Speaking in tongues and other gifts of the Holy Spirit: A study in possession

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SPEAKING IN TONGUES AND OTHER GIFTS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT:
A STUDY IN POSSESSION

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Belief in possession, both divine and demoniacal, is becoming increasingly prevalent in Western society. The most salient example is possession by the Holy Spirit found in the Pentecostal and charismatic movements. The purpose of this thesis is to elucidate the similarities and dissimilarities between this form of possession and other forms of possession. To accomplish this, extensive library research was done on the subjects of Pentecostalism, glossolalia, and possession in general. Concurrently field research was undertaken in the area, Missoula, Montana, by attending Pentecostal services and a Bible study group, and conducting interviews. Observations made in the field allowed assessment of the literature. It was found that, at least in modern day Pentecostal and charismatic movements, glossolalia is not a pathological product of stress but a therapeutic response to it. The range of gifts associated with possession by the Holy Spirit is continuous with and overlaps with the "gifts" that result from other forms of possession. No aspect of possession by the Holy Spirit occurs without a non-Pentecostal equivalent. The differences are primarily due to beliefs about possession. The research revealed that forms of possession do not easily fit into distinct types, but that all forms of possession have certain variables and certain constants in common. It was found reasonable to assume that the possessing entity is not a truly external one but is instead, postulated by Jung, to be the "subliminal self," posing in the guise of the individual's belief system for the purpose of the integration of the ego. Thus it may be that all forms of possession are at least potentially therapeutic. It was concluded that this "subliminal self" has a volitional and omniscient character and tries to maintain the illusion of a separate and external entity, conveying a sense of authority. It was observed that many Pentecostal beliefs appear to be religious abstractions of psychological truths.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Pentecostalism has been described as the "Third Force" in Christianity. This was a phase first introduced by Van Dusen (1958) to describe a group of denominations distinct from Catholicism and the rest of Protestantism, and has since been used by others (Damboriena 1966, Smylie 1979, Synan 1982). Central to the theology of these denominations is a belief in possession by the Holy Spirit, the main characteristic by which it is defined. For the adherents of the Pentecostal and charismatic movements, this is viewed as a positive and beneficial state, much sought after and desired as a rite of passage into the movement as a whole. Glossolalia, or speaking in tongues, is considered by traditional Pentecostals to be the sign that one has indeed been "filled with the Holy Spirit." Such possession may continue to manifest its presence with the evidence of certain other gifts as well.

This is the most salient example of how belief in possession is now becoming increasingly prevalent in Western society (Bourguignon 1976:4). At least superficially, possession by the Holy Spirit resembles other forms of possession around the world which are ultimately psychologically and socially therapeutic. Because of its increasing prevalence, this behavior should be studied specifically as a form of possession, and it is important to know how similar it is to other forms of ritual,
ceremonial, and therapeutic possession found in other societies.

Extensive library research on Pentecostalism and glossolalia revealed no reference to this type of comparison, other than those of a very brief and often speculative nature. This research will attempt to fill this gap.

**Theory**

When the Pentecostal movement began growing in the early twentieth century, it recruited almost exclusively from the lower classes. The majority of theories attributed membership to the presence of social disorganization (Holt 1940, Kiev 1964), deprivation (Clark 1949, Elinson 1965), and the hypothesis that Pentecostalism functioned to socialize its adherents to the dominant values of the society (Dearman 1974, Johnson 1961). Holt suggested that it may function towards social reintegration (1940), and Lapsley hinted that it might produce temporary personality integration (1964b), but apart from these exceptions the older theories rarely admitted any personally therapeutic effects beyond being a compensatory device. Social disorganization and deprivation theories may indeed have been a valid assessment at the time and may still apply in the Third World, but since World War II the combined Pentecostal and charismatic movements have crossed class, economic, and educational boundaries.

Jacquith 1967). Many of these state that pathology, crises, or stress are not always the reasons for joining. Harrison, for example, states that for many, personal relationships are the source of attraction to the movement (1974). Others state that those attracted to the movement have experienced no greater psychopathology than normal (Lovekin et al. 1977, Garrison 1974, Hine 1969, Spanos et al. 1979) and have no single personality type (Gerlach et al. 1968, Pattison 1974). Both psychological and sociological studies lean toward viewing it as a force for positive change, not only for the individual but for society as well (Garrison 1974, McDonnell 1968, Griffith 1980, Gerlach 1974, Pattison et al. 1980, Goodman 1972, 1973, Sherrill 1964, Lovekin 1977).

This thesis, however, will focus more on glossolalia and the other gifts manifested by possession by the Holy Spirit than on reasons for participation. Here again, the older studies tended to be negative, giving psychologically pathological explanations for the behavior (Kiev 1964, Clark 1949, Lapsley et al. 1964). They characteristically described glossolalia as occurring exclusively in altered states of consciousness, with the biased assumption that these states are abnormal, therefore pathological. Another class of theories saw glossolalia as occurring only in trance but as a therapeutic response to normal stresses as well as pathological conditions. Felicitas Goodman's 1972 theory of glossolalia as an artifact of trance is an example. Still another class of theories described glossolalia as a regressive experience (Lapsley et al. 1964b, Samarin 1973), that is, a regression to infantile babble. Various other theories seem more appropriately classed in the "off-the-wall" category, such as that describing glossolalia as an amalgamation
of laughing and crying (Hutch 1980).

Library research into more recent studies shows a trend toward fewer pathological explanations following the trend of a more positive attitude towards Pentecostalism in general, and the recognition that explanations of social disorganization and deprivation alone are inadequate to explain its phenomenal growth (Johnson 1961, Gerlach et al. 1968, 1974, Wilson 1981, Sherrill 1964, Simpson 1974, Gerrison 1974, Westley 1977, Harrison 1974, Hine 1969, Pattison 1974, Ward et al. 1981, Sadler 1964). These, first of all, do not automatically assume altered states of consciousness to be abnormal or pathological. Secondly they recognize that glossolalia is by no means restricted only to trance states. More specifically, it may occur under conditions of hypoarousal as well as hyperarousal and the entire spectrum in between (Hine 1969, Maslow 1964, Fischer 1971, Hutch 1980, Kelsey 1981). The most prolific researcher espousing these views is W. Samarin (1968, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1979). Other theories describe glossolalia as a form of automaism (Lapsley et al. 1964a, 1964b). Still others deal with the phenomenon as a form of communicative behavior and compare its similarities and dissimilarities to conventional language (Samarin 1968, 1969, 1979, Jacquith 1967, Laffal 1974). A further class of theories deals with the psychological source (Kelsey 1981, Sadler 1964, Lapsley 1964b). Pentecostals and charismatics, of course, believe the source ultimately to be God. The older studies typically assumed the source to be an irrational unconscious, following a Freudian trend, whereas the newer studies see the source as the "extra-rational unconscious, viewing it positively and recognizing the apparent "divine" nature of the
messages and the apparent "miracles" that can come from that direction. An example of this approach is Morton Kelsey (1964), a Jungian psychologist, who stresses the incredible nature of the resources within the unconscious.

Other theories deal with the extent to which glossolalia is learned and the extent to which it is spontaneously acquired (Hine 1969, Spanos 1979, Goodman 1972). These compare and contrast the degree to which glossolalia speech is universal, culturally stereotypic, and personally idiosyncratic. Some analyses further focus on the evolution of personal glossolalia over time (Goodman 1973, 1974, Samarin 1969, 1971, 1979). All these later studies, however, describe how glossolalia is therapeutic and functions towards greater personality integration.

The research on possession in general relies heavily on the classic descriptive book on the phenomenon by T.K. Oesterreich (1966) and the comprehensive cross-cultural classificatory work of Erika Bourguignon (1976). Generally, possession is often divided, in etic terms, into those forms which are positive and therapeutic, which are the subject of this thesis, and those forms which are pathological and "demonic." But as we shall see, even these two types cannot always be clearly distinguished. Bourguignon distinguishes between possession belief and possession trance (1976:5-10). Other examples are Oesterreich's (1966) distinction between spontaneous versus voluntary possession; Ward's distinction between ritual versus peripheral possession; and both Oesterreich (1966) and Peter's (1980, 1982) between somnambulistic versus lucid possession. All the above theories mentioned generally so far will be discussed in greater detail throughout the thesis.
The hypothesis presented here is that Pentecostal glossolalia around the world shows a whole spectrum from Bourguignon's positive non-trance possession to her possession trance, and that possession by the Holy Spirit is only one example of ritual ceremonial possession which has therapeutic effects. Lastly it is suggested that the "gifts of the Holy Spirit" and its cross-cultural parallels have an identical source in an extra-rational unconscious, having a volitional quality, ultimately working for the positive integration of the conscious ego, and an omniscient character.

Field Methodology

The strategy of this thesis was to do extensive library research on the subjects of Pentecostalism, glossolalia, and possession in general. Field research was done to provide original data and to assess the validity of the conclusions presented in the literature as they were confirmed or disconfirmed by my own field data, and by so doing test the hypotheses outlined above. The field work consisted of attending services and Bible studies and conducting interviews. In the first two activities, I functioned as a participant observer, while the last activity was for the purpose of accumulating the "hard" data for the thesis. The entire data collection took eight months, from June 1983 to March 1984.

The "field" consisted of the local Missoula, Montana area, in which there were eight congregations belonging to either the Pentecostal or the charismatic movements. They are as follows: the Pentecostal Church of God - Garden City Chapel; the United Pentecostal Church - Faith
Tabernacle, the only "Jesus' Name" non-Trinitarian church in town; Missoula Community Chapel, the only non-denominational Pentecostal church in town; Assembly of God - Glad Tidings; Assembly of God - Christian Life Center; Foursquare Church - Northside Chapel; Community Covenant Church, the only non-Pentecostal charismatic church in town; and Mary, Seat of Wisdom Catholic charismatic prayer group. All churches were attended at least four times during this period and some as many as eight times, totaling more than forty services. Over this time I observed and participated in regular services, as well as special functions such as healing/evangelical services, baptisms, a dinner soliciting money for missionary efforts, and district fellowships. This gave me an overview of the variations in the Pentecostal/charismatic context of fellowship and ideology. The context includes style of worship, theology, preaching, praying and praising styles, and the use of music, singing, and testimony. In addition, tracts, pamphlets, and magazines were collected from each church to supplement my observations. From one church I also obtained a taped sermon on the baptism of the Holy Spirit and a tape of a series of prophecies, glossolalia discourses, and interpretations.

The Bible study I attended was associated with the Garden City Chapel. This allowed me to get to know several Pentecostal people on a more personal level and observe how their religion functioned as a positive or integrating force in their lives. These people were also more open to me about their personal testimonies and shared many of their experiences of baptism by the Holy Spirit and how the gifts were manifested in their lives day to day. The topics discussed during the
eight months included a survey of all the classic nine gifts of the Holy Spirit and the fruits of the Holy Spirit.

As stated before, the sixteen interviews I conducted provided the "hard" data for the thesis. I began by interviewing one pastor from every congregation. Thus I was able to get an idea of the makeup of their congregation and theology, but this also had the additional benefit of gaining permission to observe their congregations and being welcomed and introduced to them. The remaining eight interviews attempted to sample the members of the congregations from as wide a variety of backgrounds as possible. For example, there were some who were brought up as Pentecostal, some converted from other traditional denominations, and some with no church background at all. In age, they ranged from early twenties to over sixty. There were some who had been religious all their lives, some who had gone through a period of "backsliding," some who had been struggling with alcoholism, and some drawn from the drug culture. Their backgrounds also ranged from a man converted from Islam to a woman converted from witchcraft. A standard list of questions was used in each interview but was modified depending to whom I was talking. Basically I was interested in their belief system, their personal testimonies of their lives and how Pentecostalism had changed them, and their personal experiences of the baptism by the Holy Spirit and the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

In the attempt to find cross-cultural parallels to the gifts of the Holy Spirit I interviewed a Cheyenne Indian, a member of the Native American Church. I also observed drumming ceremonies which were not regular peyote meetings but did include much ritual and prayer. The
resulting informal contacts revealed personal testimonies of life changes, "miracles," and apparent divine interventions, similar to those reported in Pentecostalism and the charismatic movement.

The corresponding library research on cross-cultural parallels to possession by the Holy Spirit did reveal many similarities with other forms of therapeutic possession around the world. It also, as hypothesized, revealed certain common characteristics with other forms of therapeutic possession.

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter One introduces the thesis by stating the problem considered, the previously existing theoretical approaches, and the field methodology used to assess the library research. Chapter Two begins with a history of the Pentecostal and charismatic movements. It is brief as it is meant only to provide a temporal context in which to talk about possession by the Holy Spirit. The Pentecostal movement is then described in terms of subjective beliefs and values. This is important as it will be suggested that many of these beliefs are religious abstractions of psychological "truths." Next a spectrum of objective theories concerning the movement is presented, followed by a summary of the consensus in defense of Pentecostalism as a force for positive change. Chapter Three describes the Pentecostal services and how beliefs and values are interrelated with styles of worship.

Chapter Four concentrates on glossolalia itself and its correlative gift of interpretation. A brief history of Christian glossolalia is presented, again merely to provide a temporal context, followed by a
description of subjective Christian beliefs about tongues. In describing their subjective experience of tongues, particular attention is given to how tongues is first acquired by the individual and how it evolves over time. Next the objective theories about tongues and the objective descriptions of tongues are related. Chapter Five discusses the remaining classic gifts of the Holy Spirit, emphasizing their "miraculous" nature.

Chapter Six compares the cross-cultural examples of possession to possession by the Holy Spirit. Data is drawn from a wide range of Christian possession phenomena that exist around the world, with the intent of showing that this range overlaps with manifestations of other forms of possession. A description of non-Christian examples of tongues world-wide illustrates this. Next, the importance of the social context to the type of possession is stressed. Various attempts at the classification of possession are presented and assessed, followed by a description of the characteristics of possession world-wide. The gifts and other specific aspects of possession by the Holy Spirit are then compared to parallels with other forms of possession. Finally, the common denominators of all forms of possession are given.
Pentecostalism, the "third force" in Christianity, is sometimes referred to as the "Third Great Awakening" (Smylie 1979:32). This refers to the movement's historical roots in two previous "awakenings" or spiritual revivals in America. The First Great Awakening in the American colonies had its roots in the Spirit Movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This movement was also known as Quietism among Roman Catholics, Pietism among Continental Protestants, and Methodism in England (Smylie 1979:34). It was mainly Methodism, through John Wesley and his teaching on Entire Sanctification, and Calvinism that gave birth to the American version (Warburton 1969:131). Jonathan Edwards became the most prominent figure of the First Great Awakening, stressing the Calvinist concept of sanctification. A renewal in the development of classic revivalism marked the beginning of the Second Great Awakening at the Cane Ridge camp meetings of 1801 in Kentucky. Charles Finney became the central figure of this movement, teaching that Christians need only become perfect in intentions of behavior in order for God to grant the power to be sanctified (Smylie 1979:36). This was a more hopeful message than the previous Awakening expounded. Nevertheless, both Awakenings formed the tradition called the "Holiness Movement."
The Holiness Movement was characterized by the tenets of moral perfection or sanctification, the literal interpretation of the Bible, and the conversion experience or salvation. Except for the Shakers and Mormons, glossolalia was not a prominent part of the Holiness Movement (Smylie 1979:37). It was with the addition of "baptism of the Holy Spirit" to the practices of sanctification and salvation that the Pentecostal movement was born (Kelsey 1981:73). The birthplace of Pentecostalism is considered to be Topeka, Kansas in 1901 where a group, led by Methodist minister Charles Parham, rediscovered speaking in tongues in the scriptures as a sign of the baptism by the Holy Spirit (Smylie 1979:37). Parham later formed two Bible schools, one in Topeka and one in Houston, Texas to teach this new theology. Out of the Houston school came W. J. Seymour, a Negro Holiness preacher, who established a church on Azusa Street in Los Angeles from which the Pentecostal movement effectively spread. By 1908 Seymour's church became exclusively Black, and the Pentecostal movement in general had divided into Black and White parts. Both parts grew rapidly until, in 1972, there were approximately two hundred Pentecostal denominations in the United States (Simpson 1974:203, 206). Pentecostalism has become the most important Protestant movement in Latin America (Goodman et al. 1974:248).

For the first half of the twentieth century, Pentecostalism seemed to be restricted to the poor and uneducated, and to the lower classes in general. By the early 1960s, however, class boundaries began to be crossed, beginning what is called "neo-Pentecostalism." At the same time, the phenomenon of possession by the Holy Spirit began to cross traditional
denominal boundaries, creating the "charismatic movement." Primary responsibility for the latter is given to Episcopalian vicar, Dennis J. Bennett (Smylie 1979:40).

Despite the rapid growth, there has been much antagonism directed against Pentecostalism by other Protestant leaders. Some other fundamentalists label it "the work of the Devil" (Phillips 1964:2). Even some who attend Pentecostal services feel victimized by subtly aggressive behavior, such as having to raise up hands, hug other people, and listen to the testimonies of others (Roe 1978:81-82). Episcopalian Bishop James Pike of California issued a pastoral letter in 1963 blasting the practice as "dangerous to the peace and unity of the church" and a "threat to sound doctrine and policy" (Phillips 1964:2). He further stated that it is sometimes associated with schizophrenia, and in short, called it "heresy in embryo" (Kelsey 1981:120-121). Even the Catholic Bishop in Montreal in charge of the charismatic renewal is quoted as calling charismatics "a bunch of kooks" (Westley 1977:937). Other common complaints are that glossolalia takes away emphasis from the sacraments and the ordered liturgical life (Sadler 1964:85), that it encourages spiritual pride, and that there is danger of its abuse and outright counterfeit (Phillips 1967:5).

The threat that the traditional denominations feel by the charismatic movement is largely unfounded, however. Many of their constituents do not want to leave their churches, but rather they want to bring the tongues experience into them. They do not transplant the fundamentalist Pentecostal theology into their denominations but instead develop a theology of tongues more congenial to their own doctrine and style of
worship (Kelsey 1981:95-96).

The Catholic charismatics are an example of those who see this as "developmental change" rather than "revolutionary change." However, if they are confronted by enough prejudice this may force them to "burn bridges" and leave the Church (Gerlach 1974:685-686). Most of them justify the change with Pope John Paul XXIII's call for a "New Pentecost," although he was referring to the 2nd Vatican Council in 1959 rather than glossolalia specifically. It was a plea for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit which would restore the church to its original freshness and simplicity at birth (O'Hanlon 1963:634). Shortly after this, in the spring of 1967, apparently an outgrowth of the "Cursillo" movement (Westley 1977:926), the Catholic charismatic movement began, centered in Ann Arbor and the Catholic universities of Duquesne and Notre Dame (Kelsey 1981:xiii). It now claims to involve millions of Catholics in over 100 nations around the world (Synan 1982:193). Recruitment into the movement seems to be primarily through existing social networks. Personal relationships serve as channels of information, a source of attraction to the movement, and provide examples which lend plausibility to the claims. For this reason the movement defies explanations of recruitment from those experiencing crises and deprivation (Harrison 1974:49). Formal training is also given within the Catholic Church in a seven-week period of indoctrination called the Life in the Spirit Seminar (McDonnell 1975:148). About all that remains in common with traditional Pentecostal theology is a belief in life as a struggle between opposing forces, that man alone is powerless, and that evil forces abound (Bord et al. 1975:264).
Pentecostals and charismatics seem to be well aware of the distinctions between them. In an interview, Pentecostal pastor HCK defined the charismatic movement as one which transcends denominational boundaries. JGD, also a Pentecostal pastor, holds no antagonism against charismatics, even though he recognizes them as being generally wealthier and better educated. In fact, he holds an office in an interdenominational group of ministers. In spite of this there can be antagonism even within the Pentecostal movement. They often disagree widely with each other and look with disapproval on each other's type of worship (Van Dusen 1958:113). For example, Pastor JGD told me snake handlers are supposedly a Pentecostal sect, but most Pentecostals would not endorse that kind of activity. On the other hand, SCD, a pastor from the charismatic movement, holds no antagonism against the Pentecostals but is emphatic about stating that there is a difference. Therefore the Pentecostal and charismatic movements seem to be an example of divergent evolution, that nevertheless recognize their relatedness as well as their differences.

**The Pentecostal Movement**

**Pentecostal Theology and Values**

The word "Pentecostal" refers to the doctrinal recognition of the "baptism of the Holy Spirit" and the gift of speaking in tongues which is given a central place in worship (Garrison 1974:303-304). The Biblical evidence is taken from Acts 2:1-4:

And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And
they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

This event is known as "the early rain at Pentecost" which is believed to have been followed by a long period of drought, and the present "latter rain" of the Holy Spirit just before the end times (Simpson 1974:205). It is this additional stage of baptism that sets them apart from the Holiness movement and other fundamentalists.

Similar to other fundamentalists, the basic theological and moral principles of the Pentecostals deal with Scripture, salvation, demonology, ascetic morality, and eschatology (Elinson 1965:406). With regards to Scripture, they characteristically hold to a seemingly anachronistic Biblical literalism. That is, all Pentecostals teach that the Bible is the inspired word of God and its contents are infallible divine revelation (Simpson 1974:205). Many of my informal contacts added that the Holy Spirit gives the understanding of the Word. Even here, however, there is a range of opinions as to the degree of literalness in the Bible. For example, Pastor JGD admitted that as fundamentalists "we believe the Bible is God's word. Our interpretation is more literal but that is not to say that there aren't some symbolic references." Others like Pastor VFM take a more traditional view, and like MMR who said that the Bible is either "all a lie or the truth." Charismatic Pastor SCD seemed more realistic in pointing out "the ten-headed beast in Revelation. I've yet to hear anybody who believes it to be that kind of literal creature." So it would seem that all Pentecostals interpret at least some of the Bible symbolically, whether they admit it or not.

Salvation in Pentecostalism may refer to either a multi-stage process or the initial stage of that process. The first stage consists
of verbal repentence and accepting Jesus Christ into one's heart and life as one's personal savior in an act of surrender. One who made this act of commitment is labeled as "saved" or "born-again." All groups I studied unanimously held to this as the defining criterion of a Christian and a necessary prerequisite before baptism by the Holy Spirit is possible. For example, Pastor SCD views the non-Christian as one containing a "God-shaped vacuum" that can only be filled by accepting Christ in to fill it. Until then God can only work from the outside, not the inside.

The order of the remaining steps of sanctification, spirit baptism, and water baptism are not as important as long as one is saved first. Usually one is expected to receive sanctification in that he repents by deed as well as verbally. One is expected to change former behavior and give "witness to Christ" in his subsequent behavior. The change may be either spontaneous or gradual, but for the Pentecostals, it usually amounts to some degree of moral asceticism by adhering to regulations regarding smoking, drinking, gambling, personal attire, and public behavior (Damboriena 1966:220). Pentecostal doctrine also states that eternal life is a free gift given to those who repent and accept Jesus, and cannot be earned merely by good works because of the sin of Adam, or original sin, which we inherit at birth. Related to this is the common theme that God has already defeated Satan, and we have only to accept the gift of salvation that He has won for us. Accepting Jesus into your life, they believe, gives one the ability to change his/her behavior. Besides the heavenly reward for doing this, one also can expect worldly rewards as well, in the form of bodily healing and
financial prosperity. Failure to obtain these is explained theologically as the result of sin or lack of faith (Elinson 1965:407), and I would add simply "God's Will." Nowhere did I see an antagonistic attitude towards secular medicine, though Pentecostals will always seek healing through prayer, related to the doctrine of miracles, with or without the accompaniment of modern medicine (Simpson 1974:205).

