

# 14 *The dialects of the Yasawa Islands of Fiji*

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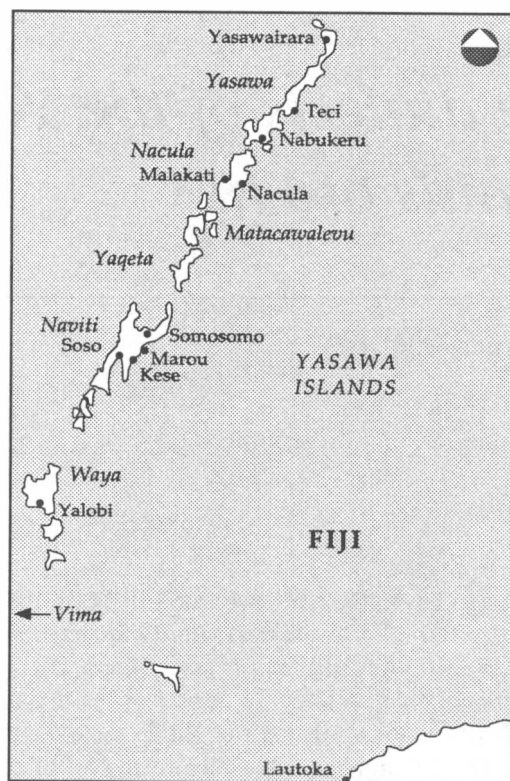
GERALDINE TRIFFITT

## 1 Introduction

The Yasawa archipelago lies to the north-west of Viti Levu, the most populous island of Fiji. There are 25 villages in the Yasawas; the majority are situated on the larger islands of Naviti (7), Yasawa (6), Nacula (4) and Waya (4) (see Map). The inhabitants of most of the islands have close traditional links with the Ba district of the mainland, and like other areas west of a divide from Tavua on the north coast of Viti Levu to the mouth of the Navua River in the south, speak a series of communalects which form part of the larger dialect complex known as Western Fijian.

This paper examines the extent of linguistic variation among the Yasawa islands in terms of phonology, grammar and lexicon concentrating on a comparison of preverbal pronouns and possessives in the speech of Yalobi (Waya), Soso (Naviti) and Nacula village (Nacula). I shall briefly consider the sociolinguistic situation in the village of Soso, Naviti, which suggests that the marriage patterns there may have an impact on the communalect spoken. As I am just beginning to study these communalects, any conclusions must be considered tentative.

My data is derived from a variety of sources. I have been visiting Soso for 20 years during which time I have been recording stories and gathering linguistic information in an informal way. The Nayato family, with whom I stay, have kinship connections with Nacula, Soso, Yalobi, Yaqeta and Nabukeru (Yasawa Island). They intuitively distinguish four areas of Yasawan speech – Waya and Viwa (a small island west of Waya); Naviti; Yaqeta; and the northern islands of Nacula, Yasawa, Matakawalevu and Tavewa. I am very grateful for all their help and that of Sakaraia Naivalu and Naomi Liku in preparing this paper.



**Map:** Location of Yasawan communalects

There have been few studies of Yasawan communalects. Capell and Lester (1941) used a North Yasawan sentence and Wayan pronouns in support of their thesis of different migrations to Fiji. In his Fijian dictionary, Capell (1941, reprinted 1973) noted phonological differences among some dialects of Fijian including the labiovelars of Western Fijian. His tables of cardinal pronouns and possessives included examples from Waya and Yasawa Island, but their forms were heavily influenced by Bauan. In 1953, Raven-Hart published a paper which analysed some features of the grammar and vocabulary of the communalect spoken at Nabukeru on Yasawa Island.

For his doctoral dissertation, Albert Schütz conducted taped interviews with informants of 105 villages throughout Fiji in 1960–61. He used a 400 word list and also sought grammatical and phonological information. The thesis (1962) concentrated on villages of Viti Levu, where he was able to identify the location of the Western-Eastern divide. He subsequently published a phonemic typology for the whole of the Fijian Islands and this included data from Yalobi (Waya), Kесе (Naviti), Yaqeta Island, Nacula and Nabukeru, Teci and Yasawairara villages on Yasawa Island (Schütz 1963).

