PREFACE

The idea and most of the data for this thesis emerged from the author's involvement in a research project in the Department of Religion at Concordia University in Montréal, Québec from September 1975 through May 1977. The project, formally titled "A Comparative Psychological and Sociological Analysis of New Religious Movements in the Greater Montreal Area," was directed by Professors Frederick Bird and William Reimer and supported by grants from the Québec Ministry of Education. My own participation in the Catholic charismatic prayer group described in chapter 3 exposed me to the regular use of first-person testimonials. In the context of our research group's emphasis on ritual practice I became intrigued by the function this ritual served in the life of the group. On the one hand it seemed to support individual involvement and participation in ritual practice; in a Roman Catholic setting this seemed welcome--a possible model for emulation. And yet there seemed to be limits to the kind of personal experience that could comfortably be integrated into liturgical celebration by means of the testimonial form. This prompted my investigation of testimonial use in other groups and led eventually to the research reported here.

In addition to Professors Bird and Reimer, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of my colleagues on the research team, all of whom allowed me access to their fieldnotes and research materials. From 1975 to 1977 I was happy to work with Susan Bernstein, Scott Davidson, Joan Perry, Karina Rosenberg, Elizabeth Sandul, Charles Small, Judith Strutt,

Frances Westley, and Bill Wheeler. Our work together has been marked by friendship and a warm spirit of collaboration.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The starting point for our study of the testimonial is the delineation of a paradox in the ritual use of the testimonial itself. For our purposes at this early stage we can begin to define the testimonial as a discursive speech event produced by an individual religious actor describing individual experience in the context of a group ritual. The testimonial is described as discursive because it is akin in form to ordinary discourse: a range of thoughts are presented in a sequential fashion. The testimonial is a speech event: it is language being spoken and made actual (as distinct from a written text). The speech event is generated by an individual religious actor and describes individual experience: one person alone is responsible for the actual production of the event and he or she relates an incident occurring only to him or herself. And this person acts in the context of a group ritual: the real sense of the act must be sought in the interaction between the individual's autonomous action and its being rooted in a larger situation produced by group activity.

It is this latter part of our definition which offers us some clues leading to the identification of an anomaly: in the context of discursive speech, how can we relate the polar terms of individual and group activity in ritual? If, with Edmund Leach and others, we choose to view the purpose of ritual activity as the reinforcement of communal bonds through stylized and repetitive group action, we should meet some difficulty in defining such a discursive speech event as ritual. For

1

the events related in the testimonial have occurred to a single indi-vidual, not to the group as a whole. If the purpose of ritual is the group celebration of group experience, then the use of the testimonial with its recounting of unique, individual-oriented occurrences would seem to be in conflict with the communal purpose of shared ritual activity.

Viewed in such terms, it seems highly problematic that a group would employ the testimonial form in a ritual context. The contradiction is both plausible and apparent. Yet certain groups do, in fact, use the testimonial in just such a context.

This anomaly should provoke us to further questioning. We shall direct our inquiry to two questions in particular. First, just how is this theoretical contradiction resolved in the actual practice of religious groups? What happens in the groups so that this contradiction does not hinder group life and expression? (Or, if it does, what evidence do we have for saying so?) Second, is there anything in the available data on new religious groups to suggest why some groups make use of the testimonial while others do not?

The chapters that follow will provide evidence for the detailed discussion of these questions. At this point, however, it is appropriate to articulate the theses we have constructed to guide our research. Our argument will be as follows:

As we have pointed out, the testimonial does indeed introduce the recounting of unique, individualized experiences into the context of what is most basically a celebration of group experience. In a ritual context, however, reference to such individual experience does not function to support the development of an individualized consciousness on the

part of the religious actor (as such experience usually supports the development of the empirical ego). Instead, potentially individualizing experience is redefined in such a way that it becomes a paradigm for the group's shared experience of its particular world. This occurs through the use of specialized language which functions to redefine the notion of experience itself, i.e. to create the boundaries necessary for defining its religious "world".

The group's redefinition of experience includes a redefinition of the experience of self. The individual assumes this new image of self upon entry into group practice. It is this notion of self which is evoked in the giving of testimonials, not a self limited to the experience of the empirical ego. An analysis of the speech forms of testimonials delivered in three different groups reveals the redefinition of individual experience in the direction of such a new image of self. The operation of a type of linguistic code governing the production of such speech acts can be hypothesized and its specific function indicated for each group.

The generation of such codes is determined by the type of social structure in the groups, a structure based on a high degree of inclusiveness. Groups with such a structure are more likely to employ the testimonial as a regular ritual practice than those with different forms of social relationships. This can be taken to explain the use of the testimonial as ritual by some groups and not others.

Our investigation of the evidence for such a thesis is organized under two lines of research. In the first place we identify those groups making use of the testimonial as ritual and attempt some preliminary comparisons with other religious groups, both "new" and "old". Ex-

amining our information on ritual and practice in these groups, we construct a typology based on testimonial usage. Use of this typology allows us to isolate the presence of testimonials in group practice and to examine other variables in group life for their relation to this constant. In particular, we are on the lookout for significant configurations of variables that could possibly be related to the emergence of a new notion of self in groups using testimonials. Elaboration of this evidence leads us to articulate a working hypothesis for use in the second stage of our investigation: namely, that formation in a group of a new notion of self is related to emphasis on membership and other factors; as such emphasis increases, so does the distinction between group self and empirical ego.

The testing of this hypothesis constitutes the second line of our research. Using testimonial transcripts from three different groups, we attempt to demonstrate the presence and functioning of the notions of self under discussion. We find in each instance the operation of a principle of interpretation specific to each group; a principle related to each group's belief system and, ultimately, to its degree of emphasis upon membership as a primary quality of participation in the group. On this basis we are able to confirm the validity of our hypothesis and to restate the judgments of our thesis in a more conclusive form.

A useful tool for the elaboration of both lines of research is examined in chapter 1. We present a theory developed by the British social analyst Basil Bernstein, who relates the emergence of specific types of language use to variations in the social organization of different groups. This theory helps us to understand the use and non-use of testimonials across a wide range of groups, and provides us with a

model of the socially determined generation of speech in those groups

making greatest use of this ritual form.

CHAPTER 1

THE SITUATED SPEECH ACT

A critical question arises when we attempt to identify ritual as the locus of that experience we refer to as religious. The question is methodological and it concerns our understanding of the notion of experience itself. If we wish to avoid the naive presumption that all religious experience is somehow essentially alike, our comparative study must deal with the obvious differences between religious groups: differences in ritual forms, in social structures, in the kinds of language used to describe each group's experience. More specifically, in this study of the ritual use of testimonial speech, we must be able to offer an appreciation of the fact that "the testimonial" does not describe one clearly defined form of ritual behavior, but refers to a family resemblance between forms which vary from one group to the next.

In our attempt to account for this variation it is helpful to analyze the testimonial as a ritual form by concentrating on its quality as a situated speech act. We need to investigate what is involved in looking at speech in a specific social situation.

Language: Public and Formal

Basil Bernstein has undertaken socio-linguistic studies of speech from this perspective. For our purposes here, his most promising research is to be found in his 1971 volume entitled Class, Codes

6

and Control.[1]

In this collection of essays Bernstein attempts to relate obser-
ved differences in language use and differences in class or social stat-
us. He begins with one of the basic insights of the sociology of know-
ledge and goes on to orient his research toward an investigation of the
constraints which follow from it:

> Language is considered one of the most important means of ini-
> tiating, synthesizing, and reinforcing ways of thinking, feeling
> and behaviour which are functionally related to the social group.
> It does not, of itself, prevent the expression of specific ideas
> or confine the individual to a given level of conceptualization,
> but certain ideas and generalizations are facilitated rather than
> others. That is the language-use facilitates development in a
> particular direction rather than inhibiting all other possible dir-
> ections.[2]

Bernstein attempts to chart two of the primary ways that language per-
forms such a restrictive function with his development of the concept
of "public" and "formal" languages. He later abandons this focus on
language in favor of an examination of the codes underlying language
use. We shall examine his elaboration of the notion of "code" below;
for the moment, let us examine the distinction he introduces with his
notions of public and formal languages.

A public language is one in which much--if not most--of the
meaning is conveyed in an implicit fashion; in contrast, a formal lang-
uage relies upon the explicit elaboration of meaning within the limits
of the language itself. While the speaker of a formal language learns
to employ linguistic symbols to express his vision of reality, the
speaker of a public language must rely upon an expressive symbolism

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[1]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, Vol. 1: Theoretical
Studies towards a Sociology of Language (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul,
1971).

[2]Ibid., p. 43.

that is essentially social in character. The latter speaker

> learns to perceive the possibilities symbolized by language in a
> distinctive way. . . . with a public language the individual from
> an early age interacts with a linguistic form which maximizes the
> means of producing social rather than individual symbols, and the
> vehicle of communication powerfully reinforces the initial socially
> induced preference for this aspect of language use.[1]

What is described, if it could exist in its pure form, would constitute

a completely closed system of linguistic possibilities: an individual

who learns language in a social situation where a public language repre-

sents the only option could only communicate by means of that language;

his (and others') use of the public language would tend to reinforce

the existing social situation; and this in turn would determine future

language learning in the same situation.

A formal language, on the other hand, is characterized by its

capacity to include meanings not so rigidly determined by the social

setting. Formal language permits a speaker to communicate meaning in

explicit terms which, not being bound to a particular set of implicit

understandings, can attain to a wider scope of individual experience

and expression. In public language "what is not said is equally and of-

ten more important than what is said," while "what is not said could in

many cases be said" in a formal one.[2]

Before moving on to some of the further implications of the use

of a public language, we can list the salient characteristics of both

language types for comparative purposes (see table 1).

These characteristics of a public language combine to influen-

ce and determine the way in which an individual experiences both envir-

onment and self: in short, his world. Other people, objects, and self

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[1]Ibid., p. 47.　[2]Ibid.

TABLE 1

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PUBLIC AND FORMAL LANGUAGES

	Public Language	Formal Language
Meaning:	implicit	explicit
Interaction with environment:	immediate	mediated
Concepts employed	descriptive	analytic
Aim:	sympathy	articulation
Symbols:	social	linguistic

are conceived of in terms that support the socially bounded and determined use of language. Thus,

> instead of an individual learning to create a language-use within which he can select to mediate his individual feeling, a public language-user tends to attach his feelings to social counters or tags which maximize the solidarity of the social relationship at the cost of the logical structure of the communication and the specificity of the feeling.[1]

The inability to explicitly express individual feelings or to articulate "those experiences of difference which would isolate the individual from his group"[2] are marks of the "strong inclusive relationship"[3] fostered by the structure of the language itself; as a result, "the individual will exhibit through a range of activities a powerful sense of allegiance and loyalty to the group, its forms and its aspirations."[4]

The effect of such a quality of social relationships upon the form and structure of a public language is considerable in Berstein's estimation. Although he will later come to label the attempt a "rag-

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[1]Ibid., p. 46. [2]Ibid., p. 48. [3]Ibid., p. 47. [4]Ibid.

bag, possessing no linguistic respectability"[1] in response to critical
commentary, Bernstein attempts to list some of the characteristics of
a public language. His list includes: the use of short sentences; the
simple, repetitive use of conjunctions; short commands and questions;
the rigid and limited use of adjectives and adverbs; infrequent use of
the personal pronoun; sympathetic circularity (phrases like "you
know?"); the use of phrases in which the reason and the conclusion are
confounded (like "because I said so"); the use of group idiomatic phra-
ses; symbolism of low generality; and the use of "the individual qualif-
ication . . . [to create] . . . a language of implicit meaning."[2] As
he regards the last characteristic as the most crucial, he expands upon
his use of terminology in a note:

> . . . The term 'individual qualification' refers to the way an
> individual comments or reflects upon, and verbally organizes his
> response to, the environment. In a public language, the qualifica-
> tion is limited to a global rather than a differentiated response.
> The verbal statement seems to arise out of an abstracting process
> without a prior differentiation which leads to a condensation of
> experience to a word or to the use of a portmanteau term or phrase
> which blurs the nature of the experience. . . . The nature of the
> qualification tends to limit the verbal elaboration of subjective
> intent . . .[3]

Code: Restricted and Elaborated

Following his early work on the public/formal distinction be-
tween language types--work based on limited empirical research--
Bernstein undertook more elaborate studies on differences in speech use
by different social groups. The social class of speakers was deter-
mined more precisely and the identification of significant linguistic
variables was improved by Bernstein's continuing work on the theoretic-
al level. Having recognized the appearance of circularity given his

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[1]Ibid., p. 2. [2]Ibid., p. 46. [3]Ibid., n. 14, pp. 57-58.

argument by the attempt to relate the two variables of language and
class directly to one another (the seemingly "closed" system we mention-
ed above), he took another line of approach. Rather than become mired
in the ambiguity of his special use of the term "language" to identify
both the product and the process of speech, Bernstein introduced a con-
cept which allows him to mediate the two by the use of a third term.
The new concept upon which he works out the distinction between "public"
and "formal" is the "code"; its categories are "restricted" and "elabor-
ated."

The notion of a code functions heuristically in Bernstein's re-
search: it is not an empirically verifiable element of language or
speech; but its existence can be postulated to explain the production
of speech forms and structures which are empirically evident in the
speech act. Identifying communication as the result of the three pro-
cesses of orientation, association, and organization on the part of the
speaker with regard to symbols, Bernstein argues that "restricted and
elaborated codes will establish different kinds of control which crys-
tallize in the nature of verbal planning."[1] This focus upon the actual
production of speech forms accords more neatly with a sociological focus
upon speech as a particular type of social behavior. In addition, it
allows Bernstein to formulate his theory of the relation of language
and class much more succinctly. He now states his argument in the fol-
lowing terms:

> . . . the form of the social relationship acts selectively on the
> type of code which then becomes a symbolic expression of the rela-
> tionship and proceeds to regulate the nature of the interaction.
> Simply, the consequences of the form of the social relationship are
> transmitted and sustained by the code on a psychological level.

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[1] Ibid., p. 81.

Strategic learning would be elicited, sustained and generalized by the code which would mark out what has to be learned and would constrain the conditions of successful learning.[1]

By developing the notion of code, Bernstein gains a powerful tool for the investigation of what are in fact separate and distinct moments in the social production of speech. The earlier drawing of dir-, ect correlations between linguistic and social structures tended on the theoretical level to obscure the fact that the two distinct terms only become related through a third, more dynamic term which is the actual act of speaking. Code, by focusing attention on the speech act, permits the asking of two separate but related questions: "How is expression in the speech act influenced by the operation of a code?" and "What influences the creation and functioning of the code itself?" Answers in both directions are now possible. For the first, Bernstein suggests: "Behaviour processed by these codes will . . . develop different modes of self regulation and so different forms of orientation"; for the second: "The codes themselves are functions of a particular form of social relationship or, more generally, qualities of social structures."[2]

The distinctions made between restricted and elaborated codes mirror in most particulars those elaborated earlier between public and formal languages; we shall examine Bernstein's characterization of the restricted case in detail below. Worth mentioning at this point, however, are the key differences in scope between the two codes.

Significant variations in range are held to apply to both the social availability and the semantic applicability of the two types of

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[1] Ibid., p. 81. [2] Ibid., p. 77.

code. Table 2 illustrates these variations.[1]

TABLE 2

DIFFERENCES IN SCOPE BETWEEN RESTRICTED AND ELABORATED CODES

	Restricted Code	Elaborated Code
Social Availability of Speech Model	UNIVERSALISTIC	PARTICULARISTIC
	special case: PARTICULARISTIC	potentially: UNIVERSALISTIC
Semantic Applicability (meaning)	PARTICULARISTIC	UNIVERSALISTIC

The social availability of a code refers to the degree to which the speech model from which the code derives is available to members of a population for learning. In general terms, the restricted code is seen as universalistic in this respect: any member of a population has access, in theory, to the speech model necessary for the learning of such a code. In actuality, however, there exists a special case of the restricted code: the instance in which an individual has access to the restricted code alone; the social availability in this case is particularistic, i.e. the individual is limited to a particular code by social constraints.

As for the elaborated code, Bernstein observes that in "con-

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[1] This material is drawn from Bernstein, Class, pp. 78-80.

temporary societies"[1] the speech model is particularistic: access to
the model is limited to particular classes (generally speaking, those
closest to the exercise of power). Theoretically, however, this need
not be the case. The speech model associated with an elaborated code
is potentially learnable by any individual, without regard to social
class.

The semantic applicability of a code refers to the social range
of its meaning. Simply, the extent to which the meanings generated by
a code can be understood by others. Here the restricted code is parti-
cularistic: its largely implicit meanings do not extend beyond the soc-
ial boundaries of a particular social group. The elaborated code, on
the other hand, allows meaning to be made explicit across the range of
social divisions; it is deemed universalistic. Bernstein summarizes
these sociological conditions in this way:

> A restricted code is particularistic with reference to its meaning
> inasmuch as it summarizes local means and ends. The degree of elab-
> oration is thus a function of the generality of the means and ends
> while the degree of restriction is a function of the parochialness
> of the social means and ends.[2]

Code and Social Situation

Our application of Bernstein's theory to the use of testimonial
speech leads us to a concern with his analysis of the sociological con-
ditions pertaining to the operation of a restricted code. Fortunately,
most of Bernstein's empirical research has focused on this area; as a
consequence, this dimension of his theory appears well-grounded. His
analysis of the social basis and possibilities of an elaborated code
are supported by less research, however, and must be considered open to

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[1]Ibid., p. 79. [2]Ibid.

more basic criticism.[1]

For every social group it holds that any individual learns the
linguistic code available to him as a member of that group. He or she
will learn, not especially this or that selected bit of data, but more
fundamentally, how to experience, what it is that is experienceable, and
who he is in function of this range of experience. As we have seen, in
the case of a restricted code, the speech model for such learning will
be local. As a consequence, experience for such an individual will be
structured in such a way that its meaning applies in a relatively local
sense as well.

Now this fact enhances the learnability of a given restricted
code: its "abbreviated structures . . . may be learned informally and
readily. They become well habituated . . ."[2] At the same time, the
structures of the code order all experience in essentially local terms;
i.e. in function of the social relationships existing in the group. As
we intimated earlier, this is especially true of an individual's exper-
ience of self. The self is given implicitly in the very act of speech;
it is not specified. "In the case of a speaker limited to a restricted
code, the concept of self will tend to be refracted through the implica-
tions of the status arrangements. Here there is no problem of self,
because the problem is not relevant."[3]

The reason for this lack of relevance regarding the self is

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[1] Such criticism is beyond the scope of the present study. The
reader is referred to Mary Douglas, Natural Symbols: Explorations in
Cosmology (2d ed., London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1973) for a pointed criti-
que of those who would forego public language and restricted code for an
array of universalistic meanings. Douglas at the same time draws heav-
ily on Bernstein's notion of restricted code in her study of ritual.

[2] Bernstein, Class, p. 79. [3] Ibid., p. 132 (italics original).

thus not necessarily due to any positive distrust or disregard of the
reality of self or ego or personhood (although such reasons may later
be elaborated as the use of a more elaborate code threatens the cohes-
iveness of pre-existing social relations).[1] Rather, self is irrelevant
because the concept of individual difference lies outside the scope of
the restricted code; or, better, its expression is restricted on the
verbal plane and cannot be readily communicated. For on the level of a
strongly inclusive social grouping, "individual difference cannot be
signalled through the verbal channel except in so far as the choice of
sequence or routine exists. It is transmitted essentially through var-
iations in extra-verbal signals."[2] Of paramount importance here (and
hence worthy of repetition) is the identification of the type of social
relations which foster such an experience of self by means of a restric-
ted speech code. Bernstein puts this in an uncharacteristically clear
fashion:

> A restricted code will arise where the form of the social rela-
> tion is based upon closely shared identifications, upon an exten-
> sive range of shared expectations, upon a range of common assump-
> tions. Thus a restricted code emerges where the culture or sub-
> culture raises the 'we' above 'I' . . . .[3]

Clearly the operation of such a code in the generation of speech
that is socially situated has ramifications on the forms the speech
will assume. The operation of a restricted code not only restricts the
individual's range of experience, but leads also to certain restrictions
on the expression of that experience in speech. These latter restric-
tions become empirically identifiable in the study of speech forms pro-

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[1] This would provide an interesting interpretation of the elab-
oration of doctrines of mortification in popular religious movements
in the early middle ages as "elaborated" scholastic thought clashed
with "restricted" religious expression and practice.

[2] Bernstein, Class, p. 126. [3] Ibid., p. 146.

duced in such a context. Most basically, as we have seen, "the effect of this on the speech is to simplify the structural alternatives used to organize meaning and restrict the range of lexicon choice."[1] In addition to those we outlined above under the rubric of public language, we may specify two additional characteristics of such speech which Bernstein has observed in his empirical work.

Self Reference

First, and most interestingly for our line of research, Bernstein notes the relative infrequency of self-reference in "restricted" speech. Coupled with the low frequency of the use of personal pronouns mentioned in the earlier context, this would seem to be understandable in terms of a reliance on social position to implicitly express personal reference. But there is a question of whether this restricted use of the first-person is to be explained in terms of one's relation to an act or, simply, to others.

> The constraint on the use of 'I' is not easy to understand nor is it easy to demonstrate what is thought to be understood. It may be that if an individual takes as his reference point rigid adherence to a wide range of closely shared identifications and expectations, the area of discretion available is reduced and the differentiation of self from act may be constrained. Looked at from another point of view the controls on behaviour would be mediated through a restricted self-editing process. If, on the other hand, the controls are mediated through a less-constrained self-editing process the area of discretion available to the individual in particular areas is greater. It may well be that such different forms of mediation, in themselves functions of the form social relationships take, are responsible for the differential use of the self-reference pronoun. If this were to be the case then the relative infrequency of 'I' would occur whenever /emphasis added/ the form of social relationship generated a restricted code.[2]

We will be able to speak to this question more fully in our discussion of testimonial speech below.

