 1 summarizes the findings.

Table 1: Differences in Gesture Units for Mainstream and Charismatic Sermons

Video	C1	C2	C3	M1	M2	M3
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.

On first glance, the difference in GU/time ratio in the Mainstream samples presents a problem for the local theory that posits that Mainstream Catholics gesture less than Charismatics (and thus exhibit an ideology of control and constraint), since examples M1 and M2 evidence a very high ratio and M3 a very low one, while the Charismatic samples cluster closer to the middle.

However, an important difference that isn't reflected in these figures is the quality of the gestures performed. The speaker in M2 produces the shortest phrases, and uses the second least amount of space to complete them. Of his 124 gesture phrases, less than ten can be described as multi-phrase gesture units, which is to say that his gestures are short, simple movements. The vast majority of his gesture phrases are performed in a small space directly in front of his body—within a space no higher than his collarbone and no wider than his shoulders—and usually close to the surface of the pulpit. He stands close to the edge of the pulpit, initially resting his forearms on its surface, so that the stroke of the gestures tends to be no more than the length of his forearm away from his solar plexus. Throughout his sermon, this speaker keeps his elbows close together and his default position is with his hands clasped a few inches way from his body and rest-

ing on the surface of the pulpit. Twenty-four (24) of the gesture phrases are performed with the fingers and would have been barely visible to most of the congregation, while only one extends vertically to shoulder-height, and only two extend horizontally beyond shoulder-width.

Though the catechist in M3 performs far fewer gestures than M2, he likewise limits his gesture space to an area immediately in front of his torso, close to the surface of the pulpit. Like the other catechist, his elbows are held close to the ribcage and his hands default to lying on the pulpit touching each other as if clasping his hands together. The video shows him performing 28 full gesture units during his sermon, but there are also 14 small motions made with his right wrist that might be taken as consciously suppressed gestures. These movements could potentially be performed to help regulate his speech (e.g., to count the points he wants to make) or as adjustments for bodily comfort. In either case, the overall effect is that this performance is marked by a remarkable degree of bodily stillness. The observation that the larger gesture phrases that would be readily visible to the congregation are quickly deployed and retracted, and that they remain within a tight gesture space in front of him, would support the idea that this catechist understands his role as ritual specialist to entail a minimization of bodily movement while speaking as a means of presenting himself as someone who is able to control his actions and act in an appropriately respectful manner.

The catechist in M1, who exhibits the highest ratio of gesturing, deviates a bit from the other two Mainstream examples 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 quick single stroke gestures for the most part, although he also performs 13 multi-stroke gesture units. About half of his gestures are single phrase units 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. 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 (see Figure 1).

While the analysis of these limited samples doesn't directly answer the question of why bodily stillness might be important to catechists, it does

Figure 1: Mainstream Sermons Gesture Space (M3, M1).

suggest that there is regularity in how gestures are performed while delivering sermons—namely that they tend to employ a restricted gesture space and perform simple, one-phrase GUs.

In contrast to the Mainstream catechists, Charismatic preachers are much freer in their movements and incorporate complex gesture units much more readily and broadly into their sermons. The absence of a pulpit opens up the space from which they may deliver the sermon, although there are some physical constraints governed by the set-up of the chapel and length of the microphone cord. Though preachers have to hold the microphone in one hand, and thus are somewhat restricted in their use of one arm (catechists have a microphone stand on the pulpit and so are free to use both hands), they have a larger physical space to employ for gesturing. The preacher in examples C1 and C2[13] uses a space that ranges vertically between his face and navel, and horizontally extends outwards approximately three quarters the length of his arm. The preacher in C3 uses a gesture space that extends approximately an arm's length vertically above his head (his waist more or less marks the lower vertical limit), as well as horizontally to his right and left, and forward about three-quarter arm's length. Charismatic preachers could theoretically use a smaller gesture space, but it is evident that they prefer to construct larger ones than their Mainstream counterparts. The difference in the space that is available and used by members of each of these 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 space that is available for their performances.

