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Vision and Performance.
The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Genres and Its Application to
Focussed Ethnographic Data

Abstract

The use of audiovisual recording devices is changing the practice of qualitative research. Extensive corpus of data can be generated in (short-term) focussed fieldwork. Nevertheless, methods to analyse video data are still in an experimental stage. This article explores the benefits and limitations of applying sociolinguistic genre analysis to audio-visual data. This is illustrated with a case study, based on the videotaped »deep-trance vision« of a New Religious Movement's spiritual leader, which is one the most famous contemporary religious visionaries in Germany. The analysis aims to reconstruct the construction of this religious experience of transcendence from the perspective of its followers. We will examine three different levels of communication (a) the inner context, exploring the textual, gestural, mimical and prosodic aspects, (b) the intermediate level where the focus lies on the setting and decorum, and finally (c) the outer context, focussing on the social embedding of this form of »transcendent« communication and its filmic presentation. The article closes with a reflection on the need to combine hermeneutic analysis of case studies based on textual analysis with ethnographic field data and observation to contextualise its interpretation.

Keywords

Video-data; Genre-analysis; Ethnography; Religious experiences; New religious movements

Technical recording devices considerably change the present ways of conducting qualitative research. In particular, the availability of video cameras has exerted a deep impact on established research practices. This can impact on ethnographic work in at least two ways: On the one hand, the very *object* of research changes and on the other, it requires different – if not completely new – *methods* of analysis. Aspects of the field that passed unnoticed when using conventional forms of data generation are increasingly being rendered visible due to the use of audiovisual recordings and these ›recorded‹ aspects can be systematically scrutinised. Video-analysis enables the microscopic examination of minimal details that are unavailable with the use of reconstructive methods like fieldnotes or interviews. Video recordings as sociological data show some particular

characteristics. They are natural data insofar as they are obtained through conservation *by registration*.¹ Their relevance for ethnography is not only due to the major richness of sensual aspects that they contain (like images, sound, movement, etc.) when compared to reconstructive forms like fieldnotes, interviews or diaries. In addition, video data is apparently less influenced by the researcher's interpretations as, for instance, field notes or observational protocols. A further advantage of video-data lies in the richness of detail accessible for subsequent analysis, preferably realized collectively by a group of researchers. When compared to purely textual representations, video-recordings include another advantage. That is, due to their inherent sequentiality, they permit the preservation of the specific *chronicity*, the sequential unfolding of the recorded social action or chain of actions. Therefore, video data preserves the originality of the situation better than any form of (decontextualised) textual description. In addition, through resources of technical manipulation like slow motion, freezing a frame or rewinding, video can be accessed in *achronicity*.

Technological advance generates further consequences for the work of ethnography. Historically scholars have placed much emphasis on assuring the quality of data *collection* by insisting, for example, on the importance of first-hand experience in the field. However, it is evident that the same intensity of effort has not always been invested in assuring the quality and transparency of data *analysis*.

Nevertheless, video-data are not simple depictions of life-world occurrences, but mediated *representations* – that is reality is still transformed into data. This transformation comprehends, for example, reducing three-dimensional space into two-dimensional flat plane, eliminating perspectives and all non-acoustic and non-visual sensual qualities of the situation. In short, video combines mimetic *and* constructive elements. Although it easily preserves important aspects of a past situation and the interaction that have taken place, it would be naïve to view recorded interaction as a simple document of the situation. Video recordings as data entail some further problems for research. For example, it is easy to generate a large amount of data. But, managing a large data corpus exposes the researcher to a high degree of complexity as expressed some time ago by Südmersen (1983) when she referred to audio-recorded interview-data: The bewilderment facing the magnitude of data and the sometimes helpless search for methods to analyze them. In other words, new techniques of data collection are not a simple benefit, but confront us with a series of unresolved methodological problems. General approaches to analyse visual data (Englisch 1991; Hahn 1991; Rose 2000) are of limited use for video-analysis. And, the analysis of video-data requires more than »visual empathy« combined with a mainly descriptive »structured microanalysis« as Denzin's (2000) »principles of a critical visual analysis« suggest referring to documentary films.

The development of adequate methods for analyzing video data is a serious current challenge. Video data are gaining increasing relevance especially in qualitative research (for an overview, cf. the contributions in Knoblauch et al. 2006b). At the same time, theoretical reasoning on visuality and visual culture in general in the humanities and social sciences is flourishing.² In Cultural and Social Anthropology, visual data were extensively used at least since the midst of the 19th century, leading to the particular approach of *Visual Anthropology* as media supported field works (Collier 1967; Mead 1975). Although in academic Sociology

¹ For the distinction between ›conservation by registration‹ vs. ›reconstructive conservation‹ cf. Bergmann (1985).

² There are already some approaches for the analysis of visual data in general (Banks and Morphy 1997; Davies 1999; Emmison and Smith 2000; Heßler 2005; Pink 2001). Hence, video is playing a subordinated role, (Pink 2007) or is completely absent (Rose 2007) in visual ethnography.

one finds early uses of visual data already between 1903 and 1915 (cf. Soeffner 2006), a proper *Visual Sociology* was not established until the 1970s (de Miguel and Pinto 2002; Schändlinger 1998). Despite thorough efforts to extend the field of Visual Sociology, its influence was resisted since the 1980s by the popular project of *Cultural Studies*. Originating in Anglo-Saxon countries, Cultural Studies aspire to establish the constitution of a completely »new cultural science of images« (Holert 2000) with new »post-disciplinary« approaches labelled as *Visual Culture* (Bryson et al. 1991; Evans and Hall 1999; Mirzoeff 1999; Walker and Chaplin 1997) and *Visual Studies* (Schulz 2005). These approaches combine substantial contributions from critical social theory, media criticisms and discourse analysis, and apply them on visual instead of textual data. However, studies in Visual Culture are largely preoccupied with epistemological problems (for instance, if – or to what extent – images may betray the observer), and few researchers have dedicated themselves to the question of how video data may be conscientiously and productively used in qualitative research (cf. Goodwin 1994; Goodwin 2000; Heath 1986; Heath 1997a; Heath 1997b; Heath and Hindmarsh 2002; Jordan and Henderson 1995; Lomax and Casey 1998)

Video is used today in a wide range of research fields, as in doctor-patient interaction (Heath 1986), in visual ethnography of work and technology in the prominent approach known as *Workplace Studies* (Heath et al. 2004; Knoblauch 2000; Luff et al. 2000), studying work and interaction in high-tech working contexts like airport towers (Goodwin and Goodwin 1996), underground control rooms (Heath and Luff 1996), Information System Design (Luff, Hindmarsh, and Heath 2000) or tele-cooperation (Meier 1998). The application of video-analysis extends to research in fields like the study of contemporary religion (Bergmann et al. 1993), medical sociology (Schubert 2006), research of school interaction (Aufschnaiter and Welzel 2001), museums and galleries (Heath and vom Lehn 2004; vom Lehn 2006), social studies of science, technology and innovation (Rammert and Schubert 2006) or applied qualitative market research (Schmid 2006), to name but a few examples of the rapidly increasing research areas in which video is significantly used as a new form of data production and analysis.

