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43. Ethnographical Sketch of Fiji

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Source: *Man*, Vol. 15 (1915), pp. 73-77

Published by: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2788875>

Accessed: 27-06-2016 03:31 UTC

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given by a Zulu, of the Abatwa (Bushmen), to whom tradition ascribed the very same practice mentioned by Mr. Northcote :—

“If a man is on a journey and comes suddenly on an Umutwa, the Umutwa asks, ‘Where did you see me?’ But at first, through their want of intercourse with the Abatwa, a man spoke the truth and said, ‘I saw you in this very place,’ [*i.e.*, owing to his small size, the man did not see him till he was quite close]. Therefore the Umutwa was angry, through supposing himself to be despised by the man, and shot him with his bow and he died. Therefore it was seen that they like to be magnified, and hate their littleness. So then when a man met with them, he saluted the one he met with, ‘I saw you’ [the usual Zulu salutation, *Sakubona*]. The Umutwa said, ‘When did you see me?’ The man replied, ‘I saw you when ‘I was just appearing yonder. You see yon mountain; I saw you then, when I was ‘on it.’ So the Umutwa rejoiced, saying, ‘O, then, I have become great.’ Such, then, became the mode of saluting them.”

The Maithoachiana would appear to be as sensitive about their small stature as these Abatwa, who, Callaway thinks, are in this passage, not Bushmen, “but “apparently pixies or some race much more diminutive than the actual Bushmen.” However, the Bushmen (like the Wasanye of East Africa) have a very uncanny reputation as sorcerers among other tribes, and it is quite likely that these and other clearly mythical accounts are really intended to apply to them. The Waboni, in New’s time, were credited with exceptional powers of transforming themselves into animals.

I am under the impression—though unable at present to trace any reference to the matter in my notes—that I heard of either the Wasanye or the mythical being known to the Wapokomo as the *Kitunusi*, asking the question, “Where did you see me?” and taking offence if told that it was close at hand. I shall be glad if any present or former resident in East Africa can throw any light on this point.

A. WERNER.

## Fiji : Ethnography.

Hocart.

### Ethnographical Sketch of Fiji. By A. M. Hocart.

43

The purpose of the present paper is to define and name certain areas in Fiji which may prove convenient in locating customs, and which may make more intelligible subsequent notes on Fijian ethnology. It is not my purpose to advance any theories concerning the composition of the Fijian races.

Waterhouse is the only writer of whom I am aware\* who has recorded in print the profound contrast between the dialects of Eastern and Western Viti Levu. In his *King and People of Fiji* he gives a list of words in Mbauan and in a Western dialect, which he concludes to be aboriginal, for no other reason, apparently, than that it differs from the Mbauan. As a matter of fact the Western dialects are quite Melanesian in character, yet so dissimilar from the Eastern dialects as to form a separate language.

The chief points of difference are :—

(1) The vast majority of nouns and verbs, even for common objects, are different or used in a different sense, thus :

English.	East.	West.
ghost.	<i>kalou.</i>	<i>nitu.</i>
house.	<i>vale.</i>	<i>were.</i>
pig.	<i>puaka.</i>	<i>voré.</i>

\* I am not sure Fison does not mention it in his article on the ‘Nanga’ in the *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* which I have not to hand.

(2) The Western dialects drop *u* after *m* at the end of a word :

*tam(u)* = not.

(3) The Western dialects compound their possessives with *le*, sometimes *la* ; the Eastern use *o*, *no*, or *ne* :

Mbau *nona* ; West : *leya* (his).

(4) Nouns which in the East take the possessive as a suffix, follow it in the West :

*Mb.na linganggu* ; *W.nggu lima* (my hand).

There is no gradual transition from Western to Eastern dialects ; the line of demarcation is quite sharp ; it is formed by the great dividing range which runs from Tomanivi, the highest mountain in Fiji, southward between the Rewa and Singatoka rivers. At the head of the Wainikoroilua, an affluent of the Navua river, it leaves the range to follow that river to the sea. The Yanggara river prolongs the frontier down to the north coast.