Most of the gesture units that the Charismatic preachers perform contain multiple gesture phrases, which is to say that once the hand or arm

Figure 2: Charismatic Sermons Gesture Space

is in motion it tends to flow from one gesture phrase to the next without releasing the GU. A single GU might then cut across a series of verbal utterances, allowing the speaker to demonstrate the connection between ideas, illustrate conceptual movements, or hold his place in an interaction (i.e., when waiting for the audience to respond after asking a question with the expectation that he will be able to take up his place in the utterance immediately after). The number of individual phrases in these examples is thus much higher than my count of units suggest, but because certain kinds of gesturing are not easily segmented into discrete units, it is difficult to give an exact number for the gesture phrases performed. The fact that GUs are longer and more complex explains why their frequency is lower among Charismatic preachers than among Mainstream catechists. The longer, more complex GUs also suggests that this communicative resource is drawn on more regularly and is integrated more deeply in Charismatic sermons, especially when seen in contrast to Mainstream catechists' relatively short, constricted gestures (see Figure 2).

These differences in patterns of gesturing indicate that the ritual spaces that the two groups' leaders inhabit while delivering sermons are constructed quite differently. Importantly, it supports the idea that the bodily comportment of Charismatics is indeed more effusive than that of Mainstream Catholics. Mainstream Catholics' tendency to restrict themselves to a small gesture space, to employ short single-stroke phrases, and perhaps to work to avoid gesturing, evidences a disposition towards control and constraint of the body in their ritual performance. The physical set up of the place from which catechists and preachers speak is not incidental to this, but constitutive of it. The presence or absence of a pulpit

or moveable microphone are strategic choices through which congregations constitute themselves as particular kinds of Catholics. The body hexis that a ritual specialist assumes during his performance in these particular built environments, of which gesture is a key component, is intimately tied in to his idea of how he should inhabit ritual space and implicitly of how he should interact with his congregation. The difference in the spatialization of gestures thus becomes significant because while it shows that the gesturing is present in both cases, it also allows us to posit that the performance of these actions are qualitatively quite different. This would suggest that at some level, the bodily practices are regimented in the ritual event, reinforcing both intra-congregational norms of behavior and cross-congregation stereotypes about the other group's putative bad behavior. The next section turns to a qualitative analysis of short video clips to show how these general patterns extend to individual performances in other parts of rituals.

Embodied Differences and Their Meanings

The following examples of the collections of offerings and hymn singing illustrate the ways in which the embodied practices of the two congregations differ in terms of the basic ideological positions described above as "effusiveness, spontaneity, and joy" for Charismatic Catholics, and "constraint, control, and respect" for the Mainstream Catholics. These particular examples are drawn from video recordings I made of celebrations held on New Year's Eve in 2005, and are representative of the general practices of these congregations observed during the study period. Although the videos were not made for the explicit purpose of analyzing embodied practices, I follow a standard methodology for the study of gesture here by closely examining small sections of audio-visual recordings of gestural practices at various speeds. These video clips were then transcribed to capture as much information as possible to facilitate further analysis (Norris 2004). Translating findings from video to a written format can be quite challenging, so I have included some rudimentary transcriptions as well as still shots to supplement my descriptions. Rather than describing the overall patterns of gesture use as I did in the previous section, here I aim to give a qualitative analysis of how gestures are performed and offer an interpretation of how this articulates with the discourses about embodied practices described above. I have chosen to discuss examples drawn from

parallel events held on New Year's Eve 2005 in order to show the congregations at the same point in the liturgical calendar. Mainstream Catholic examples are drawn from a mass held at San Felipe parish's main church in the city of Cobán, while Charismatic examples are drawn from an all-night vigil[14] held at a private home in a village about 10 kilometers away.

The Collection of Offerings

Both congregations depend on voluntary monetary contributions from congregants to sustain themselves, and the offerings also have spiritual value as token sacrificial acts. However, most of San Felipe's parishioners live in poverty, and those who work in agriculture especially may have limited access to cash for extended periods of time. The collection of offerings thus requires some explicit commentary to justify the practice and to convince parishioners of the value of parting with their money. Speeches requesting offerings are thus a regular part of rituals, even if they are not necessarily formally codified as such (though the actual collection or the prayer over the offerings would be).