In what follows, I will discuss the analysis of audio-visual data as a specific problem of contemporary ethnographic research, demonstrating the benefits and limitations of applying sociological genre analysis to video-data. Its potential will be demonstrated by using an example from a study on religious visions. The next section starts with some methodological considerations. Subsequently, I proceed to the example and close with some methodological reflections.

Genre analysis of visual data

The method of sociological genre analysis was originally developed for the study of *oral* communication (Luckmann 1985; Luckmann 1986). Communicative genres are patterns of speaking that represent predefined solutions to communicative problems which are historically and culturally specific. Their function is to deal with and to communicate intersubjective experiences of the life-world (Luckmann 1988). Genre analysis does not simply aim to describe different socially structured patterns of communication. Rather, it assumes that the communicative problems, for which predefined communicative forms exist, are of crucial importance in a certain culture. Communicative genres constitute the hard institutional core of social life; they serve as instruments that mediate between the social structure and

the individual stock of knowledge and as instruments of the communicative construction of reality (ibid: 716ff. For genre analysis cf. also Knoblauch 1996; Luckmann and Knoblauch 2004).

Genre analysis has proved to be a useful method for analysing oral face-to-face communication. But it has also been employed for technical mediated forms of communication.³ The special methodological approach of genre analysis consists in its threefold level of analysis (Günthner and Knoblauch 1995). This seeks to understand the *internal* structural elements, the intermediate level of *interactive realization* and the *outer context* as the embedding of certain communicative forms in the wider social structure. It is this broad approach that makes genre analysis especially apt for an application to naturalistic video data (that is, video recording of naturally occurring social interaction, in the sense of Goffman). In this article, I will apply genre analysis on a video data fragment taken from a study in sociology of religion.⁴

Contemporary Visions: The case of “Uriella”

Data are taken from a focussed ethnography⁵ of contemporary visionary experiences we conducted at the University of Constance.⁶ The research consisted in collecting, interpreting and building a typology of contemporary premonitions of future events that are rooted in extraordinary experiences, usually called ›visions of the future‹ (Knoblauch and Schnettler 2001; Schnettler 1999; Schnettler 2004). Visions are experiences of ›greater transcendence‹⁷, experienced in the inner realm of subjective consciousness. In order to acquire social relevance, these private experiences have to be communicated to others. The specific problem of visionary communication is located in the origin of the prophetic message, presented as something *animated by* the visionary *without* being him or herself the author of it. It is this ambivalent tension that constitutes the specific problem of presentation for visionary communication. In a more specific sense, visions are extraordinary experiences accompanied by extra-sensory perceptions (optical, acoustic, etc.) that are frequently interpreted within a religious frame of reference (Mohr 2000). In this sense, visions are conceived as revelations of transcendent knowledge that are being disclosed to others.

Vision is presently a frequently used term, although it is prominent in quite a different context. ›Visions‹ are flourishing today in economics and politics. They

³ See for example Keppler's (1985), genre analysis of political news magazines in television, Ayaß's (1997) study of TV sermons, Knoblauch's (1999) study of radio-phone-ins or the analysis of advertisements in television by Knoblauch & Raab (2001).

⁴ Video-analysis has already been used in sociology of religion, see Bergmann, Luckmann & Soeffner (1993).

⁵ See Knoblauch (2005) for the methodological principles of ›focussed‹ ethnography, its practice of collecting data and its differences to more conventional forms of ethnography.

⁶ The material is taken from the research project »Prophetic Visions at the turn of the Millennium«, granted by the IGPP, Freiburg (FP 68 15 10). I am especially indebted to Hubert Knoblauch, Regine Herbrich and Stefan Hohenadel, who considerably contributed to the analysis. Christian Heath and his team at Kings College London, the members of the ethnography circle Constance-St. Gall, Hans-Georg Soeffner, Jürgen Raab and other colleagues in Constance, also Matthias Kaup, Pavlina Rychterova, Bernhard Hauptert and Klaus Kraimer had been exposed, some repeatedly, with video/recording and in turn gave me a lot of very helpful ideas. I thank especially Beatrice Szczepek for her support in transcribing the prosodic peculiarities of the material.

⁷ I follow the notion of Schutz and Luckmann that the capacity to experience transcendence is rooted in the specific intentional structure of consciousness that is constitutive for the human condition. For the distinction between ›minor‹, ›medium‹ and ›greater‹ transcendence see Schütz & Luckmann (1973) and Luckmann (1967). See Knoblauch (1998) for the distinction between the anthropological from the phenomenological transcendence.

abound in management rhetoric, business communication and political propaganda. However, these ›secular‹ visions have little in common with divine inspiration, prophecies of doom, calls for redemption or other kinds of moralizing appeals. Instead, these ›visions‹ represent quite mundane orientations and aims in contexts of pragmatic actions. Visions seem to have shifted from the sphere of religion into economic and political spheres, changing the character of a vision; initially transcendent and imposed on the experiencing person, into a mundane and intentional form of communication. Considering this, it may cause only little surprise to learn that persons invoking visionary inspiration to legitimate their religious activities are today faced with serious problems. They are widely marginalized and often believed to suffer from some kind of pathology. This reservation is not new. In our culture, since the warnings of Kant against the followers of Swedenborg, there has been strong intellectual criticism against such claims of supernatural inspiration, often interpreted as deriving from mental disorder or similar disturbances of the soul. Indeed, once they were condemned as ›ghost viewers‹. Times have thankfully changed and ritual prosecution and burning at the stake is a phenomenon of a bygone era. However, people claiming to hold some kind of direct connection to supernatural entities are still perceived with considerable suspicion and are often mocked in mass media publications. Similar reactions of hostility and rejection were suffered by the prophets in ancient Israel before the Exile, as Weber (1988 [1921]) reports. And, medieval visionaries were subject to proof about the origin of their inspiration, either believed to be ›angelic‹ or ›diabolic‹ (Dinzelbacher 1981). In this respect, little seems to have changed. But one fundamental change in contemporary views of visionaries is that they are often intended to have a primary function of entertainment.