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[1]Ibid., p. 109. [2]Ibid., pp. 110-111.

Sympathetic Circularity [S.C.]

The second additional characteristic to which we wish to draw

attention is an increase in speech sequences exhibiting what is referred

to as "sympathetic circularity" [S.C.]. Such sequences--in Bernstein's

data, phrases like "isn't it," "you know," "ain't it," "wouldn't he"--

arise out of the implicit setting of the speech. They

> may be transmitted as a response of the speaker to the condensa-
> tion of his own meanings. The speaker requires assurance that the
> message has been received and the listener requires an opportunity
> to indicate the contrary. It is as if the speaker were saying
> 'Check--are we together on this?'. On the whole the speaker ex-
> pects affirmation. At the same time, by inviting agreement, . . .
> [these] . . . sequences test the range of identifications which the
> speakers have in common. The agreement reinforces the form of the
> social relationship, which lends its objective authority to the
> significance of what is said.[1]

A further possible explanation has to do with the speaker's uncertainty

in formulating his communication. One reason for uncertainty may have

to do with tension about what level of coding is in force: is a speak-

er's degree of generality or restriction on a level consonant with his

audience's? Or the tension may move beyond the level of code entirely:

"Inasmuch as a restricted code is generated by the sense of 'we-ness'

then at the point where a speaker is giving reasons or making sugges-

tions the form of the social relationship [itself] undergoes a subtle

change."[2]

Degrees of Restrictedness

An observable correlation is thus postulated between speech man-

ifesting certain highly predictable forms, a restricted type of linguis-

tic code, and an inclusive type of social structure. It is, of course,

to be expected that as one of these terms varies, variations will occur

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[1]Ibid., p. 111. [2]Ibid., pp. 111-112.

in the other two as well. "Societies differ in terms of the use made of this /restricted/ code and the conditions which elicit it."[1] What will vary with the degree of inclusiveness in social structure will be the degree of particularity or generality of the code and the range of structural alternatives employed in the speech forms. The designations "restricted" and "elaborated" are to be considered typological (or gen-etic) rather than taxonomic. Indeed, one would be highly suspicious of any analysis purporting to fix speech acts on some linguistic mounting-board; by its very nature speech--and hence its production--is an act of dynamic tension situated between what is given (lexicon, code, soc-ial reality) and what is being created. To believe that speech must al-ways mirror the somehow static conditions of its creation is to obscure the dynamic operating in the very act of communication.[2] What we have, here, to deal with is a sensitivity to range and to degree.

An absolutely pure form of a restricted code could not then ex-ist (or would be limited to some instances of computer programming or, in humans, to psychotic behavior which is by definition anti-social). Bernstein does, it is true, refer to such a "pure" form "where the lex-icon and hence the organizing structure, irrespective of its degree of complexity, are wholly predictable," but he qualifies its "purity" by adding that the verbal planning involved will be "minimal"--i.e. not

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[1] Ibid., p. 126.

[2] Bernstein does not, of course, put forward such an analysis either directly or indirectly. On the other hand, neither does he seem concerned to investigate a more dynamic approach to language, code, and social change. Cf. Paul Ricoeur, La métaphore vive (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1975). On a theoretical level, such an approach would focus on how metaphorical tension within a restricted code (Bernstein, Class, pp. 176, 177) could tend to introduce new meaning on a semantic level and a possible reordering of social structures to accomodate such change.

nonexistent. His examples of this occurrence include protocol relation-
ships, "opening gambits at a cocktail party, conversations about the
weather," and other "ritualistic modes of communication" including some
religious ritual.[1] We find a perfect example of such a "pure" form of
the restricted code in a liturgical form distantly related to the per-
sonal testimonial: the Credo in a Roman Catholic eucharist. There are
many other possible examples. But this is after all a rare and rather
extreme form of expression. For

> What is more often found is a restricted code . . . where pre-
> diction is possible only at the structural level. The lexicon will
> vary from one case to another, but in all cases it is drawn from a
> narrow range. The social forms which produce this code will be
> based upon some common set of closely shared identifications self-
> consciously held by the members, where immediacy of the relation-
> ship is stressed. It follows that these relationships will be of
> an inclusive character. The speech is played out against a back-
> ground of communal, self-consciously held interests which removes
> the need to verbalize subjective intent and make it explicit. The
> meanings will be condensed. . . . The major function of this code is
> to reinforce the form of the social relationship (a warm and inclu-
> sive relationship) by restricting the verbal signalling of indivi-
> duated response . . .[2]

It is our position that the above description serves to identi-
fy most testimonial speech very precisely. Chapter three will provide
detailed evidence to support this conclusion in the form of testimonials
drawn from the ritual practice of three different groups. In our next
chapter, however, we will attempt to comment on the situation of the
testimonial ritual among other ritual practices and forms of social
organization in a typical sampling of new religious and para-religious
groups. This being done, we will be in a better position to apply
Bernstein's theory in an effort to specify the range of the linguistic
code mediating experience and expression in specific cases, with a par-

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[1]Ibid., p. 77.   [2]Ibid., pp. 77-78.

ticular attention given to the concept of self in each instance.

CHAPTER 2

TESTIMONIAL USE AMONG NEW RELIGIOUS GROUPS

In our introductory remarks we proposed a definition of the testimonial as a discursive speech event produced by an individual religious actor in the context of a group ritual. We expressed our judgment as to the relative rarity of this example of speech use in religious practice, suggesting reasons why this might be so. In this chapter we will examine more closely the actual use or non-use of the testimonial form in a broad but non-exhaustive collection of groups.

A Typology of Ritual Practice

In order to present the data from a wide range of religious and para-religious groups in an intelligible fashion, we find it helpful to refer to the analytical typology developed by Frederick Bird in his study of new religious movements in Montreal.[1] This typology will provide us with a basic sketch of ritual practice in three broad types of groups and will help us to situate the ritual use of testimonial speech.

In his study Bird seeks to understand the importance accorded to participation in a variety of ritual observances by adherents in several religious and para-religious movements. Against those who argue that involvement in such ritual functions to mark the passage from one

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[1]Frederick Bird, "Charismatic Cults: An Examination of the Ritual Practices of Various New Religious Movements," paper presented at a Conference on New Religious Movements sponsored by the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California, June 1977.

role to another in a complex, highly-organized society, Bird presents

the case that

> The purpose of these ritual practices seems not to be to develop
> techniques for more effective socializing, but to foster for prac-
> titioners certain self-authenticating experiences, not as players
> of roles (members of family, occupiers of careers, etc.) but as
> human beings as such, as persons, furthermore, continuously con-
> cerned with what Goffman refers to as "face," . . . .[1]

> Their aim seems to be to find some means, by practicing certain
> exercises or rituals, to protect their sense of self-worth from the
> exigencies of various external and internal threats and to enhance
> their personal experience of power and worth.[2]

As an aid in presenting his argument, Bird elaborates a typology of ri-

tual practice based on an investigation of initiation rites, meditation

rites, and therapeutic rituals for healing and purification. The prac-

titioners of these rituals can be typed according to three basic orien-

tations: disciples, apprentices, and devotees.

The Disciple

Disciples, according to Bird's analysis,

> ultimately seek to achieve a mystical, enlightened consciousness by
> following a prescribed discipline of meditation. They seek to
> transform their consciousness, not only momentarily but in some a-
> biding fashion. They believe that the ultimate, clarified state of
> mind requires much effort to achieve. In the meantime, disciples
> expect to realize more peaceful, more energizing states of mind
> than before adopting this discipline. They seek to realize an en-
> static rather than ecstatic state of mind.[3]

This fundamental orientation influences expression in each of the three

kinds of ritual being examined. In line with the disciple's focus on

achievement over the long term, "disciples pass through not one but a

series of initiation rites"[4] to mark advancement from one level of the

discipline to another. There is an overwhelming focus in disciple

groups on the practice of different forms of meditation, as Bird notes

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[1]Ibid., pp. 3-4.   [2]Ibid., p. 3.   [3]Ibid., p. 32.   [4]Ibid., p. 32.

above. In addition to these observations, we may note that the disciples' concern with therapeutic rites and healing rituals is limited to the adoption of different health disciplines, and does not extend to the practice of specific rites thought to bring about an immediate cure or relief from physical suffering. This is reflected in a generalized concern with health foods and diet in the Zendo and Dharmadhatu groups. The Integral Yoga Institute group devoted considerable discussion to diet and health disciplines in one of its weekend retreats.[1]

While this type of orientation may inform ritual practice to some extent in many of the new religious and para-religious groups, we are able to say that it particularly typifies ritual behavior in certain specific groups. "So characterized, disciples in varying degrees may be found in groups like Zendo, Dharmadhatu, the Integral Yoga Institute, Shakti, and the Gurdjieff fellowship."[2]

The Apprentice

The second type of ritual practice we want to point out is that of the apprentice. Again, according to Bird:

> Apprentices usually seek to realize greater power and/or well being. Rather than seeking to conform their minds to an existing higher Truth, they seek to utilize and domesticate this higher power or spirit for immediate often secularly defined ends. They want to become warriors or men and women of power, by learning and becoming skilled at the particular techniques and/or exercises which they believe can strengthen and empower them.[3]

Initiation rites for apprentices are "relatively stylized" and serve "to introduce apprentices to the special ritualized techniques and ex-

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[1] Bill Wheeler, "Thanksgiving Retreat, Nov. 21-25, 1973," field-notes from research on the Integral Yoga Institute (Concordia University, Dept. of Religion).

[2] Bird, "Cults," p. 32.   [3] Ibid., p. 33.

ercises."[1] They are not progressive as they are for the devotees, but simply mark the initiate as an approved student of the technique in question. An apprentice need not demonstrate any specific ability or quality to participate in such an initiation. Rather, it is "relatively easily" gained through the initiate's "donating in prescribed manner money, time, and/or other gifts."[2] Meditation is not pursued to achieve a state of consciousness which is perceived as valuable in itself. Instead, "for apprentices meditation becomes a means to realize desired ends, variously identified as greater success in one's career or personal relations."[3]

As might be expected, healing rituals in apprentice-type groups receive more emphasis than in disciple groups. Silva Mind Control, for example, bases its most central ritual on the practice of "psychic healing" which is thought to produce immediate effects in an unwitting subject.[4] est "processes" include those specifically aimed at bringing immediate relief from physical discomfort through the application of mental force.[5] And Arica training apparently makes use of similar rites to banish physical pain.[6]

The groups most clearly identified as apprentice-type groups,

[1] Ibid., p. 34. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 33.

[4] Frances Westley, "Fieldnotes: Silva Mind Control," 1 December 1975 (Concordia University, Dept. of Religion).

[5] William Greene, est: 4 Days to Make Your Life Work (Markham, Ont.: Simon & Schuster, Pocket Books, 1976), p. 61.

[6] Published information on Arica is extremely rare, but see Sam Keen, "A Conversation about Ego Destruction with Oscar Ichazo," Arica Institute, Inc. Reprint, article originally published in Psychology Today, July 1973, n.p.

according to Bird, are the Transcendental Meditation Society, the Church of Scientology, Silva Mind Control, Arica, and Subud. We might also consider est a good example of this type, for the reasons noted above as well as others we shall add below.

The Devotee

The devotee type of practitioner is perhaps the most identifiably "religious" of all three. Bird identifies it as follows:

> Devotees ultimately seek to become one with their revered Lord or Truth, to surrender themselves to his Holy Being, and to be receptive to his or its influence. Identified by these terms, one can perceive devotees especially in the Charismatic groups, the Divine Light Mission, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, the Nichiren Shoshu Academy, and to a degree among the followers of Sri Chinmoy. Because they believe their Holy Being is not inaccessible to anyone, devotees do not feel that relating to this Being is something which they must achieve or for which they must qualify. Rather, they are invited to submit and devote themselves. They believe that through this relationship one can become a new or renewed person.[1]

Initiation rites in devotee groups focus as do other devotee rituals on the individual's new status as a member of a group of devotees. There is "a clearly designated initiation rite, which involves a single step."[2] Meditation is a central ritual in all the groups and is usually a group practice, although as Bird notes, it may also be practiced by individuals at home or alone. Except for the Charismatic groups mentioned above, healing rituals are not a significant feature in these groups. Members of the Krishna group hold a positive disregard for physical health and well-being as part of the illusory entrapments of

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[1]Bird, "Cults," p. 30.

[2]Ibid., p. 33.

maya.[1] On the other hand. Nichiren Shoshu members mention physical
well-being as one of the results of their practice of chanting.

In addition to those groups identified by Bird as devotee-type
above, we mention here the Evangel Pentecostal Church as typical of
this orientation. These Pentecostals are devoted to a personal Lord,
Jesus Christ; they practice a single initiation rite, water baptism;
they are committed to their devotion in the context of a clearly-
identified group of fellow devotees. the church; and their meditational
practice, prayer, is most often carried out in a group setting.[2] While
Evangel Pentecostal is not precisely a "new" religious group, such sim-
ilarities on the level of practice appear to permit its inclusion here.

The Ritual Use of Testimonials

Having introduced these three basic categories of ritual prac-
tice in new religious groups we are now in a better position to situ-
ate the giving of testimonials on a broad spectrum of ritual activity.

As we have seen, Bird's typology is based on an analysis of dif-
fering notions of the ultimate religious goal as they are expressed in
different groups. On this basis he goes on to distinguish other differ-
ences in ritual practice that appear to correlate with these conceptions
of salvation. In a similar way, we can here indicate certain charac-
teristic features of group practice and attitudes influencing social

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[1] Francine Daner, The American Children of Krshna: A Study of the
Hare Krsna Movement, Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology (New York:
Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1976), pp. 72-73.

[2] Judith Strutt, Fieldnotes from research on the Evangel Pente-
costal Church, 28 November 1976 and 9 January 1977 (Concordia University,
Dept. of Religion).

structure and organization in a representative sampling of groups. Our aim is to establish the existence of three ideal types of group orientation related to the use of testimonials. In analyzing the groups by means of these types we do not suggest that each group will correspond precisely and in every particular to the type of behavior and organization we are elaborating; there will be significant variations and divergences noted. We do propose, however, the existence of three fundamentally different orientations among the groups and claim that testimonial use or non-use can best be understood by reference to one type rather than to another. To some degree, then, we shall be able to both verify Bird's original typology by testing it against additional data not included in his study and gauge its applicability to our analysis of testimonial use.

Moving beyond our introductory definition of the testimonial as a speech event, we note here its essential observable characteristic: testimonial discourse is always produced in the first person singular. This does not, of course, mean that "I" is the grammatical subject of every sentence in the testimonial. But every testimonial narrative is marked by the recurring use of the first person singular as the linguistic framework on which the narrative is built. Identification of the occurrence of first-person speech in ritual, then, is one key to a preliminary determination of the presence or absence of testimonial use among other ritual activities.

An additional key is found in the performance of such speech by individuals with lay status in their respective groups. By this we mean to indicate the fact that testimonial speech is not restricted to group leaders, ministers, or persons in other positions of authority

(although such individuals may also participate in the testimonial rit-
ual). In essence, the testimonial is a popular ritual: it allows the
participation of non-specialists and those on the lowest levels of any
group hierarchy. It is not a first-person sermon or homily by which a
group leader directs and sets the mood for a congregation.

Finally, as we also noted in our introductory remarks, the testi-
monial involves the relating of events drawn from the personal experi-
ence of the speaker. He or she has either personally undergone the
conversion, healing, etc., being described, or has specific information
to present about another's personal experience.[1] This ritual form is
thus unlike the ritual recitation of a religious drama or story (such as
the Jewish Hagaddah) or of a credal affirmation of faith (like the
Christian Crèdo). Its use is characterized more by spontaneity than by
planning, a trait which sets it off from the totally predictable ex-
treme of restricted coding cited by Bernstein above.[2]

Isolating the presence of first-person speech relating personal-
ly experienced events and given by lay members of a group, we find two
broad categories of users and non-users. We will first examine some
similarities among the non-user groups.

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[1]See examples in appendix 1.

[2]Both Haggadah and Credo are, in fact, instances of this "pure"
form of restricted coding. It is of interest to note that their use in
Jewish and Christian ritual is found alongside severe restrictions on
the use of first-person speech. Generally speaking, only accredited and
authorized individuals are permitted access to this form in a liturgical
context: in homilies, sermons, and similar forms. Highly developed and
elaborated ritual systems, it would appear, tend toward the exclusion of
spontaneity, at least on the level of expression in speech. This may be
a measure of the universality of expression sought in such traditional
religions.

The Non-users

Groups in the non-user category make no use at all of personal testimonials; first-person speech of this type is absent from all forms of ritual activity. Groups here include: martial arts groups (T'ai Chi Ch'uan, Aikido); Transcendental Meditation; the Integral Yoga Institute; the Self Realization Fellowship; the Montreal Zendo; and Dharmadhatu.

In addition to the absence of testimonial use, these groups are found to have certain other characteristics in common. First, there is little or no emphasis in these groups on membership. Participation in a group does not involve a significant investment of one's identity in the group as such. There are at least three elements reflecting on the nature and degree of an individual's participation to which we can appeal in making this determination.

To begin with, each group focuses on instruction in and practice of a specific and clearly defined technique. For some groups this is primarily a meditational technique; for others, the performance of a physical activity; most groups try to relate the two in one way or another. Next, we find that group meetings are essentially occasions for individual instruction and practice. The technique or activity that a member has been performing alone or outside the group is performed in the company of others primarily in order to check and perfect the technique. The sharing of experiences or development of interpersonal bonds between participants is not encouraged and is in some cases discouraged. Social exchange, if there is any, is done in a time clearly distinct from the group meeting. Finally, relations to the leader or convener in these groups are structured on a one-to-one basis, as between teacher and student. They comprise individual instruction and

direction passing from the leader to the student only. The leader's position and authority in the group are not dependent on his ability to relate the needs and expectations of the participants as persons gathered to form some greater whole; he is acknowledged simply as the teacher of a special discipline.

A second characteristic these groups hold in common is their attitude toward proselytizing. In all the groups we find there to be little active proselytizing, or the seeking of members or converts through personal appeal and effort. Use is made, most notably in the Transcendental Meditation Society (TM), of various impersonal media for advertizing purposes, but this obviously does not depend on personal contact and involvement on members' parts.

From interviews with group members a third characteristic of this category emerges: participants in these groups develop little or no sense of being acted upon by a being or agent beyond themselves. They consider themselves autonomous and self-directed, with no need to refer to a specific outside agent for an explanation of their actions or experiences.

A final characteristic shared by these groups is that little or no emphasis is placed upon the training of one's willpower or will in the service of any being or agent outside oneself. All benefits sought are for one's own personal gain or betterment. This does not mean that no effort is made to relate individual practice to the more general human situation in some way. Transcendental Meditators have made claims, for instance, that whole cities and countries will realize concrete benefits from meditation when the percentage of meditators reaches one per

cent.[1] But the point is that such gains are seen as a kind of by-
product of the activity; primary benefits are still viewed as an indi-
vidual possession.

This first general category thus includes groups making no use
of testimonial discourse. The groups also evince no significant em-
phasis on membership and no active proselytizing. Members exhibit lit-
tle or no sense of being acted upon by a being or agency beyond self,
and there is no emphasis on the training or development of a member's
will or willpower in the service of such a being or agency.

In most particulars these groups are similar to those Bird
identifies with the disciple type, although our identification of the
specific groups differs from his in some cases.[2] As we can see by ref-
erence to the four categories of shared traits we have been examining,
the social organization of these groups can best be described as indi-
vidualist in orientation: membership is loosely structured, authority
relations are on a one-to-one basis between master and disciple, par-
ticipants are not concerned to interest others in their experience
through proselytizing, and self-direction is given a positive value.
There does not appear to be much seeking after a new model or image of
self in the groups, but rather a concentration on the development or
perfection of the self one brings to the group. This would accord with
our hypothesis on the function of testimonials as a means of adopting
and expressing a new image of self in a group context. Disciples, we

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[1]Interview with TM Instructor Rolph Fernandes, Lachute, P.Q.,
November 1975.

[2]Bird identifies the Transcendental Meditation Society as an
apprentice-type group; both T'ai Chi and the Self Realization Fellowship
are described as possessing some characteristics of the disciple orien-
tation in combination with one of the other two types.

would argue, do not need the testimonial ritual because they have no interest in exchanging information about the self or in adopting a group model for the self.

The Testimonial Users

The second broad category we are establishing here includes those groups making use of the personal testimonial in a regular way. Apart from this common reliance upon the testimonial, we find that attitudes and beliefs vary widely across the range of the groups we are examining in this category.

Using Bird's identification of the groups as either "devotee" or "apprentice," we can arrive at the following subdivision of those groups using the testimonial:

Devotee groups:

The Nichiren Shoshu Sokagakeai Academy
The Divine Light Mission
Catholic Charismatic Renewal groups
The Evangel Pentecostal Church
The Church of Christ, Scientist

Apprentice groups:

Silva Mind Control
Arica
est
some therapy groups

As we seek to distinguish these two types, we can first of all note the difference between devotee and apprentice conceptions of membership. Both types of groups give this notion more emphasis than the technique-oriented disciple groups, but the degree of emphasis varies. For the devotee groups listed above, membership is seen to demand a significant investment of one's own personal identity; this is not the case

with the apprentice groups. We can cite several pieces of evidence to support this claim.