In the first example (M4) taken from the Mainstream Catholic mass, a catechist introduces and explains the collection. What is most striking and notable here is the near absence of bodily movement in her performance. As with the sermons discussed above, there is a fairly obvious physical constraint on her performance in that she occupies a clearly delimited space that is both physically and symbolically marked as different from the space in which the rest of the congregation sits. This area is itself subdivided into at least two different spaces: the altar, which is used exclusively by the priest; and the pulpit, which is used by everyone else who is authorized to speak to the congregation[15] (catechists, prayer leaders, etc.) (see Figure 3).

Besides this built constraint on the use of space, the speaker herself appears 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 it indicates that she is standing still. Hand gestures, head bobs, or other movements that would complement the speaker's talk are absent. This level of stillness is highly unusual in everyday speech, and it suggests that the speaker is, at some level, working to control her bodily actions. The non-performance of gesture here indicates that a premium is placed on bodily stillness, which is contextually meant to index respect. This does not, however, mean that the speaker is not

Figure 3: Mainstream Catholic Offering Request (M4).

Example M4: Mainstream Catholic Offering Request

KEY: Underlined = Q'eqchi'
0 = null, represents absence of movement

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 don't leave it in your pocket don't leave it in 0
2) your house either for your son is in his heart share with your friends/companions
3) with your family share also with your friend church.

Gloss:

One can see the ends of His work. So don't leave your money in your pocket, don't leave it in your house, either. Your children are in His heart. Share with your friends and family and also with your friend the Church.

engaging her audience or providing them with other communicative cues. The speaker uses a marked vocal cadence to emphasize certain aspects of her speech, even as she refrains from gesturing. The inflections in her speech are regular and would be recognized by her audience as a particular marked, formal style of talk that projects authority. By showing physical constraint and control, along with using an authoritative voice, this speaker is hoping to signal and model emotional and moral control as well. This emotional control is a necessary step to piety, and the basis for her religious authority and status as a ratified speaker in church (see

Hoenes del Pinal 2009). As I suggested above, the catechist's social position and religious authority depend on her perceived moral status, and one way of being perceived as highly moral is to evidence control over one's body and actions. By acting in this way she is invoking a position of authority that gives her the standing necessary to request money on behalf of the Church. The performance of stillness is quite marked when compared to how a Charismatic speaker performs a similar speech.

The second example (C4) illustrates how a Charismatic leader delivers a speech to introduce the collection of offerings during a vigil. 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 pacing across the stage while holding the microphone with his right hand. There are several bodily actions that the speaker performs besides pacing—namely nodding his head and a single hand gesture. The contrast between Charismatic and Mainstream performances of a shared ritual genre is telling of important underlying ideological differences. As with sermons, that the speaker can pace is both a function and a constitutive part of the configuration of the ritual space. Although the congregation's attention is directed towards a small group of ratified speakers on a stage, those speakers' movements are not constrained by an altar or pulpit, and they are allowed a greater range of mobility in their performance. Taken together with the observation that more people are able to take on the role of ratified speaker in a vigil than in a mass (e.g., the boy being introduced), this indicates that participant roles are less circumscribed and that this congregation has adopted a more egalitarian approach to religious participation (see Example C4).

The speaker also notably performs an important gestural phrase towards the end of the utterance transcribed (12:28-14:19) that lends some support for the idea that Charismatics have adopted a meaningfully different set of norms for gesturing in church. The gesture phrase can be described as follows: the articulator raises his left hand out of his left pants' pocket to about head level, makes a conventional hand shape (closed hand, thumb touching the index and middle fingers while pointing upwards), and withdraws his hand back towards his pocket. The hand shape, usually performed with a light rubbing of the middle and index fingers with the thumb, is a well-known, conventional emblematic gesture in Guatemala that means "money,"[16] and iconically represents a billfold (see Figure 4). Although this gesture and others similar to it may not appear to

