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DOUG PRIEST, SERIES EDITOR
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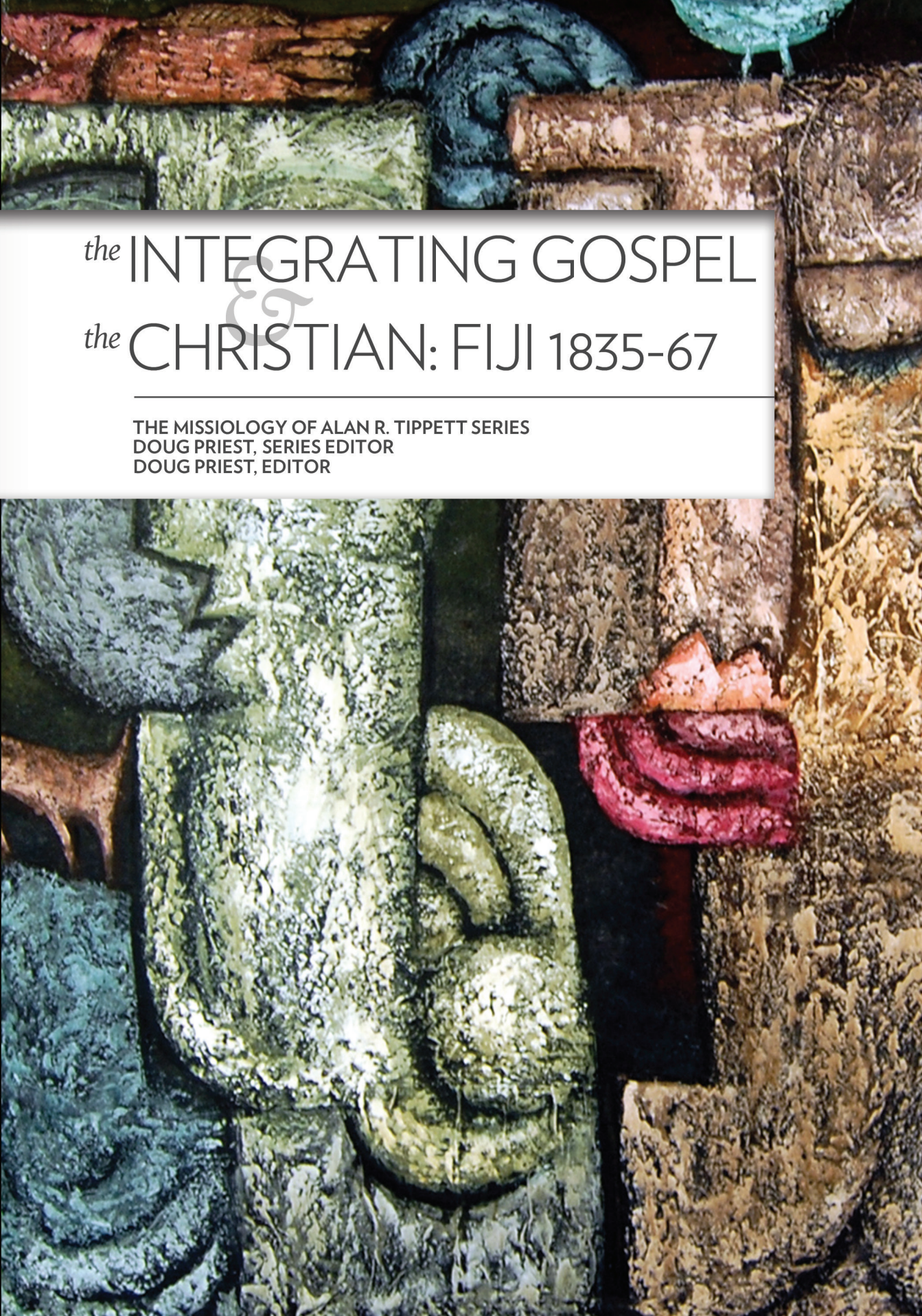

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SERIES FOREWORD

Always the creative thinker, Alan Tippett, transplanted to the United States from Australia (never really integrated), is the originator of the concept of cultural fatigue which continues after culture shock has passed. One afternoon he walked the entire midtown business district of Pasadena seeking "a reel of cotton." Returning in despair, what was he asking for? Well, of course, a spool of thread. However, in the field of anthropology, he didn't miss a thing and had a compendious knowledge, especially of the Southern Pacific sphere.

His alert mind took him in many directions, some complete surprises, and from volume to volume in this series you will find very little overlap and much that is rich for contemplation. Thanks to Doug Priest as well as Darrell Whiteman, Charles Kraft, and Greg Parsons for making sure these gems of thought are still available.

Ralph D. Winter
Pasadena, California
May 2009

FOREWORD

When studying for my master's in missiology at the Fuller School of Theology School of World Mission in 1979, the newly retired Dr. Alan Tippett returned from Australia to teach a class on the Development of Missionary Anthropology. Glenn Schwartz, our international student advisor, had noticed how deliberate I was in my choice of classes, so he asked me if I was particularly interested in that topic. My reply was, "From my reading of Alan Tippett, I really don't mind if the topic is 'ethnic diversity in toenails,' I will still take it in order to have a class with Dr. Tippett." As it turns out, Tippett's encyclopedic knowledge of the world of missions meant that even his frequent diversions from the topic at hand were wonderfully productive for me. And being a fellow Australian I was informally appointed as an "interpreter" of his Aussie brogue by the other students. Reading *The Integrating Gospel* later, I came to appreciate the depth of Tippett's research that backed up his classroom diversions.