Pentecostals also believe in the personified existence of Satan and his angels, demons and evil spirits, and that many persons are possessed, attacked, or influenced in some way by them (Simpson 1974:205). Thus they see life as precarious and uncertain, constantly requiring vigilance and care. They see themselves as weak and vulnerable without the power of the Holy Ghost and His protection (Wilson et al. 1981:244). In fact, they believe that Satan pursues and steps up his attack on those that have been spirit baptized (Sherrill 1964:128). Paradoxically, at the same time Pentecostals, like both Pastor VMS and BMC, don't believe that a Christian could be actually demon possessed. They agreed that you can't have both Christ and Satan in you. Likewise, Pastor HNS said the Holy Spirit and Satan do not work together because they're opposite. Pastor JGD added, however, that it could happen to backsliders or those who renounce the faith. He told me further that those who have demon reactions are identified as Pentecostals. Three of those I interviewed had personally witnessed demonic "reactions." EGL, who had been converted from witchcraft, swore to the efficacy of witchcraft and the reality of Satan and his demons though she has never seen them herself. Pastor HCK quoted scripture as saying, "There are spirits, mighty satanic beings, in the unseen world."
Thus we see that the concept of supernatural power is central to Pentecostal theology. This power is envisioned as taking the form of a spirit which takes residence inside the body. It is called the "Holy Ghost" but is equated with Jesus. It comes after repentance of sin and acceptance of Jesus, and its release with the baptism by the Holy Spirit, usually coincident with the laying on of hands by others already annotated. One must surrender to allow himself to be possessed by the Holy Ghost. This filling must be constantly maintained by fellowship with other believers and leading a "good Christian life." As Pastor VFM puts it, "God will never forsake you but you can leave him . . . you must then repent again and be regenerated or refilled with the sign of speaking in tongues." Pentecostals are distinguished from charismatics in that they believe speaking in tongues is essential as the sign of true baptism with the Holy Spirit (Kelsey 1981:75, 126).

With regard to the baptism itself, MMR explains that human beings have three parts; body, soul, and spirit. The first two are there from birth and the third enters upon becoming saved. "We are all created with a void that only God's spirit can fill . . . Salvation puts in the spirit and leads to a personal relationship with Him." Pastor SCD said, "My theology is that all Christians have the spirit, and the baptism of the spirit is the release of the empowerment of that spirit. . . . opening up a fuller more complete expression of the spirit of God. . . . giving witness in works."

As to the nature of the Holy Spirit, there is more variation. The non-Trinitarians of the United Pentecostal Church believe that God is only one person who holds three different offices. All the other
Pentecostals in town are Trinitarians who believe there are three distinct persons in one God. JGD says the Holy Spirit "is one of the three persons in God...He has a personality. Pastor VFM says, "The Holy Spirit is spirit, God's spirit." Pastor VMS says all three persons in God are spiritual persons...one in mind and in purpose." Pastor HCK admits that "I need to see Him more as a person...not as a feeling or force." Pastor HNS says that "We speak of Him as a person, but He's really a spirit." There seems to be some ambiguity as to whether the Holy Spirit is a spirit or a person, but I would say they effectively believe He is a personified spirit.

The Old Testament does not seem to be much help, either, in resolving the confusion because the words "Holy Spirit" are mentioned only three times there. However, "the Spirit" habitually made heroes of ordinary men. Joshua, David, Samson, and Saul are just a few of the numerous example. "The Spirit" had many expressions in the Old Testament and gave inspiration to the poet as well as power to the hero. There are inferences that "the Spirit" is personal but is always closely allied to the concept of power. Perhaps our best clue is that the root word for "spirit" in Hebrew is "ruah" with two distinct meanings. One is "wind" and the other is "breath." The former is an impersonal force, but the latter implies the presence of someone doing the breathing, and therefore assumes consciousness and awareness (Sherrill 1964:105-108). Pentecostals, such as Pastor VFM, rationalize the existence of those who were baptized by the Holy Spirit and without speaking in tongues before Pentecost as the Holy Spirit falling "upon" rather than moving "in." But in the Old Testament the words "fell," "filled," and "received" seem
to be used synonymously (Sherrill 1964:109).

Other doctrines central to Pentecostalism concern the "end times." They believe strongly in the "rapture (an event where all Christians will be simultaneously lifted off the face of the earth into heaven), a seven-year tribulation (a period of world-wide distress), the Anti-Christ, the Second Coming of Christ, and the millennium. They disagree as to the order of events, their timing, and the emphasis on the "end times" (Garrison 1974:305). All Pentecostals believe in the "imminent return" of Jesus. They do not know the exact time, because they quote the Bible as saying "no man may know the hour," but are quick to add that we can know the season. MCR and Pastors VFM and HNS stated the traditional belief that the rapture or "catching away of the bride of Christ" will be pre-tribulation. In other words, they believe that all born-again Christians will suddenly disappear from the earth and be taken into heaven before the seven-year tribulation in which the Anti-Christ will reign. The United Pentecostal Church believes that only their denomination will be involved. Other pastors agreed with HCK that whether the rapture is pre-, mid-, or post-tribulation is not an issue, or were unwilling to commit themselves. In contrast, the Catholic charismatic nun MES said she believed in the Second Coming but had never heard of the "rapture."

Pentecostals also have a variety of opinions on the date the "rapture" will occur. Pastor VFM exclaimed in a sermon that "I would be very surprised if we saw the end of this year on the earth!" Others were not as extreme but believed it would be soon, certainly within our lifetimes. None thought it would occur later than the year 2,000.
Pentecostal Pastor HNS told me there is scriptural evidence for a pre-tribulation "rapture." Contrary to him, charismatic Pastor SCD told me there was no scriptural evidence for any "rapture" at all. He said belief in a "rapture" is "unscriptural and a middle class, first-world theology, an attempt of those with comfortable middle class lives to escape the suffering of the tribulation." Furthermore, he said, "The number seven symbolizes "full" . . . The tribulation is occurring now, to the whole world. The powers of the beast are already present, in the powers and principalities that the churches of Asia faced then and are present now."

Pentecostal ideology is intimately associated with Pentecostal values. For example, since the Bible is the literal word of God which becomes revealed or quickened in the hands of those possessed by the Holy Spirit, it sometimes becomes the antithesis of formal education (Austin 1981:235). Others (Dearman 1974:444, Elinson 1965:409, Garrison 1974:320) also describe an anti-intellectualism in Pentecostalism. The United Pentecostal Church was the only place where I personally witnessed an anti-intellectual sentiment and an attitude devaluing education. I think that it would be more correct to say that Pentecostals simply regard the Bible as the primary and final authority rather than totally rejecting secular sources of knowledge. Many Pentecostals told me God can work through these other sources as well.

This view is best exemplified by the Pentecostal attitude toward modern medicine. At the least it will be accepted for diagnostic purposes (Elinson 1965:409) and usually Pentecostals will openly patronize medical facilities (Garrison 1974:320). Modern medicine and
divine healing are not thought to be mutually exclusive (Kiev 1964:135). In any case, the cure is believed to come ultimately from, and to be dependent upon, the Will of God (Austin 1981:237).

Economic and financial blessings are also seen as coming from God. Paradoxically, "while they appear to disparage worldly material goods they do not disparage economic gains" (Garrison 1974:322). "While their 'Christ-like' life may be somewhat ascetic, it is not necessarily one of pacifism, sacrifice, humility, and poverty. They generally have high regard for achievement and success" (Dearman 1974:443), as I observed.

Pentecostals seem to differ from other fundamentalists in that their eschatological teachings encourage withdrawal from political activities. "For them the enemy is not Communism, Fascism, Nazism, or any alien ideology, but Modernism" (Elinson 1965:403, 411). Their objective is not to reform society except in the sense of wanting to save individual souls (Garrison 1974:322). "Their sense of responsibility to the small Pentecostal community (with respect to material providence) is highly developed, but the sense of responsibility to the larger human community is often stunted" (O'Hanlon 1963:635). They are not concerned with social betterment and appear to be non-humanitarian. "They are out to save individual souls, not the world, because they believe the second coming of the Lord is near at hand" (Boisen 1939:186-187). Because of this they work with "a strong sense of urgency, which often translates as becoming militantly missionary" (Van Dusen 1958:116, 119). "Their attitude seems to be that they are their brother's keeper only as far as his soul is concerned, not his body" (Dearman 1974:444).
Psychologically, it is interesting how they cope with setbacks to missionary efforts, whether in this country or abroad. "They reinterpret what seems to be but a testing of God, with victory just around the corner. In other words, negative feedback is converted into positive reinforcement" (Gerlach 1974:691). This theme was continually seen at a promotional dinner for the missionary effort of one of the Pentecostal churches I attended. Money was solicited for the spread of the Word and distributing copies of the Bible with no mention of helping them with food, clothing, shelter, or medical care.

The Pentecostal belief that God is the ultimate source of all power and action also has implications for the minister, whose role becomes de-emphasized. This puts limits on the kinds of claims he can make and the amount of authority he can assume. Because of this belief the Pentecostal movement has essentially become an acephalous layman's movement. This leaves the minister insecurely placed in what hierarchy there is (Wilson 1959:494-505).

Theories of the Causation, Development, Propagation, and Purpose of the Movement

Historically it would be accurate to say the Pentecostal movement began initially among the lower classes. Earlier studies reflect this and any theory regarding Pentecostalism should be reviewed keeping in mind the context of the times in which it was written. For example, in Holt's study of the Holiness and Pentecostal movements, he stated that these sects are the natural product of social disorganization and cultural conflict, and the experiencing of acute social maladjustment. They are an attempt at social readjustment and reintegration (1940:741). Boisen
made the general statement that "in all cases these cults are recruited from among the underprivileged classes" (1939:186). Clark further agreed that the Pentecostals he studied were composed "of men and women from the lower ranks of culture" (1949:94). Elinson added that many participants of the movement may even suffer from "compound deprivation," meaning they suffer from "organismic deprivations" in the form of physical and psychological ailments in addition to economic and social deprivation (1965:408). I. M. Lewis is quoted as saying that spirit possession cults in general are limited to deprivation (Bourguignon 1973:26). Kiev also reflected the consensus of the times in his statement that "the emergence of religious sects among oppressed groups during critical periods of history is a well documented and substantiated phenomenon" (1964:129). It is not argued that these evaluations were not applicable to Pentecostalism at the time. Such conclusions may well still be valid at least in the Third World. Austin, for example, as late as 1981, said that Pentecostalism in Jamaica still stands in a long line of religions of the oppressed which recognize the social and cultural gap between the have and have-nots (1981:227).

These kinds of older statements, however, can no longer be applied in a broad generalization to all Pentecostalism. Pentecostalism is no longer a sect or cult but now belongs to mainstream religion. This assessment follows the consensus of more recent studies. Johnson, for example, concludes that Pentecostalism as escapism and emotional compensation is only a partial sociological analysis (1961:310). Gerlach also points out the inadequacy of interpretations based on psychological maladjustment, economic deprivation, and social disorganization as
applied to Pentecostalism (1968:23). He "found no evidence to support propositions that Pentecostalism was best explained as a haven for the disorganized or confused" (1974:675). Wilson recognizes many former theories based on compensation in the hereafter for the pains of the present resulting from deprivation, marginality, and insecurity. These compensation theories, he says, are inadequate as an interpretation of Pentecostalism (1981:241). This applies to the charismatic movement as well. Westley said the Catholic charismatic movement defines the economic deprivation arguments, being predominantly a middle-class movement (1977:927). Harrison concurs that Catholic Pentecostalism does not appeal primarily to those suffering either absolute or relative economic deprivation (1974:52). Likewise, Hine's study states that explanations of social disorganization and deprivation alone were inadequate to explain the more recent Pentecostal movement (1969:211). Garrison concludes that even Puerto Rican Pentecostals are not drawn exclusively from the lowest socioeconomic stratum, but even when they are, the movement encourages their social striving and upward mobility (1974:308-313).

Many of the older studies assume Pentecostalism belonged to the lowest classes, but this is no longer a valid assumption. Simpson, for example, recognized that Pentecostal revivals in the United States recently attract some persons other than the poor and intellectually deprived (1974:211). Smith states that Neo-Pentecostalism is a widespread phenomenon in upper middle-class, mainstream American Christianity. Sherrill notes as early as 1964 that Pentecostalism was crossing all class, educational, and occupational boundaries (1964:64).
Another class of theories starts with the assumption that Pentecostalism belongs to the lower classes and hypothesizes that the movement socializes its members in the dominant values of the society. Their ascetic lifestyle, work ethic, and adherence to the Biblical injunction to submit to authority produces better, more dependable, workers (Dearman 1974:437). In a similar study, Johnson says that Pentecostals are able to deny that they are deprived in any meaningful sense in the first place, because they see themselves as the spiritual elite. Even though they may be ideologically at odds with the rest of society, they effectively adopt motivationally and behaviorally an outlook similar to the higher, more privileged social strata. Their positive emphasis on self-application, consistency, and achievement directly converge with dominant American values (Johnson 1961:310, 312, 316). Though the assumption of these studies of lower classes may be suspect applied to recent times, their assessment of the effects of Pentecostalism seem to be quite valid, and concur with my own observations in the field.

Other theories utilize Victor Turner's concepts of liminality and communitas. For example, Clements contends that the crises conversion involves the subject in existential communitas (as opposed to normative and ideological communitas). He adds that they "seem to rejuvenate the slipping normative communitas of their religious involvement by periodically returning to existential communitas, first during the baptism of the Holy Spirit and later during the continued operation of the Holy Ghost in their lives through the nine spiritual gifts" (1976: 41-42). Austin similarly agrees that normative communitas can be
routinized and recreated at a set time and place during the course of a ritual. This, he says, seems to be what is happening with the subsequent reenactment of the initial born-again experience in testimony and spirit possession. This, however, also seems to be the antithesis of Turner's idea of a creative, spontaneous communitas. Austin postulates instead that social change depends not so much on communitas, but on the other ways in which behavior can be rendered astructural (1981:228, 243-244).

**Pentecostalism as a Positive Force for Change**

The majority of the more recent studies also have in common the consensus that Pentecostalism and glossolalia can have therapeutic effects. Thus they see people attracted to the Pentecostal movement more as a response to personal crises than for reasons of social disorganization or deprivation. To Pentecostalism they variously attribute functions of a psychological support system (Griffith 1980:120), a means of social integration and personal catharsis (Kiev 1964:134-135), a method of personality reintegration as well as improving interpersonal relationships (Richardson 1973:201, 202), a preventative of mental illness (Lapsley 1964b:21), a source of courage to face living (Boisen 1939:190), and as encouragement to reconcile marriages (Phillips 1964:40). Garrison reports that Pentecostals in the South Bronx have a lower rate of nuclear family disorganization, stronger patrilineal ties, and a tight-knit, although restricted, family structure. Her study in Puerto Rico reveals that the relative mental health status of Pentecostals is as healthy or healthier than members of other churches of the same
subcultural and socioeconomic situations (1974:317, 324-327). Hine's study shows that the theories she reviewed explaining glossolalia as indicative of psychological pathology, suggestibility, or hypnosis are inadequate to explain recent data on the Pentecostal movement. Instead she sees glossolalia in the context of Pentecostalism as encouraging commitment and positive personality reorganization in response to crises (1969:211). In Ness' study of a Newfoundland coastal community, he reports that the more frequently people engaged in Pentecostal religious activities, the less likely they were to report symptoms of emotional distress. More specifically, religious participation may have beneficial effects on emotional integration. He reports that he found the frequency of possession behavior to be negatively correlated with feelings of depression, sensitivity, and anger (1980:302, 310).

Pentecostals themselves overwhelmingly report the beneficial effects of their religion in their lives. For example, the vast majority of testimonies collected by Garrison report that since their acceptance of Christ, their lives have been changed from crises and misery to calm, contentment, happiness, and a new way of seeing the world (1974:323-324). Sometimes those changes can be truly dramatic. McDonnell relates these changes for drug addicts as reported in Pentecostal minister David Wilkerson's books, "The Cross and the Switchblade," and "Twelve Angels from Hell." Reverend Wilkerson's rehabilitation program was "unashamedly religious," as McDonnell put it, and based on Biblical studies. The program, however, reported that the number of addicts who finished the program was eighty percent. This is impressive when compared to success rates of secular rehabilitation programs reported as less than ten
percent (1968:402-403). Goodman suggests that the efficacy may be due to a similarity between drug-induced states and the altered states of consciousness that Pentecostalism encourages (1974:251). Testimonies of giving up smoking and drinking overnight are also common (Griffith 1980:123). Termination of these indulgences and other vices, like promiscuity, are reported by converts from Haitian voodoo (Gerlach 1974:695). Seemingly even more incredible, Pattison reports of eleven men who claimed to have changed sexual orientation from exclusive homosexuality to exclusive heterosexuality through participation in a Pentecostal fellowship. The changes were described as occurring gradually but were apparently permanent. The gay-liberation movement itself asserts that any fundamental change is rarely possible. The subjects eventually admitted that the primary cause of their homosexuality was unsatisfactory relations with their parents. They also became aware that they were psychologically immature and had poor interpersonal relationships (Pattison et al. 1980:1553, 1555, 1558). Apparently Pentecostalism rectified that.

Abraham Maslow states that "peak experiences," like those commonly reported among Pentecostals, can be so profound and shaking as to change a person's character and his Weltanschaung forever. He relates two examples he witnessed himself of total, immediate, and permanent cures of chronic anxiety, neurosis, and strong obsessional thoughts of suicide (1964:59). The people that I interviewed all reported that their own personal transformations were relatively more gradual, but all were acquainted with others who had made spontaneous changes. My interviews represent a range of extremely varied backgrounds, from one extreme of
non-churchgoing, smoking, drinking, drugs, promiscuity, and even witchcraft to those who had attended church and observed traditional moral ethics all their life. Regardless of background, all reported substantial positive changes in their lives subsequent to converting or recommitting themselves to Pentecostalism. Certainly many joined as a response to stress or crises but not necessarily a higher level of stress than that experienced by the average person.
PENTECOSTAL SERVICES

Pentecostal Services in General

The Pentecostal service has the ultimate purpose of reinforcing and perpetuating Pentecostal theology and of feeding the human affective need for social gathering with those who hold ideology in common. This is evident in the interpersonal communication common to Pentecostal meetings. They reinforce their corporate identity by using familial role names such as brother and sister with one another, while visitors from outside are simply referred to as "friends." The gathering itself is called a "fellowship" (Homan 1978:501, 503). The verbal behavior also has correlates in physical behavior such as the common practice of reserving a moment during every service to greet neighbors with a word, handshake, or a hug. The familial concern for one's "brothers and sisters" often even reaches the point of keeping a "watchful eye" on each other's behavior to make sure they maintain a "proper Christian walk" (Griffith et al. 1980:123).

The Pentecostal belief that credit for all power and action goes ultimately to God has implications for the service. There is an unspoken taboo on the open expression of appreciation or sympathy directly to one another. Conversely, there is also the custom of denial of personal merit. Consequently, performances are responded to not by handclapping but by exclamations such as 'Hallelujah,' 'Amen,' 'Praise God,' and 'Thank
The most characteristic part of the Pentecostal service is the testimonials. For them, the testimonies constitute a continuing oral history of their lives in the spirit of Jesus Christ (Austin 1981:233). To the group as a whole, the testimonies function as a reiterative social statement of the potential for growth into unity with the spirit (Kroll-Smith 1980:24). To the individual, participation may also have personal therapeutic effects. Ness, for example, found that frequency of testimonial behavior is negatively correlated with total psychological complaints, depression, and tension (1980:310). The majority of testimonies are of the nature of thanksgiving to the pastor for his guidance and support, and to God for being saved or for help with particular day-to-day problems. They also express gratitude for God's providence, protection, and guidance (Griffith et al. 1980:122). Second in frequency are those relating experiences of physical healings (Garrison 1974:309). Most testimonies deal with individual events but another type--third in frequency--are those of a "life story" type. Heirich states that this type of testimony often exaggerates previous involvement in the drug and sex aspects of the counter-culture. He suggests that this is due to their desire to have been serious sinners so that salvation was more powerful (1977:658). I only heard this third type of testimony in private interviews or conversations and very rarely in public worship, and have no way of knowing if they were exaggerated.

Westley's article on Catholic charismatics deals with the theme of surrender in the testimony. The act of giving testimony is indicative of surrender to God but can also be a surrender to the direction and
protection of the group. Giving testimony is synonymous with "sharing" and seems to be linked with increased commitment to the group. The mutual disclosure increases the group's familial closeness (1977:927, 929-930). McGuire also examines the testimony as a commitment mechanism but goes further in calling it a "bridge-burning act." Since the conversion and spirit baptism experiences are primarily private ones and because Catholics do not consider glossolalia a necessary sign of authentic spirit baptism, the testimony functions more than anything else as public identification of the new member as well as a symbol of commitment (1977:165-168).

Another cornerstone of the Pentecostal service is its music and hymns. It is known for its vitality, especially in Black churches, and has had a great impact on Southern music in general. Individual artists who were shaped by Pentecostal experience include Johnny Cash, Tammy Wynette, Dolly Parton, Elvis Presley, and many more, as well as the three cousins Jerry Lee Lewis, Jimmy Swaggart, and Mickey Gilley (Tucker 1982:69, 73).

The functions of the hymn and the testimony overlap. Griffith et al. suggests that the words of these songs often are a testimony of their own, with titles like "Without God I Would be Nothing," and "Jesus Brought Me Out of the Darkness" (1980:122). To me, though, the hymns seem more like a suggestive device, a not so subliminal technique of implanting and reinforcing the theology, reminiscent of singing television commercials. Other researches seem to agree. Clark, for example, notes that such singing is a powerful suggestion device, both acting on each other and as autosuggestion (1949:96). In the services I
attended I witnessed such particularly suggestive titles as "This World Is Not My Home," "My Soul Followeth Hard After Thee," "I Surrender All," "He's Coming Soon," "I Love Him Better Everyday," "Now I Belong to Jesus," "Leave Your Burdens With the Lord," "You Are My Strength," "I've Got a River of Life Flowing Out of Me," and "God is Doing Miracles in Me."

Churches and Services in Specific

The following is a brief summary of the unique aspects of theology, style of worship, and make-up of the congregations of each of the churches I attended in my field research.

Pentecostal Church of God - Garden City Chapel

Members of this congregation differ among themselves as to the theology of the "end times," but the pastor merely stresses that Jesus is coming and we should be ready regardless. Tracts collected here reflect the general antagonism of all Pentecostals towards Mormonism and the recent interest in Gandhi. A certain code of behavior is encouraged but in no way overtly enforced. Like other churches, there is no particular dress code for attending services aside from modesty. A high percentage of members are unemployed, being mostly young people, young marrieds just starting out, and a few established business people. This is characteristic of all the younger churches. This church seems to recruit from the drug culture, non-churchgoers, and non-practicing Catholics. There are a few from other denominations but only two from that denomination. There are not many from other fundamentalist
churches. There is a high turnover, but this is primarily due to economic/circumstantial reasons.