To begin with, participants in devotee groups spend a significant amount of what we can call "social time" with other members in what are identified as group-related activities. Large amounts of personal time and energy are devoted to social exchange in addition to the time already spent together in more clearly "ritual" observance. In the different groups these extra-curricular types of activity assume different forms: in the Divine Light Mission members often live together, establishing households (called ashrams) and becoming involved in the whole range of social activities occasioned by such an enterprise.[1] The Charismatic groups, the Pentecostals and the Nichiren group all schedule social activities like coffee hours, weekend retreats, and "socials" as regular features in their group schedule.

Another indication of the centrality accorded devotee membership is the groups' definition of the essential ritual occurrence not as a meeting or mere agglomeration of individual religious actors, but as a gathering of involved persons. While technique-oriented groups like TM have a clearly defined and discrete activity whose performance is unrelated to the personal involvement of those present at a given meeting, the gatherings of these devotee groups demand greater subjective involvement on the part of members for the success of their rituals. The religious experience associated with ritual performance here is not viewed as automatic and inevitable, but is dependent upon the personal involvement and participation of the members present at each

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[1]Joan Perry, "Concordia University Survey of Contemporary Self-Development Groups Index Form (Revised Sept. 1974)," notes on Divine Light Organization, p. 22.

gathering. This is quite apparent in charismatic and Pentecostal groups where personal outpourings in the form of singing, extemporaneous shouted remarks, and often glossolalia are seen as voluntary activities whose success depends on the greatest free participation possible.[1]

In addition, the character of relations to persons in leadership roles in devotee groups also gives an indication of greater personal involvement on members' parts. In contrast to the teacher-student or master-apprentice relation which characterizes the technique-oriented groups and permits a large degree of autonomy in that part of the relationship not directly concerned with the transmission of technique, the characteristic relationship in devotee groups is usually based on a warm personal relationship. Both leader and member are seen as involved in a total relationship which includes interpersonal exchange. In some ways the leader is seen as a kind of exemplar whose behavior and lifestyle the member is drawn to emulate. This observation applies primarily to local leaders (President Ikeda of the Nichiren group lives in Japan and has no relations with most members in the Montreal group, for example), but it holds true in each devotee group.

The apprentice-group emphasis on membership varies considerably from that we have just described. As Bird characterizes it, apprentices typically "want to become warriors or men/women of power by learning and becoming skilled at the particular techniques and/or exercises which they believe can strengthen and empower them."[2] Membership in an apprentice group is therefore considered important only insofar as it leads a participant to the possession and perfection of such

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[1] Strutt, Fieldnotes on Evangel Pentecostal.

[2] Bird, "Cults," p. 33.

skills. Social exchange with other members is limited, generally not extending beyond contact at formal group sessions, and apprentices almost never live together in common households. Group meetings of apprentices demand a different level of participation than those of devotees. Bird notes that "the group in which one learns these valued techniques/exercises is viewed simply as a class."[1] Personal intervention beyond the discussion of techniques and their application is out of place. This holds even for groups like est and the therapy groups, where emphasis upon the solution of personal problems might be viewed as providing an opening for interpersonal exchange and challenge. In fact, however, such personal concerns are brought to the group as the raw matter necessary for the application of the group's own skill or technique, and do not imply subjective interaction on the same level as devotee groups.[2]

Finally, apprentice relations to persons in leadership roles is also significantly different. The model is that of the relation between master and apprentice, a relationship based on the correct transmission of technique or skill, not personal interaction or emulation. "Apprentices honor their leaders as . . . authorities but do not revere them

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[1] Ibid.

[2] For some, however, this may result in a personal change so deep that there is an attempt to use the group and relationships in the group to support this new understanding of self. This is apparently the case with many est participants who would like more personal exchange and continuing support than the seminar structure can provide. est fills this need by allowing them to work as unpaid volunteers in the company of other graduates who have "gotten it". The majority of graduates, however, return whence they came. est and groups like it in this respect--TM, for instance--must therefore be considered as often maintaining a devotee "core" amid a steady stream of passing apprentices.

as models of the ends which they are seeking to realize."[1]

A second major difference between the two kinds of groups we are examining here relates to their concern or lack of concern with both agency and will (or willpower) as central to the group ideal or purpose. In the devotee groups this concern is very pronounced and is linked with a sense of being an agent of some great or self-transcending will or power. For the charismatics and Pentecostals, this concern and relation are worked out in terms of the agency of a transcendent Holy Spirit; in Divine Light the agency and the will are seen as exclusively Maharaj Ji's;[2] and the Nichiren Shoshu group refers both to "the true Buddha" (Nichiren) and the Gohonzon in this connection.[3] The apprentice groups, on the other hand, do not often relate their concern to the operation of a transcendent power or force (and can be considered "secular" to this extent). Power in the apprentice groups is not seen as the gift of a transcendent being nor even as the result of contact with some transcendent dimension of power, but as self-actualization. Oscar Ichazo, the leader of Arica, sums up this apprentice sentiment nicely when he is quoted as saying: "We are all now. Humanity is the Messiah and we are awakening to that fact."[4]

The last difference we wish to underline between devotee and apprentice groups concerns proselytizing, either formal or informal. For

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[1] Bird, "Cults," p. 34.

[2] See our analysis of the issue of "control" in our study of Divine Light in chapter 3 below.

[3] Karina Rosenberg, Fieldnotes on the Nichiren Shoshu Sokagakaei Academy, 11 and 18 December 1974 (Concordia University, Dept. of Religion).

[4] As quoted by Keen, "Conversation," last page (unnumbered).

the most part, the devotee groups are heavily committed to some form of proselytizing activity. Such activity is sometimes directly related to testimonial activity, as in the practice of shakubuku by Nichiren adherents (street-corner proselytizing which includes a personal story similar in form to the testimonial), and the giving of Sat Sang by Divine Light premies. Charismatics and Pentecostals, for instance, sometimes distribute printed tracts, but do not often engage in sidewalk testifying.

The practice is even less pronounced in the apprentice-type groups, however. In all these groups we find little of the street-corner activity which often marks proselytizing in the devotee groups; here, its impersonal character is more nearly related to advertizing than to an attempt to win converts through a personal display of faith. What is emphasized is not the proselytizer's faith or belief as a communicable human act, but the pragmatic effectiveness of this group's kind of power over against other kinds. At the est Guest Seminars, for example,

> The leaders share their experiences with the guests who are usually very intrigued by the transformations that have been related to them. As a result, during the guest participation or sharing time, the leaders are deluged with questions about est. How does it work? What makes it work? Can it work for them? The leaders are skillful in acknowledging the questions without ever really answering them.[1]

Silva Mind Control advertizing includes a guarantee that a member who faithfully completes its course will become a practicing psychic—complete with a certificate of achievement.

We can see that Bird's typology does stand up to our analysis of attitudes and practices related to membership, concern with agency or

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[1]Greene, est, p. 38 (emphasis added).

will, and proselytizing; in addition, we can see that it does so in a predictable way. We can now attempt to relate this typology to testimonial use to see whether there is a significant difference in the use of testimonials in both kinds of groups. To do so, we examine first the placing of the testimonial in each group's ritual repertoire, to gauge the relative centrality of testimonial use in each group.; then we discuss the function and purpose of the testimonial in both kinds of groups, based on information developed in the elaboration of our typology and in our examination of ritual frequency.

Testimonial giving is obviously only one ritual among others in any ritual system. It is possible to gauge the relative importance of testimonial use by situating the practice in the repertoire of ritual observance in each group. Attention is focused on the frequency of testimonial practice (daily, weekly, monthly) in relation to group meetings and the prominence of testimonials among other forms of spoken ritual.

We can first note that in each of the devotee-identified groups the giving of testimonials is recognized as a clearly-defined and separate group activity; in the apprentice groups, however, it is most often part of another ritual activity. All the devotee groups consciously define a ritual "space" to be used for the sharing of testimonials. In the Christian Scientist and Divine Light groups, the giving of testimonials is the sole or primary activity performed at certain public gatherings: the Christian Scientists hold a weekly "testimonial meeting" and Divine Light adherents gather seven nights a week for activity limited to the giving of testimonials and brief interludes of music and song. Specific times for testimonials are set aside in the Nichiren

Shoshu, charismatic, and Pentecostal groups. Here these periods are clearly subordinated to more central ritual observances, but they are nonetheless recognized as separate and distinct.

The apprentice groups tend to use testimonials as one part of another ritual practice; indeed, they rarely use the term "testimonial" to identify the activity at all. Silva Mind Control, for example, fits testimonial-type speech into the context of its regular lectures: during the course of such talks, experienced members will be asked to provide examples of how they used the technique under discussion. Much the same is true of therapy and therapy-oriented groups like Arica and est; the relating of personal experience in testimonial form is always part of a wider discussion and always relates to the group's central techniques and skills.

This observed difference in the relative centrality accorded the testimonial as ritual is related to differences in the function and use of the testimonial form in the groups. These differences, in turn, can be analyzed in terms of the devotee-apprentice typology we have been examining. In brief, testimonial use, like any other ritual form, varies in function between the groups according to the groups' differing aims and forms of social organization. To be sure, the setting and function of the testimonial differ considerably between any two groups; we shall examine some of these specific differences with regard to three particular devotee groups in the next chapter. What we are establishing here is that these differences may productively be typified along the general lines indicated in Bird's typology.

Leach has pointed out that repetition and redundancy are hallmarks of all ritual, arguing that ritual forms become in some sense

storehouses of information which can later be made available to participants in ritual activity.[1] This function of the ritual as a learning device is particularly evident in the ritual use of the testimonial. Discursive speech molded into a stylized form characterized by regularity, redundancy, and repetition--the testimonial[2]--functions as a kind of pedagogical device for the transmission of certain kinds of information in a group context. The specific functioning of the device as well as the weight accorded it in relation to other ritual practices are determined by the kind of information being transmitted and the importance granted such information in a specific belief system. Our argument is that the kind of information being transmitted in the apprentice groups' use of the testimonial form is different in kind and in assigned degree of importance from that being passed along in devotee groups, and that this difference is related to differences in social aims and organization. An understanding of these differences helps explain the different uses of the testimonial in the two types of groups.

In the apprentice groups we have been examining, testimonial use functions to transmit information concerning the techniques or exercises on which the group focuses. It is one ritual among others serving the same purpose, like lectures, presentations, group discussions, and so forth. Its particular advantage is that it allows an apprentice to demonstrate his or her individual competence or technical skill in a way that permits verification by the master or teacher. From

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[1] Edmund Leach, "Ritualization in Man in Relation to Conceptual and Social Development," in Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach, 3d ed., edited by William Lessa and Evon Vogt (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

[2] Evidence to support this identification is provided in chapter 3 below.

the standpoint of the speaker, then, the testimonial is a teaching device: the master, in using the testimonial, instructs an apprentice in proper technique; the apprentice's correct use of the form demonstrates competence. From the standpoint of the hearer, the testimonial functions at the same time as a learning device: it is one more way of learning how the technique or skill operates in practice.

In the apprentice groups this is the extent of the significance of testimonial speech. The speaker opens him or herself to individual correction and instruction concerning technical proficiency, but does not use the self-revelatory potential of such speech to further subjective interaction between him or herself and other group members. The fact that in some groups (like est) the matter being related pertains to the personal life of the speaker is not pertinent: the speaker is not so much attempting to reveal information about what is considered his or her innermost self, as demonstrating his or her competence in using the group skill to reorder memories and perceptions. What is being learned is a kind of therapeutic algebra: one does not especially seek the meaning of "x" event in a personal exchange with others, as one learns how to manipulate "x" as one term in relation to other terms.

The devotee groups' use of the testimonial is in support of different aims, however. We take devotee concern with a strongly inclusive notion of membership, with the use of proselytizing as a means of gaining new converts to the group, and with the issue of agency and will as a key focus for devotee participation as indices of devotee commitment to a strong form of social organization. We therefore argue that testimonial use in devotee groups correlates with the desire to

form a highly inclusive grouping--a community--in the pursuit of rel-
igious meaning. In contrast to apprentices and disciples, devotees are
seeking to adopt (and maintain) a self image based on the individual's
identity as a participant in a communal self created and promoted by
the group. The testimonial functions to transmit information about this
self image.[1]

The groups' use of the testimonial ritual provides devotees
with the opportunity, first, to learn about the integration of the indi-
vidual self into the group self by hearing others' accounts of how this
has been accomplished in their own lives; and, second, to discover in
their practice of the testimonial ritual how to express their new self-
consciousness in a group language where this awareness of a communal
self is taken for granted as a meaning implicit in the social situation
of the speech act. Devotees, in giving testimonials, not only refer to
events in their lives as being related to their practice of a group
technique (whether meditation, chanting, prayer, or the working of
"Science"), but they do so in a way aimed at validating their member-
ship in a community of devotees who have all somehow had the same ex-
perience.

This reliance on a context of ritual setting, language, and
practice reinforces a participant's dependence on the group for the pos-
sibility of self expression. For without the context of meaning pro-
vided by the group, he cannot speak about his experience of the new self

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[1]Of course it is not the only ritual form that does so. In the
International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), for example,
a group that in many ways is the most devotee-oriented group of all, a
ritualized, monastic way of life defines the devotee's new self in a
way more comprehensive than that of any testimonial. This is taken to
explain the absence of the testimonial ritual in this group where it
might be most expected.

he has become; or, to qualify this assertion somewhat, he cannot do so outside the group without sacrificing the immediacy of his understanding of himself.

This is so, we hypothesize, because the devotee's new self-understanding is intimately linked to the language he learns for self-expression in the group. The high degree of social cohesiveness which marks the devotee groups promotes the development of a group language that is particularistic with regard to both means and ends. It offers a speech model to be found only in the group, and it restricts the full communication of meaning to the group context of implicit meaning. In theory, those members with access to a more highly elaborated language would be able to explicate their new understanding of self by drawing out the meaning of their new terms of self-reference in relation to their situation in a system of social relations and ritual practice. But such a distancing of the author of speech from his speech act would destroy the very unity of self he sought to achieve in the group by raising the spectre of another, rational self which had not been integrated into the group.[1]

We will investigate this relation of self image and its expression in greater detail in the following chapter, where evidence will be given to support this hypothesis. For the moment, however, we can see that this explanation enables us to deal with the variations in testimonial use between devotee- and apprentice-type groups which we have noted. Apprentices do not make as extensive a use of the testimonial ri-

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[1] Frances Westley ("Searching for Surrender: A Catholic Charismatic Renewal Group's Attempt to Become Glossolalic," American Behavioral Scientist 20 (July/August 1977): 925-40) describes the dissolution of a prayer group as due in part to the members' inability to overcome just such a distancing from charismatic "sharing."

tual, and they do not accord it a central place in their ritual reper-
toire, because the type of group they are seeking to maintain does not
require what the testimonial can provide: the reinforcement of a sense
of participation in a communal life or experience. Since apprentice
aims are, in the main, individualist in orientation, apprentices modi-
fy their use of first-person speech to support their attainment of those
goals. It is for this reason that the apprentice use of such speech
does not extend to any significant involvement in proselytizing, while
devotee groups all invest some effort in this practice. For proselyti-
zing offers the devotees an opportunity to both 1) experiment with the
group language in a situation often perceived as threatening (thus re-
inforcing through trial a member's dedication to and identification with
the group) and, 2) make some attempt to bridge the gap between the two
worlds of meaning represented by the group and "the outside" by carry-
ing the group's language beyond the confines of the communal setting
(and thus attempting to reduce the tension of maintaining a simultane-
ous existence in the two spheres). Since apprentices have made no such
investment of their self image in a group context, neither of these rea-
sons leads them to the practice of proselytizing.

In the same vein, we can relate the different degrees of atten-
tion given agency and will in the two types of groups through our hypo-
thesis about the notion of self promoted by the use of testimonials. If
the devotee groups are in fact concerned with the adoption and communi-
cation of a new image of self, then we would expect questions of agency
and will to receive some emphasis in these groups since the two concerns
are inextricably bound up with the linking of self and experience in
language. One of the primary categories for expression of the relation-

ship existing between an individual and an event has to do with the spec-
ification of the direction of causality: did the individual cause the
event, or did the event cause an effect in the individual? In other
words, where does the responsibility for this event and its unfolding
lie? A critical concern, then, in the adoption of a new self would be
to determine the terms of this relationship. As we have noted, devotee
groups are concerned with making this determination.

Apprentice-type groups, on the other hand, are not so concern-
ed. In these groups the pre-existence of a stable and individualized
notion of self makes reference to such determinations of agency or the
source of will irrelevant. An apprentice already knows who he is: one
involved in the mastery and perfection of a technique. Self-
actualization, as we noted, characterizes his relation to power; the in-
dividual apprentice is already seen as the agent responsible for change
to or around the self.

We can summarize the results of this investigation into the
ritual use of the testimonial in the following way.

We have seen that the use of the testimonial, like the use of
any ritual form, can be considered a function of differing conceptions
of the religious (or para-religious) goal in specific religious or
para-religious groups. In particular, its use is dependent upon whether
the religious goal is conceived of in individual or group terms. The
social organization of a group in function of these perceived ends is
also important for the use of the testimonial.

If the religious goal of a group is conceived of in terms of
individual salvation, well-being, or progress there are two possibili-
ties with respect to testimonial use. The first is the case in which

the testimonial is not used at all. Individuals involved in such groups
are engaged in the mastery of a specific discipline, either physical,
mental, or spiritual. Advancement is achieved in an orderly way ac-
cording to definite steps or stages, and is dependent upon the indivi-
dual's own developed capacity. Since each individual proceeds at his
or her own pace, the sharing of personal experiences with other stu-
dents who may be at different stages of advancement is precluded. With
the exception of Transcendental Meditation, we have identified these
groups as belonging to the disciple type.

The second possibility for groups with an individually-oriented
goal involves the use of testimonials in a way subordinate to other ri-
tual practices. In these groups we find individual concentration on
the mastery of a specific skill or technique for the manipulation of a
certain power or force. Again, progress in this skill is measured in
individual terms: whether or not the individual can correctly perform
the requisite skill or technique. Lasting and abiding changes in person-
ality or consciousness are not sought, and there is little investment in
an individual's identity as a member of the group. Testimonial use is
restricted to the sharing of information on the employment of the
technique and demonstration of individual mastery. Any tendency toward
self-identification with the group is frustrated by the social organiza-
tion of the groups, which does not provide for the formation of communi-
ty. (In certain cases, this may result in the development of a devotee-
like core with its own structure apart from the main group; such a core
would use the testimonial for its own ends.) Groups of this general
type are identified with an apprentice orientation.

If a group's religious goal is conceived of as the uniting with

other individuals in devotion to a revered leader or deity, then the
group will have a social organization focused on the forming of an in-
clusive community of devotees. In such a group, member-identity, pros-
elytizing, a concern with agency and will, and relation to a supreme
being or reality are emphasized. The testimonial will be used to rein-
force social bonds by promoting the adoption of a group image of self.
The testimonial both transmits information about this self to the indi-
vidual and provides him or her with a means for learning its expression
through practice in testimonial use. This happens primarily through the
linking of a special group language to a specific ritual setting that
provides it with implicit meaning. Groups with such a use of the tes-
timonial form are identified with the devotee type.

In order to support our assertions about the functioning of
testimonials in devotee-type groups we must now indicate more clearly
the relationship between testimonial speech and the transmission of in-
formation about the self. We examine this question in relation to three
specific devotee groups in the next chapter: the Divine Light Mission,
the Nichiren Shoshu Sokagakeai Academy, and the St-Pierre-Apôtre Char-
ismatic Prayer Group.

CHAPTER 3

TESTIMONIAL SPEECH, CODE, AND SELF

In the preceding chapter we noted the high degree of testimon-
ial use among those groups identified as devotee groups. We suggested
that this relative emphasis upon the use of the testimonial is related to
its suitability for transmitting (and learning) information about how
the self is conceived of and expressed in such groups. In the present
chapter we examine testimonial use in three typical devotee groups[1] to
discover how testimonial use can be related to forms of social organiza-
tion, to ritual setting, and to conceptions of the self and of experi-
ence. We proceed by examining each group independently, using its own
terms of reference as drawn from its beliefs and practices. In a con-
cluding section we attempt a comparison of the results gained in each
instance.

The Divine Light Mission

The Group

Research into the Montreal chapter of the Divine Light Mission
reveals the existence of a high degree of organization within the group.
An individual enters Divine Light with the status of "aspirant" which
he or she holds until receiving Knowledge at the hands of Guru Maharaj
Ji or a delegated Mahatma. Preparation for this initiation is reported

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[1] As we noted earlier, the Hare Krishna (ISKCON) group is the
most typical devotee group in many respects. The group's monastic life-
style, however, apparently renders the testimonial ritual superfluous.

to include regular attendance at nightly "Sat Sang" (testimonial) sessions, as well as participation in seminar courses for an introduction to Knowledge.[1]

Following initiation, a member receives the status of "premie." The great bulk of Divine Light membership falls into this category. Membership in the Montreal area was reported to include approximately eight hundred premies in early 1976 (80% of whom were said to be francophone).[2] Premies are required to perform four activities to maintain their membership, the first three of which are given the most emphasis locally: 1) meditation; 2) Sat Sang (participation--as speaker or listener--in nightly testimonial services); 3) "service" (or a loosely-defined outreach into the surrounding community); and, whenever possible, 4) "Darshan," or devotion in the physical presence of Maharaj Ji or his family. The performance of "service" is channeled through two Divine Light structures: the World Welfare Association (also known as the "World Peace Corps"), which organizes visits to hospitals, senior citizens, etc., and the Active Membership Program, which sponsors talks encouraging the premies to do service. In addition, members are expected to abstain from the use of alcohol, drugs, tobacco, and meat, although there is apparently less pressure to conform to these requirements now than previously.[3]

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[1] These seminars were being introduced into the group in early 1976, along with a more general overhaul of group organization, as reported by a Divine Light public relations officer. It is not known how this program of seminars has in fact developed. Joan Perry, Fieldnotes from a 16 January 1976 interview with an unidentified public relations officer at the Divine Light Mission in Montreal (Concordia University, Dept. of Religion).