Having just completed his master's degree at the American University in 1956, Alan Tippett returned to Fiji enthused with his discovery of interdisciplinary research techniques such as ethnolingistics, ethnopsychology, etc.[1] His utilisation of those techniques resulted in him completing *The Integrating Gospel* in 1958 with the subtitle *An Ethnolingistic Study in the Communication of the Gospel in the Fiji Islands.* The volume has three main parts: Part One—The Impact of the Gospel on Language; Part Two—The Impact of the Culture Pattern on the Practice and Belief of the Christian Church; Part Three—Communicating the Gospel beyond Cultural Barriers.

Late 1960, Victor Hayward of the World Council of Churches' International Missionary Council's Department of Missionary Studies, the person who subsequently arranged for Tippett to do the research that led to Tippett's best-known *Solomon Islands Christianity*, had correspondence with Tippett about finding a publisher for *The Integrating Gospel.* But knowing Lutterworth Press had declined the manuscript, Hayward asked that if a publisher was

1 Interestingly enough, he wrote *The Integrating Gospel* before he discovered ethnohistory, which subsequently proved to be his favourite research tool, although he utilised it informally in the writing of Alan R. Tippett, *No Continuing City: The Story of a Missiologist from Colonial to Postcolonial Times* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2013), 239.

not found, would Tippett give him permission to publish the third section of the book as one of the IMC Research Pamphlets.[2]

Tippett's response included the statement, "Young missionaries need to know this sort of thing when they go out in the full bloom of youth." His point was that it takes decades to gain these sorts of insights on one's own, and by then that missionary is often in a leadership/administrative position rather than in frontline service. Implied in this statement is the likelihood that this is a self-perpetuating problem. He didn't warm to the suggestion that only the third section be published because, to him, findings such as these should never be separated from their database.[3]

With that as background, it is exciting that at last this whole volume is being published by William Carey Library. Missiologists and missionary practitioners will be thankful to William Carey Library's foresight in making this available as part of *The Missiology of Alan R. Tippett Series.*

It is doubly good news to see it going to print, in that by 1970 Tippett seemed to have given up seeing it published when he wrote, "I have decided to bind this manuscript and keep it as a library item rather than publish it as a book." He gave his self-deprecating reasons, but also pointed out that he had changed a lot since writing it due to the subsequent influence of other scholars. However, that is one aspect that makes it so valuable in getting to know Alan Tippett and his journey in missiology. While it is true that the Fiji being described in this volume no longer exists and will never be reconstructed, the publication of this volume contributes much more to missiology and the study of missions than a historical record.

In the detail of this book Tippett addresses many issues that provide guidance for contemporary missions. One simply needs to see past the intricate detail to extract the gold for missions today.

Kevin Hovey
department head, Pastoral and Cross Cultural Ministry
Alphacrucis, Sydney

2 Hayward to Tippett, 28 October 1960, St. Mark's Library, Canberra, TIP 70–38, vol. 1–10.
3 Tippett to Hayward, 2 November 1960, St. Mark's Library, Canberra, TIP 70–38, vol. 1–10.

PERSONAL NOTE 1970

I have decided to bind this manuscript and keep it as a library item rather than publish it as a book. It represents my thinking during 1956–58 which I was still on the field in Fiji. I was registered as a citizen of the colony and was of a mind to spend the rest of my days with the Fijian people. Two things interfered with this intention. A sickness made it essential for me to get away to a milder climate at least for a year; 1959 was a rough year physically and emotionally. I came to the conclusion that permanent settlement in Fiji would not be good for the emerging indigenous church; that my work was finished. The new day had arrived. I belonged to old Fiji, but I knew I was leaving a team of men (men who had passed through my hands in the Bible school or the theological institution or as ministers on probation) in whom I had the greatest confidence. The hardest truth I ever had to accept in my life was to admit that my service to Fiji was finished.

This manuscript belongs to a day that has gone, both for Fiji and for me. Yet I believe it speaks to all pioneer missionaries trying to penetrate animistic society. I wrote it in the nineteenth year of my missionary service. As I look back on it now I realise what Fiji and the Fijians did to me as a man and a Christian. This was written before I met Donald McGavran. The manuscript represents the raw material of my cross-cultural experience. It also predates my contact with Homer Barnett. I am sure that I could not write this manuscript the same way today, leaving McGavran and Barnett out of it—or Malinowski either, or Linton, or Kroeber, or Wallace to mention only a few. This manuscript is intensely Fijian. It represents perceptions that have become dim over my decade of absence. This is why I want to keep it as it is. To publish it now would require rewriting from my present position, quite apart from the fact that Fiji has changed out of all recognition (both country and people) during that decade.

