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Flowing and framing

Language ideology, circulation, and authority in a Pentecostal Bible school

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Experiential and mediatized, Pentecostal Christianity is one of the most successful cases of contemporary religious globalization. However, it has often grown and expanded transnationally without clear authoritative contours. That is the case in contemporary Ghana, where Pentecostal claims about charismatic empowerment have fed public anxieties concerning the fake and the occult. This article examines how Pentecostalism's dysfunctional circulation is countered within seminaries, or Bible schools, by specific strategies of pastoral training. First, I revisit recent debates on Protestant language ideology in the anthropology of Christianity, and stress Pentecostalism's affinity with notions of flow and saturation of speech by divine presence. Second, I move to data collected in the Anagkazo Bible and Ministry Training Center, and investigate this institution's pedagogical framing of Pentecostalism's otherwise erratic flow of speech and power according to two normative operations: Biblical figuration and the emic notion of transmission as 'impartation'. I conclude by stressing how the metapragmatics of figuration and impartation in Anagkazo requires an understanding of religious circulation that exceeds the dominant scholarly focus on religion-as-mediation.

Keywords: Pentecostalism, Ghana, circulation, language ideology, meta-pragmatics, authority, pedagogy

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1. Introduction

In this article, I examine the intersections between language ideology, circulation, and authority in global Pentecostalism in Ghana. By coupling a strong reliance on the miraculous experience of God with successful strategies of mediatization (Agha 2011) through print, radio, TV, CDs, DVDs, and the internet Pentecostal Christianity has attracted great masses of followers in Africa as elsewhere in the global South (Meyer 2004a; Robbins 2004). However, this impressive evangelistic dissemination has unfolded without clear authoritative contours. Part of it is due to this spirituality's own flexible structures of ecclesiastical authority, often represented in the scholarship through ideas of 'movement' (Csordas 2001), 'waves' (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005), and 'family resemblances' (Anderson 2010), instead of rigid historical, social, and theological identities. This cross-contextual tendency is catalyzed to a point of eruption by the entanglement of Pentecostalism with the widespread crisis of legitimacy that has affected the African 'post-colony' (Mbembe 2001) in a neoliberal epoch, expressed through growing informality at the level of political economy and anxieties about the fake and the occult at the level of social imaginaries (Comaroff & Comaroff 2000; Apter 2005; Shipley 2009).

Exposed to a context characterized by intense and unruly religious enthusiasm, academics and Ghanaian Pentecostals alike have had to reckon with an urgent question: Who is entitled to speak for or summon the Spirit of God? What are the limits between proper and improper religious experience? And what are its mechanisms of authentication? How to embed these widely available divine affects into communities of practice and mutual-recognition, such as churches and denominations? The quest for strategies of reterritorialization of a discourse otherwise dysfunctional in its circulation led me to Pentecostal seminaries, or Bible schools, ideal sites to investigate the authoritative transmission of Pentecostal norms concerning doctrine, practice, and experience at the level of its leadership.

In what follows, I first review recent debates on language ideology in the anthropology of Christianity, and argue that the act and process of converting to Pentecostalism entails embracing as true, desirable, and normative a sacramental personhood in which speech becomes potentially suffused by divine presence. The resulting language ideology is highly malleable, carrying centripetal and centrifugal forces (Bialecki 2011), and oscillating across experiences of intimacy, individual and corporate ecstasy, as well as inter-personal flow. Subsequently, I move to data collected in the Anagkazo Bible and Ministry Training Center, and investigate the school's pedagogical framing of Pentecostalism's otherwise erratic flow of speech and power according to two normative operations: one, the establishment, through Biblical figuration or typology (Frei 1974), of a structure

of participant roles that connects the students to the denomination's leader in terms of spiritual filiation; the other, the deployment of this relation as a channel to what Pentecostals call 'impartation', an emic model of transmission that produces religious conformity through the mimetic identification between students, the charismatic leader, and, by default, the denomination he has founded. I conclude by stressing how the metapragmatic role of figuration and impartation in Anagkazo's project of advancing Pentecostalism as an authoritative discourse (Asad 1993) requires an understanding of circulation that exceeds the dominant focus of anthropologists of Christianity and media on religion-as-mediation.

2.   Protestant language ideology: From ineffability to performative flow

According to a pioneer definition, language ideology is a "set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structures and use" (Silverstein 1979: 193). The concept acknowledges the influence of language reflexivity (Lucy 1993) in what Silverstein calls the "total linguistic fact", defined as "an unstable mutual interaction of meaningful sign forms contextualized to situations of interested human use mediated by the fact of cultural ideology" (1985: 220). On the one hand, emphasizing the *language* pole, scholars have shown how the stream of talk is suffused by more or less implicit mechanisms that signal and attempt to stabilize the status of the participants, what is being conveyed, and how it should be interpreted (Lucy 1993; Silverstein 1993). This awareness about the simultaneity of speech acts and communicational frames, taken as dimensions of a laminated communicative flow instead of discernable 'objects' of research, has contributed to important work on the influence of metalanguage and metapragmatics in the production of the spatial and temporal horizons of co-performance through context-making (Goodwin & Duranti 1992), as well as the portability and circulation of discourse through entextualization (Silverstein & Urban 1996).

On the other hand, scholars concerned with the *ideology* pole of language ideology have taken the opportunity to reestablish the link between language and other social realms (Duranti 2003), showing how power relations suffuse communicative practices at the levels of ritual and everyday talk, schooling, and media, also shedding new light on processes of language standardization and histories of language contact (Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity 1998). Conflict is indeed an inevitable supplement of power, and Briggs (1998) has questioned the tendency to articulate a given society to a single language ideology too closely (cf. Gal 1993; Rumsey 1990). If we assume with Raymond Williams (1977: 21) that "a definition of language is always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human

beings in the world", it is valid to conclude that disputes concerning the nature and boundaries of language are inherently normative (Voloshinov 1973; Bakhtin 1981). In this sense, the study of language ideologies has helped 'provincialize' Western scientific and philosophical forms of language objectification (Bauman & Briggs 2003), by drawing attention to contexts in which the scholarly framing of communicative interactions collides with the metapragmatics mobilized by the agents most directly involved.

