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CONCEPTUAL BLENDING IN MILLENIAL MOVEMENTS: AN APPLICATION OF
CONCEPTUAL BLENDING THEORY TO CASE STUDIES
IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA AND ISRAEL

By

David Eric Troolin

Presented to the Faculty of
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ABSTRACT

CONCEPTUAL BLENDING IN MILLENNIAL MOVEMENTS: AN APPLICATION OF CONCEPTUAL BLENDING THEORY TO CASE STUDIES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA AND ISRAEL

David Eric Troolin

Master of Arts

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Conceptual blending is a theory that is now widely applied. It has special relevance, with the recent work by Sweetser into performative functions of blends, for analyzing the complex blends at the foundation of millennial movements. This paper undertakes a conceptual blend analysis of case studies of millennial movements as seen in different time periods and geographical areas, from Israel to Papua New Guinea. The results provide support for the conceptual blending theory.

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1 INTRODUCTORY MATTERS

1.1 Problem/Topic:

When faced with crises, different people respond in different ways; likewise, different groups of people also respond in different ways. Some groups react proactively and vigorously, while others react passively and defensively and take time to consider their options before attempting to resolve the crisis in their favor. I will use conceptual blending theory (also known as conceptual integration theory) to understand better one type of response: the salvation or millennial movement, as it is portrayed in the conceptual blends found in their narratives describing their idea of the golden age, or what I call their “hope narratives”.

While there have been extensive investigations into millennial movements and other sorts of salvation movements, these investigations have not been done through the framework of conceptual blending, but rather through descriptions written from either the outsider’s point of view, i.e. ‘etic,’ or an insider’s point of view, i.e. ‘emic’. With an etic analysis, an outsider (after spending time with the group, but with little or no knowledge of the language and conceptual structures of the host group) tries to explain a certain behavior or set of behaviors using whatever knowledge they have been able to acquire. Such knowledge tends to rely heavily on observation and personal inference. With an emic analysis, the researcher lives among the host group and learns their language and customs, and thus has a greater depth of resources upon which to draw when carrying out an analysis that reveals underlying explanations for behavior.

However, the theory of conceptual blending is a fundamentally different way to understand a belief or set of beliefs, and lends itself well to analyzing topics of interest in linguistics, psychology, and anthropology. Many times the host group acts in certain ways that the members themselves cannot explain based on their worldview. Conceptual blending offers a unique way to understand how people use simple concepts and schemas to create new conceptual constructions and how those same conceptual constructions are in turn used to structure additional concepts and/or validate certain behavior. By collecting and analyzing material that contains conceptual blends, we can arrive at what Pilch called a “derived etic” view (Pilch, 2002:105).

Briefly stated, the theory of conceptual blending organizes several mental spaces into a network (called a conceptual integration network), with each space having different roles. When the conceptual integration network is operational, the result is a Blended Space. Below is a diagram illustrating a simple conceptual integration network:

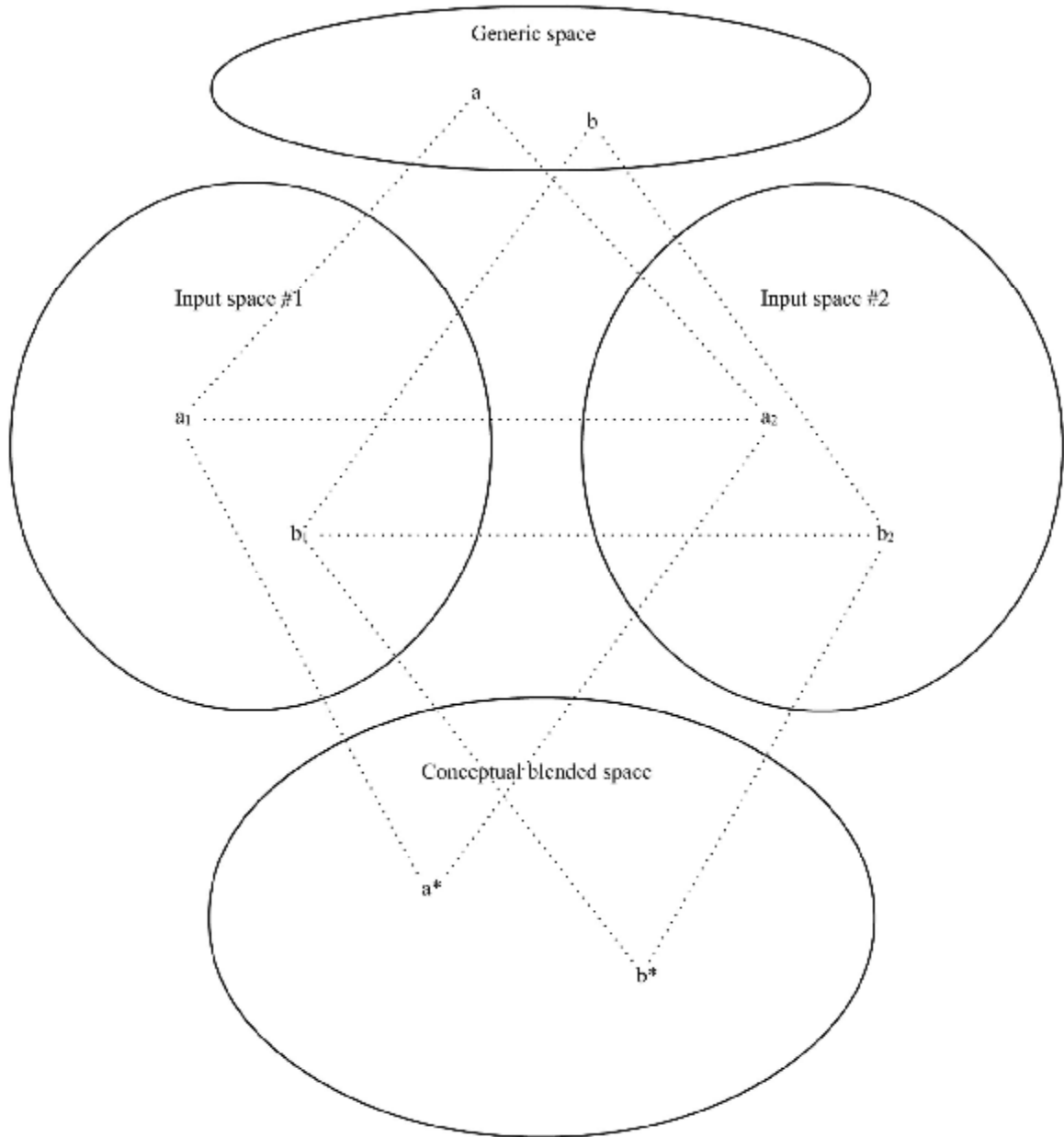


Figure 1: Simple Conceptual Integration Diagram

The Generic Space (or proto-proposition) is the space that has similarity at an abstract level to both Input Spaces 1 and 2. Thus, the Generic Space may be something like “X moves along a trajectory to Y.” In itself, the Generic Space has no concrete representation. The Input Spaces (or proto-spaces) provide the concrete representations in

the form of frames or scenarios, and each input space has elements as things or ideas linked to each other within each space by various relationships. Usually one input space is the organizing frame; it provides the structure of relationships for organizing the blend. The other space provides the specific details in the blend. The elements in Input Space 1 and 2 then link to each other, or they are ‘mapped’ to each other. There is supposed to be symmetry among the spaces, so there are no stray elements in Input Space 1 that don’t have counterparts in Input Space 2, and likewise, there should be simplicity, so there are no extra elements in either space that are not needed to fill out the Blended Space. When the elements and relationships are mapped to each other, it is called ‘running the blend’ and this process results in a Blended Space - a virtual world.

Taking a common example from Fauconnier and Turner will help to illustrate this process (Turner and Fauconnier, 2000:133; Fauconnier and Turner, 2002:221-223).

During President Clinton’s presidency, his immoral behavior and the outcome that resulted led someone to coin the following blend:

“If Clinton were the *Titanic*, the iceberg would sink.”

Our minds have never thought of that particular sentence before, and yet we know what it means. We instantly decode the blend, by working backward from the Blended Space to the Input Spaces, with the guiding abstract Generic Space to make sure that the blend stays within the parameters of the Input Spaces. This blend helps us to construct the novel virtual world where if President Clinton had been the ship, the *Titanic*, his charisma would overcome the laws of nature and would insure that the iceberg would sink.

I will briefly outline the contents of the input spaces below:

1. Input Space 1: containing the *Titanic*, a huge ship that everyone thought was unsinkable, striking an iceberg and sinking.
2. Input Space 2: containing President Clinton's sexual scandals, which seemingly should have resulted in some political damage, but instead seemed to blow over without much impact.

Thus, the Generic Space would contain a trajectory metaphor of X moving along a path inhabited by Y, and striking Y, though the result of the collision is not specified. The elements in Input Space 1 (the *Titanic* and the iceberg) are mapped to the elements in Input Space 2 (President Clinton and his scandals). Input Space 1 is the source space that provides the organizing frame for the blend (a ship steaming toward a huge, nearly immovable object). Input Space 2 is the target space; it provides crucial content that the source space doesn't provide (the names of the actors in the Clinton scandal, the scandal itself as the event, and the political outcome). Note that we don't have to include every element from the *Titanic* event – just the important ones to the blend to enhance communication. In order to interpret the blend, we do not need to know such information as the tonnage of the *Titanic*, how many passengers were aboard, the death toll, and the time of the event, 2:20 am, April 15, 1912.

The blend has more information than either of the two inputs. Its richness is due to the blending process. The blend has emergent structure, since the blend describes a situation that wasn't present in the input spaces. So, while Input Space 1 has the *Titanic* sinking, and Input Space 2 has Clinton escaping from the scandals without too much

damage, the blended world has the Titanic floating onward while the iceberg sinks. Thus, in the blend we find the virtual world of the Clinton-Titanic not sinking, contrary to both of the inputs and one scientific law that a ship with the Titanic's particular design, when striking an iceberg of such-and-such mass, will sink, and another law that ice doesn't sink – it floats. This emergent structure is created in the blend. The elements in the blend also create another aspect absent from the input spaces: “they take on much sharper and more extreme status in the blend: the scandal-iceberg is the greatest conceivable threat, something that ‘sinks’ even the ‘unsinkable,’ and the Clinton-Titanic survives even this greatest conceivable threat. The extreme superiority of Clinton as a force and the extreme status of the scandal as a threat are constructed in the blend, as is their predictive inference that Clinton will survive.” (Turner and Fauconnier, 2000:134) Thus, we see there is not just a blanket mapping of the input spaces to produce a Blended Space, but there are also processes that work in the blend to produce a new frame, unique from either input space, but still adhering to the Generic Space.

There is much more to draw from this example, but this is enough for now. Coming back to applying conceptual blending theory to millennial movements, if we can better understand what people are thinking when they depict the virtual world of the blend and draw inferences from it, then we are better able to understand both what motivates their actions and what goals they hope to achieve. In this way, conceptual blending theory provides a tool to analyze a situation in terms of the motivations, means, and hopes or goals of the people involved versus the conclusions of other anthropological theories, such as the outsider view (‘perhaps people group A do this set of behaviors

because they know it benefits them on a medical or psychological level, without knowing the reason why it helps them’) or even an insider view/worldview analysis (‘perhaps people group B do this set of behaviors because their worldview contains certain axioms which logically lead the group to behave consistently with their beliefs’). In contrast, conceptual blending theory would investigate ‘what people group C thinks, as revealed through an analysis of the scenes expressed in their myths and stories. In particular it will show us how they are projecting real world events into a blend and drawing inferences to account for the anomalies in their lives vis-à-vis the lives of apparently more blessed people. In this thesis, I would like to use conceptual blending to probe the performative aspect of conceptual blending, that is, the motivations behind the blending of certain concepts that the participants in so-called cargo cults and salvation movements believe will bring about a change in reality.

1.2 Literature Review:

1.2.1 Conceptual blending research

Some of the most prolific researchers connected with conceptual blending are Gilles Fauconnier, Mark Turner, Seana Coulson, Todd Oakley, and Eve Sweetser. To my knowledge, no one has yet tried to use conceptual blending to analyze ‘cargo cult’ or millennial movements.

Conceptual blending grew out of new ideas about how people think about the world, and in particular, out of research into metaphor and metonymy. Lakoff and Johnson wrote about metaphor and metonymy in the 1980’s, and in 1987, Lakoff published Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind.

(Lakoff, 1987) In it, he argues against the then-prevailing view of cognition, which Lakoff called the ‘objectivist paradigm’ or ‘basic realism’ (Lakoff, 1987:157ff). Lakoff claimed that ‘objectivists’ hold that the world is objectively real and there is nothing in a person that views the world differently than any another person; the world is as it is, and everyone, with properly functioning senses, sees it, categorizes it, and understands it the same way. In contrast, Lakoff argues for the experientialist view that “reason is made possible by the body- that includes abstract and creative reason, as well as reasoning about concrete things. Human reason is not an instantiation of transcendental reason. It grows out of the nature of the organism and all that contributes to its individual and collective experience: its genetic inheritance, the nature of the environment it lives in, the way it functions in that environment, the nature of its social functioning, and the like.” (Lakoff, 1987:xv-xvi)

The effect of this collection of ideas was to open the door to new ways of thinking about metaphor and metonymy, which have allowed researchers to posit the existence of the mind’s ability to structure meaning.

Fauconnier is also interested in how people structure meaning, and in 1985 he published “Mental Spaces,” which argues for a new theory of how humans construct meaning (Fauconnier, 1985). He says that when we think, we are making use of mental spaces containing certain elements, our minds link these mental spaces with each other in certain ways, and background knowledge helps to structure the mental spaces. Thus our minds structure reality not purely according to what we sense, but also according to our own mental capacities or tendencies, our environment, our experience, and so on.

The ideas posited by Lakoff, Turner, Fauconnier, Rosch, and others have led to a paradigm shift, in the Kuhnian sense, among some linguists, cognitive scientists and psychologists in cognition research. Since 1985 research has continued using Fauconnier's mental space theory and the theory has grown more complex. It is currently known as conceptual blending (and conceptual integration).

Conceptual blending is a fascinating theory of how people conceptualize the world through the linking of mental spaces of various types, and in so doing, actually create virtual worlds by suppressing or ignoring certain relations or aspects of one of the mental spaces and activating other aspects of the mental spaces. This activity is complex, and yet everyone does it everyday (Sweetser et al., 1994; Fauconnier, 1985; Turner and Fauconnier, 1995; Fauconnier and Sweetser, 1996; Fauconnier, 1997; Coulson and Oakley, 2000; Turner and Fauconnier, 2000; Fauconnier and Turner, 2002).

Turner and Fauconnier apply conceptual blending to metaphor and metonymy, and find that in much metaphorical and analogical language we are actually activating certain conceptual blends, which we do so effortlessly that the process is difficult to scrutinize, and yet when unpacked, is remarkably powerful (Turner and Fauconnier, 2000).

Fauconnier discusses the background of cognitive science and its close relationship with linguistics, arising as it did through considerations of form and meaning. He isn't the first to note a close connection between linguistics and other cognitive processes such as behavior. Pike, in 1967, presents an integrated theory of

language in relation to human behavior.¹ While some believe cognitive science is being ‘polluted’ by using it to analyze cultural data, Fauconnier suggests that “language data suffers when it is restricted to language, for the simple reason that the interesting cognitive constructions underlying language use have to do with complete situations that include highly structured background knowledge, various kinds of reasoning, on-line meaning construction, and negotiation of meaning. And, for the same reason, language theory suffers when it is restricted to language.” (Fauconnier, 1997:7-8)

Further amplification of conceptual blends shows there are strict principles involved to make a blend successful. These principles work to optimize the blend and hence are called ‘optimality principles.’ They also compete with each other to maximize their effect while keeping the blend efficient (Coulson and Oakley, 2000:187-191; Turner and Fauconnier, 2000:283-304; Fauconnier and Turner, 2002:311-336). The goal of these principles is, according to Fauconnier and Turner, to “achieve human scale,” that is, to make the conceptual blend successful in communicating meaning, through the following sub-goals:

- § Compress what is diffuse.
- § Obtain global insight.
- § Strengthen vital relations.
- § Come up with a story.
- § Go from Many to One. (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002:312)

¹ See Pike for an early discussion for the unity of language, culture, and thought (Pike, 1967).

For example, one optimality principle is to compress something in the blend such as compressing the whole of a human life into the time it takes to walk up a flight of stairs. The act of walking up the stairs is seen by the Greek participants as having some causal force to direct a newborn baby's ascent in status throughout his or her life (Sweetser, 2000:312). There are six optimality principles:

- § integration
- § web
- § unpacking
- § topology
- § backward projection
- § metonymy projection (Fauconnier, 1997:187)

Sweetser investigated the role of conceptual blends in performative speech and rituals. She looked at the metaphors involved in various rituals, both “metaphorical representations (pervasive in ritual and magic)” and “literal cases,” and how these rituals are supposed to accomplish something beyond the ritual, that is, serve as performatives to actually affect the real world, such as having a certain hunting ritual stand for a real future hunt, and how a successful outcome in the hunting ritual is seen to bring about a successful future hunt. She writes, “My broader definition of performativity treats it as mental-space blending (in Fauconnier and Turner's terminology) wherein structure is transferred from a representing space to the space represented.” (Sweetser, 2000:305) Cargo cult rituals, and those beliefs and behaviors involved in millennial movements in general, have a performative nature; the performers act out the rituals in order to actually

change something in the real world. Perhaps Sweetser's research will provide a foundation for explaining conceptual blends in millennial movements in general and cargo cults in particular, since performativity, as in the hunting ritual above, involves using ritual to influence the real world. I pursue this idea further when I compare actual case studies in Part 3.

1.2.2 Apocalypticism research

For the purpose of discussing conceptual blends in apocalyptic literature, specifically 1 Enoch 90, it is important to discuss the historical situation of the Jews in the Second Temple Period, and then apocalyptic literature, which conveys the apocalyptic worldview. This paper also looks briefly at the community at Qumran, which read and appreciated 1 Enoch. Scholars do not think the Qumran community authored 1 Enoch.²

1.2.2.1 Historical situation

In the next paragraphs I present a short summary (invariably simplified) of the historical events that occurred in the Second Temple Period. In 586 B.C.E., the Babylonian army, under Nebuchadnezzar II, broke through the Jerusalem wall, took many Jews into exile in Babylon, and destroyed the temple. In 539 B.C.E., the Persians took over the Babylonian empire, which included control over the area that was once the Israelite kingdom. In 536 B.C.E., King Cyrus issued an edict allowing the Jews to return to Israel, and some did return, though many also stayed where they had been exiled (Helyer, 2002:19). The Temple in Jerusalem was rebuilt and completed in 515 B.C.E.,

² Schürer says there were fragments of eleven manuscripts that cover the whole of the Book of Enoch, all found in Qumran Cave 4 (Schürer, 1979:3a:251).

which was important since it made possible the animal sacrifices which were fundamental to the Jewish faith.

In 334 B.C.E., the Greek empire began to expand to the east. In 332 B.C.E., the Greeks, under the legendary general Alexander the Great, conquered Palestine and areas to the east and south. This began the time when Jews in Israel came into contact with Hellenism, were impacted by it, and were changed by it, to differing degrees. The influence of Hellenism is important to describe not only for its role in Sectarian Judaism, but also because later, this paper points out the important role Hellenism plays in 1 Enoch.³ Grabbe points out that the process of Hellenization was very involved, and spanned several hundred years. He explains that Jews of different occupation or status would have had different demands placed upon them in terms of how much of the Greek culture they took on. Different Jews assimilated Hellenism to different degrees, but Jews remained loyal to Judaism. Some cultural borrowings happened, but the local culture was never supplanted, and Jews were still loyal to Judaism, even to the death. Different people rejected different parts of Hellenism. Instead of all Jews following one form of Judaism, it was more the case that there were many diverse Jewish sects (Grabbe, 1995:71-72). Schürer agrees with Grabbe, pointing out that Hellenism was pervasive, and also agrees with Dunn that Hellenism was “a civilizing power which extended into every branch of life.” (Schürer, 1979:2:52; cf. Dunn, 1995:242) Dunn affirms the diversity of Judaism, but he also posits there was a “common Judaism” which was a general, common form of Judaism, and that the number of people involved in the various sects was not a

³ For an overview of Hellenism in 1 Enoch, see Nickelsburg, 2005:85-8.

significant part of the total population. He points out that there was vicious debate between the various sects of Judaism, because each sect emphasized some aspect of obeying Jehovah that others didn't; that is what made each of them unique. But, in so doing, each of the sects also had to condemn the other sects that did not think the way they did. Thus, each sect, in affirming its own need to exist, also had to condemn the other sects, and the diatribe continued (Dunn, 1995:244-250).

When the Greeks divided the kingdom after Alexander's death, Israel came under the control of Ptolemy, but after decades of struggle, the Seleucids took final control in 198 B.C.E. (Nickelsburg, 2005:42-3) It was during the reign of Antiochus IV (175-164 B.C.E.) that the Maccabean revolt occurred. As Grabbe explains, Matthias Maccabeus, his sons, and the rest of his followers did not revolt over the cultural imperialism of Hellenism, but because of Antiochus Epiphanes' ruthless interference with the Jewish religion (Grabbe, 1995:72).

Antiochus IV wanted to encourage the spread of the Greek culture and language. To accomplish this, one thing he did was to allow a pro-Hellenist, Jason, the brother of the current high priest, Onias III, to buy the high priesthood. Jason was in support of Hellenization, and he undertook various initiatives (establishing Greek schools, a gymnasium, and bringing in athletic games) to try to encourage other Jews to become "good Greeks." (Helyer, 2002:19, 115; VanderKam, 2001:18) Jews would not have had a problem with Jason assuming the high priesthood on grounds of not being in the right family, because Jason and Onias were both in the line of Zadok, from whose family had come the high priests since the time of King David, because of his faithfulness to King

David during Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam. 15:24-29; 20:25). But, the fact that Jason had paid money to buy the high priesthood might have disturbed some Jews. Then, Menelaus, a Benjamite, bought the high priesthood, which would have angered even more Jews, since he was not even from a priestly family (Helyer, 2002:94, 115).

However, Antiochus later compelled the Jews to do things directly against their religion, and it was this, not an encroaching Hellenization, that brought about the Maccabean revolt (Dunn, 1995:256; Helyer, 2002:116; Schürer, 1979:2:52).⁴ For example, he ordered his soldiers to force Jews to eat pork or be killed. He commanded people not to follow the Torah, and burned as many copies as he could find. He instituted Zeus cult worship in the Temple and sacrificed a pig on the altar. He commanded that all circumcised babies be killed and hung from their mother's necks. But in the face of this horrific attack on the Jewish religion, although many Jews complied, Mattathias Maccabeus refused to submit. He and his sons fled into the countryside and, with the addition of many supporters, began to fight the Greeks (Josephus, Ant., 12.6.2; VanderKam, 2001:20-21). They fought so successfully, that in three years Judas Maccabeus was able to purify the Temple and reinstate the Temple sacrifices (Josephus, Ant., 12.7.6). The revolt occurred in 167 B.C.E., and in 142 B.C.E., they gained independence from the Greeks until 63 B.C.E., when the Romans took control (Helyer, 2002:116-117).

⁴ Indeed, Schürer points out that after the Maccabean revolt, the Hasmoneans themselves adopted Hellenism, and as examples he lists using foreign mercenaries, minting Greek coins, and using common Greek names (Schürer, 1979:2:52).

During this period of independence, the high priests came from the family of the Maccabees, called the Hasmoneans. While the Hasmoneans were from a priestly family, they were not from the line of Zadok. They took the place of the traditional Zadokite high priests (Helyer, 2002:154). The Zadokites then withdrew and formed a new group. They rejected the Hasmoneans as being the true high priestly dynasty, set up a new calendar system (they used the solar calendar), and considered the Temple as not efficacious for forgiveness of sins, because the sacrifices there were not done properly (Magness, 2003:36-37).

Thus, when one looks at the Second Temple period, there is not one Judaism that runs throughout, behaving in a monolithic way. Rather, this was a time of confusion and turmoil, with many different complex happenings: attacks, oppressions, revolts, changes in the way religion was performed, and effects of the culture of the oppressors who became influential and interacted with the culture of the Israelites. Out of this time we see apocalypticism as a worldview emerge.⁵

1.2.2.2 Apocalypticism

Apocalypticism is a term for a certain worldview that became part of certain Jewish sects during the period 200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E. This worldview was characterized by the idea that the present world was fallen and sinful, and at some time in the near future, God would return and defeat those beings opposed to him, destroy the old earth, and usher in a new age of blessing for the righteous and judgment for the unrighteous (Helyer, 2002:117-119; Aune et al., 2000:46).

⁵ The Persians and Babylonians also used apocalyptic themes in their writings.

There are four main aspects of apocalypticism:

1. Apocalyptic eschatology – a view of the end times as God would see it; in other words, from the standpoint of his ultimate power and victory over evil. This is evident in the sectarian writings of the Qumran community.
2. Apocalypticism or millennialism – the actual working out of the apocalyptic beliefs in peoples' lives, such as the revolts of Theudas (Acts 5:36; Josephus, Ant., 20.5.1) and the Egyptian (Acts 21:38; Josephus, Ant., 20.8.6).
3. Apocalypse – the literary examples of the apocalyptic worldview, containing special revelation of knowledge, usually through angelic mediators that concerns the last days.
4. Apocalyptic imagery – the metaphors used in apocalyptic eschatology and appropriated by other writers, usually Christian or Jewish (Aune et al., 2000:46).

There are two main views concerning the origin of apocalypticism. The first is that it was an outgrowth of Old Testament prophecy (the wisdom tradition). The prophetic voice both condemned the Israelites' sinful behavior (with the associated judgments as in Deut. 28) and held forth God's promise to restore their kingdom (also see Deut. 28). These restoration promises must have been very precious in view of the tremendous discouragement of the Jews as they were defeated, exiled, oppressed by other countries. The Israelites must have identified with the curses of Deut. 28, the

consequences for disobeying God, and at the same time, wondered when God would look on Israel's repentance and once more act as Israel's redeemer (Is. 14:1; Zech. 13:9) (Aune et al., 2000:46; Collins, 1998:23-25).