Quite apart from scores of articles, I think my pilgrimage is reflected in my books. The monograph *The Christian: Fiji 1835–67* came before this manuscript. I had taught wider than Fiji in Pacific Church History at Davuilevu, but Polynesian people movement studies at Eugene drew me out of Fiji into the wider Pacific. Although my fellowship research, *People Movements of Southern Polynesia* (1971), was entirely my own material, the tools and orientation

were strongly influenced by Barnett and McGavran. My last flutter in depth with Fiji was *Fiji Material Culture: A Study of Cultural Context, Function, and Change* (1968), a secular study in anthropology. It goes with a series of papers presented before the Fiji Society and published in their *Transactions.*

I look back on this now with some degree of nostalgia. I now came to look at myself as an anthropologist and found myself frequently standing with Malinowski, although I am not aware that I consciously borrowed from him. My new missiological dimensions were brought to bear on *Solomon Islands Christianity* (1967), the hardest thing I have had to write as I had so many critical things that were difficult to say to put on paper. More recently I have swung away into missiological theory and theology—not by my choice but because of trends in the philosophy of mission today. *Verdict Theology in Missionary Theory* (1973) and *Church Growth and the Word of God* (1970) reflect this. If I rewrote *The Integrating Gospel* now it would be clearly a different book. Therefore I have decided to keep it as a library item reflecting my mental struggles with the missionary problems at the peak of that phase of my life.

Furthermore, as a critical study it would have shortcomings. I was out in mid-Pacific entirely limited to my own library. I had only minored in anthropology for my master's degree. I had no friends with anthropological knowledge with whom I could engage in dialogue. When I wrote it, publishers had no market for this type of material. When the market broke it was opened to *Missionary Go Home!* type of writing rather than the empathetic approach with which I was trying to deal with the same problems. So I bind the manuscript merely as a matter of record.

PREFACE

An encouraging feature of modern study in the humanities and social sciences is the manner in which specialists, hitherto almost isolationists in their respective fields, have been coming together for the exploration of the new fields opening for interdisciplinary research.

New fields have thus been found between psychology and linguistics, culture and personality, ethnology and linguistics, history and anthropology, and so on. This trend away from the isolation of research fields shows that man is learning to see himself as an integrated whole.

This book, *The Integrating Gospel*, is an interdisciplinary study. It lies in a hitherto undefined field somewhere between linguistics, anthropology, comparative religion, theology, and the technique of missions. I have given it the subtitle *An Ethnolingistic Study in the Communication of the Gospel in the Fiji Islands*.

Missionary literature has not produced a great deal on the church as a factor in semantic change, and good missionary linguists have not contributed a great deal to ethnolinguistics as a science. Most anthropologists working on Pacific Island studies have confined their studies from a recent point of time, without proper relation to a century or more of Western cultural impact, which could have been studied had they also been more familiar with methods of historical research, and this has sometimes led them to findings which are not supported by island archives.

This book is a humble attempt at studying the church in a South Pacific setting, of studying it historically, its impact on island language, and its own modification under the influence of the island culture pattern. It has been a longtime piece of original research covering almost two decades and is research *in identification.*

It will probably have many critics. I am not alarmed if they prove me wrong and their criticisms lead on to truth. On the other hand, I venture to suggest there is much for missionaries, students, and critics of missions, and members of mission boards in its pages; possibly much that will disturb some of them.

I have presented here three studies, each in itself complete, yet each related to the others. They seem to indicate three aspects which lend themselves as focal points for specific research.

The first, "The Impact of the Gospel on Language," is a straightforward statement on historical ethnolinguistics, and has actually involved as much historical research as linguistic. The second, "The Impact of the Culture Pattern on the Practice and Belief of the Christian Church," is a missionary study of a young church integrating itself within an island community. This is really the reverse process of the first, but in reality many of the factors studied in each reveal more interaction than impact. By classifying them as impacts, however, I have been forced to examine them carefully with a view to taking a stand that the balance of influence is one way or the other. It has its value as such. These two cultural studies demand the third, "Communicating the Gospel beyond Cultural Barriers," and is an attempt at stating my own missionary experience in relating this original research to the practical ends for which I first came to the islands.

An underlying aim of this book is to convince any Westerner who should chance to read it that we Westerners are on the whole extremely egocentric. We have our own ideas of ethics, of progress, of worship and theology, and are always ready to argue that we are right, often to force our concepts on people of other cultures, we are so certain about it. "Nothing is easier," wrote Dr. Ryder Smith, "than to ridicule other people's ritual; few things harder than to enter sympathetically into it" (Smith 1946, 64). The kind of research found in this book cannot be done from the outside or by an observer. One must "enter sympathetically into it." It is research *in identification.*

For this reason there are not a great many quotations in this book. The research has been done in villages, churches, homes, vernacular songs, psalms, chants (many oral only), and material written by islanders. Dictionaries have only been used for verification when necessary or when points in doubt have been raised. All this is firsthand, and little has ever been published before.

Here and there comparisons are made with things in other lands. There are points gleaned from reading; they must stand on their own merits—out here in mid-Pacific I have no library resources for adequate verification. They should therefore be received as illustrations only and are all acknowledged.

The field of special research throughout is the Fiji Islands, where I have worshipped in the island pattern for much of the last two decades. The thesis is built round this field, although I feel certain that many of my particular findings would be safe generalisations for world missions.

In *The Integrating Gospel* we are studying the manner in which the gospel breaks *through* cultural barriers without breaking them *down*, and integrates itself in the society. This study warns against breaking *down* policies on missions, and explores methods of breaking

through. To all who are concerned with the communication of the gospel, at home or abroad, I offer this small contribution to thought born out of my own missionary experience.