The same is valid for research centered on religion and language, as it has become progressively clear to scholars that religious traditions not only use language in specific ways (Keane 1997), but also advance their own assumptions about human and divine agencies and their modes of entanglement through specific language ideologies (Keane 2007). More than in any other sub-field, anthropologists concerned with Christianity have engaged methodically with this question, giving rise to what Bialecki and Pinal call the "Christian language ideology paradigm" (2011: 577–582). A major concern here has been the ethnographic survey of alternative solutions to what Engelke summarizes as "the problem of presence", or "how a religious subject defines and claims to construct a relationship with the divine through the investment of authority and meaning in certain words, actions, and objects" (2007: 9). As part of this panoramic research project, language ideology is frequently encompassed by the notion of semiotic ideologies (Keane 2007), which inserts language into the broader representational economies of religion, including texts, images, music, objects, architecture, and gestures, implying that the very distinction between words and things, language and non-language is pervaded by definitional struggles concerning the materiality of the semiotic form.

Much of this research has focused on the overlapping of religious and semiotic mediation, as well as on its impact at the level of religious subject formation, a topic especially relevant to Protestant denominations, often marked by an iconoclastic suspicion about the 'priestly' government of divine presence through artifacts and institutions. Webb Keane's work among Indonesian Calvinists exemplifies with great richness the conundrums of Protestant semiosis. In his book, *Christian Moderns* (2007), he shows how conversion to Calvinism produced among the Sumbanese a stark rejection of conventionality and materiality in religious affairs, considered now part of their 'fetishistic' past. This negation is closely followed by an ideology of transparent speech, which constantly remits material actions and conventional words to immaterial meanings. This is not a natural property of language, but the product of an active ethical engagement of religious subjects with the "norm of sincerity" (Keane 2007: 15), expressed by an ongoing concern with isomorphism between speech and inner states. Keane's analytical scope is wide, as he attributes to the norm of sincerity a central place

in what he generalizes as 'Protestant language ideology', highlighting the affinities between his interlocutors' heart-language and the hegemonic moral narrative of modernity as the liberation of autonomous agents from the shackles of tradition, now reduced to a constraining externality (MacIntyre 1984).

Talal Asad (1993) had shown how this *grand récit* of modernity is reflected in the very modern reshaping of the category of 'religion' as a matter of inner, immaterial, and freely chosen belief, instead of embedded authoritative practices. Echoing Asad's point that "the materialities of religion are integral to its constitution" (2001: 206), Keane takes a stronger etic stance, and assumes that "even in its most abstract and transcendent, the human subject cannot free itself from objectification" (2007: 81). In this sense, he is interested in investigating closely the inevitable entanglement between his interlocutors and the materialities of semiosis, depicting the work of Protestant language ideology among the Sumbanese as one of subconscious 'purification' (Latour 1993) of ever-emerging interstitial zones. This is best exemplified by their attachment to what Keane calls the 'creed paradigm' (2007: 67–72).

A fundamental medium to the emergence of Christianity as a world religion, creeds entextualize (Urban 1996) doctrine and allow its deterritorialization and circulation across time and space. Although still holding inner belief as a normative definitional marker of proper Christianity, Calvinists embrace the creed, and render the immaterial and intimate act of taking responsibility for one's words and thoughts also materially mediated by a transposable textual culture. By voicing their I in accordance to the entextualized "I" of these texts, Calvinists lend their selves to a community of speech and recognition – a public, shaped through an organic engagement with print technologies, a process also seen elsewhere in modern societies (Warner 1990). One may conclude that the circulating materiality of texts is one of the blind spots of the norm of sincerity, the veiling required by the unveiling of a post-traditional, autonomous, and sincere subject who engages with God, others, and the world through immaterial faith and meaning.

Susan Harding exemplifies a similar tension in her work on the language of American Christian Fundamentalism (1987, 2000). Harding defines the apparatus of Christian proselytism deployed by these groups as "a bundle of strategies – symbolic, narrative, poetic and rhetorical – for confronting individuals, singly and in groups" (1987: 161). Central to this process is the notion of the 'testimony,' whereby converts come to publicly 'witness' to the transformational effects that the encounter with Christ had in their lives. This experiential talk merges a deep sense of singularity (which defines Christianity as 'having a personal relationship with Christ') with a way of speaking whose discernable and repeatable contours are clearly those of a discourse genre (Hanks 1987). Emphasizing how this group's Protestant avoidance of rituals is supplemented by a reliance on

rhetorical forms, Harding defines conversion as the process of joining a narrative tradition "to which you willingly submit your past, present, and future as a speaker" (1987: 179). The shift from passive hearer to active speaker is part of the advent of what Harding calls a "generative belief", in which "speaking is believing" (Harding 2000: 33–60). We are here close to Keane's Calvinists, as the fundamentalist 'public' expands through a highly methodic circulation of private experiences of God as 'public secrets'.

Avoiding essentialisms, Bialecki (2011) organizes the field of Protestant language ideology according to a model composed by centripetal and centrifugal forces. Whereas the first find expression in an ethics of individualistic intimacy, the latter quite consciously embrace language's inevitable externality as circulation. Bialecki is dealing ethnographically with a Protestant charismatic tradition, Pentecostalism, thus also bringing us closer to my specific concern here. Pentecostals define the act of becoming 'born-again' as the beginning of a longer process of individual transfiguration, which finds a critical point in the so-called "Holy Ghost baptism", also known as the "infilling and outpouring" of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit dwelling in the convert supports the ethical project of moral sanctification in Christ's likeness and enables individual empowerment through the "gifts of the spirit" (1 Corinthians 12 : 4), as reflected in capacities such as prophecy, healing, "deliverance" from evil spirits, and speaking in tongues (Ephesians 4 : 7–13; 1 Corinthians 14). The result is a sacramental anthropology – composed of body, soul, and Spirit – that produces important shifts in the ways Pentecostals conceive of and deploy language.

During my fieldwork in Ghana, I was exposed to a great variety of manifestations of the Spirit of God, which retains its transcendental unity while still becoming entangled immanently with subjects, bodies, and things in diverse ways. Bialecki's more open-ended model comes in handy exactly because of its capacity to account adequately for the organic 'plasticity' (Espírito Santo 2014) acquired by divine agency and personhood in Pentecostal practice. It allows us to grant that the Pentecostal self is thoroughly porous, and yet, that it can still be shaped according to various spiritual modes (Reinhardt 2014: 322–330).