Services run up to an hour and a half, opening with a prayer and hymn singing, either to a piano or guitar. Seating capacity is about 100 with usually about 40 in attendance on Sunday morning. Before the sermon, time is given to prayer requests, praise with lifting of hands, greeting of neighbors, collection, testimonies, and announcements. Speaking in tongues or any of the other verbal gifts, with or without emotion, are shared as the inspiration falls on the members. Services close with a final hymn, prayer, and occasionally an altar call. Sunday evening services are more informal, and encourage more use of the gifts. In one such service, because of the low attendance and the heat, we moved downstairs and discussed scripture while eating popsicles.

The United Pentecostal Church - Faith Tabernacle

This church was unique in a number of ways. They are non-Trinitarian and baptize in the name of "Jesus." Other Pentecostals who baptize in the name of "The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost" are not expected to reach heaven. They believe in a pre-tribulation "rapture" that is expected very soon. In fact, the pastor here expects new converts to flood in this coming year as his church becomes the "sole saving station of Missoula." Behavioral codes are taught but still only covertly enforced. Continued smoking and drinking will bring into question the validity of a salvation experience. The make-up of the congregation is also typical of younger churches but here the non-Caucasian percentage is higher, although still not much greater than
five percent. Turnover rate is high, again mostly for economic/circumstantial reasons. The emotional expression is higher than for any of the other churches, and only here did I see anything resembling dissociative states in the form of "stammering lips" and jerking. One elderly lady "dancing in the spirit" bumped into the wall four times before she realized it. Running, jumping, shouting, and dancing in the aisles are definitely encouraged.

Services begin with prayer and hymn singing, accompanied by the piano, electric guitar, and sometimes accordian and tamborine. Songs are very lively and punctuated with many "Praise the Lords" and "Hallelujahs." When the pastor says "find you a place to pray," they kneel on the floor over their seats and proceed to pray in a very emotional, wailing manner, sometimes merging into tongues. Testimonies and sermons get very loud and emotional also. Prayer requests are honored and laying on of hands is done upon request for healing, spirit baptism, or refilling. There is much use of the gifts in the service, which vary in length, sometimes going over three hours.

Missoula Community Chapel

Missoula Community Chapel began as an outreach of Abiloop Christian Center in Anchorage, Alaska about seven years ago, although they claim to be non-denominational (defined in legal, political, and financial terms). It is a very young but quite large church of obvious middle class make-up. The majority of the congregation are young marrieds of every conceivable background. A pre-tribulation "rapture" is believed in but not stressed. Tithing is preached like all Pentecostal churches
although members merely put their contribution in a box rather than it being collected during the service. Those who do not tithe are given the Biblical reminder "would a man rob God?" Elders are responsible for watching the behavior of those under their care. People sometimes leave because they don't like this supervision or feel the commitment level is too high. Gifts are encouraged but "decently and in order." A microphone is in the back for people to use after their message is okayed by an elder.

Every service is preceded by a half hour of prayer in a separate room where people pray over their seats and speak or sing in tongue privately. On Sunday morning they will also have communion during this time. There was more proselytizing at this church than any other with people constantly asking me "Are you saved?" Services open with singing to a full band with hymns often adapted from scripture and projected on a screen overhead. They do not baptize infants but bless babies in front of the congregation to insure that they will become Christian. The service always ends with an altar call to encourage people to come up for saving, spirit baptism, healing or other needs. They also have a custom here of praying over "prayer cloths" for the benefit of specific persons that are absent.

Assembly of God - Glad Tidings

This church also has a large congregation. It is fairly young in the sense that it budded off from the Christian Life Center only about fifteen years ago. The average age is young but with a slightly higher percentage of older, professional people. They have definite
behavioral injunctions and expect new members to sign cards pledging to observe them.

Services open with prayer and singing hymns accompanied by an organ. On Sunday mornings the service is preceded by Bible study, divided into several sections for different age groups, the "college and career group" being the one I visited. The rest of the service proceeds in a typical fashion much like Missoula Community Chapel except that there is no microphone and a collection is taken. One Wednesday night service a month is "family night" where there are juvenile songs, stories, and films for the children as well as an adult study. At this church I attended special healing/evangelical services featuring visiting healer/evangelist Edgar Bailee. All those who went up front were "slain in the spirit." I experienced going limp without losing consciousness although at least one other person reported that she did. I underwent no perceivable physical healing myself but saw people who claimed to have been healed themselves. I did, however, that night experience a prophetic "dream-vision" that came true later that same week.

Assembly of God - Christian Life Center

The Christian Life Center also teaches a behavioral code, but unlike their sister church, they do not make an issue of enforcing it. Neither do they make a big issue of the "rapture." They also encourage more use of the gifts than their sister church. There is a high turnover here as everywhere for circumstantial reasons, but they also admit people leave for personal reasons. This is the oldest Pentecostal church in town which is reflected in a more even distribution of ages and a larger
percentage of lifetime members. The percentage of professionals is also higher.

Services are opened by singing to a full band with hymns projected overhead. There is more use of the gifts and, in fact, I even heard a lady sing in tongues over the microphone. More stress is put on testimonies also. One Sunday evening service was even devoted to them instead of a sermon. I also saw baptismal services here where people were encouraged to say a few words of testimony before being fully immersed. Communion is served, but like the other churches, doesn't seem to be offered on a weekly basis.

Foursquare Church - Northside Chapel

This is the denomination started by Aimee Semple McPherson whose activities seemed quite notorious from the outside, including an alleged kidnapping and subsequent criminal prosecution (Clark 1949:115-116). Pastor SH, who knew her personally as her bodyguard among other duties, swore to the impeccability of her character. The denomination dates from the 1920s, but this particular church is only fifteen years old. It consequently reflects a congregation make-up typical of the younger churches. The "rapture" and behavioral injunctions are stressed but use of the gifts is downplayed.

The format of the services is typical of the Pentecostals except they have a unique kind of "altar call." Here the pastor asks everyone to lower their heads and any wishing to be saved raises their eyes to meet his.
"Mary, Seat of Wisdom" Catholic Charismatic Prayer Group

This group is not a congregation as such but a fellowship that meets at St. Anthony's Church, drawing its membership from the entire Catholic community. It has been in existence several years and has a typical attendance of approximately thirty people, who average in age in the thirties. Their theology as a charismatic group has little in common with traditional Pentecostals, as has already been explained. There are also many differences in their style of worship.

The meetings are more informal and even less structured than Pentecostal services. They are primarily for the purpose of singing hymns which is done throughout. They begin with an opening prayer and an explanation of proceedings for visitors and newcomers. In between songs they variously give prayer requests, lay on hands, give testimonies, announcements, teachings, and of course, allow expression of the gifts. The meetings are concluded with prayer, greetings, and refreshments.

Community Covenant Church

This is the oldest church in Missoula practicing the gifts of the Holy Spirit. It was established in 1883 and belongs to the Evangelical Covenant Church denomination. In the sixties, it joined the charismatic movement along with a minority of their denomination. Practice of the gifts was adopted with little change to its original ideology, which is therefore very different from traditional Pentecostalism. One obvious difference is the great social awareness and concern which seems to be so lacking among the Pentecostals. Despite its
age, a high turnover has made the church effectively "young," having a lower average age and less professional people.

Sunday morning services begin with the singing of several hymns to the accompaniment of a full band. This singing often merges into a collective singing in tongues. The service proceeds with introductions, use of the gifts, testimonies, greetings, collection, sermon, prayer, praise with raised hands, sermon, prayer requests, communion, announcements, and refreshments at the end.
CHAPTER FOUR

SPEAKING IN TONGUES AND THE INTERPRETATION OF TONGUES

A Brief History of Christian Glossolalia

According to Pentecostal belief, the first occurrence of divinely inspired glossolalia was coincident with the first occurrence of baptism by the Holy Spirit as related in Acts 2:1-15. The question of whether spirit baptism and glossolalia were present before this time will be discussed later. Following the day of Pentecost, the baptism of the Holy Spirit with evidence of speaking in tongues occurred also in Samaria as Peter and John laid hands on them, in Damascus when Paul first received it, in Caesarea when the Gentiles first received it, and at Ephesus as Paul bestowed it upon them (Sherrill 1964:36-37). In addition, the apostles and saints are believed to have spread Christ's teachings by the gift of xenoglossia, a variety of glossolalia in which one speaks in human languages unknown to himself. St. Stephen, for example, spoke in Greek, Turkish, and Armenian without having learned them (Kelsey 1981:51).

In the second century, speaking in tongues was resurrected by Montanism, a revival led by Montanus of Phrygia (Sherrill 1964:76). The Egyptian abbot, St. Pachomius, was reported to have the ability up to his death in 346. In the fourth century, St. Pachomius, founder of the first Christian monastery, reportedly had the gift of xenoglossia, speaking in Greek and Latin, neither of which he had learned (Sherrill
In the Eastern Orthodox churches, glossolalia has continued through the ages, although confined chiefly to the monasteries and governed by certain restrictions as well. The German twelfth century abbess, St. Hildegard, possessed the gifts of vision and prophecy, as well as those of glossolalia and xenoglossia. Although uneducated she could interpret Latin scriptures. She could also speak and interpret an entirely unknown language, which she recorded with an alphabet of twenty-three letters in a manuscript known as the Lingua Ignota (May 1956:75, Kelsey 1981:47). In the fourteenth century, St. Vincent Ferrer reportedly converted many people of several different languages by the gift of xenoglossia, though he himself knew only Limousin.

Many other saints through the ages used the gift of xenoglossia in their missionary work, including St. Francis Xavier of the sixteenth century. About the same time, Martin Luther reportedly manifested many of the gifts of the spirit, including glossolalia. In 1685 there was a sudden mass outbreak of both glossolalia and xenoglossia among a group of Huguenots in the Cevennes Mountains of southern France. A similar event happened among the French Catholics known as Jansenists. Actually speaking in tongues was frequent among members of revivalistic movements during the Protestant Reformation. Some examples are the Quakers during Oliver Cromwell's time and the Methodists at the time of Whitefield and the Wesley brothers. The Irvingite or Catholic Apostolic Church encouraged glossolalia during the 1830s. In the 1840s there were many occurrences in other countries such as Sweden. In North America it appeared among the Shakers and the Mormons. Joseph Smith originally established glossolalia in his church, but the practice was soon
discouraged by leaders "because it brought ridicule and disrespect from the ungodly" (Kelsey 1981:58). There was an outbreak of speaking in tongues during a great revival in the Russian Greek Orthodox Church in 1855. Tongue speaking was also reported among those possessed at Lourdes. It was reported following the preaching campaigns of Dwight L. Moody in England in 1873. Shortly after, it was experienced among Armenian Presbyterians. At the beginning of this century, the presence of glossolalia as a sign of receiving the "divine afflatus" was part of a religious revival which began in Australia independently of Pentecostalism (May 1956:75-76, Kelsey 1981:50-59, Sherrill 1964:77-78). Therefore we can see that there was not exactly a drought going on before the "latter rain" of Pentecostalism.

Christian Beliefs Concerning Speaking in Tongues

Pentecostals believe that glossolalia is the "tongues of men and angels." That is, though it is unintelligible to the speaker himself, it will either be a known human language (xenoglossia) or a language known only to God. It is used by the individual for praise as well as petition, when he feels inadequate to articulate his thoughts and feelings. In either case, the ultimate objective is the individual's own edification. Pentecostals believe that it is the Holy Spirit within them that utilizes their speech organs and gives them utterance. Most can perceive differential patterns in their speech. In other words, they have the impression of using two or more different patternings or "languages" (Hine 1969:212, Goodman 1969:230). To them this is "praying without the understanding" as opposed to "praying with the understanding"
Pentecostals also distinguish between speaking in tongues as a "sign" and as a "gift." As a "sign," it is positive proof that one has indeed received the baptism of the Holy Spirit. As a "gift," it is used by the individual subsequent to his initial baptism in private prayer for his own personal edification or for use in the church for the edification of the entire congregation (Sherrill 1964:72-76). Pastor JGD told me that in the church glossolalia is always followed by an interpretation, which is another inspired gift of the Holy Spirit. If glossolalia directed towards the congregation is "of God," then either the speaker or another in the church will interpret it because, as MMR says, "God is not the author of confusion." In this way it acts as a gift for believers, but if the utterance is xenoglossia, it may function as a sign to unbelievers and proof of its legitimacy. Therefore there are three categories of tongues, as outlined in the Bible study I attended; the sign of tongues, the gift of tongues for private use, and the gift of tongues for public use. It should further be pointed out that the gift of interpretation associated with the third category is not necessarily synonymous with "translation." The glossolalia discourse is "translated" as a whole, usually in the form of a moral exhortation (Jacquith 1967:6, Samarin 1968:59, Laffal 1974:278).

Speaking in tongues is often referred to as due to possession by the Holy Spirit. Among Pentecostals, however, there are various opinions as to the appropriateness of the term "possession." To some at least, it seems to have negative connotations. Pastor JGD thought, "It is not possession in the sense of giving up your will or capacity for will and
not having any choice in the matter." Pastor VMS said, "It is possession in the sense of being 'fully covered, fullywhelmed'...full of the Holy Spirit...but not so much possessed that we don't have a will." However he seemed somewhat contradictory when he added, "We renew our will to become a channel for the will of God." BMC said, "I hope I'm possessed by the Holy Spirit!...I can find nothing wrong with that. . .I want Jesus to live His life through me." But he also said, "It's still my will," and later, "I turn my will over to God to do His will."

Pastor WGR also had the contradictory opinion that glossolalia is not true possession as giving up the will, but is turning the will over to God. Pastor HNS was less confusing, saying "The Lord has given us a will to do or not to do, and we can will the Spirit to come into our life."

EGL explained it as a "loosening of the tongue." You have to speak one word before getting the next. The spirit gives the utterance, but you do the speaking and can stop anytime. MES objects to the term "possession" when referring to the Holy Spirit because of its demonic connotations, and definitely preferred the term "filled." AGF prefers the terms "over-taken" or "empowered."

Another question I asked in the interviews was "is glossolalia possible outside of Christianity?" Pastor JGD was not aware that it had ever occurred but said he didn't think that it could always be from God, and there is only one other spiritual source, which is Satan. Pastor VFM said that "Speaking in tongues as the spirit gives the utterance is impossible without God," but added that Satan can counterfeit any of the gifts and can even "appear as an angel of light!" Outside of Christianity, he said the only possibility is that it is from Satan.
MMR said that only when one is saved and has accepted Jesus' death on the cross for him personally can he speak in tongues with the spirit of God. Pastor VMS said he really couldn't explain the apparent parallels of glossolalia in other cultures, but added that Satan is a liar and a deceiver so those examples are probably Satan's counterfeiting. Pastors WGR and HCK also had the same conclusions. Pastor HNS said that speaking in tongues can be counterfeited but added the extra dimension that it can come simply from emotionalism.

Pentecostals definitely do not believe they are "once saved, always saved." Glossolalia or any of the other gifts can be lost. Often the loss or fading of the ability to achieve glossolalia is due to sinning or transgression (Goodman 1972:34-37, 99), yielding to unholy temptations (Kiev 1964:133), renunciation of the faith (Goodman 1974:266), or because of "backsliding" in general (Clements 1976:35). The loss may also serve as a means of divine punishment (Goodman 1974:266).

It was stated earlier that Pentecostals believe that speaking in tongues is the necessary sign of baptism by the Holy Spirit. Charismatics, however, argue that any of the gifts may serve as a sign. To them those gifts number more than nine, a belief contrary to that of the Pentecostals. Other views see glossolalia as being merely a sign for the benefit of the congregation (Goodman 1974:56). Still others say that the statements made by Paul in Acts indicate that glossolalia is not universally regarded as a necessary sign (Smith 1974:319, Lapsley 1964:49). In my interviews, Pastor HCK admitted that there is some ambiguity Biblically about glossolalia as a necessary sign. Pentecostals EGL and RGB seemed more willing to part from the doctrine of their denomination.
and stated that they do not believe that glossolalia is a necessary sign. So there is some difference between traditional Pentecostal doctrine and individual beliefs. Also the charismatic nun MES expressed the belief common to charismatics that glossolalia is not the one and only sign.

Paradoxically, criticisms of the practice of glossolalia by non-tongue speakers often quote the same scriptures that Pentecostals and charismatics use to support it. An example is I Corinthians 13, which says in the tenth verse that "when that which is perfect is come, then that which is done in part [the gifts] shall be done away." In a book expressing traditional Baptist views, Burgess says since the Bible is perfect, then glossolalia cannot exist. Further, he says that on the day of Pentecost they spoke only known languages. This may be true, but he goes on to say that there are only four instances of tongue speaking in the Bible, all in known languages. He believes that unintelligible tongue speech, being of God, is impossible. He also says there are only two recorded instances in the Bible of baptism by the Holy Spirit. All other instances are of God moving on, upon, or in, but not baptizing. He emphatically states there is no such thing as baptism of the Holy Spirit in this age. However, his credibility fails when he states that women are never given the gift of speaking in tongues (Burgess 1968:7, 9-12, 14-27, 43-47, 55). I have personally seen women speaking in tongues, in at least as great a frequency as men.

The existence of the gift of speaking in tongues is clear and is assumed in this thesis. Its correlary gift of interpretation of tongues is also inspirational, and there are a variety of descriptions by Pentecostals as to how it is received. Pastor JGD told me that he
doesn't necessarily hear the English words come into his mind but just
senses or has an impression or intuition. Conversely though, EGL said
she gets a word or two in her mind and has to start speaking them before
getting any more. In any case, however, interpretation is not
synonymous with translation. There is no necessary correlation either
in a word-to-word translation sense or in length of discourse. An
example of an interpretation of a glossolalia discourse follows.

I shall have a people, saith the Lord, who shall do exploits
in the land and be a praise unto my name. The sick shall be
made whole, those bound in prison houses of sin shall be set
free, for I will yet demonstrate in the land that I am the
Lord of Hosts and the King of Kings. So shall signs and
wonders be wrought in the earth. I shall be thy courage when
thou art afraid, and thou shalt bring glory to my name.
(Phillips 1964:35)

For the variety of glossolalia known as xenoglossia, an interpretation
is not needed if the hearer understands the human language being spoken.
The existence of xenoglossia is perhaps even more incredible than the
unintelligible variety of glossolalia, but many anecdotes in the
literature make it difficult to ignore. Besides those examples related
earlier in the history of glossolalia, there are other examples such as
evangelist Tommy Hicks in Russia. Suddenly he was left without an
interpreter "then he began to speak in tongues, and the Holy Spirit gave
him the language of the people to whom he was speaking, that means the
Russian language. The crowd was moved to tears, and many surrendered
themselves to Jesus" (Goodman et al. 1974:48). Another example is a
Black woman who spoke what was to her unintelligible glossolalia.
Another woman then stood up and said, "I am not an interpreter, but I can
speak the Spanish language and the sister spoke in that tongue. I did not
get it all but the last phrase was 'Glory to the precious name of Jesus'" (Boisen 1939:188). There is also the story of a glossolalia speaker speaking in Cherokee without knowing it (Harrison 1974:58). A Jew, who once wandered into a Pentecostal meeting, was converted because he heard Hebrew. These and many other cases of xenoglossia are related in Sherrill's book. He also told of Hebrew spoken by an Irishman, Mandarin Chinese by a truck driver, and High German by a boy who had been deaf-mute since the age of two months. Other examples were of mono-lingual Americans speaking Polish, Arabic, Chinese, Swedish, Filippino, and Italian. The most amazing story, though, was of some missionaries in Africa who were released from a tribe of cannibals when one of them spoke the native's Pahn language (Sherrill 1964:18-20, 90-100).

Some of my interviewees had personal experience with xenoglossia as well. Pastor VFM told about a young woman he knew in his church in Indiana who was converted when she heard a language spoken there that nobody else knew. Pastor WGR once spoke in tongues and was later told he had spoken a foreign language.

Another characteristic of xenoglossia is that the listener will sometimes hear in his native language personal facts about himself of which the speaker could have no knowledge. There are also cases where several people listening to the same speaker will each hear a different language. This is in fact what happened on the day of Pentecost; "... the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language" (Acts 2:6). So taken together this evidence would seem to indicate a miracle of hearing as well as of speaking (Sherrill 1964:95-96). This distinction was made by MES when I
interviewed her. Another good example of the miracle of hearing is the missionary work of St. Vincent Ferrer around 1350 who, while in Genoa, spoke to a group of men and women of mixed linguistic backgrounds, all of whom were said to have heard him in their own languages (Kelsey 1981: 50). The most convincing case comes from Numbers 22:28-30 of the Bible where "the Lord bestowed a gift on Baalam's donkey, and he spake and in his speaking rebuked Baalam, and in a language Baalam well understood" (Burgess 1968:31). If we assume the story is true and that it is anatomically impossible for a donkey to speak a human language, then it would have to be a miracle of hearing.

A Description of the Glossolalia Phenomenon

Both May and Jacquith utilize Emile Lombard's 1910 typology of glossolalia consisting of four classes. The first is "phonations frustes" which is characterized by incomprehensible sounds such as mumbling, gurgling, and groaning. These sounds usually, but not always, precede more complex forms of articulation. The second form is called "pseudo-language," sounds fabricated by the subject which frequently can be recognized as fragments of words. The utterances are often alliterative and may conform to certain exterior aspects of ordinary language. The third type, verbal fabrication, is words coined by the individual which may contain particles of foreign and native phonemes and may be used according to identified grammatical rules. The fourth type is xenoglossia, or speaking in foreign tongues (May 1956:77, Jacquith 1967:1).
Pentecostal glossolalia does not seem to fit comfortably in any one of these distinct categories. The fit is better when we are reminded by May that these four types are not mutually exclusive. To Lombard's types, May adds three more types; the language of spirits, sacerdotal language, and the language of animals. The language of spirits is an esoteric "dialect" known only to the spirits and to the shaman who speaks it. Sacerdotal language, similar to the jargon of spirits is a vernacular containing obsolete or archaic words preserved through the years by a priestly class. Animal language is simply the reproduction of animal sounds. In addition he recognizes the related type of the interpretation (ermaneglossia) (May 1956:78-79). Perhaps his category of language of spirits corresponds most closely to Pentecostal glossolalia.

There is some ambiguity as to how much glossolalia corresponds to pseudo-language. Samarin says glossolalia is different from babbling or "word salad." When he compared glossolalia to attempts of non-Pentecostals to consciously produce pseudo-language, he found differences but not significant ones (1971:56-59). All those I interviewed stated to the contrary that glossolalia cannot be faked. Pastor JGD said the deception could not be carried on indefinitely. Pastor VFM said he could definitely tell the difference by the gift of discernment, adding that he could even look at a stranger and tell what denomination he was or tell whether he was "right with God." Before Pastor VMS received his initial spirit baptism, he tried to fake glossolalia in church once but was seen through right away. Now he himself claims the ability to discern the difference.
My own conclusion would be that the differences must be more significant than Samarin suspects. The difference he found was that pseudo-language showed greater differences between the speech of women from that of men. He also found that the pseudo-language was colored by the language(s) which the subject knew. On the other hand, genuine glossolalia was distinguished by greater length of discourse, greater variability of initial "fluency," and a greater dependence on previous glossolalia discourses (Samarin 1971:58-60). The latter characteristic of glossolalia I discovered during fieldwork in that all those I interviewed had a definite impression of speaking a unique language. The majority claim to speak more than one "language" and can definitely tell the difference when they switch from one to another. Only three of my interviewees said they had never spoken more than one language, although it became more extensive, but MMR insisted she could have told the difference if she did. Pastor JGD speaks more than one language in his prayers in contrast to EGL who speaks one language different from her primary one. Pastor VFM felt his language change when "God is taking him into different areas," and also said the feeling of speaking different languages is useful "when Satan tries to make you doubt it is real."