Alan R. Tippett
Davuilevu, Fiji
1958

PART ONE

The Impact of the Gospel on Language

1

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Words are pictures that reflect scenes and episodes. They are more than this, for they represent ethnolinguistic fusion (i.e., in words we may pinpoint cultural elements, reflections of ways of living, relationships, attitudes, philosophy, historical changes, and even the development of theological concepts). Thus we may take a word with a long and interesting history, and study its use at any given point of time, and find therein a reflection of cultural elements of that precise period in the history of its users. Therefore words are important evidence in the science of historical reconstruction.

This operates both ways, so that sometimes a word will reveal new light on a cultural idea or custom, and at other times cultural studies will throw light on the use of a word; this in turn illuminating the context in which it is used. Again by means of the comparative method, a word used in different contexts of the same date may bring to light much important information. Ultimately this may be used for dating other texts, or for the investigation of questionable texts, as to whether they are genuine or spurious. There is no end to the study of ethnolinguistics, and no knowing where it may lead one. Its value in biblical exegesis has been tremendous, and especially in the reconstruction and verification of biblical history, and in the tracing of the development of religious concepts.

Some Scripture Examples

Let us take an example. Following Robert I. Kahn, we consider the attributes of God and wonder, perhaps, how to reconcile the paradoxical ideas of justice (*mishpat*) and mercy (*chesed*). The question arises as to how these ideas stand in the Talmud, and how the sages viewed them. Immediately our current theological problem has become an ethnolinguistic one. They were not concerned with the documentary theory of J and E, where J showed, perhaps, the Merciful One and E the Just One, and JE the two attributes in one Being. The dualism did not trouble them, so much so that they even visualised two thrones in the heavenly throne room, and God sat on one in justice and moved to the other in mercy,

thereby delaying or suspending the judgement of the former (Kahn 1956, 581),[1] and we begin to appreciate a bold anthropomorphism as part of the cultural ethos, which is not so easy for philosophic moderns. Thus ethnolinguistics enables us to pinpoint concepts in time, place, and cultural setting.

As an example of the use of this science in historical reconstruction, let us take the word *ecclesia.* Here we have the lawful assembly of a Greek city-state, comprised of those with full citizenship rights, but excluding foreigners and slaves. They met to deal with the business of the state. We find the word used secularly thus three times in Acts 19, where we are concerned with the faith making its impact or encounter within the Greek world. This is the assembly fixed by law as opposed to the illegal concourse (*sustrophe*), and in those days, it met three or four times monthly in Greek cities (Webster and Wilkinson 1855, 1:664). The word was taken over by the translators of the Septuagint for the Greek-speaking Hebrews of the Dispersion, for the rendering of the Hebrew *quahal*, as for example in 2 Chronicles 30:23.[2] The emphasis is on the assembly having been *summoned* to meet with God, and the word is chosen to differentiate from another (*synagogue*), which is assembled like a congregation,[3] of its own volition, so the background of the word is Greek in form but Hebrew in meaning.

The word becomes of immediate interest to us when we discover that it is common in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles but appears only twice in the Gospels, and both those times on the lips of our Lord (Matt 16:18; 18:17 twice). Thus in anticipation He describes His church and falls in line with other utterances wherein He stresses the *call* (John 15:16). Our Lord is the one who calls. It is *His* church.

How then was the word used later on, after He had departed from their midst? If we take the first letter to Corinth as an example, we will find already differentiations of use. The greeting is addressed to the local church at Corinth (1:2); further on the word has a wider sense as of the church universal (10:32); and in the closing verses greetings are sent from one of the household churches (16:19), which were springing up throughout the Graeco-Roman world, especially in places of pioneering and heavy persecution.

The word *ecclesia* is used throughout, but we have a sequence of reflections of a changing pattern, which can be pinpointed in time and place as an operator stops a filmstrip.

---

1 The writer holds no particular brief for Kahn's views but uses his facts merely as an illustration to show how a modern biblical theological problem may find its explanation in an ethnolinguistic pinpoint. For the reader desiring to study further the words *mishpat* and *chesed*, the writer recommends Snaith (1944), where the origins of these two words are discussed in a most scholarly manner, though strangely without mention of the dual thrones.

2 It has been suggested that there are etymological affinities between *quahal* and the Greek, *kalein*; the Latin, *calare*; and the English "to call" (Trench 1865, 3).

3 The Alexandrian translators were not entirely consistent in this, and Trench (1865, 1:2–4) points out the inconsistencies while admitting this seems to have been their general plan. Another authority claims the former summons men from the whole world to become its members, the latter brought together members of an existing society; and that this differentiation reveals the ultimate distinction between the Christian church and the Jewish synagogue (Bullinger 1924, 72–73). See also the chapter on "The Church of God" in Barclay (1955).

The words of the Bible capture the changes of formative days for the church of God. Today we have a basic doctrine of the church, and our theological colleges provide a course of lectures about it; but in the Scriptures we may study its development—we have a filmstrip which reflects the cultural ethos at different points of time. The word and the culture pattern are mutually confirmatory, and therefore either one is valid evidence for suggesting the other where light on one is not clear. The whole must integrate. Therefore whenever a text reveals a peculiar use of a well-known word, we are justified in asking why, and likewise whenever a word suddenly changes its meaning.