Example C4: Charismatic Catholics Offering Request

KEY: *Italics* = Spanish
Underlined = Q'eqchi'
Bold = from Latin/Spanish, but used as a stock phrase
Normal = transcriber's comments/notes
(0:00) = timing of gesture
← → = walking relative to center stage
0 = stop
x/X = beats in the form of head nod or shakes

Original:

1) A'an ok re chix**;:** kamb'al jun li ch'ina najej b'e yaal re li *ofrenda* naqoyb'eni
   ← 0 → x x x 0 X
2) toolaateng'a b'e yaal *porque* take reetal *para estas actividades se necesita:n*
   ← 0 x X 0
3) *ehh gastos hermanos:: por eso* naqaye eere naqa*invitar* jun li *hermanito*
   ← x prep (12:28) x → stroke (13:28) end (14:19)
4) ajwi texkam li *oración sobre la ofrenda* ut nanume chaq sa' li hoonal anaqwan
   0 x

English Translation:

1) This starts to leave a small space right for the *offering* you will accompany us
   ← 0 → x x x 0 X
2) you'll give us right *because* the message is given *for these activities are need:ed*
   ← 0 x X 0
3) *um expenses brothers:: because of that* we tell you we will *invite* a *little brother*
   ← x prep (12:28) x → stroke (13:28) end (14:19)
4) also will give the *prayer over the offering* and he will pass in this hour now
   0 x

Gloss:
Now we will leave a short space for the offering. You will accompany us, you will give (to us) because, as they say, for these activities one needs money brothers. Because of this, we will now invite a little brother to give the prayer over the offering.

be particularly significant in and of themselves, and their performance might even be considered banal in everyday interactions (in a market, for example), it is important to recall that in interpreting gesture, the immediate interactional context is as salient as the larger sociocultural context. The gesture and its accompanying utterance are meant to have a pragmatic effect on the congregation—i.e., the hand sign complementing the phrase "*Para estas actividades se necesitan gastos hermanos*" ("For these activities one needs expenses [money]"), links the cost of putting on a vigil to the money that he hopes congregants will give. The gesture phrase semantically accompanies the plea for money, but its performance actually occurs in sync[17] with a code-switch from Q'eqchi' into Spanish, which

also marks a shift from the plea to an explanation of forthcoming ritual action (that a boy will now come offer a prayer). These shifts are noteworthy, especially given the way that Charismatic Catholicism contrasts with Mainstream Catholicism. The linguistic code-switch as well as the participation of a youth as a prayer leader would not be deemed as appropriate within the context of a Mainstream ritual. Significantly, too, the spoken portion of the performance is delivered in a style that is much more conversational than that used by his Mainstream counterpart.

Viewed in contrast to the performance of bodily stillness and reserve described in Example M4, we can see that even relatively minor gestural performances such as this one may be locally salient as markers of congregational identity. It suggests that Charismatics may be adopting a body hexis that contrasts to that of the Mainstream congregations they formerly belonged to, and that this is not just a feature of marked ritual genres, such as sermons, but may extend to other practices as well. Charismatic leaders, such as the man in Example C4, have strategically changed their modes of body movement along with their speech to create what they take to be a more spontaneous and effusive norm of behavior throughout the ritual event (Cp. Shoaps 2002). There is, of course, some irony in the fact that this new manner of being Catholic can likewise be read as a regimentation of bodily practices, even if this regimentation is explicitly formulated as displaying spontaneity and effusiveness, and thus a lack of control in the traditional sense.

The next section moves away from the practices of group leaders to describe how bodily practices of congregants at large may reflect the two groups' basic ideological positions.

Hymns

Hymns are important parts of both Mainstream and Charismatic rituals, but they are performed in different ways by the two congregations and thus provide another point of contrast in the way that the body is mobilized in the Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholic rituals.