The characteristics that Samarin found in common between glossolalia and pseudo-language include a hierarchial arrangement in order to avoid too much repetition and redundancy. More accurately, it could be described as repetition with diversification. The diversification is mainly accomplished by segmentation and phonological clustering, introduction of unrelated sounds, rearrangement, and intonation. The use of alliteration or rhyme is also a common device.
Any meaning attributed to either will be "affective." Glossolalia is sometimes criticized because speakers do not remember their discourse. Samarin says this is also true of pseudo-language, but is irrelevant because neither require reflection (1971:56-64).

The ambiguity of Samarin's classification is clearer in another paper. Here he classes glossolalia as one variety of pseudo-language. He describes pseudo-language as including a whole spectrum with glossolalia in the center, repetitious nonsense syllables in musical refrains, "be-bop," and "scat" singing to the left, and private languages and argots to the right (1969:71). This view seems more reasonable than directly equating glossolalia with pseudo-language.

I propose that the primary difference between Pentecostal and charismatic glossolalia and Samarin's pseudo-language is not as much a linguistic distinction as the role (or lack of it) of the conscience in its production. Glossolalia is an effortless flow not involving conscious control as opposed to pseudo-language, which is also spontaneous but does require conscious involvement to some extent. Another difference is that powerful emotions sometimes (but not always) arise with the glossolalia (Kelsey 1981:1-2).

Kelsey also states, contrary to Samarin and in agreement with those I interviewed, that it is "a physical impossibility to duplicate tongue-speech by deliberate imitation" (Kelsey 1981:6). This was shown most clearly by Sherrill who played tapes of some forty glossolalia discourses to six linguists at Columbia University. None recognized a language they knew. This is not surprising in view of the fact that there are about 1800 known languages and dialects spoken in the world today, not counting...
those which have become extinct. They did, however, recognize the "language-like quality" of the discourses. Two deliberate conscious imitations of tongue-speech slipped in were immediately recognized as deception by the linguists (Sherrill 1964:100-102).

Samarin defines glossolalia linguistically as "a meaningless but phonologically structured human utterance believed by the speaker to be a real language" (1968:51). He further defines it as anomalous, instantaneous, and derivative speech (1979:88-91). It is characterized by echoism in stereotypic patterns of alliteration and assonance, a tendency towards regularity of cadence, primitivization, and simplification. Primitivization is "the reduction of the number of discrete phonological types at the levels of phoneme and syllable" from the inventory of languages known to the speaker in an atavistic way. Simplification is seen most clearly with syllables "which tend to be open and have either no consonant clusters, or clusters of very limited types. It applies to consonants and vowels primarily with respect to the loss of units that are statistically less frequent in the speaker's native language" (Samarin 1973:79-82).

In other words, glossolalia has the highest frequency of syllables that are open, consonant and vowel (CV), a much lower frequency of closed syllables (CVC), with consonant clusters being infrequent. The vowels (i) and (a) are always present, and if there is a third vowel it is often (u) or (o). Therefore consonants and vowels occur in nearly equal amounts (Samarin 1968:62, 1973:82-83). A survey done by the Episcopal Church found a prevalence of open syllables, but in addition they found that glossolalia generally lacked harsh gutterals "somewhat in the manner of
Hawaiian or a Southern romance language" (Phillips 1964:38).

A speaker's glossolalia will then be derivative in the sense the sounds will be typical of his native language, and he will retain his accent (Samarin 1968:63). Goodman adds that "the stereotyped utterance also mirrors that of the person or group that guided the glossolalist into the behavior" (1972:123). The prosodic patterns, or intonational contours that make up the macrosegments ("sentences") also are derived from the native language. The personally idiosyncratic or innovative features of the glossolalia discourse come "primarily in the way sounds are borrowed. It is the units which are borrowed, not the patterns." What makes glossolalia an artificial rather than a natural language is that it lacks certain of the sixteen defining features as universals of language. The missing features are semanticity, arbitrariness, displacement, prevarication, and reflexiveness (Samarin 1968:63-67).

Goodman describes additional linguistic characteristics of glossolalia. She begins by defining Samarin's CV or CVC syllable as a "pulse." Several pulses equal one bar, separated by a pause like that between words. Several bars equal one phrase separated by a pause like that between sentences. First, the bars are usually of equal duration. Second, the accentual system is one of a primary stress and a secondary stress. The primary stress falls on the first pulse of each bar and is always preceded by a pause. Third, the phrases are of equal length. Within an utterance unit (i.e., with one peak), the intonational pattern regularly shows an onset in the medium range, a peak, and a sloping gradient leading to a precipitous decay. Fourth, glossolalia is not productive. Once internalized, an audio signal becomes stereotyped.
Fifth, glossolalia is lexically noncommunicative. Last, glossolalia utterances change over time, apparently as a function of the attenuation of the hyperarousal dissociation. This is perceivable in a loss of intensity (loudness, pitch), an increase in pattern variation, a lengthening of utterance time, and a shortening of the discourse (1972: 103, 121-123).

With respect to her last point, I found that glossolalia does not necessarily occur in hyperarousal dissociation. Perhaps because such dissociation was not reported by any of those I interviewed, they also reported no long-term attenuation of glossolalia. In fact, Pastor JGD said in twenty years, he has never witnessed new converts speak in tongues any more than veterans. At this point it should also be made clear that the above characteristics outlined by Samarin and Goodman do not necessarily apply to the variety of glossolalia called xenoglossia.

There are also various subjective descriptions of glossolalia which Goodman collected from the Mexicans of Yucatan. Again we should keep in mind that these people characteristically experience glossolalia in trance. They all feel joyousness and lose conscious control of the tongue. It sometimes comes on at odd moments, can become lost, or cannot easily be shaken off. It can be associated with altered somatic perceptions, and visual or auditory hallucinations. The moment of conversion may be related to the hallucination or the trance experience instead of the glossolalia (Goodman 1972:28).

To summarize some of the explanations given for glossolalia so far, there have been those explaining it as resulting from primitive mentality or psychological abnormality, or linked to schizophrenia,
hysteria, catalepsy, or an abnormal trance state. All of these have since been discounted as complete explanations. Common religious arguments are that it is no longer of use in this age, that it simply doesn't exist, that it is demonic possession, or that it is an evil psychic phenomenon. Its usefulness, existence, and positive nature are obvious in the beneficial effects it has had in the lives of glossolalia speakers. Others call it a result of group suggestion or autosuggestion (Kelsey 1981:137, 146-147). Evidence will be presented later that glossolalia can appear spontaneously in nonreligious contexts, which refutes the suggestion hypothesis. Some admit glossolalia to be therapeutic, but suggest that speakers are more than normally maladjusted to begin with. There is evidence that this assumption is not necessarily true. Others recognize the efficacy and therapeutic nature of glossolalia but explain abilities such as xenoglossia as "exalted memory" or "cryptomnesia" based on the standard repression theory. This proves to be a facile explanation in most instances (Kelsey 1981:210, Samarin 1968:53-54).

The Personal Acquisition and Evolution of Glossolalia

Pentecostals profess to believe, as BMC told me, that a person cannot have both the Holy Spirit and Satan in him at the same time. In other words, they will say that a Christian cannot be demon possessed. Yet some of them equate physical ailments with demons and exorcize them as such. Likewise, when the inspirational gifts are used in church, there is often ambiguity as to the source of the inspiration. For example, "if the tongues come at inappropriate moments, as for example
during the sermon, there is some question as to the sources of the phenomenon" (Bourguignon 1976:54-55).

Beliefs regarding this are diverse among the groups I studied. First of all there is the distinction between God moving upon versus in. Pastor JGD told me the Old Testament prophets prophesied when God moved upon, and God didn't move in until Pentecost. Yet the Bible says at Pentecost that God poured himself upon all flesh. Second, since Satan can counterfeit the gifts, they believe discernment is needed to tell which is speaking. Pastor VFM said that if God is not speaking, then Satan is the only other possibility. He related the story of two former satanists who came to his church and both could speak in tongues. "But," he stated emphatically, "it was not of God...not as the Holy Spirit gives the utterance." By contrast, Pastor VMS believes that even a Christian can speak from his own heart, rather than it being of God, and that an utterance not of God is not necessarily of the devil. MMR, a member of VMS's congregation, told me that members must first relate their message to an elder, and they won't be allowed to speak if it's really "off-the-wall," or contradictory to the Bible. She said "sometimes it's of God and sometime it isn't, and it can be very disruptive to the service." Pastor VMS further quoted I Corinthians 14 that each person has the responsibility to judge what he hears for himself. Though BMC said he believes he can't speak of the devil, he has a way to test himself "to make sure." He will stop his glossolalia and say in English, "Jesus Christ is the Son of God," because "you can't saw that except by the Holy Spirit. EGL believes that Satan has limitations and can only duplicate the gifts up to a point.
Like Pastor VMS, Pastor HNS recognizes a third possible source as emotionalism. Pastor HCK apparently agrees when he said that he has "seen a lot of weird, even funny, stuff come from people's own emotions and not from God." He expressed a different variation in saying that the devil cannot speak in tongues and didn't anywhere in the scriptures. Still, as in VMS's church, he is careful of who he lets speak. Some people, he said, are given too much to excitement "because of improper instruction." But "God is not the author of confusion." HSK admitted that "when God deals with us he is dealing with the human element ... the human channel ... so there's always that potential ... of being filtered through and becoming altered. The Word acts like a check on that." James and Jung effectively made the same statement in saying that regardless of whether the source is God or a higher consciousness, it still must come through the filter of the conscious ego. Therefore, some Pentecostals profess to believe they cannot speak "of the devil," while others recognize a third possible source as emotionalism. Regardless of their explicit beliefs, they all have methods of testing or discerning, which reveals their implicit belief that God must speak through the human filter.

Even when Pentecostals are convinced that it is a divine source that is speaking through them, there still remains some ambiguity about just who exactly is doing the speaking. For example, Pastor JGD said, "The Holy Spirit is inside, taking control of the vocal cords and praying to the Lord." Then he said, "I have the sense of a relationship and communication with the Lord." Similarly, Pastor VFM said first, "It's Him ... but it's an edification to you," and then "it's conversing with
God about things we don't really know what." Likewise, MMR said, "It's God," but later "it's my spirit (portion of the Holy Spirit) that was given to me . . . gives me the power." Less confusing was Pastor VHS who said, "When you pray in the Spirit, you're praying in accordance with the will of God." Though the Pentecostals do not believe in an extra-rational consciousness beyond ego, I suggest that this ambiguity arises because of the paradox of God and one's own unconscious being indistinguishable. In other words, the higher nature of the unconscious can easily appear as diety relative to the conscious ego.

As for the initial experience of speaking in tongues, which Pentecostals believe is the sign of the Holy Spirit, all groups have various techniques for inducing the experience. In keeping with her trance hypothesis, Goodman describes the technique she observed as "driving," a complex manipulation to which the supplicant is subjected, driving him into the altered state, not unlike the cheers of spectators driving an athlete to greater exertion" (1973:199). The most common method she saw was the use of "trigger words," meaning both full utterances and glossolalia, which were aimed at the initiate. Certain contexts that produced emotional arousal were also effective. All of these may or may not be used with the laying on of hands. The seeker himself may attempt to induce it in himself by various behavior patterns, prayer, or fasting.

In my fieldwork I neither observed glossolalia in trance nor any of the above methods, except prayer and the laying on of hands. Those I interviewed or talked to reported the experience of initial tongues occurring as often in a solitary setting as in a public setting. Three
of my interviewees told me specifically that they received it alone and without direction. Of the three only AGF did not receive it spontaneously but only after praying for three days. Two more said they received their spirit baptism with glossolalia after responding to an altar call. Both of these then were directed by a single individual. SFG was told "Just pray. If you feel anything strange, just let it come out." The others were taken to a private room where they had individual coaching. VMS was told to first make sure he was saved and then start speaking in pseudo-language until the speaking in tongues started. SCD was told to visualize Jesus with his hands on him, to ask for the baptism, and to lift hands to God.

Many investigators consider glossolalia to be learned behavior, in the sense that it becomes "a stereotyped pattern of unconsciously controlled vocal behavior" (Hine 1969:220). Goodman recognized that over time "the utterance becomes model oriented, reflecting the syllable inventory of the group" (1974:246). Samarin stated that the behavior is "learned," not in the same way ordinary language is learned but more in the sense of developing a better, more convincing, and more proficient performance. This means avoiding repetitiousness, developing a richer vocabulary, speaking easily and fluently, and becoming more articulate. If the prayer language remains rudimentary the individual's faith may be questioned (1979:99). Finally, Lapsley agreed that glossolalia is to some degree learned but suggested a better term. "While glossolalia is transmitted from person to person in social settings, it appears more correct to say that it is 'caught' rather than learned" (1964b:21).
The people Goodman studied believe that dissociation is a necessary first step towards glossolalia. There are cases where people go into dissociation spontaneously and without any knowledge of how to do it. Goodman says that the more usual case is that it also is learned. Even some cases that appear spontaneous are in reality attributable to cultural expectations. She gives an example of herself going into "spontaneous dissociation," although her description seems to me more like a vision than dissociation. The "learning" she describes as being in the nature of imitation along with knowledge of other's descriptions. The next stage would be rhythmic sensory stimulation and the "driving" described previously (1972:70-75).

Most of the learning of glossolalia outlined above, however, occurs after the initial experience. There are many non-religious examples of spontaneous occurrences of tongues that will be described later. Other miracles are occasionally reported coincident with first experiences. In fact, even the occurrence of "tongues of flames" have been reported in modern times as they occurred on the day of Pentecost. Once it appears and develops, it looks like the following:

Sala ka tayestsa. Sai chung tung chava dieva zandali cheya chungolo mochoko kotorie toka. Chang chung kuye saysesh neveesaya.

Okhazhevanai toree kafaouzheevra doudeila. Zhour dena dasteeprathosdai brouzheedavrataneeed. (Phillips 1964:37)

Samarin describes the wide variety of fluency among those experiencing initial glossolalia. Some are very fluent and can speak in tongues for hours. Others begin with only a few words and take several weeks or months to develop fluency. Once fluency is developed, glossolalia evolves
in other ways. It can be manipulated with respect to speed, volume, and intonation. Some even use it to express emotion. For others the advance is made in the direction of semanticity (Samarin 1971:58, 64). Although Goodman observed glossolalia associated with trance and described long-term attenuation of glossolalia (1974:246), my own observations concur with Samarin’s and not with hers. MMR, for example, said her glossolalia has changed over time in that she will speak longer at any one session. EGL said at first her prayer language was very limited, consisting of only two or three words, but has since advanced. Similarly all the others I interviewed reported an increase in their glossolalia and not an attenuation.

Theories and Observations of Glossolalia

Pathological Vs. Non-Pathological Theories of Glossolalia

Subjective experience of possession by the Holy Spirit varies widely. Some describe the onset as like a rushing wind coming into the heart. Others shiver with the sensations of electricity or merely feel extreme joy (Goodman et al. 1974:59). The sensation of heat is also commonly reported but can become full blown dissociation (Goodman 1972: 83, 141). Others relate sensations of soaring, the urge to laugh, intoxication, and of deep peace. Very commonly people burst into tears upon spirit baptism. Physical healings often accompany the emotional reactions. Healings of an inner psychological nature or the healings of bad habits are just as common as the physical ones. These are the ways it is felt, but the ways it may come are also diverse. It may come quietly or with a bang, unexpectedly or after long seeking. Many report
that the baptism of the Holy Spirit is often followed by a visitation by
the devil, as happened to Christ in the Wilderness (Sherrill 1964:113-114,
128). It has been suggested that this is due to a reconnection to the
contents of the deep unconscious. Regardless of source, the glossolalia
speaker has the impression of being filled with a reality beyond himself
which speaks through him (Kelsey 1981:168, 219).

Observed objectively by non-tongue speakers, the behavior may show
characteristics of trance, altered states of consciousness, or
dissociation. This has often led to pathological theories of causation
or theories equating glossolalia with trance, particularly in earlier
studies. An example of the latter is the work of Felicitas Goodman, who
theorizes that glossolalia is an artifact of trance. In fact she states
that she has shown unequivocally that the vocalization is intimately
related to the trance (Goodman 1974:247) and is tied to physiological
and kinetic behavior present in the glossolalist (Zaretsky 1973:66). Her
approach is not a pathology model (Goodman et al. 1974:261) and she
admits that it may indeed have favorable after effects (Goodman 1969:238).

Despite the culturally relative characteristics of glossolalia such
as phonology rules, accent pattern, and intonation, the neurophysiological
correlates of the dissociative state drive the brain centers responsible
for the vocalization and produce a stereotypic threshold of onset, brief
rising gradient of intensity, a peak, and a final precipitous decay
(Goodman 1969:227, 228, 238). Described another way, "the glossolalia
utterance is an artifact of a hyperarousal mental state or, in Chomskyan
terms, as the surface structure of a nonlinguistic deep structure, that
of the altered state of consciousness" (Goodman 1972:8). Though the
trance may sometimes be light, she found glossolalia to be always associated with hyperarousal. Somehow cortical control is switched to a subcortical structure, which then proceeds to drive the former. Defined more formally, "glossolalia is a vocalization pattern, a speech automatism, that is produced on the substratum of hyperarousal dissociation, reflecting directly, in its segmental and suprasegmental structure, neurophysiologic processes present in this mental state" (Goodman 1972:96, 124).

As to the speech behavior itself, Goodman describes it as proceeding in four stages. The first is entrance into dissociation where one is "largely unaware of what is going around him. He does not perceive many ordinary stimuli, such as strong light, heat, sounds, or discourse directed at him" (1973:185). However, a narrow "perceptual window" may be kept open to maintain awareness of babies or to be receptive to cues of the pastor (Goodman 1972:62-65). The subject may have perceptions "such as pressure on the chest, floating, disappearance of persons around him, and so on. In physical terms, he is hyperaroused; his body works more intensely than under ordinary conditions, evidencing an accelerated pulse and heart beat, exaggerated perspiration, salivation, tear flow, flushing, and various rhythmic patterns of motion" (Goodman 1973:185). In the second stage there is the glossolalia vocalization, which is superimposed on the hyperarousal state, and learned while the person is dissociated. In the third stage the utterance stops but dissociation continues, with a considerable depression of inhibitions. In the last stage a dissolution of the residual hyperarousal takes place, with very little memory of what has happened (Goodman 1973:185-186).
I will not question the validity of her observations as they apply to the Yucatan of Mexico where her fieldwork was done. I will argue, however, against her theory of glossolalia as an artifact of hyperarousal trance and her statement that glossolalia can only occur in that state. At no time did I observe glossolalia spoken in what I could consider dissociative trance and no one that I have asked has ever experienced loss of memory. Definite objections are made to Goodman's theory and opinions such as Kiev's who says "'tongues' are characterized by repetitive unintelligible rapidly spoken gobbledygook associated with what seems to be a dissociative state" (1964:132).

Other investigators in the literature would seem to agree with my objections, stating that glossolalia does not necessarily depend on unusual psychological states (Jacquith 1967:7, Smith 1974:316). Stanley et al. states that "the absence of feelings of unity and the presence of the ability to control the production of the phenomenon are also characteristics generally applicable across the glossolalic groups. This seems to indicate, at least for this sample, the irrelevance of the concept of glossolalia as an altered state of consciousness" (1978:277). Sponos et al. said the "non-trance" view does not deny that trance may accompany glossolalia in certain settings. Contrary to the "trance" hypothesis, he found that "experienced glossolalics performed glossolalia with eyes wide open and without accompanying kinetic activity or residual disorientation. Moreover, memory deficits following glossolalic speech occurred to the same degree following nontrance control activity" (1979: 427-428).
The most prolific writer objecting to the Goodman theory, though, is William Samarin. His own theory insists that "every person with normal linguistic capabilities can produce glossolalia in a normal and not necessarily altered state of consciousness" (1979:91). All speech is neurological in origin so physiological states are not the sole causation for the glossolalia. "The same linguistic processes are seen in pathological and normal speech, in speech produced when a person is in some altered state of consciousness as well as in a normal state" (Samarin 1968:85). Therefore "emotion and psychological state should be omitted from the definition of glossolalia" (1968:52).

All the evidence from my interviews contradict the trance hypothesis. Pastor JGD said that glossolalia "does touch the emotions . . . but no emotional buildup, positive or negative is necessary. Mood doesn't matter." He said he experiences no changes in perception of space and time, and has no sense of being in trance. He added, "What you feel physiologically while speaking in tongues can range from normal conversation to the 'warm fuzzies'." Pastor VFM said, "There is definitely no loss of consciousness during the speaking in tongues experience, although some during their first time will get so caught up emotionally that they lose track of what's going on around them." He admitted the presence of emotion in his own experience, saying that "Sometimes it makes you weep like a baby, and other times there is a bolder expression like shouting." MMR denied feeling any particular emotion during glossolalia. BMC spoke in tongues for the first time while sitting quietly on a couch. Pastor HNS said he feels "annointed" while speaking in tongues. EGL told me that when she feels annointed
she gets the shakes "because it's touching you at such a deep level."
Pastors VMS, SCD, and MES received their first experiences of glossolalia under conditions of skepticism and doubt, and no particular emotion. AGF felt extreme joy at his spirit baptism but told of a friend of his who first spoke in tongues in her sleep.

This would seem to support the theory of Maslow that phenomena such as glossolalia can occur in the "plateau-experience" as well as in "peak-experiences." He says the plateau experience is "serene and calm, rather than a poignantly emotional, climatic, autonomic response to the miraculous, the awesome, the sacralized" (1964:xiv-xvi). This seems to correspond to Fischer's hypoarousal states versus hyperarousal states. He postulates an ergotrophic, hyperarousal perception-hallucination continuum running in the opposite direction of a trophotrophic, hypoarousal perception-meditation continuum with the "normal state of consciousness in the center. The former continuum moves towards ecstasy and the latter towards yoga "samadi," both representing the most "hallucinatory" states (Fischer 1971:897-898).

The Goodman hypothesis may have been erroneous, but at least she didn't label glossolalia as pathological, which is common among older studies. Clark, for example, states that the charismatic gifts "are nearly always of a nervous or emotional character," which "flourish mainly among the ignorant and nervously unstable . . . from the lower ranks of culture." He continues, "all this seems strange to the average person of education who has established rational control over the more primitive impulses, and to whom such experiences are made impossible by temperament or nervous stability" (1949:85, 94-95). Similarly, a special
Study Commission on Glossolalia, appointed by Bishop Pike of the Episcopal Church of California, explains that "glossolalia . . . appears among adults who are suffering from mental disorders such as schizophrenia and hysteria" (Sadler 1964:84, 87). Lapsley concludes that glossolalia is "a dissociative expression of truncated personality development" (1964:24). Spanos' survey adds that over the years, glossolalics have also been labeled hysteric, cataleptic, emotionally unstable, immature, neurotic, excessively dependent, and highly dogmatic (1979:429).