The second view is that the essential elements of apocalypticism were borrowed from Iran blended with Jewish thought during the period of Hellenistic influence. This position includes either influence from Babylon or Persia. The O.T. book of Daniel, for example, has some similarities with the Babylonian "mantic wisdom" tradition, such as using *ex eventu* prophecy (Collins, 1998:27). However, there are also important differences. As Collins points out, "The extant examples [of Babylonian writings] provide no parallel for the apocalyptic reception of revelation in a vision or heavenly tour and have no suggestion of an eschatology involving the judgment of the dead." (Collins, 1998:27) There are Persian writings (cf. *Zand-ī Vohuman Yasn*, or *Bahman Yasht*) that show the authors had the idea of revelation by an other-worldly being, dualistic view of the cosmos, dividing time into periods and representing each period with a symbol, and the time when a new eternal age will begin (Collins, 1998:30-1). The problem, according to Collins, comes when attempting to date the writings, since much of the writings were collected or preserved in books authored after the 1st century C.E. and some as late as the 9th century. Thus, although Zoroaster is said to have lived in the 2nd millennium B.C.E., it is difficult to know how much of his original material has survived in the current form, which has led to scholars being less willing to adopt this position (Aune et al., 2000:46-47; Collins, 1998:26-37).

1.2.2.3 Apocalyptic literature

During this period, many expressions of this worldview, called apocalyptic literature, were written. One apocalyptic book, Daniel, is found in the Old Testament. Sections of Revelation in the N.T. are also apocalyptic. A windfall of apocalyptic material was found in the caves of Qumran in 1947. Most scholars think that these scrolls were part of the library used by the Qumran sect (most people think they were a sect of Essenes).⁶

Scholars have identified key features of apocalypses, such as the use of pseudonyms (i.e. attributing the authorship of the text to a famous person who was blessed by God), the revelation of special knowledge about the heavenly realm or the end times, and the transmission of the revelation through an angel to the human author. By using pseudonyms, the authors were intending to lend authority to their prophecies. Through including *ex eventu* prophecies, that is historical descriptions cast as prophecy at an earlier time, the author was giving weight to what he expected to happen at a time actually in the future (VanderKam, 2001:102-103).

The text I have chosen to analyze for conceptual blends is 1 Enoch 90, which is a chapter in the Animal Apocalypse, also called the Book of Dreams. Nickelsburg's commentary on 1 Enoch will be helpful in the discussion on 1 Enoch in Part 2

⁶ The discovery and dissemination of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in particular, has been very important to learn more about this time period. VanderKam calls the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls the greatest archeological discovery of the twentieth century (VanderKam, 2001:150). The Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered in 1947, but after an initial period when quite a few scrolls were released for scrutiny (up until the late 1960s), the number of scrolls published by the team of international scholars slowed considerably. There were five collections of scrolls published from the late 1950s to the late 1960s, but from 1970 to 1989 only three volumes were published. In 1991, 44 years after their discovery, the percent of scrolls left to publish was between 40 and 60 percent. In 1991, this all changed, perhaps due to the growing discontent among the scholarly community; the Israeli Antiquities Authorities gave researchers the right to view the unpublished scrolls and the Huntington Library (California) opened its collection to scholars (Wise, 2000; cf. Magness, 2003:2). This action precipitated a flood of material on the Second Temple Jewish period, and has raised the level of research concerning the state of Judaism(s) at this time.

(Nickelsburg, 2001). I describe more about this section in Part 2, but it should be noted here that scholars do not believe the Qumran sect wrote 1 Enoch (Magness, 2003:36; Collins, 1998:79). Davies suggests that because 1 Enoch was found in the Qumran caves, and yet was developed independently from Qumran, it is possible that it originated from the Essenes, or from an individual with beliefs similar to the Essenes (Davies, 1996:68). In addition, while we do not know the identity of the authors of 1 Enoch, we have, in the Qumran community, a group of people that probably found something in 1 Enoch that they appreciated enough to keep seven copies (Wise, 2000:258). Dunn agrees that it is clear that some passages of 1 Enoch were esteemed by the Qumran community (Dunn, 1995:244). Magness also suggests that the Qumran community approved of 1 Enoch, since there were no examples of documents in the collection that advocate the viewpoints of any opposing sect so that it appears that the scrolls were in their own library and used for their own purposes (Magness, 2003:34).

1.2.2.4 Qumran

Most scholars think the Qumran community were Essenes (Helyer, 2002:194; Magness, 2003:39, 43; Porton, 1986:64; Schürer, 1979:3a:380), though another option is that they were a group of Sadducees, based on the fact that the Qumran community, in their sectarian writings, refer to themselves as the Sons of Zadok, and the Sadducees may have taken their name from the word “Zadok” (Magness, 2003:42; Porton, 1986:66). There are also, according to Magness, some similarities in beliefs between the two groups. The third possibility is that it was a different group entirely, about which we do not have any independent information (Magness, 2003:39-43).

1.2.3 Cargo cult research

Almost every recent article and book concerning millennial movements begins, not by describing the cultural beliefs and practices of the people in the movement, but instead by describing the plethora of published materials on the phenomenon. Thus Lindstrom notes, “In Western writings on Melanesian cargo cults, authors point almost routinely to the vastness and heterogeneity of the relevant literature. Indeed, from the ‘invention’ of the term ‘cargo cult’ itself in 1945 (Lindstrom, 1993:15) until the present day, the phenomena labeled by it have exerted a remarkable attraction on ‘the West,’ that is, on academia as well as the general public.” (Lindstrom, 2004:15) According to Roscoe, cargo cult movements “fascinate the West.” (Roscoe, 2004:162) Schwartz claims there are more than three thousand millenarianism studies published in the last century (Schwartz, 1987:531).

I will now attempt a short review of how the cargo cult term originated and give a few important examples. Various movements similar to those later given the label “cargo cults” were recorded prior to 1900, including first the Gelveenk Bay movement in Papua, formerly called Irian Jaya, in 1860 concerning the return of the “culture hero” Manggundi; the First Cargo Belief (1871-1900) centered on the local peoples’ deification of Mikloucho-Maclay and German settlers in the Madang province of P.N.G., as articulated by Lawrence (Lawrence, 1964:62-3; cf. Mikloucho-Maclay, 1975); the Milne Bay Prophet (P.N.G.) movement in 1893; and various groups in eastern Morobe province (P.N.G.) between 1890-1900 (Trompf, 1984:31). In 1914, a movement called the “Taro Cult” arose among the Orokaiva (P.N.G.) and, according to Trompf, may have a

continued influence in that area (Trompf, 1984:29). In 1919, another group in Vailala village of the Milne Bay province of Papua New Guinea attracted the attention of the Australian colonial administrators who called the movement “the Vailala Madness.” In the 1940s, the Administration extended the meaning of the term to refer to similar types of movements throughout New Guinea (not just Vailala village) (Lepowsky, 2004:40). A well-known example of a cargo cult is the Jon Frum movement on Tanna Island, Vanuatu that was started in the 1930s and is active to the present (Squires, 2004).

By the 1940s such movements were well known throughout the expatriate community in New Guinea and Australia as well. The first usage of the term “cargo cult” is attributed to Norris Bird in the November 1945 issue of the *Pacific Islands Monthly*, a newspaper read mostly by colonial administrators and missionaries in the Pacific area (Bird, 1945; as cited in Lindstrom, 2004:19). Since then, the term “cargo cult” has found widespread usage in anthropological descriptions of communities in Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and Indonesia (Jebens, 2004). Similar movements arose in other geographical areas, such as North and South America, which resemble cargo cults in certain important ways though there has been a reluctance to subsume these movements under the term “cargo cult.” (Harkin, 2004a; Robbins, 2004:254-255) To limit analysis of these sorts of movements which have traditionally been known as “cargo cult” to one geographical area is, in the words of Michael Harkin, “confusing the map with the territory,” himself paraphrasing Gregory Bateson, “for it mistakes a theoretical lens with the ethnographic object itself. Apart from tradition and bibliographic association, there is no reason to consider the Ghost Dance—a 19th century messianic movement of the North American

plains—a more typical version of revitalization than, say, John Frum or other manifestations of the cargo cult.” (Bateson, 1972:454-455; see also Harkin, 2004a:xv; Wallace, 1956) I would say that limiting an analysis of cargo cults or millennial movements to only those located in Papua New Guinea can yield useful insights in terms of the importance of their unique situations (e.g. the influence of a cult’s relationship to neighboring language groups, or Christian missions), but doesn’t offer a general method for analyzing revitalization movements in different situations. For the purpose of this paper, since what is important is how conceptual blending can assist us in analyzing complex ideas as seen in hope narratives, I do not restrict this paper’s scope to only one sort of millennial movement; in fact, by choosing to investigate two movements (cargo cult in Papua New Guinea and apocalypticism in ancient Israel), I hope to demonstrate the versatility of the conceptual blending method.

Trompf offers the following definition of cargo cults:

By ‘cargo cults’ I mean collective hopes and preparatory actions springing from the expectation of Western-style goods, these items to be brought by God, gods or ancestors in considerable quantities [quantities?]. Yet because anticipation of Cargo ... can reflect any one of a number of contextual wants – the desire to be as wealthy and as well provisioned as expatriates (or other more fortunate Melanesians); the need of the ‘have-nots’ to assuage a jealousy against those who ‘have’; the urge to requite those who lord it over villagers with apparently superior power and technology; the longing for total salvation and the ‘good life’ to replace hardship and death; the impetus to adjust traditional fashions to embrace or forestall modernity, etc. – it is possible for different cargo cults to tend toward different solutions and directions, and thus to produce noticeably different movements and developments in their wake. (Trompf, 1984:29)

Using this definition, I would like to articulate the similarity or common basis of cargo cults and the apocalypticism of ancient Israel, which will allow me to examine

them under the single theoretical framework of conceptual blending and conceptual integration networks. I will fill these points out later in section 1.3. The two movements are similar in that they:

- § Notice the world is not “as it should be,” according to their “myth-dreams”⁷ or knowledge granted them by God or the gods, whether or not this occurs as a result of contact with other cultures or not.⁸
- § Place the blame on either externalities or the improper actions of their ancestors.
- § Attempt to change the situation.
- § Promote a particular hope narrative with symbolism we can analyze, i.e. a narrative telling of their future hope, whether it is the apocalyptic imagery of God’s final intervention, or the golden age when the Melanesians will all become white skinned and will overflow with cargo. Such symbolism is well suited to conceptual blending.

The type of anthropological research that an analyst carries out depends to a large extent on the dominant anthropological research paradigm being taught in the universities and the cultural background of the researchers themselves. As Kuhn notes, most researchers have an allegiance to a certain research paradigm, and they posit theories that promote the goals of their colleagues who constitute the paradigm community (Kuhn, 1996:24). We would expect then, as we consider the research concerning “cargo cults,” to

⁷ I use this term in the sense of Burridge (Burridge, 1960) and Lindstrom (Lindstrom, 2004:25).

⁸ The case of the Tupi-Guarani people of Brazil and Paraguay shows, according to Clastres that millenarian movements can arise without contact with the West. The Tupi-Guarani people follow prophets on decade long migrations in search of a fabulous land (called “Land-Without-Evil”) where “humans would be immortal, crops would grow by themselves, and people would spend their time feasting and dancing.” (Clastres, 1995; Robbins, 2004:255)

see a fluid-like effect, as different theories gain ascendancy over others, only to be replaced later by the theories of other paradigms. The history of the study of anthropology, as well as that of linguistics, physics, and mathematics, is replete with examples of paradigms that, when confronted with increasing numbers of irregularities and exceptions to the rule, are overthrown by newer, more powerful theories. The process is not a neat, simple switching to a new theory, but instead depends on people seeing the discrepancies or accumulation of errors, and eventually changing their allegiance. In addition, anthropology and linguistics have changed as the world around us has changed. As Karl-Heinz Kohl says, “The history of anthropology shows us very clearly how the anthropologist’s view of other cultures is guided by personal experiences as well as by the political, economic, and ideological changes that are taking place in his or her own society.” (Kohl, 2004:89) Thus, the way people have interpreted cargo cult activity has changed over time.

Accordingly, the cargo cult literature itself has changed over time. As Jebens notes (Jebens, 2004), there was an outpouring of writings concerning cargo cults in the 1950s to 1960s, including “The Trumpet Shall Sound” (Worsley, 1957), “Mambu” (Burridge, 1960), “The Paliau Movement in the Admiralty Islands, 1946-1954” (Schwartz, 1962), “Road Belong Cargo” (Lawrence, 1964), and many others. In the beginning, these accounts mostly consisted of anthropological descriptions from the outsider perspective (Mead, 1956; Burridge, 1960), and then, under the influence of a different research paradigm, i.e., ethnohistory and ethnosience, they began to represent more of a derived etic point of view (Lawrence, 1964; McElhanon, 1989) by taking a

longer period of time to learn more of the local language and participate more fully in the lives of the people.

Western researchers have devised various ways to compare the literature. To help make sense of the mass of ideas, analyses, theories, and accounts focusing on cargo cult movements, McElhanon has proposed five models, each reflecting the central focus of given research paradigms:

Economic factors such as material deprivation, resulting in *adjustment*, *nativistic*, and *cargo* movements,

Political factors such as colonial oppression resulting in *revolutionary*, *reactionary*, *militant*, *denunciatory*, and *nationalistic* movements,

Sociological factors such as societal stresses, either internal to the society or caused through culture contact, resulting in *acculturative*, *accommodative*, *adjustment*, *reformative*, and *nativistic* movements,

Psychological factors such as paranoia, tensions, feelings of insecurity or inadequacy, or lack of self-respect, resulting in *crisis*, *deprivation*, *vitalistic*, *revitalization*, or *revival* movements,

Religious factors, usually focusing on the advent of a future golden age or a reunion with returning ancestors resulting in *millenarian*, *millennial*, or *chiliastic* movements. If the focus is on a past golden age, they are known as *restorative*, if on a process, then they are regarded as *syncretistic*, *redemptive*, or *revivalistic*, if expressing a relationship to Christianity, they are regarded as *cultic*, *separatistic*, *schismatic*, *independent*, or *New Religious* movements, or if focusing on the redeemer they are known as *messianic*, *prophetic*, *spiritistic*, *thaumaturgical*, i.e., *Holy Spirit* movements. (McElhanon, 1989:2)

Clearly, researchers approach their research subjects within a certain theoretical framework, and the framework they adopt is most likely that which their teachers, within the dominant paradigm, taught them – and taught them was the normative scientific position (Kuhn, 1996:5). In addition, McElhanon writes that even the terms researchers use are heavily laden with significance, and Kuhn points out that the framework we use

to analyze the phenomena will determine largely what evidence we notice as important to the analysis, and what conclusions we draw through our research. In Kuhn's words, "No part of the aim of normal science is to call forth new sorts of phenomena; indeed those that will not fit the box are often not seen at all. Nor do scientists normally aim to invent new theories, and they are often intolerant of those invented by others. Instead, normal-scientific research is directed to the articulation of those phenomena and theories that the paradigm already supplies." (Kuhn, 1996:24).

There was a lessening of attention in things cargoist from the 1970s through the 1980s. Interest has increased tremendously, however, from 1990 to the present, with a corresponding increase in published materials on cargo cults (Jebens, 2004:1-2). Joel Robbins claims, "There is more careful writing about cargo cults in general and there are more detailed ethnographic accounts of specific movements now than there were throughout the 1970s and 1980s." (Robbins, 2004:244)

However, articles published during the 1980s in journals oriented toward Melanesia (e.g., *Point*, *Catalyst*, and *Oceania*) reflect a two-part theme that (a) cargo cult movements had changed from the primal, strange activities of the first part of the 19th century to something different and (b) there seemed to be quite a few new churches started in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s that employed Christian terminology but which were definitely indigenous to Papua New Guinea⁹. Researchers were starting to get a sense that the cargo cults were not static, but were capable of changing into other sorts of movements; different not in the sense of abandoning their deep level cargoistic desire, but

⁹ Generally referred to as New Religious Movements (NERMs).

in terms of the surface level, outward appearances. Quite a few articles published in *Point* (1983 and 1984) describe renewal movements among or originating from mainline Christian denominations such as the Pentecostals, Baptists, Catholics, Lutherans, and United Churches (Barr, 1983; Cramb and Kolo, 1983; Krol and Es, 1983; Namunu, 1983; Teske, 1983; Turner, 1983; Moses, 1984; Namunu, 1984; Whiteman, 1984). Other articles concern the developments among cargo cults (DeVries, 1983; Gesch, 1983; Hayward, 1983; Flannery, 1984; Trompf, 1984).

Trompf writes about cargo cults influencing Melanesia decades after their inception and gives details of how cargo cults have changed into different groups but with similar goals. As he says:

There has been a tendency for the larger, well-known and more highly organized post-War ‘cargo cults’ (or movements) to cultivate new images which are less obviously cargoist, less susceptible to lampooning by outside critics and thus more respectable and persuasive in the face of emergent national consciousness.... Thus, most of these movements have developed into independent churches or innovative alternative religions which are now in ‘competition’ with expatriate-originated churches or missions. (Trompf, 1983:51-72; Trompf, 1984:34; Kaima, 1989; Stilwell, 1989)

Others have noticed that some cargo cults have developed an identity of a political organization, or an economic development group. Examples include the Mataungan and Paliau movements in Papua New Guinea (Yagas, 1985:23).¹⁰ Whitehouse also mentions Pomio Kivung as another example (Whitehouse, 1994:40).

¹⁰ For the opinion that the Paliau movement was originally started as a genuine economic development group (and not a cargo cult movement) see Kais, 1998 (Kais, 1998). Kais says the founder, Paliau Maloat, started the movement not to start a cargo cult, but to help his people develop themselves economically. Kais believes the Paliau movement came under government suspicion of cargoistic activities when some of its members became involved in a cargo cult movement.

Moving on, one major difference between cargo cult writings of the 1950-60s, and the 1990-2000s is the latter era's focus on self-reflexivity (Jebens, 2004:2). Perhaps this is a reflection of the postmodern age, in which, as a reaction against modernity's claim to be able to use rational scientific inquiry to solve any problem, researchers now opine that there is no single point of view from which a person can claim to have "the whole truth."¹¹ (Harkin, 2004a:xxi) As Headland states, "The postmodernity era refers today, above all, to the breakdown of society's established canons; to a world in flux." And later in the page, "Doctrines [of postmodernism] would include the denial of the existence of objective rational truth; everyone has suppositions; a value-free scientific paradigm is a myth..." (Headland, 1996:9). Harkin identifies the postmodern influence on the social sciences thus: "postmodern ethnography and ethnohistory ... appreciates the singularity of human experience. Generality and singularity generate art - and anthropology" (Harkin, 2004a:viii). Later, acknowledging the influence of postmodernism, he notes a key issue in postmodernity, "A 'postmodern scholarly environment' invokes or makes use of the idea of a 'hegemonic Power and the oppressed Other.'" (Harkin, 2004a:ix)

I interpret his reference to the influence of post modernity to address a tendency of researchers to place value on the "individual" and "particular" versus the overarching, general rule that would explain behavior across several people groups or languages. The specific "error" postmodernists attribute to earlier cargoist writings is their view of cargo

¹¹ According to Wikipedia, "Postmodernism is a term describing a wide-ranging change in thinking beginning in the early 20th century. Although a difficult term to pin down, "postmodern" generally refers to the criticism of absolute truths or identities and "grand narratives." (Wikipedia, 2006b)

cults as, according to Jebens, “‘protonational’ attempts to resist colonial oppression by obtaining western material goods, as local examples of a supposedly universal ‘Search for Salvation’ (Strelan, 1977), or as expressions of culturally specific orientation and value systems (Burridge, 1960; Lawrence, 1964).” In the end, Jebens questions the validity of this sort of analysis, since all these explanations condense the whole movement to a certain set of factors, “which are often generalized in their turn into features of Melanesian culture at large, thus constructing a kind of ‘cargo culture,’ so that seemingly diverse cultural formations, such as economic ventures, the building of Christian parishes, and political movements, all become ‘like cargo cults.’” (Jebens, 2004:3)

Perhaps this helps explain why, instead of researchers focusing on describing or explaining aspects of culture, there is currently a vigorous debate raging over the use of the term “cargo cult” itself. Some authors want to jettison the term “cargo cult” because they see it as “troublesome,” lumping together behavior from different cultures that may or may not be similar, such that McDowell argues that “cargo cult” as a “group of analytically distinct phenomena” does not exist (McDowell, 1988; Jebens, 2004:2-4). Hermann suggests using the term cargo cult “under erasure” since it is a necessary term in discourse concerning these sorts of movements, but, at the same time, it is inaccurate.¹² (Hermann, 2004:38)

¹² Kaplan argues in “Neither Cargo Nor Cult: Ritual Politics and the Colonial Imagination in Fiji”, that “they [cargo cults] exist not necessarily as Pacific or nonwestern phenomena but instead as a category in western culture and colonial practice. (...) Cults and movements were ‘things’ to colonial officers and have come down to us as such in their records and in administrative practice.” (Kaplan, 1995:xiv) Hermann is concerned that “as Melanesian culture is constructed as a kind of ‘cargo culture,’ the term potentially exaggerates the distance between Melanesia and ‘the West,’ thus falling into the much-criticized trap of ‘othering.’” (Jebens, 2004:4) Finally, some detect a negative connotation in the term “cargo cult” which they identify as “primitivism and irrationality derived from the term

Marshall Sahlins argues against the extreme constructivist arguments. Jebens paraphrases his argument as follows: “extreme constructivist arguments deny the very reality of culture, and hence the dignity that goes along with that, to nonwestern people who provide the context of traditional anthropological research.” (Sahlins, 1995:148-156; see also Jebens, 2004:xvi) In other words, in the smoke of the dispute over the appropriateness of terms and other arguments of the postmodernists, we may lose sight of the fact that all culture deserves to be described, and the postmodern agenda is not filling this need.

I find helpful Roscoe’s insight that it seems true to a degree that “cargo cults are Western cultural constructions, emerging from a matrix of colonial discourse.... This does not mean, of course, that cargo cult – or, at least, something corresponding to what we mean by this term – does not exist. *All* knowledge of the world – of the physical world as well as the social world – is a discursive construct.” (Roscoe, 1995:494-497) “Yet [the postmodernist influence]...has hardly torpedoed the success of inquiry in the physical sciences, and there is no a priori reason to suppose it should undermine investigation in the social sciences. Cargo cults may have been constructed in a matrix or colonial

‘cargo cult’ first being coined by planters, colonial administrators, and missionaries in order to denote and dismiss whatever they saw as obstacles to their respective intentions.” (Jebens, 2004:4) Jebens claims to detect this negative connotation even in Melanesian discourse about cargo cults, and Stephen Leavitt says there is a “pejorative understanding of ‘cargo cult’ that is codified in Papua new Guinea law (it is illegal to engage in cargo cult activities)” (Jebens, 2004:4; see also Leavitt, 2005). Lindstrom notes that the term cargo cult has a mocking and debasing connotation, in contrast to other terms such as nativist movement, revitalization movement, messianic movement, millenarian movement, crisis cult, Holy Spirit movement, protonationalist movement, culture-contact movement, and more. Still, cargo cult today has triumphed as the indexical label for South Pacific religious movements despite any anthropological second thoughts.” (Lindstrom, 2004:19) However, in light of what McElhanon notes, when we choose any of the terms Lindstrom advocates above, we are automatically choosing a filter that excludes certain data and restricts the kind of data we see as significant. As he says, “The weakness of a strong commitment to a given model [outlined above] is that it allows one to regularize the data, that is, ‘to fill in some of the gaps,’ so that anomalies are glossed over. Furthermore, it does not encourage one to attempt to distinguish between gaps in the data which are fortuitous and those which are significant. Rather one assumes that patterns are regular and symmetrical, and that one is well advised to fill in the gaps and present an even tighter analysis.” (McElhanon, 1989:3)

discourse, but this does not mean that the concept therefore lacks any defensible referent, that it does not capture some regularity among humanity's social worlds and processes.” (Roscoe, 2004:162)

Research into revitalization movements has also come back into the picture, after some years of losing impetus. After Wallace's study of Native American groups, “Revitalization Movements,” was published in 1956, many utilized his proposed stages of revitalization to explain similar movements that they found around the world, including the cargo cult movements in Papua New Guinea. Thus, certain anthropologists who held to the revitalization approach have researched various revitalization movements in North America and Melanesia (Wallace, 1956; Brown, 2004; Carucci, 2004; Harkin, 2004a; Harkin, 2004b; Henry, 2004; Jackson, 2004; Lepowsky, 2004; Martin, 2004; McMullen, 2004; Nesper, 2004; Poyer, 2004; Roscoe, 2004; Siikala, 2004).

According to the revitalization paradigm, one tries to ascertain the current stage (level of stress) of a particular culture and then one knows to which stage the people group will likely move. While it may be a mistake to deal with a predictive model when looking at a culture, the revitalization camp has produced much useful research. This paper complements the goals of the revitalization project, since conceptual blending is concerned with finding out those processes that people use to construct rituals to ease their discomfort or stress, regardless of which stage they are at.