This also happens to one of the perhaps most well known »prophets« in the German speaking countries, Erika Bertschinger-Eika, alias »Uriella«, who became prominent as a kind of anti-star in the media. Public reactions to her prophecies are less dominated by warnings to prevent from a dangerous leader-lady of a strange religious sect, but by a way of strange appreciation mixed with amused fascination.⁸ The trance messages of Uriella serve as a »loudspeaker« of Jesus Christ and entail an interesting problem for communication analysis. That is, how and by which means can an experience that is primarily enclosed in the inner stream of consciousness be communicated intersubjectively and thereby provide access to others? How does Uriella render plausible her claim that the messages she propagates are being communicated *through* and not *by* her? How does she interactionally produce the presence of an invisible entity that is using her as an instrument or a »tool« of communication?

As we will see, this specific problem of presentation – or, to use an expression of Alfred Schütz (1962[1945]): the »paradox of communication« – is resolved in the performance. The analysis that follows will show that those elements of the presentation which account for the theatrical humour to outsiders are precisely the elements that build up the plausibility of Uriella's audition for the members of her community. The expression performance has to be understood as the physical presentation to a co-present audience, to which audiovisual analysis is the method of first choice. In analysing this performance we will distinguish between different levels: the framing elements as setting and decorum, four elements of the presentation itself, namely gesture, mimic, text and prosody, focussing on their respective forms

⁸ Swiss expert on sects Franz Schlenk points out that Uriella »attracts primarily for her entertainment value, she seemingly amuses and raises roaring laughter. Most people may have problems to take her seriously« (Schlenk 1999).

and the way in which they are combined in the presentation. This detailed analysis not only allows reconstructing the symbolic stock and the identification of its respective origins, but also gives an answer to the question of how the presentation of a principally intersubjective and inaccessible inner dimension of experience is rendered credible through specific forms of presentation. This inductive analytic approach permits the reconstruction of the reality claim of the visionary performance and the resulting effects of it, seemingly absurd or at least problematic for an outsider.

The analysis, therefore, aims at reconstructing a specific external form of religious experience, that is: a vision. This is a new approach insofar as research in the field of religious experiences mainly draws on surveys (Yamane and Polzer 1994) or narrative data (Yamane 2000). Besides the fragment of video data under scrutiny, the analysis that follows is based on several visits to the field in May and July of 1999, in-depth interviews with Uriella and her husband Icordo. Interviews lasted for three hours and these combined with extensive documentary materials about the community »Order FIAT LUX«.

Analysis

Fragment 1: Onset of Uriella's »Full-Trance Vision«												
Sec.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Gesture and Mimic	Uriella's eyes are closed (take 1), she inbreathes very deeply and slightly moves her head to one side, before abruptly turning her head to the sky (take 2). This abrupt movement of her head is synchronized with a demonstration gesture moving her arms with hanging hands in a theatrical manner upwards and closing them, beginning to separate them again over her head (take 3), and then extending them at maximum. She now knits her lips together and her closed eyelids contract (take 3). For a short moment, an ecstatic expression shines up in her face. She moves slightly up her whole body, her mouth opens, but is being closed again without a word leaving her lips. She then begins to sink together a bit; the closed eyelids are now slightly turned downwards. Her whole head begins to drop a little to the front											
Text	.hhhhhh <inhalating>			(7.0)							<<> meine my	
Montage	[title masking:] „Uriella empfängt in Volltrance eine Originalbotschaft von JESUS CHRISTUS“ <i>Uriella receives in full trance an original message from JESUS CHRIST</i>											

Image 1: transcript of the onset of Uriella's visionary performance

Following the principle of an upgrading contextualization, the analysis starts with the core element – that is: the (recording of) the visionary performance. Subsequently, I will introduce elements of the wider context of the field in which this performance is embedded. The fact that we are not analyzing the situation but its recording will be ignored for the moment in an attitude of »artificial (methodological) naïveté« (Hitzler 1991), but I will return to that aspect at the end of this article.

Inner Structure: Text, Gesture, Mimic and Prosody

Looking from the order FIAT LUX members' perspective, the starting analytic focus aims to explore what is the central point or legitimizing moment for Uriella's claim to be a direct »loudspeaker of Christ« and how is this realised. The following fragment dates from 1995 and is a video recording of one of Uriella's »full-trance messages«. ⁹ Of special interest is the onset of this message, as it marks the beginning of the transcendence communication and entails what seems to be an important change in ›footing‹ (Goffman 1981). For this reason, we will analyze these first decisive seconds of the performance in detail and treat the following trajectory in less detail (see figure 1).

In this fragment, we are looking directly into the visionary's face, observing not only her mouth articulating the »divine words« but also her facial expressions and the movements of her arms. Observe which methods of expression are employed to transmit the visionary message, delivered in free monologue to a co-present audience. The sequence, which in total lasts for around 10 minutes, starts with an extremely long pause, in which the visionary remains completely silent and no words are articulated. Nevertheless, this long interruption is very dense in gesture and mimic. Uriella's eyes are closed (figure 1, take 1), she produces deep inbreaths and slightly moves her head to one side, before abruptly turning her head to the sky (take 2). This abrupt movement of her head is synchronized with a demonstration gesture, moving her arms with hanging hands in a theatrical manner upwards and closing them, beginning to separate them again over her head (take 3), and then extending them to their maximum. She now knits her lips together and her closed eyelids contract (take 3). For a short moment, an ecstatic expression shines up in her face. She moves slightly up her whole body, her mouth opens, but is being closed again without a word leaving her lips. She then begins to sink together a bit; the closed eyelids are now slightly turned downwards. Her whole head begins to drop a little to the front. In total, 11 seconds elapse in a room characterised by complete silence, before she finally starts to speak (take 5).