A significant part of any Charismatic celebration is spent singing hymns and this is what Mainstream Catholics often have in mind when criticizing the former's noisiness. Although there is always a lead singer and a band (electronic keyboard, bass, drums, and percussion) in charge of the performance, it is incumbent on every member of the congregation to sing

Figure 4: Charismatic Catholic Offering (C4)

along and clap in time with the music. Hymns are structurally simple with short verses and repeating choruses, and are sung exclusively in Spanish. When a hymn is about to be performed, the keyboardist or song leader will first play and sing a line or two of the chorus, thus letting the congregation know which number from their relatively small repertoire they will perform. Charismatics' hymns tend to circulate as aural texts that congregation leaders first learn and then teach to others. Thus, when the choir band wishes to introduce a new hymn to the congregation, they must first perform it line-by-line to slowly teach them the music and lyrics.

Example C5 illustrates both how Charismatics are taught hymns and how congregants sing them. In this case, a male song leader teaches the lyrics and melody of the song as well as a little bit of choreography that iconizes the content of the lyrics. This hymn is about the Holy Spirit inhabiting the singer and making her move involuntarily as a sign of ecstatic communion with God. The accompanying dance (placing hands on the side of one's head and swaying left to right from the waist up—like a metronome) is meant to represent this loss of personal bodily agency as one is inhabited by the Holy Spirit culminating in being "slain in the spirit" (cp. Csordas 1997). Since this is a desired spiritual goal in Charismatic Catholicism, albeit an extremely rare one among my consultants, it is reasonable to infer that the performance is meant to model the bodily actions that would index receiving this spiritual gift. By play-acting a loss of control, congregants open 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 and can be characterized as an instance of rehearsed spontaneity (Mahmood 2001) meant to lay the

Example C5: Charismatic Catholic Hymn

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 nod or shakes

Original Clip1A:

1) **Amen** *hermanos, si?* < *La* [cabeza] *tengo tiesa como un*:::: *compás* > **Amén?**
X
2) <*El espíratu santo voy a cama para moverlo pa' aquí pa' allá*:::
x x x prep [13:16]
3) *para moverlo pa' aquí pa' allá para moverlo pa' aquí pa' allá*
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 from here to there*:::
x x x prep [13:16]
3) *to move it from here to there to move it to here to there* >
stroke [14:07—15:21] [repeat gesture phrase…]

Gloss:
[spoken] Amen brothers, yes? [singing] My head is stiff like a metronome.
[spoken] Amen? [singing] Holy Spirit, I'm going to bed, to move it [my head] from her to there, to move it from here to there.

groundwork for an efficacious ritual. The dance serves as a form of metakinesis by which the congregant comes to learn how to both signal participation in an ecstatic religious experience and know what the presence of the Holy Spirit is supposed to feel like (Luhrmann 2004). Again, it is important to recall that members of this congregation are fairly new converts to Charismatic Catholicism, and this form of embodied practice is unfamiliar to many of them—and perhaps even uncomfortable for some. Nonetheless, temporarily inhabiting a body that is "slain in the spirit" through a hymn is part of successful participation in the ritual and a key step in the socialization process of becoming a Charismatic Catholic.

Following the preacher's instruction, the majority of the crowd performs the choreography. Those who don't do the specified dance perform other complementary actions such as clapping along to the music.[18] The intention in the performance is for the congregants to evince the desired emotional disposition for the event—"joy" (*júbilo*)—which is, above all else, signaled by bodies in motion. By dancing, congregants are making a

Figure 5: Charismatic Catholic Hymn (C5)

claim about their authentic participation in the ritual, and 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. The effusive display of "joy" in Figure 5 is all the more interesting when compared to an analogous situation in the Mainstream mass (see Figure 5).

Mainstream hymns are quite different from Charismatic hymns in several ways, but they are likewise felt to be important for rituals. The circulation of Mainstream hymns is organized at the Diocesan level by a Salesian Missionary center that edits and publishes a professionally typeset hymnal with over 250 songs in Q'eqchi'. Although the melodies tend to circulate by ear, (see Example C5) the printed form of the texts also means that these hymns tend to be a little more structurally complex than Charismatic ones. Although not all hymns are performed regularly, a choir leader can in theory call out any page number for the congregation to sing, since congregants are expected to have a copy of the hymnal. Unlike

in Charismatic rituals, there is not a strong expectation that every congregant will sing, and dancing or clapping along would be seen as highly inappropriate. Instead, the choir accompanied by a marimba is largely responsible for the performance, while congregants are expected to follow along in the hymnal and sing softly.