1.3 Points of similarity

I find certain similarities between what is believed to be true about the beliefs of the Qumran inhabitants and certain aspects of the cargo cults in Papua New Guinea. I

noted those similarities above, and insert them below for ease of reference. I posit that both the Qumran community and cargo cult groups have the following similarities:

- § They notice the world is not “as it should be,” according to their “myth-dreams” (Burridge, 1960; Lindstrom, 2004:25) or knowledge granted them by God or the gods, whether or not this occurs as a result of contact with other cultures or not. For the authors of 1 Enoch, the world was sinful and fallen, vividly demonstrated in the success of the unrighteous over God’s chosen people, and he represented this in certain symbolic imagery, which we will look at when we talk about the blends for this case. For cargo cult groups, they observed the great difference in possessions and lifestyles, and explained this with the myth of Manup and Kilibob.
- § They place the blame on either externalities or the improper actions of their ancestors. Thus the Qumran group wrote in the Damascus Document (CD) for example, about Israel’s unfaithfulness, which caused God to “deliver them up to the sword.” (Vermes, 1987:83) The cargo cult groups explained how they, who were not so very different than the white people, had such totally different skills and material wealth by noting that their ancestors did not choose wisely when Manup asked them what they wanted (Lawrence, 1964:93).
- § They undertake a program, rooted in the group’s own myth-dream, to bring about a change in the physical world through their personal piety or rituals, either to bring about righteousness or to encourage God or the gods

to act on their behalf. One example of this was the Qumran emphasis on purity, as seen in rules about washing (CD X, 10-13 [Vermees, 1987:94]) and purification (CD XII, 16-18 [Vermees, 1987:96-97]). The cargo cult movement Lawrence mentions had an elaborate ritual involving a graveyard gift ceremony to the spirits of the dead (Lawrence, 1964:94).

- § They promote a particular hope narrative with symbolism we can analyze, i.e. a narrative telling of their future hope, whether it is the apocalyptic imagery of God's powerful intervention, or the golden age when the Melanesians will all become white skinned and will overflow with cargo. Such symbolism is well suited to conceptual blending.

1.4 Hypothesis or Elements

I believe my research will endorse conceptual blending as a valid method to analyze cargo cult and millennial movements. In order to do this, I must define and illustrate the idea of conceptual blending, find examples of conceptual blending in cargo cult (maybe "cultic") and apocalyptic literature, and use conceptual blending to unpack those examples. I will show how this is more explanatory than simply labeling the idea 'syncretistic.' This study is, broadly speaking, a study of conceptualization in worldview, accomplished through the application of a new theoretical framework, conceptual blending, to study three complex cultures. As such, instead of proving the validity of a certain hypothesis, this paper posits another, and perhaps better, method to describe parts of a worldview.

1.5 Scope

This paper will outline conceptual blending in general and in specific will deal with four reports from differing cultures and time periods. I explain these further in section 1.7:

- a) An excerpt from the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 90), from the apocalyptic literature genre.
- b) A researcher's report displaying the cargo cult mentality in the Huon Peninsula area of Papua New Guinea, as seen in data by McElhanon after research over the last 30 years.
- c) This researcher's report from the Sam language group in the Rai Coast area of Papua New Guinea dealing with the graveyard aspect of cargo cults.
- d) Another report from the same area as item c above, dealing with conceptual blends in a charismatic church.

1.6 Methodology

In this paper I used several methods. I used the life history/informal interview approach to elicit data in the field; I used conceptual blend analysis to analyze the data (pulling out the blended spaces and drawing inferences from the blend). Then I compared the inferences that come out of the blend with a derived etic analysis (Vermes, 1987; McElhanon, 1989), to verify that the blending approach has cognitive authenticity.¹³

¹³ I am grateful to McElhanon (personal communication, March 2006) for this suggestion.

I made use of the life history/informal interview (popularized by Langness and Frank) approach in collecting data from the village in which I live in Papua New Guinea. Other data used in this paper (a and b above) are in 1st person narrative, so perhaps they would also fall into the type of data elicited from an informal interview situation, even though we cannot say for sure what elicitation method was used.

The goal of a life history, in the hands of an anthropologist, is to understand better the culture he or she wants to describe. The life history approach allows the researcher to collect datum from the mouth of one of the inhabitants of the community, and that datum, even if not true to what really happened, represents the point of view of that inhabitant (Langness and Frank, 1981:4). Anthropological data without the insider point of view is very liable to be flawed due to the lure of imposing the researcher's own biases, educational paradigm, fears, and so on, on the people under study. Thus, an accurate biography is a sort of corrective to these sorts of problems. I am not saying an anthropological account cannot be accurate without a biography included, but I am saying that a biography is very helpful to writing an accurate account.

Langness and Frank wrote a description of the life biographical approach to gathering anthropological data, and in it, they include a quote by Radin, the first anthropologist (publishing his work, "Crashing Thunder," in 1926) who believed that "biographical information was needed to supplement the more usual anthropological accounts." (Blowsnake and Radin, 1926; Langness and Frank, 1981:18) Radin says, "...the aim being, not to obtain autobiographical details about some definite personage, but to have some representative middle-aged individual of moderate ability describe his

life in relation to the social group in which he had grown up.”¹⁴ (Langness and Frank, 1981:18-19) Aberle agrees, saying, “the life history offered the best means of getting at “the complex relationship of motivations and actions to norms and beliefs.” (Aberle, 1951:2) The process of eliciting datum from an individual to infer belief systems to the individual’s culture is valid, because the individual shared the same cultural knowledge as other individuals. (Langness and Frank, 1981:65) Leavitt writes that “in general a ‘more enhanced understanding can emerge from the more intimate features of cargo ideology as revealed in the personal narratives of individual actors.’ Accordingly, he urges anthropologies to ground their interpretations on single cases, that is, to pay close attention to what specific persons actually say in equally specific situations.” (Jebens, 2004:8)

However, collecting life histories in the field is more of an art than following instructions in a lab. The fieldworker has to be attuned to body language, the words used (as well as what assistant doesn’t say), who else is listening and might be influencing what is said, past events that might bias the assistant to gloss over certain things and major on minor things (Langness and Frank, 1981:46-47). A knowledge of the local language is essential, not only to understanding the subtle nuances of what is said, but also to note and perhaps understand how things like slips of the tongue, laughter,

¹⁴ Langness and Frank note that while Radin used life histories to find out aspects of the culture, Sapir represented another trend: to capture information about individuals in that culture, and aspects of their personality (Langness and Frank, 1981:21).

exclamations, and so on, can give hints to what the assistant is thinking (as well as the veracity of the information¹⁵) (Langness and Frank, 1981:40-43).

There are two sides of a successful elicitation session: the actual recording of data, arranging questions, organizing answers, etc., and the intangible aspects, such as the relationship with the assistant, how the assistant perceives the role of the researcher, how open the researcher is to suspend judgment until he or she knows as much as possible about the community. Trust and integrity is key factor in the relationship between interviewer and assistant, so the assistant knows what they say will not be used in a way they wouldn't want (Langness and Frank, 1981).

The interview itself is “the most crucial single act anthropologists in the field engage in, and much of their success depends upon how skillful and perceptive they are in the interview situation.” (Langness and Frank, 1981:43) It is sometimes helpful to supplement the interview with additional data, such as certain kinds of projective tests, though not culture-bound psychological tests, such as “the Rorschach, Thematic Apperception Test, Free Drawings, Doll Play, and the Bender Gestalt.” (Langness and Frank, 1981:54) Such tests can also prompt the subject to talk about other cultural things they might not have thought of before. Another key to eliciting life histories is to talk not only to the subject, but also to others, who might be able to tell you other things about the subject that the subject was unwilling to say or simply forgot to mention (Langness and Frank, 1981:56).

¹⁵ Langness, when working in the highlands of Papua New Guinea, found that his assistants might tell him (as well as missionaries, patrol officers, etc.) untruths because the “people had a tendency to tell strangers what they thought they would like to hear; they did not like having to tell how many pigs or other possessions they had, that they had neglected something they should have done, and so on.” (Langness and Frank, 1981:43-44)

In the analysis phase of the research, the researcher attempts to interpret the data obtained from the individual(s) and “relate the individual to his or her culture.” (Langness and Frank, 1981:64) This includes considering the role of the subject in their culture; that is, as suggested by Simmons, as “creature, creator, carrier, and manipulator of the mores of their group, and that some theory of adjustment and/or adaptation is also required for a systematic assessment of the individual’s life in relation to the group. Simmons also believes that life histories provide a unique type of datum in that they establish ‘a level of continuity in behavior that is more fundamental than either biological, environmental, societal, or culture determinants, being in fact a synthesis of all four.’” (Talayesva and Simmons, 1942:396; Langness and Frank, 1981:64)

Thus, the life history method of learning about a culture is amply documented and tested, and is part of the modern anthropologist’s tool kit. I will use this method to obtain data concerning cargo cults.

In addition, I also use written information by the authors of 1 Enoch to discover what they thought about how God was going to bring hope into the situation of the Israelites. In this case, the written narrative is immensely helpful in that the data are already written. It is also more difficult, in that I can’t ask the authors what they meant by certain symbolism. This will give rise to certain questions, which we will look at below.

While the blends are strictly most applicable to the authors of 1 Enoch, we might say that the Qumran community, since they preserved 1 Enoch in their collection of scrolls, and since they also wrote apocalyptic narratives (cf. the War Scroll) based on the special revelation of the Teacher of Righteousness, could have also understood, if not

appropriated, the same blends. Thus, we can get a picture of what the Qumran people might have also thought about the end times.

1.7 Data Collection

Part of the data collected for this thesis is contained in historical documents and some from reported field data. In addition, I include data I collected firsthand in Buan village, a Sam speaking village in Madang province of Papua New Guinea. Details are outlined below:

- a) The first blend looks at a blend from the apocalyptic genre, and the hope narrative I analyze is the Animal Apocalypse from 1 Enoch.
- b) The second blend looks at a report from McElhanon with data he collected during his stay in the Selepet language area of Papua New Guinea. I make extensive use of Lawrence's data and insights.
- c) The third is a narrative told to me by a friend in the Papua New Guinean village in which we live. I also incorporate Lawrence's data and insights in this section.
- d) The fourth is a description of a social group in which we participate, the Buan congregation of the Revival Centres of Papua New Guinea, showing many conceptual blends. The description attempts to collate the narrative data gained over several months of living with the people. Thus, while it is not a short story, it is narrative in form, and describes what I have observed people do and say.

1.8 Data Processing

I will analyze the narrative data using conceptual blending. Conceptual blending is a way of looking at a particular blended mental space, consisting of elements, links to other elements, and relations between objects, which, when activated, allows us to form new connections between ideas, thus promoting creativity and helping us to adapt to a changing environment and respond in appropriate ways. Conceptual blending is one of the core human cognitive abilities, along with identity and imagination (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002:6). Conceptual blending, also known as conceptual integration, is an exciting theory of cognitive science and helps us understand the basis of creative thinking, and the human ability to manipulate abstract concepts. Such a powerful ability would defeat its purpose if we had to use our active processing to carry it out; it is a hidden process. Therefore Wittgenstein noted, “The aspects of things that are most important for us are hidden because of their simplicity and familiarity.” (Fauconnier, 1997:vi)

Conceptual blending happens in a network of mental spaces, called the conceptual integration network:

- § The Source input space consists of a set of items and relations between those items that make up a complete frame, though not all elements may be selected to become part of the blend.¹⁶ This space lends the dominant organization for the blend, and is also called the organizing frame.

¹⁶ The elements that are recruited to the blend are said to be selected. Thus, the projection of certain elements and not others, is referred to by Fauconnier and Turner as “selective projection.” (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002:71-3)

- § The Target input space consists of a different set of elements and relations between them.
- § The Generic Space consists of the general set of elements and relations common to both inputs and the Blended Space. It is a level of abstraction above the inputs.
- § The Blended Space consists of the virtual world, of linked elements and relations that are not solely from one frame or reality, but instead is a blend of the two, thus creating a new reality, or a frame that people understand completely but which they have never observed or thought about (Coulson and Oakley, 2000:178-180).

Thus, in the analysis below, what we will observe first is the blend, and then from the blend we can work to unpack the elements of each of the constituent frames. In order to unpack the blends, we need to find specific events, agents, outcomes, and relations between agents, and then relate them to each other in a logical arrangement, using our knowledge of the specific context in which they occurred. This method works very well with novel arrangements of ideas, which is perhaps the feature of cargo cults and salvation movements that stand out the most. Their novelty to outsiders will allow them to notice, unpack, and hopefully, understand the data better.

2 THESIS RESULTS

2.1 Unpacking the blend

The previous discussion introduces conceptual blending as the analytical method for interpreting the following case studies. For each case study I will first lay out the context (the sections entitled “Background”), followed by the hope narrative that I will analyze using conceptual blending theory. Third will come the blend analysis. Finally, the worldview section will provide a way of verifying the results of the blending analysis.

Each cultural instance (or example) will be analyzed in the following way:

- § state the narrative that constitutes a conceptual blend
- § describe the input spaces, and whether any obvious source – target relationship exists among the input spaces
- § identify the elements that are projected to the conceptual blend
- § identify any cross-space mappings (metonymic links)
- § identify any emergent structure in the blend that is not projected from an input source
- § identify any and all inferences and the space to which they are projected
- § describe the Generic Space

Sweetser’s work on performative behavior, both verbal and nonverbal, is very important to understand how rituals are seen to influence the real world. It can yield crucial insights into why societies use rituals, and serves as a link between the blended space and relevant inferences, and the real world. I will use her ideas in Part 3 to consider

how the conceptual blends in the following case studies are seen to influence the real world.

2.2 Case Studies

2.2.1 Conceptual blend: Animal Apocalypse

2.2.1.1 Background

No one knows who wrote 1 Enoch but, based on internal textual evidence, scholars can approximate the date of authorship at around 164 B.C.E. The internal evidence shows that one of the symbols described is most probably Judas Maccabeus (I explain the reasoning for adopting this metaphor below), because the account describes his success in battle, but not when he was killed fighting against Bacchides, a Seleucid general, in 160 B.C.E. (Josephus, *Ant.*, 12.11.2).¹⁷

The writer of 1 Enoch obviously had a desire to deliver an apocalyptic message, an eschatological hope, which God had given him by special revelation. The writer viewed the Maccabean Revolt as the beginning of the end times. Prior to the revolt, God was not active. After this revolt, God was going to act, and this was to mark the beginning of the last days.

Even though the Qumran community did not write 1 Enoch, we can see, from the fact that the Qumran community kept 1 Enoch in their library, that they approved of something in the book. In some way it gave credence to their beliefs. The Qumran library did not generally contain, based on what archeologists have found in the Qumran caves, literature supporting the viewpoints of dissenting sects; thus, the fact that 1 Enoch was present, suggests that they read and approved of 1 Enoch.

¹⁷ For the year of Judas' death, see (Nickelsburg, 2001:396).

This, coupled with the fact that we see very similar themes in the Qumran sectarian literature (e.g. the Damascus Document and War Scroll), suggests that their beliefs lined up with the themes of 1 Enoch. Such themes in evidence in the Qumran community are an emphasis on apocalypticism (e.g. the War Scroll [1QM 1:1-14]), the strong belief that they were living in the final days (e.g. the Messianic Rule [1QSa 1:1]), that there are the sons of light and the sons of darkness engaged in a constant struggle (dualism) (e.g. Rule of the Community (1QS, 3:13-4:26), that they were the Chosen people since they were the only ones truly following God's law (e.g. Rule of the Community (1QS, 5:7-5:11), that they received knowledge from God (the *raz*, "mystery") via the Teacher of Righteousness which allowed them to follow God's Law perfectly (e.g. Hymn of Thanksgiving, 1QH 10(2):1-19), that they were the saved community (e.g. Hymn of Thanksgiving, 1QH 10(2):13), and experiencing a realized eschatology. To clarify this last point, the Qumran community did not have a need for a doctrine of resurrection; they believed they were already living in a state of exaltation with God and in community with the angels (e.g. Hymn of Thanksgiving, 1QH 11:19-22; 1QH 19:10-14; Community Rule, 1QS 11:5-8). One was immediately in a state of eternal salvation as soon as one joined the Community (Collins, 2000a:336). According to Collins:

The most distinctive feature of the eschatology of Qumran, however, was the idea that the community could attain in the present the fellowship with the angels that was promised to the righteous after death in Daniel and Enoch. For that reason, the scrolls seldom speak of resurrection. The essential transition to eternal life was made within the community itself. All of this was guaranteed by revelation. The mode of revelation, however, was not the vision such as we find in the apocalypses but the

inspired exegesis of Scripture, practiced by the Teacher of Righteousness and his successors. (Collins, 2000b:4)

Thus, the Qumran community had much in common with the subject matter of the Animal Apocalypse, such as looking forward to the final battle, encouraging Jews to a renewed obedience to the Law, and the presence and role of angels.

2.2.1.2 Blend description

Scholars think 1 Enoch was probably written after the Maccabean revolt in 167 B.C.E., and that, as stated above, the ram with one horn refers to Judas Maccabeus. Notice that the ram fights against the various species of birds, divine help comes, and God wins the battle. This would be an exhortation to remain faithful to God, and perhaps not to be afraid to participate in the ongoing revolt in some manner. At this point in time, the revolt was ongoing, and Judas Maccabeus' forces were in the middle of a campaign of guerilla warfare. The Temple was desecrated in 167 B.C.E., but while the Temple was cleansed in 164 B.C.E., there was still much of the territory of Israel to reclaim. It is into this situation that the writer of 1 Enoch speaks. The text containing the conceptual blend is chapter 90 of 1 Enoch, also known as the Animal Apocalypse, and is copied below:¹⁸

¹And I looked until the time that (thirty-seven)¹⁹ shepherds had pastured (the sheep) in the same way, and, each individually, they all completed their time like the first ones; and others received them into their hands to pasture them at their time, each shepherd at his own time. ²And after this I saw in the vision all the birds of heaven coming; the eagles, and the vultures, and the kites, and the ravens; but the eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to peck out their eyes, and to devour their flesh. ³And the sheep cried out because their flesh was

¹⁸ Textual signs Reddish uses, which are found in the following text (Reddish, 1995:17): “()” shows the enclosed material that the author considered wrong or not needed and should be left out; “()” shows the enclosed material the author thought the text required, and therefore added to the text; “< >” shows the enclosed material has been corrected by the author; “...” shows that a bit of the text is missing.

¹⁹ Should read “35.” (Reddish, 1995:Nickelsburg, 2001)

devoured by the birds, and I cried out and lamented in my sleep on account of that shepherd who pastured the sheep. ⁴And I looked until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and by the eagles and by the kites, and they left on them neither flesh nor skin nor sinew until only their bones remained; and their bones fell upon the ground, and the sheep became few. ⁵And I looked until the time that twenty three shepherds had pastured (the sheep); and they completed, each in his time, fifty-eight times. ⁶And small lambs were born from those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes, and to see, and to cry to the sheep. ⁷But the sheep did not cry to them and did not listen to what they said to them, but were extremely deaf, and their eyes were extremely and excessively blinded. ⁸And I saw in the vision how the ravens flew upon those lambs, and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them. ⁹And I looked until horns came up on those lambs, but the ravens cast their horns down; and I looked until a big horn grew on one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened. ¹⁰And it looked at them, and their eyes were opened, and it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it, and they all ran to it. ¹¹And besides all this those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were still continually tearing the sheep in pieces and flying upon them and devouring them; and the sheep were silent, but the rams lamented and cried out. ¹²And those ravens battled and fought with it, and wished to make away with its horn, but they did not prevail against it. ¹³And I looked at them until the shepherds and the eagles and those vultures and kites came and cried to the ravens that they should dash the horn of that ram in pieces; and they fought and battled with it, and it fought with them and cried out that its help might come to it. ¹⁴And I looked until that man who wrote down the names of the shepherds and brought (them) up before the Lord of the sheep came, and he helped that ram and showed it everything, (namely that) its help was coming down. ¹⁵And I looked until that Lord of the sheep came to them in anger, and all those who saw him fled, and they all fell into the shadow before him. ¹⁶All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites gathered together and brought with them all the wild sheep, and they all came together and helped one another in order to dash that horn of the ram in pieces. ¹⁷And I looked at that man who wrote the book at the command of the Lord until he opened that book of the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and he showed before the Lord of the sheep that they had destroyed even more than (those) before them. ¹⁸And I looked until the Lord of the sheep came to them and took in his hand the staff of his anger and struck the earth; and the earth was split, and all the animals and the birds of heaven fell from those sheep and sank in the earth, and it closed over them. ¹⁹And I looked until a big sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep went out against all the wild animals to kill them, and all the animals and the birds of heaven fled before them. ²⁰And I looked until a throne was set up in the

pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat on it; and they took all the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep. ²¹And the Lord called those men, the seven first white ones, and commanded (them) to bring before him the first star which went before those stars whose private parts (were) like the private parts of horses...and they brought them all before him. ²²And he said to that man who wrote before him, who was one of the seven white ones – he said to him, Take those seventy shepherds to whom I handed over the sheep, and who, on their own authority, took and killed more than I commanded them. ²³And behold I saw them all bound, and they all stood before him. ²⁴And the judgement was held first on the stars, and they were judged and found guilty; and they went to the place of damnation, and were thrown into a deep (place), full of fire, burning and full of pillars of fire. ²⁵And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they also were thrown into that abyss of fire. ²⁶And I saw at that time how a similar abyss was opened in the middle of the earth which was full of fire, and they brought those blind sheep, and they were all judged and found guilty and thrown into that abyss of fire, and they burned; and that abyss was on the south of that house. ²⁷And I saw those sheep burning, and their bones were burning. ²⁸And I stood up to look until he folded up that old house, and they removed all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of that house were folded up with it; and they removed it and put it in a place in the south of the land. ²⁹And I looked until the Lord of the sheep brought a new house, larger and higher than that first one, and he set it up on the site of the first one which had been folded up; and all its pillars (were) new, and its ornaments (were) new and larger than (those of) the first one, the old one which he had removed. And the Lord of the sheep (was) in the middle of it. ³⁰And I saw all the sheep which were left, and all the animals on the earth and all the birds of heaven falling down and worshipping those sheep, and entreating them and obeying them in every command. ³¹And after this those three who were dressed in white and had taken hold of me by my hand, the ones who had brought me up at first – they, with the hand of that ram also holding me, took me up and put me down in the middle of those sheep before the judgment was held. ³²And those sheep were all white, and their wool thick and pure. ³³And all those which had been destroyed and scattered and all the wild animals and all the birds of heaven gathered together in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced very much because they were all good and had returned to his house. ³⁴And I looked until they had laid down that sword which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into his house, and it was sealed before the Lord; and all the sheep were enclosed in that house, but it did not hold them. ³⁵And the eyes of all of them were opened, and they saw well, and there was not one among them that did not see. ³⁶And I saw that that house was large and broad and exceptionally full. ³⁷And I saw how a

white bull was born, and its horns (were) big, and all the wild animals and all the birds of heaven were afraid of it and entreated it continually. ³⁸And I looked until all their species were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first one among them was a (wild-ox), and that (wild-ox) was a large animal and had big black horns on its head. And the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over them and over all the bulls. ³⁹And I was asleep in the middle of them; and I woke up and saw everything. ⁴⁰And this is the vision which I saw while I was asleep, and I woke up and blessed the Lord of righteousness and ascribed glory to him. ⁴¹But after this I wept bitterly, and my tears did not stop until I could not endure it: when I looked, they ran down on account of that which I saw, for everything will come to pass and be fulfilled; and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me. ⁴²That night I remembered by first dream, and because of it I wept and was disturbed, because I had seen that vision. (Reddish, 1995:50-53)

2.2.1.3 Blend analysis

The blend that emerges from the text above is complex. The various spaces are diagrammed below.

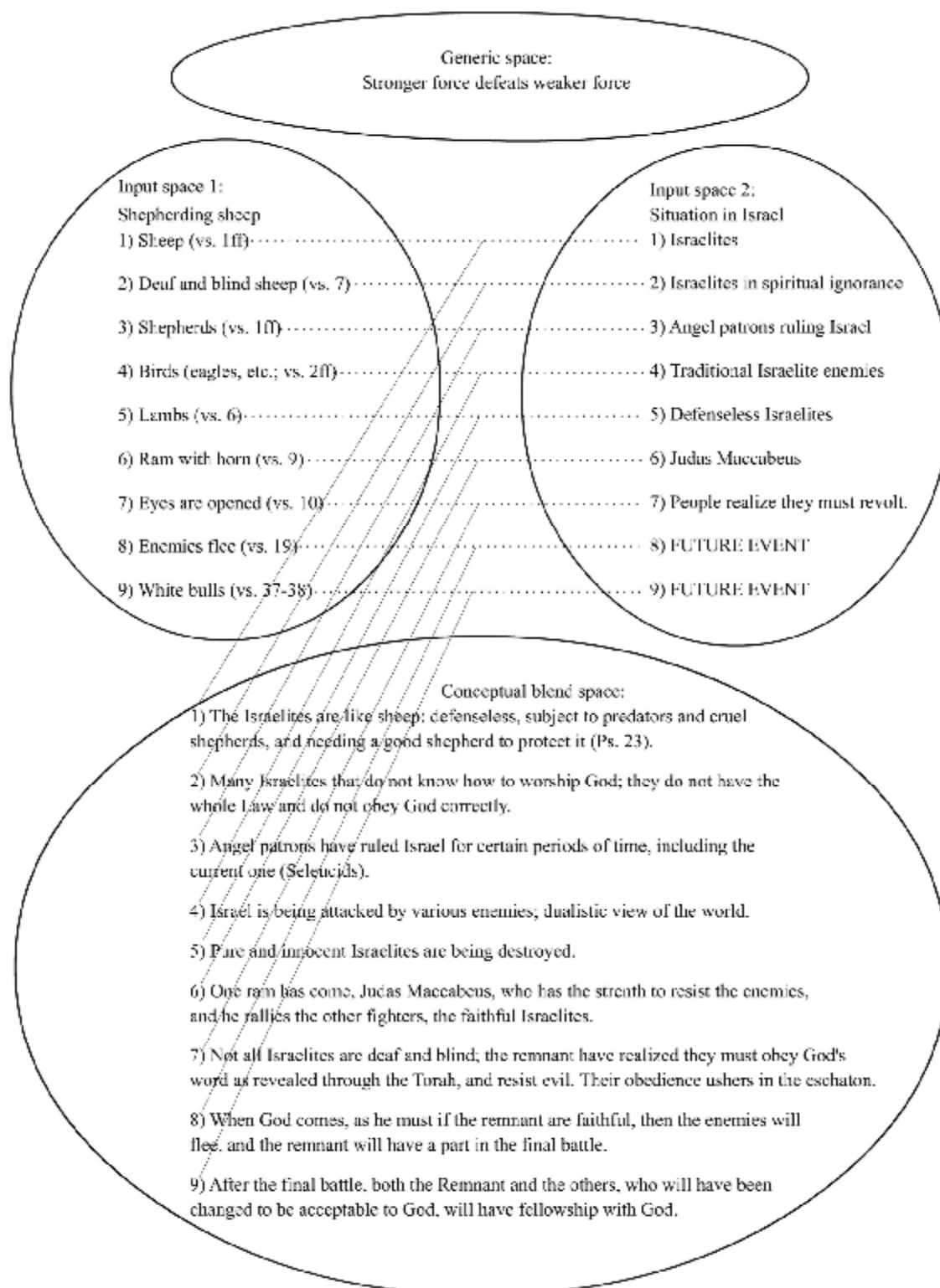


Figure 2: Conceptual blend for 1 Enoch text

This blend seems on the surface to be a simple one. Without the paradigm of conceptual blending, we might just call it a case of metonymy, or a sequence of metonymies. But this doesn't address the various issues that come together in this blend and give it the power to influence peoples' thoughts and behavior. Using the tool of conceptual blending, we can dig deeper and sense how the Qumran community may have perceived this passage, and perhaps why they appreciated it.²⁰ This may be different than how the writers of 1 Enoch understood this passage. Indeed, as we progress through the analysis, it should become clear that the authors of 1 Enoch constructed a different blend than the Qumran community did, but even though the blend was different, it still fit within the Qumran community's eschatological framework.