For instance, during practices of meditation or silent prayer, the Spirit acquires a centripetal directionality as the *Spirit within*. It manifests itself preferably as a counseling 'still small voice' or through visions and dreams orbiting around feelings of intimacy (Luhrmann 2012). Conversely, during glossolalia, a paradigmatic form of 'outpouring' of the Spirit, divine agency is more likely to appear as the *Spirit upon*, assuming a more ex-static, thus centrifugal countenance. The body comes much more forcefully to the fore, and the outcome is a surface speech whose sacrality is marked by the evacuation of semantic traits from the phonological rhythms of prayer. As part of a devotional practice in which "it is all surplus,

and extra-linguistic charge" (Bialecki 2011:694), the Spirit is transfigured from a tranquil inner voice into the 'Holy Ghost fire' and feelings of 'burning'. The *Spirit upon* is also catalyzed by co-performance during corporate prayers. As a mystical speech without either reference or subjective depth, speaking in tongues therefore allows the emergence of a relatively unmarked linguistic interaction, which, according to De Certeau, "fills the space between speakers with the plural and prolix act of communicating and creates, *mezza voce*, an opera of enunciation on the stage of verbal exchange" (1996:30).

Yet another centrifugal manifestation of the Spirit in Pentecostal spirituality is the *Spirit across*, whose structure of participant roles is no longer that of a self-consuming and co-performing corporate body but more likely to appear as a discernible circuit of transmission and exchange. Prophecy is probably its most classic manifestation (Csordas 2001:202–248), but not the only one. Simon Coleman's work among Swedish Pentecostals has explored the trans-personal possibilities opened by the Pentecostal body-temple in everyday interaction, arguing that, for his interlocutors, "to 'speak out' sacred words that have been stored in the self is not merely to communicate to other in a semantic sense; it is also to recreate and extend one's persona in the act of giving an aspect of the self to others – an aspect that is never truly alienated from the giver" (2006:165). Coleman is referring to the Pentecostal-charismatic folk theology of 'words of faith' and the rhetorical procedure of converting Biblical promises into 'declarations', also extremely popular in Ghana. During 'declarations', faith- and Spirit-charged words operate literally like projectiles thrown at expectant congregants who answer them with "I receive it!" while raising their hands. The "thinglike" force (Coleman 2006:165) of declarations is rendered even more explicit when they become convertible into money offerings and gifts, words and things finding interchangeability as acts of faith during church meetings.

We realize that, whereas Keane's Calvinists and Harding's Southern Baptists struggle to purify an unencumbered notion of the Christian subject from the stain of linguistic materiality and publicity, Pentecostals often embrace openly, and indeed as normative, a language and semiotic ideology that encourages them to transgress the boundaries of the Self (Coleman 2009). Concerns with sincerity tend to overlap with an ongoing fascination with the power and performativity of inspired speech happening within, without and across the human subject. To be sure, as much as sincere speech, Spirit-filled words are an acquired capacity, which demands ongoing cultivation (Brahinsky 2012). For instance, Coleman's interlocutors frame activities like Bible reading as a holy gymnastics, whereby one progressively becomes the "equivalent of a spiritual body builder" (2006:170). I found in my fieldwork analogous ideas, in this case centered on notions of nurturance (Reinhardt 2013, 2014). The main outcomes of the ingestion of scriptures

through repetitive reading and recitation are both the ability to 'think Biblically' and an increase in spiritual power, according to Jesus' claim in John 6:63 that "The words I have spoken to you are Spirit and they are life". By 'feeding in the Word', converts 'grow' spiritually and achieve 'spiritual maturity', moving from the status of 'spiritual babies', that is, recent converts, to that of 'men' and 'women of God'.

My interlocutors defined as 'mature Christians' those able to produce a fine balance between centrifugal and centripetal trends, spiritual autonomy and heteronomy, intimacy and relationality, embracing a vicarious experience of God during church services without sacrificing one's everyday fellowship with the *Spirit within*. In this sense, more than a subconscious process of 'purification', the articulation between the public and private aspects of this spirituality appears explicitly as an emic challenge embraced by practitioners. Moreover, similar to the centripetal trends of Protestant language ideology exemplified by Keane and Harding, Pentecostalism's centrifugal encompassment on language as a performatic flow that informs but also transports presence produces its own blind spots. Most importantly, the tendency is to push the born-again public to constantly reckon with the ethical and political grounds of reported and inspired speech: Are men and women of God authentic animators or mischievous authors (Goffman 1981)? Is Pentecostal speech sacramental, prophetic, or simply ventriloquist?

During my fieldwork, I explored this emic uneasiness with authority and authenticity by investigating two overlapping problems. First, how conversion to Christianity, understood as a biographical process of temporal boundary-making, is advanced in practice as an ethical process (Daswani 2013), that is, an individual life project made of teleological scripts and acquired competencies (Mahmood 2005; Hirschkind 2006; Marshall 2009; Faubion 2011). And second, how Pentecostal networks grow into more stable institutions by working as communities of "flourishing" (MacIntyre 1999), associations that use the power of nurturance to establish more enduring allegiances and expand collectively according to a mission. Those two dimensions of Pentecostalism, understood as a way of life and a form of corporate body-making, are vital to make sense of how religious enthusiasm can be governed, transmitted, and indeed amplified authoritatively by denominations even in unlikely terrains like Ghana.

Concerned with the pedagogical production of authorized Pentecostal leadership in Ghana, my research found in Bible schools privileged access to specific strategies whereby true islands of normativity can be established within this dazzling religious movement. By condensing the influence of charismatic leaders and allowing it to spread through recursive chains of disciples, Bible schools help carving a more concrete space of authentication within an otherwise unbounded global culture, which is situated without necessarily becoming 'local'. How to

frame these leaders' binding and empowering flow of speech and presence without expropriating the Spirit of its spontaneity, one of its major definitional traits? I start pursuing this question in what follows.

3.   The Anagkazo Bible and Ministry Training Center: Framing the flow

The Anagkazo Bible and Ministry Training Center is a semi-denominational seminary connected to the Ghanaian church Lighthouse Chapel International (LCI). The church was founded in Accra, in 1987, by pastor (later bishop) Dag Heward-Mills and, since then, has sprung into a transnational network of more than one thousand branch churches spread over four continents. LCI is a 'charismatic ministry' (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005), a breed of Pentecostal Christianity that has grown in Ghana especially since the 1980s. It articulates the evangelical notion of conversion as 'spiritual rebirth' and the basic Pentecostal pneumatology referred to above, with so-called prosperity theology and a highly globalized ethos (Gifford 2004). They use predominantly English, and ally deep Pentecostal piety with values like entrepreneurship and success. Media is a key component of LCI's evangelistic strategy, and so is the training of pastors with the purpose of caring for its growing flock. LCI's impressive homogeneity in terms of liturgy, doctrine, ethics, and esthetics are signs of this denomination's capacity to grow exponentially and orderly, which led me to select Anagkazo as one of my main field sites.