The video clip of Example M5 shows a Mainstream congregation 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, pardon sins, move peoples' hearts). The people signing in the video are remarkably still, as they tend to be for all hymns. At the beginning of the video clip, a group leader is standing and singing with her hymnal open at around chest level. She shifts her footing a little and looks up at the camera in one instance, but otherwise her body remains relatively still. Later when the camera pans to show the congregation in the main nave, it is apparent that this is normative behavior for others as well. One can see, for example, three women in the front row singing the hymn, but they do so while maintaining a still posture (see Figure 6).

The group performance of hymns among Mainstream Catholics isn't marked by clapping, dancing, or even necessarily by singing along, rather the proper way to participate here is to read from the hymnal, 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 or action (in this case, gratefulness or thanking God directly for received blessings), unlike in the Charismatic performance, the proper position one takes in order for the desired result to be achieved is one of restraint, of controlling oneself in order to be in the right frame of

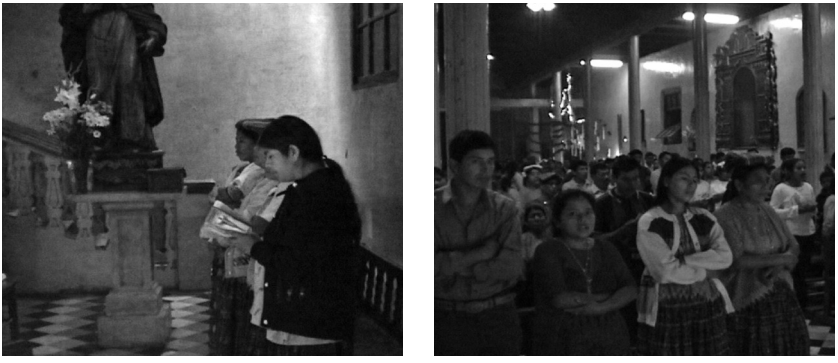

Figure 6: Mainstream Catholic Hymn (M5)

mind for receiving communion. As with the gesturing practices of lay leaders delivering sermons and introducing offerings, bodily stillness is critical to the performance of sacramental music for Mainstream Catholics.

Conclusion

Both Mainstream and Charismatic Catholics in San Felipe hold bodily behavior to be a necessary component of successful participation in their community's ritual activities, but the two congregations have diverged in their expectations for how church members should behave. The differences in the two groups' norms for bodily behavior are not purely matters of style. Rather, they are read as signs of a serious religious fissure and have become a point of contention between people who were co-religionists until quite recently. The emergent differentiation is taken as a religious schism because norms of bodily behavior are critical components of the ways that Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics make their theologies experientially real, thus establishing the moral and spiritual authority of their congregations. As Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics see it, the difference between constraining one's gestures or making them effusive matters because one partially enacts one's faith through these actions.

As Joel Robbins (2001) has argued, ideologies about the efficacy of ritual and its role in religious life seem to have strong links to metalinguistic discourses. This case suggests that ideologies about gesture likewise play a significant role in shaping people's ritual lives. In San Felipe, these two opposing ideological constructions in the performance of gesture have created not only a differentiation in ritual practices and religious identifications, they have also raised certain problems for people attempting to define their social and moral identities in a context where Q'eqchi' ethnicity and traditional Catholicism were, until recently, closely linked. Though I have not focused on spoken language here, a similar process is at play in parishioners' linguistic practices and language ideologies, especially as they relate to how the uses of Q'eqchi' and Spanish are imagined to impact ritual life (Hoenes del Pinal 2008). By focusing on gesture and bodily movement, this paper has sought to draw attention to modes of communication that often escape anthropological analysis and show that they too are subject to ideological regimentation.