This blend incorporates many elements that are then woven together to make a unified scenario. In broad strokes, this blend on the surface starts by setting the stage; it describes the actors and their basic, one-dimensional character. For example, the sheep are isolated and closed to communication from anyone (they are extremely deaf and mute), and the ravens are fierce (they tear sheep apart viciously). The narrative proceeds with a progressive set of events that starts with the ravens and other birds being the merciless attackers, under the sanction of the shepherds, who are quick to weaken any potential rivals. But then one sheep rises up and becomes a serious threat to the ravens and their allies. No one can defeat this sheep. But under a renewed enemy assault, the sheep calls for help, and God delivers him and a) makes the birds and shepherds flee, b) causes the ground to swallow them up, c) gives the sheep the power to fight them and be

²⁰ According to Nickelsburg, there were seven manuscripts that attested to different portions of chapters 1-36, 85-90, and 91-107. These were written in Aramaic (Nickelsburg, 2001:9).

victorious, d) judges the birds and shepherds for their evil deeds, and e) restores all creatures to friendship with him.

There are two input spaces that contribute material to the blend. One is the general knowledge surrounding sheep and shepherding. The other space is the actual historical situation of Israel. There is a lot of information in the input spaces that is not recruited to send to the blend. Thus, the diagram above only lists the elements that each input space sends to the blend. Some call the process of recruitment “activation” and if there is an element in an input space that does not play a role in the blend, that element is said to not be activated. For our purposes, only the activated elements are drawn in the diagram above. Once the two input elements are recruited to the Blended Space, various processes start working on them, as discussed above in the literature review section. In this blend, however, one process that is very active is the filter of seeing things through the lens of eschatological expectations. I refer to this as a result of the inputs plus the influence of the process of elaboration. Thus, we don’t need another input space.

The first element to explain in the selected text is sheep. The idea of sheep is transposed primarily from the Shepherding input space. From background knowledge, we know that sheep are defenseless and at the mercy of their enemies. The sheep are matched with Israel from the other input space, yielding in the Blended Space a different kind of sheep, an Israel-sheep.²¹ Why did the authors use the image of sheep to represent Israel? Perhaps it is because there are many references to God comforting and protecting

²¹ The Blended Space does not have to conform to reality, and usually it doesn’t; that is why we call it a virtual world. Sometimes we notice conceptual blends, and we notice them precisely because they are not what we are used to.

Israel as a shepherd comforts and protects his sheep.²² While this concept is not explicitly referred to, it could be part of the background knowledge of the audience. (This idea that God once was Israel's protector and comforter, will become important later on in the blend.) Plainly, the Israel-sheep are at the mercy of the birds of heaven (vs. 2ff) and the delinquent and abusive shepherds (Nickelsburg, 2001:390-391; Nickelsburg, 2005:85).²³ At the end of chapter 90, the shepherds join in the attack on the ram with the horn, indicating they are on the same side as the birds of heaven (vs. 13). The shepherds are discussed more fully below.

The next element to note in the narrative is the physical condition of the sheep; they are very deaf and blind (90:7). In 89:74, someone blinds the sheep (as well as the shepherds), and again in 90:2b we see the birds of heaven peck out their eyes. From the first input space we see the element of physical condition of sheep. From the second input space we have the diversity of Judaistic sects (also called sectarian Judaism) that existed in the Second Temple era, and specifically, when 1 Enoch was written (about 164-161 B.C.E.) (for the dating, see Reddish, 1995:43).²⁴ What could have caused the diversity of sects? At the time when 1 Enoch was written, the Hasmoneans had not yet replaced the Zadokite high priesthood, which was very divisive at that time. Causing divisiveness at this earlier time period were many different ideas about how to relate with the Greek culture and language, and the transfer of the high priesthood to Menelaus, who was not even from the family of Aaron. Some saw these two changes as compromising the purity

²² Cf. Ps. 28:9; 68:7; 74:1; 79:13; 121:4; 1 Kings 22:17; Jer. 13:17; 50:6.

²³ Nickelsburg finds a parallel thought in two OT passages: Ezek. 34 and Zech. 11. While Zech. 11 has a cynical shepherd, he does not actually kill them; he does not stop them from killing each other (Nickelsburg, 2001:391).

²⁴ Nickelsburg posits a slightly earlier date for Chapters 83-90 of 165 BCE (Nickelsburg, 2001:8).

of the Jewish religion, and so the Hasidim arose to oppose the trend towards Hellenization. This group united with Mattathias in the Maccabean revolt (Nickelsburg, 2005:360).

Grabbe notes that Hellenism was a complicated and gradual process. It did not replace the native culture, but was taken up by different groups in different ways. While each person remained loyal to the Jewish faith, there was a range of views on what was proper in a religious sense. Thus, different sects represented different points of view. Furthermore, each sect thought their doctrinal stance was the only correct one, and thus others were not obeying God correctly (Grabbe, 1995:72-73).²⁵ Going back to the input spaces, these two elements map to each other and then blend, creating the Israel-sheep that are deaf and blind. Is the deafness and blindness inflicted from an agent, or is the injury self-inflicted? Obviously others inflict the injuries so their eyes are injured (vs. 2-4). But there is also a sense that the sheep have acted in such a way to make themselves blind when, from the previous chapter, we find that the sheep go astray and their eyes became blind (89:51-54). Later, we find the sheep are silent in the midst of trials (90:11). Does their silence indicate they are not taking part in the battle; that in some sense they are not involved? Perhaps it only follows that if they are deaf and blind, then they are unaware of their predicament.

In any case, in the blend we have the Israel-sheep and they are not able to perceive the world correctly. In a physical sense, they are unenlightened; this represents their spiritual condition also. In a spiritual sense they cannot perceive the correct spiritual

²⁵ Dunn considers the different types of Judaism also, but in the first century BCE, which is later than when scholars think 1 Enoch was written (Dunn, 1995).

path to obey God. The emergent meaning that becomes part of the Israel-sheep blend is that they are blind because they do not realize they must resist evil, and thus do not follow God correctly. Nickelsburg posits that the authors of 1 Enoch felt God showed mankind (meaning specifically the sect of which the authors were members) how to obey him through what Nickelsburg calls “revealed wisdom.” Since the authors of 1 Enoch have this revealed knowledge, by implication, the other sects of Judaism do not have this wisdom, as shown in the narrative with the blind sheep.²⁶ Nickelsburg also says, “They explicitly tie their soteriology to the possession of right knowledge.” (Nickelsburg, 2001:50, 380-381). This means that the members of the other Judaistic sects are sinful and have no way to atone for their sins, and no way for them to come back into a right relationship with God, who then would deliver them from their distress (as promised in Deut. 28). Referring to blindness as a Hebrew metaphor for sin, Nickelsburg notes that, “These metaphors derive from long-standing traditions in the religious vocabulary of Israel and are used here with special nuances.” (Nickelsburg, 2001:380) Interestingly, he also mentions that the Ascension of Isaiah records a Jewish legend that attributed Manasseh’s apostasy to the influence of an evil spirit called Sammael (this name literally means “the god of the blind” or “the blind angel”). There were also two texts of the Gnostic persuasion in which a being with a very similar name, Samael, the god of the blind, is chastised with “You err!” (Nickelsburg, 2001:380-381)

The third group to mention in the narrative text is the shepherds. In the earlier section of 1 Enoch, prior to chapter 90, the Lord acts like the shepherd of the sheep, and

²⁶ Cf. sectarian Judaism in the “Historical situation” section above.

it is in 89:59 that the Lord gives control of the sheep to seventy shepherds. These shepherds are divided into four groups: 12, 23, 23, and 12. The text we have selected mentions thirty-five shepherds²⁷ (vs. 1), 23 shepherds (vs. 5), and 12 shepherds (vs. 17). Verse 5 mentions that 23 shepherds had “pastured the sheep” which “completed, each in his time, fifty-eight times.” From this, we could say that verse 5 notes that the reign of the first two groups (12 + 23) was finished. In vs. 5 we have the third group of shepherds (23) arise, and then in vs. 17 we have mention of the final group of 12 shepherds.

This set of numbers in a symmetric order clearly is symbolic. We obviously get the shepherd element primarily from the first input space. The second input space gives the blend the idea of actual periods when the authors perceive other nations ruled over Israel. Nickelsburg notes several ways to interpret this symbol, and then offers his own solution, with which I agree:

²⁷ According to Reddish, thirty-seven is an error, and it should read thirty-five (Reddish, 1995:50).

Numbers of shepherds	Option A ²⁸ Empires	Option B ²⁹ Empires	Option C ³⁰ Empires	Option D (Nickelsburg) Important events, with angelic patrons for each time period	
12	Assyrian Kingdom	Babylonian Kingdom	Assyrian Kingdom	Event: starting with Manasseh's apostasy (He reigned 696 – 642 B.C.E. ³¹)	84 yrs
23	Babylonian Kingdom	Persian Kingdom	Babylonian Kingdom	Event: return from exile, and rebuilding of the temple.	161 yrs
23	Persian Kingdom	Ptolemaic Kingdom	Ptolemaic Kingdom	Event: rise of Greece as an empire.	161 yrs
12	Macedonian Kingdom	Seleucid Kingdom	Seleucid Kingdom	Event: Maccabean revolt, success of Judas Maccabeus (leading to the writing of the Dream Visions around 163 B.C.E.)	84 yrs
	Time span = 560 years	Time span = 435 years	Time span = 560 years	Time span = 490 years ³²	

Table 1: Meaning of the Seventy Shepherds Metaphor

As you can see, Options A, B and C match the shepherds to different kingdoms that ruled over Israel. It would be easy to understand how one could think, through a metonymic mapping, of an occupying empire as a malignant caretaker. In addition, we do see, in Daniel 2, the idea of using a word picture to illustrate future kingdoms. However, Nickelsburg disagrees with this approach because the numbers of shepherds in each period do not match the duration of each kingdom. He states that there are references in

²⁸ Martin and Hengel, cited in Nickelsburg, 2001:392.

²⁹ Dillman, Charles, and Tiller, cited in Nickelsburg, 2001:392.

³⁰ Collins, 1998:69.

³¹ Unger and Larson, 2005:194.

³² Similar to the time span of Daniel's prophecy in Dan. 9 (Nickelsburg, 2001:392).

the Old Testament to patron angels (cf. Dan. 10-12 and parallel passages), so the shepherds could refer to them. But in addition, there seems to be an emphasis on the number 70, a special number in Old Testament Scripture, referring to time periods (cf. Dan. 9:2, 24; Jer. 25:11, 12). Thus he combines both of these metaphors and says that the shepherds refer to patron angels governing for various time periods, during which important events occurred (Nickelsburg, 2001:391-393; Nickelsburg, 2005:85). So, in the first period, the destruction of Jerusalem occurred; in the second period, the Temple was rebuilt (538-515 B.C.E.); and in the third period, Alexander the Great swept into Palestine (332 B.C.E.). The agreement of the total length of time, 490 years, with Daniel 9, as well as the fact that 7 was a special number, and so adding 70 seven times would be seen as a doubly significant number (and therefore, indicative of being special knowledge revealed by God). (Nickelsburg, 2001:392-393). Stone gives another argument for considering the shepherds as angelic beings: in this allegory we find animals referring to people, and when we find people in the allegory, it is natural to think that they would refer to a more powerful or intelligent being, which points to angels (Stone, 1984:404).³³

The important point to notice is that in the second input space we see that the actual situation of Israel contains an element that there are various rulers that rule over Israel. In the Blended Space, we find that the shepherds and rulers blend and become powerful shepherd-rulers. These shepherd-rulers are, in the first input space, like shepherds that look after the sheep, such as taking the sheep to pasture (vs. 1), but they are also very different, in that they destroy (the Lord allows them to destroy [69:60])

³³ Thank you to Ed Condra for pointing me to this source (personal communication, April 2006).

some sheep, in fact more than they were supposed to destroy (69:61-63; 68-70). In the blend, we have an emergent meaning of the shepherd-rulers as more than human, and less than God, which suggests angels.

In addition, we have the starting and ending of each of the four groups. In 90:9 we have the ram with the horn (symbolizing Judas Maccabeus) arising to fight against the birds and shepherds, and in vs. 17 we have the emergent meaning that this period is the last period of the 70 shepherds. Sometime during this fight, the ram with the horn calls out to the Lord, who descends to earth and helps Judas defeat his enemies. We also see a powerful inference at work: “the end time is nearly upon us, and we see the Lord will soon come; He will not let Judas be defeated!” This inference is projected to another blend, which I will not represent here, but which includes the reader actually going to fight against the enemy; this additional blend would enable the reader to picture themselves as valiant fighters that struggle to bring about a noble purpose.³⁴ In practical terms, this would be a strong encouragement from the authors for the readers to aid Judas against the Seleucids (for a potential recruits to this struggle, see above concerning the rise of the Hasidim). The Hasidim were one group that decided to act in opposition to destructive changes in Israel, and the influence of Hellenism may have been the motive of the authors of 1 Enoch. The Qumran community though was started later, after the sons of Zadok were removed from the high priesthood at the start of the Hasmonean dynasty. When this happened, the “sons of Zadok” left Jerusalem and started the Qumran

³⁴ This is similar to advertisements where the viewer is shown a picture of a person enjoying a delicious drink, and being supremely happy, as shown by their contented expression. In the blend, the viewer replaces the actor or actress with themselves, and thus they will be supremely contented if they too have such a drink. I thank Ken McElhanon for this suggestion (personal communication, May 2006).

community. They felt they could not stay in Jerusalem when the Hasmonean kings were not from the proper lineage; without a Zadokite high priest, temple sacrifices would not be efficacious (Magness, 2003:36-37). This is a case where the blend that the authors created was possibly different than the blend the readers at a later date, such as those in the Qumran community, would have constructed.

Although the blends were different for the authors of 1 Enoch and the Qumran community, they each regarded the blends they constructed in the Blended Space in a way that was both appropriate for their situation (in line with their core values) and that gave credence to the way they thought they should move ahead. For example, the two groups found different things to revolt against, or resist: for the authors of 1 Enoch, Hellenism was the factor that must be resisted and the way to righteousness was to return to the “faithful obedience of the Torah” (Nickelsburg, 2005:87); and for the Qumran community, it was the deeds of the sons of darkness, seen in, for example, corrupt temple practices (e.g. celebrating the feasts on the wrong day, etc.) and illegitimate Hasmonean high priests, that represented the destructive factor to be resisted (e.g. the War Scroll, 1QM 1:1-7). Also, in 1 Enoch, one is saved by what one knows (the righteous have wisdom and are saved) (Nickelsburg, 2001:50), and for the Qumran community, one must have special revelation to know the path to righteousness (e.g. Hymn of Thanksgiving, 1QH 10(2):1-19). It is amazing, and a sign of the complexities of Judaism in the Second century B.C.E., that the Animal Apocalypse both celebrates Judas Maccabeus as a savior and at the same time, the Qumran community was very negative toward the Hasmoneans (Nickelsburg, 2005:86).

The next significant element in the narrative is the birds of heaven (90:1ff). The birds consist of eagles (which led the other birds), vultures, kites, and ravens. These birds come primarily from the first input space and represent traditional enemies of sheep (perhaps primarily sick or young sheep, though eagles would be a bigger threat), but an element also maps over from the second input space: Israel has traditional enemies, e.g. the Babylonians, Seleucids, etc. These two elements come together in the blend and form bird-enemies that are more vicious than real birds and they wreak havoc among the Israel-sheep and the rams, which I discuss below.

Another element from the first input space is lambs. The lamb element is mapped across to the idea of defenseless animals, and including perhaps the connotation of being young and innocent, which is elaborated upon from background knowledge. In the blend, we have the virtual lamb-innocents, which the birds of heaven prey upon. The lamb-innocents have the connotation of helplessness, but they take on an emergent meaning of beings that obey God, since in vs. 6 they are able to open their eyes and see. They serve in contrast to the deaf and blind Israel-sheep, discussed above, which have the emergent meaning of not obeying God.

Furthermore, interestingly, the text “runs the blend” within the blend, that is, even while it shows the main blend diagrammed above, the authors pick one spot to describe the result of the disobedient sheep: they are unable to sense the destruction of their lambs. There is an aspect present that disobedience of the Israel-sheep is seen as contrary to nature, since they are unable to even hear or see their own offspring. This takes on tragic overtones when the birds of heaven attack the lambs, and though the lambs cry out, the

Israel-sheep are oblivious to their cries for help (concerning behavior that goes against nature, cf. Is. 1:1-4).

In the midst of this tragedy, the narrative reveals a ram upon which a horn begins to grow, which the adversaries are unable to defeat (vs. 9). Previous rams have grown horns, but there is something special about this one that causes the eyes of the sheep to be opened.

First we must describe how the ram with the horn appears in the Blended Space, and then we can consider the issue of the sheep opening their eyes. The first input space has the element of sheep growing horns, and this is natural. Horns are not only used for fighting amongst animals, but is an example of apocalyptic imagery and was probably taken from Daniel's vision in Daniel chapter 8.³⁵ In the text, the birds neutralize the threat of these rams with horns by "casting their horns down" (vs. 9). One ram though, is able to grow a horn, which is "big", and by comparison with the lack of the adjective with the other rams, this ram seems to be somehow stronger or more of a threat than the other rams. Turning to the second input space, we need to find the element that would map with this horned ram. In actual Israelite history, the only person to prove a real threat to the Seleucids was Judas Maccabeus, who led the Maccabean revolt after his father, Mattathias, died, and who defeated the Seleucids to a limited degree. Thus, as discussed above, scholars posit that Judas Maccabeus is the ram with the big horn (Nickelsburg, 2001:400).³⁶ In blending terms, we would say that the element of sheep growing horns in

³⁵ Positing an early date for the authorship of Daniel.

³⁶ For historical mention of Judas Maccabeus and his exploits, see 1 Macc 2:42-48 and 7:13; 2 Macc 14:6; and Josephus (Ant. 12.6; 12.7).

the first input space is mapped across to the element of a specific person, Judas Maccabeus, in the second input space. These two elements blend and become Ram-Judas, which is unique among the other animals/people, because he is the only one able to keep his horn. Thus the emergent meaning is that he has a formidable weapon; a weapon with which to threaten his enemies. An emergent meaning arises out of this that because the birds do not “cast down” his horn even though doing so with all the other sheep that grow horns (vs. 9), they are not able to do so, and thus he is the one Israel-sheep that can defeat the bird-enemies. The inference is that since Ram-Judas is a real threat to the bird-enemies, he will be the one to fight against and deliver Israel-sheep from them, he is God’s special instrument to deliver his people from their enemies, and also, he is the one everyone should join and follow into battle.

As Goldstein notes, ever since Isaiah the prophets had foretold that a person would come who would bring about certain of God’s promises to Israel, some of which were: freeing Israel from foreign rulers, establishing a temple at Jerusalem that God would inhabit and that no one would destroy again, setting up a great king of Israel from the family of David, ushering in an eternal era of peace, restoring Israel to greatness among the other nations, etc. According to chapter 90, the things this Ram-Judas does sounds like the things a messiah figure (though the term messiah is not used in the Hebrew Bible) would do: he defeats the evil forces with God’s help, he is the key human figure fighting in the final battle of the age, after which is brought in the permanent time of peace and the reign of the Lord with both Jews and Gentiles. Thus, the events in chapter 90 describe, according to Goldstein, the actions that the people who lived in the

Second century B.C.E. thought God's messiah would bring about (Goldstein, 1987:69-73). Besides symbolic references, there are references to messiah figures in the Qumran sectarian documents, such as the "prophet and messiahs of Aaron and Israel" (1QS 9:2) (Collins, 1995:11). Collins would caution that we should not think of the ram as a messiah figure from the line of David, since the Hasmoneans, being from the line of Levi, would not want to transfer the power to the line of Judah. As he says, "...the apocalypses of the Maccabean era have little interest in the restoration of the Davidic line." (Collins, 1987:99) He says the Daniel 7 figure, "one like a son of man," is not linked explicitly with David or the Davidic line. Also, the Second Temple era literature described various sorts of messiahs (Collins, 1995). Even if not explicitly called the messiah in 1 and 2 Maccabees, we have evidence of the writers' of 1 and 2 Maccabees high esteem for Judas, saying that Judas was a "champion of 'the congregation of the Hasidim' who fought with him.'" (Nickelsburg, 2001:400, quoting 1 Macc. 2:42-48; 7:13; and 2 Macc. 14:6)³⁷

However, when Ram-Judas grows his horn, the next event in the storyline is not a battle, but more importantly, that the sheep's eyes are opened. There seems to be an implicit link (perhaps causal) between the two, as if when Ram-Judas appeared and made his presence known to the Israel-sheep (vs. 10 – "it looked at them"), then they realized that they were not following God completely or in the right way, and they repented. They also realized, by looking at Ram-Judas, that God favored him and would be God's

³⁷ As Aune et al explain, there were two main sorts of messiahs that people expected: restorative (a messiah from the line of David) and utopian (a messiah from any line, but with the emphasis on the sort of perfect state that would result) (Aune et al., 2000:49-50).

instrument to bring about the end times, since the rams ran to him when he called to them (vs. 10).

So in blending terms, from the first input space, we again have the physical condition of sheep, and in the second input space, we have the sheep that realize they must resist evil. Nickelsburg says, “The opening of the lambs’ eyes indicates a reversal of the blindness that has characterized the nation since the time of Manasseh (89:54, 74), and it portends the removal of the Gentile oppression that began before the destruction of Jerusalem and continued after the return, when Israel continued to be blinded and to stray.” (Nickelsburg, 2001:398) So, in the Blended Space we have the Israel-sheep that can see. From our discussion of blindness above, we know that blindness is a metaphor for spiritual blindness, or not following God correctly. But, now, in the text, the sheep’s eyes are opened, indicating that they realize they must take a stand against evil. This has a performative sense, because when the Israel-sheep open their eyes, and the Israel-sheep run to join with the Ram-Judas, we find the adversaries are not able to defeat them (vs. 12). Also, after hundreds of years of Israel not feeling God’s supernatural help in their oppression, because Ram-Judas and the Israel-sheep have open eyes, when Ram-Judas cries out for help (presumably to a powerful agent outside of the current situation, which implies the Lord), then the Lord answered his prayer (vs. 14-15). This emergent meaning in the blend is that the Lord hears Ram-Judas and his group’s cry because their eyes are opened; they are his true followers. After centuries of sinning and being under God’s wrath,³⁸ God will answer their prayers and fight for them.³⁹

³⁸ Cf. Deut. 28; 1 Ki. 9:6; Jer. 7:27; 11:14.

There are two final blends we will consider; there are many more blends in the Animal Apocalypse we don't have space to describe. These final two blends are similar in that they do not have actual counterparts in the second input space. For example, one is in the end times when the adversaries flee (vs. 19), and the second is when the white bulls emerge (vs. 37-38). These two elements have representatives in the first input space, that is, fleeing is what happens when the shepherd sees a predator advancing on the sheep and he drives it away, and there such a thing as white bulls in a field (though this is outside the strict realm of shepherding sheep, we still have continuity because there is still a pastoral/farming motif). But, the nature of *ex eventu* prophecy is that the authors, who first claims to be a famous person in the Old Testament, claim to be writing very early in the past, and he actually describes recent events. Thus, his prophecy appears to be accurate and truly a revelation from God. Then, when he describes events that are truly future time for him, the reader will be inclined to also accept the truth of this future description too.

However, we can still posit counterparts to the fleeing adversaries and the white bulls and locate them in the second input space, because according to the minds of the readers, these events are as good as fulfilled, since they have seen the *ex eventu* prophecy fulfilled. (Thus, we could amend the title of the second input space to “perceived situation in Israel,” or similar.)

To explain these last two blends, we have the first element (from the first input space) of predators fleeing before the shepherd, with what is prophesied will happen to

³⁹ Cf. Deut. 20:3; 30:1-10; Zec. 13:9; 14:3-11.

the traditional enemies of Israel, to get the blend of “vanquished enemies.” From the second element of white bulls standing in a field, we map across to the prophesied situation where God’s enemies will become his friends, and we have the blended element of “white bulls are Gods’ friends.” The white bull element links back to the first time it was introduced in 1 Enoch 85:3, when the first people are referred to as bulls or heifers, and white represents purity and black represents impurity (Nickelsburg, 2001:370-371). Thus this figure means that the end will be like the beginning; the world will return to this earlier, harmonious and innocent state (Nickelsburg, 2001:407).