Anagkazo is a total institution, in which students live for four years before being ordained by bishop Dag Heward-Mills and achieve the status of ministers of the gospel. It admits especially lay leaders from Lighthouse Chapel, who decided to advance to full-time ministry, as well as external applicants who were inspired to apply during Dag Heward-Mills' evangelist crusades across the continent and beyond. The student body is composed of a majority of Ghanaians, but also of a representative number of international students, mostly from other African countries, and eventually from Europe, USA, South America, Asia, and Oceania.[2] Those are mostly youths, between 25 and 30, admitted through yearly cohorts of around 300 students. Rates of desertion are also high, especially because of this institution's rigorous disciplinary standards.

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2.   I administered a survey to 200 students from the third- and fourth-year cohorts, and found out that Ghanaians represented 74.5% of this sample. Anagkazo has admitted students from Australia (Ghanaian in diaspora), Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Guyana, Holland (half-Ghanaian), India, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Scotland, Sierra Leone, South Africa, St Lucia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, USA, and Zambia.

The school's pedagogical routines are comprehensive, and include *spiritual exercises*, such as Bible memorization, meditation, fasting and prayer; *institutional disciplines*, such as sartorial codes, strict control of time, and rules of decorum like speaking only English; *lectures* on diverse fields of Christian doctrine, pastoral ethics, and church history; and *practical activities*, ranging from preaching exams to administrative, missionary, and evangelistic 'rotations' within the church's institutional network. These practical activities exemplify how the school conceives the process of becoming a pastor as a craft that requires apprenticeship.[3] Through rotations, pupils are introduced to the denomination as a community of practice by progressively moving from peripheral activities to positions of protagonism akin to those performed by their instructors (Lave 2011). Anagkazo is a beacon of 'practical Christianity', averse to theological speculations and fully centered on expanding the Kingdom of God through missions, evangelism, and church planting.

Relations of apprenticeship among born-again Christians transcend full-time pastoral training, and also find a more spiritualized version through what my Pentecostal interlocutors used to call 'discipleship', the process whereby seasoned Christians take recent converts under their wings, operating as role models to their Christian lives. This habit is usually justified as an emulation of the relation between the Apostle Paul and his disciple Timothy, whom he called a "son in Christ" (Timothy 1:2; Philippians 2:19–22). In fact, Anagkazo overlaps and hybridizes the logics of apprenticeship and discipleship, as observed in the students' habit of addressing bishop Dag as both their 'mentor' and 'spiritual father'.

Bishop Dag has written extensively about spiritual kinship, and takes it as the most important tool for pastoral training. His textbooks, adopted by the school, often merge his own personal experiences (mystical and otherwise) with a series of Biblical glosses that render these teachings authoritative and God-given. As we will see, these glosses make great hermeneutical efforts to further spiritualize the link of spiritual kinship by making it not only an opportunity for learning or ethical emulation, but also a channel for the transmission of the ministerial grace, usually identified as 'the anointing'. The anointing refers to the Old Testament practice of consecrating prophets and divinely appointed kings by pouring oil on their heads. Through digitally reproduced sermons and books, bishop Dag offers to his audience a very detailed script on how to 'catch the anointing', which is followed very closely by the school. This script is a bricolage of the Bible, personal glosses, and books authored by other international ministers, such as the Word

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3.   See Lauterbach (2008) for an insightful study of methods of apprenticeship among popular Pentecostal pastors in Kumasi.

of Faith pioneer Kenneth Hagin, someone bishop Dag considers one of his own spiritual fathers.

As Agha (2011) argues, mediatization is the process of embedding communication in circulating commodities in order to expand "the effective scale of production and dissemination of messages across a population" (163). This often leads to a general deregulation of their uptakes, which are allowed to proliferate much beyond the normative control of authors or principals. Having gone through a similar process of deterritorialization, the anointing has circulated widely and often wildly across Ghana's public sphere and popular religiosity, finding a variety of uses and understandings as part of everyday born-again talk, the liturgical repertoire of more and less dubious ministers, bumper stickers consecrating vehicles as "anointed", and bottles of 'anointing oil' sold in Accra's market places. Anagkazo therefore provides Lighthouse Chapel with the possibility of introducing greater control over the uptake of the bishop's mediatized messages, conditioning his scriptural scripts to specific allegiances, practices of cultivation, and forms of self-recognition also taught at the school. If not interrupted by these organizational moves, the Pentecostal flow of speech and sacred power is at least framed according to more stable normative lines, thus inducing homogeneity. In the next sections, I explore two of these operations, Biblical figuration and impartation, and show how they predicate Pentecostal language ideology in a specific metapragmatics.

4.   Like Elijah and Elisha: Biblical figuration and the establishment of participant roles

During a lecture on 'Pastoral Ministry', one of Anagkazo's instructors, Reverend Agyeman, expanded on 'the principle of *allos*'. After explaining that *allos* comes from a Greek word used in the New Testament, meaning "another of the same kind", he quoted from one of bishop Dag's textbooks adopted by the school:

> In all that we do, our aim must be to seek the glory of Him that sent us. Our aim must not be to be special or unique in any way. We must desire to be an *allos*. Only the pure in heart shall see God. What is in our hearts is important. Why do we want to be different? Why do we want to be special? Is it not the pride of life that drives this need in us to be different from anyone else? I have come to see that I am not different from any other minister. I am not some rare species whom Christ has chosen for the end-times move. Such thoughts only lead to error. I am a member of the Lord's army. I stand among the ranks and I am glad to be another of the same kind.

The passage strives to dissociate charismatic power from singularity. Originality is vain, and the Christian life is an emulation of both Christ and his authorized representatives, our Christian mentors. The very scene in the classroom exemplifies this perspective, since the instructor is happy to simply animate Heward-Mill's voice by spending most of the class quoting from his books, eventually enriching the bishop's points with personal testimonies or additional scriptures that spring to his mind. After claiming that "Everyone who is great in ministry is an *allos*, and you can see how they share a similar anointing", the Reverend enlisted the striking similarities in doctrine and behavior at the pulpit displayed by famous American evangelists such as Kathryn Kuhlman, Aimee McPherson, and Benny Himn. These are not accidental, since McPherson was Kuhlman's disciple, and took Himn as her protégé. Applying the notion to his own case, Reverend Agyeman invited the students to join the bishop's spiritual lineage: "We should not be ashamed of that. That's how God works. It's beautiful! Our presiding bishop is an *allos*, and I am his *allos*! He instructed me personally and ushered me into the ministry. Now that our church grew so much, we use his books, CDs, and videos to impart the same anointing onto you".