[2] Perry, "Index Form," p. 3.

[3] Perry, Public relations interview fieldnotes, p. 1.

Of an estimated fifty "core" (i.e. most active) members in the Montreal organization, twelve were living together in a Divine Light "ashram" (community) in early 1976. Other premies have often been known to gather in households of three to four people, but these have no official status in the organization. Most premies apparently do not change their living arrangements after joining. Those living in the ashram include the holders of the top positions in the local hierarchy, from secretary-general on down (other offices include: Housemother, Assistant Housemother, Secretary, Treasurer, Publications, Public Relations, World Peace Corps).[1] Members are locally chosen to fill all posts and offices, except for the secretary-general who is appointed by the Canadian headquarters in Toronto. There are no elections; members themselves determine their willingness and availability to fill these positions, several of which are considered full-time.

Premies living in the ashram practice celibacy, eschew the use of alcohol, drugs, meat, and tobacco, and work to support themselves. All must promise "obedience" to the secretary-general and follow directives as outlined in the "Ashram Manual."[2] Some receive a salary from the organization. Like other members, they are asked to donate 10% of their income to the group (this is not a requirement for members outside the ashram, however).

The group has used massive publicity campaigns to advertize meetings and special events (on one occasion 25,000 printed leaflets and 500 posters were distributed by premies to advertize a Mahatma Sat

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[1] Steve Paull, "Field Survey Form: The Divine Light Mission, September 28, 1973" (Concordia University, Dept. of Religion), p. 6.

[2] Ibid., p. 6.

Sang).[1] Word of mouth (and Sat Sang), however, are regarded as the most successful means of propagation by those involved in public relations.

Beliefs[2]

Divine Light Mission beliefs find their basis in the single belief that the practice of its meditational technique will bring the religious actor "Knowledge." A devotee is initiated in the practice of such meditation by Guru Maharaj Ji or his agent. The technique itself is described as having four components: the Word, Harmony, Nectar, and Light. They are considered four different states of consciousness.

These states are not described as the "experiences" of a discrete self. They involve more what we would in ordinary language call a "being-in-the-presence-of" than an identifiable experience of a separate self. As often occurs in Zen Buddhism, Divine Light believers must resort to striking linguistic detours to avoid giving weight to what they consider an illusory belief in the existence and functioning of a self over against the consciousness of Knowledge.

A basic sketch of the Divine Light belief system would be as follows: for Divine Light Mission devotees, Guru Maharaj Ji is identified as God, the Perfect Master, the only "real" self in the universe. He is so because he is Knowledge incarnate. He is known to be so because he transmits Knowledge to others. The religious goal in Divine Light is thus the dissolution of all that stands between the individual and such

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[1] Ibid., p 3.

[2] This account is drawn from information contained in Perry, "Index Form"; Paull, "Field Survey Form"; and Jeanne Messer, "Guru Maharaj Ji and the Divine Light Mission," in The New Religious Consciousness, ed. Charles Glock and Robert Bellah (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1976), pp. 52-72.

Knowledge, including the illusory individual self. The way to such enlightenment is the practice of Divine Light meditation. Correct performance of Divine Light meditation requires submission to Guru Maharaj Ji. This is necessary, first, in order to receive the Knowledge needed for a correct performance of the technique, and, second, in order to open oneself to the grace given by Guru Maharaj Ji which alone can make the meditation effective.

The Setting

The ritual sharing of testimonials in the Divine Light Mission is referred to as the practice of "giving Sat Sang." The Montreal chapter of this group practices Sat Sang seven nights a week, although not all members are present at every Sat Sang. Meetings are held in a public place; the classroom of a local elementary school is often used.

The public is welcome to attend Sat Sang; indeed, there is a clear attempt to interest outsiders in the life of the group. One particularly sympathetic account of the Divine Light Mission links the giving of Sat Sang and the proselytizing efforts of the members in this way: "Since the primary business of Divine Light Mission is propagation, and since its activities seem to rely on constant increase in numbers, the giving of Sat Sang is the primary service of every devotee."[1] The audience at Sat Sang sessions in Montreal usually consists of about thirty people.[2] Most are young adults (17 to 25 years of age), but several middle-aged men and women are often present. The sexes are represented in about equal numbers.

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[1] Messer, "Guru," p. 70.

[2] Although Perry and Paull both report Sat Sangs of up to five hundred people in Montreal, this cannot be considered typical.

Seats in the classroom or meeting hall are arranged in semi-circular rows in front of two chairs placed along one wall. There is no visible leader of the service, arrangements for the order of speakers and performers apparently having been settled ahead of time.

The service itself consists of four or five talks given by individual premies before the assembled group, interspersed with musical interludes of song and flute and guitar solos. Some speakers appear more polished (and presumably more practiced) than others. There is no nervousness or stage fright to speak of, except for debut talks being given by recent initiates. The mood is light, with smiles very much in evidence among performers and audience. Speakers and players are all neatly dressed; the men are clean-shaven, the women simply dressed and natural in appearance.

The speakers alternate between French and English: one account wholly in English, the next in French. The talks are relatively lengthy, about fifteen minutes or so in duration. They represent a mixture of general remarks about Divine Light beliefs and the recounting of personal experiences in the group. Some begin with such a short exposition, many do not. All accounts move into personal details of 'the speaker's Divine Light experience rather quickly.

The Speech

The most noticeable characteristic of Divine Light testimonials[1] is the continuing repetition of key words and phrases during the length of the talk. Such repetition may serve to reinforce the vividness of a metaphor or example being given:

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[1] See Texts A and B in appendix 1, from which all examples used in this section are drawn.

. . . it's like breathing the air we breathe, it's like breathing the air we breathe . . .

. . . living fast, that kind of life, it's a pressure and uh it/ was living fast . . .

. . . and uh I would uh twenty-four hours a day think, think, think, and think and think.

Or, alternatively, the repetition may be used to highlight specific

terms in the Divine Light lexicon:

I don't know why they call it Knowledge. I don't know why it's called Knowledge . . .

Knowledge requires practice; it requires a steady practice, a daily practice, a practice in meditation, a practice in --- real meditation . . .[1]

. . . with this --- way, with this way, I can --- I can really, really know, I can really, really know the answer . . .

In addition, circumvention, simile, and metaphor are also very much in

evidence;

. . . received what I had to receive . . .

. . . like breathing the air we breathe . . .

. . . instead of becoming a slave of my mind, make my mind again becoming a slave of me.

Out of context, these are oblique references; in context, they refer in-

directly to Knowledge in a substantive sense or to one's situation as a

possessor of Knowledge.

This speech is marked by a high frequency of the use of the con-

junction "and" to relate independent clauses, as well as the use of "so"

as a means of indicating transition. Rhetorical questions and what

Bernstein calls "sympathetic circularity" [S.C.] sequences are inserted

at various points in the discourse. The pronouns "you" and "they " are

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[1] As we note in appendix 1, in transcribing these texts from or-
iginal recordings, we use three hyphens (---) to indicate a pause in
the speech.

often used without any direct reference when the speaker makes a gener-
alization, but there is no use whatever of the impersonal pronoun "one"
in this connection. The first-person pronoun "I" is widely employed;
self-reference is almost always expressed in an active voice construc-
tion. At the same time, certain speech forms are used to dissociate
parts of the self or the body from the speaker:

> . . . now that I have knowledge, I realize that I uh I had to put
> my ego to sleep in order to be happy. My ego has --- had to go to
> sleep. That was the part of me that had to go to sleep in order to
> make me happy to rest--to leave me alone, because I was uh --- I was
> serving my mind, you know; I was working for my mind --- my mind was
> making things and then things, and I'm feeling very tired . .. .

> . . . inside the body there's living, being truth . . . It's living,
> it's life, it's there. This isn't what we really are.

> But by slowing down the mind--this is what the meditation did--it
> helped me to grab my mind from every crazy direction it was into
> before, because it was all over the place . . .

> . . . our mind is very crazy right now, our mind is here and it's
> there . . .

On the level of linguistic expression, we can identify the em-
ergence of a clear type of what we call a conversion sequence in these
Divine Light accounts. A conversion sequence is a condensed statement of
the essence of the religious event described in all testimonials of a
particular group. All time is referenced with respect to this central
event: time before and time after. In this instance, the conversion
sequence underlying each testimonial account is divisible into four
separate moments that run as follows:

1. 'I was being ruled by my mind (or body, or ego)'

2. 'Then I received Knowledge from Guru Maharaj Ji'

3. 'Now I practice Knowledge'

4. 'Now I have control over my mind (body, ego)'

The Code

We consider it appropriate at this point to make some determination of the type of code operative in Divine Light testimonial speech. We shall attempt to do so here without any significant reference to the forms of social organization prevalent in the group, drawing only upon evidence gained in an analysis of the group's speech. Prior to this examination of our data, however, we wish to make some preliminary observations on a procedural level which will be taken to hold true for our later analysis of speech in the Nichiren and charismatic groups as well.

We have already pointed out in chapter 1 above that Bernstein's use of the categories "restricted" and "elaborated" must be seen in a genetic and not a taxonomic perspective. The intention is not to provide criteria by which a particular speech act can be classified in one category or another, but to examine how speech is generated out of the relation of linguistic forms, codes, and social structures. For this reason, we may not merely list the characteristics we claim to have discovered in our instances of testimonial speech alongside Bernstein's descriptions of a public language in order to see where the two lists coincide. The admittedly questionable "linguistic respectibility" of Bernstein's criteria would make such a program a risky venture to begin with. We are dealing not merely with linguistic significance, but with the significance of certain speech forms. This fact demands that we also deal with questions of semantic significance.

Fortunately, Bernstein has implicitly recognized this need, even if he has not yet examined the reason for such a distinction. For in the "rag bag" listing of some characteristics of a public language

which we have already cited above, he refers in the tenth item to what he considers the determining characteristic, that of the presence of im-plicit meaning.[1] In fact, an analysis aimed at determining the extent of such meanings is a semantic analysis: it deals with meaning above all.

For this reason we cite the occurrence of lexical and structural characteristics to support our identification of a type of code only to explain their importance in determining the implicit or explicit context for meaning in these speech events. The curious use of a pronoun or lexical term has little import in and of itself; when such use is identified as characteristic of a larger enterprise, then we are justified in citing its occurrence and drawing implications from its use.

Now in the instances of Divine Light speech we have been examining, it is clear that there is a considerable reliance on the presence of implicit meaning. We are justified in pointing to certain linguistice peculiarities to support this semantic conclusion.

First of all, there is present in this speech a high degree of occurrence of the unreferenced use of the pronoun "it" in such a way that its linguistic referent can only be discovered by means of a contextual analysis, i.e. an analysis dealing with extra-linguistic realities like setting and group ritual practice. The meaning of "it" in many cases is thus a meaning implicit in the context of the speech act, not in its linguistic expression. One example will suffice to demonstrate this point.

In the Divine Light testimonials we have the typical construction:

Knowledge is real, it's nothing --- it's not a little trip. My

_____

[1]Bernstein, Class , pp. 42-43.

> desire is to --- what I say --- _realize_ Knowledge. Which means to
> know life more, to --- to --- to make it automatic in my life--to
> make it real in my life--just as it is to live, breathe. This is
> my desire.

In this selection the first two uses of "it" refer explicitly to

"Knowledge," a term which precedes the pronouns in the phrase; this is

the normal use of the pronoun and presents no difficulty. But the next

two uses of the pronoun "it" do not function in the same manner. The

noun immediately preceding both is in fact "life" ("to know life

more"). If we suppose this "life" to be the referent, we end up with

the nonsensical substitution: "to make _life_ automatic in my life--to

make _life_ real in my life." The real referent, here--and throughout

Divine Light testimonial speech whenever pronomial reference is in doubt,

we would argue--is the term "Knowledge," which functions as _the_ impli-

cit context for all Divine Light activities.

As we have pointed out above in our initial presentation of

"The Speech," these texts are also marked by a frequent use of "you" and

"they" for the purpose of stating generalizations, and there is also a

high frequency of the appearance of "and" and "so" in transitional

positions. Both characteristics are among those Bernstein associates

with a public language or a restricted code. The first employs a non-

specificity held to be an indication of "some _implicit agreement about_

the referent";[1] the second is thought to mark a possible deficiency in

the logical ordering of meaning.[2] Both point toward a contextual setting

for the communication of meaning.

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[1] Ibid., p. 110. (italics in original).

[2] Ibid., p. 44.

The Self

In the Divine Light Mission testimonials that we have examined we noted the high frequency of both sympathetic circularity [S.C] sequences and self-reference by means of the pronoun "I". Both are characteristic of the presence of some measure of individual differentiation: the "I" form rather directly; the S.C. form through the signaling of a distance, however slight, between audience and speaker. On this basis alone we can be clear at the outset that we are considerably removed from the "pure" case of a restricted code which Bernstein cites.

However we also noted the repetition of key words and phrases in the Divine Light accounts. We earlier stated that the function of such repetition might be essentially emphatic, highlighting key concepts and images in the discourse. At this stage, we also want to argue that it plays an important role in the structuring of the speech. The repetition of different elements in the course of an account can be seen as a framework around which the rest of the testimonial is constructed. In this sense, it provides a relatively clear form for the ordering (or restriction) of Divine Light speech.

The single most noticeable characteristic of this speech we referred to as the high incidence of circumvention, simile, and metaphor. Such devices allow for (and presuppose) a high degree of implicitness on the semantic level. This is obvious in the case of circumvention, where initiates alone know the meaning hinted at (a premie, presumably, already knows the referent of: "I received what I had to receive"); outsiders must take another step (into the group) before they can taste this plum. We find that it is also true of simile and metaphor in this group by reference to the independent fact of Guru Maharaj Ji's fondness

for allegory.[1] Here, both simile and metaphor tend toward the extreme

implicitness of allegory.

Since these forms (repetition, circumvention, metaphor, simile)

are so characteristic of Divine Light speech, we can presume they offer

us a direct view of the speech code in operation. In examining their

occurrence in the speech, we find that the metaphors and similies have

to do exclusively with the issue of control. Specifically, they deal

with the question of ultimate responsibility and agency concerning both

mind and body. Examples have to do with breathing, "bringing down,

bringing high," the slavery of the mind, the speed of the mind ("one

hundred thirty miles per hour"), etc. The operation of the restricted

code, then, when viewed from a semantic perspective--in particular, from

a perspective dealing with the self--is seen to perform its operation of

constraint and ordering around this central issue which is control; con-

trol of the mind, first of all, and control of the body as well.

In order to determine the degree and range of restriction in this

case we can examine the characterizations present in the speech to see

if there is any distinction made between degree of control before and af-

ter the speaker's entry into Divine Light. As we see by reference to

Texts A and B (in appendix 1), the time before entry into the group is

described essentially in terms of complete lack of control over one's

mind and/or body:

> . . . the other groups . . . They're so spaced out, they're so ---
> they so --- they're really hooked on mind /addiction: lack of
> control/ . . .

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[1] We have included in appendix 2 a Divine Light tale retold by
Messer in order to demonstrate the allegorical character of much Divine
Light storytelling.

> Who's bringing you down? Do you --- at that moment you didn't know yourself, you forgot who you were.

> But then drugs, sex, sleeping late, waking up late--all of these are related. It's like a chain. [double meaning reinforces our point]

> So, I looked at my mind and it was going a hundred thirty miles an hour . . . my mind would be three miles away.

As we see, the time before entry into the group (participation in Knowledge) is characterized as utterly "out of control". Some outside force is depicted as directing the activities of both mind and body.

What is an occasion for surprise is that this situation is held to continue after entry into the group. This is not expressed in the same choice of images, of course; but the situation of a believer is also described as one in which the active agency of self is not present. Consider these examples, all referring to activity in the group:

> I don't know what to call it, but --- all I know is, that it's like breathing the air we breathe, it's like breathing the air we breathe. [Respiration is an activity essentially beyond conscious control.]

> Which means to know life more --- to know this life more . . . to make it automatic in my life . . . just as it is to live, to breathe.

> This is my experience and I'm trying very hard now--automatically, not very hard, I used to try very hard--automatically, I see this happening in my life. [Observe the change from an uncoded "slip" back into coded expression.]

> And actually now that I have Knowledge I realize that uh I had to put my ego to sleep in order to be happy. My ego has --- had to go to sleep. [Note switch of tense.]

> . . . this meditation helped me to bring my mind with me [into the group]; instead of becoming a slave of my mind; make my mind again becoming a slave of me.

The "me" in the last example appears at first glance to be a counter-instance to our argument; but in fact this "me" must be interpreted along with other self-references in the account as a manifestation of a restricted image of self in the group. There is no subject (one expects

"I") of the verb "make"; "make" in any case indicates an act of compul-

sion towards its object "mind"; and "again becoming a slave," if it has

any sense, must be considered to follow the temporal sense of "again"

back to the original situation of lack of control.

To summarize our position, we can say that in the Divine Light

testimonials the control of self is the issue around which the operation

of the restricted code revolves, on a semantic level. Control before

entry into the group is attributed to outside forces; afterwards, the

self is perceived as still being controlled, but now within the group

context. This analysis implies that there is perceived (and then ex-

pressed in speech) a controlling agent for the activities of the self

in Divine Light. The evidence at hand points toward Guru Maharaj Ji as

the source of such agency.

In terms of code, then, we can say that a relatively <u>restrictive</u>

code appears to operate in this group, at least inasmuch as such a code

operates on the experience and expression of an image of self. The

code functions to constrain the explicit expression of a self-

consciousness that is responsible and autonomous. The implicit under-

standing of self in the group is restricted to a consciousness of the

self as directed and controlled.

On this basis, we propose reformulating our expression of the

conversion sequence implicit in the Divine Light testimonials. This new

formulation focuses on those concerns seen as important in Divine Light

speech itself--mind and control:

1. 'I felt my mind was out of control'

2. 'I received Knowledge from Guru Maharaj Ji'

3. 'Guru Maharaj Ji has my mind under control'[1]

The Self and Experience

In this section we would like to elaborate on the data we have thus far presented in order to articulate a Divine Light premie's vision of himself and his world as experienced in a group context. Our discussion attempts to make three determinations with regard to Divine Light experience. First, its range: what is the scope of experience submitted to religious reinterpretation in the group? Second, what kind of a notion of self is implicit in such a redefinition of the range of experience? And, third, what can be said about the particular transformations which experience undergoes in this group?

We begin with a summary restatement of the type of self we discovered in our analysis of Divine Light testimonial speech.

The image of self depicted in these testimonials is one exercising little or no responsible agency either before or after the actor's involvement in the group. The pre-group self is pictured in hindsight as a self cut off from body, mind, and/or ego. It is seen as having no effective control over events in the world or happenings to the self. After integration in the group the self is referred to in a position subordinate to the control of Knowledge. Knowledge is the implicit actor in Divine Light accounts and the individual self achieves expression only through its manifestation in Knowledge.

It is consistent with this image of self to state that, for

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[1] Lest this formulation be considered atypical for Divine Light, this researcher reports the words of an unidentified devotee speaking to an audience of several thousand Divine Light adherents at the Montreal Forum in May 1977: addressing Guru Maharaj Ji, this middle-aged man drove his point home by exclaiming, "I have no mind--you are my mind!"

Divine Light participants, the normative range of what is to be considered "real" experience is restricted to what a member undergoes during and as a result of the practice of Divine Light meditation. The only "real" experience in group terms is the possession of Knowledge which, as we have seen, is considered incarnate in the person of Guru Maharaj Ji. Initiation by the Guru or one of his Mahatmas into the practice of Divine Light meditation opens the adherent to the possibility of a new kind of experience: an experience which is "not an experience."

At the same time, all experience not related to this central religious focus is downgraded in status. It is considered wholly unimportant in terms of the ultimate religious goal. Any direct connections established between the religious self and such "non-religious" experience are viewed as symptoms of ignorance or un-Knowledge.

Strictly speaking, then, the range of Divine Light experience as religious experience is limited to the "experience" of Knowledge in the practice of Divine Light meditation and to an initiate's "experience" of his or her relationship to Guru Maharaj Ji.

Using this measure of experience within the Divine Light Mission, we find that the notion of self implicit in such an understanding of reality differs radically from what we have referred to as the empirical ego. The range of experience of the Divine Light adherent being so closely circumscribed, the notion of self operative within the group is likewise bounded. A Divine Light "self" experiences Light, Nectar, Harmony, and the Word--in brief, Knowledge--as events constitutive of self in the context of group belief and practice; other happenings are peripheral to the self as religious actor.

The hermeneutic principle operative in Divine Light Mission be-
lief--that is, the "code" as articulated explicitly on a semantic
level--thus functions to redefine a broad range of "ordinary" experience
as divorced from the "real" (religious) self. It serves to focus the
believer's attention on experience defined as occurring only within
the group or under the group's auspices. Most specifically, experience
is defined as the experience of the religious self who is Guru Maharaj
Ji.