There must be a reason, which calls for investigation. Take, for instance, the use of the term *Lord* for Jesus in the gospel narrative. You may, according to Durell, find it used in three ways, and these uses are found to fall into historic periods (1910, 33–34). Something happened at a specific point of time, and from then a known word had a new meaning and indicates a new attitude on the part of the disciples towards Jesus. The pattern must integrate as a whole, and we are compelled to pinpoint the Caesarea Philippi incident and the Resurrection as being vital experiences leading to the changes concerned.

One of the many examples which might be taken from Paul is the word *tapeinophrosune*, "with a lowly mind." *Tapeinos*, to heathen writers, had a bad meaning—groveling, abject—but the full word is a Jewish seed brought to maturity in the Christian church. It was used in the Septuagint (e.g., Prov 29:23) but is not found in classical Greek before the Christian era. A common word in the New Testament, it reveals how Christ's teaching and life raised the idea of humility to a new level (Phil 2:3) (Lightfoot 1913, 109).

Some Examples from Church History

Many volumes have been written on key words of the Bible, but that is not the theme of this study. The purpose of this preamble has been to use well-known data to illustrate a point of view or an attitude towards the relationship of words and culture pattern, of words and events, of words and changing society, of words and the development of theological and ethical concepts. What has been said of the days of the early church—that they were formative days—applies also of the church throughout history. Its days are never anything but formative, and semantic change when it has bearing on the church (either its organisation or its thought) is valid evidence for historical investigation. We are interested in the experience of the saints. This is our tradition, as Bishop Moore said—the cumulative heritage of actual experience, the faith of past generations, through which God has helped to create ours, as ours in time will help create that of the next (Edwards 1951, 41).

Thus, throughout the history of the church, the experiences of men especially in times of crisis, have led to the reading of some new meaning into old words, and this very change is evidence of both the event and the experience of the saints. Just as the meaning of the words *bread* and *wine* received a new significance because of a certain act, in a certain room,

at the time of the Last Supper, so all through history where events and personalities have come together, words have been left as evidence. Was there not a time when men spoke of "the Eternal City" and thought of Rome? Then came the fall of Rome, and this event reacted on Augustine, leading him to write his *City of God*; and did not this change forever the meaning of the proud term—"the Eternal City"? And are there not words which belong to church history, which, though we claim them ours, we can never completely separate from certain names and events and a particular religious background? Would any of us preach on *justification by faith* without thanking God in our hearts for Martin Luther? It was in the Bible, of course, and we might have found it without Luther, but it would not have been quite the same meaning. *Justification by faith*, consciously or unconsciously, for every one of us, involves something conceived against a background of sixteenth-century Roman Catholicism. Nor will it ever be easy for an expositor to speak of *predestination* without reference to Calvin. There are other words like *perfect love*, which have similar significance for Methodists. This is a "cumulative heritage of actual experience." We cannot ponder these theological terms without reference to the past, and even in concepts which we reject, we still feel the drag of those focal points where the concept was changed or charged with new meaning, or a long-forgotten meaning rediscovered with power.

Now, the cardinal fact of this study is that what has applied for the people of God in biblical times, and down through history, is also applying today for the young churches. I want to take you now from the known to the unknown, and show you how the church is a causative factor in semantic change, and how these very changes in word meanings are evidence of new and vital Christian experiences, of developing organisation, and a growing theology—indigenous growth reflecting a struggle with racism, Western money economy, and social forces of disintegration that have invaded from without. My examples come from the Fiji Islands, the field where I labour.

2

THE FIELD FOR INVESTIGATION: THE CHURCH IN THE FIJI ISLANDS

The church has been in the Fiji Islands for a little over a century, and one of the outstanding features of this mission was the number of excellent linguists who were among the earliest missionaries. A great deal of their work remains extant for study. In their journals they explain their reasons for many of the decisions they made, and those of us who follow know they laid a good foundation. They were sound in their judgements, and we can find little fault with their techniques.[4] Proof of this may be had in the way in which their innovations have been received and become thoroughly indigenous. Their system for Fijianising English names was remarkable and has stood the test of time.[5]

Problems of the Communicator

But things are never easy for the pioneer missionary evangelist and translator. Difficulties of communication, even to the missionary who has the work of his predecessors on which to build, seem to me to involve the translator in one of two problems—either he translates his own linguistic thought forms, which are imperfectly understood by the new Christian, or he has to escape his own thought forms altogether and try to reduce everything to basic experience, and then seek out some native thought form which can be used to express the concept. Both of these have their dangers. Theological courses and Bible studies in English to island people, whose English is limited and colloquial, run into the former danger. They are often justified on the score that sooner or later the words will acquire their intended meaning, even though it be delayed a generation or two. The chances are that, by the time they do acquire such intended meaning (if ever), Western Christian ideas will have been modified, and thus often when the islander does eventually catch up with the ideas involved, they are some thirty years out of date. This criticism is justly made against many sects that are at present pouring into the Pacific Islands with their peculiar gospels in theological jargon with which Westerners are familiar. Their real appeal is an ability to

4 There has been some criticism of the Fijian orthography, mostly from people who have been unready to learn to use it. For those of us who use it day by day it is excellent.