A more recent class of theories sees glossolalia as therapeutic for personality maintenance or reintegration (Smith et al. 1981:216). One variation understands glossolalia to be "a regression in the service of the ego" (Lapsley et al. 1964b:20). Samarin took this view from a linguistic approach. He makes clear that glossolalia is anomalous speech, not abnormal speech. He suggests its similarities to the pseudo-linguistic utterances of children, but at the same time points out that it is in no way "word salad." For both the glossolalia speaker and children, he says, language is sound whereas for adults it is sense. The glossolalia speaker attempts to return to processes characterizing his language learning in early childhood, but he can never be completely successful in returning to where he knew very little of language, because as an adult he knows too much. Therefore what happens is a process of "primitivization" or "simplification" (1973:77, 79, 81, 85).

Another view which diverges from pathology theories is one that understands glossolalia as functioning symbolically in the same way as other religious behaviors such as the Christian eucharist. This
hypothesis describes speaking in tongues as a ritualized amalgamation of crying and laughing, which are nonlinguistic expressions of two very basic modes of human feeling (Hutch 1980:256). This I feel is too simplistic and I will present evidence later that glossolalia not only touches upon a greater range of emotions but transmits communicative meaning as well.

Recently, objections to pathology models have become more numerous. Goodman et al., for example, proposed that the pathology model "is not suitable for describing altered mental states ... they occur in clinically healthy subjects ... Research results published since 1960 have shown the pathology view to be largely untenable" (1974:261, 346). Samarin says "glossolalists are not necessarily abnormal beings, it is only their belief that is not common" (1972a:79). Pattison states that "in the mainline Pentecostals who have successfully moved into the middle class I have observed little overt psychopathology" (1974:446). Ward et al. makes it clear that "we by no means intend to argue that possession per se is pathological" (1981:296). In fact, Smith et al. says that "there is now a large body of data which indicates glossolalics to be better adjusted than nonglossolalics" (1981:210). Carl Jung is quoted as saying he considered the experience of glossolalia to be "a positive preparation for integration of personality." Richardson states that "most reject the idea that serious mental health deficiencies are always present with glossolalia" (1973:200, 205).

Sadler admits that there are sometimes certain striking parallels between ecstatic behavior and behavior patterns associated with hysteria and other mental disorders, but to explain one in terms of the other is unjustifiable reductionism (1964:88). In Hine's comprehensive review of
the psychological literature on glossolalia, she states that "concepts of glossolalia as learned behavior and as part of a process of personality reorganization are found to be more useful." She admits that initial spirit baptism experiences often have ecstatic tendencies but "subsequent use of the gift of tongues is most often independent of any altered mental state or trance behavior. Speaking with tongues may even occur without the usual emotional rewards" (1969:211-212). She criticizes Cutten's psychopathology theory, stating that "his assumption that glossolalia is linked to schizophrenia and hysteria has not been supported by any empirical evidence." She speculates that he shows a tendency to evaluate unusual religious behavior negatively. She concludes that "available evidence requires that an explanation of glossolalia as pathological must be discarded." She quotes Wood as agreeing that there is "no evidence to indicate abnormality or psychological pathology of any kind." In fact, she says that whole families involved in the movement are "more than normally well-integrated" (Hine 1969:213, 216, 217).

Psychologist Abraham Maslow suggests that even in the more ecstatic initial spirit baptisms, these "peak experiences" can contribute to personality growth and self-actualization, sometimes effecting permanent growth and self-actualization, sometimes effecting permanent changes" (Hine 1969:223). William James criticized the assumption that the spiritual value of mystical experiences is somehow undone when lowly physiological origin is asserted as being "medical materialism" (1902:27). Psychologist Morton Kelsey states that "he had yet to meet a schizophrenic tongue speaker in the new movement." The schizophrenic, he explains, is
a fragmented and disintegrated ego overwhelmed by the invasion by the unconscious. Tongue speaking, he admitted, is also "a powerful invasion of the unconscious. It can be dangerous for the weak ego and should never be forced on anyone." By contrast, when "the unconscious possesses the glossolalic, the ego still retains contact with outer reality, and indeed often improves his relationship to the outer world ... even being healed of both physical illnesses and of emotional or psychological difficulties" (Kelsey 1981:129, 206-208). As a Jungian psychologist, Kelsey associates glossolalia with the breaking through of unconscious forces seeking integration. He quotes Carl Jung himself as saying that tongues appear to be associated with growth and integration of personality. Kelsey further adds that not only are pathological mental states not causative of glossolalia but quite to the contrary, in some cases glossolalia is the only thing that breaks up a pattern of mental illness (1981:220, 228).

Again it is emphasized that trance is not necessary to allow entrance of the integrative powers of the unconscious by glossolalia. Others in agreement include Spanos et al. who way that "our findings are consistent with non-trance formulations that conceptualize the acquisition and maintenance of glossolalia in terms of social learning variables ... and run counter to all the predictions derived from the trance hypotheses of both Goodman and Kildahl." In other words, glossolalia "can be acquired by almost anyone who possesses the requisite motivation and who is exposed regularly to social environments that encourage such utterances" (Spanos et al. 1979:427, 432-433). Speaking of the charismatics, Samarin says that "dissociation is rare in
this movement" (1974:210). Hutch states that "most tongue speaking involves little loss of ego control and a minimum of altered states of awareness" (1980:261). Again this is also the consensus of all those I interviewed. I suggest, however, that it might be more useful to discuss glossolalia in terms of differential modes of consciousness rather than altered states of consciousness.

That emotion is not necessarily associated with glossolalia has been noted by many researchers. McDonnell states that spirit baptism "can and often does take place without emotional concomitants" (1968:405). Samarin excludes emotion and psychological state from the definition of glossolalia (1968:52). Kelsey testifies that glossolalia is found among "surroundings which are anything but emotional in the ordinary sense . . . and occurs just as readily in a quiet devotional atmosphere." He relates many experiences of people who felt no particular emotion, but one who did described it as "emotional collection" rather than "emotional release" (1981:6, 13, 99-101).

In addition to the absence of emotions, many people report the ability to control their glossolalia (Laffal et al. 1974:280). Among those I interviewed, Pastor VFM said he has to pray in English until he feels the move of God before speaking in tongues. Others report that they can start more easily and have full control, but in all cases they assured me they can stop at any time.

Another theory of glossolalia sees it as a kind of automatism. Murphy defines a motor automatism as "performance of acts normally requiring attention without the apparent supervision, or even knowledge of the performer" (Lapsley 1964b:18). Lapsley adds that "seen as a form
of psychomotor behavior, glossolalia appears to be like trance states, somnambulism, mediumship, and automatic writing, in that the conscious centers of the psyche are bypassed in production of these behaviors (1964a:50). The bypass of rational control was attested to by those I interviewed. Pastor JGD said "the Holy Spirit is truly inside, taking control of the vocal cords, the tongue, or the utterance, bypassing the intellect." Two others also said that glossolalia does not come from the intellect because they can do math problems in their head at the same time that they are speaking.

Other investigators see the "unconscious" (I use the term reluctantly as I feel it is a misnomer) as the source of glossolalia, in contrast to Pentecostals who believe the unconscious is at best a channel for God. In either case there is agreement that, at least, glossolalia comes from the direction of the unconscious. In other words, the two views are not mutually exclusive because as William James said, "reference to a subliminal self does not exclude the notion of the direct presence of the Diety . . . If there be higher powers able to impress us, they may get access to us only through the subliminal door" (1902:194-195).

Still in the scientific literature, we see a dialectic between a traditional Freudian view of a negative unconscious, "a repository for repressed emotions," and the more positive view of the unconscious characteristic of Jungian psychology (Sadler 1964:88-90). The Jungian view gives the unconscious more of a transcendent nature which communicates its contents to the conscious ego not only through glossolalia but also through dreams, intuitions, and ESP. To the latter
is added psychic phenomena, which is disowned by Pentecostals but nevertheless has many parallels to the other inspirational gifts of wisdom, knowledge, prophecy, and discernment. Jung was emphatic about insisting that the "unconscious" is superior to conscious awareness, particularly as a synthesizing and integrating force for the ego. He recognized that it was this force which ultimately healed his patients and not he the psychologist. This directly parallels the Pentecostal belief that only God and not the individual can bring the ultimate healing. Jung believed that those who lose touch with the unconscious and the powers it mediates sooner or later fall into mental, physical, or moral illness. This is directly coincident with Pentecostal belief if you merely substitute the words God, Jesus, or Holy Spirit for the word "unconscious." Jung agreed that glossolalia was indicative of contact with the "divine unconscious," as it is in the same way a sign of the baptism by the Holy Spirit for Pentecostals. It appears that the Jungian view is correlated experiencially with Pentecostal experience (Kelsey 1981:7-9, 190-202, 216-217, 220).

In Lapsley's study of the phenomenon, he found that the Jungian view was the most prevalent. He said, "Some of the ideas of Carl Jung provide the basis of what is apparently the widespread view, that glossolalia is manifestation of the collective conscious." To this Lapsley adds, "In Jung's view the collective unconscious is always filtered through the personal" (1964b:17, 21), a point that will be expanded upon later.

The Personal and Social Benefits of Tongues

It should be clarified at this point that glossolalia as a non-communicative language can evolve in the direction of semanticity.
Although glossolalia "words" do not have meaning in the conventional sense, Samarin says they may convey a great deal of meaning prosodically and paralinguistically. Often speakers convey meaning intonationally in the same way they do in their native language (1969:72). Many of those I talked to say that one "language" is more appropriate in prayer than another when contemplating a particular problem. Samarin adds that glossolalia meaning can come from the belief that speech in itself has power, implying magical properties (1979:100-101).

Glossolalia has been compared to improvisational jazz, or opera, in that the speaker uses syllables the way a musician uses notes (Samarin 1972a:50, 99, Jacquith 1967:3). It has also been compared to songs using nonsense language. I am reminded of the song that goes "Who put the 'bomp' in the 'bomp-she-bomp-ta-bomp'? Who was that man? I'd like to shake his hand. He made my baby fall in love in me." This is a classic example of power attributed to nonsense words. Other familiar examples are "Open sesame" and "Abra kadabra."

In addition to this, meaning can be conveyed emotionally and non-verbally through the whole glossolalia performance (Samarin 1968:59, Laffal 1974:278, 288-290, Jacquith 1967:2). When one language is used consistently over time and the speaker becomes familiar with specific words, those words may pick up meaning by association. Finally, glossolalia may simply be useful in expression of the ineffable (Samarin 1968:59, 68). This last characteristic, in fact, is the most commonly reported one by those I interviewed.

Some of those who have welcomed "the Holy Spirit" into themselves, either on initial conversion or later spirit baptism, have reported...
immediate radical changes in their lives. For example, in relating the testimony of one of her subjects, Goodman said, "After speaking in tongues for the first time early in 1969, he felt himself to be a different man, for previously he had often wanted to die; after this experience, he no longer thought of death" (1973:205). Another of her subjects reported he had been immediately cured of smoking, drinking, and other aspects of loose living (1972:41). Sherrill relates another story of a minister instantly cured of chronic alcoholism. Another case was of a woman immediately cured of chronic worry and repeated psychosomatic illnesses upon her spirit baptism. An example of a more physical cure was a woman whose short leg grew two inches at the moment she was baptized by the Holy Spirit (1964:114). Other examples of positive changes were related earlier. All together these are a testimony to the often "miraculous" changes that can result when one "surrender" to the power and guidance coming from the direction of the unconscious.

One investigator, from his study of one small Catholic charismatic group, claims that interaction with the group and not the glossolalia experience produced positive change (Lovekin 1977:390-392). This is contrary to the consensus of the bulk of recent studies that beneficial effects result from both, separately or together. The total experience not only helps the individual's own personality reintegration, but also facilitates his social integration with the rest of the group or congregation and his total social network (Jacquith 1967:6).

Another theory proposes that middle class fundamentalists converted to the glossolalia movement (as distinguished from mainline Pentecostals)
make up a marginal middle class, for whom glossolalia and faith healing provide ideological support. Pattison hypothesizes that, in contrast to the lower class members in the movement who are being socialized in dominant values, the fundamentalist middle class is moving away from dominant values. After listing multitudinous negative personality traits of these people, he says that these "neurotic disturbances only occur when ideological concepts lose their integrating power." Thus "they find in glossolalia an infusion of experience into their intellectual religious life, and an undeniable affirmation of the 'rightness' and validity of their fundamentalist belief system" (1974: 418-455).

One of my criticisms of Pattison's analysis is that he does not make clear why the middle class is moving away from the dominant values of society while the lower class is moving towards them. He himself admits that "the fundamentalist covertly follows the norms of the society he rejects" (1974:433). Second I would point out that glossolalia and faith healing provide ideological support not only for both middle and lower class fundamentalist Pentecostals but for charismatics as well. This is not unique to the so-called "marginal middle class" but is a universal human trait. William James states that for all men "mystical experience carries an enormous sense of inner authority and illumination with them when they come." He adds that they "are, and have a right to be, absolutely authoritative over the individuals to whom they come." The idea must come with the force of a revelation, he continues, in order to be an effective suggestion. That same authority, however, has no jurisdiction outside that individual. The authority is completely
relative, clothing itself in whatever belief system the individual possesses at the moment (1902:31, 101, 105, 323-330). Likewise, Masters and Houston report that every drug experience is dependent on personal history and frame of reference (1966:6). This point will be expanded upon later.

Pattison's paper, though, represents only one of many attempts to make a general personality assessment of glossolalia speakers. Some have been simply humorous, such as psychologist Stanley Plog's survey that found a large majority were Republicans (Phillips 1964:37). Others have been less kind, such as Lapsley et al. who said the "Pentecostals are uncommonly troubled people." He denies that glossolalia brings a permanent integration of personality, though he admits that "it is likely to be of benefit to emotionally labile, disturbed persons who have internalized their emotional conflicts"...providing "temporary relief from intrapsychic conflict, enhanced by the security of the group and the assurance of divine approval." He further hypothesizes "that glossolalia represents a temporary undoing of the tangle of love and hate involved in a fixated object relationship, with the unconscious positive feelings being expressed in the tongues speaking, and the negative feelings projected outward and displaced onto the devils." In short he labels it as "a dissociative expression of truncated personality development" (1964:16, 20-24).

This kind of subjective negative personality assessment of glossolalia speakers is typical of older studies. Although Kildahl's personality testing determined glossolalists to be more submissive, suggestible, and dependent in the presence of authority figures, he also
admits that "no personality type specific for the tongue speakers could be identified" (Wittkower 1974:234). Moving away from a pathology model, Lovekin said that although his testing revealed that "glossolalics reported much more familial psychopathology and prior poor adjustment, they did not evidence signs of neuroticism or maladaptive anxiety" (1977:384). Similarly, psychological testing by Smith "suggests glossolalics are more anxious but less neurotic than nonglossolalics. Glossolalics tend to externalize anxiety into physical and vocal behavior, while nonglossolalics tend to internalize into somatic and depressive symptomatology. Nonglossolalics tend to be more intelligent and dependent than glossolalics, while the latter experienced more personal tragedy" (1981:209). Garrison concurred that "only minor psychological differences have been evidenced, and not greatly increased rates of social and psychological ills" (1974:299). Lovelik et al. agrees that glossolalics "evidence no greater psychopathology than nonglossolalics. This contradicts the assertion that glossolalics are maladjusted prior to the experience." In fact, he says that to the contrary, "those who do not become glossolalic may be more disturbed than those who do. Being more anxious, hostile, and depressed may predispose a person to being unable to become glossolalic" (1977:391, 392). Likewise Smith et al. states that "there is now a large body of data which indicates glossolalics to be better adjusted than nonglossolalics" (1981:210).

Goodman agrees on the positive personality assessments of glossolalics among the group she studied who practice glossolalia in trance. She concurs about the futility of describing a single
"Pentecostal personality type" (1972:25-26). Even if this were possible, Wood warns that this would "provide no information about whether the 'Pentecostal type' is attracted to or developed by participation in the Pentecostal movement" (Richardson 1973:202).

The closest anyone has come to a single personality type is Kelsey's suggestion that it is the extroverted person who is most likely to speak in tongues (1981:220). Perhaps because they are more extroverted, Wood says Pentecostals are more insecure about interpersonal relationships and thus actively seek to improve them and their own personality integration at the same time. He also states that they have the common trait of preferring religious solutions to their problems (Richardson 1973:203). In addition, Pentecostals are often portrayed as having a dogmatic or authoritarian personality structure. Gerlach et al. argues that although they may display "a closed cognitive organization of beliefs, they do not as a group behave or relate to other people in a fashion that fits the dogmatic or dominant submissive stereotype" (1968:34). Similarly, Pattison states that they score high on authoritarianism but "this is a function of 'attitudinal dogmatism' rather than the content of 'right wing' beliefs, the same authoritarianism showing up among dogmatists of 'left wing' belief" (1974:424).

Suggestibility is also a characteristic once commonly attributed to Pentecostals. Hine argues that theories explaining "glossolalia as indicative of psychological pathology, suggestibility or hypnosis . . . are found inadequate" (1969:211). Lovekin's tests found suggestibility "to be minimal. It was, in fact, higher in the traditional churchmen"
Spanos et al. found that "glossolalics did not differ from controls on hypnotic susceptibility or absorption. These groups also failed to differ from each other on dogmatism, introversion-extroversion, and all measures of psychopathology on which they were assessed. These data contradict the common but empirically unsubstantiated view that glossolalia is symptomatic of psychopathology" (1979:433).

Finally, in defense of Pentecostals and charismatics, I quote Abraham Maslow, who implies that the ability to produce glossolalia may be a healthier state than the inability, or refusal, to produce it. He says, "Not having core-religious experiences may be a 'lower,' lesser state, a state in which we are not 'fully functioning,' not at our best, not fully human, not sufficiently integrated" (1964:32).
CHAPTER FIVE

THE OTHER GIFTS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

According to traditional Pentecostal belief, there are nine gifts of the Holy Spirit listed in I Corinthians 12:8-10. After initial spirit baptism, an individual is expected to manifest one or more of these gifts. Besides diverse kinds of tongues and the interpretation of tongues, the remaining seven are word of wisdom, word of knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, working of miracles, prophecy, and discerning of spirits. In Bible study, the purposes of the gifts were explained by an analogy between Christian believers and members of a body. The gifts manifested by one member are meant to function for the benefit of all. In other words, they are blessings not only to the individual but so he himself may also be a blessing. It should be noted that they are "gifts" in the true sense of the word and do not imply character maturity. Finally, these nine gifts can be divided into three different categories. The first is the utterance gifts which include prophecy, glossolalia, and interpretation of tongues. The second category is power or action gifts, which include healing, miracles, and faith. The third, gifts of revelation, includes the discerning of spirits, word of knowledge, and word of wisdom.

Since the charismatic movement began, however, there have been questions as to how many gifts there really are. In addition to gifts, Pentecostals list the "fruits" of the Holy Spirit as love, faith, hope, charity, enthusiasm. To the Catholic num SEM, these are really "gifts in embryo" which have to be cultivated and take time to grow, rather
than appearing full blown. The Catholic charismatic "Life in the Spirit" seminar teaches that there are seven motivational gifts and five ministry gifts, in addition to the classic nine manifestational gifts which are meant for use in public fellowship. Charismatic Pastor DS pointed out that other passages in I Corinthians and Romans list other gifts such as mercy, administration of government, and help. He quoted St. Paul as saying that the gifts that are listed are suggestive and not exhaustive. In other words, they are infinite.

**Word of Wisdom**

The word of wisdom is believed to be supernaturally given by God and can come in several ways. It may appear as spiritual understanding or intuition, in the form of the "quickening" of scripture, as an audible voice or angel, or in dreams, visions, or trance. One of Goodman's subjects, for example, had a vision of candles being extinguished, warning him that the Apostolic church was in danger of extinction. Another had a vision with a voice warning that the churches must be cleaned out. A man also claimed to have had a vision of Christ standing at the altar (1973:205-208). One of Boisen's subjects related that "my eyes were still closed but a light was blinding them through closed lids and through the white radiance there shot and leaped tongues of yellow fire apparently just above my head. After a little while the flames died away and I was permitted to open my eyes" (1939: 188).

Even without an accompanying voice, the visions often bring a certainty or conviction about whatever concerns the individual about
himself or another. In a Bible study on my birthday, a woman had a vision of Christ offering me multitudes of wrapped gifts. Then again a voice may appear alone. James, in his book, quotes a man as saying, "God is quite real to me. I talk to him and often get answers. Thoughts sudden and distinct from any I have been entertaining come to my mind after asking God for his direction" (1902:70-71). While praying SFG "... heard a voice, much as like your voice as I hear it now, saying 'I am Jesus and I am inside of you.'" Pastor SCD told me about receiving his call to pastoring. "I didn't hear the words aloud but it was as clear as any conversation that I'd ever had." EGL told me as she was praying privately at home, Christ appeared and said, "I am what you've been looking for all your life. You'll never have another chance, it's now or never." On the night of RGB's birthday, just weeks after her conversion, an angel appeared in her dreams and also for several succeeding nights, giving her one word each time. They would always be in foreign languages unknown to her, and she found when she looked them up that they would have religious meanings relevant to her life. She also dreamed of an eighth grade teacher whom she hadn't seen in many years. When she contacted her, she found her in the midst of a deep personal crisis and in need of comfort. Later things began to come to her in the waking state, especially Bible verses. They would run through her mind like a ticker tape and stop at the relevant quotation. One effect of these inspirational messages she received was to bring a couple back together after 46 years of marital discord. Another type of vision was a waking one in which she saw her sister-in-law answering an altar call in church. As it turned out, she was clairvoyantly
witnessing an event that was actually happening at that very moment exactly as she saw it. She also has received messages through automatic writing, which comes one word at a time totally independent of her intellect. She is sensitive to the emotions other people are feeling.

The "quickening" of scripture is another variation which RGB has experienced. One day she looked outside and saw a vision of Christ in the clouds. Then she opened the Bible arbitrarily and the first verse she looked at said, "The Son of Man is coming in a cloud." Another way scripture is quickened is when it suddenly magnifies and jumps off the page up close to your face. LE has experienced it this way. MMR experienced still a different way when she began to read scripture with an extraordinarily clear understanding when the same verses had just been "Greek" before.

Word of Knowledge

In Bible study it was explained that there are four kinds of knowledge. The first is natural human knowledge, which is increasing rapidly as predicted before the end times. The second is the "fallen world's" supernatural knowledge which is gained by supernatural means other than the Holy Spirit (eg. occult, witchcraft, sorcery), and without any change in lifestyle or commitment. The third kind is true intellectual knowledge which grows with the walk with the Lord gradually. All these are distinguished from the gift of the word of knowledge defined as follows. The supernatural revelation of facts, past, present, or future, which are not learned through the efforts of the natural mind. It is considered a portion of God's divine knowledge.
Pentecostals are emphatic about denying that is a psychic phenomenon like extra-sensory perception, telepathy, or clairvoyance. These are forbidden by God.

Some examples are given of Jesus who knew that Lazarus only slept and was not dead, who knew the Samaritan woman was sleeping with a man not her husband, and who knew that Peter would deny him (John 11:11, 4:17, 13:38). The word of knowledge may come by the same means as the word of wisdom and indeed the two are often hard to distinguish. Another example given by Goodman is of a woman who testified that "one night God revealed Himself to me, and I saw this great light in the shape of a hand, and it was very brilliant. And with this light I heard a voice .. ." which went on to make certain predictions about her son, all of which came true (1972:52-53). Kelsey relates the story of a Mrs. Shakarin who had a vision predicting the formation of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship (1981:88).