The most extensive research into a Yasawan dialect has been the work of Pawley and Sayaba on the dialect of Waya. Their dictionary (forthcoming) is in the final stages of completion, their paper on possession (1990) will be the basis for comparison with other Yasawan dialects later in this paper, and Pawley's paper on the verb 'to be' is published in this volume. Their Wayan data was used to analyse grammatical reconstruction and change in Polynesia and Fiji (1970) and in a study of dialect divisions when the reconstructed proto

Eastern and proto Western Fijian from proto Fijian challenged the findings of Capell and Lester (1971). Further historical analysis was undertaken by Geraghty in his doctoral dissertation on the history of the Fijian languages (1983).

I am grateful for Professor Pawley's advice and comments, the copies of his fieldnotes (1967–68) recording speakers from Marou (Naviti), Yaqeta, Malakati (Nacula) and Teci (Yasawa Island) and the use of a draft copy of the Wayan dictionary.

To measure the extent of the homogeneity of Western Fijian, I shall use some comparative data from Biggs' study of the Ba dialects (1948), and MacKenzie's data on Savatu and Navatusila, situated in inland Viti Levu (1995).

In describing the language of the Yasawas, I am attempting to demonstrate differences in traditional Yasawan words or grammar, rather than the modified Bauan (Standard Fijian) loanwords which are becoming so much a part of the speech of Yasawan people.

## 2 Phonology

The phonological features identified as Western Fijian occur in the Yasawas. There are labiovelar contrasts of *k/kw*, *g/gw* and *q/qw*:

|                       |                           |                                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>kali</i> 'pillow'  | <i>gali</i> 'be pleasant' | <i>leqa</i> 'be short of something' |
| <i>kwali</i> 'sinker' | <i>gwali</i> 'be fast'    | <i>leqwa</i> 'another'              |

The velar is fricativised, *k* > *x* and/or voiced but the degree varies between communalects.

In comparison with Standard Fijian, vowel raising occurs commonly in syllable final *-a#* > *-e#* as in *berabera* > *berebere* 'late'; or the collective prefix *vei-* > *vi-*. Vowel deletion occurs when *u* >  $\emptyset$ /*m*\_ as in *tamu* > *tam* 'don't' or *mamutou* > *mamtou*. 'our' (Ie3)

Table 1: Phonological inventory<sup>1</sup>

| Consonants          | bilabial      | apico-dental  | apico-alveolar | dorso-velar   | labio-velar     |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| nasal               | <i>m</i>      | <i>n</i>      |                | <i>g</i> [ŋ]  | <i>gw</i> [ŋw]  |
| voiceless stop      |               | <i>t</i>      | <i>j</i> [ty]  | <i>k</i> [x]  | <i>kw</i> [xw]  |
| voiced stop         | <i>b</i> [mb] | <i>d</i> [nd] |                | <i>q</i> [ŋg] | <i>qw</i> [ŋgw] |
| trill               |               |               | <i>r</i>       |               |                 |
| prenasalised trill  |               |               | <i>dr</i>      |               |                 |
| voiceless fricative |               |               | <i>s</i>       |               |                 |
| voiced fricative    | <i>v</i> [β]  |               |                |               |                 |
| lateral             |               |               | <i>l</i>       |               |                 |
| semi-vowel          |               |               | <i>y</i>       |               | <i>w</i>        |

Vowels are *i*, *e*, *u*, *o*, *a*, with a length distinction.