The Nichiren Shoshu Sokagakeai Academy [NSA]

The Group[1]

The Montreal branch of the Nichiren Shoshu Sokagakeai Academy
claims a membership of from one to two hundred persons, about half of
whom are considered active by the group. The majority of the member-
ship is from twenty to thirty years of age. They are organized into
three groups or chapters, two of which are anglophone, one francophone.
Each group is guided by one regular leader.

Members meet in their chapters twice weekly for devotional
services on Wednesday and Saturday nights. These meetings are held in
the group's offices and in members' apartments. There are sometimes
Sunday gatherings for chanting and other activities. An average of from
twelve to fifteen people attend the regular devotion service, which in-
cludes gongyo and daimoku chanting sessions, the sharing of experiences,
and a study session often devoted to the reading and discussion of ar-
ticles published in the group newspaper (The World Tribune, edited from

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[1]Information for this section was drawn from: Karina Rosenberg,
Fieldnotes on the Nichiren Shoshu Sokagakeai Academy of Montreal, 30
November 1974 and 12 October 1974 (Concordia University, Dept. of Rel-
igion).

the American headquarters in Santa Monica, California) or the N.S.A.
Quarterly journal.

Some members are reported to live together in a common house-
hold, but this apparently does not constitute an official group arrange-
ment. There are said to be thirty core members from among whom the
chapter leaders are chosen, on the basis of "practice and interest."
Leaders are expected to provide individual help and counseling for
members, train new members in the practice of chanting, and to solicit
new members through the practice of shakubuku (literally, "destroy and
conquer," the group's method of streetcorner proselytizing).

In addition to group chatning sessions, members are expected
to chant daily at home before their Gohonzon, a sacred scroll enshrined
in each member's dwelling. A priest from the national (U.S.A.) organ-
ization presides at a ceremony for the "taking of the Gohonzon" which
is held from time to time. New members are recruited directly into the
group by means of shakubuku. There is strong pressure upon newcomers
to "take the Gohonzon" as quickly as possible, to formalize their status
in the group.

Beliefs

Nichiren Shoshu Sokagakeai beliefs are centered around the prac-
tice of chanting, both individually and in groups. The group chant is
composed of the phrase nam-myo-ho-renge-kyo, a Japanese expression which
means, roughly, "hail to the Lotus Sutra of the true law." The follow-
ing interpretation of the terms was offered at one NSA meeting:

> NAMU – the devotion of mind and body to the Law of the Universe or
> Life-Force in the invocation. The self as microcosm and the
> universe as macrocosm are both the same Life-Force or karma
> which must be transformed through your own Human Revolution
> by discovering the condition of Buddahood within yourselves.

MYO - life, light, heaven, positive, strength, health, success, etc.

HO - death, darkness, hell, negative, weakness, sickness, failure, etc.

MYOHO - these opposites must brought into harmony and balance - the result being: happiness, health, good fortune, youth, confidence, passion, courage, victory.

RENGE - refers to the lotus-flower which symbolizes the simultaneity of cause and effect because it bears its seed (cause) and flower (effect) at the same time. This means that it's in our power to transform our karma and gain Enlightenment NOW. Every moment is an opportunity to realize your potential.

KYO - means rhythm - putting ourselves into rhythm of the vital Life-Force to overcome our problems.[1]

The goal of this chanting activity is described as the realization of the "Buddha nature" present within each individual; this is also referred to as the "true self." Its realization is blocked by the opposition of the ego; particularly through the ego's attachment to phenomenal reality. In this light, chanting is seen as a practice which allows the unfocusing of attention on ego and ego attachments through an intense concentration on the Gohonzon before which believers chant. To introduce a metaphorical usage of a term strictly limited to Western theology, the Gohonzon could be described as a "sacramental" externalization of the true self that is within. Absorption into the (exterior) Gohonzon results in the release of the (interior) true self.

The "power" of chanting is believed to have a beneficial effect on the ordinary life of the individual chanter. "Benefits" are believed to accrue from the regular practice of chanting. These Benefits might be the attainment of a particular spiritual goal of the chanter or, and, very often, material goods necessary for the development of the true self (a good job, money, release from tension). Individuals are encour-

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[1] Rosenberg, Fieldnotes, 12 October 1974, n.p.

aged to chant for the express purpose of gaining such benefits, which are not seen as opposed to the ultimate religious goal.

The Setting

The testimonial ritual in NSA is referred to simply as the sharing of "experiences" with others in the group. This practice is a part of the regular, twice-weekly meetings of the Montreal group and follows a "vigorous gongyo and daimoku chanting service."[1] Pep-songs, doctrinal study, and the discussion and planning of group activities follow the testimonial session in turn. Before each Wednesday and Saturday night meeting certain members usually engage in the practice of shakubuku.

A leader begins the testimonial sharing by asking, "Any experiences?" "Usually a core member leads the way and then encourages newer members to follow suit."[2] Accounts given are generally quite lively and colorful, lasting for up to five minutes each. Those present laugh or applaud when appropriate during an account. Each "sharing" ends with an enthusiastic round of applause.

The Speech[3]

The most distinctive characteristic of NSA testimonial accounts is the use of "it" in active voice constructions to refer either directly or indirectly to the central NSA practice of chanting. The clearest direct use is straightforward: "it works." Context must be used to

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[1] Karina Rosenberg, Fieldnotes from a meeting of NSA, 19 October 1974, n.p.

[2] Karina Rosenberg, Fieldnotes from a meeting of NSA, n.d., n.p.

[3] See Texts C, D, and E in appendix 1, from which all examples in this section are drawn.

supply the reference in indirect usage. Some examples follow:

> . . . only through chanting and, and it works, you know, it works.

> But like I try it myself you know every single day it's never, never --- didn't work. Maybe I didn't work sometimes, but that chanting always works, you know.

> . . . and if you started this kind of life, it's part of your --- part of you inside, deep inside, then you couldn't, you can't just let it go and go do just anything. You have to go all the way and find out what it um what it brings to you.

> I really enjoy my --- uh --- my --- coming-to-it-ism and my rejoicing, I guess.

> But I really realized you know like it revolutionized everything in my life . . .

> And it's not a mental attitude, it's an absolute essential attitude . . . it's like a revelation.

In the case of NSA, chanting must be perceived as the single, most important implicit meaning for the group, particularly when the context is sharing about the Benefits to be gained through practice: "chanting is interpreted as the means and power par excellence for any kind of 'benefits' . . ."[1]

Other characteristic traits of NSA testimonial language include the frequent use of the pronouns "you" and "they" to express generality, and a very high frequency in the use of sympathetic circularity ("you know," "you see"). One speaker, whose account was extremely well-received by his audience, made extensive use of "street" language (with terms like "man," "neat," "weird," "crazy" all used in special senses). His vocabulary must be considered less than typical for the group, but his successful use of the form is unparalled in our collection. Conjunctions are used to a great extent in these accounts to provide for transition. There are relatively few pauses, but a high occurrence of

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[1] Ibid.

hesitation sounds like "uh," "um," and so forth. Finally, the passive

voice occurs very rarely in these accounts; there is a regular use of the

active voice, with a high incidence of first-person reference.

A typical conversion sequence for a NSA testimonial would assume

the following form:

1. 'I was not facing life, I wasn't satisfied'

2. 'Someone told me to try chanting nam-myo-ho-renge-kyo'

3. 'It works; it has revolutionized my life'

The Code

We consider it unnecessary to argue at great length concerning

the fundamentally "restricted" orientation of the code in NSA speech.

Indeed, all the characteristics we pointed out in our presentation of the

speech above--save the significant exceptions regarding active voice con-

structions and the use of hesitation sounds--point toward the presence

of implicit and contextual meaning. The issue of the degree of restric-

tedness can of course be raised in this regard, but we will treat it

fully in the next section.

As in the preceeding study of Divine Light speech, we can cite

as a sure indication of restrictedness the above-mentioned use of "it"

in Nichiren speech as well. We can examine one example in slightly

greater detail:

> But I really realized you know like it revolutionized every-
> thing in my life and like I've come back here and like I have to
> get into a pattern, because I have a very lazy nature. And if I
> let myself go, everything goes.
> And very often I challenge my practice, and if I don't prac-
> tice one day, I realize how everything has fallen down. And it's
> not a mental attitude, it's an absolute essential attitude.

In this case we would argue that "it" in the phrases "it revolution-

ized," "it's not a mental attitude," and "it's an absolute essential at-

titude" has no clear explicit reference. The implicit reference is indeed present in the phrase "my practice," but this term itself must be referred to the central NSA practice of chanting. The paradigmatic NSA use of "it" in a context of implicit meaning must be considered the phrase found in Text D (in appendix 1): "I really enjoy, my --- uh --- my --- coming-to-it-ism and my rejoicing, I guess."

The Self

In our initial examination of the linguistic forms related to NSA testimonial speech we identified two elements of interest. First, a strong use of the self-reference pronoun "I", almost always in active-voice constructions; and, second, an extremely high use of the S.C. sequences we identified earlier. We now refer these findings to the degree of restriction operating on the level of coding by noting that both forms indicate a relatively high degree of individuation occuring in the speech: there is explicit reference to the experience of an I-self, and an indication of some degree of distance between the audience and the speaker (necessitating frequent "checking" by means of the S.C. sequences). Both situations point toward a relatively unrestricted degree of coding.

On the other hand, we are certainly dealing with an instance of restricted coding. We have noted in this regard the presence of a high amount of the unreferenced use of the pronoun "it", the implicit reference of which we identified as "chanting". We have taken this as a sure measure of the degree of implicitness in the speech and, hence, in the code itself. The tension between these elements of particularity and generality leads us to say that the code in this instance operates on the basis of a dynamic which tends to shift between restriction and

elaboration: a tendency toward elaboration is held within limits by
the influence of a tendency toward restrictedness, and vice versa. As
a result, linguistic and structural forms are not as clearly evident as
they are in the Divine Light speech. There are linguistic forms, as we
have noted (the use of "it", of "I", and of S.C. sequences); but they
pull in two directions. There is a basic structure to the discourse,
as well; but its use is more sophisticated (i.e. there are wider bounds
for the inclusion of "data") and can vary somewhat.

Let us examine the basic sequence of events--essentially a
temporal ordering--within the NSA testimonials. These events can be
grouped in the following way:

1. (Always present): A description of personal dissatisfaction
in the time before an individual took up chanting (or when one is not
chanting); this is <u>time-then</u>

2. (Usually present, but not invariably so): The presentation
of a scene in which the individual meets someone already in the group,
a description of <u>being shakubukued.</u> The person says, "Come to this
meeting" and "try chanting"

3. (Always present): The individual comes to a meeting and tries
chanting

4. (Always present): The chanting works and the individual re-
ceives Benefits

5. (May be present): The individual meets someone else and may
relate his or her experience (i.e. perform <u>shakubuku</u>)

6. (Always present): The individual describes his or her pres-
ent happiness; this is <u>time-now</u>

We can see that as in the previous group time is here mediated

through a central ritual practice in the group; there are the worlds of time-then and time-now, arranged in this schema around items three and four which can be taken together as the religious time par excellence, the time of transition. But the schema also allows us to see that the "me-then" and the "me-now" are mediated in relation to the activity of chanting (and, not incidentally, to the group meeting) by the experience of shakubuku.

This symmetry is not inviolable, however. There exists some flexibility in relation to reference to shakubuku in the NSA form. First, shakubuku is not always mentioned by name (although it may be), but the practice is always referred to, even if this be implicitly. Second, items two and five in the sequence need not both be present in a given account, but one of the two always is.

We can see then that the semantic structure of an account is built around the two terms chanting and shakubuku. The diagram in figure 1 will help us visualize this effect.

DISSATISFACTION
↓
MEET SOMEONE IN GROUP
(be shakubukued)
↓
MEETING ⟶ CHANTING ⟶ BENEFITS
↓
(do shakubuku)
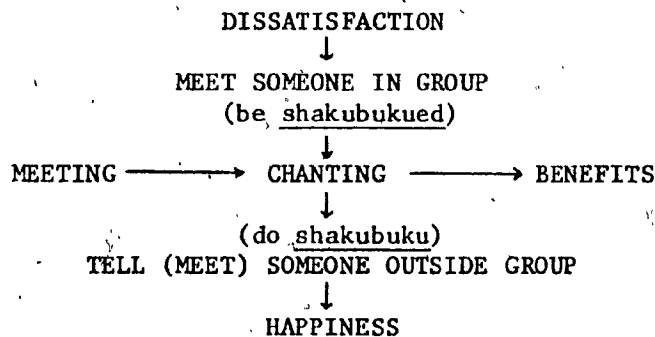TELL (MEET) SOMEONE OUTSIDE GROUP
↓
HAPPINESS

Fig. 1. The structure of an NSA testimonial account.

The centrality of chanting on both the linguistic and structural levels points toward its central significance on the semantic level of the code. In order to gauge its impact on what we have indicated is

most likely a dynamic instance of coding, we can observe its effect on individuation on the semantic plane. We are looking to see how the expression of self relates to references to chanting in NSA speech.

The examination of several examples leads us to note the presence of a strong identification of the self with chanting as practiced in a group context. The clearest, most positive expressions of self identity in the speech are always linked to the positive mention of chanting:

> . . . like every single day it works, . . . every morning you know I get up and--I don't really wanna get up, you know--I get up and I feel good inside, you know.

> Anyway I go through this little blue book called gongyo /the chant/ --- and it's really neat, this kind of life condition that I --- I for sure knew I didn't have inside me /implication: but which I now know I do/ . . .

> . . . now I feel that through chanting I have my own intention towards my self . . .

> . . . I find it to be the most impartial practice . . . . I have absolutely revolved everything. You know, everything I touch, like I said one day at a meeting, turns to gold.

> And I realized recently that one has to take every aspect one has and deal with it. You know sort of control it, you don't eliminate it. And that's the most difficult part of it, is that everything you have is you. And the essence /"the essential practice": chanting/ is what brings it into favorable position, you know. And through this practice you chant to bring out your essence, to bring out what you should do, what you have.

At the same time, however, we expect to find on the structural level some coordinate of the strong tendencies toward individuation which we saw on the linguistic level (strong use of "I"; high frequency of S.C. sequences). We consider that these elements are expressed structurally through the introduction into the account of detailed stories of one's life outside the group: an environment where chanting is not implicit and pervasive. These descriptions of the self in the non-group

contexts of work, family, etc. evoke a highly individuated image of
self as a self-in-relation-to-outsiders, a self essentially antitheti-
cal to the group self focused on chanting. This is especially true
since, unlike the Divine Light testimonials, situations outside the
group are presented in positive terms:

> But anyway, it's really neat, you know, like they're nice to
> each other and they're really trying good. And like they even say
> "thank you" and you know, stuff like that. It's really neat.

> And uh through my chanting my dancing has become uh so much more
> stronger and [inaudible] I have something to go for whereas be-
> fore . . .

> . . . I feel all these events all the way coming up here where I
> felt I had nothing where now I feel I have practically everything
> I --- I want . . .

> And uh I have to now go back to the airline after three months of
> not being with it and again, you know, I will have to challenge and
> I think what is most important, I want to really communicate the
> happiness to everyone. . . . and that's what I wish that I could
> do more and more and more in the kind of field that I am in,
> because I do meet lots of people. And uh my you know I've really
> --- If I had to say am I happy I think I couldn't be happier than I
> am now . . .

These potentially contradictory notions of self are mediated on
the structural level through the presence of shakubuku and Benefits,
which can thus be considered together as a dynamic principle in NSA com-
munication. The "buffering" position held by structural elements iden-
tified as related to shakubuku-Benefits around the practice of chanting
alerts us to the function of shakubuku in relation to a dynamic image of
self: shakubuku sets boundaries on the identification of self in both
directions.

There is a tendency in the speech to identify the self wholly
with the central group practice of chanting. Shakubuku acts upon this
tendency by providing an image of the self-in-relation-to-outsiders
which depends on others for its functioning. Implicit identification of

, the self with chanting is thus held in check.

There is also a tendency in the speech to elaborate explicitly upon one's relation with non-members, to identify the self with relationships not related to chanting. _Shakubuku_ acts upon ths tendency by providing an image of the self-in-relation-to-others which depends on the _group_ for meaning. Implicit identification of the self with a non-group self is thus averted.

Instead, both visions of self are modified in their relation to one another by their relation in the practice of _shakubuku_. _Shakubuku_ draws an individual into the group, but restricts his total identification with chanting and with the group. _Shakubuku_ sends an individual out of the group, but restricts his interaction with what he finds by referring such movement to the recounting of the benefits of chanting.

Thus, in terms of expression within the testimonial, an individual comes to a new self image in the group through his experience of being _shakubukued_ by another group member. Examples from our collection are:

> . . . I was running down the street . . . and --- uh this girl
> drove up, you know, and she asked me if I wanted to go to a
> meeting, uh --- First of all she said, "Have you even heard of
> chanting nam-myo-ho-renge-kyo?"

> And um one day uh one of the dancers um introduced me to uh
> Buddhism uh. He says, "All you have to do," I think he said,
> "just chant nam-myo-ho-renge-kyo and everything come out right."
> And so I went to one meeting . . .

Both these accounts occur following an initial presentation of self-dissatisfaction in time-then and before an account of the adoption of a new self image in chanting at the time of transition. Movement from time-then into the time of transition is mediated by undergoing the experience of _shakubuku_ which both describe.

Relations with others following the adoption of the "chanting self" are likewise mediated through a reference to shakubuku in some instances:

> I was always negative, couldn't talk to people [incapable of shakubuku] but [now that I chant] it really comes out, you know . . .

> . . . and I think what is most important, I want to really communicate the happiness to everyone . . . and in London, I succeeded in doing lots of shakubuku on a very individual basis . . .

These specifications of the practice of shakubuku following upon the practice of chanting can also be seen as part of a wider category of Benefits resulting from chanting, which always includes meetings with other people:

> But like, now my family's more together, you know; like my sister, instead of only coming over when she wants money, she comes over you know just all the time.

> . . . and also I've met so, so many, so many people through Buddhism, uh, close, closely whereas before uh I met people but then they left and then never see them again and it was the first time I met people and I got to be good friends and I still have --- I still have those friends.

To accomodate this last possibility where shakubuku is not explicitly mentioned as a way of relating to others following the practice of chanting, we could say that while the self is always conceived of in relation to chanting by means of the mediation of shakubuku and explicitly identified as such, the degree of restrictedness of code is high enough in most instances to make explicit reference to shakubuku following upon the practice of chanting unnecessary. In the latter case, referring the improvement in one's personal relations outside the group to the shakubuku-indexed category of Benefits may have the same effect as the explicit mentioning of shakubuku. In any event, shakubuku and Benefits are related terms in the NSA lexicon: the first appears in both noun and verb form and refers to the activity of proselytizing; the second, Bene-

fits, is what is spoken about in the practice of shakubuku. It is not surprising, then, that the two may receive the same weight in linguistic and structural expression.

In general terms, then, we can speak of speech in these testimonials as being determined in its expression by a code that is capable of a dual orientation toward both restriction and elaboration. This duality results in its having a dynamic effect on speech forms in the group. The two opposing tendencies are held in tension by an element that functions to mediate their expression in speech. We have identified this element as referenced in lexical and structural terms by the NSA practice, shakubuku.

Shakubuku is able to effect this mediation due to its own dual nature. As a ritual practice it functions both to mediate an individual's original relation to the central practice of chanting and to define his relations to the outside world in terms of a description of the Benefits received from chanting. When shakubuku operates on either of the basic orientations, then, it functions to bring to bear the force of the opposing tendency. In this way a tendency toward greater restriction is constrained by elements calling for (and expressing) increased individuation; and a tendency toward increased elaboration is constrained by elements promoting greater implicit identification with the group through chanting. Neither chanting nor relations with others outside the group, then, are given full play in their effect on speech. Or, rather, each affects expression in speech only insofar as its opposite is brought into play through the mediation of the element shakubuku.

On this basis we see that the conversion sequence we proposed earlier remains accurate in its essentials. We should, however, make

the importance of shakubuku more evident in our formulation. A revised

version would then be expressed:

    1. 'I was dissatisfied with my life'

    2. 'Someone told me to come to a meeting and try chanting'

    3. 'I came to a meeting and tried chanting: it works'

    4. 'Now I tell others about chanting' or 'Now I relate

better to others'

    5. 'I am full of happiness'

The Self and Experience

In the Nichiren Shoshu testimonials we have examined the self is

expressed as an active agent both before and after integration into the

group. Self activity before integration is described as fragmented and

unsteady, leading to failure and disappointment. The triad shakubuku-

chanting-Benefits is described in the discourse as responsible for the

success now befalling the self. It is seen as located "deep inside"

(when the emphasis falls on chanting) but also as existing objectively

in the everyday world (by reference to others in shakubuku and Benefits).

Reference to the agency of chanting cannot include the negation of

self agency thanks to the counterbalancing influence of shakubuku.

For NSA members experience is defined as that reality which re-

veals or reinforces the existence of an interior "true self" which is i-

dentified with the shakubuku-chanting-Benefits triad. Chanting is the

central event and paradigm of such experience, but the Benefits gained

from chanting must also be included in its range. Thus, not only is

the actual performance of devotional chanting given status as experi-

ence, but the events leading one to the practice of chanting as well

as the beneficial results following upon the practice. Virtually any

experience, then, can be accepted as religious experience--if only it can be related to the progressive and continuing growth and manifestation of one's true self. (Hence a good deal of the necessity for vigorous proselytizing).