5 By comparing the notes of Messrs. Hunt and Lyth in this matter the situation can be completely reconstructed. The principles involved may be studied in Lyth's *Journal* in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.

cite Scripture from all sorts of contexts to suit their ends. Their converts likewise learn to cite the same passages, but the significance is temporally delayed. Their acceptance is blind on the simple authority that they are the word of God.

The second alternative has its danger in its boldness. A missionary certainly takes a responsibility on his shoulders when he selects a concept from some element of pagan life, for building up Christian understanding. This is what the early Fijian missionaries did in many respects, and it was just here that their daring scored the greatest triumphs for the gospel. And this, it seems to me, is more in line with the tradition behind the word *ecclesia* and many other cherished possessions, as, for example, the transforming of the birthday of the sun (25 December) into our festival of Christmas. The seeds of the desired concept were there awaiting the rain of Christianity for them to burst forth into new life.

Therefore, as we pass on to the detailed study of these word changes, it would be well for the reader to take cognisance of this basic assumption at the outset. The selection of words for biblical translation and catechetical exercises by the early Fijian missionaries was deliberate and thoroughly considered. Wherever possible they used native thought forms—some very daring.

Because they were willing to take this risk in faith, the language of the church was immediately thoroughly indigenous, and this, more than any other fact, gave the much divided Fijian people their unity and their *lingua franca.* Although the missionaries were extremely critical of the pagan religion and disgusting social practices of the people, and wrote at length on this subject, they were never blind to the fact that there were, here and there, same glimmers of light, even in the darkness. Wherever such a glimmer was evident, they tried to preserve it in a sanctified form. These are the basic facts for the reader to remember as we proceed.

Types of Semantic Change Observed

There were many types of semantic change. Some were deliberately made and explained. Some came slowly over the years and reflect the changing culture. There were, as with every language, some foreign borrowings. There were combinations of old words which gave new ideas by their association. There were similar words which demanded reflection and selection, as we have already seen with *ecclesia* and *synagogue*. The growing church required a unique terminology. There were spiritual experiences which required description, and a new ethic to be explained. Perhaps no one word proves anything, but let it be observed that we are dealing with cumulative evidence. These tremendous changes reveal something of the terrific impact the church was making on Fiji and its people, and the cumulative evidence of semantic change is real and valid evidence of this.

Foreign Borrowings

Now it suits our purpose to deal quickly with the foreign borrowings and dismiss them. There are, however, two significant things that must be said: (1) Where a completely new idea was to be introduced, that had no island counterpart, an English word was borrowed and Fijianised. (2) Where possible the word was fitted into the Fijian linguistic pattern and used as a root with normal prefixes and suffixes. Let us consider a few examples of each of these facts.

COMPLETELY NEW IDEAS

Secular vocabulary has made hundreds of borrowings—*sitoa* (store), *retio* (radio), *wavu* (wharf), *simede* (cement), *ki* (key), *idini* (engine), *etita* (editor), *poudi* (pound), *silini* (shilling), and *peni* (penny), to give a few examples, which are enough to show how Western culture has been imposing itself on the islands over the last century and a half. This was inevitable, but there are documentary references to the early missionaries' conscious efforts to avoid it, and they confined the practice to items which were environmental or cultural but extra-Fijian. For instance, there were things in the biblical and ecclesiastical environments which had no Fijian counterparts.

Thus, the fauna of the Bible sometimes presented problems, for though Fijian had its *gata* (snakes) and *vuaka* (pigs),[6] there were no sheep or horses. As these animals were actually introduced by the missionaries, the English names were brought with them and Fijianised as *sipi* and *ose.*

In the matter of flora they usually found some related tree or plant in Fiji and used this name, but sometimes, when they felt the similarities were not close, they borrowed a foreign environmental word (e.g., *sita*; cedar).[7]

Names of foreign places and people were borrowed and Fijianised according to set rules, depending on whether they were of Hebrew or Greek origin.

In the organisation of the church completely new cultural elements were introduced, some with theological significance of great importance to the missionaries. Thus they used a few words like *sakaramede* (sacrament) and *papitaiso* (baptism). There are not many such words.

ABSORBING WORDS IN THE INDIGENOUS PATTERN

These foreign words had to conform to the Fijian linguistic pattern. The name for the church itself, or for the Christian religion, as distinct from the pre-Christian practices,

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6 *Vuaka* is really an English word, "porker," but it is of pre-Christian origin in Fiji. It exists as *puaka* in Tonga and *vua'a* in Samoa, and was an early trade word. Even so there is an earlier native word for "pig," which survives in *vore* in the Kadavan dialect (Fiji). The writer knows a documentary reference to pigs in the islands over three hundred years ago.

7 Also used of the timber of the tree, which was introduced to the islands in the furnishings of the vessel *John Wesley* in 1847.

was a foreign word borrowed from Tonga, *lotu.* There were also a few words borrowed for ecclesiastical purposes but which subsequently became used for secular purposes—*same* (psalm) and *tevoro* (devil), for instance. Let us examine these three interesting words.