This unashamed resource to grace and citationality (Derrida 1988) in order to account for inter-personal similarities may sound counter-intuitive. After all, the notion that religious experience must be pre-linguistic, idiosyncratic, and ineffable, thus frontally opposed to human relationality, is part of our secular modern inheritance (Sharf 1998). This perspective is countered by Anagkazo's own teachings, which find in the anointing the basis of a folk theology of grace-transference and vicarious experience in which relations are taken as instruments and effects of God's intervening power. It is tacit knowledge in Anagkazo that "God leads you" to certain people, through whom grace might flow into new vessels.

During the same lecture, Reverend Agyeman attempted to firm up his students' faith on the authoritative principles of grace-inheritance by looking closer at two Biblical characters: Elijah and Elisha. First, he invited the students to narrate these life stories. Voracious Bible consumers, they had no difficulty in raising hands and reminding us, one after the other, that Elijah was a great Jewish prophet, and a powerful 'man of God'. In his turn, Elisha was the son of peasants, someone who had abandoned his family to follow Elijah as a servant. In order to stress Elisha's humility and the bond of servanthood he had established with Elijah, someone quoted 2 Kings 3:11, a scene in which Elisha is described as the one who "poured water on the hands of Elijah".[4] Reverend Agyeman complemented: "After abandoning his family, he called Elijah his father."

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4. This passage resonates with the Ghanaian habit of pouring water on a guest's or an elder's hands before eating and might have been read by the students as a gesture of legitimate submission also from a cultural perspective.

Through an ever-growing patchwork of citational voices, another aspect of Elisha's personality emerged: he desired his master's anointing fervently. Referring to the spectacular scene of Elijah's death in 2 Kings 2, a student declared: "Before dying, Elijah asked: 'what I shall do for thee, before I be taken away from thee'. And Elisha answered: Daddy, 'Let a double portion of thy Spirit be upon me'". As the story says, Elijah ascended to heaven in a chariot of fire, and threw his mantle upon Elisha, who inherited his master's prophetic office and became an even greater man of God. The mantle is another way of addressing the ministerial call among Pentecostals, and the scene summarizes the basic tenets of spiritual impartation instilled by Anagkazo: the importance of following a man of God humbly, while desiring the grace God has already bestowed upon him and expecting its inheritance. To provide evidence to the anointing transference, Reverend Agyeman copied on the blackboard the following chart, found in one of bishop Dag's books.

Elijah	Elisha
He caused famine for three and a half years (1 Kings 17:1; James 5:17)	He also prayed and there was a famine for seven years (2 Kings 8:1–2)
Multiplied the meal and oil for a widow (1 Kings 17:8–16)	He also increased the oil of a widow (2 Kings 4:1–7)
He dried up the river Jordan (2 Kings 2:8)	He also dried up the river Jordan (2 Kings 2:13–15)
He prayed for the bringing back to life of a little boy (1 Kings 21:28–29)	He also prayed for the raising up of a dead boy (2 Kings 4:32–37)
Made miraculous utterances (1 Kings 21:28–29)	He also made miraculous utterances (2 Kings 8:12)

The recognition of similitudes in the Biblical text provides evidence to the bishop's argument that charisma can be inherited. Reverend Agyeman reminded us of Elisha's famous 'double portion', which indeed 'came to pass': "Elijah had 16 miracles, Elisha 32". Exhorting the students, he challenged: "Go to the Bible and count. God is a promise-keeping God! Thank you Jesus!", being answered by exalted "Hallelujahs!".

The constant overlapping of Biblical historicity with evidence-oriented discourse in Anagkazo invites the question of the status of the hermeneutics presented above: Is it an allegorical or a literalist reading of the Bible? As I understand it, this very opposition is unsatisfactory, and I rather explore its affinities with the notion of 'figuration', used by Hans Frei (1974) to address the dominant regime of realist Bible hermeneutics before Biblical criticism gained momentum (cf.

Auerbach 2003; Dawson 2001). According to Frei, three main aspects character-ized the figural reading. First, a biblical story was to be taken literally, as it referred to and described historical occurrences. The text did not provide 'evidence' to events unfolding in a non-Biblical temporality, or what we understand as History in secular modernity. Instead, it made literal sense through historical events, thus within a historicity in which God has a defining role. Second, Biblical history was cumulative, which calls forth the problem of the unity of the canon, or the continuity between the Old and New Testament. This tension was addressed by making earlier narratives and characters 'figures' of later stories, showing that Old Testament persons, events, and prophecies were fulfilled in the New Testament. Figural meaning was therefore the necessary extension of literal meaning, and not its opposite. As a result, figuration also overflew the sacred book, and assumed yet a third function: it assisted the reader in finding herself within the scriptur-al world-text by making one's lifestyle, dispositions, actions, and passions reflect Biblical characters. Being more than narrative tropes, Biblical figures should be read as tools for subject formation, becoming part of what Faubion (2011) calls ethical autopoiesis. An important part of the work of Biblical interpretation in the pre-critical age was therefore "incorporating extra-biblical thought, experience, and reality into the one real world detailed and made accessible by the biblical story – not the reverse" (Frei 1974: 3). In sum, a Biblical figure is not a metaphor, but a literal event that anticipates another literal event by unveiling a recognizable pattern of reproducibility: God's own *modus operandi* and the rules of action he prescribes.[5]

In the case of Anagkazo, one of the effects of figuration is the legitimation of a specific structure of participant roles (Hanks 1996), which envelops the present in Biblical temporality. According to this logic, Elijah: Elisha :: Bishop Dag: students. This typological web is expanded in Anagkazo in order to accommodate different Biblical figures, including Paul and Timothy, as well as other 'historical' pastors, always carrying a dyadic form, that of spiritual kinship. We realize that the mimet-ic model supplied by these holy analogies transcends the time-honored practice of *imitatio Christi*, whereby the believer takes Christ as a normative personal type, the desired "I" of subject formation. Figuration here is mostly concerned with rendering relationships scriptural and recursive, by *imitating* relations. Students situate their allegiance to the bishop as an iteration of Biblical relationality, thus being governed by the same divine principles. Complementarily, this figurative pattern asserts that the sociality of discipleship in Anagkazo should not be taken as a deeper layer to which religious language is superimposed as representation.