Susan Gal (1998:321) has noted that language ideologies and the signifying practices they entail "provide (enacted) representations of the social

world" that constitute social groups and subject positions, and in doing so valorize some over others. Different ideologies can construct alternate—perhaps even opposite social realities—even when these might otherwise be seen as part of a larger overarching whole (Gal 1998:320). I have tried to show here that ideologies of other modes of communication (e.g., gesture) can also function in this way. I would suggest that because of the relative novelty of Charismatic Catholicism in San Felipe, the dialectic of "control, constraint, and respect" and "effusiveness, spontaneity, and joy" has become contentious precisely because the two congregations still share a single logic that underlies their different stances on gesture. People's core idea about the reliability of the body as an index for the moral self have not changed with the advent of Charismatic Catholicism, even if there has been a need to renegotiate the specific moral and ethical values that their bodies should be expressing. Mainstream Catholics and Charismatics recognize each other's stances because fundamentally they are their own, and it is precisely because of that recognition that the other's practices become problematic. Communicative practices generally and gestures specifically are important in this debate because they make these different values audible and visible, forcing a confrontation over orthopraxy. It is not surprising, then, to find that the people involved in this debate have worked to develop explanations and justifications for their own models of behavior while scrutinizing others' actions for deviations that can be read as faults or failings.

Bourdieu writes that "the attention paid to staging in great collective ceremonies derives[…], 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" (Bourdieu 1990:69). These two contrasting regimentations of gesture and bodily movement might evidence different constructions of how one becomes a pious person, but fundamentally they operate according to the same logic that relates the body to the soul. By consciously working to enact ideal forms of bodily behavior members of these congregations both cultivate the moral dispositions they seek to inhabit and refine the norms of behavior that they believe will help them achieve those moral states. This suggests, following re-readings of Bourdieu's formulation of the relationship between habitus and hexis (e.g., Starrett 1995, Mahmood 2001), that bodily dispositions are subject to reflexive adjustment and refinement, with the self-conscious monitoring and evaluation of both in-group and out-

group actions serving as a critical site for developing and reinforcing congregational identities. The methodological tools developed by scholars interested in gesture as a part of multimodal interaction offer us a way to analyze and document the enactment of these identities and the ideologies that undergird them. Just as important as what people actually do with their bodies are the ways they construct interpretations of their own and other's actions and how these in turn influence their understandings and beliefs about the world. The body hexis adopted by Q'eqchi'-Maya Catholics in these ritual settings might thus be understood as a means of evaluating, interpreting, and enacting one's religious identity. The process of binding embodied actions to morality is, of course, not a neutral process, and a critical examination of how this ideology emerges can tell us quite a bit about how local congregations imagine the religious subject and the relationships it entails. In short, it gives us a window to understanding key aspects of Q'eqchi'-Mayas' interpretations of Catholicism. Looking beyond the debate in San Felipe, these local ideologies *cum* ethno-theologies can serve as a basis for cross-cultural comparison of how Christians (and others) around the world understand, enact, and experience their religions.

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ENDNOTES

[1]The name of the parish and all personal names are pseudonyms.

[2]I use the term "Mainstream Catholicism" as shorthand to refer to practices other than Charismatic Catholicism in the parish. This is not a term that is used locally in Guatemala or, as far as I know, in other places where the non-Charismatics are the unmarked category of Catholics. Mainstream Catholicism as practiced in San Felipe follows the reforms adopted following the Second Vatican Council and is influenced by the Theology of Inculturation (Orta 2004, Irarrázaval 2000). It should also be understood as a creolized form of Catholicism that incorporates elements of Maya spirituality, such as veneration of the Tzuultaq'a (Wilson 1997) and the central role of maize in the Q'eqchi'-Maya cosmovision (Pacheco 1985). Locally, the opposition is sometimes formulated in terms of Charismatics and Catechists, but I prefer to use the term "Mainstream"—both to be more

inclusive (if less specific) of the practices that Charismatic Catholicism sets itself in opposition to and because it helps to foreground the way in which Charismatic Catholicism is a new and fairly radical religious identification in the area.

[3]Charismatic Catholicism or Catholic Pentecostalism is a branch of Catholicism that began to develop in the 1970s in North America (McGuire 1982, Csordas 1997). Its main defining features are a belief in "Baptism of the Spirit," the manifestation of "charisms" of spiritual gifts (e.g., glossolalia, healing, deliverance from demons, and prophecy), and an institutional affiliation to the Catholicism of the International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services (ICCRS) office in the Vatican. The ICCRS estimates that approximately 120 million people (more than 11 percent of all Catholics) participate in Charismatic Catholic groups, with somewhere upwards of 73 million of these in Latin America (International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services 2005).