A worldview that is implicit in this text (and in the sectarian documents at Qumran) is the dual nature of the cosmos, specifically in terms of the battle between two sides: the rams, Ram-Judas, Israel-sheep, the Lord, vs. the shepherds, the birds, and the wild sheep (mentioned in vs. 16 and a blended element representing the Jews who did not accept the special revelation and did not join in the battle on the side of true Israel). There also is an emergent meaning that the wild sheep had fully accepted Hellenistic influences, since this was probably what the authors of 1 Enoch were urging their readers to actively resist. Thus, an inference that emerges is that even though someone might think he or she can bide their time and things will get better, in reality, there is no middle of the road position; one is either for or against God.

In all these blends we find that not all the possible elements in either input space are recruited to form part of the blend. We find that optimality principles are at work to try to recruit only those elements that will insure the success of the blend. That is why we

had to posit the existence of the prophesied elements in the second input space, since if they did not exist, there would be nothing to map across to the first input space.

The Generic Space would be an extraction of the input spaces and the Blended Space, that is something that captures the essence of both input spaces, such as “stronger force defeats weaker force.”

2.2.1.4 Worldview verification

The inferences in the blend described above are ones that most Second Temple Era scholars would agree fit within the scope of the worldview as seen in the Enochic material. But there is another way of verifying the validity of this blend: by comparing the blend and associated inferences with behavior and beliefs of a group that read and valued the Enochic material, and yet were not the authors, such as the Qumran community. Below I outline various fundamental beliefs the Qumran community embraced, as shown by their sectarian literature, which resemble similar conceptual structures in the Qumran community. There are various researchers who have outlined this information, but I will use the summary by Vermes. Although Vermes does not call these points axioms, that seems to be the best term to describe them.⁴⁰

2.2.1.4.1 *The Covenant*

The first axiom concerns the importance of the idea of the covenant that existed between an all-powerful God and his chosen people, the Jews. The Bible lists various

⁴⁰ According Webster's New World Dictionary, the definition of “Axiom” includes: “a) a statement universally accepted as true; ... b) a self evident truth.” Though Vermes does not use the term “axioms,” I have applied this label since a) these principles are seen as foundational to the Qumran community's religious beliefs, and b) just as an axiom is used to derive other rules for living, these rules could be used to derive other rules for living. Vermes is hesitant to attempt his codification of beliefs, saying that other scholars have attempted to analyze the Qumran community in terms of its relation theologically to other Jewish sects, but this has been a difficult task because the Jewish writers themselves did not set out a logically ordered outline of theology; in his words, “...the systematic exposition of beliefs and customs is not a traditional Jewish discipline.” (Vermes, 1987:37)

occasions when God entered into a covenant with specific individuals (e.g. Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses). These covenants held blessing for Israel if they kept their end of the covenant (i.e. were faithful in obedience), and punishment if they broke their part of the covenant (i.e. were unfaithful). Vermes describes the cycle of sin, oppression, and repentance and rededication that occurred in the times of Joshua, King David, King Josiah, and Ezra the Priest. He notes that during the 6th C. B.C.E., after the second exile, the idea of the Jewish people as a group being in covenant with Jehovah began to change to emphasize the importance of individual spiritual transformation and obedience (Vermes, 1987:37).⁴¹

Vermes claims that it was this same theology concerning the new covenant that the Qumran community held as one of their foundational beliefs. Similar to other sects of Judaism at that time, the Qumran group felt they were the only ones with the right interpretation of the Torah, leading to right obedience. God had sent them the Teacher of Righteousness to establish a new covenant with them. They felt that God had chosen them as a remnant out of Israel, and that the time was near for God to judge the wicked, and they must obey him as they were taught by the Teacher of Righteousness (Vermes, 1987:38).

The Qumran community held to the authority of the Torah (as interpreted by the community's wise men), the oral law transmitted by the Prophets (who also had knowledge regarding eschatology), and correct interpretation of both the Torah and the writings of the Prophets by the Teacher of Righteousness. The Teacher of Righteousness

⁴¹ Cf. Jeremiah 31:31-33 and Isaiah 54:13.

was not only wise enough to interpret the Torah correctly, but he possessed a God-given gift to reveal hidden information that others would never discern. He was able to link the hidden information in Scripture with the Remnant (e.g. the Habakkuk peshet). Thus, the Teacher of Righteousness was able to locate the Qumran community in an eschatological point in history as the Remnant. Vermes goes on to posit that because of the “infallible teaching of the Teacher of Righteousness,” the Qumran community felt they were “living in the true city of God, the city of the Covenant built on the Law and the Prophets (cf. CD vii, 13-18).” (Vermes, 1987:40)

Thus, this provides verification of the blend above, since we see that this idea of a special relationship being established between God and a certain subset of the Israelites is present in the blend we have described, as is the idea that one must have one’s eyes opened in order to join this remnant. As we have discussed above, the nature of the threat to be combated was different for the Enochic authors and the Qumran community, as was the nature of the revelation.

2.2.1.4.2 Election and holy life in the Community of the Covenant

The Qumran community seemed to believe that, unlike the doctrines of other Jewish sects and Israel in the Second Temple Period time, a person was not born into the Covenant through birth to Jewish parents and circumcision. Instead, each person had to make his or her own profession of faith as part of a period of initiation. Those Israelites who had not made this profession of faith and joined the Qumran community were not rejected from God’s promised salvation, but they would feel great guilt and would not be part of the “congregation of the sons of God.” (Vermes, 1987:42)

They also believed in the role of grace, namely, that God works in a person's circumstances to lead him or her to find the right way to live before God. Thus, even foreigners had become Jews, and this was due to God calling them to himself. Those who he did not call were destined to eternal misery and torment (Vermes, 1987:42-43).

Through God's call and an individual's correct response, the person would live in the community and study Torah. They would faithfully carry out the correct way to obey God to the best of their ability.

When we look at the blend, we find that it also contains this element, in that the sheep realize they must do something to resist evil, but their eyes were opened only when the Ram-Judas looked at them, indicating that God's grace intervened to show them their disobedience to God (vs. 10). After their eyes were opened, the faithful rams ran to the Ram-Judas and joined him in the fight, showing that after joining God's elect, one must join in the fight against God's enemies (vs. 10-11).

2.2.1.4.3 Worship in the Community of the Covenant

Worship in the Qumran community was very important, since it was technically performed on earth but in reality, was carried out in the presence of the angels and in the final age. Worship meant studying the sacred writings so that one could live a holy and pure life, and performing the right feasts on the right days of the year (such as festivals) and week (such as the Sabbath), and also at the right times of the day. The Community Rule states that the group should not, "...depart from any command of God concerning their times; they shall be neither early nor late for any of their appointed times, they shall stray neither to right nor to left of any of His true precepts." (1QS I, 13-15) The daily

prayer times, at sunrise and sunset, were performed at exactly the same times as the Temple sacrifices, and were meant to coincide with and replace them. (Vermes, 1987:46)

Concerning the Temple, the Qumran community felt that the temple in Jerusalem and the temple sacrifices were not legitimate, and refused to participate in them. In fact, they submitted that the only true temple was at Qumran, where although animals were not sacrificed, the prayers of the Qumran community were offered to him (1QS VIII, 8-9; IX, 4-5). According to Vermes, “The Community itself was to be the sacrifice offered to God in atonement for Israel’s sins (1QS VIII, 4-5).” (Vermes, 1987:50)

Likewise, in the blend, we see that the rams were involved to sacrifice their whole lives. Here too though, the blend would signify different things to the writers of 1 Enoch and the Qumran community. The writers of 1 Enoch would think the sacrifice meant resisting the evil of Hellenism through fighting on the side of Judas Maccabeus; the Qumran community thought they were to carry out the temple practices in their own temple at Qumran and in the right way, pray to God, and study the Torah, and in the final battle, take up arms on the side of God and his angels. But, both groups, the Maccabees and the Community, would endorse a wholehearted devotion of their lives.

2.2.1.4.4 Future expectations in the Community of the Covenant

At the time the Qumran community was functioning, the Jews outside it were waiting expectantly for God’s miraculous intervention and judgment of their oppressors. The Qumran community also was waiting expectantly, and wrote down their expectations in the scrolls, like the War Rule.⁴² They were looking forward to a final battle, and then

⁴² Reddish and Nickelsburg refer to the scroll designated 1QM as the War Scroll, and Vermes calls it the War Rule. Elsewhere in this paper, when not directly discussing Vermes’ interpretation, I call it the War Scroll.

the transformation of the world. Sometimes we are not able to understand the nature of the worldview, because the worldview was different and some of the connections elude us, and also because of the decay of the scrolls and problems with copying (e.g. gaps in the text) (Vermes, 1987:52).

Clearly part of this incredible sense of looking forward to the future was that they were currently experiencing life with God and were actually with the angels worshipping him. As mentioned above in the background section, one outgrowth of this concept was that since the Qumran community believed they were living in the period of their eternal salvation, they had no need for a doctrine of resurrection.

Another part of the duty of the remnant was to fight against the enemies of God, and thus an important aspect of the Qumran view of the Last Days was the understanding that those in the Qumran community would be the ones to engage the forces of evil in battle. They would be the ones to fight against the sons of darkness. In this battle, the sons of light would be joined by the angels and the “Prince of the Congregation” would lead the good human forces, and would be aided by God and the archangel Michael (called the Prince of Light), whereas the sons of darkness, Israel’s enemies plus the apostate Jews, would be assisted by Satan and the fallen angels. Although the humans would be evenly matched, when God joined the battle on the side of good, he would overthrow the evil forces (Vermes, 1987:52-53). The Community saw the battle as a concrete event, as seen in the detailed descriptions written in the War Rule concerning the specific prayers, battle formations, and weapons that will be used, and there are other examples as well (1QM X-XIII; V-VI).

In the blend, we also find evidence that the battle was to be a military battle, seen throughout the blend, in the various birds that destroy the sheep and lambs, and then in the battle between the sons of light and the sons of darkness. The forces of darkness would attack the sheep and the Ram-Judas, the Ram-Judas and the other rams with him would fight against them. Thus, this expectation of a final, cosmic battle is present in the Qumran sectarian literature is also reflected in the blend we have described above.

From these four axioms, we have pointed out different aspects of the Qumran community's worldview that serve to verify that the blend is accurate. We have noted specific instances though, where the way that the Qumran community would have interpreted the Animal Apocalypse (that is, the way they would have run the blend) is different from the way the authors of 1 Enoch were thinking of the text. This illustrates a fascinating aspect of conceptual blending, namely, how different people can see the same set of facts but, based on different input elements and relationships between them, come up with a different blend that then leads to different inferences.

2.2.2 Conceptual blend: Camera blend

2.2.2.1 Background

Cargo cults have remarkable “staying power.” Lawrence reported that the first of his five “cargo beliefs” began in 1871 (Lawrence, 1964:xi). In 1985, Gesch reported the hope narrative we will look at below. Nevertheless, despite the passage of time, the validation myths for different cargo cult movements endure. I point to the Letub cult of Madang and Morobe provinces, which one prominent Lutheran national leader told me was something I should not mention if I wanted to make sure people did not misunderstand me. He said I should not even mention it, in case the people thought I

actually supported it, speculated that I knew about it because I used it in my own personal life, or in some sense tacitly supported it. The other myth that has strong staying power in Madang is the Manup – Kilibob legend. I have avoided mentioning both stories.

On the other hand, I have enquired at length into rituals done by people in the village that strongly resemble cargo cult practices. My informants, unfortunately for the purpose of gathering information about them but fortunately because they are perhaps not so influenced by the practices, do not participate in the rituals and so do not know much about them. However, one man told me that at least until 20 years ago, people in the village were practicing the type of table ritual described by Lawrence in 1964.⁴³ This involved setting up tables in sacred places with cloth over the top, flowers, food, and laying out tobacco on top, as a gift to the dead ancestors. It is described further below.

2.2.2.2 Blend description

Here is the hope narrative we will look at, as reported by Gesch⁴⁴:

Gesch reported that he was approached by an old man, "weeping wretchedly for the loss of his thirteen year old daughter. He asked me to dream of his daughter, take a photograph of what I saw, so that he could ask her in the photo, who had worked sorcery on her" (1985:51). (McElhanon, 1989:9)

2.2.2.3 Blend analysis

This short blend is a trigger for cognitive connections between all sorts of information. The structure of this blend is different than the previous blend in the following ways:

⁴³ The mechanisms I describe come from Lawrence's description of the table ritual (Lawrence, 1964:194).

⁴⁴ Although the term "hope narrative" seems to not fit this text, I use it here because this narrative is representative of a cargoism ideology that looks for a future fulfillment, that is, a time when the cargo will come, with all the attendant meanings that incorporates.

- Input Space #2, “White peoples’ world, from P.N.G. point of view,” is a projected space. That is, it is not an independent reality, but it is what the Papua New Guineans think the white peoples’ world is like. This is an important point, which renders the resultant blend even more fantastic to western minds, since we are seeing elements that refer to what should be, to us, a familiar western space, and yet it isn’t.
- The fact that Input Space #2 is a projection of what a Papua New Guinean person thinks a white person must be thinking is also a blend. This paper will not unpack this blend in Input Space #2, but it would be a fascinating topic.
- Contrary to the 1 Enoch text, this blend is not laid out in a chronological fashion, with a storyline that moves from one event to the next. This blend gets much of its content from background knowledge from the Papua New Guinean context; that is, when the blend is run in the minds of Papua New Guineans, it recruits or activates information that they have stored in their minds.
- The 1 Enoch blend is the simplest type of blend, called a simplex conceptual blend (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002:120). There are three other types: mirror networks, single scope, and double scope (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002:122-135). I will consider the type of

blend this camera narrative represents later, after we have had a chance to work through the blend itself.

The camera narrative involves a complex conceptual blend, with the Generic Space, input spaces, and Blended Space as diagrammed below:

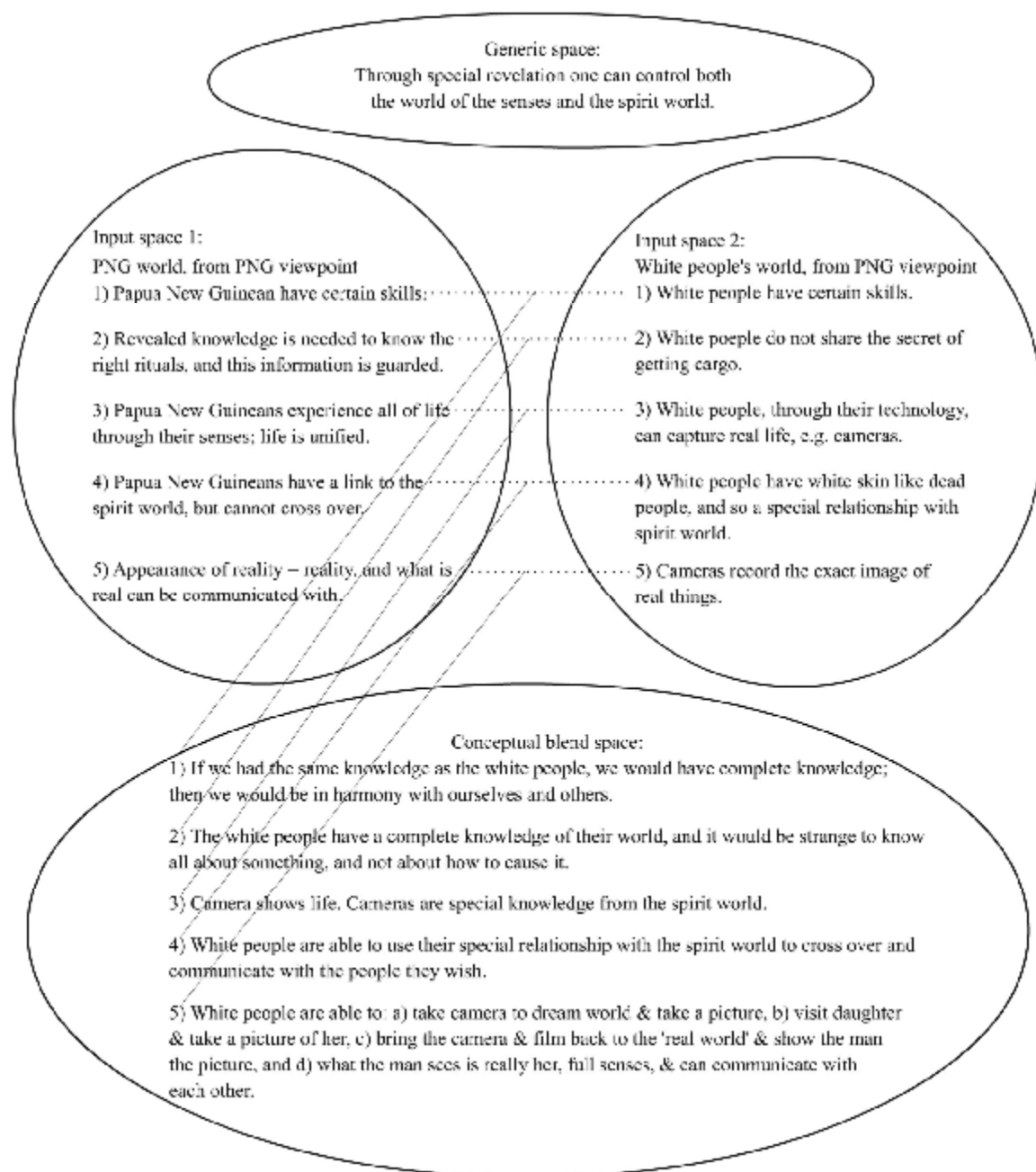


Figure 3: Conceptual blend in Camera text

The above conceptual integration network outlines a huge amount of information. The input spaces both have a similar first element: concerning the skills that Papua New Guineans and white people each had (at the time when this man voiced this narrative). The skills that each group had were seen to be very different, and this was rooted in a validating myth: the story of two brothers, Manup and Kilibob. This legend has several formulations, and one was that Manup and Kilibob were deities, created by the creator god, Anut. The two brothers quarreled over an incident involving Kilibob's wife (or Manup's wife, according to another formulation), which led to both brothers leaving: Kilibob went north in a canoe, and Manup went south in a big ship that Anut had made for him. In the Fourth Cargo Movement, the story has it that Manup had Papua New Guineans aboard his ship, and at various points he would stop the ship and ask one whether he wanted to go ashore with bows and arrows and canoes, or a rifle and dinghy (meaning the knowledge of traditional way of life vs. a western way of life). Every Papua New Guinean chose the former, and when Manup came to Australia no more Papua New Guineans were aboard. So Manup gave the ship and all the rifles and dinghies to the people living there (Lawrence, 1964:21-22; 93). The story goes on, but that is enough for explaining the first element.

Thus, this element in the Input Space #1 refers to the skills that Manup gave to Papua New Guineans: the knowledge to live in their traditional ways, e.g. growing crops in their gardens, using bows and arrows, building traditional style houses, and so on. The Papua New Guineans look at the things they see the white people doing, and they are amazed. They see how different their skills are in comparison, and they want both. By

blending the two skills, we have a blended element where a person is complete and fulfilled. He or she has black skin, knows how to grow gardens, use traditional magic and sorcery to cause someone to love another or kill someone, and other skills needed to live in rural P.N.G. In addition, they have the knowledge or characteristics to live in the white peoples' world: their lives are orderly and nothing is done out of order, they have white skin, and they know the secret of acquiring cargo. An important aspect of having complete knowledge, which is emergent structure in the blend, is that if one has complete knowledge (i.e. both the common and secret knowledge), he or she will use that knowledge to enhance life. The main way to enhance life is to live in balance with others, that is, in harmony with others. No one will take advantage of you, and you will likewise live at peace with them. As we will see later, living at harmony is an important Papua New Guinean worldview tenet, and is vital to the survival of the clan and family group. Another emergent meaning is that just as the success of garden growth rituals depend on doing them correctly, then if Papua New Guineans learn and apply the secret of getting cargo, they too will get the cargo⁴⁵. An inference is that since it is so important to have complete knowledge, Papua New Guineans must try to find the secret; they seek the special revelation of how to acquire cargo.

The second element concerns the compartmentalization of knowledge, and how it is used to benefit the clan or family group. Under Input Space #1 we have the importance of guarding the knowledge of various rituals Papua New Guineans perform to make their

⁴⁵ As Lawrence noted, when Papua New Guineans carry out rituals to cause a change in the world, they are performing the same actions as western scientists, who manipulate certain things to try to bring about the right effect. If the attempt is unsuccessful, then the method has to be changed and tried again.

gardens grow well, bring about good success in hunting or fishing, etc. If everyone had this knowledge, then one's enemies would have success hunting also, and would be more of a threat. Therefore, information is guarded closely and disclosed only to help the clan. The corresponding element in Input Space #2 is that the white people never state the secret of getting cargo. These two elements blend together to make the blend that there is a secret of getting cargo, but the white people do not reveal it because they do not want to benefit their enemies. An emergent meaning that we see coming out of this is that the white people have been very diligent to conceal the Secret so well; the Secret must be very valuable. An inference from this is that one should always make sure they appear to be a friend of the white people, and that over time, perhaps the secret will be disclosed. Another inference is that just as Papua New Guineans will learn a new skill by watching and then imitating, they can find out the secret of cargo by watching and imitating the white peoples' behavior.⁴⁶ Another aspect of background knowledge concerning rituals, if skills are passed on by observing and imitating, then there is no need to understand what is going on in the scientific sense – it is enough that the ritual works. Another inference is that if a certain behavior does not produce the desired result, then the ritual was not done correctly; it does not prove that there is not a ritual to get cargo.

The third element in Input Space #1 is Papua New Guineans experience life through their senses, and what they sense is real. Therefore, dreams too are real, since we are seeing a perfect likeness of someone or something in our dreams. And, when we

⁴⁶ There are many eyewitness accounts of cargo cult activity, such as men clearing jungle so that cargo-bearing planes could land. Thus, this brings in the performative aspect of conceptual blending, since the people believe that if they perform the actions in the right way, success will be achieved.

dream about someone that has died, we must be actually transported, in our dream, to the place of the ancestors, and we are actually talking with the dead person, thus, the living and the ancestors are unified. The corresponding element in Input Space #2 is that white people have the special knowledge, gained through having the secret, of how to make and use cameras and radios, which are capable of capturing an image of a person or a voice of a person. The blend comes out of these elements that the image in the picture is really that person; it is their image-essence. Perception is reality. This should be differentiated from just a picture of them taken at a past moment in time. The knowledge of cameras is revealed from the ancestors, and it allows the user to put some of that person in the camera. It shouldn't be surprising that these white people, looking so different with their white skins, and having the special secret of how to get cargo,⁴⁷ would have access to technology from the spirit world.

The fourth element concerns man's relationship with the spirit world. While Papua New Guineans in Input Space #1 are able to interact with the spirit world and thus the unification of spirit and human worlds, their dreams take them to places they had not planned on and they see things they did not plan on seeing. Thus, their dreams are unpredictable. However, white people have a special relationship with the ancestors, and so perhaps have special benefits. Some Papua New Guineans, on first contact, even thought the white people were actually their ancestors come back from the dead. The

⁴⁷ Another link between white people and the spirit world is that in the Manup-Kilibob myth, Manup ended up in Australia, and various formulations of the legend posit that Manup then thought about all the people in P.N.G. that were left with only a basic level of knowledge, and he tried to return to help them more, but the white people in Australia prevented him from returning (Lawrence, 1964:93-94).

blend is that white people are able to go to the spirit world whenever they wish, and talk with anyone they wish to talk with.

The last element in Input Space #1 is that Papua New Guineans are able to communicate with people in their dreams. This leads to the concept that if the person looks real, he or she is real, and they can communicate with him or her. The corresponding element in Input Space #2 is that a camera records the exact image of the subject, and the subject appears lifelike. The blend then is that since white people have the secret of cameras from the spirit world, and white people have a special relationship with the spirit world and can visit it at their discretion, then it is plausible that:

1. they can take a camera to the dream world and take a picture of someone,⁴⁸
2. visit the dead daughter and take a picture of her,
3. bring the camera back and show the man the picture, and
4. the man will be able to see her, and communicate with her real image-essence.⁴⁹

I think when this old man came to Gesch and asked him to do this thing for him, he didn't think he was out of line, or was asking something that he thought Gesch couldn't do. Obviously to this man, his request was a logical outgrowth of the blend he had constructed in his mind. The input spaces are broken down above, with all elements

⁴⁸ McElhanon relates cases from two other areas of P.N.G. (Lakanai Language in West New Britain as related by Ray Johnston, and Timbe language bordering Selepet as related by Mick Foster) where "dreams were acceptable as evidence in court cases. In both instances the defendants were found not guilty because they had a dream. The 'reality' of dreams is an important component." (McElhanon, personal communication, March 2006)

⁴⁹ McElhanon notes, "In Selepet the word *umut* is used for 'shadow, soul, picture.'" Thus, the Selepet people see a similarity between the three, which allows the father to speak to the daughter, like when one speaks to people in dreams. McElhanon also says that "dreams affect our lives; otherwise they would not serve a suitable evidence in courts and trials." (McElhanon, personal communication, March 2006)

mapped between them. Let's look at the paraphrased blend below, which I reworded to bring out background knowledge.