There are two exceptions : the Noiemalu and kindred tribes that have migrated from the valley of the Singatoka over into that of the Wainimala, an affluent of the Rewa ; and the Talandrau of Nandrau, who have moved in the opposite direction from the Eastern slopes to the Upper Singatoka.

The islands belong to the opposite mainland, except Kandavu and Mbengga, which belong to the East ; Yanudha is divided between East and West.

The people of Western Viti Levu speak of the eastern part as *Natuidhake*, or that which is above, that is to windward, and are themselves known as *Ra*, or below, that is leeward. As the term Windward is used of the easternmost islands, and Leeward is applied to the Yasawa group, and as both words are conveniently reserved for that purpose, I propose to translate *Natuidhake* and *Ra* literally, and speak of High and Low Fijians.

As might be expected, important differences in custom accompany this difference in language. But many customs having been carried over from one side to the other, can be ascribed to the one or the other by inference only. I will therefore give only such as are still distinctive of High and Low Fijians :—

High.		Low.
Oblong house	- - -	Square house.
Canoes	- - -	—
Salt making introduced?	-	Salt making.
Bark cloth on the coast by women	-	Bark cloth inland by men.
Big sacred chiefs	-	Petty chiefs.
Elaborate social organization	-	Simple social organization.
Favourite number : 4	-	Favourite number : 5.
—	-	Nanga.

The Talandrau people have adopted the square house and the Noiemalu the oblong house, but the Talandrau have not been initiated into the Nanga mysteries, nor have the Noiemalu imparted them to their neighbours, which is an instance how technology is not always the best clue in unravelling the tangle of races.

The Low Fijian tribes are certainly the more homogeneous in dialect and customs. Every tribe has little peculiarities of speech, but the further removed from one another are still pretty much alike in vocabulary and intonation, and I believe that a white man who had grasped the dialect of one part would have no difficulty in understanding the others.

The only exception is the lower valley of the Singatoka and the coast some



way to the east and west of that river's mouth. The stranger is there mazed by the change of *s* into *h* and *t* into *s* before *e* and *i*, thus :—

*hiri* for *siri*,  
*mase* for *mate*.

But the language seems strange more on account of these changes and of the apparently more rapid speech than owing to any great differences in the vocabulary. Yet this phonetic difference corresponds to an ethnic one, for the Nanga ends abruptly as we pass into their region. In spite of much contact with Europeans, and of an active banana trade, they still strike one as the lowest tribes in Viti Levu.

Vatulele belongs, as far as dialect goes, to these tribes, which I shall call the Lower Singatoka tribes.

The rest of the Low Fijians is not so easy to classify. The Yasawas, Mba, Tavua, and the tribes at the source of the Singatoka have not the Nanga, but dialectic peculiarities would divide them differently. Those at the source of the Singatoka may conveniently be termed North-Western Dholo.\* The term Western Dholo will include them and the South-Western Dholo tribes, by which I understand the tribes extending from the middle Singatoka to the South Coast; these latter have the Nanga. The Mba-Tavua tribes are distinguished by the use of *sue* for house and *nggo* for pig.

The High Fijians are far more difficult to classify, and it is evident that we are in the presence of a greater mixture and upheaval. There is, as a rule, no hard-and-fast line between one group and another. From the foot of Tomaniivi to the Windward Islands there is a series of gradations; peculiarities of dialect and custom merely allow us to draw convenient lines here and there.

The term, Eastern Dholo, I shall use to include both the North-Eastern and the South-Eastern Dholo tribes.

The tribes of the north-west coast of Viti Levu from the Yanggara river to Namena, extending inland to the Wainimbuka river, are fairly sharply defined by their dropping their *t*'s. This goes with a physical aspect which makes them easy to pick out, yet which does not differ radically from other Eastern hill tribes; they have a deep depression at the root of the nose, a bony face, and strong eyebrows. It is difficult to find anything distinctive in their culture unless it be their houses, which are High Fijian but seem to have been influenced by the Low Fijian style. They are the only High Fijians known to me that make salt, an art which we may suppose they derived from the Low Fijians. They are great pot-makers on the coast. I shall call them North-Eastern Dholo tribes.