We can therefore consider that, in comparison with a normative "empirical ego", the self corresponding to the Nichiren Shoshu range of religious experience approaches everday limits. For Nichiren members no experience is defined a priori as inimical to the quest for the true self: experience must be judged real or irreal ("challenged") according to the criteria an individual religious actor has elaborated for identifying what is important to his own true self. In actual practice, this amounts to what can be called a therapeutic pragmatism. The definition of non-experience has a similarly broad scope; except, of course, that it cannot include the central ritual activities of the group (shakubuku, chanting, devotion to the Gohonzon, etc.).

We can see that the hermeneutic principle operative in NSA belief is inherently very powerful due to the scope of what can be considered experience open to religious reinterpretation. There exists in NSA a self which is capable of the broad range of everyday experience. What is later identified as religious experience affecting the true self is experience selected from this range, according to whether or not it can be supported by an appeal to the Gohonzon ideal. Reinterpretation functions to recast ordinary experience in the paradigmatic image of the Gohonzon. This paradigmatic structure is most succinctly representin the nam-myo-ho-renge-kyo chant.

The St-Pierre-Apôtre
Charismatic Prayer Group

The Group[1]

This charismatic prayer group meets in a Roman Catholic parish
every Monday evening for its two-hour session of prayer, song, bible
readings, and celebration of the Catholic eucharist. The meetings are
held in the rear of the enormous church building, under the choir loft
and opposite the main altar. Attendence at the meetings varies from
about thirty to fifty people, with an average attendance of about forty-
five. Over half the regular members are fifty years of age or older;
only about 10% are under twenty-five years of age. The group is entire-
ly francophone.

Membership is not a clearly-defined category, although those who
attend the eight-week series of "Seminars in the Holy Spirit" receive
"baptism in the Spirit" and are considered full members. About thirty of
those present at each meeting are full members who attend every week.
Leadership is the concern of a "core group" of about eight persons. In
this group are "the animator", a Roman Catholic lay brother, and the
chaplain, a member of the parish's team of priests. Both belong to the
Roman Catholic religious congregation "the Oblates of Mary Immaculate."
Other members of this core group include three nuns and two housewives.
The core group meets separately before every Monday meeting, as well as
one Sunday afternoon each month to pray and discuss group affairs.

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[1]Information in this and following sections is drawn from the
author's research as a participant observer with this group from October
1975 through April 1976. See Paul Schwartz, "A Comparative Socioling-
uistic Analysis of Oral Testimonials in Para-Religious Groups: The Divine
Light Mission, the Nichiren Shoshu Academy, and Catholic Charismatic
Renewal," paper presented to the Canadian Society for the Study of
Religion (Quebec City, May 1976).

Other members are usually also members of the local parish, al-
though individuals come to the group from all over the island of Mon-
treal. In the main they are working-class housewives and grandmothers,
though some middle-aged men are often present.

In many respects the group can be considered a part of the par-
ish's regular activities. Apart from the weekly meetings and monthly
bible study sessions--also held in the church building and open to all
parishoners--there are no other group meetings and few structures. A
literature table is run at each meeting by one woman who oversees its
continuing operation. There are two persons from the core group charged
with running the seminar sessions. No dues or fees are collected; the
group has no budget and no expenses.

Participants know one another by sight and often by name, but
do not usually meet together outside of the group context except for
three or four members who are also engaged in local neighborhood ser-
vices.

Emphasis on the practice of orthodox Roman Catholic ritual--
Mass and confession--is high in the group. Noteworthy is an oft-
mentioned devotion to the "Virgin Mary", a popular Catholic practice
in the province of Quebec.

Beliefs

The central Catholic charismatic belief is in the power of the
"Holy Spirit" operative in the daily world. This relates directly to
the orthodox Christian belief which describes the source of such power in
the redemptive act of Jesus Christ. Charismatic theology can be viewed
as a popular elaboration of classical Christian sacramental theology,
especially as this theology is outlined in the writings attributed to

Saint Paul in the Christian bible.

This power of the Holy Spirit is invoked through the practice of charismatic prayer, both alone and in group prayer meetings. The individual person with its "soul" of orthodox Christian belief is viewed as primary. Manifestation of this power of the Holy Spirit comes through the individual's opening of his or her spirit to the ongoing presence and activity of the Holy Spirit.

The power of the Holy Spirit is manifested through action by and upon individuals. The notion of instrumentality is used to explain this. Non-charismatics need not be--or are not--aware of this activity, but charismatics are. Indeed, part of becoming a charismatic is, precisely, demonstrating one's ability to recognize the activity of the Holy Spirit in one's life. It is the experience of this activity as concrete in the context of daily life that forms the basis of charismatic experience per se.

To transform ordinary activity by the invocation and application of the power of the Holy Spirit, the charismatic must assume responsibility for a given situation through prayer. It is through such already-present personal involvement that the Holy Spirit is enabled, after his invocation, to apply power as it sees fit. A beneficial outcome is taken as proof of the validity of such practice and belief.

The setting

The "sharing of testimonials" is included in the regular weekly meeting of this Roman Catholic prayer group. It is preceeded by a ninety-minute prayer service composed of songs, bible readings, "speaking in tongues", "prophecy", meditation, and, for some, a "seminar in the Holy Spirit". It is followed by a break for cigarettes and the exchange

of small-talk, and the celebration of the Mass. The testimonial session itself can vary in length from five to twenty minutes; typically, it lasts no longer than ten minutes.

Generally speaking, testimonials are given by individuals who have been attending the group meetings for some time. Participation in this ritual can be considered a mark of an individual's final integration into the group. Speakers take the microphone, to deliver their accounts. Chairs are arranged in rows around a small table with a bible open on top; the microphone is situated on one edge of the circle. Testimonials are most often followed by exclamations like "Praise the Lord" or "Thanks be to God," or by verses from popular hymns, but the congregation may applaud if the speaker has shown great nervousness or timidity, or if the speaker has testified for the first time.

The Speech[1]

There are fewer distinguishing characteristics to be associated with the speech in these accounts, but one is noteworthy above all: except for one or two instances, all testimonials delivered in this group are spoken in a mixture of _joual_ (a provincial Quebec dialect) and the "standard" French which is the everyday language of most of the province's inhabitants. (The original French recordings have been translated for comparative purposes. Care has been taken to preserve the tone of the original utterances, but the translation is more literal than interpretative.) This use of a class-related dialect is undoubtedly significant in its own right, even though we cannot accord it much emphasis here since we will be examining a translation.

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[1] See Texts F through P in appendix 1, from which all examples in this section are drawn.

An unquestionably significant characteristic of these charismatic testimonials is the "disjointed" nature of much of the narrative. By the use of this term we wish to refer to the often weak transition made between sentences or phrases describing different actions. In many cases, no word is supplied to indicate any change at all; verb tense or voice may be altered for no apparent reason. Instances of such disjointed transition include:

> . . . and I've had some difficulties, but also some great joys. And then, maybe, over the weekend --- it's true that I was in /T.R./, but I think it's what I do here that prepared me for that.

> It's been a long time now that I haven't --- since the death of my father --- I'm feeling happy.

> I look --- in my sight --- inside --- I saw Jesus on the cross . . .

> I thought about the others --- I made myself pray for the others, neglect my family--my God! I thought a lot about the others, and prayed, and endured sufferings . . .

> So I went to /J.V./ and all of a sudden I became aware --- it came to my ears--I was in front--and I heard someone . . .

> And the Holy Spirit --- you know he is among us and he speaks loudly. And --- another person, the person started to heal this morning--to be healed--and let there be confidence that the Lord is working his work.

> And I told him --- because he's not really --- uh, believing --- and, I don't know --- his family isn't really --- well, "it's a mess," like they say about those situations ---·just like a lot of families.

There is a frequent indication of an instantaneous or unexpected change of state in these accounts, but this only occurs when the speaker is referring to an event in which he or she personally participated, not when the account deals with something that happened to another:

> I was praying when, all of a sudden, my hands became sweaty, I cried, my heart skipped a beat . . . .

> So, I went to /J.V./ and all of a sudden I became aware . . .

Good --- Everything happened at once . . .

Great care appears to be taken by testifiers in this group to situate the religious event--a return to prayer, a healing, etc.--within a temporal sequence of events before and after. There is a close adherence to the story form in this regard.

Specific terms are usually used to mark the beginning of a change for the better in the testimonials. These terms refer to elements of group practice and/or belief; they are underlined in the following examples:

So, after, well, having made an <u>act of abandon to God</u> . . .

And we <u>prayed</u> and <u>made faith</u> in the Lord . . .

So we <u>prayed</u> for her, we <u>recommended</u> her to the [group?] here . . .

Well, me --- the <u>Lord has filled me</u> and I'm very happy.

. . . last Monday night I <u>said that intention</u> . . . this afternoon . . .

I was <u>praying</u> when all of a sudden . . .

Without entering into a discussion of the relation of dialect to mother tongue, we can nonetheless note the recurrent use of the following idiomatic expressions in the original French recordings: "j'ai trouvé ça du fun," "en tout cas . . .," "OK," "tout ça a été reglé," "éh, bien."

The presence of testimonials recounting the healing or helping of a person other than the speaker makes it more difficult to suggest a typical conversion sequence for a charismatic testimonial. The following general pattern will serve, however, if we keep in mind that the version in parentheses represents an alternative option:

1. 'I was doing badly' ('I heard that someone was doing badly.')

2. 'I prayed to the Holy Spirit'

Testimonial Speech and
Linguistic Code

Following our detailed examination of the production of testi-
monial speech in the Divine Light Mission, the Nichiren Shoshu Sokagak-
e'ai Academy, and the St-Pierre-Apôtre Charismatic Prayer Group it is
useful to make a comparative review of the results of our study in each
case. Aside from giving us a change of perspective on the ritual prac-
tices we have been investigating, this will allow us to judge the util-
ity of our application of Bernstein's theory to the study of testi-
monials. We will proceed by comparing our results under four of the
areas we examined separately in each group: group organization, speech,
code, and self.

Group Organization

We note here a significant degree of variation between the groups
as to the complexity and importance of social organization. This ranges
from a high degree of organization and structure in the Divine Light
group to a rather low reliance on structure with the charismatics.
Nichiren Shoshu falls between the two, sharing some traits of both. We
can summarize our findings.

The highly organized structure of the Divine Light Mission is
marked by the existence of a visible hierarchial structure with Guru
Maharaj Ji at the summit. This hierarchy regulates not only practical
affairs in the group, but spiritual concerns as well. On the one hand,
devotion moves from the base of the hierarchy upwards, from aspirant and
premie through office-holder and Mahatma up to Maharaj Ji. On the other
hand, Knowledge and its benefits move downwards from the person of the
Guru himself.

The group is also marked by elements of cohesiveness in the area
of living arrangements: official households (ashrams) are maintained.
The households are highly organized (the "ashram manual") and require
a high degree of commitment in the form of abstention from certain foods
and forms of behavior. Financial and economic ties also bind members
to the household and to the Divine Light organization.

Members not living in ashrams are less organized, but also make
a commitment to the group in certain structured ways. Many premies
live in unofficial households. All are requested to abstain from cer-
tain foods and substances, and are encouraged to donate a part of their
income to the organization. Two sub-organizations exist within the
group to channel premie activity into "service". Great efforts are made
to mobilize premies for publicity campaigns. Most notably, every premie
is expected (although apparently not pressured) to attend Sat Sang ses-
sions regularly. Response to this request is great enough to allow the
holding of nightly meetings.

We interpret these facts as being descriptive of a comprehensive
and inclusive system of structured social relations in the Divine Light
group.

At the other extreme we find the Catholic charismatic group at
St-Pierre-Apôtre parish. Formal structures in this group are few, and
highly dependent on a distantly-perceived but nonetheless ever-present
parent structure which is the parish itself. The only formal require-
ments for membership in the prayer group are participation in a series
of seminars and baptism in the Spirit; the latter, in fact, occurs as a
stage in the former. Leadership in the group is highly dependent on
church and parish functionaries (priests, brothers, and nuns) and is

structured by participation in a sub-group which is responsible for con-
ducting meetings and seminars. Ritual practice is tightly linked to
the parish sacramental system through an insistence on Mass and confess-
ion, but loosely structured in other respects. None of the members are
found living together in common households, there is no economic or
financial structure in the group, and little publicity except for un-
organized word-of mouth. In brief, formal and structured demands on the
members of this prayer group are few, allowing great individual discre-
tion as to the extent and degree of one's involvement in the group.

The Nichiren Shoshu group displays a moderate degree of struc-
ture and organization. On the level of ritual practice, Nichiren members
have a highly organized system of symbols and rituals to order both
"inner" life (the true self, the Gohonzon, chanting) and external rela-
tions (group meetings, shakubuku, Benefits). Members belong to relative-
ly small chapters, gather regularly, and enshrine the group's most sacred
symbol in their dwellings. Leaders are supportive of the members in
their chapter, but not demanding. Group beliefs are highly developed
and structured, but are discussed at the meetings in popular language.

At the same time, members do not normally live in households
and make little or no financial contribution to the organization. They
are not asked to abstain from any foods or behavior and follow no elab-
orate moral code. Few members are involved in the holding of offices or
official posts, and the relationship with an official priesthood is dis-
tant and infrequent.

Testimonial Speech

Our analysis of speech forms in the testimonial discourse tends
to confirm Bernstein's theory that such forms are closely related to the

"quality of the social structures" in each instance. Once again we find that the degree of organization and structure--in this case, of speech forms--ranges from a high degree in the Divine Light group to a considerably lesser degree among the charismatics. The Nichiren speech was considerably more structured than that of the charismatics, but not nearly as determined as that of the premies.

We saw Divine Light speech to be marked by a high degree of re-petition of words and phrases stressing key concepts in the group's belief system. Metaphor and simile (and, occasionally, circumvention) occur with great regularity in the discourse and are an indication of the presence of a high degree of shared assumptions about possible referents for the experience being metaphorized. In addition, these accounts give evidence of a fair degree of structuration regarding the sequence of events being related, which are always presented in the same order of occurrence.

Again at the opposite extreme is the testimonial speech of the St-Pierre group. There is a basic framework for this discourse, insofar as events being recounted always have to do with change and always in-volve a movement from a situation of deficiency to one of plenitude, and insofar as the narration of such transitions is usually marked by the presence of specific lexical and temporal counters or flags. But we noted at the same time the wide range of variation possible in the pro-duction of charismatic speech, particularly the great discretion accord-ed individual speakers about which structural elements to employ and in what order.

These extremes of predictability were seen to be finely balanced in the case of Nichiren Shoshu. On the one hand, we noted the repeated

appearance of a neatly symmetrical arrangement of elements dealing with shakubuku or Benefits and chanting in each instance. On the other hand, we saw that some variation was possible in the use of this structure, and that the type of elements being so related varied in many instances.

The Self

We also examined the use of self-reference in each of the groups. We found that self-reference in the Divine Light speech was characterized by a concern with the issue of control, related specifically to control of the body and the mind. Divine Light speech showed no movement from a situation of control to one of liberation or non-control, but rather a change in the agent responsible for control, from agents identified with forces of chaos, insanity, and death to agents identified with order and regulation. The range of experience therefore available to the self in the Divine Light group is restricted to an experience of a change in agents acting upon the self, an experience we indicated to be the experience of Knowledge through Divine Light meditation.

We found that the self possesses significantly greater options for experience in Nichiren Shoshu, options structured by the experience of the triad shakubuku-chanting-Benefits in NSA practice. Experience of the group focuses on the experience of chanting itself, but is directed outward from chanting to the experience of significant others in the chanting-related experience of shakubuku. Thus nearly any experience perceived as positive (i.e. in accord with one's conception of one's true self) can in theory be related to the experience of self generated in NSA. We referred to this as a dynamic structuring of self and experience in Nichiren Shoshu testimonials.

Reference to the self in the charismatic group manifested neither significant structuring in the speech act nor significant restriction in terms of experience. The self was seen to be highly individuated, active, and responsible, and open to a range of experience paralleling that of the empirical ego.

The Code

We claim above to have found, on the basis of our analysis of the speech forms in each group, a correlation between the degree of restrictedness of code and the degree of structuration (and predictability) of the speech in each instance. We would now like to relate elements of group social structure and images of self and experience to this analysis of coding.

We consider that our evidence demonstrates a definite correlation between the degree of complexity and inclusiveness of social structures in the groups and the degree of structuration and predictability with regard to speech in those same groups. The group with the highest degree of social organization also uses the most highly structured (and therefore predictable) form of speech; the group with the loosest organization, the least structured speech. Nichiren Shoshu, as we have seen, falls between the other two groups on both accounts, with a moderate degree of structure and organization in both social and speech forms. To this extent, then, we have demonstrated the validity of an analysis based on Bernstein's theory of class and code.

But we have also extended Bernstein's theory to include the field of semantic expression in the speech act as well. We have done so by following Bernstein's clues about the degree of individuation characteristic of the operation of restricted coding. Our reasoning was that

if restriction on the use of terms of self reference in the lexical di-
mension is indicative of reliance upon implicit meaning (and, hence, of
restrictedness of code), then restrictedness of code should also influ-
ence self-reference in a semantic dimension as well. We have found that
this does, in fact, occur, although we have not made any attempt to link
conceptions of self directly to categories of social organization. In-
stead, we have analyzed self understanding in each case by referring to
the ritual system or ritual practice of each group. Insofar as ritual
forms are forms of social organization, we have continued Bernstein's
research. Insofar as ritual forms are considered the symbolic expression
of more basic social arrangements, we have demonstrated that at least
one ritual form--the testimonial--is also subject to the same degree of
determination governing speech forms. In other words, not only do soc-
ial structures determine the operation of a code with effects on express-
ion in speech, as Bernstein has proved, but the same code determines
possibilities for expression in ritual forms as well. This can be seen
most clearly in the Nichiren Shoshu example where the structure of soc-
ial forms, speech forms, and an entire system of ritual practice are so
neatly interrelated, so similar in their common expression of balance
and symmetry. We can also see the link between expressions of self-
understanding in speech and ritual in the Divine Light and charismatic
groups; in these cases the mediation between absolute self autonomy and
absolute identification with a specific group is performed more at the
extremes.

     We will leave the drawing of further conclusions to our next,
and final, chapter.

CHAPTER 4

"IT WORKS": CONCLUSIONS ON THE STATUS

OF TESTIMONIAL SPEECH AND RITUAL

Returning to our original thesis as it was expressed in the in-
troduction above, we consider that the evidence we have examined in the
preceding chapters provides us with a means for resolving the anomaly we
claimed to have observed in the use of the testimonial form in a ritual
context. As we recall, that anomaly concerned the testimonial's intro-
duction of individual experiences into the context of a group ritual
where emphasis, we supposed, should rather be placed on the communal
celebration of common experience. Our thesis proposed that the testi-
monial functions to overcome this anomalous situation by stressing, not
the individual character of the events being related, but their identi-
fication as elements of experience of a self comprehensible only in
group terms, i.e. as the experience of a group self in which the indi-
vidual religious actor participates. In our view, this thesis is sup-
ported by the evidence.

In chapter 2 above this support was demonstrated by construc-
ting an ideal typology of ritual practice which permitted us to analyze
variations in the degree of individual involvement in several religious
and para-religious groups. It was observed that the degree of involve-
ment on a level of personal commitment ranged from a low in those groups
where expressed religious goals were not consonant with the development
of highly structured and inclusive social forms (including ritual forms)

to a high degree in those groups where such highly developed forms can be taken as supportive of expressed religious goals. Apprentice and disciple-type groups need not, we argued, depend on the kind of reinterpretation of self and experience that occurs in the testimonial ritual because their religious goals and, hence, the structures and social forms they elaborate to achieve those goals do not demand as great a degree of personal involvement or commitment on a social or group level. With the devotee groups, however, we saw that our hypothesis about the development of an image of self and experience created and shared by the group helps to explain devotee reliance on more inclusive social forms and practices, giving devotees a reason for creating a specific group language. We hypothesized that the use of this language in the testimonial ritual would tend to reinforce the socially-inclusive character of devotee practice.

In chapter 3 we verified this hypothesis by reference to three specific devotee groups, examining how testimonial speech functions to support the adoption of a self image based on shared experience and meaning. We saw a range of devotee reliance on the redefinition of self on the level of expression in speech, and a corresponding range in the structuring of that redefinition in the testimonial form. Both of these elements correspond to the degree of social organization in each group. We were aided in this task by an extension of Bernstein's theory to cover the influence of restrictedness of code on the semantic level of the speech act. That is, not only does a restricted code operate on the expression of self-reference by influencing the use of linguistic forms, but it also operates semantically on the structuring of literary forms (i.e. genres of speech production) and references to self understanding.

We were thus led to interpret such literary forms and references in order to articulate the notions of self and experience contained in specific instances of testimonial discourse.

We found that notions of self and experience are more restricted in the most highly organized groups and that such constraint corresponds to the degree of restrictedness of the code underlying the production of the speech act. Thus while all three groups use the special speech forms associated with testimonials to further individual identification with the experience of a group-specific image of self, they do so in observably varying degrees. These variations are explicable in terms of the relationship held to exist between social forms and the speech act in our extension of Bernstein's theory.

As a consequence of this research we can say that there is no need to revise our original definition of ritual practice as activity which focuses on the group celebration of common experience. In identifying the testimonial as ritual, however, we must be aware of the fact that the so-called "individual" experiences being related have in reality become group property by being cast in the testimonial form. The "I" being described in the testimonial is also, and in more than an incidental way, a "we"; the sense of this implicit plurality is to be found in an examination of the context of meaning that forms the boundaries of any particular religious world.