Yasawan phonology is relatively consistent. One phonetic variation was described by Schütz (1963:69) as 'a voiceless apical (or pre-palatal) affricate with lateral release' occurring in the word *ila* from some Naviti villages. Schütz recorded the word at Kese, Naviti but not at Nabukeru, Yasawa Island where Raven-Hart wrote "The indefinite article is *e t'la na*.... Y-speakers insist that it is *e tila na*, but this is never heard". (1953:34) This is not a

<sup>1</sup> Soso dialect, based on MacKenzie (1995).

phonetic feature confined to the Yasawas, but was recorded by Biggs (1948:82) for the Nailanga communalelect in Ba Province, by Schütz (1963:69) in a village in Naitisiri as well as Ba and Nadroga villages, and Geraghty (1983:68) for Nakoroboya near Tavua.

Yaqeta varies from other communalelects in showing /d/ rather than /t/ for all first person inclusive pronouns. Informants from other Yasawan islands have remarked that speakers from Waya or Viwa have different intonation.

**Table 2:** Yasawa preverbal pronouns

| Person    | Waya            | Soso        | Marou                                | Nacula      | Yaqeta                  | Yasawa Island | Nalotawa (Ba) | Savatu Navatusila |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| I nonPast | <i>qi</i>       | <i>qi</i>   | <i>qi</i>                            | <i>qi</i>   | <i>qi</i>               | <i>qi</i>     | <i>qi</i>     | <i>qi</i>         |
| I Past    | <i>qu</i>       | <i>qu</i>   | <i>qu</i>                            | <i>qu</i>   | <i>qu</i>               | <i>qu</i>     | <i>qu</i>     | <i>a qu</i>       |
| Ii2 NP    | <i>ti</i>       | <i>tari</i> | <i>tari</i>                          | <i>tari</i> | <i>dari</i>             |               | <i>dari</i>   |                   |
| Ii2 P     | <i>tu</i>       | <i>taru</i> | <i>taru</i>                          | <i>taru</i> | <i>daru</i>             |               | <i>daru</i>   |                   |
| Ii3 NP    | <i>teva</i>     | <i>ti</i>   | <i>ti</i>                            | <i>ti</i>   | <i>di</i>               |               | <i>zi</i>     |                   |
| Ii3 P     | <i>teva</i>     | <i>tu</i>   | <i>tu</i>                            | <i>tu</i>   | <i>du</i>               |               | <i>du</i>     |                   |
| Iipl NP   | <i>ta</i>       | <i>ti</i>   | <i>ti</i>                            | <i>tei</i>  | <i>dei</i>              |               | <i>zi/dei</i> |                   |
| Iipl P    | <i>te</i>       | <i>tu</i>   | <i>ta</i>                            | <i>ta</i>   | <i>da</i>               |               | <i>da</i>     |                   |
| Ie2 NP    | <i>eri</i>      | <i>mari</i> | <i>maru/mari</i><br>(fut)            | <i>mari</i> | <i>mari</i>             | <i>mari</i>   | <i>mari</i>   | <i>mari</i>       |
| Ie2 P     | <i>aru</i>      | <i>maru</i> | <i>maru</i>                          | <i>maru</i> | <i>maru</i>             | <i>maru</i>   | <i>maru</i>   | <i>maru</i>       |
| Ie3 NP    | <i>eba</i>      | <i>mati</i> | <i>matu/mati</i><br>(fut)            | <i>mati</i> | <i>mati</i>             | <i>mamiti</i> | <i>madi</i>   | <i>mazi/maji</i>  |
| Ie3 P     | <i>aba</i>      | <i>matu</i> | <i>matu</i>                          | <i>matu</i> | <i>matu</i>             | <i>mamutu</i> | <i>madu</i>   | <i>madu/matu</i>  |