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5. Hans Frei's work on typology is also evoked by Susan Harding in order to oppose the secu-lar notion of 'believing in' the Bible to that of 'knowing' the Bible (Harding 2000: 271–272).

Relationality is itself suffused by the Biblical script glossed by the bishop, thus also potentially imbued with the above-mentioned *Spirit across*, as in Elijah and Elisha's case.

As mentioned in the first section, a major contribution by scholars concerned with language ideology has been a laminated notion of communicative interactions, which performs or conveys meaning and simultaneously stabilizes at a meta-level "what is happening". This has led to further differentiation concerning the "alternate sitting of ideology" (Woolard 1998:9). An implicit metapragmatics is advanced through linguistic markers that inhere in the stream of talk, whereas in more explicit instances, actors display a greater degree of consciousness while articulating metapragmatic scripts. Institutions concerned with pedagogy are especially suitable to the latter case (Mertz 1998; Wortham 2008). Having this in mind, I want to argue that bishop Dag's glosses about spiritual kinship in Anagkazo typify his relation to the students through figuration, making it a hinge articulating with a broader script for meta- or deutero-learning (Bateson 1987), or learning to learn. By engaging with this model, students not only acquire the skills of pastorship, but also learn "what is happening" at the school: they see their own role as spiritual offspring, how transmission unfolds in this context, and especially what is ultimately transmitted. This leads me to examine Anagkazo's dominant regime of transmission: impartation.

5. Transporting words, grace, and self-recognition: The evidence of impartation

During a lecture about "The Power of Words", Reverend Kwasi started (non-surprisingly) by quoting bishop Dag on the subject, presenting us to a specific articulation of Pentecostalism's Spirit-filled language ideology:

> In this section, I want to share about a channel of anointing that is not usually spoken of. It may sound new to you, but it is very real. (…) I am not presenting this as the only way that God can anoint you. I am sharing with you what I have received from the Lord. I am sharing with you what is Biblically and scripturally sound (…) I have shared about the importance of associating closely with the man of God in order to receive the anointing. Why do you have to associate with anointed men of God? What exactly do you acquire through association? As you closely associate with a man of God you will hear him speaking over and over. The words are what contain the anointing. When Elisha associated himself closely with Elijah he heard him speaking over and over again. "And it came to pass as they still went on, and talked" (2 Kings 2:11).

The instructor-animator went on stressing the importance of associating oneself with the right mentors for the purpose of Christian maturation, and described verbal exchanges as acts of "fellowship" whereby both knowledge and Spirit are transferred. "If you walk with the wise, you become wise. If you walk with the fool, you become foolish. That's biblical. It's in Proverbs 13:20". He stressed that this form of transmission is not exclusive to face-to-face interactions. "Reading a Christian book, that's a fellowship. Listening to sermons, that's a fellowship. Watching Christian videos, that's a fellowship. It makes you grow in the ministry. You have to be selective about what you're soaking in".

Akin to the organic motif of commensality ('eating Scriptures'), the notion of 'soaking' in messages allows Pentecostals to recognize the importance of gradation and intensity for the incorporation of religious messages. Reverend Kwasi himself acknowledged this, as he drew on the blackboard the following scheme, entitled "Levels of Receptivity":

Level A: The Word had no impact
Level B: The Word has an impact on you
Level C: You absorb the Word even further
Level D: You absorb the Word so much
Level E: You begin to learn how to preach and teach
Level F: You absorb the Word and at the same time begin to absorb the anointing and Spirit in the message
Level G: At this level, the transfer of an entire ministry gift takes place

Whereas level A indicates a total lack of intelligibility, level B is a stage in which the message produces 'excitement' and some degree of meaningful apprehension. Level C implies that the message has been listened to repeatedly, understood, and yet, the receiver still cannot reproduce it, which differentiates it from Level D. In Level E, the receiver "preaches and teaches in the same anointed manner". To preach in the "same anointed manner" does not mean that one shares the anointing, but that the receiver is using her own mind to emulate the message, which is approved by the school, but is deemed still insufficient. Only in Level F, after a long exposure to the same message, the receiver is able not only to grasp the full meaning of the sermon and reproduce it, but also absorb the charisma that animates it. We could claim that in Level G, one becomes an *allos*, a stage reached only by a few.

According to the script reproduced above, the intensity of the receiver's self-exposure to the message organizes understanding, capacity to mime, and impartation into a single vector, one folding into the other, as I show in the graphic below (see Figure 1).
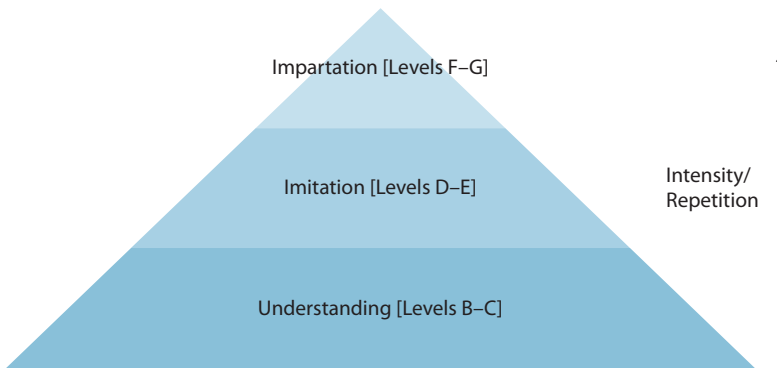
Figure 1

More than an absolute gap, the divide between mental and spiritual absorption, learning the message and 'catching' the anointing, is bridged by repetition, understood as a form of 'yielding' (Brahinsky 2013; Reinhardt 2014: 323), an emic term for submission, desirous self-exposure to the 'Spirit in the Word'. Let us take a closer look at how this model of meta-learning is itself absorbed by the students, finding evidence in their own self-recognition.