Some Papua New Guineans know how to do the right rituals to do sorcery or make the gardens grow well, and when a young, healthy person dies it is the act of someone who did sorcery on that person. In P.N.G., there is no idea of an accidental death; something always causes something else to happen. When a person is killed with sorcery, no one knows who did it, except the dead person, who learns this information through being part of the spirit world. Also, the dead person is angry at the person who killed them, and wants revenge. To get revenge, one has to know the identity of the sorcerer; one could ask the sorcerer to "step forward," but that is not likely to happen. One way to find out the person's identity was to ask another person with power in the spirit world to divinate their identity. The other way was to use the white man's technology to get the information he needs. This is possible because the white man dreams of the spirit world, just like the Papua New Guinean man does, but the white man has a special link to the spirit world, and can make himself dream of whatever he wants to. He can dream of this old man's daughter, and talk with her just like the Papua New Guinean man's soul talks to the people he meets in his dreams. Not only that, but he can use his technology to get the image-essence of the daughter, so the old man can talk with her himself. Cameras work in the spirit world, since that is where they came from in the first place, and they work in the physical world too, as the old man has probably witnessed.⁵⁰ The image-essence of the girl will be able to speak with the old man and tell him who killed her. It is then up to the old man to take revenge.

This conceptual integration network is not the simplex type, like that for 1 Enoch, since both input spaces lend information to the blend. Input Space #1 still contributes the organizing frame, since even Input Space #2 is really a projection of what Papua New Guineans think white people believe. Perhaps it could be classified as a double-scope

⁵⁰ McElhanon recounts another example of the intersection of western technology with Papua New Guinean from village when one day he happened to take a picture of a solar eclipse with his camera, loaded with black and white film, and right after, he took a picture of various men in the village. The result, from the brightness of the solar eclipse, was to show the men with bright spots of light in each forehead (since each man was centered in the same general area on the film). This caused quite a stir since the Selepet word for spirit of dead people is "eye of the light"; for these men, they were seeing them just at the moment their spirits were leaving their bodies! (McElhanon, personal communication, April 2006)

network. The Generic Space would be, “Through special revelation one can control both the world of the senses and the spirit world.”

2.2.2.4 Worldview verification

While I used Vermes’ discussion of important aspects of Qumran ideology, I will here use McElhanon’s work on Melanesian worldview, which is somewhat different in form (McElhanon lays out propositions of belief, and Vermes used prose) though not in content. In discussing worldview, it is helpful to consider the definitions of the sorts of propositions one can have about the world. McElhanon, in his worldview analysis, defines an axiom as a proposition that is accepted as true without debate and a theorem as a proposition that is deducible from an axiom and which are not “self-evident” and can be proved or disproved (McElhanon, 1989:5).

Worldview tenet: McElhanon writes that one axiom of the Papua New Guinean worldview is: “The cosmos is unitary; i.e., all forms of life share life together at a single level of existence.” Based on this axiom, we can see several theorems. The theorem important for our discussion here is: “Given that the cosmos is unitary and that all life shares a single level of existence, therefore, there is no distinction between the miraculous and the nonmiraculous.” (McElhanon, 1989:8)

Application/comparison: Thus, instead of two planes of existence as western philosophy assumes, the Papua New Guineans believe in a single plane. This explains much of their ideas about being able to interact with the spirit world and yet not be spirits, and also about how white people can use their technology (given by the ancestors)

to store the image-essence of a dead person's soul, in a way that living people can interact with it.

Worldview tenet: Staying with this axiom that the cosmos is unitary, another theorem is: "given that the cosmos is unitary and that all life shares a single level of existence, therefore, there is no distinction between rituals and other activities." For Lawrence, Papua New Guineans see religion as a technology because when they did certain rituals the right way, certain things would result, e.g. their gardens would grow well, sick people would get well, etc. They felt that when they did certain things, in a certain special way, the spirits would act on their behalf, in a beneficial way. Even in the case of sorcery, there was someone who benefited, namely, the one who used sorcery first (Lawrence, as cited in McElhanon, 1989:8). McElhanon posits, "...there is no distinction between rituals and techniques. Both are manipulations, products of empirical research which establish a cause-effect relationship and which can be expected to be replicated each time the techniques are followed correctly." (McElhanon, 1989:8)

Application/comparison: Thus, in the blend, we see that it would be natural for the man to think that Gesch would be able to take his technology into the dream world, since there is no difference between using his camera in the dream world and using it in the world of our senses.

Worldview tenet: Another important axiom is “The quality of personhood does not end at death.” Under this axiom is the theorem “If the quality of personhood does not end at death, then the deceased remain part of the community.”⁵¹ (McElhanon, 1989:18)

Application/comparison: If people do not cease to exist, then the old man’s request to find his dead daughter makes sense, as well as his concern to fulfill his obligation to her to find her killer. If the daughter no longer existed, then there would be no sense in asking to find her. And if she existed but had been elevated to a higher plane and no longer was concerned with her past life on earth, then she would not bother to talk to the old man, or volunteer information that would identify her killer.

Worldview tenet: A third vital link between the conceptual blend and an emic, worldview analysis is the axiom “Knowledge is finite and closed.” The associated theorem is: “Since humans are passive, they are only recipients of existing knowledge by disclosure, either through a) sharing by other humans, b) revelation by supra-human beings, or c) chance recognition of cause-effect relations.” McElhanon (and Lawrence) argue that the only knowledge that Papua New Guineans acknowledge is that given by the deities. This means that the gods have given people all they need to survive in the world, provide for their families, and protect themselves from evil spirit forces. (McElhanon, 1989:19-20)

⁵¹ McElhanon writes, “When a Selepet person dies, the survivors bury the named person, not a body. There is no word in the language which can be glossed as ‘body’ [corpse]. When a man died he would be buried underneath the house, usually sitting in a vertical position, with the top of his head exposed above the ground level. This was to facilitate the living in communicating with him. His son could go down and pat the top of the head and ask him how he was doing, if everything was going well, and whether or not he was taking good care of the family.” (McElhanon, 1989:18) Franklin notes that the deceased remain a part of the community for a period of time; the deceased have a “diminishing personhood.” (Franklin, personal communication, May 2006)

Application/comparison: The old man is not interested in finding out if there was an accidental reason for his daughter's death.⁵² He was assuming he needed some input from the spirit world; he needed his daughter to disclose to him the name of the person who caused her death. That there is a rational being who caused her death, whether living or dead, is simply assumed, as it would be for most Melanesians throughout P.N.G. Obviously living people can get upset at others, and could respond with sorcery. The spirits could also cause someone to die if that person did something wrong, like go in the spirits' traditional area.⁵³

From these four worldview tenets, we can see there is a good fit with the conceptual analysis given above. While this is not absolute proof, it does help us to see that the analysis is at least on the target, and hopefully quite near the bull's eye.

2.2.3 Conceptual blend: Graveyard tests

2.2.3.1 Background

Another example of a conceptual blend comes from another area of Papua New Guinea: the Astrolabe Bay of Madang Province. The Sam people live primarily in three villages in the Bogati local government area. This area, as with much of the Rai Coast but centering mainly further east, was the location of Yali's cargo cult movement. Yali was born in the Ngaing language group, inland from Saidor, but Lawrence writes that he was popular throughout the Rai Coast area (Lawrence, 1964:140ff). In April 1948, Bogati and

⁵² Accidental death does not exist as a category in the Melanesian worldview. All deaths are seen to have an agent behind them. Franklin notes that in the trade language, Melanesian pidgin, an accident is referred to as a *birua* ("enemy") (Franklin, personal communication, May 2006).

⁵³ McElhanon (personal communication, April 2006)

many other areas aligned with Yali's popular cargo movement, which Lawrence calls the Fifth Cargo Belief (Lawrence, 1964:196, 203).

Lawrence mentions that one of Yali's assistants was a man living in Bongu village (Lawrence, 1964:205). Bongu village is in the language group next to the Sam language group. Lawrence also mentions that Yali traveled through the Bogati area in June 1945 (Lawrence, 1964:135). In 1948 Yali walked from Madang to the Rai Coast, accompanied by many people from the Erima and Bogati areas as well as others (Lawrence, 1964:185), and he made an informational journey through the Bogati area in September and October 1948, going as far as Bongu village to the west, and then returned to Saidor (Lawrence, 1964:213).

Friends in Buan village have told me about a ritual that some professing cargo cultists still practice. It is identical to the "table ritual" Lawrence mentions, which at first Yali did not support, and later switched to actively promoting (Lawrence, 1964:194, 211). The following is Lawrence's description:

Gurek gave them the following instructions: [lists a few other rituals to perform]; and the Letub *table ritual* was to be instituted. Small tables were to be set up in private houses and near deity sanctuaries. They were to be covered with cotton cloth and decorated with bottles of flowers. Offerings of food and tobacco were to be placed on them for both the deities and the spirits of the dead, who were to be invoked to send cargo. The invocations and offerings would ensure that the deities handed over presents to the ancestors who, pleased by the ritual (especially the Kabu Ceremony), would deliver them to their descendants. At such times, the natives would be told by the spirits during dreams where the goods had been left – in deity sanctuaries or other parts of the bush. The cargo would include rifles, ammunition, and other military equipment. (Lawrence, 1964:194)

As mentioned above, there are some people in Buan village who still follow cargo cult ideas. They have a special worship day as in the Christian churches, a structuring

myth (concerning Manup and Kilibob), and certain rituals, initiations, eschatological expectations, and member organization.⁵⁴ They say that Jesus is the savior of the white people, and Yali is the savior of the Papua New Guineans (Troolin, 2002).

2.2.3.2 Blend description

A friend in Buan village told me the following story, which I will use as the hope narrative for the next conceptual blend analysis.

A certain young man lived in Buan village, and after his mother died, her soul came to him, as he was up in his house [the houses are up off the ground on stilts]. Her soul told him not to go to her funeral, but to come to the cemetery after her burial, at a certain time of night. The man obeyed her, and at the cemetery he saw a fence around her grave. That night, when the time was right, a hole in the ground appeared and a man stood guard near the hole. The man came near the gate, and his dead mother came out of the hole and stood by the gate. She told him to return tomorrow at the same time and she would give him gold, money, and much cargo. The man did so, and he was really tested, but he was strong, single-minded, and brave, and he succeeded.

Later, the man told the young men that they couldn't *lotu kago* [join cargo cult movements], but that cargo would only come when someone dies like when his mother died. He encouraged them not to go to the cemetery for the burial, but to go there at midnight. And when they went there they had to be ready for the tests of mind and strength, and for the *masalai* and *tewel* [evil spirits and ghosts] that would try to kill them. He said that if they are focused and determined, they would win, and if not, they would lose. (Troolin, 2002)⁵⁵

2.2.3.3 Blend analysis

This example shows a wealth of conceptual blending. When this blend is run, the elements from each input space blend, according to optimality principles, and form a logical chain of reasoning built up to transmit a scenario. I lay out the blend below:

⁵⁴ For more information on the Sam people, see (Troolin and Troolin, 2004).

⁵⁵ This man also used to have strong powers, like those attributed to Yali, and he once made a house walk around on its stilts. But then Yali "put blood on his heart" and this took the power out of him (Troolin, 2002).

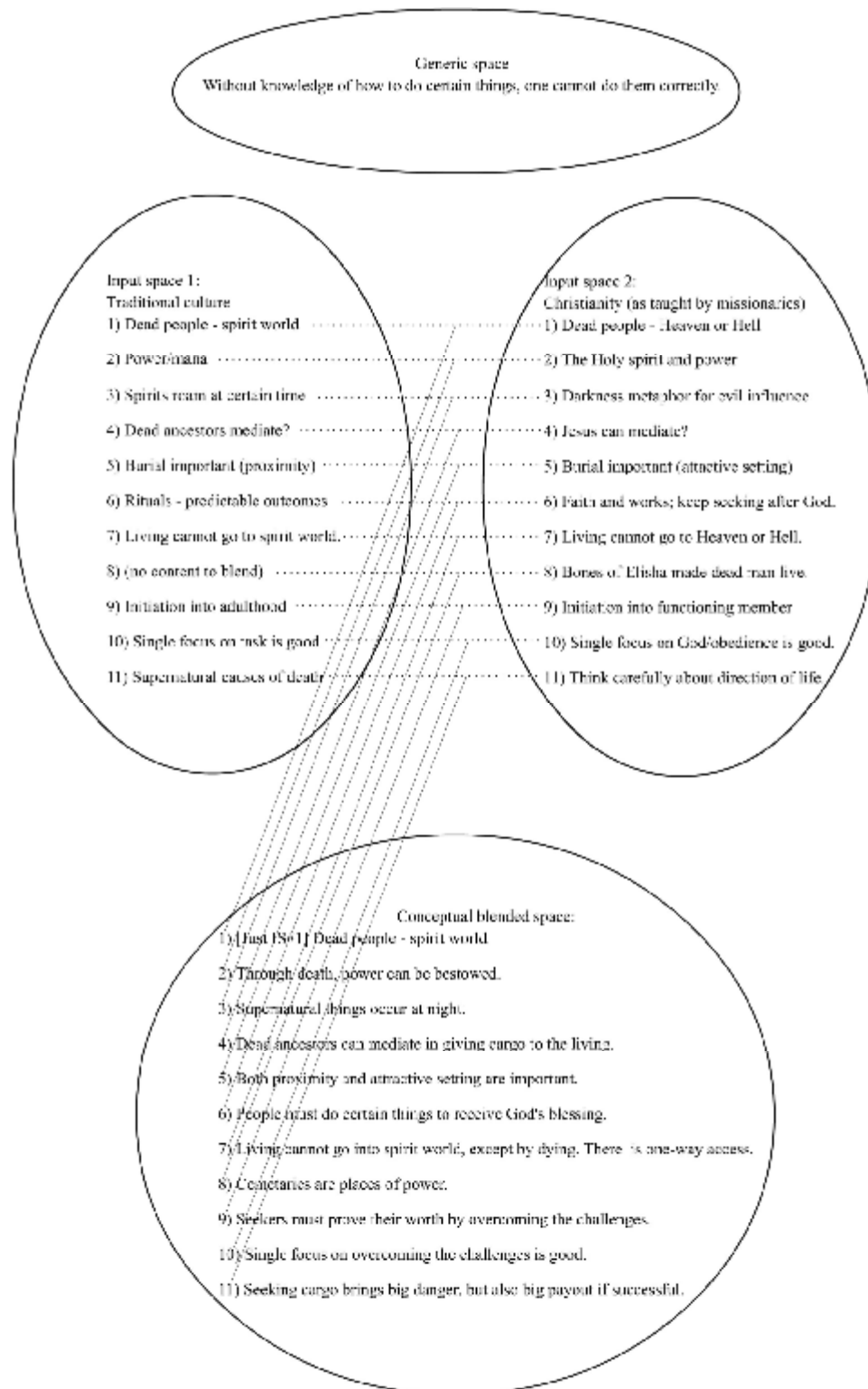


Figure 4: Conceptual Blend in Graveyard text

I have identified 11 blended elements in the blend above. The first element in Input Space #1 is “Dead people – spirit world.” This refers to the concept that when people die, their soul leaves the dead body and becomes part of the spirit world; even though dead, they do not pass out of, and are considered participants in, the system of reciprocity and exchange (Mantovani, 1991:68, 70). Thus in the hope narrative, we find the mother able to talk to the man even though she is dead, and she resides in a place where the man cannot go. This element corresponds to element 1 in Input Space #2 that is referred to as “Dead people – Heaven or Hell,” or the Christian tenet that when people die, their souls go either to Heaven or Hell, based on certain criteria for entrance. This second element is not carried over to the blend, however, so in the blend, we have the input from the traditional culture that there is a world to which all souls go, whether good or bad. (For the purpose of successful communication, optimality principles allow only the first element to be recruited to the Blended Space.) This “place” is not a part of the world of the living, and the living can only get there by dying. This is foundational to the blend.

The second element concerns how to acquire power. In P.N.G., some people are always successful hunting or some other activity, or are looked to as a popular leader. They seem to have something special about them that make them lucky, or luckier more often than other people. I have heard this quality called the Melanesian pidgin term *pawa*; another term for this quality is *mana*. Codrington was one of the earliest researchers of the Melanesian culture to write about mana. As he says, mana is a “supernatural influence” that is credited with causing a person to effect change in the realms “beyond

the ordinary power of men, [and] outside the common processes of nature; it is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation. When one has got it he can use it and direct it, but its force may break forth at some new point; the presence of it is ascertained by proof.” (Codrington, 1891:118)⁵⁶ Now looking at the Christian church, we find it gives a special place to the power of the Holy Spirit (although the role of the Holy Spirit varies based on doctrinal or tradition differences) which followers credit with speaking in tongues, healing, prophecy, and other miracles. Jesus said that he had to die in order for the Holy Spirit to come (Jn. 16:5-7; Acts 1:5,8; Lk. 24:48-49⁵⁷). In the blend, both elements are activated, and blended, and the emergent meaning that at the present time, when someone dies, there is opportunity to acquire a type of power. The inference is that we must be alert when someone dies, to be open to acquiring some special benefit.

The third element is that spirits roam at certain times of the night. Thus, early in my time in P.N.G., when I was in another village, I asked about how people do sorcery. No one admitted to knowing exactly, but they told me that basically something would call to you in the dead of night and you would go outside, thinking you were meeting your friend. Thereafter this being would do things to you that would result in your unfortunate death. The description is interesting, but the important point for this discussion is that the time when this event would occur is in the “dead of night.” Input

⁵⁶ For a general overview of *mana*, see (Durkheim, 1915; Wikipedia, 2006a:223; Levi-Strauss, 1987:53). For particular application to *mana* within the Papua New Guinean context, see (Dye, 1984).

⁵⁷ Particularly appropriate, Lk. 24:48-49 (NIV): “You are witnesses of these things. I am going to send you what my Father has promised; but stay in the city until you have been clothed with power from on high.” According to McElhanon, the Kâte New Testament translation says that the people will receive “that thing,” which the Kâte speakers have interpreted as referring to cargo (personal communication, May 2006).

Space #1 refers to this in element 3, and is represented in the narrative recorded above as midnight.⁵⁸ It is during this late hour that spirits wander and thus a person should not go outside alone at this time. I have heard stories about spirits masquerading as humans at this time of night in order to kill and eat people. The Input Space #2 also includes a similar linking of evil happening at a time of darkness, that is, the metaphor that darkness represents evil influence, as seen in verses such as “But this is your hour (when the group of people come to arrest Jesus) – when darkness reigns.” (Lk. 22:53) and “I am sending you to them to open their eyes and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God...” (Acts 26:17b-18a) It appears that darkness, not the same connotation as the simple lexical item “night,” is the time when supernatural powers roam. The blended element is that at a certain time of night, supernatural power is unleashed, and can have a big effect, either good or bad. Note the possibility of good, as well as bad, things happening are present in the narrative, namely, if the young men lose, the evil spirits will kill them and if they win, they will live and have great wealth.

The fourth element in Input Space #1 is that the ancestors died, their souls went to the spirit world, and they still remain in a reciprocal exchange system with the living.⁵⁹ The important thing the dead have with which they can reciprocate gifts with their living relatives is cargo. From the text, we see that cargo is located in the spirit world.⁶⁰ This makes sense, if we consider the spirit world as being the place where deities also reside,

⁵⁸ I personally have also heard this same time called “six o’clock big night,” a word-for-word translation from Melanesian Pidgin.

⁵⁹ As noted in fn. 51 above.

⁶⁰ Again, “cargo” is not just boxes of things, but refers to money, possessions, good health for the family, good relationships with the clan and village, and influence in the community.

since, as mentioned above, Anut, the creator God, was credited with creating two deities, Manup and Kilibob, and Manup is the one who gave the secret of cargo to the people in Australia (Lawrence, 1964:21-22; 93). Input Space #2 has a similar idea, but different, in the corresponding element, which is that Jesus is in Heaven and can mediate for Christians in the giving of spiritual gifts and other blessings. These two elements blend in the Blended Space to produce the emergent element that blessings (also cargo) are located in the spirit world, and through the mediation, or reciprocal exchange, of dead ancestors, cargo can be given to the living. Notice that the identity of the location as Heaven is suppressed, though the idea that cargo is in the same place as the people who have died is activated. Thus, this narrative describes another way to acquire cargo, as opposed to the idea of knowing the secret; a traditional value, relationship through reciprocity exchange, is retooled and given an exalted place as a shortcut to acquire cargo.

The importance of the cemetery is considered in the fifth element. From Input Space #1 we have the input that it is important to bury the dead person in their home village. I found out how important this principle is during our time in the village, when men carried the body of a dead person from the hospital, a 70 km boat ride away, and then 3.5 hours hiking from the coast up to the dead person's home village.⁶¹ Since the dead are still part of the reciprocal exchange system, it is important to keep them close to the living relatives, so they can keep exchanging gifts. In this element, proximity is

⁶¹ Historically, after a tribal battle, the Buan people needed to retrieve the bodies of their dead, so the women would go out into the battlefield and collect the bodies, and carry them home in large string bags. It was taboo to kill women in battle. If a body could not be found, the relatives were very distressed. In present time, if someone dies outside the area, their relatives will go and bring the body back to the village to bury it.

important. From Input Space #2, we have the element that an attractive setting is important in the cemetery. In the church cemetery, we find neat rows of headstones, mowed grass, neat fences marking the boundary of the gravesites, walking paths laid out, shade trees, and flowers in plots and vases. A Papua New Guinean could reason, looking at the attractive setting, that those who maintain the cemetery do so because it will please the people buried there.⁶² The Blended Space uses both of these elements, and thus the dead ancestor who can bestow cargo is buried near their closest relatives (the input from P.N.G.) and their gravesite must look neat and orderly (the input from the expatriates). In the narrative, the nexus place between the living and spirit worlds is a hole in the ground in the cemetery (like a grave) around which is a fence (perhaps for decoration as well as a boundary marker). This blend has the emergent meaning that order is important, as seen in the display of the cemeteries with graves in orderly rows, and even extending to laying out houses in orderly rows and placing school desks in orderly rows.⁶³ Another emergent meaning is that if one wants to reciprocate with the dead, they should present their gifts

⁶² According to McElhanon, "Selepet men were conscripted to take care of the graves in Finschafen of Allied soldiers who died in the fighting; there is no evidence that the people of the Huon Peninsula decorated their graves prior to European contact." (McElhanon, personal communication, April 2006) The laborers would have had ample time to think about why they were being forced to make the gravesites (of these people seen to have the secret of cargo) neat and attractive. This may be why a common element in cargo cults is that the graveyard is where cargo is exchanged. In my own time in another village, a Papua New Guinean man came to my house at night for a special consultation. He was hesitant to talk to me about it, but then he finally said I was his good friend, and he thought I could help him. He said that he had a delicate matter to discuss with me. A friend of his had told him that he saw a missionary go to the graveyard at midnight, and then walk back from the graveyard with a bag of money in each hand. He asked me if I could tell him if such a thing were possible, and if so, how to do it.

⁶³ The importance of maintaining order can be extended from the arrangement of graves, houses, and desks to an attitude of desiring order in life. Again, it is important that the ones seen to have the secret of cargo are the proponents of an orderly life. As Errington states, "Europeans are, therefore, the font of order, the arbiters of what it is to lead an ordered life." (Errington, 1974:263) "For the Karavarans, an ordered, harmonious life is the key which will usher in the new era." (McElhanon, 1989:16)

(perhaps along with special rituals) in the cemetery. This was an actual part of cargo cult activities in the 1950's and 60's (Lawrence, 1964:94).⁶⁴

The sixth element that makes up the blend concerns what people must do to be successful. In Input Space #1, we have rituals done for a certain purpose. If someone tries a ritual and it is not done exactly right, then the desired result will not come about. Thus, it is important to precisely follow the steps, or if unsuccessful, keep trying but varying certain things until one succeeds. What we have is a sequence of actions that bring about a desired result, and can be reproduced again. It sounds much like the process of scientific inquiry. Thus Lawrence claims the Nging people don't have certain actions that are rituals and others that aren't; rather, all actions are done to bring about a desired result. He says the things people do in making their gardens grow, or performing love magic, or sorcery are viewed by the Papua New Guineans more like technologies (Lawrence, 1964:140). As McElhanon states, "...there is no distinction between rituals and techniques. Both are manipulations, products of empirical research which establish a cause-effect relationship and which can be expected to be replicated each time the techniques are followed correctly (McElhanon, 1989:8). The corresponding element in Input Space #2 is the deeds Christians are taught and feel compelled to do certain things though they are not necessary for salvation, i.e. the distinction between faith and works. According to the Bible people don't have to do anything to be saved,⁶⁵ just put their faith in Jesus to take the punishment for their sins, but often, good works crop up in actual

⁶⁴ Lawrence describes the cemetery ritual in these words: "In the village cemeteries, small tables or platforms were erected, covered with lengths of cotton cloth, decorated with flowers in bottles and heaped with gifts of food and tobacco. Invocations were made to the spirits to get cargo from Jesus-Manup as soon as he appeared with his ships." (Lawrence, 1964:94); see also p. 149 and 153 for more about offerings and cargo séances in the Galek cemetery.

⁶⁵ Cf. Jn. 3:16-18; Jn. 3:36; Rom. 1:16; 10:4; 1 Jn. 5:1, 5, 10, and so on.

practice as a prerequisite to, or byproduct of, salvation. Another aspect of the Christian teaching is that God rewards those who do not stop seeking Him; thus He wants people to persist in seeking Him and His blessing (Lk. 11:9-10). The Blended Space has a bit of both: People must do certain things to receive the deities' blessing(s). The emergent meaning arises that the young men in the narrative must follow exactly the instructions for visiting the cemetery and what to do when they get there. For example, they have to visit the cemetery at the right time of night, or they will not see the spirit guard or the dead ancestor. An inference is to memorize the instructions exactly, and not deviate from them, even if they seem nonsensical. Another meaning that emerges is that one is rewarded if he or she keeps trying until they succeed. The inference one can draw from this is that regardless of past failures, one must keep trying; the problem is not that the ritual is not ever going to work – the problem is merely that one has not yet performed the ritual in the right way.