The original use of *lotu* was as a verb and a noun, the former being used to describe the act of decision when a heathen "bowed the knee" to God, and the second *na Lotu* referring to the Christian religion, an all-inclusive word. Christianity came via Tonga, and there were many Tongans in Fiji, so the use of a Tongan word was natural. In these two senses the word was used by pagan and Christian alike to describe the phenomena which was appearing in their midst. Decision was a ritual act and described by a simple statement (*Sa lotu ko Ratu Nagatalevu*; Chief Big Snake has *lotu*-ed). This was a perfectly meaningful act to any Fijian, both regarding its performance and its consequences. The word was absorbed into the Fijian linguistic pattern almost immediately, so that we get *vale ni lotu* (church house); *vakakoso lewe ni lotu* (congregation), thus avoiding the confusion of the many meanings of the English word "church"; *vakalotutaka* (convert)—the regular pattern for a causative verb (i.e., "to cause to lotu"); and a secondary use, at first within the church and then outside, *lotutaka* (to pray for)—literally, to make something an object, in the interests of which an act of worship is employed.[8]

Much the same thing may be said of *same* (psalm), although the Fijian word *meke* was often used instead. There were many real affinities between the two, but as there were many unsavoury forms of *meke*, the church gradually dropped the use of the native word in this connection. *Same* is a good example of how perfectly natural borrowings may be fitted into the linguistic form of the borrowing language. From the noun *same* a verb was formed, *samea* (to sing psalms or to praise). In the process of time the secondary meaning became uppermost, and the word was used to praise in other ways, as we would say, "I am singing his praises today," a form of metaphoric use. When a speaker uses numerous complimentary epithets about the womenfolk of a tribe who have entertained him, as in a speech of thanks, these are termed *yaca ni vakasasamei* (names of much praising). A visitor desiring to depart with all fitting decorum will engage in this form of what we would consider extravagance. Yet, even to the Fijian there is a point where such extravagance brings forth retorts from those praised, and the decorum is lost. This is a regular form of Fijian humour—praises and words of endearment pass from one to the other, growing more and more extravagant, and rousing laughter among those present. This form of patter is known as *veisamei* (singing each other's praises), a reciprocal action noun formed in the regular pattern by prefixing *vei-* to the passive form of the verb. This example serves

8 Actually in pre-Christian Tongan the word was found for an act of worship and was so recorded by Mariner in 1817. However, when it came to Fiji it was used as the word for the Tonga religion only (i.e., Christianity). So the secondary Tongan meaning was the primary Fijian meaning of this borrowed word. The modern tendency to use the word of religion (e.g., *Na Lotu Mahomet;* The Muslim Religion) is good pre-Christian Tongan usage but is much resented by the older Fijians.

to show how completely indigenous an English word may become when its thought fits the cultural pattern, and its form lends itself to use as a verbal root.

The history of the word *tevoro* (devil) is not so easily reconstructed. It is easier to recognise in the form *tevolo*, but its wide distribution among the islands prior to the arrival of the church, more or less forces us to attribute it to the English-speaking navigators, sandalwood traders, and whalers of fifty years earlier. It is certainly a word of modern introduction, and in Fiji, at least, was seized on for description of the later forms of magic and spiritual evil which were infiltrating just before the historic arrival of Christianity. This is a highly significant fact which the anthropologist cannot afford to miss, that the Fijian clearly differentiates between the sympathetic magic of the tribal medicine man and the hostile foreign magic of the sorcerer. Yet Europeans persistently miss this and speak of *ka vakatevoro* (things of the devil) as all-inclusive. This display of ignorance has often caused a Fijian to say that it only shows how little the foreigner knows about this. Except where under considerable Western influence, or where he adapts his speech to the Westerner, the Fijian differentiates clearly. My personal experience has been that an antidote for black magic is sought from the tribal medicine man, not the Fijian minister. They do not confuse *ka ni Vu* and *ka vakatevoro*, or *na veiqaravi makawa* and the *ka vakatevoro.* That is, they speak with respect of "the things of the Ancestor" or "the old practices" but with fear of "things of the devil." In the meantime "the devil" has taken his place in Fijian ideas. The phrase *tiko vakatevoro* (to live together in the way of the devil) has been accepted as the term for living together in an unmarried state. This problem has arisen since the acceptance of Christianity, and the church scored a strong moral victory in securing the use of this term. The very term is a judgement.[9]

For all this the term *tevoro* has always been an elusive one when it comes to actual definition. Like the devil himself, it seems to take on many forms, and may be used of a man who is in a devil's service, during the time he is "possessed." There is a proverb, the origin of which must be in historic times surely—*Sa vuka na tevoro ka sa tu na tamata* (the devil has flown and the man remains). This proverb is used of a person who, having done evil, now comes again to his senses. It suggests strong affinities between biblical and Fijian demonology. It seems that the proverb could almost be traced to the influence of the Scripture itself.[10] Here we must leave our examples of borrowed words. Perhaps we have seen enough to realise that, although the church did not introduce a great number of borrowed words,

9 The earliest reference I have been able to locate is a resolution of the district meeting of 1857. It was used as the opposite of *vakalotu,* at a time when the polygamy issue was being fought out. Converts were accepted as adherents and were admitted to instruction but were not baptised unless they became truly *vakalotu* and abandoned living *vakatevoro* (*Fiji District Miscellaneous Resolutions Book,* 1854—67, resolution 45). It is highly significant that this public use of the term dates just a few months after the abandonment of polygamy by the paramount chief, Ratu Cakobau.