With Mary Douglas in _Natural Symbols_, we are led to a concluding reflection upon the possibilities for ritual in our modern context. Within the framework of a cultural emphasis on the development of an autonomous and rational self (which we take as characteristic of modern consciousness), the possibility of participating in ritual practice with-

out sacrificing autonomy is hardly evident. How is it possible for in-
dividual and autonomous men and women to involve themselves in social
groupings and ritual observance where the unselfconscious acceptance of
mutual support, of the reality of mutual dependence, and of a shared ex-
perience of mutual transcendence can form the basis for participation in
community? As we have seen, participation in such a group where mean-
ing is implicit and socially based can be perceived as destructive of
both autonomy and rationality.

This is hardly the place for either endorsements or recipes for
the relief of alienation. We suggest, however, that the transformation
of the apparent conflict between community and autonomy into a creative
dynamic of growth and change--at least from the perspective of involve-
ment in ritual activity--is related to the elaboration of a balanced
system of communal symbols similar in form to that we observed in the
Nichiren group. Such a model for ritual activity seems to allow for the
recognition and expression of the polar terms community and autonomy.
At the same time, such practice could serve as a model of forms of soc-
ial organization where both values are given simultaneous emphasis. At-
tempts to achieve such balance are apparent in our analysis of the other
two devotee groups. Whatever their special attributes and contribu-
tions on other levels, it is clear that they, too, continue to struggle
with this question: one group must deal with the introduction of too
great a degree of individual difference into its ritual forms, the other
with too little recognition of the value of autonomy and rational delib-
eration.

In historical terms the most enduring forms of ritual practice
seem to be those which strike a balance between these two terms: on the

one hand, a piety concerning the individual's participation in group

ritual where the context of shared meaning fixes boundaries of meaning

on the experience of a world; and, on the other hand, a sending-forth of

the individual out of the religious group into the experience of a world

of others where meaning is related to the experience of a selfhood that

is in some measure autonomous and less dependent on context, and there-

fore potentially communicable to others not like oneself. This dynamic

is clearly related to the pressure for doctrinal development in the

great world religions. As Douglas notes, however, this development some-

times leads to the atrophy of "non-elaborated" ritual forms; an atrophy

abetted by a rational analysis blind to the formation of human community.

In our opinion this analysis of the testimonial form serves to

give us a good grip on the problem we have just outlined, due to the

form's nature as a spontaneous speech act produced in a definite ritual

context. In some respects, the successful functioning of testimonials

giving balance to the two elements of self and group consciousness can

serve as a paradigm for the successful operation of all ritual systems.

TRANSCRIBED TESTIMONIAL ACCOUNTS[1]

The Divine Light Mission.

Text A

I don't even know why they call it Knowledge. I don't know why it's called Knowledge. Maybe it's because we know something that other people don't know--I don't know. But it's called Knowledge.

They call it an experience. I don't even think you can call it an experience, because an experience is too limited. An experience comes and it goes; I don't think it's an experience, either.

I don't know what to call it, but ---all I know is, that it's like breathing the air we breathe, it's like breathing the air we breathe. Let's talk about breathing the air. What're you gonna call it? Are you gonna call it um --- breathing the air: well you can't call it anything, you just breathe, right? You just breathe. Because you want to breathe. You breathe because you want to breathe. It's like, it's like you don't wanna kill yourself, you want to breathe, you want to live. But there's people, you know, who kill themselves because they don't want to live anymore, so they don't breathe.

So --- about Knowledge: Knowledge requires practice, it requires a steady practice, a daily practice, a practice in meditation, a practice in --- in <u>real</u> meditation, and not just meditation that you, uh, go to a guru and you give him a thousand dollars or you go to read a book and they teach you. It's not like that, it's nothing to do with Western, Eastern, Southern, Northern. It's nothing like --- it's not a meditation like you think a meditation is. It's not doing, "Om, Om" or "Hare Krishna, Hare Krishna" or "O, Jesus loves me, Jesus loves me." No! It's nothing --- or "Holy Moses, Holy Moses"--it's nothing like that. It's so much real than that. It's like --- like, everyone

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[1]Included here is a selection of unabridged testimonials from the groups indicated. The texts have been transcribed from cassette recordings. Inaudible sequences are marked with brackets (i.e. [inaudible]); where a reasonable guess could be made about a questionable word, this is indicated with brackets and a question mark (e.g., [guess?]). Pauses between words are indicated by the use of three hyphens (i.e. ---). Terms with a specific meaning in a particular group are capitalized (e.g., Knowledge). Emphasis is indicated by underlining.

breathes the same air, right? It's not East, West, North, Southern air, it's not Jewish air or French air--it's air! The same is true with Knowledge: understand that, Knowledge --- is --- like ---- Knowledge is like the air. OK? Knowledge is <u>real</u>, it's nothing --- it's not a little trip. My desire is to --- what I say --- <u>realize</u> Knowledge. Which means to know life more --- to know this life more, to --- to --- to make it automatic in my life--to make it real in my life--just as it is to live, breathe. This is my desire.

It's real, eh? It's not a little trip, where you've got to sit one hour in the morning and you've finished a --- thing, you know? [inaudible] Mah'raj Ji --- Mah'raj Ji is --- is --- is --- he has --- he has a <u>power</u> --- he has --- he has --- a technique and a way. He has a simple way. He's got the most simple way. The most simple way you're ever gonna find in this universe.

Because me, I --- I went to the Mah'raj Ji, I received what I had to receive from Mah'raj Ji, and after I went my own way. Then I looked around for other ways. I went to other religions, I went to other groups, I went to other gurus. After Mah'raj Ji. Before, also, but <u>after</u> Mah'raj Ji. What I found is the other groups--they're <u>fine</u>. But they're <u>so</u> intellectual, they're so complicated. They're so spaced out, they're so --- they so --- they're really hooked on mind --- you know, that's their truth, you know. I'm not criticizing, but I'm just telling you where they're at, OK? With Mah'raj Ji, with this experience, with this --- see, I called it an experience --- with this --- way, with this way, I can --- I can really, really know, I can really know the answer --- to all my questions. Every single question. Not only questions about who am I but questions about <u>other</u> things, what do I have to do now? Should I take <u>this</u> job, or should I take <u>that</u> job? Every single question can be answered --- by knowing who <u>you</u> are. Not by reading a book --- it's knowing who you are. There's a place inside us right now, there's a place within our bodies right now, within this body --- that's why we have to keep the body clean, that's why we have to wash --- you know what they say, "cleanliness is next to godliness." You know, that's why you have to dress, wash, take exercise, breathe fresh air, and all these things, eat good food. Why? Because inside the body there's living, being truth, there's living God, there's living arm and hand. It's living, it's life, it's there. This isn't what we <u>really</u> are. When you know this place, incredible things begin to happen to you like --- because our mind is very crazy right now, our mind is here and it's there, and it's there and it's here and it's all over the place. And you can't, you don't know what to <u>do</u> anymore. But, if you know the Knowledge, if you know this way and this path, wow, you can really know what to do every second. You can have a voice telling you what to do and it's gonna be your <u>own self</u> telling you what to do. Nobody else, no one else to do the bringing down anymore. No one can bring you down. People don't bring you down, people don't bring you high! You bring yourself down and you bring yourself high! And that's the truth! 'Cause I can be alone in a room, and bring myself down, down, down, down. But there's no one around me, right? I'm thinking about my boyfriend, I'm --- my girlfriend two years ago, I'm gonna get down, down, down, and I say, "Oh, my girlfriend brought me down, blah, blah, blah, blah." That true? Who's bringing you down? Do you ---

at that moment you didn't know yourself, you forgot who you were. With this, with this way, with this path, with Knowledge --- yeah, he calls it Knowledge, with Knowledge you can know, you can know who you are, you can help yourself, you can really help yourself. You know their saying, "God helps those who help themself." Why did they say that? 'Cause some guy, some saint said it, he realized it, he knew it. Man, I've seen it every day of my life. OK, maybe you don't believe in God, or, or, you don't believe in Christ or you don't believe in religion--it doesn't make a difference --- it doesn't make a difference. Do you wanna be helped? Then help yourself.

It's incredible. It's incredible, because I have this body, you know --- sometimes I wonder why I have the body. Sometimes I really think why am I living on this earth, you know? Another way of asking the question, why am I living on this earth? But --- with this way you can really know why, and I can really manifest love, you can really manifest truth, love. But if I'm not--this goes for everyone--if you're not manifesting truth the way you think truth is, you gonna have the world against you. You're gonna --- people are gonna be slapping you back and forth, they're gonna push you back and forth because you don't know. 'Cause when you know truth, any way, even if it's a little bit, just a little bit, and you get out of yourself --- put it somehow, communicate it somehow, somehow --- and you'll see, everyone around you will be your friend. OK? This is my experience and I'm trying very hard now--automatically, not very hard, I used to try very hard--automatically, I see this happening in my life. And this way, this way, is incredible. It is the way. I am sorry to say it, but it is the way. OK? That's it.

[May 1976]

Text B

Uh --- My name is [C. E.]. Hello to you; I've never met you, or not yet. And, uh, I'd like to speak about um my life's importance since receiving Knowledge a year and a half ago. I was uh making my living playing music, a full-time musician. And I was uh I was --- was playing in clubs most likely, it must have been six or seven days a week and uh the kind of life I was into it would start from ten o'clock until five in the morning, 'cause that's when everybody sleeps, and when I'm going back to sleep it would be six, seven o'clock in the morning when everybody wakes up, you know. I was playing music because I was in love with music and I was very hungry [inaudible] music in one spot, since only music was making me happy. That was OK for a while, but, then, there was times --- in life when I didna feel like playing. And uh I wasn't feeling very good. And a musician when he has to play, when he has to perform, if he ain't gonna [inaudible] feeling good, he has to play --- and --- he's bound to feel good, because if he's really miserable it's only natural he's gonna make people feel miserable. And he's gonna lose his job, which isn't very nice. And that's why musicians are looking for --- for a way, to get high --- and they're looking for something to --- to get energy from. And they'll all go getting into drugs. Others try different kinds of methods.

Myself, I've experienced drugs because I needed some energy in order to be happy and [inaudible] and to make my music. And uh it was OK, I guess. But then drugs, sex, sleeping late, waking up late--all of these are related. It's like a chain. And uh that's ah --- living fast, that kind of life, it's a pressure and uh, it was living fast. And uh it's only bound if you live fast you're gonna die fast. And life is beautiful, you know.

So I came to a point where my body was trying to --- to go down. My [inaudible] and I was running out of energy. So uh it was getting really bad and I was very, very depressed. So depressed that even music wasn't makin' me happy any more because there was no energy to play. So, I looked at my mind and it was going a hundred thirty miles an hour and/uh I would uh twenty-four hours a day think, think, think, and think and think. I could sit down in the evening and enjoy supper and I would think--my mind would be three miles away. I was eatin' fast and I had stomach problems--exactly like uh 80% of the people to-day are facing, from thinking and living fast.

And un the only thing that could make me happy was going to sleep. In sleep you forget. And actually now that I have Knowledge I realize that uh I had to put my ego to sleep in order to be happy. My ego has --- had to go to sleep. That was the part of me that had to go to sleep in order to make me happy to rest--to leave me alone, because I was uh --- I was serving my mind, you know; I was working for my mind--my mind was making things and then things, and I'm feeling very tired: I was living fast. And so things were passing by and I wasn't enjoying them; life was becoming very, very boring. And like I said --- as I said, uh, I had to slow down my mind in order to --- let's say, that I would be happy. But that was the hardest thing: how to slow down the mind.

'And, uh, I was looking for anybody that would show me a way to --- a method to slow down my mind. Because I believe that if --- for every problem there is a solution. Like, every lock has a key. And I had a problem. And I think that's the reason like why a lot of people commit suicide, you know, find themselves in that kind of position and just die because life becomes boring; a day becomes like a week, you know, because time doesn't go fast. So I was introduced to Knowledge, out of nowhere, one night when I was wondering, "is this what life is all about--feeling so depressed?" And I came to the point where I could really kill myself. When I made this conclusion, I said, "is this what life is all about?" I said [break in tape] . . .

. . . after he was talking to me, it was so surprising, it was --- so amazing. It looked like a --- a person who --- I've seen him somewhere losing his glasses and trying to find them and being really confused, trying all over to find them, those glasses and yelling and swearing at everybody --- I mean, and then he finds them, he wears them. So it was like another surprise; it was that close the answer that I was looking for. And that Knowledge, it was that close to me, because through Maharaj Ji's --- He didn't give me anything from his pocket, he just revealed something to me that was within me for twenty-four years and I didn't know about it. So, by practicing this

Knowledge, from the first day of practicing, I can see how I was bene-
fitting. Because I was in a position that I could appreciate the value
of this Knowledge.

As I said, I was very depressed. And I can see the difference
uh [inaudible] of being happy, something that I was looking for for a
long, long time. And uh [inaudible] uh the importance of this medita-
tion. In practicing, I was getting better; the more I would practice,
the more I would get better, the more I would slow down my mind which
was the cause of the suffering uh because my mind won't let me partici-
pate in the daily activities, won't let me to --- to get into life. I
would just sit down and watch everybody living, having fun, having
dreams and desires and --- working to get their dreams true. But here
I was just watching. And, because, like I said before, my mind was mak-
ing me think and think--I was working for my mind. But by slowing down
the mind--this is what the meditation did--it helped me to grab my
mind from every crazy direction it was into before, because it was all
over the place --- this meditation helped me to bring my mind with me;
instead of becoming a slave of my mind, make my mind again becoming a
slave of me. 'Cause that's the really --- that's the goal of this
life. And not only my mind; I looked at my body. I was able to look
at my body and uh I saw two hands, I saw feet, I saw organs, I saw a
talent, I'm starting to realize that those things all have to be used
proper. And that was a problem: I did not know how to use them before.
And only through Maharaj Ji and his Knowledge that taught me how to use
all this --- this --- this --- this prize that this --- this instru-
ment, this body, the human body has been --- has been bequeathed with.
And uh it was really hard, very hard, because I realized that uh what I
needed is peace of mind. And that peace of mind, I guess I had to pay
the price because everything in life I realize there is a price. You
want a car you have to pay a price, you want a girlfriend you have to
pay a price--so I --- peace of mind which is --- in the bible they de-
scribe as heaven, you know there's a price to it too.

And this is what I'm living today, and you know, and only by
meditating and practicing meditation I see that I'm paying the price
and it's --- it's --- I can't describe how much I'm benefitting. No
matter how much I could talk about this, I could never have enough to
describe it.

Thank you very much.

[May 1976]

The Nichiren Shoshu Sokagakeai Academy (NSA)

Text C

Like, uh, like when I first started chanting, you know, like I
was in a really, really like crummy--I can see now--really weird like
condition, you know really kind of a freaky guy. And like [laughter]
when I'd get up, like, or just talk to somebody, you know, you know, I'd
try to be friendly but they'd give such a weird feeling and they'd:
"Aach, this guy's weird." But like, you know, like, I --- some ---

like, I was running down the street, like that's where I lived at the time because, you know, that was kinda like, you know, the life I had and --- uh this girl drove up, you know; and she asked me if I wanted to go to a meeting, uh --- First of all she said, "Have you ever heard of chanting ham-myo-ho-renge-kyo?" And I said, "Jeez, is this girl wise?" You know we're standing there and --- uh. And she goes: "You can chant these words and get anything you want," you know, and that was weird, man that was weird. I told her, "You're weird," you know; "I believe you're weird." And, like I tried all kinds of things, like I was living in the street, but I thought I was so --- had it together so intellectually, you know. I knew all about Socrates, I knew all about Plato and The Republic and the whole deal. But like I didn't know how to get, like, get food, you know, and [laughter] . . . [inaudible] or anything like that, you know. So I was kinda unconsciously like looking for a philosophy where I could like, apply it to daily life, you know, and do something, you know.

And so like I run into this girl and she said, "Yeah, come on to this Buddhist meeting," you know. And like I tried the --- tha straight way where I--like I don't know, maybe it's not straight--but so I decided, you know, "try the weird way--that's gotta be better" [laughter] . . . [inaudible] You know I thought maybe a cult, or black magic or something weird like that. But like, like I came into this meeting, you know. And like these people, all they said was you know, "Try this chant: nam-myo-ho-renge-kyo." Like, uh --- And I asked them, "Well, what d'ya want, you know? I don't have any money, you know." And they said, "It doesn't cost anything--nothing at all. Just try the chant and see what you can do," you know.

And so I --- I was into the feel of it. I was chanting for dumb things, you know. Like --- cars? Fifteen years old and no license, you know? You know, that's --- that's --- you know I couldn't think straight, in other words I was --- crazy.

And uh, like --- like every single day from a year and a half until today, you know, like every single day it works, you know and like every morning you know I get up and--I don't really wanna get up, you know--I get up and I feel good inside, you know. But it's really neat, like, uh [inaudible].

Anyway, like, you know I can't you know and I go through this little "Humph" --- Anyway I go through this little blue book called gongyo --- and it's really neat, this kind of life condition that I --- I for sure knew I didn't have inside me --- you knew, I was so, so positive, you know. I was always negative, couldn't talk to people but it really comes out, you know, and I you know, challenge my day.

And like --- for the first time like my family's like more, you know --- Before I didn't care, you know, "Big deal," you know--unless I could get something out of it. But like, now like my family's more together, you know; like my sister, instead of only coming over when she wants money, she comes over you know just all the time. And my brother doesn't try to beat up my mother any more --- you know, I mean, this is kinda a weird family, you know.

But anyway, it's really neat, you know, like they're nice to each other and they're really trying good. And like they even say "Thank you", and you know, stuff like that. It's really neat.

I mean this chanting has really revolutionized my life you know like --- All through actual proof; nobody told me anything, you know. Nobody gave me you know, words and said, "This is gonna happen," "This better happen," you know. But like I try it myself you know every single day it's never, never --- didn't work. Maybe I didn't work sometimes, but that chanting always works, you know. Every single day.

Sure hope you give it a try.

[April 1975]

Text D

[inaudible] And I'd sort of like to tell you what my experience is uh joining Buddhism.

Um, I'm a dancer and I've been dancing now for uh ten years. And I was uh trying to be a very good dancer and uh I went to a lot of studies and all that. And I went to New York and I came back to Montreal and I went back to New York and I just wasn't satisfied and so I said, "Well, I'd better go back to where I came from, to Europe, and um try my uh --- try my luck there."

Anyway I went to Europe uh --- I was trying to join a company there, which was, I felt, the most important for me. And when I got there they said they had no audition and no --- no chance to --- to --- join. So I got very disappointed and I went to see a teacher that I knew in Europe 'n got very uh uh started again to work and I asked to audition where the teacher was teaching. There was no opening again.

So more and more it went on and I decided, well, maybe I should stop dancing and look for something else. And um one day uh one of the dancers um introduced me to uh Buddhism uh. He says, "All you have to do," I think he said, "just chant nam-myo-ho-renge-kyo and everything come out right."

And so I went to one meeting and at that meeting they sort of told me, well, uh in Buddhism uh you see that if um you're a dancer and if you started this kind of life, it's part of your --- part of you inside, deep inside, then you couldn't, you can't just let it go and go do just anything. You have to uh go all the way and find out what it um what it brings to you.

So I kept on chanting and chanting about a month, a month and a half and then all of a sudden I get this letter out of the blue for the audition that I wanted for that company. And well, I didn't think it was any Benefit, but I just thought, well, I go into the audition. And when I got to go to the audition I meet one of the members from, from Brussels and um I got to be very good friends with him later on and

um --- He showed me what Benefits were, that I could receive from
chanting. And also at the same time at that time since I was so up-
set my, my whole system was uh upside down and he sort of put me on a
diet and got me straightened out fine.

And uh through my chanting my dancing has become uh so much more
stronger and [inaudible] I have something to go for whereas before I
felt everybody --- all my teachers were always saying, "Oh, you can do
more," but uh I never felt that they were giving me the right atten-
tion, where now I feel that through chanting I have my own intention
towards myself in order for me to get what I want out of my dancing.

And the um after Brussels uh I finally decided to come back to
Montreal so that --- because in Brussels I did a lot of dancing, I
didn't feel I was getting enough --- and so I decided to leave and I
came here to Montreal. And uh joined the company here and uh I feel
all these events all the way coming up here where I felt I had nothing
where now I feel I have practically everything I --- I want and am
looking for and also I've met so, so many, so many people through Bud-
dhism, uh, close, closely whereas before uh I met people but then they
left and then never see them again and it was the first time I met
people and I got to be good friends and I still have --- I still have
those friends.

I really enjoy, my --- uh --- my --- coming-to-it-ism and my
rejoicing, I guess.

[April 1975]

Text E

Every time I have to come up and say about my experiences I
think, "Now more than ever before, I have stage fright."

Ah, I think it's very difficult to explain everything in just
one, you know, little experience. But to me, with all the experiences
of Buddhism, I find it is the most impartial practice. That is, no mat-
ter what, whether it be my health, whether it be financial situations,
whether it be my friendly relationships with people, I have absolutely
revolved everything. You know, everything I touch, like I said one day
at a meeting, turns to gold. And it's incredible, because, um, I've
also found out that Buddhism is not eliminating anything, which is
what I often tried to do. I'd say well this is very bad and I'll just
put it in a drawer and lock it up, you see. And you know we'll just
pay attention on the good things which is what everybody else in most
philosophies does. And I realized recently that one has to take every
aspect one has and deal with it. You know you sort of control it, you
don't eliminate it. And that's the most difficult part of it, is that
everything you have is you. And the essence is what brings it into
favorable position, you know. And through this practice you chant to
bring out your essence, to bring out what you should do, what you have.
And I've been realizing you know whether it's --- you know like recently
I went for two months to study dancing in Europe and I made fantastic
determinations that I would not break my schedule and it was six days a

week that I was having classes, you know after several years where I
hadn't had classes at all. And my teacher at the end of two months
said to me, you know you have succeeded to do something that people in
ten years don't do. And I found that it was through my chanting; every
day I made a very great determination to understand my teacher and because
I only had two months it was like a marathon run, I really wanted
to explore everything, you know, so that when I come back home I can
digest it for the next ten months, you know.