The seventh element we see in the narrative concerns the way of crossing over to the spirit world. The spirit guard and the fence prevent enthusiastic cargo seekers from plunging into the spirit world. Element 7 in Input Space #1 is that the living cannot go to the spirit world, and return. There is a one-way crossing over – at death – that cannot be circumvented. This element corresponds with element 7 in Input Space #2, which is that Christians believe a living person, under normal circumstances, cannot go to heaven or hell and return to the world of the living. To get to heaven, one must first die.⁶⁶ The blend

⁶⁶ Although the Bible records a few exceptions to this rule, such as Elijah and Enoch, these are the exceptions, and these did not return, they only went to heaven without dying first (2 Ki. 2:11-12; Gen. 5:18-24; Heb. 11:5). McElhanon relates how snakes were seen by many people groups in P.N.G. as a source of supernatural power (McElhanon, personal communication, April 2006).

then is that the living cannot go into the spirit world, except by dying. One inference is that people must play by the rules in order to get the cargo. Obedience is essential. Another inference is that there must be incredible wealth in the spirit world, to require such careful safeguarding.

In the eighth element, most of the content for the blend comes from Input Space #2. In Input Space #1 we have a vague sense that there is something mysterious about death, and that the dead are still involved in the reciprocity relationship with the living.⁶⁷ However, most of the blend recruits information from the eighth element in Input Space #2, that there is something special about dead bodies, and by extension, the places where the dead are buried. Thus we have the command to not touch a dead body or one will become unclean (Nu. 19:11) and the story that a dead body happened to touch the body of a great prophet and the first body came back to life (2 Ki. 13:21). In the Blended Space we have the idea that cemeteries are places of power, and this explains how a cemetery was chosen for the place to be the nexus between the spirit world and the real world, and how it may have given rise to the graveyard component of cargo cults.

The ninth element addresses the sense of the hope narrative that the process of meeting and overcoming the challenges was a sort of initiation. This process is similar to the initiation rites as practiced in P.N.G. (element nine in Input Space #1); upon meeting the challenges successfully, through being strong, single-minded, and brave, the young men are granted cargo. They are elevated to a new status. Thus, in Input Space #1 we

⁶⁷ It seems that bones were not seen as sources of power, but the skulls of enemies were displayed solely to show military victories or prowess. Bones could be used as instruments for cutting, cooking, or as weapons. They were not seen as sacred.

have the initiation rites as practiced in P.N.G., that is, the process whereby certain special men, village leaders seen to be good representatives of all that true men should be and know, lead the boys through certain types of activities and challenges, meant to teach all the boys need to know to be men. The information recruited to the blend from Input Space #2 is that the Christian denomination in the village in which we lived had a process of bringing a person into a status of being a regular member of the church; after sufficient instruction and demonstration of knowledge (completing catechism class), the individual was granted church membership. The blend then contains a blend of these elements. The meaning that emerges is that those who seek cargo will undergo tests that measure their strength, determination, and bravery. An inference that emerges is that cargo is not granted to those who fail the tests, so all seekers must cultivate these qualities in themselves.

Within the tests, we have another blend from the two input spaces. From Input Space #1 we have the idea that a single-minded focus on a task is good. A friend in the Papua New Guinean village in which we live told me that when he was young, he did not want to learn how to garden or build houses, like all the other little boys were learning from their fathers. Instead, he wanted to hunt, fish and play in the rivers. This he was allowed to do, until when he was older he decided he had to learn some of those other skills. The point is that his parents felt they didn't want to force him to learn things he didn't want to learn; they knew he wouldn't have single-minded focus on things he didn't

want to learn, but he would for the things he liked to do.⁶⁸ In Input Space #2, Christian leaders teach a comparable principle. They teach that it is good to have a single-minded focus on God and obedience to Him (Jas. 1:6-8). In the blend, we have the idea that one must be single-minded on overcoming the challenges in order to succeed. In other words, a person who stumbles into the cemetery unprepared and not focused on passing the tests will be destroyed. The inference is that the seeker must prepare himself to pass the tests, by cultivating those areas outlined in the narrative: strength, mental focus on the goal, and bravery.

The eleventh element has been hinted at above, namely, that if the young men in the narrative succeed, they win a great reward (gold, money, and much cargo). But if they fail, the spirit guard will try to kill them. From Input Space #1 we have the knowledge about supernatural causes of death (mentioned in the description of the second blend). This concerns the evil spirits and ghosts that roam at night, seeking people who are alone that they can kill. In Input Space #2 we have the exhortation to weigh the pros and cons of seeking life forever with God in heaven, and once choosing to follow God, one must keep on that path.⁶⁹ In the blend, the blend is that one must recognize that seeking cargo is very dangerous if one fails, but great gain if one succeeds.

All these elements hang together like a ladder, composed of sets of blends acting like the rungs. The audience climbs (i.e. processes) the ladder one rung at a time, and so

⁶⁸ In addition, someone who plays all the time and doesn't provide for his family or himself is seen as a bad person in our village. They never focused on learning the tasks they needed to learn, and so they are beggars and depend on others for food, help, money, and so on.

⁶⁹ Cf. Lk. 14:28; Php. 2:12; Mt. 13:44-46; 1 Cor. 9:24-25.

the sets of blends work together to construct a logical mental space that is effective in persuading people to accept the blend and change their behavior accordingly.⁷⁰

The Generic Space is, “Without knowledge of how to do certain things, one cannot do them correctly.”

2.2.3.4 Worldview verification

The same three tenets surface in this section as in the verification section for the previous blend. This is a confirmation that there are certain themes which various cargo cults tend to touch on, and instead of pointing to what some might say is a canned exposition, it says I am finding three points in which these two cases share tenets in common. The tenets are repeated below, but the application/comparison sections are changed to reflect the different subject.

Worldview tenet: McElhanon writes that one axiom of the Papua New Guinean worldview is: “The cosmos is unitary; i.e., all forms of life share life together at a single level of existence.” Based on this axiom, we can see several theorems. The theorem important for our discussion here is: “Given that the cosmos is unitary and that all life shares a single level of existence, therefore, there is no distinction between the miraculous and the nonmiraculous.” (McElhanon, 1989:8)

Application/comparison: Instead of two planes of existence as western philosophy assumes, the Papua New Guineans believe in a single plane. Thus, we have the woman’s soul staying near her son, although she was dead; talking to him and giving him special instructions; the dead ancestors are still linked to the living through the

⁷⁰ Just like a good advertisement. Ads have the same goal: recruit certain elements of information that the target audience possesses, and construct a Blended Space such that the audience can extract the “right” inferences (buying their product).

reciprocal exchange system; and the dead woman meets her son again, in the cemetery, which although amazing to Westerners, are seen by Papua New Guineans as possible and real. Although in a single plane of existence, this does not mean that the place of the living and the place of the spirits and ancestors are one and the same. As the narrative points out, the living cannot enter the spirit place while still living.

Worldview tenet: Staying with this axiom that the cosmos is unitary, another theorem is: “given that the cosmos is unitary and that all life shares a single level of existence, therefore, there is no distinction between rituals and other activities.” For Lawrence, Papua New Guineans see religion as a technology because when they did certain rituals the right way, certain things would result, e.g. their gardens would grow well, sick people would get well, etc. They felt that when they did certain things, in a certain special way, the spirits would act on their behalf, in a beneficial way. Even in the case of sorcery, there was someone who benefited, namely, the one who used sorcery first (Lawrence, as cited in McElhanon, 1989:8). McElhanon posits, “...there is no distinction between rituals and techniques. Both are manipulations, products of empirical research which establish a cause-effect relationship and which can be expected to be replicated each time the techniques are followed correctly.” (McElhanon, 1989:8)

Application/comparison: Thus, in the blend, we see that the man’s mother, in the first paragraph of the hope narrative, told her son to perform certain actions in a certain way, and this does not seem special or mystical to him. He accepted what the ghost of his mother said, and followed the steps just like a westerner follows scientific principles in a laboratory.

Worldview tenet: Another important axiom is “The quality of personhood does not end at death.” Under this axiom is the theorem “If the quality of personhood does not end at death, then the deceased remain part of the community.”⁷¹ (McElhanon, 1989:18)

Application/comparison: Thus, when the Papua New Guinean saw his mother’s soul in his house, and it talked to him, instead of screaming and running outside like a terrified westerner, the man listened and memorized her instructions. Why should he be afraid as if such a thing could not happen? This person was his mother, who had come to talk with him. Also, he accepted as fact that she would be able to meet him again in the cemetery. In addition, as noted in the previous worldview tenet, the woman is still assumed to operate according to the rules of reciprocal exchange, which covers all relatives, both living and dead.

Worldview tenet: A third vital link between the conceptual blend and an emic, worldview analysis is the axiom “Knowledge is finite and closed.” The associated theorem is: “Since humans are passive, they are only recipients of existing knowledge by disclosure, either through a) sharing by other humans, b) revelation by supra-human beings, or c) chance recognition of cause-effect relations.” McElhanon (and Lawrence) argue that the only knowledge that Papua New Guineans acknowledge is that given through the deities. This means that the gods have given people all they need to survive in the world, provide for their families, and protect themselves from evil spirit forces.

(McElhanon, 1989:19-20)

⁷¹ McElhanon writes, “When a Selepet person dies, the survivors bury the named person, not a body. There is no word in the language which can be glossed as ‘body.’ When a man died he would be buried underneath the house, usually sitting in a vertical position, with the top of his head exposed above the ground level. This was to facilitate the living in communicating with him. His son could go down and pat the top of the head and ask him how he was doing, if everything was going well, and whether or not he was taking good care of the family.” (McElhanon, 1989:18)

Application/comparison: Thus, the young man had no way of knowing about the opportunity to meet the spirit guard in the cemetery at a certain time, and what the guard was going to do. This was knowledge that he needed to have revealed to him, and it was, in McElhanon's terms, a revelation through a supra-human channel. The time of the meeting, the place, the testing scenario, and the payoff for a successful test are all special revealed knowledge.⁷²

From these three worldview tenets, we can see that again there is a good fit with the conceptual analysis given above.

2.2.4 Conceptual Blend: Revival Centres church

2.2.4.1 Background

On April 7th, 2002, my wife and I were observing a service in the charismatic Revival Centres church in our village.⁷³ The pastor was talking about how the people need to stay faithful to the teachings of this particular church because only in that way can they remain in God's favor. Then he said something that caught my attention:

You know how when the first missionaries came to our country they told us part of the truth. But they never told us the whole truth. They never told us the key to getting God's blessing, that is, that we need to be baptized in the Spirit.⁷⁴ But now we know that we need to be baptized and speak in tongues to be saved. (Troolin 2002)⁷⁵

⁷² In the language I used in elicitation, it was unclear if the man received his mother's instructions while sleeping or awake. Dreams are seen as especially important for real world decisions. While we don't know for sure if the man in the narrative was dreaming and his mother appeared in the dream, or if he was awake and his mother's image appeared to him, we know the man felt the revealed information was very important and valid for him to obey.

⁷³ I use the Commonwealth spelling of Centres because that is the spelling that the group prefers.

⁷⁴ This particular denomination sees glossolalia as necessary for salvation and as evidence of the Holy Spirit's indwelling. Success in praying for healing or resurrection is another sign of being "born again."

⁷⁵ McElhanon notes that "The Selepet word for 'truth' also means 'fruit' and 'right' (hand/side)." Thus truth is related to good results for the Selepets (McElhanon, personal communication, April 2006).

In a similar vein, in the same Sunday service, another pastor in the church said this when he noticed some members had not come to church that day, “If you come to church you will get the blessing [of God], but if you don’t come to church, you won’t get the blessing.”

On the surface, these statements seem innocuous; they could be the verbiage typical of this denomination, regardless of the culture of the people speaking them. But I feel we can better understand what these church leaders meant if we consider the context and worldview of the people to whom they were speaking. The listeners were not Westerners, with the typical western assumptions, mental categories and cognitive metaphor framework. They were born into a Melanesian society, with all that entails, and they received and interpreted those words within that worldview. So, the interesting question is, “How did they interpret those words?”

This church is an outgrowth from Revival Centres denomination in Australia. Pastor Godfrey Wippon started the Revival Centres work in P.N.G., and he is still the leader of the group in P.N.G. He is from the Sepik province. He first encountered the Revival Centres church when he was in Australia, in a hospital after being diagnosed with cancer. Some Revival Centres members were going around the hospital, praying for people. They came and prayed for him. When he miraculously recovered, he realized the power of that church, and became a member. Later he returned to P.N.G., and in 1982 he started the P.N.G. branch of the Revival Centres church. There have been doctrinal differences at times within the group of churches, which led in 1996 to the P.N.G. branch splitting off from Revival Centres International, and particular from the Brisbane church,

but they remain linked to the Revival Centres church in Adelaide. The Buan fellowship started around 1999.

2.2.4.2 Blend description

When I turn to the Revival Centres church in Buan, I do not have a clearly delineated narrative that demonstrates a blend. But there are evidences of blends in various behaviors I have noticed. Thus, instead of a strict narrative, I have arranged some descriptions of behavior that I have observed operating in the Revival Centre services, grouped together by subject, which we will analyze for possible blending.

The first subject is relationships within the group. A key value is harmony between the members. This principle is seen if, for example, someone's task is too difficult, then all the church members are expected to come and help that person finish his task (such as collecting grass to construct a new roof, fishing with the poison root, or carrying copra down to the main road to take and sell in town). This group activity is traditionally the role of a person's clan. The members work by themselves if the task is something one person can do, such as harvesting sweet potato for the family's evening meal. Everyone in the church fits into a slot; everyone has a place in the church structure. So, for example, the members call each other "brother" and "sister," and they call the leaders by their titles. This also reinforces the church structure/hierarchy in everyday life, and one always knows who is of a higher rank versus another.

In terms of relations outside the group, there is a strict line between who is a church member and who isn't. Obviously those who do not attend the church are outsiders. My wife and I present a difficulty for them since we desire to attend their

church but we are not members. They allow us to come but we must sit in the back row and we cannot take communion. Our title is “observers.” This strict line between insiders and outsiders also translates into behaving differently toward those outside the church. For example, after joining the church, members are not supposed to continue to be friends with their unsaved friends (the explanation being that the unsaved friends might influence them to go back to bad habits). They cannot play sports or interact closely with nonmembers. The Australian church of the same denomination has a rule that members should not associate with people from other denominations or religions.⁷⁶

The church holds weekly services on Sunday mornings, as well as biweekly fellowship meetings on Tuesdays and Thursdays. While the fellowship meetings consist of a loose progression of songs and a homily, Sunday services have a formal structure, including the language used in the service. For example, the songs that the song leader chooses to sing are generally in English. The women and older men (over age 45) generally do not know English, so the congregation has a low understanding of the meanings of the songs. In addition, they sing them at the speed they would be sung in an English-speaking congregation, and not the relaxed pace that is typical of other denominations or professionally produced music. We asked about the songs, and found that they cannot be used in the church services unless the words are verbatim from the Bible or deemed acceptable by the Revival Centre leaders.

⁷⁶ There are other similarities also between the church in the village and that in Australia (I visited the Adelaide congregation), including the brochures they pass out concerning “The Lost Ten Tribes of Israel” (promoting British-Israelism), “Adam Was Not the First Man,” and general brochures outlining their beliefs and especially concerning the necessity of speaking in tongues to be saved. Some of the songs sung in the village church are the same as those sung in the Adelaide congregation.

Another structural aspect of the services is the verbal ritual that occurs. When greeting each other, they say “God bless you” (in English) or the Melanesian pidgin version, “*God i blesim yu.*” (They shy away from using the traditional way to greet someone in the morning, which all nonmembers use: “*Moning nau*” or “*Moning tru,*” (Melanesian Pidgin) or the local language version, “*Kogli beli*” (Sam language).) In the beginning of the service, but also periodically throughout, the leader will initiate a chant formula. They can omit the third and fourth elements, but they always keep this same order and always say them in English:

- Leader: “Praise the Lord” [congregation echoes]
- Leader: “Hallelujah”, [congregation echoes]
- Leader: “Thank you Jesus”, [congregation echoes]
- Leader: “Glory be to God”, [congregation echoes]
- Leader: “Amen,” [congregation echoes]

The emphasis on verbal ritual is also seen in using a formal greeting phrase (e.g. “Let’s welcome Leader John”) for each leader, as they come up to the front to lead the service and again as they go down to make space for the next leader, the use of glossolalia when praying for God to heal someone, and using phrases like “Praise the Lord,” “Say amen,” and “Glory be” when they speak to the congregation. They use these English words because a church leader told me that, “the words have power and when they say those words Jesus is there with them.”⁷⁷ When the leaders and pastors (two different rank titles in this church) prepare for the service, they stay in a house nearby

⁷⁷ As noted by McElhanon, even the idea that the spoken words have power is likely a blend (McElhanon, personal communication, April 2006).

while the other members file into the church. Just before leaving the preparation house, they speak in tongues all together, loudly.⁷⁸

Another structural feature emerges in the ordering of the parts of the service. The services are strictly ordered, reportedly taken from Paul's instructions concerning the New Testament church in 1 Cor. 14:26-33. This passage says that those with the gift of glossolalia first exercise their gift and someone interprets (interpretation is always only done by the church leaders, who stand up front behind the podium) in a particular order: the first tongue message with its interpretation, followed by the second tongue message and its interpretation, and then the third tongue message and its interpretation. After the tongues section, the prophecy section comes, which in content (usually focused on people should not forsake God or he will forsake them and curse them, that people should not grow weary with obedience or bad things will happen to them, and that people must obey the leaders or God will curse them) and form (fast spoken, loud, like an Army drill sergeant).⁷⁹

The charismatic church also has certain rules and regulations that members must follow, or risk being disciplined. The rules are meant to promote "order." An example we found they cannot do parts of the Sunday service in the wrong order because that is "disorder," as if, for example, only two people speak in tongues, and then someone jumps in with a prophecy. When this happened, the pastor stopped the service, there was silence for a few minutes, and then he started the service again, but people were subdued. They

⁷⁸ Concerning the use of verbalized ritual, McElhanon reported that the Selepet could divert approaching thunderstorms by speaking "yaring be king king" over pitpit shoots speared in the ground and slanted to point toward the approaching storm (McElhanon, personal communication, April 2006).

⁷⁹ Perhaps their idea that the service must have order is a value they took from 1 Cor. 14:26-33. This concept is also prevalent in cargoism, and is mentioned in this paper concerning the camera blend.

knew the damage had already been done. The Sunday service is supposed to start right at 10 am, though not many people have watches. The leaders do not ring a bell or hit a gong to signal the start of service, so many times the service actually starts at 10:30 or 11:00 or later. Order also extends to the lives of the members: they must look orderly and behave orderly. There are rules about not chewing betel nut, drinking or smoking⁸⁰; men's hair must be cut to a proper short length; one must speak in tongues when taken up from the baptismal waters or he or she is not truly saved; one must attend as many church meetings as possible, and one must dress neatly and in bright colors. One of the church leaders said that one must stay inside God's fence and the "guidelines" define what the fence is.⁸¹ If one is outside of the fence he or she will not have the Holy Spirit's power to obey God. The church leaders have great authority to interpret the rules of the congregation.

The consequence for breaking a rule is discipline, usually by putting the member out of the fellowship for a certain amount of time (called "suspension"). People we have known have been put out of the fellowship for chewing betel nut, beating their wife, running after someone with a knife, and fighting. If someone sins again, after being suspended for three times, they are expelled, according to Titus 3:10. Our friend, a member of this church, used the example of riding in a car, "All you need is in the car. If the leader is wrong, then he, driving the car, will wreck the car. If a passenger is wrong, then get rid of him."

⁸⁰ These prohibitions serve to maintain the purity of the group, as well as setting them apart from the people around them, even those that attend the other church, of a mainline denomination, in the village.

⁸¹ In the trade language, Melanesian Pidgin, the word *banis* implies protection from enemies outside. This could also have been taken from John 10.

When asked what a good person does, a member of this church said, “He or she will read the Bible much of the time, pray, stay in the house (contrasted with roaming around aimlessly), not run around, laugh loudly, and yell.⁸² Each person is in charge of managing his or her own spiritual lives.

An important aspect to this church is that if it is real, then there must be a manifestation of God’s power. The other churches are not genuine because they do not evidence God’s approval. So, every Sunday there is a testimony time, when people stand up and recite an opening formula (everyone uses the same opening lines), followed by either a description of their life before they were saved into this church, or a description of a serious illness that God healed them of. There are stories of bad habits changed, sicknesses healed, people that are under a sorcery spell healed, serious knife cuts healed. Healing is an important part of the result of being a member of that church. If a faithful member prays for healing that never happens, it is because they did not have enough faith, they broke a rule (or rules), or they did not really become a Christian in the first place.⁸³ One day after I saw a poisonous snake on the trail in front of me, I told one of my friends, who happens to be a member of the charismatic church. He said that the man who has a strong belief in Jesus will not die from a snakebite, and instead, the snake will die. But the man who does not fully believe will die (Troolin, 2002).

⁸² Aenyo notes that in the Spirit Movement of Mareanda area of Enga Province, P.N.G., the members reported that the Spirit would leave the person for various reasons, such as if someone splashed water on him or her, rubbed their skin with a *salat* leaf, which causes swelling and irritation of the skin, or if someone near them yelled loudly (Aenyo, 1983:133-4; cf. Flannery, 1983:155-93)

⁸³ There is a strong similarity between this church’s attitude toward healing and the rituals as technologies as described by Lawrence and McElhanon (McElhanon, 1989:8). They believe that healing will happen if a member of that church prays for the sick person; if someone else prays for that person, healing will not result, because their church is the only one of which God approves. This contrasts with the common tenet of western Christians (though not all) that God does what he wants, and our prayers are not a means to force Him to do what we want, but are rather a way for us to communicate with Him, and for Him to share His thoughts with us.

The members sincerely think this charismatic church denomination is genuine. As one member said to us, “We were looking for a long time for something that would help us. We were looking to false gods. But this real God helps us when we pray to him.” Others still worship false gods, though about ten years ago, “We formed a group of young men and went out and destroyed all the temples to false gods, but some still worship them in their own houses; they put tobacco and betel nut on table for the spirits.” Another man told me that when he was in the Lutheran church, he had extramarital affairs and the church didn’t help him stop; then he joined a Lutheran Renewal church, and then there were no affairs, but people were proud and arrogant; now he is with this certain charismatic church and he is glad.

I have heard interesting things in the sermons, which shed light on how the pastor and leaders view salvation and whether Christians can lose their salvation. One leader told someone that if he, having become a believer after being healed of a sickness, went back to the old sinful habits, then he would get sick again and would die and would not go to heaven. In fact, concerning the case mentioned above (of the man who backslid and then died and who was carried back to his home village), one leader told me that it was God who actually killed that man, not someone else using sorcery. If a young person, who has not yet learned to reject sinful habits, first becomes “filled with the Holy Spirit,” and then gets enticed by a sinful lifestyle, they will lose their salvation and cannot be saved again. How can a person have a second baptism of the Holy Spirit? Thus, the exhortation was to encourage them to not become a Christian until later in their life. There is a clear boundary between those who are truly saved and those who are not:

whether or not they speak in tongues. One Sunday the pastor said that the early missionaries didn't share the secret with the people in Buan village, which is that one needed to be born again by the Spirit and speak in tongues.⁸⁴ But, someone from P.N.G. went down to Australia and found out that important way to become one of God's approved people, and now the charismatic church is making it known to other Papua New Guineans. In the roll call section of the service the leader said that if one attended church services on Sunday, he or she would be blessed, and if they did not, then he or she would not get blessed.⁸⁵

2.2.4.3 Blend analysis

From the above section, it is clear that there are many things that seem to be blends of the traditional culture (Input Space #1) and the mainline Christian denomination (Input Space #2). The Blended Space (below) is composed of the blends we have chosen to examine, which exist in the behavior and stated beliefs of members of the charismatic church described above. This blend, noted here but more fully explained in Part 3, is full of performative rituals, as discussed by Sweetser (Sweetser, 2000). First though we discuss the conceptual blend for the charismatic church in the village, as diagrammed below:

⁸⁴ Their reasoning is that the disciples were the first "spirit-filled" people, but then the Catholic Church became powerful and took control, and suppressed the good news. That is why, this pastor would say, the Papua New Guineans didn't hear the secret of getting cargo until recently.

⁸⁵ The Australian branch of this charismatic movement in P.N.G. believes that the members have to go to a certain number of Sunday and weekday services; if they miss more than their allowed number someone comes and rebukes them.