When we first met, Boasinge was 28 years old, and was at his final semester in Anagkazo. Boasinge's life story makes him a good candidate to Elisha's post. His parents are peasants, and he grew up in a small Ewe village in the Volta Region. His mother is a traditional 'fetish priestess' and, although they still hold good relations, her inability to 'give her life to Christ' after his conversion, has led him to shift his primary allegiances from his household to a spiritual father, a Church of Pentecost pastor, with whom Boasinge actually lived for 4 years before coming to Accra. In Accra, Boasinge joined LCI and developed rapidly as a pious lay leader, which rendered full-time ministry a likely life project to pursue. During one of our long conversations, Boasinge told me about his preaching exam, which had just occurred, and had been very successful. As expected, he preached from one of bishop Dag's preferable topics, "Steps to the anointing", which he tackled through the Biblical imagery of the vessel and the potter (Romans 9:21):

> The bishop has been a great vessel in the work of evangelism, ministry, and training pastors. It is so because he has become a certain vessel for God. So if I want to be a good vessel for the Lord, my person has to be changed, to suit what I'm going to contain. In Romans 9, Paul describes a funny scene. The vessel turns to the potter as ask: Why are you molding me like this? Why are you doing this to me? During the time of vessel-change, you'll go through some pains. When a tree has branches that do not correspond, they are trimmed. During this time of

cutting unwanted branches, you'll feel pain. That's what is happening in this school, practically, you know? We're going through changes. And they are preparing our vessels for grace. The students enjoyed the message very much.

Preaching exercises are judged in Anagkazo according to a set of defining criteria, such as shifts in intonation, the message's relevance, or the presence of Biblical quotations and elaboration through 'windows', or examples from everyday life. It is vital to display a self-confident attitude, observed in the ability to move around the pulpit and eventually closer to the congregation, looking in their eyes and sustaining a high level of attention. In all these factors, Boasinge was graded very highly, and was celebrated by his peers for his edifying message. His colleagues and instructors were consensual: Boasinge had 'flown' during his performance, meaning that it was both skillful and divinely inspired. This led our conversation to the methods he used to prepare for the exam:

> One of the things that helped me at this occasion was listening to the message on MP3 and watching it on video. I had heard the presiding bishop preaching it. I had heard a senior student, the former school prefect, also preaching it. I was soaking in this message during the whole month. So when I was preaching it, I literally saw myself operating under the anointing of the presiding bishop. The same! At some point even my footsteps virtually looked like his, if you look in the video. I felt like he was right there. Also, the school prefect, I think I got part of his authority in preaching. There was an authority… I don't call it strength. There was an authority there that I had seen in the school prefect. The anointing was there.

Inspiration or transpiration? Miracle or learning? It is hard to pin down. As a senior student, Boasinge has obviously embodied the model of meta-learning reconstructed above at a moment of classroom exposition. As a result, his narrative of self-transformation reproduced at an experiental level the logic that establishes that the repetitive consumption of a religious message induces understanding, greater capacity to mime, and finally tapping into the anointing flow. No longer standing on the surface of a black board, Anagkazo's theory of reception is now lodged in Boasinge's own body, as both a set of skills and a form of self-recognition. The Word (glossed by the spiritual father and the school instructors) was made flesh (John 1:14).

Besides organizing apparently contradictorily operations and modalities of agency – such as habituation, mimesis, and charisma – into a single vector, Anagkazo's pedagogy reduces potential conflicts between these by making of impartation the desirous *telos* of Christian transmission. Whereas the consumption of bishop Dag's messages became sedimented in Boasinge as a *habitus* (Mauss 1973:71), an assemblage of aptitudes, impartation allowed him to account for

emerging similarities between himself, the bishop, and colleagues as effects of a shared anointing flow. After encouraging habituation and the sedimentation of a second-nature, Anagkazo's metapragmatic scripts distill from practice and transmission a shared super-nature, making mimesis index the inheritance of charisma.

6.   Conclusion: Pentecostal circulation beyond mediation

In this article, I have retrieved the concern of early language ideology scholars with both the linguistic and the ideological dimensions of discursive forms. Assuming that language ideologies, like ideologies in general, achieve social productivity and hegemony through a "saturation of the whole process of living" (Williams 1977: 110), I showed how Bible schools strive to anchor a highly deterritorialized religious discourse in communities of practice and feeling, by framing the interpersonal flow of the Spirit without freezing its inherent spontaneity. Religion here appeared through flexible, transposable, and yet still highly embodied processes unfolding through various layers of discourse, ranging from words *about* the Spirit to *spirited* words. In all these cases, religious truth was far from a set of stable symbolic narratives which one simply assents to mentally, or 'believe[s]' (Asad 1993). In fact, the inherent limitations of approaches to religion-as-belief have been acknowledged by a growing number of works in the anthropology of religion, including most of the anthropology of Christianity.

Maybe more importantly to the current state of this scholarship is the fact that my argument also evaded in some degree the notion that different religious traditions would be primarily concerned with 'mediating' the realms of transcendence and immanence through specific semiotic ideologies. Especially when conflated with mediatization (de Vries 2001), this singlehanded emphasis on religion-as-mediation may lead to a celebratory focus on circulation as the expression of the unboundedness of religion in modernity, grounded not on reified identities or institutions, but on movements, flows, and creative appropriations.[6] This may sound refreshing from a secular perspective, but not so much so to religious actors, who often mobilize these supports in order to advance in practice non-hegemonic notions of the good life, which include axiomatic truths about the human equipment and its relation to language.

What about the authoritative processes whereby particular relations between divine presence and a given semiotic support or container are established? And

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6.   See Hirschkind (2011) for a more careful critique of some aspects of the media-mediation paradigm.

what about the normative forms of religious consumption that might follow the widespread mediatic circulation of divine affects in a tradition like Pentecostalism? As I argued, those are questions that have gained great urgency among Ghanaian Pentecostals themselves, to whom mediation is never enough to lend legitimacy, or even legibility, to a highly contingent public religion. By reclaiming the importance of metapragmatics, I preferred to emphasize the overlapping in practice of language ideology, semiosis, and concrete authoritative processes of subject formation and religious world-making. In this sense, the present article draws on the tools of linguistic anthropology in order to tackle a question that admittedly cannot be exhausted by an exclusivist language-oriented analysis: "How does (religious) power create (religious) truth?" (Asad 1993: 33). As shown especially by recent works in the anthropology of Islam (Mahmood 2005; Hirschkind 2006), the answer often lies in the practices and institutions whereby a willing submission is cultivated within a discursive tradition. This shift of emphasis from mediation to the plasticity of the human will as the seat of subject formation does not imply that language must be erased from the picture, but that it must be understood as "rooted in a somatic complex (hearing-feeling-seeing-remembering) and as involved in people's making/remaking themselves or others over time" (Asad 2006: 212).