This long lasting silence of profound significance does not only mark the interruption between normal and transcendent communication. Uriella uses additional bodily signs to signal to her audience that she now is »tuned in«: Therefore, she

⁹ Since the foundation of her community, Uriella had around 600 auditions, communicated in trance to her followers, mainly from Jesus Christ, in some cases from Maria.

combines at least three forms: (1) She takes a deep in-breath, which is a classical physical symbol of enthusiastic inspiration, where the inhaling of air represents the spiritual force penetrating and taking possession of the medium. (2) She adopts a head posture commonly seen with visionaries, with the slight variation of closed eyes¹⁰ and a short ecstatic expression flickering over her face. Finally, (3) her arms extend like antennas, and serve to display her as a cosmic receiver of a divine message. It is only after this complex sequence of para-linguistic action, when she finally starts speaking. She begins with a formal greeting (»my beloved children«), interrupted by a clearing of her throat (line 3).¹¹

- 1 U: .hhhhhh
 2 (7.0)
 3 <<t> meine ((räusper)) ge'IEbten ↑KINder. (6.0)
 my beloved children
 4 ↓S::ELikh:::,> (2.0)
 blessed
 5 sind die <<all+f> ↑H:ONGernden.> (2.0)
 are the hungry
 6 <<f+h> denn sie werden ge`s:Ättigt^h (-) <<t> WERden.> (1.0)
 for they satisfied will be
 7 <<f+h> !↑S:ELig^e,!=
 blessed
 8 sind die:: barm: ↑↑H:ERZ:igen. (3.5)
 are the merciful
 9 .h denn ↑sIE werden barm↑↑HERZich:`kei::t erf:Ahren dÜrfen.> (5.0)
 for they will merci be shown
 10 <<t> sELik^h > (1.5) <<f+h> sind 'JENE::,
 blessed are those
 11 DIE 'reinen ↑↑HERZENS slnd^e -> (3.0)
 the pure in heart
 12 denn sie 'wEr'den: (2.5) ↓GOTT <<flüstern+t+f> schAUen^e.> (1.0)
 for they will God see

¹⁰ One can find this typical head posture documented in paintings of saints as visionaries, for example in El Greco's *Apparition of the Madonna with the child to St. Lorenzo* (ca. 1777–1580, see above, left) or pictures of contemporary visionaries in Marian apparitions (see above, middle and right).



(left: El Greco's *Apparition of the Madonna with the child to St. Lorenzo*. Middle: Ivan during an apparition in Medjugorje, 15.9.1992, right: Evarista Galdós in vision at Ezkioga, early 1932. Photo by Raymond de Rigné (taken from Cristian 1996).

¹¹ This transcription follows the GAT-conventions (Selting et al. 1998). See also the selection of transcript symbols at the end of this article.

Following the salutation (at line 3), three verses from the Sermon on the Mountain (Mt. 5, 6–8) open the visionary speech (see also the full transcript at the end of this article). The following vocalization shows on the four different levels – that is: text, mimic, gesture and prosody – these structural characteristics:

The lexicon of the talk includes a series of terms and expressions drawn from a Christian canon, as for example the beatitudes (line 4–12), »God« (line 12, 74, 84), »reincarnation in flesh« (line 28), »Kingdom of Heaven« (line 48), »Hallelujah, Hosanna« (Line 70, 71), »mysticism« (line 85), »the beyond« (line 87), »prayer« (line 108), »penitent sinner« (line 75) and the reference to Trinity (line 115–120). But Uriella also uses terms that clearly do not stem from a Christian tradition, like »divine sparkle« (line 25), »wheel of time« (line 32), »ancestral law of karma« (line 33), »cosmic clock« (line 127), »sublimation of being« (line 51). Although pertaining to different registers, both mark her speech clearly as religious. This special mixture also makes comprehensible the accusation of heresy that Uriella is confronted with from parts of the official Churches. Elements of the Christian tradition are mixed up with those of non-Christian ones and linked to technical metaphors: »therefore everyone has to *repair* that what he has broken« (line 54–56), »the best *glue* to *mend* this broken spots« (line 54–56) »because he has *constructed* his doctrine on this imperishable love« (line 78–79), »the wheel of time is *connected* to this ancestral law of Karma« (line 44–45), »my content of truth that I have *built-in* to my doctrine« (line 100–1001).¹²

Analyzing the textual elements shows how highly sophisticated the composition of the visionary talk is: Uriella (or Jesus) draws on a series of rhetorical techniques to deliver the message. For example, she produces *triple lists*, e.g. in the beatitudes (line 4–12), »thanking, praising, and glorifying« (line 47), »he is..., he is..., he moves, he is (line 18–26); *rhetorical questions* »where, you may ask yourselves« (line 13–14), »if only the people would know« (line 46 ff., line 52ff); and, a series of *causal conjunctions* that knit together quite heterogeneous dogmatic elements in a conclusive relation to each other: »ergo« (line 29), »therefore« (line 37), »then« (line 57), »since« (line 66) »for that reason« (line 81), »because« (line 121). She also frequently uses *categorical formulae* like: »God can only be experienced through mysticism« (line 84–85). The text is also loaded with *metaphors* like »being rewarded with the most splendid coat of love« (line 78), »prayer as the most powerful spiritual weapon« (line 110), »sword of love« (line 68, 106), sparkling in the darkness« (line 93–94), »key to the Kingdom of Heaven« (line 47–48). There are also typical *topoi* like »the Holy Ghost that blows everywhere« (line 119–120), the »collapsing house of cards« (line 100–101); and, two motives from the apocalypses: the »gathering of the last third of mankind« (line 122) and the »purification of the Earth« (line 125) in the final part of the message.

But it is not only the density of the textual composition that accounts for the effect of the visionary communication. Above all, it is the way in which it is enacted what creates the visionary character of that communication. The performance acquires its vigour through the simultaneous orchestration of gesture, mimicry, and prosody. The performance is accompanied by expressive gestures, partly used declamatorily to accentuate the text, for example in the moment when Uriella says »Hosanna, Hallelujah« (line 70–71), she throws up her hands, and when ending her

¹² It would perhaps be more precise to call it a constructivist metaphoric, because repairing, mending, constructing and building resembles the construction process of the Uriellas' new Doxa that seems to underlie her eclectic belief system.

speech she stands up, extends her arms and in so doing works to emphasize her words with her gesture (line 112).

The most striking peculiarity of Uriella's performance in this fragment is the *vocal character* of her talk, which differs from normal speech in several ways. Unlike in glossolalia, another form of ›inspired speech‹, she articulates words and sentences in a language understandable to those listening. But there is a noticeably special prosodic pattern that differs from speaking in tongues, which in contrast is composed by strange, non-identifiable words, but follows the contour and melody of the speaker's normal daily language.¹³ As the ›organ of Christ‹ Uriella's voice sounds bass, nearly masculine and especially at the onset of her speech sounds sonorous and hollow, and has an almost ghost-like quality. Uriella speaks with the Adam's-apple lowered (the opposite of falsetto), a characteristic of news speakers' and actors' voices, which indicates the performative efforts she makes. She produces a hypercorrect pronunciation, speaking with much aspiration. The rhythm of her visionary speech also differs from that of normal talk, as she drawls and extends the words, takes extended pauses and reduplicates final consonants; aspects which when combined produces her as deciphering and reading an invisible text that is viewed only by her inner eyes. This intonation resembles that of children having recently learnt to read, when they spell out their first lines without being fully cognisant of its meaning. The repetition of final syllables (e.g. in line 7: ‹‹f+h› !↑ˆS:ELig^e,!= [blessed]) is reminiscent of a kind of echo imitation. The strange rhythm with atypical pauses, elongations, stretching and change of tempo frames her talk in conjunction with the frequently forced mimic she displays as a kind of effort similar to that of consecutive language interpreters.