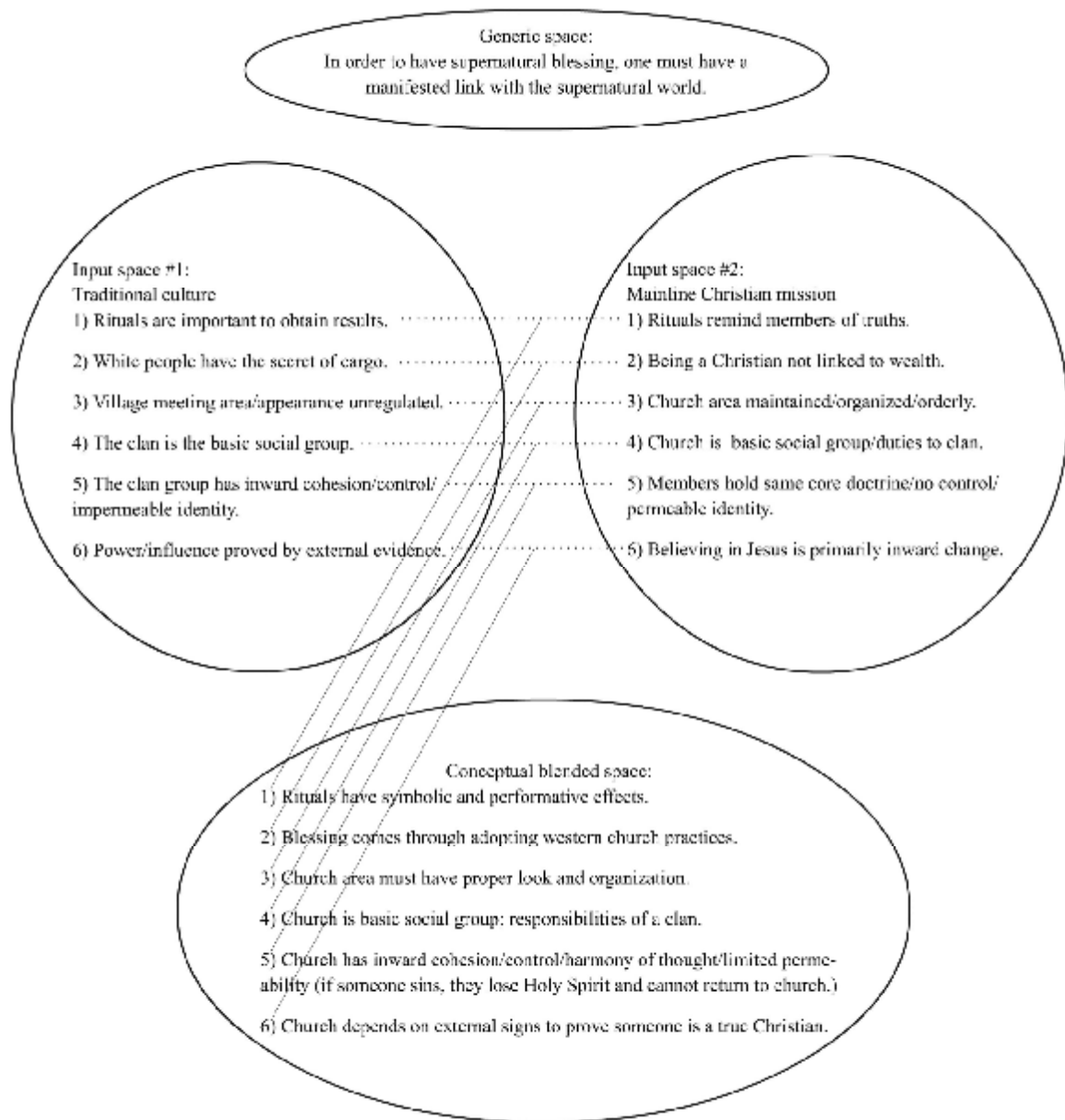


Figure 5: Conceptual blend in Revival Centres Church text

Below are six elements that appear to be blended together. When combined, they present a quite complete picture of the blended world of the charismatic church in Buan village.

The first element in Input Space #1 is that rituals are important to obtain results in the physical world. As mentioned for the two other Melanesian blends above, the way rituals have generally been viewed in Papua New Guinea is like a technology that can be performed again and again with the same results: a very functional view of rituals. This element from the traditional culture maps across to the element in Input Space #2, where rituals in the mainline Christian church serve as reminders for deep spiritual truths, such as the meaning of Christ's death. In the blend we have information mostly recruited from Input Space #1 (that rituals will have results in the world we observe with our senses): Rituals have symbolic and performative effects, and those rituals that are the same as the ones used by the white people will gain the approval of their God. So, for example, the worship songs are all in English and sung at a fast pace,⁸⁶ and also there is an emphasis on verbal rituals such as the chanting and saying the phrases, both of which are seen to have power.⁸⁷ There are emergent meanings then, that if someone participates in the rituals, both physical and verbal (especially the glossolalia), and is faithful in attending services and fellowship meetings, then the rituals will work, and God will bless them. An

⁸⁶ The people don't expect to understand the songs, since the point of a ritual is to not understand how it works, but just perform it correctly.

⁸⁷ One pastor said that the church uses the chant because "the words have power and when they say those words then Jesus is there with them." Lawrence mentions the power of words, along with other features, in discussing Ngaing traditional religion (Lawrence, 1964:17, 26). For thousands of years people have seen a link between spoken words and power to control events through blessings and curses (cf. Balaam blessing Israel [Num. 22, Josh. 24]; Isaac blessing Jacob [Gen. 27]).

inference is to do everything the leaders and pastors say to do, and look to them, as spiritual leaders, to tell you how to please God.

The second element in Input Space #1 is that white people have the secret of cargo. It is mapped across to Input Space #2, where the mainline Christian view has a different focus. The mainline Christian view takes the emphasis that being a Christian does not necessarily mean that one will become rich; there is not a causal link between being a Christian and being wealthy. This is a foreign concept, however, to most Papua New Guineans. In the blending process, the only information that is recruited to the Blended Space is from Input Space #1 that the blessing comes through adopting Western church practices, namely, the practices of this particular charismatic church. Thus, for example, the pastor explained how the early missionaries had the secret, but they did not share it with the Papua New Guineans. Now finally, the Revival Centres church has told them the secret: speaking in tongues and being filled with the Holy Spirit. By doing things exactly the way the charismatic church does them, they will be blessed, such as having the same order of parts of the service, saying the same English words, singing the same English songs, and even starting at the same time. Thus, order becomes very important, and there is a strong emphasis on doing things in a way that shows order and not disorder.⁸⁸ For example, speaking too many prophecies is disorder, having a baby cry uncontrollably for too long is disorder, and even in terms of personal appearance, a man having long hair is not orderly. Disorderly behavior on the part of the individual or congregation will prevent God's blessings, and so, to minimize disorder, there is a strong

⁸⁸ As McElhanon notes, an orderly service is one where there is harmony between the members (McElhanon, personal communication, May 2006).

emphasis on rules and regulations. An inference is that if the group is not seeing God's blessings, then certain people in the church are doing something wrong (hiding sin, not being sincere, and so on), and God is withholding His approval. Based on this, each person does not want to be seen as the one hindering the blessing, so the inference is that one shows even more sincerity and enthusiasm for the teachings of the church.

The third element concerns the regulation of the appearance of the meeting area and individuals, and their relations with others. Forming the Input Space #1, the traditional village meeting area was an area under shade trees in the general center of the village. Men sit on chairs or most commonly, on low blocks of wood or stools, under the trees in a loose circle, with a diameter of about 100 feet. The women sit outside this circle. The discussions were unregulated and frequently there were times when a person would turn to posturing to get a point across. There is no attempt to force people to conform to a standard of dress, or appearance. This element maps across to Input Space #2, where the church is carefully maintained, with rows of benches where people sit, facing the front. An aisle down the middle of the church separates the men from the women. There is a loose hierarchy of the member, song leader, and lay leader; if the pastor happens to visit from a neighboring village, then deference is given to him. The meeting area is enclosed with a roof and walls, thus making a boundary between those outside the church and those inside. People make an effort to wear their best clothes to the service, but personal appearance is not very important. The Blended Space for the charismatic church recruits mainly information from Input Space #2, but there are also some emergent meanings. So, for example, the church area must have the proper "church

look” (with white rocks lining the outside walls, benches inside with an aisle down the middle, cut grass, and swept dirt) and organization (using “brother,” “sister,” and leadership titles in greetings). People must look their best, and there is an emergent meaning that it is very important for people to look much neater than normal, with clothes they only wear on Sundays (bought with hard-earned money for that purpose). In general terms, while Input Space #1 is relaxed and unregulated, Input Space #2 is relaxed and organized, and the Blended Space is formal and organized. The Blended Space is taking much of the appearance and running of the church from the western form.

The fourth element in Input Space #1 is that the clan is the basic social group. The clan is the group that would help someone with work that requires many people, such as carrying bags of copra (dried coconut husks) to the road and on a truck to town to sell. Another example is cutting grass to make a new roof for a house.⁸⁹ From Input Space #2, we have the church members as the basic social group, though one’s duties are still to each person’s clan. The Blended Space is that the church is the basic social group, and the church behaves like a clan, to which each member is loyal. Thus on a social level, one is grouped with the charismatic church, and also each member’s responsibility and loyalty lie with the charismatic church. So, for example, I have heard of people carrying copra for the church to sell in town, and collecting grass for the church roof. The members get together on certain days and harvest peanuts from someone’s garden, or clear trees from someone’s new garden. However, I have seen that when the village

⁸⁹ Perhaps several generations ago, when there was significant tribal warfare, the clan was a more important social group, since it was the clan that would stand by a person in a tribal dispute, and the clan would be the basic fighting group in intertribal battles.

headman orders the young men of the village to clear the tall grass and obstructions from the road, the young men from the charismatic church also help. So, there is some interplay of loyalties between the charismatic church and the village, perhaps related to areas of mutual benefit for the church and the village.

Element five in Input Space #1 is that the clan group has inward cohesion and control. There is a very strong sense of who is in and out of the clan, and there are very strong family ties. In addition, one is expected to put clan responsibilities ahead of friendships. Several generations ago, this was a very strong duty. Thus, an older man in the village told me about when the village head man, who was the one in charge of the *haus tambaran* (the traditional worship of the spirits and deities), would order men to go and fight other villages; if someone resisted, the head man would order the other clansmen to beat him badly, or even kill him, to encourage very strong clan loyalty. At that time, the survival of the clan depended on everyone putting the good of the clan ahead of the good of themselves; harmony and working together was very important. From Input Space #2, we have the element that members have the same core doctrine, but there is no attempt to control members' behavior. There is a strong sense that non-Christians are out of the circle of the saved, but those within that circle of the saved include those from the mainline Christian denominations (though in P.N.G. there is a lot of distrust across denominational lines). Here too harmony is valued, since disharmony means that someone (if not both) in the quarrel is sinning by doing something that the other person sees as wrong or unjust. The Blended Space is that there is a strong sense of who is in and out of the church; whoever is not a member of the charismatic church is not

saved. In addition, there is strong cohesion, since if someone does not participate in the church activities they will not get God's blessing. In addition, people are expected to conform to the church's ideal of a good Christian. Thus we have the rules concerning order in the services, and personal appearance, as well as prohibitions on smoking, chewing betel nut, and drinking. By conforming to these rules, harmony is achieved, and harmony is valued in the blend also, for the fact that if someone is sinning, that will hinder God's blessings. An emergent meaning is that the group must maintain its purity, which they do by making sure that those wanting to join the church are sincere, and prove their conversion by speaking in tongues. Another way to maintain purity is by restricting activities with nonmembers, and thus, as described above, members cannot play sports with those outside the church (even of other denominations, since they believe that only those speaking in tongues have God's blessing) or be friends with those who are sinning (for fear of being drawn into sin with them).

The final blend is, in Input Space #1, that power and influence are proved by external evidence; a person with *mana* (power) showed it by being a good hunter, fisherman, warrior, or political leader (Dye, 1984:58ff; Codrington, 1891:118). These external signs proved someone had *mana*. In Input Space #2, the most important part of being a good Christian is an inward change. Salvation is a matter of faith, and not based on outward behavior, though if someone believes in Jesus and is sincere, he or she will want to obey what Jesus taught. The Blended Space recruits most of its information from Input Space #1; a supernatural source of power will manifest it through outward signs. Thus, an emergent meaning is that the charismatic church depends on external

confirmation of glossalalia to show that a person is truly a Christian. Another emergent meaning is that the group too must have external evidence that it is genuine, and this it gains from testimony of healing of bad habits, sicknesses, and wounds. An example is that a sincere believer in Jesus, if bitten by a snake, will not die. (If he or she does die, that is clear proof that he or she was not sincere in their belief.) An inference is that if people do not testify of the external proof of God's approval, then the proof of God's continued blessing is gone, and fewer testimonials could signify less of God's blessing, and therefore, there would be less motivation to remain members of that group. Another inference springs from the belief that unlike those who backslide in other denominations, if a member of the charismatic church backslides, that person will not get a second chance. Thus the inference is that one must redouble one's efforts to be a good church member and not backslide. Another inference is that if one does backslide, then there is no hope, and the member must choose to leave the church or stay in the church but maintain a façade of holiness.

Of particular interest to me as an outsider are those areas where the Revival Centres church seems to advocate values that go against the traditional Melanesian values, such as (all of these are the Revival Centres values; they conflict with what I normally observe in Buan village) higher expectations regarding the clothing one wears, greetings involving formal and explicit use of titles plus first names, and disassociation with those outside the church. Over time, it will be interesting to see if some of these tenets are modified.

The Generic Space is, “In order to have supernatural blessings, one must have a manifested link with the supernatural world.”

2.2.4.4 Worldview verification

Out of the four tenets described below, the same three tenets surface in this section as in the verification section for the previous blend. The first, however, is slightly different from the others. The tenets are repeated below, but the application/comparison sections are changed to reflect the different subject.

Worldview tenet: McElhanon writes that one axiom of the Papua New Guinean worldview is: “The cosmos is unitary; i.e., all forms of life share life together at a single level of existence.” Based on this axiom, we can see several theorems. The theorem important for our discussion here is: “Given that the cosmos is unitary and that all life shares a single level of existence, therefore, there is no distinction between the miraculous and the nonmiraculous.” (McElhanon, 1989:8)

Application/comparison: This group thrives on testimony of miraculous events, such as standing up to share about how God healed a physical ailment, or stop a bad habit. The act of glossalalia itself is seen as something that God does in a person. However, I would like to know whether these events are seen as amazing things that are really miracles, or whether they are seen as things that are not miraculous, but a small step in the right direction and so we need to exaggerate events, wounds, utterances, etc., so to make things seem like a bigger thing than it is. The fact that the worldview tenet says there is no distinction between the miraculous and nonmiraculous gives me pause,

and wonder if there is something else going on here. That is why I include it here in this discussion.

Worldview tenet: Another important axiom is “The cosmos or physical world contains spirits, impersonal forces, and humans.” Under this axiom is the theorem “Spirits are capricious and malevolent.” (McElhanon, 1989:11)

Application/comparison: McElhanon notes that “because God was portrayed as a spirit, he was fitted into the category of the malevolent powers.” This is why most of the prophecies, tongue interpretations and sermons hold forth on the topic of man’s sin nature, tendency to wander away from God, inherent sinfulness, and stubbornness, countered by God’s strength, wrath on sinners, knowledge of every sin we do, and that God won’t be patient with sinners forever, but will judge and severely punish disobedience, hence bringing about harmony and balance. As McElhanon notes, “Every sinful act requires a compensatory act to restore balance.” (personal communication, May 2006) In contrast, almost none of the sermons, etc., deal with God’s love for us, and His desire to relate with us like a father and his child.

Worldview tenet: A third vital link between the conceptual blend and an emic, worldview analysis is the axiom “Knowledge is finite and closed.” The associated theorem is: “Since humans are passive, they are only recipients of existing knowledge by disclosure, either through a) sharing by other humans, b) revelation by supra-human beings, or c) chance recognition of cause-effect relations.” McElhanon (and Lawrence) argue that the only knowledge that Papua New Guineans acknowledge is that given through the deities. This means that the gods have given people all they need to survive

in the world, provide for their families, and protect themselves from evil spirit forces.

(McElhanon, 1989:19-20)

Application/comparison: The Revival Centre church acknowledges that God gives them knowledge through the Bible, His Holy Spirit (heard through prophecy and the interpretation of tongues), and information about doctrinal issues through their church leaders. And, there is a feeling that that is all they need, and if anyone would bring up the other side of an issue, they would not be willing to confront the evidence and change their mind. Even though when they read the Bible, they might see that another interpretation might be better, if that interpretation is different from the other pastors in the fellowship, or from other leaders elsewhere, then they are unwilling to change their minds.

Worldview tenet: There is a final axiom that seems to fit in this case, and that is “given that the cosmos is unitary and that all life shares a single level of existence, therefore, there is no distinction between rituals and other activities.”

Application/comparison: The Revival Centre church shows many signs of a clan, in that the members work hard to maintain the boundary between the insiders and the outsiders, and that they function as a close-knit group to carry out both their religious and nonreligious duties. When does the activity cross the line and become purely religious, or when is it something that the members are doing for purely secular (and still for the group) reasons. Thus, it is difficult to determine if it is really a sort of surrogate clan, or if the members all felt called out, individually, from their unsatisfying spiritual life into this new passionate church.

From these four worldview tenets, we can see that although there is some variation in regards to the first tenet, the last three match well. Thus, I would argue that this new church movement might represent a new, more complicated, chameleon cargo cult.⁹⁰ Still appealing to the same sort of desires, but clothed in the trappings of a western style church, this might represent the way many cargo cult movements are headed.

⁹⁰ Perhaps similar to the Seventh Day Adventist movement in the Admiralty Islands (Franklin, personal communication, May 2006).

3 PERFORMATIVE FUNCTIONS IN CONCEPTUAL BLENDS

3.1 Discussion of performatives

In the preceding four conceptual blends, there seems to be something driving conceptual blend construction. Perhaps this driving force is different for each case study. In any case, there is something different about each case study, and perhaps this analysis will help answer the question: “What is the main driving behind each movement, which drives them to construct the blends that they do?”

The key will lie in how mental spaces are related to the real world. Sweetser, in her study on performativity, examines this topic (Sweetser, 2000). She defines performativity as, “...the ability of some descriptions to bring about the described situations in reality.” (Sweetser, 2000:305; cf. Searle, 1989; Coulson and Oakley, 2000:184-186) Thus, when a certain kind of construction is uttered, the fact that it is uttered also makes the statement true. The common example, taken from a western marriage ceremony, is the minister’s utterance: “I now pronounce you man and wife.” The statement brings about a change in reality. Without this statement, the man and wife are each single; they are not seen as being married in the eyes of God. But this statement creates not just certain sound waves in the real world, but it causes a change in how two people think about each other, namely, it creates a new relationship. Afterwards, the couple is different. If they never got married, they could still live together like married people do (they could be intimate, have children, stay committed to each other, and so on), but the minister’s pronouncement gives the couple something else: a certain kind of status in society.

Sweetser goes a step further and introduces the idea of depictive and performative functions of symbols, whether linguistic or not. When a statement is describing reality, then it is depictive. For example, when someone uses “I promise you that I’ll be there” depictively, they are describing their act of promising as something they did. When a statement is changing the world, and is uttered for the purpose of changing the world, then it is performative. With our previous example, the performative sense of “I promise you that I’ll be there” is making a promise that will determine your behavior in the future (leaving the house at a certain time, getting in the car, and making your way to the meeting point in time to pick up your friend). She says that, according to Searle, the difference between them lies in the “direction of fit” between the word and the world; a depictive statement maps from the world to the word, but a performative statement maps from the word to the world (Searle, 1989:ch. 1; see also Sweetser, 2000:306).⁹¹

For linguistic performatives, the mappings from word to world are based on certain relationships between elements in the represented space and the representation. Coulson and Oakley summarize these possible relationships as “identity, similarity, metonymy, and analogy.” (Coulson and Oakley, 2000:185) They posit that mappings for performative actions also rely on these relationships. They write:

This is why magic frequently relies on props that exhibit contiguity, similarity, and analogy to the things they act upon. A voodoo doll, for example is linked via similarity to the person it represents and acts upon. Moreover, pinning a lock of the victim’s hair to the voodoo doll sets up a metonymic link between the representation space and represented space. (Coulson and Oakley, 2000:185)

⁹¹ Sweetser cites Tolkien in an example that is both descriptive and performative: “Saruman, your staff is broken.” (Tolkien, 1954:189) By saying this, “the good wizard Gandalf breaks the traitor wizard Saruman’s staff (both a symbol and an instrument of his power).” (Sweetser, 2000:308)

Sweetser posits a definition of performativity that differs from that given by Searle (written above): “it involves a particular relation of fit between a mental space which is a representation, and the corresponding represented space.” (Sweetser, 2000:310) Using this definition, she is free to consider nonlinguistic examples of performativity, such as rituals and magic. She goes on to consider the conceptual blends in a buffalo hunting ritual, a metaphorical enactment of a future hunt, which the participants believe has an effect on the real world (Sweetser, 2000:319-321). What is important is what the people participating believe the conceptual blend will do – this belief is what gives the conceptual blend its “performative causal force.” As she says, “...performative causal force is generally dependent on the beliefs of the people making and interpreting the representations which are taken as being used performatively.” (Sweetser, 2000:324)

The four case studies mentioned in Part 2 of this paper show a significant level of “performative causal force.” In each blend, the participants strongly believed in the efficacy of the rituals. Thus, the question that will help us to compare the different case studies described above is: “For each case study, what is it that the participants are believing that gives the conceptual blend its performative causal force?”

Obviously, this is a question that could yield answers that are either too general to be useful (that apply to all four cases studies, or even anyone taking part in a performative ritual), or that are made up in the mind of the researcher and not a part of the participants’ mind. However, I believe that there are distinctive emphases for each case study that with a) distinguish them from each other, and b) are rooted in worldview

study. By identifying the most salient theorem or axiom, we will find what energizes the conceptual blend, that is, what gives the performative its causal force.

3.2 Salient worldview theorems active in the four case studies

These emphases are listed below, in order of presentation in Part 2.

3.2.1 Animal Apocalypse

The conceptual blend in the first case study is rooted in the covenant between an omnipotent God and wayward-prone Israel. These points are evidenced in past victories recorded in the Old Testament (e.g., God aiding people groups, such as Joshua and Israelites defeating Jericho [Josh. 6]; God bringing the Jews out of Egyptian captivity through the ten plagues [Ex. 3-14]; and God aiding individuals against overwhelming odds, as David killing Goliath [1 Sam. 17; 21:9]). In the Animal Apocalypse for example, we see the incredible victories of the Ram-Judas over the enemies of God (vs. 19). They highlight the dominant theme that an omnipotent God plus a faithful covenant people will bring about the faithful fulfillment of his promises.

Then, *ex eventu* prophecy has a role in heightening the intensity of the blend, and makes it seem more convincing. That is, if the things the prophet, e.g., Enoch, prophesied came true (though it was really someone writing about the events after they happened), then this puts a stamp of authenticity on the other (really future) events in his or her prophecy about the end times.

3.2.2 Camera blend

This second conceptual blend is oriented toward the expectation that white people have mastery over the supernatural world. Logically, since they have the secret of cargo,

white people must have received the secret from their ancestors, and once having received a special revelation from the ancestors, the Papua New Guinean view would dictate that that relationship would continue, and as the human continued to practice the right rituals, the ancestors would remain in relationship with the human, and continue to help him or her. The most dominant worldview underlying these assumptions is that rituals form the basis for relating with the spirit world and work to bring material blessings to humans.

There is a further strengthening of the performative causal force through the Papua New Guinean unfamiliarity with the white people's technology, and the assumption that it generally is more amazing than they could understand. With this foundation, fulfilling the Papua New Guinean man's request is easy.

3.2.3 Graveyard tests

The third case study is oriented toward the revelation of secret knowledge as seen in what I believe to be the most salient theorem, "humans can learn the secret of gaining cargo from those in the spirit world."

The performative causal force is heightened through the similarity of the third case-study schema with the cargo-cult schema. That is, certain aspects are the same or similar with stories of previous cargo cults, such as the exchange taking place in a graveyard, a dead person being actively involved, an applicant necessarily undergoing trials, familiar threats being made (the *masalai* and *tewel*), and an existing familiar reward (cargo). Previous cargo cult stories have set the scene, and if newer cult rituals fit that earlier schema, they have a better chance of gaining followers.

3.2.4 Revival Centres church

The Revival Centres conceptual blend is very powerful, and this is because it focuses attention on the power of the Holy Spirit to change the world (heal people, raise dead people back to life, change bad lifestyles, bring blessing). The Holy Spirit is appealed to through ritual. This seems to fall in line with the theme that the only way to get cargo is by being approved by God, which can only come about by having the Spirit of God manifested inside people.

The performative causal force is further heightened by the group-solidarity aspect (they all have to “do this right” to get the blessing – if one person sins, then they all lose out) and a high emphasis on the boundary between insiders and outsiders. Thus, the group is able to make sure that the church members are all sufficiently motivated to keep the church’s rules, and outsiders have to cross a hurdle to join the group. By crossing a hurdle to enter the group, the leaders are making it harder for a member to fall away sometime in the future. Someone who falls away can reveal the secret knowledge to the uninitiated.

Also contributing to the power of the conceptual blend is that it includes elements of familiar rewards (which is similar to the cargo cult schema), and revealed knowledge (which is endorsed by the Papua New Guinean worldview).

4 CONCLUSION

From this overview of conceptual blending theory and the application of this theory to four different situations, I have shown how conceptual blending theory can be used to better understand the inferences communities make and the blends that motivate their behavior. Conceptual blending theory helps to understand the complex processes at work as people use two or more schemas to create coherent models of the world. This sort of blending is easily identified in millennial movements, and for analysis, I have used four different “hope narratives” which reflect what the people themselves verbalize about their current situation and their hopes for the future. Thus, the resulting blend analysis reflects a derived etic view.

By including all four millennial movements, I try to show not that all four are similar in terms of worldview or situation, because they are very different from each other. Rather, I seek to show the power of conceptual blending theory, in that it is able to give a consistent analysis for four different movements, and thus is applicable to other movements as well.

By showing that conceptual blending theory is not culture bound, but operates similarly in the very different culture milieus of P.N.G. cargo cults and two groups in the Second Temple Period, this paper strengthens and offers additional support for conceptual blending theory. It also endorses Fauconnier in his insight that conceptual blending is a powerful cognitive ability that all humans share and which distinguishes us from other species (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002:180).

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VITA

In 1992, David graduated from the University of Chicago with a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Political Science. David is a member of Wycliffe Bible Translators and has served in Papua New Guinea since 1996. His first assignment in P.N.G. was as a language surveyor, where his responsibility was to organize surveys of selected language groups, collect linguistic, sociolinguistic, and cultural data, and write reports summarizing the results. He also assisted the Papua New Guinean government by answering occasional questions related to his work.

After 1998, David and his wife, Sarah, returned to the U.S. on furlough, during which they obtained further education in linguistics and anthropology. On their return to P.N.G., they began a translation and literacy program among the Sam people of Madang Province. They have worked with the people to develop the Sam alphabet; held various literacy training workshops; assisted the Sam people in translating dozens of short books for literacy use; and held two workshops about translation, one of which resulted in the translation of the book of Jonah into the Sam language.

In July 2006, David and his family will resume their work in Buan village to assist the Sam people with their translation and literacy program.