**Discerning of Spirits**

Pentecostals believe that the world we live in is a spiritual world and a person cannot be unaffected by or remain neutral to spiritual influences. There are spiritual aspects to God, Satan, and also Man. They define the discernment between these spirits as the God-given ability to recognize the identity, usually the personality and condition, of the spirits which are behind different manifestations or activities. In other words, it is the ability to know what is motivating a person or situation. This is necessary because "all that glitters is not gold" and "Satan can appear as an angel of light." In
Bible study it was also pointed out that there are variations of this gift. One may be more adept at discerning one type of spiritual source than another. In general, however, the purpose of this gift is primarily to protect, guard, and guide God's people. It does this by giving eyes to the spiritual realm.

The need for discernment becomes obvious when we hear of such incidents as that quoted by Clark from Wesley's book. It seems several men saw a vision of Christ on the cross with blood running from his wounds. Along with this many heard voices urging them "Cut your throat, now is a good opportunity!" Some fought hard to resist the suggestion but others actually did it (1949:89-90). It was already noted how James, Masters and Houston, and others have observed the sense of authority which comes with revelation. Boisen states that this is very clearly seen in many cases of mental patients (1939:190). That revelation is sometimes less than divine, Maslow states, is a lesson not only learned in the history of religion but in the history of science as well (1964: ix, 77). Boisen recognizes that "the tendency to ascribe to a divine source the idea which flashes into the mind is as old as the human race and is not without some justification," but false and valueless ideas also come the same way. "The old Christian mystics had to learn the lesson that some of the ideas which came darting into their minds could hardly have come from God." On the other hand some people should recognize that they don't all come from the devil either (1939:193).

The ability to discern spiritual source is absolutely necessary to Pentecostals, as they believe demons to be very real. In fact, some of those I interviewed witnessed cases of "demonic" possession. Pastor JGD
related that "in one meeting I was at one girl just started screaming and lashing out, and we just prayed until she stopped. In another incident a missionary friend of mine from Mexico was with me at a meeting and another person there had a demonic reaction towards him verbally in fluent and rapid Spanish, and that person had never learned Spanish. I could pick out some words but the missionary understood every word. The demon was giving itself three kinds of identity, and saying, essentially, 'leave me alone.' It reminded me of the story of Jesus and the man with the legions of demons."

Pastor VFM told me that he once discerned that an evil spirit was in a member of his congregation, and challenged the demon to speak out. "That demon actually spoke out through him and caused him to attack me. I mean he came after me, came for my throat, screaming and hollering "I hate you! I hate you! I hate you! . . . And I grabbed him by the wrist and I thought I'd just kind of push him back. But the man just rolled over. I mean he went plumb over on his back. And, uh, I commanded that demon to come out and leave the young man in the name of Jesus Christ. And when I did he went out." SFG also witnessed a similar possession and exorcism. "There was a girl who went up there, she was possessed and she was delivered . . . I mean she was just animal-like, and it came out, and she was at peace!"

**Faith**

In the Bible, faith is described as the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen (Hebrews 11:1). In Bible study it was defined as the ability to believe God for the impossible in a
particular situation; a sudden surge of faith, usually in a crisis, to confidently believe without a doubt that as we act or speak in Jesus' name it shall come to pass. It is believing without seeing, having confidence in the future. This gift of faith is a free one and rests on knowing the Will of God, either by Word, revelation, or inner voice. It is distinguished from two other kinds of faith; "saving" faith and faith as a fruit of the Spirit.

"Saving" faith is also considered a free gift from God. Pentecostals believe that faith in Jesus Christ gives one the power to become the sons of God. They believe that one cannot gain salvation by works alone. To quote Ephesians 2:8-9, "For by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should boast." There is some difference of opinion as to the necessity of works but it might best be described as a necessary but not sufficient condition.

The Gifts of Healing

This refers to the supernatural healing of the physical body. It is defined as the God-given ability to impart healing of diseases, handicaps, or injuries without aid of natural means or human skills. The gifts of healing are always referred to in the plural because of their great variety. There are different methods and means of healing. One is by calling for elders, another uses anointing by oil, through communion, laying on of hands, by the spoken word, or by contact with a blessed piece of cloth. There are some people who specialize in healing certain kinds of diseases or maladies. A distinction is made between instant healings and gradual healings. Some healings deal with underlying
attitudes which must come first before the healing of the body. This implies that some illnesses are due to sin. Finally, all believers can pray for the sick. Some people, however, are used more frequently as vehicles of healing.

Healing is considered the natural right of those who are redeemed. The purposes of healing are because the Lord wants us in good health, to restore us from the curse of the Law, to destroy the works of the devil, and to confirm the Word.

The variety of healing is sometimes explained as corresponding to different levels of faith. This would agree with many psychological theories of magical healing (Pattison 1974:447-454). Another typical example is by Ness who states that "methods of primitive healing involve an interplay between patient, healer, group, and the world of the supernatural, which serves to raise the patient's expectancy of cure, help him to harmonize his inner conflicts, reintegrate him with his group and the spirit world, supply a conceptual framework to aid this, and stir him emotionally. In the process they combat his anxiety and strengthen his sense of self-worth" (1980:303).

This explanation is convenient for Pentecostals because failures can be explained as a lack of faith. This explanation alone is inadequate to explain all testimonies of healing. As Clements puts it, "Important but apparently not requisite is the faith of the person who is to be healed. Frequently, Pentecostals report healings which have succeeded when the subject's faith was either lacking or inoperative" (1981:144-145). Pastor JGD saw a lady healed who hadn't walked in
sixteen years. This happened while she was speaking in tongues and not specifically seeking healing. Pastor VFM tells how his mother's leg was instantly healed of a compound fracture, which is a little difficult to do by psychological means. He himself experienced a miraculous healing of amnesia at age 17. He witnessed a girl healed instantly of a deformed foot which straightened out as others watched. Another time he laid hands on a woman whose short leg then immediately grew out to normal length. Pastor HNS tells of being instantly healed of a back injury. EGL related a story about praying over a woman who was then "slain in the spirit" and healed. RGB told me about her very young son who had never been to church or been exposed to religion. He was healed of sickness, fever, and ear infections instantly when her sister-in-law prayed over him. She herself was miraculously healed of a thyroid gland that was totally dysfunctional. Without going into details she told me of another healing that made it unnecessary for her to have a hysterectomy. Another of her little boys once had a tumor on his spine. The doctors said he would have to have an operation and be in a brace until he was sixteen, but the next day a myelogram showed that the problem had totally disappeared. All of the above are examples that cannot be explained away as psychosomatic cures.

The Assembly of God denomination publishes their own little magazine called The Pentecostal Evangel in which they print testimonies of healing endorsed by their pastors. Curiously, of those I read about, there were only one man and one boy and all the rest were girls and women. The man was healed of a damaged heart following a car accident which was confirmed by X-rays. The boy was healed of seizures and a
brain tumor. One woman was healed of nephritis, a kidney disease, another of high blood pressure, and a third of a rare terminal blood disease called myelofibrosis. There were stories of young girls healed of anorexia, polio, and a serious heart murmur. Other women reported healings of a short leg, metatarsal arch pain, chronic pain resulting from damage in a car accident, and one reported an instant healing of cataracts. All these are still more examples of the miraculous nature of the cures. Together with those stories related to me informally, it is clear that faith is not requisite. Unbelievers are healed just as readily when a believer prays for him, even when the praying is done without the knowledge or consent of the afflicted person.

The Working of Miracles

The gift of the working of miracles is defined as events that seem to override or contradict the so-called laws of nature, as if they were suspended. It seems to be a catch-all category for those phenomena that do not fit in the categories of the other gifts. There is much overlap with the other gifts, especially with those of healing. Some examples from my interviews include SFG who told me about one night in winter when he and his wife had no place to stay. Right after praying someone walked up to them and offered them a place. He also told me about a serious accident he had with no transportation to a hospital. After praying he found a patrol car parked where he had never seen one before. At the hospital the pain and shock went away in an instant when a preacher prayed over him. Another time he was asleep on a couch when he work up with a feeling of being anointed along with a great understanding.
At the same time a great wind was blowing the curtains straight out, even though all the windows in the house were closed. RGB told me about her uncle who rose while in a coma to tell his wife he loved her, even though he had never done this before in 46 years. She also told about her husband who had a business sales day several times greater than any time ever before, the day after being baptized by the Holy Spirit. MES said her friend's car started finally after she prayed over it. Finally, evangelist EB told of once going off the road into the snow with his van. Just before going over an embankment, the van along with him and his wife was transported suddenly to a safe place parked beside the road.

Prophecy

Distinguished from preaching, prophecy is defined in Bible study as speaking under the influence of the Holy Spirit, speaking the mind of God and not just our own mind. A supernatural speech in a known language. It should be pointed out that it is not necessarily the prediction or foretelling of future events, but is mainly for the edification of individuals and congregations (Kelsey 1981:16). Besides edification, its purpose is for exhortation, encouragement, advising, warning, admonition, comfort, conviction, knowledge, and learning.

Prophecy can be expressed in several ways. Usually it is by spontaneous utterance, but also can come as a vision which may vary in clarity from being dream-like to "TV-screen." If it comes as a vision, it may then be expressed in a verbal style. If it comes verbally, it may be in the form of speaking, writing, or song or if visually, it may come in the form of an angel. During my eight months of fieldwork,
several prophecies were related to me, both verbal and visual, that seemed very relevant to my particular circumstances but were unknown to those people. Finally, like the other verbal gifts, the source of the inspiration is always suspect and the need for judgment is emphasized.

**The Fruits of the Spirit**

In conclusion a word should be said about the "fruits" of the Holy Spirit which should come as a result of the gifts. The fruits are listed in Galatians 5:22 as love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, and faith, which are opposed to the works of the flesh such as adultery, fornication, uncleanness, and lasciviousness. Pentecostals believe that the fruits are a sign that someone is filled with the Spirit but they deny that what looks like fruits displayed by non-Christians is really the same. They admit that not all who are filled with the Spirit display the fruits. Gifts are also distinguished from fruits in that faith is the only requirement to manifest gifts but the fruits take greater effort.
CHAPTER SIX

CROSS-CULTURAL PARALLELS TO POSSESSION BY THE HOLY SPIRIT

Variations in Possession by the Holy Spirit
and Glossolalia in Christianity World-Wide

Looking at the various forms of Pentecostalism around the world, there is much variation in possession beliefs. This is because the Pentecostal religion evolved into a syncretic form as it adapted to indigenous beliefs. West Indian Pentecostalism, for example, includes a number of animistic features, and adherents maintain a strong belief in malevolent spirit possession, usually initiated because of jealousy and revenge and capable of causing physical, mental, and social maladies (Ward et al. 1981:295). The acquisition and exercise of spiritual power are of central concern to Malaysian Catholic Pentecostals. They believe the human body can be permeated by negative and positive spiritual forces, which result in either negative or positive possession states. For them, receiving spiritual gifts symbolizes union with divine forces and represents attainment of supernatural power to solve problems such as sorcery, illness, and unemployment and to protect against danger, ill fortune, and demonic possession. Nevertheless, priests are kept busy as exorcists nearly full-time (Ackerman 1981:92-93, 95, 97).

Divine possession is not always easy to tell apart from demonic possession. A Pentecostal man in Tennessee began to hit himself in the head involuntarily until he lost consciousness. When he woke up his
eyes were filled with a divine vision and his body was laid out as if nailed to the cross (Boisen 1939:188).

The range of possession behavior becomes even greater when we look at the entire field of Christianity. In the last half of the nineteenth century, there were certain verbal automatism among the Cane Ridge revivals known as "the holy laugh" and "the barks." Clark says "the votaries would fall upon all fours, form groups, lope about and gather at the foot of a tree yelping, barking, and snapping like dogs." This practice was known as "treeing the devil" (1949:92). In the Streams of Power cult of St. Vincent in the Caribbean, glossolalia with interpretation is practiced in church the same way as Pentecostals, except that in Streams of Power, they believe the incomprehensible language is always a foreign language (Goodman 1969:230). The Shakers also practiced glossolalia and other gifts but also stressed kinetic aspects such as "being shaken by the Spirit." For them, tongues came as a benefit of "mourning" (Bourguignon 1973:332).

The Vapostori of John Maranke, or (central) African Apostles, are an indigenous African Christian religion which expels demonic spirits and invokes the Holy Spirit, resulting in glossolalia, prophecy, healing, and visions. In performing keti, a ritual prophetic examination of candidates, the examiner speaks in tongues, alternating with ordinary verbal and gestural communication (Jules-Rosette 1980:3, 7-8). This and the other examples given above serve as a brief description of the broad range of possession belief, possession experience, and verbal manifestations associated with the Holy Spirit throughout Christianity.
Parallels to Glossolalia Outside Christianity

The range of verbal manifestations of possession by the Holy Spirit have parallels outside Christianity around the world. One example is the oracle at Delphi. Possessed by the god Apollo, the oracle priestess, the Pythia, uttered inarticulate cries interpreted by male priests. Similar examples were the Sibyl of Cumae in her Eubaean cave and Phemonoe, possessed by Phoebus (Erickson 1977:660, Bourguignon 1976:50). Other Greek oracular messages were uttered by priests or priestesses in states of ecstasy followed by amnesia, which was necessary to interpret to the laity. Plato said in his Timaeus that the art of the mantis or prophet was exercised during unconsciousness, sleep, sickness, or ecstasy, and that interpretation was necessary (Clark 1949:86).

In the Nguni society of Swazi the izangoma, or possessed male diviners, dance, bellow, belch, bark like dogs, and speak in tongues. A person may have several spirits, or shades, in his body at once, each speaking its own language. It is expected that foreign spirits may speak in foreign languages (Bourguignon 1973:103, 331). When an Akamba woman of Kenya is possessed she makes strange sounds which are said to be foreign words, for it is believed that the mbeBo spirits come from other tribes. She not only speaks in a foreign tongue, but makes demands appropriate to the spirit's tribe (Harris 1957:1,046). In Haiti the initial possession of the loa may be heralded by hearing an incomprehensible language spoken in the head. It was noted earlier that some Pentecostals first speak in tongues in their sleep. In voodoo people speak incomprehensibly in their sleep which is interpreted as a
supernatural visitation (Bourguignon 1965:50). In the Umbanda religion, a woman was believed to have been possessed by an orixá spirit called Iemanja. Goodman states that her inarticulate vocalization exhibited the same intonation curve as glossolalia utterances (1972:7, 111).

In inspirational shamanism, the possessed Eskimo shaman assumes the characteristics of the spirit, imitating its voice and actions. The spirit speaks through the shaman's mouth, employing a special spirit language, or animal language. Similarly the Tlingit shaman's utterances are regarded as those of a spirit (Stewart 1946:325-327). The Tungus shaman, Bhirendra, describes his initiation in which the spirit of his grandfather and other spirits taught him magical formula, or mantra (Peters 1982:23). Bogoras describes the superb verbal skills of the Chukchee shaman who produces the cries of various animals and birds, making them appear to originate from various points in the room. The spirits speak through the shaman in strange unintelligible words which require interpretation (1958:456-459). The Toba shaman leans over his patient and chants, the words being semantically unimportant, as it is the voice itself that is supposed to have magical efficacy (Charles 1953:108). Samarin noted that "shamans often introduce a language of the animal spirits in their conjuring or healing ceremonies" (1972a:79).

May's classic cross-cultural study of glossolalia lists many examples of shamanic spirit language. The shaman often uses the arcane language to communicate with his spirits, but the spirits may also use it to speak through the shaman. He gives examples from Micronesia, the Solomon Islands, and the Gold Coast. May also reports incomprehensible language among Chaco magical rites, Caddo harvest ceremonies, Andean
curing ceremonies, the Teleuts, the Orochee tribe of Siberia, and the witch women of New South Wales (Australia) (1956:79-83).

Samarin states that there are linguistic phenomena which are identical to the more typical forms of Christian glossolalia described earlier but are not associated with anything religious (1968:50, 1971:56). Similarly, Lapsley et al. says that "glossolalia has been a part of many religions, and of non-religious activity such as mediumship" (1964a:49). Spanos notes that "glossolalia has been recorded in non-Christian as well as Christian religious contexts and, occasionally, occurs completely nonreligious settings" (1979:427). Bishop Pike, in a letter warning against the practice of glossolalia, stated that "it was not, per se, a religious phenomenon" (Phillips 1964:38). Jacquith denies that glossolalia is exclusively religious behavior (1967:1).

Examples of non-religious glossolalia are found among two of Laffal's schizophrenic patients, whose utterances Samarin considers similar (1969:74). Goodman describes another instance of a schizophrenic patient producing a linguistically similar glossolalia utterance (1972:125). Kelsey tells of a woman who attended a prayer group for the first time and was dumbfounded to discover that she had been speaking in tongues for most of her life (1981:13-14). Another example is given by William James of a Mr. LeBaron who had been receiving and interpreting his own glossolalia messages, both verbally and in automatic writing (Newbold 1896:516, Samarin 1968:50). Samarin re-published a transcription of one of the LeBaron messages with interpretations along with two other non-religious examples (1973:87-88). All share characteristics consistent with Pentecostal glossolalia and
pseudo-language.

As has been alluded to above, glossolalia existed before Pentecost. In ancient literature, Kelsey cites examples from the Book of Enoch (71:11), the Apocalypse of Abraham (17), and the Ascension of Assiah (8:17), where each described an ecstasy in which the person was able to speak, sing, and understand "the language of angels" (1981:142). The gift of prophecy seems to be clearer, as Wilson wrote that "the existence of ecstasy in Israel cannot be questioned, for several Biblical narratives describe ecstatic prophetic behavior" (1979:321). Clark gives specific examples of Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Elijah, and the prophets of Baal (1949:85).

Xenoglossia is widely known outside Christianity. Samarin relates an example among Muslims in India where certain individuals are said to have recited portions of the Koran in its original language, Arabic, without having learned it (1968:50). There is also the example of Mme. Aghaby, who spoke and sang messages of a deeply religious character in Hebrew, German, French, Greek, and Italian, all unknown languages and then interpreted them into Arabic (Kelsey 1981:214). May tells of a shaman who spoke Tlingit although in his uninspired moments he might be totally ignorant of the language. A Eyak shaman was said to be able to talk and understand Tlingit, English, or any other language when assisted by helping spirits. He reports Thonga patients who sang curative songs in Zulu. A Ga woman of the Gold Coast, when possessed by the spirit, talked in Twi, Adangme, or Ewe. An entranced Kelantin sorcerer spoke in Javanese, Siamese, and Perak. These are only a few of the many examples May cites (1956:83-88).
Non-religious examples of xenoglossia include a medium who spoke in Swedish (Samarin 1976:217), and a man possessed by a spirit claiming to be another deceased man, causing him to speak Hebrew, Arabic, and Turkish (Patai 1978:827). Religious examples include a woman who stated that her shatani spirit sometimes spoke in Gallenina, which she herself did not know (Hamer, et al. 1966:398). The Haitian loa frequently speak in foreign tongues, the most frequent of which are French, English, and Spanish. One subject was even reported to have been possessed by the Archangel Gabriel who spoke Hebrew, the spirit himself explaining to bystanders what language he was speaking (Bourguignon 1965:52). There was also a case of a man demonically possessed who spoke in Latin and Greek. East African women with the mpepo sickness speak in Swahili or English (Oesterreich 1966:48, 137).

To the material related earlier on "the miracle of hearing" can be added some examples related to me by Paul Wolf Roads of the Native American Church. During the peyote ceremonies he claims the drum "speaks" to him in his own native language. He also said that meadowlarks in the area sometimes speak to him in Cheyenne. On the reservation, he told me there are crows there that can relay messages between humans.

The Social Context of Possession

Earlier it was stated that some Pentecostals and all charismatics believe that speaking in tongues is not a necessary or essential aspect of the experience of possession by the Holy Spirit (Kelsey 1981:xvi, 74-76, 126). Similarly, May, speaking of possession phenomena worldwide, says that speaking in tongues is not an inevitable derivative of spirit
possession and ecstasy (1956:91). For this reason I will now leave special emphasis on glossolalia and possession by the Holy Spirit and concentrate on the possession phenomenon in general and any other gifts present around the world.

The common Western view of possession is that it is an affliction caused by the intrusion by demons, but it has not always been viewed as such. In antiquity it was seen as a blessing conferred by the gods on a select few. The beneficial aspects of possession subsequently became greatly attenuated in popular consciousness between the fifth century B.C. and the first century A.D. The change benefitted the new Christian church which recognized that direct experience with the deity diminished the need for their functionaries as necessary intermediaires and reduced the dependence of the laity (Erickson 1977:657, 662-663). Consequently, belief in demons became a New Testament tradition (Oesterreich 1966:147).

Some of the older literature tends to follow a similar view. While not assuming the existence of demons, they still give aberrant or pathological interpretations of possessions. They variously see it as an escape mechanism, a method of absolving guilt, a compensatory device, or a culture-bound form of neurosis (Ward 1981:296). It has also been labeled a tension-releasing device of more rigid societies, and a response to deprivation (Lewis 1966:310, 318, Bourguignon 1973:26,323), as personality dissociation in response to acculturation (Hamer 1966:406), individual hysteria, fraud (Lambek 1980:318), a response to stress, a defense reaction (Ward 1980:159), an excuse for otherwise socially unacceptable behavior, a means of control (Mischel 1958:254, Metraux 1955:28), the return of the repressed (Kiev 1961:133), a social
utilization of craziness (Firth 1967:197), an oblique aggressive strategy, a culturally sanctioned form of rebellion (Ackerman 1981b:791), and regressive behavior (Bourguignon 1976:62).

Again it is not denied that these conditions of stress are associated with possession, but it is denied that they are equated. As Metraux says, possession cannot be explained solely in terms of psychopathology (1955:30). By no means, Ward argues, is possession per se pathological (1981:296). The relationship between possession and psychological disorders does not appear to be simple or direct (Ward 1980:156). More accurately possession is utilized as a cure for any of the conditions mentioned, and is thus therapeutic (Bourguignon 1973:329). As a therapeutic device, more than one author sees possession as a system of communication (Firth 1967:196, Lambek 1980:318). Ackerman considers possession phenomena to be collective representations. He follows Wallace (1961) in saying that the behavior is merely mutually predictable and does not require identical motivations (1981b:789:790). As a conceptual system spirit possession provides a set of socially intelligible symbols that render personal crisis experiences meaningful to the group as well as to the afflicted individual (Ackerman 1981a:91). Thus, as a system of communication it allows the resolution of differences.

Oesterreich, like the majority of researches, does not seriously believe in spiritistic explanations of possession (that is, the literal intrusion of a distinctly separate entity). He rejects the idea that a truly novel person is generated. Contrary to the general consensus, he, in addition, rejects the idea of dissociation or the split self. This
is based on the observation that little or nothing appears to be taken
away from the original personality (Oesterreich 1966:vii, 38). There
will be more discussion on this point later.