But I really realized you know like it revolutionized every-
thing in my life and like I've come back here and like I have to get
into a pattern, because I have a very lazy nature. And if I let my-
self go, everything goes.

And very often I challenge my practice, and if I don't prac-
tice one day, I realize how everything has fallen down. And it's not
a mental attitude; it's an absolute essential attitude. And when I ---
I persuade myself to do my practice, I'm so overjoyed with the change
that comes [inaudible] in no time to me, it's like a revelation. Once
again, that when I practice I change everything. And when I don't,
it's just like I let everything stagnate and, you know, just sort of sit
around and it doesn't go anywhere. And uh I have to now go back to the
airline after three months of not being with it and again, you know, I
will have to challenge and I think what is most important, I want to
really communicate the happiness to everyone. And I want to get as
much wisdom and as much strength as I can so I can communicate it to
everyone that I meet and this is sort of a great challenge--we're talk-
ing about world peace. But world peace goes at an impartial level, you
don't select anyone, the first person, you know, and in London, I suc-
ceeded in doing lots of shakubuku on a very individual basis--people
came up to talk to me. And asked me things for no reason. I mean, you
know, that you would see or --- there were no grounds for it, you know.
And from there started a relationship and from there they would ask you
know what you did. And there was a communication and a sharing point.
And that's what I wish that I could do more and more and more in the kind
of field that I am in, because I do meet lots of people. And uh my you
know I've really --- If I had to say am I happy I think I couldn't be
happier than I am now and yet I know I could be more happier tomorrow
as long as I keep practicing. I keep discovering what true happiness is.
And, uh, it's very difficult, but it's fantastic.

[April 1975]

St-Pierre-Apôtre Charismatic Prayer Group

Text F

It's been a couple of weeks that I've been here, and I've had
some difficulties, but also some great joys. And then, maybe, over the
weekend --- it's true I was in [T. R.], but I think it's what I do here
that prepared me for that. I felt, for pretty much two days, like truly
the little daughter of the father. I'm not going to say how I experi-
enced that, I don't know; but that's the first time in my life that
that's happened--to really feel myself to be that little girl. So much

so that I paid no attention to anything whatever, I could allow myself just about anything.

But I found that a lot of fun --- Glory and praise to you, Lord Jesus.

[March 1976]

Text G

One, two . . .

Well, me --- the Lord has filled me and I'm very happy. I won't change my life for --- I'm happy, I'm really happy. I had a chum who didn't believe in the Lord or anything: zero, you know. Him--he believed that dope was the greatest thing in the world.

Well, recently --- he --- all that's changed. Now he wants to know who the Lord is.

[March 1976]

Text H

It's been a long time now that I haven't --- since the death of my father --- I'm feeling happy. And since I've been in the charismatics I feel good.

[March 1976]

Text I

I don't want to leave tonight without recounting what I had this week. Last week I had a call from a lady, her eighteen-year old son lost his job. He had a fight with the employer --- and she needed the salary of her son, and she said to me, "He has to get another job." And I said, "Why don't we pray that he finds one? He liked working there?" And she said, "Yes." And I said, "Let's pray that he finds one, and let's pray that he returns."

In any case, last Monday night I said that intention, that an eighteen-year old boy was looking for work, and he needed it for his family. This afternoon the lady took the trouble of coming to my place to tell me that he went to speak to the employer, that he listened a lot, and that he rehired him *[applause; "Glory to the Lord," etc.]* --- it's all you others who prayed for that last week --- *[animator: "But it's the Lord who gives"]* --- I think it's a present that I got from my seminar ---

[March 1976]

Text J

I don't want to leave without telling you all what I felt in praying [interruption] what I felt while praying just a little while ago. I was praying when, all of a sudden, my hands became sweaty, I cried, my heart skipped a beat. I look --- in my sight --- inside --- I saw Jesus on the cross, like when I go to Notre Dame de Lourdes. I look at his face and I say, "Lord, call me, I'm looking at you. Speak to me, I'm listening to you." And the Lord made me understand that I was really selfish. I was thinking of myself, I was going to get my-self grace from the Lord. And for my family--I was always thinking of reconciling my family and nothing was happening. I came to understand God should be served first. I thought about the others --- I made my-self pray for the others, neglect my family--my God! I thought a lot about the others, and prayed, and endured sufferings to do them some good, those whom I meet on my road. My God, it's still going on, it's not stopping [inaudible] did yesterday, because of the testimonial we heard. [animators interrupt with "how the Lord works wonders" and "takes us always beyond . . ."]

It's thanks to Mary, through the intermediary of Mary, because--now I remember--at our house . . . [talk interrupted].

[March 1976]

Text K

Good evening. It gives me a lot of pleasure to come with you to share a lived experience of the Lord. Lord Jesus, deign to put in my heart your love, in my spirit your spirit, and on my lips the words you' want me to say for your greater glory. Thanks to the Lord.

I confess to you that it's a little moving to speak before com-panions like you all here, with whom I've lived for --- let's see, two years that we've lived together. So, what I'm going to say, I believe that all these people have experienced it. I think that the Lord works wonders in you, and, well, we are so happy that we aren't in a mood to talk about it. But I think that it's good to talk about it.

So ---- the Lord hasn't been for me --- that is, he hasn't brought me to experience thunderbolts or explosions, but it's an exper-ience lived from day to day in which I've felt the continuous presence of the Lord, who never leaves us. So, he's with us to explain our doubts--at these times he augments our faith. That's what he did for me. And confidence and joy, too.

And December 12th, '75, I was invited for two weeks to [J. V.] and I was so happy because I wanted to go there to pray for the people and then, well, I was caught up in something.---- I don't need anything myself. I told the Lord: "I'm going to pray for other people."

And so we were three or four companions--it went very well, the atmosphere was truly good. And then during a eucharistic celebration ---

I should tell you right away that since I was skeptical about the epistle of Saint Paul which says "you will receive charisms; there will be gifts of knowledge," etc., -/- I heard Père /R./ at Marie Reine des Coeurs, and ⸻ oh, there was a crowd of people in the hall, there were a lot of people who were supposed to have the gifts of healing, and I was really skeptical. I didn't believe any of that at all. Well, look: a nurse who's always living with doctors and sick people, I can't start distrusting medicine and doctors. But we live in making a mentality for ourselves; you need to /inaudible/ in all kinds of things which will cure us. Anyway, I was skeptical about this.

So, I went to /J. V./ and all of a sudden I became aware ⸻ it came to my ears—I was in front—and I heard someone say, "There is a person in the room who is suffering from /medical term/ and the Lord wants to cure this person." I felt someone was behind me, so I looked to see if Père /R./ wasn't there ⸻ it seemed to be him. Anyway, it wasn't him ⸻ or someone who had received the gift of knowledge or like that, the gift of healing ⸻

So two or three things like that happened. And I was always turning around, out of curiousity, to see what was going on ⸻ 'cause I saw that I was really lacking a spirit of faith, because it's really with simplicity, believing in what the Lord gives to people. So he says, "There's a person in the room who is suffering from a circulatory malady in the left leg." I was still turning around looking everywhere when I heard that. Then I felt a warmth which started rising from my feet right up to my knees ⸻ and then I lost faith, probably, because it stopped there.

I didn't realize that I was crying: huge tears, and then my whole series of guilts went past, and the Lord ⸻ it's as if he said to me, "You lack fait⸺" So ⸻ in fact, the message was heard in my ears, not verbally, but in any case he said, "Do you want to look at what I've been doing with you?" Oh, well, then it was /inaudible/ ⸻ I said nothing at all, it was the great silence. Anyway, it continued; the ceremony unfolded.

Then we went to lunch and that intrigued me a little. I didn't say anything to my companions; I kept that to myself ⸺ I said, "I'm going to study that." OK.

Then in the afternoon we had another meeting, we continued to pray. Then, afterwards, we had a break and I said, "Where is the man who ⸻ " I absolutely needed to see him. And I got near him and I said, "Is it you who ⸻ " He said, "Yes. But it's not me, it's the Lord after all. It's not me." And I said, "Who told you that my legs hurt like that?" He said, "No one. It's the Lord. Alleluia." Well. And I didn't want to accept that—he seemed pretty sensible, too. But that was really a doubt.

And it went on like that. And I said, "Will you pray over me? Because, frankly, I have no faith at all, none at all ⸻ and it stopped at the knees ⸻ and everything, and I felt paralyzed." Anyway, I had a lot of confidence that he would pray over me.

And he said, "I'm going to ask you one thing: if you'll give a testimonial." Well, I turned pale. And the eucharist started once again in the afternoon and, well, I spoke about it like this. And the Holy Spirit --- you know he is among us and he speaks loudly. And --- another person, the person started to heal this morning--to be healed-- and let there be confidence that the Lord is working his work.

Anyway, he did it very, very well, because I no longer have any circulatory trouble, and that kept me from sleeping and hurt a lot. And it's with you all that I'd like to sing an alleluia.

[March 1976]

Text L

I don't really know how to start. If that says something to [inaudible], that says something to everyone. It was really --- I've been witness to great marvels, I've got to say frankly. And I don't know where to start ---

I joined this here movement during August, last summer, and I was healed too, a little like the Sister, there. And since that time: well, you've got to say that something has really hit me. I don't miss my hour every day, I tell you. And then after that, since I'm Provincial I traveled a lot and took care of the missions. I spent a month at [inaudible] last autumn, and we started a prayer group. And the Lord truly descended into the group; he didn't do any miracles, like healings, but the group was really caught up. --- It fused them in charity. It's really extraordinary. That struck me. There are always frictions in a little community like that --- but everyone's united like if you took two candle stubs and put them together to make one candle to give light and heat. That's the first thing I witnessed and [inaudible] about that --- about the testimony which that brings.

And then, since November, I've been obliged to replace a curé in [place] in Northern Ontario because the Father is sick, he's at St-Agathe currently --- And we started another prayer group there. We didn't start big, but very small. And there were others who preceded us, the Pentecostalists came in. Pentecostalists --- the Pentecostalist movement, Protestants --- I don't really know. Anyway, it was prayer. --- It wasn't a church, but a group.

Anyway, they went into the Indian reserve. And, let me tell you, that caught on over there. Hey! In the space of three months --- there used to be drinking on the reserve --- you saw people all beat up, faces smashed, guys killing themselves --- wow, there was always something different. Well, all of that came down on me at the rectory, and ---

Well, the Pentecostalists came in and they got the people to pray and they talked about the gospel and the Lord Jesus and, well, it got going --- And they started circulating a kind of blacklist so they wouldn't go looking for booze. But in the end, all that was taken care of, and those people have started praying just about every evening

until midnight, one o'clock. And they sing to the Lord --- I've never had an evening like it. It's true.

And after that, I got a prayer group going among the whites. But that --- that's not going too quickly. But there's one thing --- Just, just before leaving, it was the last seminar--the seminar on the life of the Spirit in different parts--and then the last Sunday we did a prayer evening, maybe a dozen of us or so. And, well, a woman came and she had a very particular intention, a real experience with a couple. It was going badly, the guy was drinking a lot, he was fighting with the police --- he was caught stealing by the police and he got his knee broken. And then after that he was gonna lost his job at the mine, there's a mine up there. And everything was going wrong. And she got us to pray for that, and we prayed.

Well, the next day--I was leaving at noon--at eleven o'clock she called me and said, "They've patched it up. The guy and his wife are doing fine, they're together, they're happy." And he went to the mine and his boss told him, "Take all the time you need, six weeks for it to heal, and take care of it." And the guy said, "My knee's OK, it doesn't hurt any more, I'm tops." It's all taken care of. And I ---, it's unbelievable, do you believe it?

It's all those encouragements like that that I've had since last autumn in this prayer movement. Well, I offer glory all the time, all the time. But there's only one thing we should watch for: you need to pray [inaudible], for instance. And, if I might give you some advice for praying: we should glorify God but often lift up the sacrifice of Christ towards the eternal father, for him to deliver us from the enemy. And by the blood of Christ --- that's where it's at. Anyway, that's what I do every day and I advise you to do that if you want the movement to spread.

[March 1976]

Text M

Thank you very much. Since I like to speak at the mike, that's why I've come here [to the front]. So that --- also, I can say that I'm happy to come to the mike to say ---'perhaps proclaim, what went on during the seminar --- because I really would like to express what went on because I see that there was a work of God and of the people all around because, well, there was, well, prayer and goodness.

In fact, at the beginning of the seminars --- I think it went OK at the first one. But the second--even after the first one I said to myself, I felt that I really didn't have peace, I even wanted to discontinue. So, it was then that I [asked?] to exchange --- because --- to exchange about each seminar, so that I decided to follow all the way to the end --- because, truly, I was at the end of things.

Now, I tell myself --- also, a taste for prayer--why I was reticent in face of the seminars was that --- I tell myself, when there was question of God loving us, then, I hit a little barrier because I

didn't believe in prayer more or less. Which meant that God couldn't love me due to the fact that I didn't pray.

In fact, this idea of the love of God, well, made me truly reticent. So, after, well, having made an act of abandon to God and having understood the state I was in --- well, the feeling for prayer came back, so that after having prayed together, and over me too, I spent half a day in prayer at the little chapel Notre Dame de Lourdes. So, I felt that the feeling for prayer came back to me easily enough. I thank the Lord.

[March 1976]

Text N

I could perhaps speak, huh, of the lady's daughter? And you can say if you see, OK, Madame [L.]?

Well, her daughter was sick and I asked to pray for her and, and we prayed and made faith in the Lord, and I think that the Lord heard our prayers. I'm telling you about this also so that --- How many children do you have there? Fifteen children living. She has fifteen children living. [applause] I think there are still seven living at home, eh? Six? There are seven.

Anyway, that's the reason I wanted to speak to you about this because I [inaudible] this person very much, as you can imagine and I know that she's done a lot. And there is one of her daughters which is very sick --- Elisabelle --- for only two or three years --- What? For five years? Well, since the death of her brother she's started to have epileptic seizures. And it was up to ten or fifteen times per week. And it wasn't very pretty, eh?

So we prayed for her, we recommended her to the group here and since that time she hasn't had one seizure, she had only --- she had two. Well. She says that she went to the hospital and her seizures are controlled and she has no more epilepsy. For, I think the Lord has truly worked wonders, because I'm sure that he really loves this family, this person, and wanted a lot to comfort you and help you, eh? So, this is a wonder of the Lord, seems to me.

[March 1976]

Text O

I've got another one, maybe, real quickly: Well, it's about a young man who --- I think I told you about him; he had an accident and his liver was sliced in two—a car accident. And, with it cut in two he was finished.

So I went to give him extreme unction. And I recommended him to the group, I think. I went to give him extreme unction. And I said to him afterwards, "Oh, it's going to be alright, it's all over. I think the Lord's going to help you." I told him that:

And the nurse took me aside and said, "You know miracles? I've seen them, there are miracles. But he's finished." And they gave me the papers and made me sign the extreme unction papers to give to his parents after his death in order to prove that he had extreme unction before dying.

So he was in this state for about three weeks and he weighed about seventy-five pounds--he was a guy about as tall as I am. For three weeks he was continually bleeding ----he had a tube for the blood around like this --- and his liver wasn't --- half his liver was destroyed and he had a bottle of blood which was refilled I-don't-know-how-many times a day and they gave him blood at the other end. Three weeks like that and there was nothing to be done.

Good --- Everything happened at once. in two days he was "saved"--we can say. The doctors --- he changed doctors, his [inaudible] was running and they wanted to keep him there and wanted him to die there. In any case, the next day everything opened up and he's saved since that time.

And I told him --- because he's not really --- uh, believing --- and, I don't know --- his family isn't really --- well, "it's a mess," like they say about those situations --- just like a lot of families. Anyway, I told him, "You'd be dead, you know, if it weren't for the people praying for you." Because I asked people to pray for him and I'm certain it's true that --- we can --- I don't know --- bring pressure on the will of God even if it tempts him, like we saw in the gospel earlier. He says, "Oh, you're waiting for prodigies and signs from me, eh? You didn't believe, so you don't have any." But it's when it's not just knowing the "why" of Jesus--when on the contrary, it's a work of faith in Jesus that we make--when we pray, precisely because we have faith --- I think it's a lot different from praying to have faith. And over again, if it's true.

So, I wanted to say that earlier, as a reaction to the gospel. I think the Lord is happy when we pray in a faith experience because we know how much the Lord loves this person and will do something for him.

So, in any case, I told him and I think he understood ---. I helped him to walk the other day--when I went to see him it was his first step--and he said, "[J.], with you I've got confidence --- I know I'm gonna walk." So, if he starts to believe me, and in priests, and maybe in God ---And I think he's starting to understand something in all of this. I have the impression that the Lord's going to touch him with his healing; he's going to realize how much God has loved him. Thanks.

[March 1976]

Text P

Over the weekend my husband left for the country. And I said, "Well, you know, you're going away and I'm going to stay--I'm going to rest. And that's fine."

My sisters were supposed to go see one of my relatives who just got out of the hospital. Well, she got sick. So, my other sister --- well, she couldn't go, she wasn't feeling well, I'm going to go in her place. So that's fine.

My sister had a fever, she's nearly 102--almost 103--and she telephoned to tell me: "I can't go. I can't leave my sister like that. Can you go and replace the three of us?" They all fell sick--all three of them--in the same week. And, so --- well --- I was the best of the four.

So I went to sleep and I got up. And I got dressed and I went to take the train to Ottawa.

And during my trip over the weekend, there was a person who --- I underwent a trial, anyway, and I really think that if I hadn't come to the charismatics, I would've been really, really mean. I would've been really mean in my speech. But like they say, I said nothing. I told all my sisters, I accepted these trials which really hurt me, but in thinking of the Holy Spirit and the charismatics. So I was OK. I tried to hide the thing and, well, to fix it up. As long as these people had gone ---

I was with my sister last week who came last week when I was in the country at my sister's place, after these people had gone, my sister said to me, "I don't recognize you any more, our little sister. You have really changed so much that I thought you couldn't stay quiet in front of what was said to you. I congratulate you." Well, I said, "Thank the person who took me to the charismatics, first of all, then all the group, because I didn't recognize myself." And she said, "It was really hard, but I tell you [inaudible] we didn't recognize you, it's you but you're not the same and I hope, I pray that continues."

That's my testimonial.

[March 1976]

APPENDIX 2

THE MAN AND THE LIZARD[1]

"A tale passed along by devotees seems to epitomize their experience of their minds after some months of meditation. The story is a once-upon-a-time tale, in which a man travels through most of his life with a lizard on his shoulder, whose opinion he respects above all else. For years he goes where the lizard suggests and shifts course with the lizard's whims. If they go to the city, the lizard acquires a quick dislike of cities and demands that they go to the country; if they go to the country, the lizard becomes bored.

"One day the lizard tells the man that he's heard of a great train ride one can take to a place called Heaven, a perfect place. 'Let's catch that train,' says the lizard, 'I'm tired of this place.' The man agrees, as is his habit. As they begin to board the train, the conductor stops them. 'No lizards allowed on this train,' he says; 'you'll have to leave that lizard behind if you want to come.' The man steps off the train unhappily and the lizard protests, 'Hide me in your breast pocket,' hisses the lizard; 'I want to take this train.' So the man hides the lizard and boards the train. When the train is well under way, and the man is thoroughly and happily engrossed by the scenery, the lizard slips out of his pocket and onto his shoulder. 'This isn't so great,' complains the lizard. 'Is this all you've seen so far?' 'I like it,' says the man firmly. 'Well, I don't,' frets the lizard. 'Let's get off at the next stop.' They are still arguing when the conductor pops up and spots the lizard on the man's shoulder. 'We don't allow lizards on this train,' he reminds the man. 'Either get rid of that thing or get off the train.' The lizard suggests they get off, happy that the confrontation suits his purpose; but the man hesitates, then looks defeated and unable to reject the companion to which he is so habituated. He looks despairingly at the conductor, who tears the lizard from his shoulder and flings it from the train. The lizard's back breaks and he turns into a beautiful white stallion. The conductor places the man on the stallion and gives it a hit on the rear, and the man rides off to Heaven on its back.

"Not too subtly, the lizard is the mind, the train is Maharaj Ji's knowledge, and the conductor is Maharaj Ji. Devotees love this tale, particularly the part where the man tries to hide the lizard and take it with him on the ride. The joke is on themselves, since they

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[1] Messer, "Guru Maharaj Ji and the Divine Light Mission," pp. 58-59.

have certainly not broken any lizard backs yet; and they love it, presumably because they can at least dimly comprehend the distinction between the mind and the man, a liberating comprehension once one begins to enjoy it. The suggestion that the mind should serve the man, like a stallion, and not the reverse, has also become comprehensible to practicing devotees, most of whom have begun to understand their goal in similar terms. All are convinced, because they experience it intermittently, that it is possible to become a perfect instrument of God, a perfect servant, if one can only shut the lizard up long enough to hear the Father calling. Response to the Father, they insist, is natural and spontaneous, if one hears his voice over the static in the mind. Meditation, then, becomes at minimum a technique for quieting the mind so that one can hear the truth from its Creator and then obey. In hearing and obeying is the 'bliss' of which the scriptures speak, but which they cannot transmit, because words transmit information about experience, not the experience itself."

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