Uriella also undermines the preconfigured emphasis of the text. She falls low at very untypical points, a further prosodic characteristic we often find in the articulation of news speakers or in speakers that can not be contradicted in an asymmetric communicative arrangement. This melody of her voice is characterized by a very low basic tonality, from which she rises suddenly in very emphatic moments (see line 93: ‹‹lenˆ ˆdIE::se ˆLEUCHtEn^e.› (1.0) [this refulgance]). Generally, her speech stands out for a significantly louder volume, nearly reaching that of screaming at certain moments. This intensity is not justified by the local ecology (a relatively small, closed room, all spectators remain absolutely silent, and, in addition, she is equipped with a microphone). Rather, it is another feature of the performance strengthening the metaphorical might and the power of her bodily possession. As a whole, the performance seems to express vividly how difficult, strenuous and exhausting it is to operate as a mouthpiece of God.¹⁴ That the communication's source emanates from a different realm than that of normal daily life is, as we have seen, marked clearly in and through the internal structural elements of this ›trance vision‹.

The level of situated realization: setting and decorum

It is not only the talk in itself that includes *liturgical elements* framing the speech as a religious message (e.g. opening address ›my beloved children‹ in line 3 or the final blessing, line 122ff). This speech is also embedded in a fixed course of action, a

¹³ As Stark points out: ›Glossolalia has not the sense, but more or less the form of the popular language around‹ (Stark 1987). But see also the work of Goodman who, in contrast, has observed stable sound patterns independent from culture and therefore argues for a different, neurophysiologic explanation of glossolalia (Goodman 1972).

¹⁴ Cf. for the display of suffering of Christ as a part of the visionary charisma the chapter on ›Visionary Imitatio Christi‹ in Benz (1969).

liturgy of a periodically celebrated religious service: the community's monthly held holy service that takes place every first Sunday in their ›sanctuary‹ near Ibach, a small village in the Black Forest. This service is preceded by abstinence during several days, in which Uriella gets »spiritual injections«. On the day of the service, Uriella – who also practises as a spiritual healer – receives an audience of followers that consult her for spiritual or health advice. Thereafter the congregation gathers. After three quarters of an hour of spiritual music Uriella enters the room and salutes her community, and this is followed by a piece of harp music, the Lord's Prayer, and a twenty minute exercise of »the Sending of the Light« (FIAT LUX's regular prayer). Next the »Laudate Dominum« is played whereupon the visionary performance begins. During her presentation, Uriella is seated in front of the audience on a slightly elevated throne-like chair, from which she stands up at the end of her performance. After finishing the 10–15 minute presentation, a Gregorian chorus sounds from a record.

In contrast to prophetic messages, which tend to be enunciated spontaneously and are directed to a reluctant and heterogeneous audience (Weber 1988 [1921]), the arrangement and the social composition of this auditory rather resembles the form of a traditional community of Sunday church-goers, though, in this case, restricted by a special exclusiveness. The content of the visionary message points directly to the community itself and its internal affairs; it contains spiritual tutoring, edification and direct and practical instructions on how to cope with particular problems of the daily life, rather than being directed to a broad public of non-believers or renegades, which are threatened with the Judgment of God and which are persuaded to radical conversion.¹⁵ The *decorum*, as well, follows the same pattern. A strict clothing norm unites FIAT LUX's adherents, which demonstrates their membership to a specific religious community and visibly segregates them from non-believers. They all wear white cloth, and cultivate a unique aesthetic that can not hide its roots in traditional popular Marian adoration, even though it has a slightly more modern character. To give an example, the white skirt that Uriella wears in the performance is reminiscent of a wedding dress, which can be read as an allusion to the bride-of-Christ metaphor; her sparkling diadem is also reminiscent of holy first communion attire and an angel costume from a nativity play. The colour white symbolism is repeated in the clothing of the order's members and the order's cars. Cloth, furniture and the whole housing equipment that serves for living, working and religious service of the community are carefully selected and display a consistent style, which is repeated in the architecture of the housing. The sanctuary of FIAT LUX in the Black Forest is surrounded with impeccable white Madonna statues in the centre of a green scissor-cut lawn and a small lagoon with floral arrangements. These characteristics work to further distinguish their community from that of ›others‹, a practice common to other sects across the world.

External context: the medium

We will only shortly refer to the reflexive level of the video data. To this point, we have taken the video recording as a kind of window to the situation, a looking glass giving direct access to the visionary performance, without considering the sort of data.¹⁶ The above analyzed sequence is actually part of a semi-professional

¹⁵ See the publications of the visionary messages in the community's own journal »Der reinste Urquell« (»The most pure ancestral source«), formerly called »The hot wire« (»Der heiÙe Draht«).

¹⁶ Or, as Raab and Tänzler (2006) call it: the second and third analytic level: that of camera action and editing. For the distinction between different sorts of data cf. also Knoblauch (2004).

»documentary video« produced and edited by the Order FIAT LUX. It was first published in 1995 and lasts about 90 minutes. On its cover, this film is presented as »giving an insight into the community of Fiat Lux«. Its plot follows the scheme of the six works of mercy (cf. Mt. 25, 35–40: I was hungry... , I was thirsty..., I was imprisoned). The scene containing the trance visions is the longest thematic unit of the complete film. Throughout the whole scene, the camera position nearly does not change during the entire 10 minutes. It varies only slightly when zooming into Uriella's face during her vision and it changes to a medium long shot at the end during the moment when Uriella gives the final blessing. There are a total of 22 scenes cut into this take of Uriella's face, showing the co-present audience from different angles, all demonstrating various forms of devotion, prayer, absorption, and – towards the end – also ritualized interaction.