The therapeutic aspects of possession are seen in its use within
shamanism. Over two-thirds of societies with shamanism surveyed by
Bourguignon (1973:102), and Metraux (1955:34) all attest to the
integrity of the shaman's personality, and Metraux argues that their
rites have nothing orgiastic about them, and that the number of persons
involved is too great for it to be called hysteria (1955:30).
Bourguignon (1973:329) further states that there is no evidence of
possession ritual leading to pathological disability, and Ward argues
that it is not confined to maladjusted personalities. Ward further
quotes several researchers besides herself who have noted the positive
benefits of ritual possession both as preventative and therapeutic
measures (1980:152-153). Several articles describe the shaman as
psychotherapist (Gillen 1958, Peters et al. 1980, Peters 1982, Kiev

Crucial to the curative efficacy of ritual possession is the
importance of the social context. Sadler quotes Metraux as stating that
the community provides an atmosphere of moral and physical security
(1964:86). It provides cues and expectations for the guidance of trance
behavior and the means by which the group may interpret it (Jules-Rosette
1980:1-2). Beliefs inherited by the individual from his society play a
great role in behavior, but on the other hand, possession may in turn
affect social change by either inhibiting it or channeling it
Possession always occurs with culture bound interpretations of its etiology, purpose, and consequences. Yet it is only one aspect of a particular world view. As Ward points out, "It is an overall attempt to explain the cosmos and man's place in it, the meaning of good and evil, human and divine, mystical and mundane. In this way it is intrinsically linked to social structure, religious philosophy, political institutions, and indigenous theories of mental health and illness" (1980:150, 160).

Beliefs are very important to the genesis of possession occurrences, particularly as a suggestive device, and can determine the form that evolves. Thus there can be possession by the dead, the living, gods or dieties, animals, or demons (Oesterreich 1966:x, 27-29, 124). Beliefs can have a great effect on how possession illness is treated. The practice of negotiating with the possessing entity causing the illness is "in marked contrast to the New Testament model of spirit possession, in which 'impure' spirits must be driven out and no compromise is envisaged . . . Western society is the only one that killed its witches, where witches could not buy their way back into the good graces of their neighbors" (Bourguignon 1966:45).

Beliefs about possession and forms of possession vary greatly between societies due to differing social structures, functions, and the historical development of the possession phenomenon (Hamer 1966:405). There is a high cultural stereotypicalness of forms of possession, but there is still much room for variability and individuation (Bourguignon 1976:39, Jules-Rosette 1980:1, Peters 1982:40). In other words, forms of possession are also characterized by personal idiosyncrasy. This is
exactly what we found with Pentecostal/charismatic glossolalia and possession by the Holy Spirit.

As I observed for possession by the Holy Spirit, a certain amount of learning is involved with all forms of possession (Bourguignon 1973:329). The Tamang shaman, for example, must learn a whole body of myths and ritual methods and techniques, as well as the methods by which he can call his tutelary guru to possess him (Peters 1982:25). One must also learn exactly what is acceptable behavior, which usually comes by "other people's reactions of praise or reproof, as the reinforcements and the determinants of whether or not the behavior will be repeated (Mischel 1958:254). Kiev sees possession as a learned pattern of role playing (1961:136). Bourguignon seems to agree as she notes that early encounters with children are instructive, in that they are encouraged to play at spirit possession (1965:48).

The Classification of Possession

The first distinction which is useful is Loeb's between the inspirational shaman and the noninspirational shaman. The former type allows the spirits to speak through him, while the latter merely speaks with the spirits. Only the first involves possession (Loeb 1929:60-61). Descriptions of possession commonly equate it with dissociation which is defined as a "mental mechanism whereby a split-off part of the personality temporarily possesses the entire field of consciousness and behavior (Bourguignon 1965:41). The usefulness of the term 'dissociation' will be debated later.
Inspirational possession, which is available to anyone and not just shamans, may be distinguished from spirit intrusion, or demoniacal possession (Stewart 1946:324). Both the Tamang and the Tungus distinguish between those individuals who become involuntarily possessed and the shaman who 'possesses spirits.' Other researchers similarly distinguish between spontaneous and voluntary possession, negative and positive, unsolicited and solicited (Peters 1982:22). A similar but more refined distinction is made by Ward between ritual and peripheral possession (1980:149). Ritual is defined by Firth as "a formal set of procedures of a symbolic kind, involving social communication, and believed to possess an efficacy of themselves in changing the technical or social conditions of the performers or other participants" (1967:202-203). Ward's ritual possession is displayed in a ceremonial context and includes the social function of reinforcing cultural morality and established power. Peripheral possession, by contrast, represents a more long-term state in which the individual believes that he is unwillingly possessed by intruding spirits and functions as an indirect form of social protest. While both are reactions to stress, ritual possession operates as a socially sanctioned psychological defense mechanism, while peripheral possession constitutes a pathological reaction to individual conflict. (1980:149)

Similarly, Oesterreich's voluntary possession consists of the presence of the spirits who are desired and induced in a ritual context through a variety of means. Spontaneous possessions are those over which the individual has no control and which are therefore uninvited, perceived as invasions by alien forces. All of the above, however, utilize negative forms of possession that are cured only by exorcism. Bourguignon points out that they all overlook a third very widespread and important category in which a cure is effected by coming to terms
with the possessing spirit rather than simply driving it out (1966:44).

There are other characteristics of possession that make the above
classificatory systems appear simplistic. For instance, both Peters and
Oesterreich distinguish between somnambulistic and lucid possession.
Peters et al. state that spirit possession "is not a dissociative state
if by that is implied amnesia for the trance performance" (1980:406). It
is the exceptional society which denies memory but even there individuals
admit having some degree of consciousness. Furthermore, amnesia is
unlikely to occur spontaneously without prior suggestion that this is the
norm. In sum, Peters et al. hypothesize that a recall of trance states
in shamans is expected unless culturally mitigated or provoked by
states that "loss of control and consciousness is by no means constant,
either among individuals or at different times with the same person.
But even in the most extreme examples observed, the individual seemed to
retain sufficient consciousness and control to permit him to behave
without injury to self or others" (1958:253). Similarly, Bourguignon
says that "even when dissociation is genuine and of considerable depth,
the individual must remain in contact with his environment and sensitive
to a variety of cues" (1976:41). Peters (1980:400) notes that the
shaman maintains communication with participants and spectators during
trance, as was observed with glossolalia practiced in trance. Some
"perceptual windows" always remain open.

Another confusing characteristic of possession is that the entity
causing the illness may possess another such as the shaman instead of the
one who is actually sick. Many researchers have noted several such cases
(Charles 1953:98, Hamer 1966:395, Ackerman 1981:791). This will be discussed later as evidence for the omniscience of the spirits. Another complication is that ritual possession is sometimes done in private as well as in public (Harris 1957:1,049). Bourguignon notes that "the ritual with which the Haitian loa are invited may be of highly abbreviated sort, outside the context of any ritual occasion, indeed, for purely personal purposes" (1965:51-52). A further complication is the variety of possession called multiple personality. Bourguignon is quoted as saying that "the great difference between such a patient and the characteristic Haitian cult initiate (or for that matter, possession trance in any of our 251 sample societies and many others as well) is that these multiple personality dissociations are purely idiosyncratic; the behavior is not learned by following a cultural model" (Peters 1980:406). Peters notes that multiple personality tends to become a psychiatric category when belief in possession is in decline (1982:31). Kenny concurs that the two are phenomenologically similar but that multiple personalities tend to be autonomous and separate. When one personality has knowledge of the others, it will have a memory continuous with the others with an omniscient nature characteristic of possessing entities (1981:337-358).

Another complication to the classification of possession phenomena is the debate as to whether trance is necessary to possession. That it exists is certain. Lambek, for example, notes that "spirit possession manifested in a state of trance is common throughout Africa and Afro-America, specifically among the inun of North Africa, the dieties of Dahomey and Brazil, the Hausa bori, Ethiopian and Sudanese zar, and
Malagasy trunba, among others" (1980:318). As Wilson notes, trance may or may not be present. "In the case of non-trance behavior, the intermediary may not exhibit any abnormal characteristics and may simply relay the message of the spirits or speak normally with the voice of the spirits" (1979:325). Similarly, Bourguignon states that while some types of spirit possession do indeed involve trance, others do not . . . spirit possession and dissociational phenomena are not synonymous. Among some American Indian groups possession by one or more spirits is a matter of power to cure or to fight, and does not involve any alteration of consciousness or personality. (1966:42)

Peters further attests to the existence of "meditative"-type trances (1980:399). Kiev tells of the Haitian hungan who invoke their loas through incantations, prayers, and symbolic offerings while kneeling before their altars, only gradually becoming possessed (1961:134).

**Manifestations of Possession Phenomena**

To be effective the possessing entity must maintain the illusion of being a completely different person. This is done by exhibiting knowledge the person would not normally have access to, by exhibiting unusual strength, immunity from harm, or spectacular abilities (Oesterreich 1966:vii, xiv, 3, 112, 123). Several researches have also noticed that another way is for the possessing entity to be the opposite sex from its host (Lewis 1966:310, Mischel 1958:256, Gomm 1975:531, Lambek 1980:319). The entity is usually recognizable as a personification appearing in local mythology (Long 1976:53). Each spirit has its own idiosyncracies (Harris 1957:1,059) in terms of facial
expressions, gestures, tone of voice, temperament, etc. (Metraux 1955: 19), but still the spirit prefers someone most like himself although occasionally they seek out opposites (Kiev 1961:137, Bourguignon 1965:45). In short the illusion of a separate entity is maintained while still remaining consistent in personality.

With therapeutic possession illness is the prior condition for which possession trance is the cure. The illness exists prior to the possession which itself is not pathological but therapeutic (Bourguignon 1973:329). These types of illnesses are frequently associated with psychosomatic factors (Lewis 1966:318, Hamer 1966:403). In Haiti, for example, "trance is induced in the patient in order to question the zar as to his wishes. Induced trance in then part of the cure, where trance need not have taken place during the illness (Bourguignon 1965:43). For the Sidamo of Ethiopia, one becomes aware of the presence of the shatana indirectly through the occurrence of unexplained illness and the dialogue which they carry out in the subsequent possession. When a person becomes ill, the shatani is asked if it brought the illness; if it replies affirmatively, the people agree to give it food if it will promise to heal the victim (Hamer 1966:393). For the Akamba of Kenya, the spirit, on being questioned, reveals its identity and desires. A cure follows when its demands are met (Harris 1957:1,046). For the Digo of Kenya, the exorcism ceremony involves interrogation of the possessing spirit by the exorcist to discover its name and negotiate a price which it will accept in order to go away (Gomm 1975:534). In Safed, Israel, the exorcism similarly begins with the interrogation of the spirit. Attempts are made to meet its demands, but still it will
be very resistant toward attempts to make it leave (Patai 1978:826).

A universal pattern begins to come clear. Firth tells of an incident in Malaysia in which "dialogue between master of ceremonies and medium was pursued, the purpose of the master of ceremonies being to identify the particular spirit responsible for the patient's illness, and to induce it to acknowledge responsibility, leave his body and return to its own abode. Sometimes the afflicting spirit was quiescent, sometimes he resisted violently and had to be argued into submission."

The spirits have been known to reproach the patient's relatives for letting him remain sick so long without having a ceremony and attempting to find the cause of the illness (1967:193, 195). Similarly possession is defined among the Malagasy speakers of Mayotte as an affliction, and it is frequently indicated by symptoms of physical or mental distress which do not respond to other forms of treatment. The "cure" is a lengthy process involving the socialization of the spirit by establishing the spirit's particular identity and entering into an exchange relationship with it (Lambek 1980:319). In fact the therapeutic natures of Digo and voodoo possession are compared to Pentecostal possession by Gerlach, who found many similarities (1974:674, 686, 690, 692).

Several researchers have noted the prevalence of this type of possession among women, particularly married women (Gomm 1975:531, Lewis 1966:310, Oesterreich 1966:121, 137). Sometimes it is an indirect form of female manipulation of a husband of limited resources, as women married to wealthy men do not seem to be similarly affected (Hamer 1966:401). Besides a response to feelings of deprivation, it may
be a compensation for lack of power or authority, or perceived neglect by the husband. The spirit may demand considerable expense from the husband and when demanded with a male voice and under the claim of amnesia, the husband is obligated to provide the spirit's requests (Harris 1957:1,046). Still, women that overuse this method are suspect (Gomm 1975:534, 538-540). If used wisely, however, it may function to maintain the conjugal relationship (Lewis 1966:322).

Men also exhibit this form of possession where they experience particular difficulties in bearing the pressures and burdens of their society; that is, socially derived categories of men, as well as maladjusted individual men. However, where there is equality between the sexes, possession tends to be manifested equally between the sexes (Lewis 1966:315, 321).

The relationship between spirit and spouse is an interesting one. There tends to be two aspects of the relationship, siblingship by metaphoric association and affinity by exchange. The relationship may become quite close but takes time to develop. The spirit depends on the spouse to listen and carry out its requests; in return it gives the spouse advice and companionship. The spirit may rise just to "chat" with the spouse, or the spouse may call on it for informal talk. The spirits of both spouses have even been known to converse (Lambek 1980: 327-328).

This is not to imply people never resist the spirits that arise in them. Some use magical formula to attempt to outwit the gods (Metraux 1955:27). Kiev tells of individuals who have never participated in the voodoo belief and custom of their ancestors, yet the loa still calls
them. These individuals respond with resistance (1961:135).

Earlier it was stated that amnesia is not essential to possession. Peters suggests that the reason it is reported is due to cultural beliefs about what constitutes "authentic" possession rather than what actually occurs psychologically (1982:31). Even when it exists, it may show great variation from dizziness to total unconsciousness (Bourguignon 1965:46). Curiously, even when the medium shows amnesia, the possessing entity exhibits continuous consciousness (Oesterreich 1966:32, 35, 39). Amnesia may serve various functions such as helping to maintain a separate identity between the individual and his spirit (Ackerman 1981b:791), and absolves him from being implicated as an accessory to the generation of the spirit's messages (Lambek 1980:322, Gomm 1975:538). It allows the individual to speak frankly. Metraux suggests it serves the same function as alcohol at a cocktail party by allowing the individual to deny responsibility for what he says (1955:28).

In Pentecostalism it was noted that there is more excitement and emotion associated with the initial spirit baptism experience. There are parallels to this in other forms of possession. The initial calling of the Tamang shamanic initiation, for example, is called "crazy possession." More control over the possession state comes with subsequent stages (Peters 1982:25). Similarly, in Haitian voodoo, first possessions are expected to be wild and disorderly (Bourguignon 1965:49). The possession of the experienced hungan is milder because of the minimum anxiety he feels in becoming possessed (Kiev 1961:134). Metraux concurs that "The nature of the nervous attack depends on the ritual condition of the possessed; the greater his lack of experience,
the longer his struggle against it (1955:20). Likewise, Hamer says, in general, spirits are considered to be the most potent at their time of origin (1966:398), and Kenny agrees that often the first onset of possession is chaotic and violent (1981:388). Lambek states that in Mayotte:

Communication is a major theme of the curing process, that is, development of a stable and mutually satisfactory relationship between host and spirit. In fact, an important aim of the cure is the development of the spirit's verbal and social coherence and articulateness. At first, the spirit causes the host pain without being able or willing to state the reasons why. Gradually, the spirit moves from shrieking, gasping, coughing, crying, and stuttering to clear speech, and then from ambiguous or incongruous remarks and tortured or circuitous argument to rational discussion. The spirit learns to listen to others and to speak its own thoughts so that the others will understand in turn. The spirit also becomes more open concerning the topics about which it is willing to converse. (1980:322)

"Gifts" and Other Parallels to Pentecostalism

Other forms of possession parallel Pentecostal possession in that "gifts" such as prophecy, wisdom, and knowledge result as natural by-products. For example, among both the Palavan and Zulu Nguni, mediums function as oracles of the spirits (Bourguignon 1973:324). Among the Shango of Trinidad, those possessed do divining, deliver messages, give advice, and prescribe medicine. Being "in power," they are said to have a "special gift" (Mischel 1958:250, 252). In Haitian voodoo, those possessed by the gods prophesize, threaten sinners, give advice, and provide cures (Metraux 1955:23). In Ethiopia, those possessed by the shatani spirits "have the power not only to diagnose and cure illness but also to provide solutions to personal and communal problems; and they are noted for their dire predictions of famines, epidemics, and
interpersonal conflicts" (Hamer 1966:395-396). The oracle at Delphi is another example already mentioned. The spirits in Mayotte may even rise of their own accord to dispense warnings, give advice, and make predictions (Lambek 1980:323).

The "madness of love" was once considered an inspiration resulting from possession by Eros and Aphrodite. And "poetic madness" was an inspiration which the Muses breathed into the poet during the act of creating or performing (Erickson 1977:662). Titon, in addition, gives examples of divinely inspired song and prose from all over the world (1980:223-231).

Other miracle "gifts" resulting from possession include special favors done by the spirits, such as leading people to buried treasure or causing fish to swim into the nets (Gomm 1975:538). They can cause even cripples to dance with unusual agility and perform other extraordinary feats such as walking on coals, handling hot iron, or chewing broken glass (Metraux 1955:30-31, Kiev 1961:133, Bourguignon 1965:47). The snake handling and drinking of poison by some Pentecostals is a direct parallel here. The gifts of healing already alluded to is perhaps the most common parallel. In my interviews with Paul Wolf Roads, for example, he told me of an eagle that landed on his grandfather's tipi and gave him four green peyote buttons, which miraculously cured him of tuberculosis. Paul himself told how the peyote instantly cured him of pneumonia. He also testified that he has more power to drum and sing while "peyote affected." At such times he feels a personal relationship with the Great Spirit.
There are other means of communication with the spirits besides possession. In Mayotte the spirit can communicate directly with the host in dreams, and the host can communicate with the spirit by speaking over lighted incense (Lambek 1980:321). Drugs, of course, are another means but Labarre warns that not all visions by any means are drug oriented. At the same time, though, he says that all religious revelation is visionary in origin (1979:8). Peters adds the additional means of out-of-the-body experiences and lucid dreams (1982:36).

Many of those I interviewed reported revelations in the form of dreams and visions, which are not always distinguishable. Many researchers, in fact, see the two as being continuous (Bourguignon 1954:262-268, Goodman 1972:60-62, Kelsey 1981:211-217). Often the possessing entity is believed to visit through the dream or may even claim to produce the dream (Oesterreich 1966:35, 152). The Tamang shaman sees visions as awake dreams, in which he remains conscious and aware of himself, or lucid (Peters 1982:38). Those I interviewed exhibited a continuum from dreams, to lucid dreams, to visions with the eyes closed with varying degrees of vividness, to visions with the eyes open. Outside of Pentecostalism, Paul Wolf Roads told me of his grandfather who had a vision in 1939 of World War II. He, himself, had a dream-vision of his wife eleven years before he met her.

Many investigators are ambiguous about whether glossolalia is really spirit possession (Sadler 1964:85, Samarin 1979:93-96, Gerlach 1968:26). The same ambiguity is found in some other forms of possession. The relationship between a god and his worshipper may be more accurately described as like that of a rider and his horse, a concept very
widespread in Africa (Bourguignon 1965:39). In Ethiopia, for example, it is believed that the spirit entering the head of the possessed rides him as one would ride a horse (Hamer 1966:397). In Haitian voodoo, also, the loa "mount" their "horses" (Kiev 1961:137, Metraux 1955:34).

The initial difficulty the spirit has in possessing its host is parallel to the Pentecostal theme of "surrender." Bourguignon, for example, states that going into possession trance means that one "lets go" and submits. One must be totally passive, giving over one's body to what are "ego-alien" forces (1976:23, 40). William James notes the same thing; after submission the benefits truly are like free "gifts" (1902: 50, 54). Where trance is involved, this requires suspension of the conscious part of the personality (Long 1976:54). Ward notes that possession often arises after one has struggled with a desperate problem, come to an impasse, given up hope, and abandoned the struggle in despair (1980:156). Giving in to the jinns spirits in Malaysia is equivalent to laying the direction of human affairs in the hands of Allah (Firth 1967:204). In Haiti, one who becomes a "horse" surrenders control for ordering his life and bearing the consequences (Mischel 1958:257). If one resists, the gods may come with even greater violence (Bourguignon 1965:54, Oesterreich 1966:23, 85). If fact, such submission is said to be easier for the uneducated than the educated (Kiev 1961:136). Finally, rapid recoveries are reported once one has succeeded in accepting the role of host to a spirit (Hamer 1966:403).

Pentecostals believe that possession by the Holy Spirit is a permanent condition as long as one follows prescribed behavior. This also has parallels in other forms of possession. In Mayotte the spirit
generally continues to visit the host periodically, at public feasts and ceremonies and in private homes (Lambek 1980:319). In Haiti, possession occurs in everyday experiences (Metraux 1955:27). The shatani spirit can be communicated with at any time. It is a relationship that terminates only with death (Hamer 1966:395, 399). In Shango, "possession is the supreme life experience. Daily behavior is directly and indirectly influenced by the powers; they are always there, ready to be called on for advice and guidance in every stress situation experienced by the horse" (Mischel 1958:258).

The Pentecostal and charismatic "born-again" experience is parallel to the theme of death and rebirth common to other forms of possession. The Tamang shaman, for example, must confront death and be reborn, a phenomenon associated with shamanic initiation everywhere (Peters 1982:30). It is also intimately connected with the theme of surrender. The "born-again" experience is also equivalent to becoming "saved" which has parallels elsewhere. Bourguignon states that possession in general "is important for the individual, who believes himself 'saved' as a result and who derives euphoria and personal strength from it" (Bourguignon 1973:327).

These feelings would perhaps not be possible unless the individual was convinced that he had been delivered by an external force. The spirit himself characteristically claims to external (Kenny 1981:338, 349). In Malaysia, for example, the words uttered are believed to be from an external source, from a being apart from and for the most part more powerful than the individual (Firth 1967:196). This is directly parallel to Pentecostal and charismatic belief.
The phenomenon of "slaying in the spirit" which I observed at healing/evangelical services also has parallels. This is seen in the transfer of power from one possessed to others seeking possession. In Shango, for example, possession is commonly induced by drumming, but "in addition to individual responses to drumming, the power may be 'passed on' from person to person" (Mischel 1958:251).

In the Pentecostal services I attended, I found the Holy Spirit expressing itself in terms of the belief system of whatever group was inviting it, irrespective of what those beliefs were. This "amoral" nature of the Spirit is also paralleled in other forms of possession. Firth, for example, notes that many of the Malay spirits "have no particular moral character; they are neither good nor evil in themselves. They act according to circumstances" (1967:195). Similarly, Gomm noted that the shaitani spirits of Kenya are "not morally charged with powers held to be responsible for holding public morality by rewarding meritous acts and punishing evil" (1975:530).

During my field research I was confronted with the unspoken messages that it would be considered in bad taste for me to display speaking in tongues or any of the other gifts without having first been "saved." This also has parallels. In Haitian voodoo, for example, it is considered inappropriate for a stranger to go into a trance.

Even the Christian ritual of water baptism has parallels. In Haitian voodoo the first initiation ritual is called a baptism, or "washing of the head," in which other gods, having mounted other people, act as godparents. "Cuts are made in the initiate's scalp and the person's principal diety is established. By means of this ritual, and of a
preparatory retreat, the behavior of the deity is brought under control" (Bourguignon 1965:50). As an imitation death and resurrection, Christian baptism is also similar to many non-Christian magical rites. Morton Smith adds that many other elements such as priestly celibacy and the Eucharist also have roots ultimately in "pagan" worship (1980:241-249).

The Common Denominators.