It is important to acknowledge that power, authority, and normativity are never completely absent from the works centered on language ideology mentioned above, although they tend to be sidelined by a culturalist concern with the relation between semiotic ideologies and materiality. We have seen that Keane (2007) approaches the Calvinist push toward isomorphism between inner states and outer expression as the *norm* of sincerity. As any norm, sincerity should be defined as a continuous and teleological (thus naturally incomplete) effort toward a prescribed truth. Nevertheless, Keane's argument unfolds mostly as a semiotic exploration of the problems of 'fetishism', subaltern modernity, and the subconscious 'purification' of linguistic materiality among Sumbanese converts; it is much less concerned with the *Christian* nature of this norm, which is still relevant, since becoming a Calvinist is not exactly the same as becoming a secular liberal subject. I also stressed how Engelke (2007: 9) includes in his definition of the problem of presence "the investment of *authority* and meaning in certain words, actions, and objects". Nevertheless, his ethnography of an Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe approaches the problem of presence almost solely through an analysis of the materiality of semiotic forms, especially through Charles S. Peirce's classic distinction between symbolic, indexical, and iconic processes. In both Keane's and Engelke's works, important analytical effort is directed more to defining the parameters and blind spots of Protestant semiotic ideology and its projects of

immateriality than to showing how these projects become operational in a life and within authoritative structures.

Birgit Meyer's (2011) approach to the media-mediation paradigm definitely complexifies this picture. In tune with Keane and Engelke, she defines religion in general as "a practice of mediation between the levels of humans and God (or some transcendental realm or force)" (750–751). Meyer's notion of mediation includes, but also transcends the semiotic model of the sign that "stands for" an Object in more or less arbitrary ways while relating to an Interpretant (Peirce 1955: 98–119). Mediation here is closer to the idea of a conduit, or a means of *transport* of divine agency (cf. Abreu 2009; Meyer 2010); in this sense, media-mediation comes close to McLuhan's (1967) notion of a prosthetic *extension* of the human sensorium. Finally, normativity is evoked quite explicitly in Meyer's definition of mediatic "sensational forms" as "*authorized modes* for invoking and organizing access to the transcendental that shape both religious content (beliefs, doctrines, sets of symbols) and *norms*" (Meyer 2011: 751). However, it is unclear to me where these authorized modes and norms come from or how they are re-produced in practice. The tautological nature of the definition above (authorized modes producing norms) seems to be a way of acknowledging the generative nature of media circulation, which is indeed accurate, but cannot account for the multiple and heterogeneous forms of mediatic receptivity found in a place like Ghana. In sum, the tendency to approach Pentecostal associations primarily as a 'public', instead of fellowships, churches and denominations, does not help to understand the unequal ways whereby Pentecostals' embodied competencies are distributed in practice.

I agree with Meyer that media should be considered as an intrinsic component of Pentecostal ecclesiology and even experience. And yet: If mediatic artifacts mediate/transport presence in a certain way, why are some people touched in much more intense ways than others? Although the shift from church to 'public' is perfectly valid, being indeed justified by Pentecostalism's non-denominational vein, my analysis also showed how sensational forms acquire a much clearer normative push as they become embedded in more concrete networks and allegiances. This can only be accessed if we trace the influence of religious media and semiotic ideologies from circulation to consumption. Considering the pervasiveness of Pentecostal styles in Ghana's cultural industry at large (Meyer 2004b), it is clear that we are not dealing here with a religious 'counter-public' (Hirschkind 2006). The Pentecostal movement spreads through a variety of publics that are not always and necessarily concentric, much less coherent. This situation testifies to the variable levels of personal commitment of converts as well as to the loose ecclesiastical control over the 'uptakes' (Agha 2011) and protocols of its mediatic

messages. Nevertheless, solid institutions like Anagkazo must still be acknowledged as an important part of this picture.

This perspective has helped me to address Pentecostalism's dissemination through mouth, print, electronic, and digital supports in Ghana without reinforcing its avowed allergy to normativity. Instead, I looked closer at situated circuits of transmission of both pastoral competencies and the interpretative frames and modes of recognition that follow their acquisition, acknowledging that, in the Anagkazo case, these first and second order processes are parallel and mutually-confirming. Because intentionally open-ended, hence more sensible to ethnographic input, Bialecki's (2011) two-fold model of Protestant language ideology served well the project of tracing how a set of religious promises and potentialities (which includes the uncanny possibility of transferring charisma through words) become actualized in the school. During their time in Anagkazo, students go through a variety of centripetal spiritual exercises, whereby they cultivate a direct and intimate bond with divinity, like Bible memorization, meditation, and a variety of prayers in which inner voicing plays a dominant role. Yet, another set of practices are openly centrifugal in terms of language ideology and personhood, like corporate prayer and methods of impartation. This appears most explicitly in the habit of 'soaking' in bishop Dag's recorded sermons (Reinhardt 2014). It is important to notice that, as a link of a much broader chain of transmission, bishop Dag is not an all-powerful, monopolist point of emanation, being himself an *allos*, "another of the same kind". In consonance, his pupils are supposed to be 'mature Christians', thus loyal disciples who nevertheless retain their primary allegiance to God, which does not prevent the highly systematic reproduction at the school of a particular pastoral style through the power of nurturance.

I therefore reconstructed Anagkazo's overall script on "how to catch the anointing" as an immanent norm distributed throughout authorized material supports (texts, CDs, DVDs, videos), spokespersons, relations, and disciplines. By opening a discursive space for the cultivation of a denominational *habitus* (Mauss 1973*)*, this apparatus both "makes flesh" with a set of Biblical texts and actualizes the will of God. The outcome of this process of impartation, which saturates bodies, souls, and relations with words and Spirit, ideology and divinity, is an impressive homogeneity at the level of the denomination's wide and still growing pastoral body. Anagkazo's institutional and mediatic structures unleash a recursive and reflexive chain of citations and glosses, language and metalanguage, pragmatics and metapragmatics, learning and learning how, and what it is, to learn. The bishop cites and glosses the Bible, as well as other preachers' glosses, mostly from his local and international web of spiritual fathers. Instructors cite and gloss the Bible and the bishop's glosses, adding their personal testimonies and ushering

the students into the same process. As words are transported, self-referred, and sedimented, the authority of the Bible and the Holy Spirit, text and experience, are exercised and delegated, giving shape to a hierarchical and recursive lineage of animators. Citationality and language reflexivity, considered general linguistic capacities, receive a highly specific Christian inflection as they are authoritatively inscribed in devotional practices. In this sense, they indicate no longer the inherent indeterminacy of contexts, or their "structural non-saturation" (Derrida 1988:3), but efficacious operations of religious subjectification (Mahmood 2005) and context-making (Goodwin & Duranti 1992), which produce a shared charismatic signature *as a way of bonding and flowing together*.

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