Sec.	72	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82
Gesture and Mimic												
Text	Wo Where			(4.0)							werdet ihr Euch fragen will you ask yourself	
Montage				Cut						Cut		

Image 3: the co-present audience at the visionary performance

These cuts have a clear function, they show the shifting of experience by which we – the video spectators – are able to view how those co-present react to the performance (see image 3). The cut-ins, therefore, operate like a guide on how the audience ought to interpret the recorded situation. In this sense, the editing of the raw recordings does not primarily show its supposed manipulation. It rather documents how the editors of this material react to the specific problem and anticipate the subsequent difficulties people viewing the screen may have when attempting to decipher the meaning of the video. The inserted subtitle »Uriella receives a full-trance-message from Jesus Christ« (see above image 1, shot 4) serves the same purpose: invisible to the co-present audience, it instructs the media-audience about the character of the ongoing action. It is a clearly identifiable trace of how the editors try to deal with the split-audience problem.

To sum up the results, the detailed analysis of this short fragment reveals a broad array of interpretative aspects, thus creating a need for a dense interpretation of this case of visionary proclamation. In addition, the fragment illuminates some of the community's specificities which serve a key function. The microanalysis demonstrates the concerted performative efforts that are employed to convey Uriella's visionary messages. We did not only discover single dramaturgical elements referring to the text, the gesture, the prosody of the visionary communication. Rather,

the analysis also leads to an encompassing interpretation of a specific form of community building in this new religious movement. Fiat Lux turns out to be a community showing quite modern facets, present not only in their experience-centred religiosity. It is also visible in their ritual of aesthetization and, finally, in the use of modern technological equipment for the propagation of the visions. The visionary message is not restricted to the co-present audience but transmitted simultaneously via telephone to those members of the community living in the other two centres in Switzerland and Austria. They are also tape-recorded and transcribed in preparation for publication in the order's bulletin »The Hot Wire«, and, in some cases, published in press releases.¹⁷ Moreover, Uriella's frequent appearances on the television and that of her husband Icordo clearly demonstrate that the claimed detachment from the mundane is obviously not the correct characterization for this religious community, in spite of a strictly followed ascetic way of life and the firm regulation of its member's conduct.¹⁸ Rather, one could speak of a quite market-oriented form of religiosity, which is grounded in the following observations: (1) There is a kind of *double mediatization*, in which a traditional medium's messages are disseminated to a second order via mass media techniques (the video); (2) the open *syncretism* of the community, combining elements of tradition Christian belief with non-Christian elements of other religions and that of a popular scientific belief systems; (3) this accounts for a quite manifold and flexible religious order that works together with the service of spiritual healing; (4) a corporate identity fostered by ›corporate design‹, present in the specific sophisticated symbolism of costume, ornamentation and jewellery which when taken together, may be a persuasive and compelling religious proposition to some followers. Its appeal may, however, be restricted to a particular population segment. Surely, FIAT LUX's special dogmatic and aesthetic pattern is not primarily attractive to the average middle classes, as the analysis may have indicated.

Conclusion: Video analysis and ethnography

Coming back to methodology, I will conclude with some observations that can be drawn from this example. This analysis illustrates how visual data collected for ›focused ethnography‹ can be usefully scrutinised by using the approach of genre analysis. This approach has been successfully applied by others (Ayaß 1997; Keppler 1985; Knoblauch and Raab 2001) and has proved to be especially apt for analysing ritual performances, as the studies of Kotthoff on Georgian toast performances (1995), lamentations (1999) and grieving (2001) have shown.

Naturally, as already mentioned above, when referring to the character of video as a quasi-natural document, the recording does not encompass all sensual aspects of the performance. Freezing action and interaction into video data actually transforms the original situation into analyzable data, a process in which various aspects pertaining to the performance are lost, e.g. the spatial, olfactory and tactile dimensions. Therefore, analyzing the data is not an exhausting method for an analysis of performance.

What I have shown in this article represents a slight variation of the usual way that genre analysis proceeds, as it focuses on primarily *recurrent* structural aspects of communication, whereas I have centred my analysis on a single data fragment,

¹⁷ Broad interest caused the press release of August, 8th, 1998 that contained a prophecy of doom for august (cf. <http://www.relinfo.ch/ofl/august98.html>, visited Jan, 9, 2001)

¹⁸ See the orders' regulations as formulated in the document »Mirror Image of the ORDER FIAT LUX« (undated).

which may be criticised by orthodox methodologists. Nevertheless, I augmented the single case analysis with insights from ethnographic data and documentary materials that served to contextualize the fragment of video data that was analysed in detail. In the course of analysis, I have introduced in a stepwise fashion broader contextual information by drawing on data that is not evident in the video fragment. In fact, we would not have been able to decipher the meaning of certain aspects of Uriella's visionary performance without our field observations and the information gathered in interviews; neither would we know how this episode is embedded in the community's daily life and the centrality of its role for them. Therefore, I would argue that not only for the purposes of this singular case but in general, the analysis of video data needs to be augmented by focussed ethnographic fieldwork and other forms of social research (such as interviews, documents, and even survey data). Restricting the analysis exclusively to the video data and its interpretation carries with it the danger of drawing conclusions that contradict the situation and thereby running into the methodological problem of missing the 'postulate of adequacy' (Schütz 2004[1953]).

What, in my view, still remains open is the question of how single case analysis following the hermeneutical interpretation combines with ethnographic field research. Without going into details, I would argue that the methodological debate still lacks a solution for the challenge of how to combine a hermeneutical approach with linguistic-structural approaches in interpretative sociology. One of the most relevant problems in video-analysis is the problem of selection and the search for methodological principles that would adequately account for the reasons an analyst selects certain fragments to scrutinize in detail over others. I suggest that the hermeneutical practice of producing an exhaustive amount of context-free reading versions and its stepwise consecutive exclusion from within the material needs to be combined with a more corpus-oriented analytical approach as practiced in conversation or genre analysis. In addition, it is essential to take into account the broader distal contexts in which data fragments are actually produced and embedded. Consequently, ethnography is essential for research in any area of modern, pluralized societies with wide-ranging and highly fragmented areas of local culture and situated knowledge. Even the most erudite interpreter does only have limited insight into the rich and manifold segments of contemporary social worlds. Therefore, ethnography is indispensable for qualitative research.

One last point has to be considered. Along with the greater availability and use of digital technology, the analysis of video data is increasingly gaining importance in qualitative sociology. Due to the popularization of video equipment, the practice of videography may spread even in people's everyday life. As a result, this produces a growing corpus of visual recordings, recordings that can be analyzed as auto-ethnographic data. This is especially important for an insight in fields with difficult or restricted access, for which these recordings gain special importance in ethnographies as in the case at hand, where participation is only allowed for members of the community after long times of spiritual exercise and strict ascetic purification, entailing the renunciation of alcohol, coffee and cigarettes during weeks beforehand. Nevertheless, I would not suggest the employed style of analyzing data is apt for a general approach. Surely, it has to be tested in further studies, where its advantages and limitations of generalization are explored. Without doubt, in ethnography, every field has its peculiarities and therefore may need an approach other than video.