The first common denominator I see between possession by the Holy Spirit and other forms of possession is that the Spirit or spirits are a source of knowledge far beyond the normal means of the ego. In Jungian terms this is called "possession by the archetype. The ego is subordinated to an autonomous psychic power of greater potency than itself" (Long 1976:58). With possession individuals gain power to deal with disease and crises, as well as daily problems (Kiev 1962:26). The possessing entity has knowledge of all the individual has forgotten, all he is thinking, and has memory continuous even through the individual's sleep and states of amnesia (Oesterreich 1966:xiv, 35, 64, 71, Bourguignon 1965:46). If we assume that the Spirit or spirits are not actually separate autonomous entities, then this seems to indicate a "higher" nature of the unconscious, which in one way or another all the various forms of possession have learned to tap. The term "unconsciousness" then is somewhat of a misnomer. If anything it is more consciousness even though it may maintain separateness from the ego. A better term is one coined by Frederic W. H. Myers, a friend of William James, as the "subliminal self." This he defined as including "everything that takes place beneath the ordinary threshold, or outside
the normal margin of consciousness" (Kenny 1981:340-341).

Thus I propose that the first common denominator of possession is an omniscient character, in that the entity exhibits knowledge seemingly beyond the capabilities of the ego (Kenny 1981:347-349). Charles suggests that possession is a living out of rarely utilized portions of the psyche. "The most valuable diagnosis and advice concerning the sick man, are expected to be given during this period of the shaman's deepest surrender to the Unconscious" (1953:111). Likewise James says "each of us is in reality an abiding psychical entity far more extensive than he knows . . . Man can learn to transcend these limitations of finite thought and draw power and wisdom at will" (1902:386-389).

Even though there may be discontinuity between the subliminal self and the ego, there is a characteristic continuity of motivation, even though the gods sometimes punish individuals. In other words, "the actions of the dieties are frequently, perhaps always, self-enhancing to the horse. Yet their self-enhancing nature is clearly dependent on the social consensus" (Bourguignon 1965:53, 55). I propose that this is indicative of a second common denominator of possession, the volitional character of the subliminal self, for which all the foregoing is a testimony. James agrees that this aspect "acts as well as exists, and that something really is effected for the better when you throw your life into its hands" (1902:385).

So far I have postulated the two common denominators of possession states as omniscient and volitional characters. To these I would add two more: the maintenance of the illusion of being an external force and the sense of authority by which it establishes credibility. These
are common characteristics of the human mind which find various expressions in all human cultures. Their universality is further evidenced by their presence in genuinely pathological states. In a series of articles, Jonathan Lang (a pseudonym), reports of his personal experience with schizophrenia. The characteristic of omniscience was present in the accurate predictions given by the "hallucinations," which posed as an entity (1938:1,092). The volitional characteristic gave Lang a sense that the entity was working toward the integration of his ego (1939a:425-426, 1939b:197-198, 202). In the attempt by the entity to persuade the ego to follow its direction, it showed the characteristic of putting on an air of authority (Lang 1938:1092, 1939a:424-425, 1939b:198, 1940:389-390), under various guises of God, spirit, or demon (Lang 1940:390-391). Finally the sense of authority was supported by the characteristic of the illusion of being external (Lang 1939a:424), mainly by its seeming irrelevance to the conscious will (Lang 1938:1097, 1939a:423, 1939b:201), and its attempt to encourage the ego to "surrender" to it (Lang 1939b:199). Certainly it is clear from this description that Lang's "schizophrenia," diagnosed as a pathological condition, could have been as easily interpreted as possession. Perhaps if he had interpreted it as possession and surrendered to it, it would have been much more therapeutic.
Pentecostalism and the charismatic movement are characterized by possession by the Holy Spirit, and certain "gifts" including speaking in tongues which are the manifestation of this possession. The purpose of this thesis has been to compare how this form of possession is similar or dissimilar with other forms of possession around the world.

Pentecostalism had its roots in Quietism, Pietism, Methodism, Calvinism, and the two "Great Awakenings" in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. Collectively these are called the "Holiness movement" and stress sanctification, salvation, and the literal interpretation of the Bible. Officially, Pentecostalism was born in Topeka, Kansas in 1901 where the concept of possession by the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues was rediscovered in the Bible. Since then Pentecostalism has experienced phenomenal growth, despite the antagonism directed against it by more traditional denominations. Until about 1950 it was a movement primarily limited to the lower classes. After 1950 it began to transcend class, economic, educational, and denominational boundaries in what is called the "charismatic movement." Pentecostalism infiltrated the middle and upper classes at the same time that the charismatic movement accepted the experience of possession by the Holy Spirit into traditional denominations, while retaining traditional theology and doctrine.
Traditional Pentecostal theology inherited much from the Holiness movement before it, basically adding only the baptism by the Holy Spirit. This theology is characterized by Biblical literalism, though I found that all Pentecostals interpret at least some parts of the Bible symbolically whether they admit it or not. Salvation in the form of repentance, the acceptance of Jesus Christ, and surrender to Him are other theological tenets. These are regarded as prerequisites for the baptism by the Holy Spirit. Sanctification, or adopting “Christian” behavior, and water baptism are additional doctrines which, however, show variation as to how much they are stressed. Once these conditions are met, eternal life in heaven becomes a "free gift" because God has already defeated Satan.

Characteristic of Pentecostals is the belief in the influence or possession by the devil, demons, or other evil spirits. They believe that the individual alone is powerless to protect himself without the Holy Spirit within him. Pentecostals argue as to whether the Holy Spirit is a person, a spirit, or some combination of the two. They agree, though, that before the day of Pentecost, the Holy Spirit merely moved "upon" men rather than "filling" them. I, however, found no justification for this belief, Biblical or otherwise.

Eschatology, or belief in the "end times," is also characteristic of Pentecostalism. This involves the associated beliefs in the Anti-Christ, the seven-year tribulation, the "rapture," the Second Coming of Christ, and the millennium. They all agree on these points which are interpreted from Revelation, but disagree as to the timing of the events and the order or their occurrence. Charismatics, however, do not
necessarily believe in any of these, as their theologies tend to be loyal to their own traditional denominations.

Pentecostal theology translates into certain values. A former anti-intellectual or anti-educational sentiment is not prevalent anymore, but the Bible is still regarded as the ultimate source of authority and knowledge. They do not shun modern medicine although credit for the cure ultimately goes to God. They do not disparage economic gains either as these are seen as God's reward for living a 'Christ-like' life, which can resemble a certain "moral asceticism." Their beliefs do, however, tend to lead to a lack of social concern and humanitarianism in favor of saving souls. Again, this does not necessarily apply to charismatics.

Older theories regarding the development of the Pentecostal movement tended to reflect the fact that it was once almost exclusively limited to the lower classes. These theories variously postulated the movement developed as a response to social disorganization, cultural conflict, social or psychological maladjustment, economic deprivation, or oppression. They saw it as functioning as a compensatory device, or as a means to socialize individuals into the dominant values of the society. Rarely did they see it as having individual therapeutic effects. Other than this last point, it is not denied that these assessments may have been valid at the time they were written, may still apply to certain individuals, or even that they still apply in the Third World. Nor has it been the focus of this thesis to argue these points. It is merely stated that the consensus of more recent literature is that these theories alone are no longer adequate since the advent of Neo-Pentecostalism and the charismatic movement. Even the utilization of
Victor Turner's theories of communitas has been found to be not very useful.

The newer studies see Pentecostalism as not a product of whatever conditions but rather as a response to them, and primarily a therapeutic one. They also see the conditions more as personal crises than sociological ills. In addition they recognize that recruitment may come simply through personal relationships and not because of stress. Pentecostalism is reported to have beneficial effects on personality integration, interpersonal relationships, and coping with life in general. Even radical life changes away from alcoholism, drug addiction, homosexuality, promiscuity, neurosis, etc., have been reported. Abraham Maslow suggests that its efficacy is due to the encouragement of "peak experiences" such as glossolalia. Some credit for its efficacy also goes to the social support found in the Pentecostal service. Here "fellowship" involves the re-affirmation of the belief system through the giving of testimony, the singing of hymns, and the collective experience of the "gifts" which give ideological support to the beliefs. A summary was given of my observations of the variations in theology and style of worship witnessed in both Pentecostal and charismatic services. My major comment is that variations are present.

Chapter Four began with a brief history of glossolalia, starting with a description of the day of Pentecost. Contrary to the Pentecostal belief that there was a long "drought" until "the latter rain," many Christian saints reportedly had the gifts of glossolalia and xenoglossia all through the centuries. It was a part of Montanism, the Eastern Orthodox Church, Quakers, Irvingites, Shakers, and of spontaneous
outbreaks among the Huguenots and Jansenists. It also occurred in revivalistic movements of the Protestant Reformation as well as in isolated occurrences around the world.

One of the Christian beliefs concerning speaking in tongues is that glossolalia languages are used for one's own personal edification in private praise and petition as well as for the edification of the congregation in public use in conjunction with the gift of interpretation (not to be confused with "translation"). These constitute examples of the gift of tongues as distinguished from tongues as a "sign" of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Xenoglossia can also function as a sign to unbelievers.

Some ambiguity exists as to the appropriateness of the term "possession" by the Holy Spirit. Some object to the connotations associated with the word. Others object because they say it is not giving up the will, although they do admit it is making your will one with God's. Still others object because it is only the vocal cords that are taken or sometimes only "the utterance." Pentecostals prefer the word "filled," but in this thesis I continued to refer to possession by the Holy Spirit as exactly that.

Pentecostals believe that glossolalia is only possible outside Christianity as a "counterfeit of Satan." Only a few admitted another possible source in simple emotionalism. Another belief is that the gift of tongues can be lost through "backsliding." Traditional Pentecostals believe that glossolalia is a necessary sign of the baptism by the Holy Spirit. This is one of their major differences with the
charismatic movement, although more and more Pentecostals are agreeing with the charismatics. Critics of glossolalia say it is not necessary because of the perfection of the Bible, and some even argue whether glossolalia has ever existed.

Like the other verbal gifts, there is much variation among individuals as to exactly how the inspiration is received for interpretation. It can range from vague impressions and pictures to definite words. In any case the message is always put in terms of the belief system of whatever congregation in which it is spoken. Xenoglossia will not need an interpretation if that language is understood. These messages are typically of a more personal nature and relay information that could not possibly have been known to the speaker. There are also circumstances where xenoglossia appears to be a miracle of hearing as well as a miracle of speaking, especially where the speaker is an animal.

Subject experiences of possession by the Holy Spirit vary widely with respect to physiological, motor, and emotional concominants. There is agreement, however, that the initial experience is always the most pronounced. Pentecostals believe the source to be God while outside the Pentecostal and charismatic movements, the source may be recognized as the unconscious. In either case the recipient has the impression of being filled with a reality beyond and greater than himself.

Because glossolalia was so often associated with extreme physiological reactions and trance among the lower classes in the first half of the century, many earlier theories equated glossolalia with these behaviors. An example is Goodman's theory of glossolalia as an
artifact of trance or the hyperarousal state followed by amnesia, although she does admit that a narrow "perceptual window" can be maintained. Some investigators label the whole thing as pathological in an approach James calls "medical materialism," while others like Goodman see that glossolalia even in these extremes can be therapeutic. Indeed Maslow says such peak experiences are necessary for growth. Again it is not argued that glossolalia does not occur associated with trance under some settings. It is argued, however, that glossolalia is not necessarily associated with trance or any emotional or hyperarousal state. I observed none of these extremes in my field research, nor did anyone ever report a loss of memory. The newer studies such as Samarin's concur with my observations. Others go so far as to say that glossolalia can also occur in hypoarousal states and "plateau" experiences, and even in sleep.

The newer studies also testify to the psychological normality of glossolalia speakers. Glossolalia has many similarities to the pseudo-languages that anyone can speak, the difference being only in the amount of rational control involved. Speaking in tongues is to some degree learned behavior, although in some cases, it may more accurately said to be "caught." For this reason, glossolalia is to some degree universal, culturally stereotyped, and personally idiosyncratic. Some even suggest that glossolalia speakers may in fact be more mentally healthy than average. Jung is one who insists on the incredible resources that are available to one who allows himself to be possessed by the unconscious.

Some tongue speakers testify that they can stop and start the utterance at will, but beyond that glossolalia appears to be a form of
automatism, which means the intellect is bypassed. All inspiration must come from the direction of the unconscious. Whether the ultimate source of the inspiration is God or the unconscious is debatable, but the unconscious must, at least, function as a channel or filter. This thesis rejects the Freudian concept of the unconscious as merely a repository of negative repressed memories in favor of the Jungian concept of the unconscious as a beneficial "synthesizing and integrating force for the ego." The majority of the more recent literature agrees with the Jungian view.

There have been several classifications of glossolalia phenomena, but the range of Pentecostal glossolalia does not fit comfortably in any one distinct type. Yet at the same time, it is distinct from pseudo-language and cannot be "faked" under rational control. It may be colored by the speaker's native language through primitivatization and simplification, but at the same time it has certain universal characteristics. Mainly these are repetition with diversification by segmentation, clustering, addition, rearrangement, intonation, and alliteration. Glossolalia is semanticity incomprehensible but is still "language-like." Tongue speakers can even distinguish between different "languages." As to the ability to speak in foreign tongues not known to the speaker, attempts have been made to explain this as "exalted memory" or "cryptomnesia." It seems to me we have little choice but to admit the unconscious does have access to such information by some natural, if yet unknown, process.

Despite the fact that Pentecostals profess to believe that one cannot be possessed by both the Holy Spirit and Satan at the same time,
they still show much concern about whether any particular utterance is "of God" or "of the devil," or the third possibility that some recognize as "emotionalism." This, I believe, is further evidence for the ubiquitous existence of the personal filter, regardless of the source of the inspiration. While one is speaking in tongues, there is still ambiguity about who exactly is doing the speaking, God or the individual himself. I propose that the confusion arises because at the level of the unconscious, the distinction between God and the subliminal self begins to lose meaning.

There is variation in the ways that glossolalia is initially acquired. It can be induced by "driving" or by individual coaching. It can occur publicly in answer to an altar call or alone in a solitary environment. It can occur spontaneously or only after long periods of prayer. It is learned only in the sense of accepting that it is possible and adopting the particular variation of speaking style of the group, and the culturally stereotypic pattern. It can, however, occur spontaneously to individuals completely ignorant of the existence of glossolalia. It may begin with only a few words or a very extensive "vocabulary." The personal evolution of glossolalia over time is usually in the direction of greater fluency and more languages. Only where glossolalia is associated with trance does the behavior appear to attenuate. Although glossolalia is non-communicative, it may evolve in the direction of increased semanticity by non-verbal means and in a paralinguistic sense, in the same way that music communicates. It is also similar to magical formulas in that power is attributed to nonsensical speech. Many miraculous life changes do occur coincident
with glossolalia, further attesting to the benefits that can result from "surrender" to the unconscious.

Another theory of glossolalia postulates that it provides ideological support for the middle-class Pentecostal. More correctly, all the inspirational gifts provide ideological support for anybody who uses them, no matter what they believe. This is because the unconscious, as a synthesizing and integrating force, clothes itself in the belief system of the individual without judgment, yet conveys a sense of authority.

All attempts to find a single personality type for glossolalia speakers have been futile. Indications are that they are normal, average people who merely choose possession by the Holy Spirit as their way of coping with everyday problems that are no different than anybody else's. If anything they may be more successful at coping than non-tongue speakers.

Traditionally, Pentecostals believe there are nine gifts of the Holy Spirit, but with charismatics the number may range up to infinity. Basically the inspirational gifts provide knowledge and information normally not available to the conscious self, and direction and advice for the solution of problems that the individual would normally not have been able to reason out. The other gifts provide power to perform "miracles" far beyond their normal abilities. The purpose of the gifts is that the "fruits" of the Spirit, particularly love and charity, ideally should result from them.

The inspirational gifts usually come in the form of visions, which are sometimes indistinguishable from dreams, and audible voices, or
some combination of the two. Pentecostals deny that this is the same thing as psychic phenomena such as extrasensory perception, telepathy, or clairvoyance. One of these inspirational gifts is discernment. Interestingly, people from different denominations discern the absolute truth differently. Again, this is further evidence of the personal and cultural filter. Discernment is a necessary ability, however, because the "divine" vision or revelation can often be indistinguishable from one that is less than divine. The extreme sense of authority with which the revelation presents itself further makes it easy to be deceived. Discernment also functions to legitimize the rejection of out-group members and doctrines.

One of the doctrines of the Pentecostal and charismatic faith is that one cannot gain salvation by works alone. It is considered a necessary but not sufficient condition. The additional necessary requirement is becoming "saved" or surrendering to Christ in order to guarantee a place in heaven, which I think is useful to think of as a state of mind or being. In the gift of healing, they believe an "inner healing" of the mind is usually necessary before a physical healing can follow. Truly miraculous healings do occur, and explanations based on faith or level of belief are inadequate to explain them all. Trauma injuries are healed instantly as well as psychosomatic illnesses. Unbelievers are healed without any knowledge that someone has been praying for them.

The range of Pentecostal possession belief and behavior varies greatly around the world, especially where it has evolved as a syncretic religion mixed with traditional indigenous beliefs. It also varied over
time. The major point of this thesis is that this range overlaps and is continuous with the range of possession belief and behavior found everywhere around the world.

In particular, the range of glossolalia and xenoglossia and the other verbal gifts of interpretation, prophecy, wisdom, and knowledge associated with possession by the Holy Spirit overlaps with the range of these same gifts associated with other forms of possession, especially those involved with spirit mediumship and shamanism. Even here these gifts are not usually limited only to religious professionals but are available to anyone. In fact they may not be associated with any religious ritual or belief. All this has been going on since well before the day of Pentecost.

The common Western concept of possession as intrusion by malevolent demons has not always existed. Before the time of Christ, it was seen as a blessing bestowed by the gods. Still the older literature on possession reflects the bias of the New Testament tradition, giving various psychopathological explanations. Again it is not denied that possession is often a response to conditions of stress, but possession itself is not necessarily pathological and indeed is often therapeutic. Neither are individuals who become possessed significantly different from those who do not. The same conclusion applies to those who experience possession by the Holy Spirit. It is just one method of coping, chosen by normal people to deal with normal stresses. Furthermore it is a method of communicating the problem to significant others and to society in general, and a method of submitting to the arbitration of the "third party" of the spirits or gods. On the other hand, the society provides
the individual with a culturally specific belief system which determines the general form of possession. These beliefs are intimately associated with an entire world view, and linked to the social and technological spheres of culture as well.

Oesterreich, like many others, rejects the spiritistic explanation that possession is caused by truly separate entities, which is also an assumption of this thesis. There is less consensus for his statement that the self is not actually split or dissociated since nothing is actually taken away from the conscious personality. I would add that dissociation is not the proper term because, if anything, the individual is less dissociated, having manifested a greater portion of his unconscious. This is true of Christian tongue speakers as well.

Since possession everywhere is dependent on belief systems, a certain amount of learning is involved. The possessing entity will conform to the belief system, appearing as either ancestor, deity, animal, or demon. Where Western influence has been resisted, these entities are frequently seen as benevolent. When one becomes ill, the spirit is invoked and negotiated with for a cure rather than the exorcism of simple expulsion. In recognizing at least one form of benevolent possession, Pentecostals have this much in common with other forms of therapeutic possession.

Rather than class forms of possession into types, I feel it is more useful to model a continuum, listing a series of attributes that may or may not be present. All forms of true possession are inspirational, in that the spirit speaks through the person rather than with them (though they may do that in addition). Possession may also either be involuntary or voluntary. The distinction between ritual and peripheral
possession is not very useful as cases of possession usually have characteristics of both. The same problem occurs with Bourguignon's distinction between possession belief and possession trance. Like possession by the Holy Spirit, any form of possession may occur with or without trance, with or without amnesia, publicly or in private. Even cases associated with extreme amnesia still retain a narrow perceptual window like glossolalia trance. Another distinction is made as to whether it is the doctor or the patient who becomes possessed. That either one can diagnose the illness and prescribe the cure gives further testimony to the omniscience of the possessing spirit. Multiple personality also has many similarities to possession except that it is highly idiosyncratic, not being supported by any cultural beliefs.

One characteristic common to all forms of possession is that the possessing entity tries to maintain the illusion of being a completely different and external entity. It does this by exhibiting knowledge and performing feats far beyond the capabilities of the conscious personality. It also adopts an identity from local mythology and often assumes the guise of the opposite sex. Yet personality traits of the individual usually remain consistent. Another common characteristic of all forms of possession is the omniscient character of the possessing entity, which not only exhibits tremendous knowledge but has a memory that is complete and continuous over the individual's entire life, even during sleep. Another common characteristic is that initial possessions are always more chaotic than subsequent possessions. Even those forms that at first appear demonic gradually become beneficial as the individual learns to "surrender" to the spirit. The surrender and
nurturing of a relationship with the spirit is indeed the major part of the curing process. A further common characteristic is that inspirational and power "gifts" come as a result of all forms of possession.

Another parallel between possession by the Holy Spirit and other forms of possession is the ambiguity people feel as to the aptness of the term possession. Some believe only certain parts of the body are possessed or else the possessing entity is seen as riding on the outside. It is also commonly believed in forms of therapeutic possession that the possession is a permanent condition, where the possessing entity is always available to be called. The theme of death and rebirth is also very common, symbolizing a kind of transcendence of the pre-possessed state. The amoral nature of the possessing spirit is also common in that it will clothe itself in terms of the belief system the individual has (the cultural and personal filter) to achieve the aim of the integration of the conscious ego.

In conclusion then, there are certain variables and certain constants associated with all forms of therapeutic possession (actual or potential). The only fundamental differences lie in the beliefs about possession. The variables are that possession may be:

1) religious or non-religious
2) public or private
3) voluntary or spontaneous
4) welcome or unwelcome
5) temporary or permanent
6) with amnesia or without
7) with trance or without
8) in hypoarousal or hyperarousal.

The constants are as follows:

1) initial possession experiences are more chaotic and pronounced, even demoniac, until one learns to surrender
2) surrender is always required, and in Pentecostalism it is prerequisite to spirit baptism
3) the individual (conscious ego) alone is powerless, and will inevitably fall into mental illness without the subliminal self
4) the results of contact with the subliminal self have a "gift"-like quality that comes with surrender and not by works alone
5) bona fide visions are continuous with dreams
6) all inspirational gifts must necessarily pass through the personal filter
7) the gifts can be lost
8) the gifts are infinite and can appear as true "miracles"
9) the miraculous nature of the gifts give ideological support to the belief systems
10) inner healing must come before outer
11) the subliminal self operates with volition towards the ultimate goal of the integration with the conscious ego
12) it has an omniscient character
13) it conveys a sense of authority
14) it works to maintain the illusion of being a separate and external entity.
These universal characteristics of the subliminal self seem to suggest that all forms of possession, possibly even multiple personality and schizophrenia also, are at least potentially therapeutic.

The Pentecostal and charismatic belief that God has already defeated Satan, making salvation a free gift if we will accept it, can be taken as a religious abstraction of the psychological truth that incredible benefits can be reaped by surrendering to the subliminal self and entering "heaven" on earth. Their belief that the devil steps up his attack when one surrenders to the Lord parallels the psychological truth that when one opens the door to the benevolence of the subliminal self, there will be certain repressed contents to confront. The Pentecostal belief that the individual alone is weak without the Holy Spirit translates that the conscious ego alone, without the protection and guidance of the subliminal self, will inevitably fall into mental illness.

Finally to make the point that all men and not just Pentecostals have the subliminal self always available to them and have the potential for speaking in tongues or for any other of the infinite variety of gifts, I quote the Bible itself. "There are, it may be, so many kinds of voices in the world and none of them is without signification" (I Corinthians 14:10).
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