[4]Evidence that this communicative channel tends to be deemed less important or trustworthy than speech may be found in the metaphorical use of the word "gesture" in English. For example, to say that someone is "gesturing towards an argument" is rarely a compliment and more likely means that this person has not completely made her case.

[5]Of course, situations may exist where one of these channels is restricted or altogether eliminated. Charles Goodwin's work on aphasia, for example, describes one such case (see e.g., Goodwin 2000, 2004).

[6]This statement is qualified because some gestures do exhibit these features. Sign languages are the clearest example. However, this kind of gesturing is not the most prevalent in human interaction (Kendon 2004).

[7]Marcel Mauss (1979) developed an earlier formulation of a theory of hexis. However, Bourdieu, to the best of my knowledge, does not cite Mauss. Mauss starts from the observation that certain techniques of the body (*techniques du corps*) seem to be historically contingent, and that we might thus suppose that the ways in which we inhabit our bodies can be said to be socially conditioned.

[8]For a model of the relationship between culture and embodied action that explicitly rejects Bourdieu's theories, see Farnell 2000.

[9]A Basic Ecclesial Community or *Comunidad eclesial de base* is a lay-led, quasi-sacramental religious unit within a parish, usually tied to a particular geographic locale such as a village or hamlet in rural areas or a neighborhood in urban ones. Due to the dispersed rural nature of San Felipe, travel to the main church for mass is extremely difficult for many people and CEBs play a central role in many parishioners' religious lives.

[10]Evangelical Protestant churches, which I do not deal with in this paper, are less of a pressing issue for the Mainstream Catholic hierarchy in San Felipe. My informants considered them to be part of another religion, and though they did occasionally have contact with them, their stance was usually to try to ignore Protestants. It's important to note that this is not the case elsewhere in the Mayan world (see Cahn 2003:28-32).

[11]The parish priest tolerated the presence of the Charismatics, and he certainly did not want to alienate them, but he would often joke about the same things that the Mainstream parishioners picked out as serious problems in Charismatics' practices.

[12]Catechists are lay prayer-leaders tasked with organizing and leading weekly community Celebrations of the Word in the Ecclesial Base Communities (CEBs).

[13]The Charismatic congregation that I worked with most closely and the only one that I was able to videotape, only has two regular preachers. Thus my sample is necessarily limited to the discussion of two people's performances. However, based on my first-hand observation of rituals held by other groups, I believe that these men's performances are typical for Charismatics in the parish.

[14]A *vigilia* (vigil) is an all-night prayer meeting held a few times a year on important feast days, such as New Years and All Souls Day. Starting at dusk and ending at dawn, the event incorporates both recognizable ritual genres present in Celebrations of the Word such as sermons, collective prayer, and hymn singing, as well as others meant more for entertainment than worship (such as skits of Bible stories, raffles, and a late-night meal).

[15]The only exception to this general rule is the choir leader, who is authorized to call out song titles and hymnal page numbers to the congregation from just outside of the altar area.

[16]The performance quality of the gesture can imbue it with slightly different meanings, though these are all related to money somehow. For example, making it low and close to one's body can suggest "bribery" or some other unsavory monetary transaction, while making it high might suggest a demand for payment for services rendered.

[17]The question of how and when gesture and speech co-occur is of great importance to some gesture studies scholars. Convergences and disjunctures in the timing speech and related gestures have been used to advance the idea that both kinds of actions may be read as being motivated by the same cognitive processes (see e.g., McNeill 1992, Goldin-Meadow 2003)

[18]Clapping is the default action performed by Charismatics whenever music is played, so that even those who cannot or do not want to sing participate in this way. Someone who neither sings nor claps (even an anthropologist visiting a prayer meeting for the first time) is liable to be chastised by a group leader, albeit indirectly, for not wanting to be close to God.

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