10 For example, see Matthew 9:32,33; Mark 1:23–27; 5:1–20; 7:29,30; 9:20–27; Luke 4:33–36; Acts 16:16–18; 19:11–16. This type of Scripture narrative was highly acceptable to the Fijian mind at a period in their history when this was a grim problem to them.

except for the names of people, places, animals, etc., the new words she did introduce were significant words which have either been fitted naturally into Fijian life and culture or have molded them. In all cases they have become Fijian in form and followed the rules of grammar.

Retentions from the Pre-Christian Religion

We now turn to a highly significant group of words—those selected from the pre-Christian ritual and religion for use in the church. The ancient religious practices were highly ritualistic and left a rich selection of words like *ai soro* (sacrifice), *cabora* (present in a liturgical or sacrificial manner), *masu* (pray or prayer), *cuva* (bow down in respect), and many more, all highly significant words, and clearly understood by the people, and which would be used in their original sense for Scripture translation with little, if any, modification of meaning. It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that the early missionaries penetrated deeply enough into heathen worship to realise the rich heritage of ceremonial and sacrificial terminology the Fijian people possessed, and were sufficiently bold to retain it for Christian use. Without this, neither Christianity nor the Scriptures could have become meaningful so quickly to the Fijian people.

Out of these words has come the Fijian concept of worship. It is not Western, but truly Fijian. These are revealing words. Take *cuva* for instance. In the New Testament we meet the concept of "bowing down." In Romans 11:10 we have a word which means "to bend the knee joint" and is metaphorically used as "to humble oneself." But it is quite a different word that is used in Luke 24:5 of the visitors to the sepulcher on Resurrection Day, who "bowed down their faces to the earth." The "every knee" that should bow before the Christ in Philippians 2:10 is still another word. So the New Testament offers three concepts—humiliation, reverence, and worship in the word "bow" or "bow down."

It seems to me that the word *cuva* used by itself can be used in any of these three senses, but it is never used flippantly, and is a word of spiritual quality. For a man to kneel down to bale water out of a canoe, an entirely different word is used. There are times when *cuva* signifies shame or sorrow, but here again the word has a spiritual significance; it is far from a mere physical act. The Fijians call it a "word of deep significance" (*vosa bibi*). The root is used in a transitive form as *cuvata* (to conceal oneself behind). We have here a clue to the concept. It is a bowing down which hides the subject's face before some great sorrow or before a divine manifestation. It involves a feeling of pain or unworthiness. A man walking, with his head bent in sorrow, is said to *lako cuvacuva*; or for one walking erect to bow humbly as he passes a great chief, is *cuva tutu.* For a man who has committed some grievous error to fly from judgement, but to know all the time that he cannot escape, is *cuva vudi.* Is it any wonder that the church took over this word which so perfectly expressed the emotional ideas behind Peter falling down before Christ (Luke 5:8) and similar passages?

In the period of the great mass movements into the faith, which commenced under John Hunt in the 1840s at Viwa, when scores fell on their faces weeping bitterly in repentance, and with one accord the folk who had already passed through the experience would kneel with elbows and foreheads touching the floor, in worship before this outpouring of the Spirit (a custom still observed in churches without seats and in private home devotions), do we wonder that a new phrase came into use, *cuva vakalotulotu*, to describe this particular form of worship?[11]

A similar word to *cuva* is *cabe*, which literally means to go up a steep place, such as the ascent on land after the canoe has returned from a journey at sea. This also is a significant word, with Fijian associations. When a stranger arrives in a village, he reports first to the chief. This is simple island courtesy. He is said to *cabeta* (ascend) to the chief's house, even though in point of fact he may have descended from the mountains into the valley. As far back as the records go, one always ascended to the house of the chief or to a heathen temple, whatever the topography of the land, and *cabeta* is therefore found to be a word with more than a mere physical significance.

This truth is further illuminated by its derivatives. *Cabetaka* is to ascend with a gift or some special thing for presentation, yet the word is merely the root plus the verbal suffix. There is not so much as a phoneme to suggest the presentation or gift, and this can only mean that it is lexically implied in *cabe* itself. *Caberaka* means to raise a stepchild, and the stepfather is sometimes called *tamana vakacabecabe* (his father who brings about his ascent). That such ideas can be expressed in a single patterned adjective is itself an index to Fijian thinking.

Ai vakacabe (the place of ascent) in use signifies the place where the god first appeared to the people, and this therefore becomes a "high place," whether it is in a valley or on a mountain top. Thus *ai Vakacabe ni Lotu* is *Bucainabua* (the valley of the Bua). Rev. Paula Seru wrote me an account of the conversion of Kadavu. He entitled the account: "*Cabe na Lotu ki Kadavu*" ("The Ascent of the Church to Kadavu"). When the psalmist asks, "*Ko cei ena cabe cake ki na ulunivanua i, Jiova?*" ("Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?"), we have an idea of deep spiritual significance to the Fijian, even before the Christian plan of salvation was understood. This was the kind of thought which led so many heathen Fijians to attend Christian services and listen respectfully. The Spirit was surely working through their own culture patterns.

Another word of this same group is *masu* (pray and prayer) with its combinations—*masumasu* (cumulative prayers), *masulaka* (to pray for), *masuta* (to pray to), and *vakamamasu* (intransitive form). These words were in use when the first missionaries arrived. The idea of prayer was not foreign. There are two important things to note here. (1) The existence of

11 A more detailed evaluation of these mass movements may be read in Tippett (1954, 27ff.).