Notwithstanding, video recordings will change the way in which field work is conducted for many researchers. The practice of videography is expanding throughout many areas of qualitative research (Knoblauch 2006). Different data types

have to be distinguished in video-analysis (Knoblauch et al. 2006a), each entailing its own methodological challenges. Beside other types, video data produced by members itself, like the one analyse above, is of special interest for sociological interpretation. It may open up areas of restricted or difficult access for research. Moreover, it contains the members' self representations. Therefore its analysis allows studying the forms by which member construct and represent their own reality. Admittedly, even video is not able to produce genuine copies of that practice in all its details; though that is not the aim at all. Rather, these recordings provide insights selected by the members themselves. Hence, auto-ethnographic video data is a privileged resource which can provide access to the mediated ›ethnotheory‹ of members, whose reconstruction is one of the ongoing tasks of focussed ethnography.

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Annex: Transcript of Uriella's "Full-Trance Vision"

- 1 U: .hhhhhhh
 2 (7.0)
 3 <<t> meine ((räusper)) ge'IEbten ↑KINder. (6.0)
my beloved children
 4 ↓S::ELikh:::,) (2.0)
blessed
 5 sind die <<all+f> ↑H:ONGernden.) (2.0)
are the hungry
 6 <<f+h> denn sie werden ge`s:Ättigt^h) (-) <<t> WERden.) (1.0)
for they satisfied will be
 7 <<f+h> !↑`S:ELig^e,!=
blessed
 8 sind die:: barm: ↑↑H:ERZ:igen. (3.5)
are the merciful
 9 .h denn ↑sIE werden barm↑↑HERZich:`kei::t erf:Ahren dÜrfen.) (5.0)
for they will merci be shown
 10 <<t> sELik^h) (1.5) <<f+h> sind 'JEne::,
blessed are those
 11 dIE 'reinen '↑↑HERZENS sInd^e -> (3.0)
the pure in heart
 12 denn sie 'wEr`den: (2.5) ↓GOTT <<flüstern++f> schAUen^e.) (1.0)
for they will God see
 13 .h !↑WO!. (4.0)
where
 14 <<f+h> werdet Ihr euch `FRAGen, (4.5)
may you yourself ask
 15 er ↑↑Ist ja ↑↑ÜberA:LL. (2.5)
he is everywhere
 16 in dieser geWALTigen^e (.) natU:r (.) und krEatUr.) (5.0)
in this tremendous nature and creature
 17 in (d)er unENDlichkeit^t des:: (.) grEnzenlosen Alls::: (3.0)
in the infinity of the boundless universe
 18 E:R .hh – (2.5)
he
 19 ist dÄ:r SCHLA:G .hh – (1.0)
is the beat
 20 eurer HERZen. (2.0)
of your hearts
 21 er ist der GLANZ eurer <<all> AUgen.) (4.5)
he is the splendour of your eyes
 22 er bewEgt eure ↑GLIEDer. (2.5)
he moves your limbs
 23 <<f+h> E:R IST^h; (1.0)
he is
 24 ↑DA:S L:ICH:::T^h.
the light
 25 .h da:s::: (2.5) als gOttesFUNKe; (1.0)
that as divine spark
 26 In EUch (1.0) BR:ENNT.)
in you burns
 27 .h <<f+h> ↑wÜssten die MENschen; (1.5)
if only know the people
 28 .h Um^e 'die 'wiedergeburt im `FLEIsche, (1.5)
about the reincarnation in flesh
 29 Ergo; (.)
ergo
 30 ↑nIcht `nur im GEIste, (1.0)
not only in spirit
 31 dAnn^e würde vieles auf 'die::sem^e (.) gIÖ`bus ↑ANders AUsehn.)

32 *then would much in this globe different look*
 `das `RAD der ZEIT. (0.5)
the wheel of time
 33 ist an mein `URgesetz des KARmas gebUnden. (1.0)
is to my ancestral law of karma bound
 34 in `IHM^e r:uht^h; (2.0)
in it rests
 35 `UR: `sAche, (2.5)
cause
 36 und `WIRkung. (3.0)
and effect
 37 `DEMzu folge. (1.5)
as a result
 38 muss `EINjedes;
must everything
 39 `DAS was Es; (2.0)
that what it
 40 `ZERbricht; (2.0)
breaks
 41 wIEder (.) `SELBST r:epa`rIEren. (1.5)
again (it)self repair
 42 und der `BESTe IEIm. (1.5)
and the best glue
 43 um `dIE:se `schAdSTELLen; (3.0)
to this damaged spot
 44 zu `FLICKen. (1.0)
to mend
 45 `trÄgt den `nAmen LIEbe. (1.5)
carries the name love
 46 `wEnn:: `doch die `MENsChen wüssten. (1.5)
if only the people would know
 47 dass im `DANKen `LOBen und `PREIsen ein schlÜssel; (.)
that in thanking praising and glorifying a key
 48 zum `hImmel`REICH liegt^h. (2.0)
to the Kingdom of Heaven lies
 49 DANN^e, .h (1.0)
then
 50 würde es `Auch noch `SCHNELLeR vorAngehN;=
would it also much faster go ahead
 51 mit der ver`EDelung ihres SEINS. (2.0)
with the sublimation of their being
 52 wenn doch die `MENSChen `wüssten. (1.0)
if only the people would know
 53 DASS:: - (.)
that
 54 im em`PFANG`en, (1.5)
in receiving
 55 `und GEBen. (.)
and giving
 56 .h ein `URgesetz gOttes ruht. (2.0)
an ancestral law of God lies
 57 DANN^e, (2.5)
then
 58 `wÄre das ANTIltz. (1.5)
would be the visage
 59 `VON^e MI:R; (-)
of me
 60 `NICHT `mehr `so dur:chfUr:cht; (2.0)
no more so furrowed
 61 von `FALten des `KUMMers und der `sOrgen. (2.0)