The tribes from the foot of Tomaniivi to the coast between Suva and Navua can conveniently be called South-Eastern Dholo tribes. We can use as a basis of classification the use of the verbal termination *e* instead of the coastal *a* (*kaute* for *kauta*) and of *nggwa* and *kwa* for *ngga* and *ka*. There is also a general resemblance in physique and in custom connected with first fruits, and other rites. But it must be remembered that each end of this tract is more closely related to the adjoining tribes outside the area than to the other end.

By Koro Sea peoples I understand the tribes or states that occupy the coast of Viti Levu from Namena to the mouth of the Rewa, the Lomaiviti, Moala, and Windward groups, Kumbulau, Taveuni, and the Natewa peninsula. They are far from homogeneous; at one end we have Verata, whose Dholo origin is marked on their faces, and at the other the Lauans, who are strongly infused with Tongan blood. Nevertheless, there is a certain unity of speech and custom, and they all lay stress

\* *Dholo* in Fijian means the uplands or hill country. I use it, however, of areas that are based on the hills but may extend to the coast.

upon the secular side of life, and have little of those elaborate rites that distinguish the hill tribes. Religiously they have distinct affinities with Polynesians. They also belonged to the same political vortex which was to Fiji as the European concert to Europe.

For certain purposes it is convenient to group all the islands of the Koro Sea, together with Kandavu, as the "islands." The term East Coast will distinguish from them those Koro Sea tribes that live on the mainland of Viti Levu and which have not certain peculiarities of social organisation found in the "islands."

Vanua Levu is most difficult to map out; I cannot think of any two bases of classification that will produce the same lines of cleavage. We shall leave it for the present, after just noticing the *k-p* dropping people, because I believe this peculiarity to be of great ethnographic importance that extends beyond the boundaries of Fiji. They form a cross division with the Koro Sea people, for they include some tribes within and some without that sphere. They claim a few clans in the north of Vanua Mbalavu, and occupy Koro, Taveuni, the Natewa peninsula, Undu Point, Dhikombia, and Madhuata island with the opposite mainland. As their peculiarity is called *ngato*, I shall call them the *Ngato* people.

The other parts of Vanua Levu mostly drop their *t*'s, and subject other consonants, more or less numerous according to the tribe, to certain changes in the direction of hardening. In custom and physique they have little resemblance to the *t*-dropping people of Viti Levu.

So much I hope, will help to locate better Fijian customs and estimate their ethnological significance. A. M. HOCART.

## REVIEWS.

### Voyages.

Hamilton.

*Voyage of H.M.S. "Pandora," despatched to arrest the Mutineers of the "Bounty" in the South Seas, 1790-91.* Being the narrative of Captain Edward Edwards, R.N., the commander, and George Hamilton, the surgeon. Pp. 177, and a map. 6s. net. London: Francis Edwards, 1914. 44

The above work is a reprint of the well-known, but extremely rare, book published at Berwick in 1793. For this reprint we are greatly indebted to Mr. Basil Thomson, who has written a most interesting introduction, reviewing the original work, with much additional information regarding the mutiny of the "Bounty."

"None of the minor incidents in our naval history has inspired so many writers as the mutiny of the 'Bounty.' Histories, biographies, and romances, from Bligh's *Narrative* in 1790 to Mr. Becke's *Mutineers* in 1898, have been founded upon it. The publication of Bligh's account of his sufferings excited the strongest possible sympathy, and the Admiralty lost no time in fitting out an expedition to search for the mutineers and bring them home to punishment. The 'Pandora,' frigate of twenty-four guns, was commissioned—Captain Edward Edwards. Fortunately for us the 'Pandora' carried a certain rollicking, irresponsible person as surgeon, George Hamilton, and his account of this voyage was published in Berwick in 1793, and has now become so rare that Mr. Quaritch lately advertised for it three times without success, and therefore no excuse is needed for reprinting it."

This book, which has up to the present been out of the reach of the ordinary reader, can now be obtained by those who thoroughly enjoy a story "which ranks 'first among the stories of the sea.'" At first condemned by the Puritanic mind of that time as coarse and vulgar, it is now described by Mr. Basil Thomson as a book, "the style of which though flippant is remarkable for a cynical but always good-natured humour."

"It must be admitted," he says, "that the author relates his own and his  
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