62 .h die ´mEnschen haben das `bÖse zu einem ↑AB GOTT geSCHAFfen;;
the people have the Evil to an idol created
 63 dEn `sIE: (-) ver´GÖTTern. (.)
that they adore
 64 mit^h vergÄnglichen^e WERTen^e.
with perishable values
 65 die für ↑GOTT ↑↑nie zÄhlen;=
which for God never count
 66 nenn er ↑HAT seine IEhre.
for he has his doctrine
 67 au:f dieser unverGÄnglichen L:IEbe Aufgebaut^h.
on this imperishably love build on
 68 .h daher ist ↑`SIE die `krOne der ↑schÖpfung;
therefore is it the creation's crowning glory
 69 und nicht der ME:NSCH:; (.)
and not man
 70 .h ´DE:R mich `jA: nach dem ! ↑↑↑HALLELUJAH::!;
who me afte the Halleluja
 71 !HO::SIANNA!; (.)
Hosianna
 72 ans ´krEUz ge´nA:gelt !HAT^h!. (1.0)
to the cross has nailed
 73 ´↑WUNderbAr. (.)
wonderful
 74 möge doch ´AUch für euch die ge´WISSheit sein. (1.5)
may be also for you the certainty
 75 dass jEder ´rEUige SÜNder. (1.5)
that every penitent sinner
 76 ´VO:N GOTT. (.)
by God
 77 aufs ´REICHST- (1.5)
to the most plentiful
 78 ja mit dem ´schÖnsten `mAntel beSCHENKT wird. (1.0)
yeh, with the most beautiful coat will be donated
 79 die `WAHre ´HElmat; (1.0)
the true homeland
 80 be´flndet sich ´DRÜben. (.)
is situated yonder
 81 dAher hAbe ich AUCh; (2.0)
therefore have I also
 82 den ↑R:ICHtern die über mich zu entscheiden hatten zugerUfen. (1.0)
the judged which had to decide over me shouted at
 83 ´l::CH BIN NICHT´ ‹‹t› von dieser wElt^h. (2.0)
I am not of this world
 84 GOTT.›
God
 85 ‹‹f+h› kann nur ↑In der MY`stik (.) ‹‹t› erIEbt werden.› (2.0)
can only trough mysticism be experienced
 86 ‹‹f+h› OH:NE: ↓MITler.
without intermediary
 87 zwlschen^e dem JE:Nseits und DIESseits. (.)
between this world and the other
 88 hätte ´mEIn WAHRHEITsgehAlt.
could have been the content of truth
 89 .h den ich in ´MEINer LEHre EINgeBAUT hAbe;
that I have incorporated into my doctrine
 90 .h !↑NIE!.
never
 91 unter die ´mEnschen ge`brAcht werden KÖNNen. (1.0)

- 92 *under the man could be brought*
 92 'je`DOCH;
 however
- 93 <<len> 'dIE::se ↑LEUCHtEn^e.> (1.0)
 this refulgance
- 94 In:^e der FINsternis dieser MENSCHheit und WELT. (.)
 in the obscurity of this mankind and world
- 95 werden von den !↑UN!wssenden. (-)
 will be by the ignorants
- 96 be'KÄMPFT; (.)
 combatted
- 97 ja am IIEbsten möchte man sie auf dem schElterhaufen verBRENnen; (.)
 yeh, they would prefer them at the stake to burn
- 98 .h 'wEIl DA:S; (.)
 because that
- 99 was über ihre LIPPen:^e QUILLT^h;
 what over their lips swells
- 100 .hh das gANze KARTengebäude; (1.0)
 the whole house of cards
- 101 'där 'mEnschen^e 'zUm^e ↑STÜR:zen BRINGT^h. (4.0)
 of the people to collapse brings
- 102 die 'pOlariTÄT – (.)
 the polarity
- 103 die auf eurer 'Erde HERRSCHT; (-)
 that reigns in your Earth
- 104 trägt (.) ↑DIE:Sen^e gEgenpOl.
 carries this conterpole
- 105 und er kann NUR – (.)
 and he can only
- 106 mit MEINem schwErt der IIEbe; (-)
 by my sword of love
- 107 IN BANN (.) ge'hAlten werden; (2.0)
 in check being kept
- 108 <<t> das ge' <<f+h>'BE:T – (.)
 prayer
- 109 ist die STÄRKste. (2.5)
 ist the most powerful
- 110 'GEISTige `WAFFe die es glbt.> (5.0)
 spiritual weapon that exists
- 111 ((Stuhlrücken))
 ((moving chairs))
- 112 <<t> mit 'AUS ge breite'ten Armen. (1.0)
 with extended arms
- 113 ver'Abschiede ich mich von EUch:; (1.5)
 say goodbye I to you
- 114 'Im 'NA:me:n; (-)
 in the name
- 115 'und in der ALLmacht des Ewigen gOttVAters. (3.0)
 and in the almightiness of the Eternal Father
- 116 in der IIEbe seines eingebO::renen sOh::nes jE::sus CHRISTus:: - (1.5)
 in the love of his native son Jesus Christ
- 117 dEr: zU EUch ↑SPRICH:T.> (.)
 who to you talks
- 118 <<h> Un:d in: der KRAFT; (.)
 and in the power
- 119 des HEI::Ligen gElstes::: (-)
 of the Holy Ghost
- 120 die ↑Ü::Berall wEht^{h::::}.> (3.0)
 who everyway blows
- 121 <<t> WEIL.> (-)
 because

122	das lEtzte drlttel der MENSCHheit ^h ; (1.0) <i>the last third of mankind</i>
123	zus:Ammenge´BRACHT werden muss:: (-) <i>together must be brought</i>
124	<<t> um (.) in> ↑BÄL:de; (-) <i>so in brevity</i>
125	<<t> die> ↑REINigung EinlElten zu kÖnnen. (2.5) <i>the purgation starting can</i>
126	<<t> alle> ↑VO:Rbereitungen sind getrOffen. (4.0) <i>all preparations are made</i>
127	<<t> die> (.)↑kOsmische UH:R; (.) <i>the cosmic clock</i>
128	steht <<h> nUr noch hUnderstäl: seKUNden;> <i>stands only hunderth of seconds</i>
129	vor der ^ZAH:L (.) Z:WÖLF. <i>before the number twelve</i>
130	<<singen>> amen> <i>amen</i>
131	G: <<singen> amen> <i>Amen</i>

Selected transcription symbols

(-), (--), (---)	short pause, one dash representing 0.25 sec. approx.
(2.0)	pause (in seconds)
.h, .hh, .hhh	exhaling, according to its duration
gesättigt ^h	strongly aspirated final consonant
:,::,:::	extended, according to its duration
?	high rising intonation
,	medium rising intonation
;	medium falling intonation
.	low falling intonation
akZENT	primary or main accentuation
ak!ZENT!	extra strong accentuation
↑	high onset
↓	low onset
<<h> >	low register
<<f>>	forte, loud
<<all>>	allegro, fast
<<acc>>	accelerando, accelerating

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