| Iepl NP   | <i>mam</i>      | <i>mami</i> | <i>mami</i>                          | <i>mami</i> | <i>mam/</i><br><i>m</i> | <i>mamiti</i> | <i>mami</i>   | <i>mami</i>       |
| Iepl P    | <i>mam</i>      | <i>mamu</i> | <i>mamu</i>                          | <i>mamu</i> | <i>mam</i>              | <i>mamutu</i> | <i>mamu</i>   | <i>mam</i>        |
| II NP     | <i>e</i>        | <i>o i</i>  | <i>o i/e</i> (fut)                   | <i>o i</i>  | <i>i</i>                | <i>i</i>      | <i>i</i>      | <i>oi/i</i>       |
| II P      | <i>o</i>        | <i>o</i>    | <i>o</i>                             | <i>o</i>    | <i>o</i>                | <i>o</i>      | <i>o</i>      | <i>o</i>          |
| II2 NP    | <i>oru</i>      | <i>miri</i> | <i>murū/miri</i>                     | <i>miri</i> | <i>miri</i>             | <i>miri</i>   | <i>miri</i>   | <i>miri</i>       |
| II2 P     | <i>oru</i>      | <i>murū</i> | <i>murū</i>                          | <i>murū</i> | <i>murū</i>             | <i>murū</i>   | <i>murū</i>   | <i>murū</i>       |
| II3 NP    | <i>oba</i>      | <i>miti</i> | <i>mutu/miti</i><br>(fut)            | <i>miti</i> | <i>miti</i>             | <i>miti</i>   | <i>miti</i>   | <i>miji</i>       |
| II3 P     | <i>oba</i>      | <i>mutu</i> | <i>mutu</i>                          | <i>mutu</i> | <i>mutu</i>             | <i>mutu</i>   | <i>mutu</i>   | <i>mutu</i>       |
| IIpl NP   | <i>om/m</i>     | <i>mi</i>   | <i>m, mutu/</i><br><i>miti</i> (fut) | <i>mi</i>   | <i>mi</i>               | <i>miti</i>   | <i>mi</i>     | <i>mi</i>         |
| IIpl P    | <i>om/m</i>     | <i>mu</i>   | <i>mutu</i>                          | <i>mu</i>   | <i>mu</i>               | <i>mutu</i>   | <i>mu</i>     | <i>mu</i>         |
| III NP    | <i>ei</i>       | <i>ei</i>   | <i>a/ei</i> (fut)                    | <i>e</i>    | <i>ei</i>               | <i>ei</i>     | <i>e</i>      | <i>i/e</i>        |
| III P     | <i>a</i>        | <i>a</i>    | <i>a</i>                             | <i>a</i>    | <i>a</i>                | <i>a</i>      | <i>a</i>      | <i>a</i>          |
| III2 NP   | <i>eri</i>      | <i>eri</i>  | <i>erei</i>                          | <i>eri</i>  | <i>eri</i>              | <i>aru</i>    | <i>eri</i>    | <i>eri</i>        |
| III2 P    | <i>aru</i>      | <i>aru</i>  | <i>aru</i>                           | <i>aru</i>  | <i>aru</i>              | <i>aru</i>    | <i>aru</i>    | <i>aru</i>        |
| III3 NP   | <i>eri</i>      | <i>eri</i>  | <i>erei</i>                          | <i>eri</i>  | <i>eri</i>              | <i>aru</i>    | <i>eri</i>    | <i>eri</i>        |
| III3 P    | <i>aru</i>      | <i>aru</i>  | <i>ara</i>                           | <i>aru</i>  | <i>aru</i>              | <i>aru</i>    | <i>aru</i>    | <i>aru</i>        |
| IIIpl NP  | <i>ere/erei</i> | <i>erei</i> | <i>ara/erei</i><br>(fut)             | <i>eri</i>  | <i>erei</i>             | <i>ara</i>    | <i>erei</i>   | <i>eri</i>        |
| IIIpl P   | <i>ara</i>      | <i>ara</i>  | <i>ara</i>                           | <i>aru</i>  | <i>ara</i>              | <i>ara</i>    | <i>ara</i>    | <i>ara</i>        |

SOURCES: Pawley (1967–68) for Waya, Marou, Yaqeta; Raven-Hart (1953) Yasawa Is.; Biggs (1948) Nalotawa; MacKenzie (1995) Savutu/Navatusila; personal fieldnotes (n.d.), Soso, Nacula. *z* represents a prenasalised palatal fricative [ʔʒ]

### 3 Grammar

Although Wayan has been used as an example of a Western Fijian dialect, it is quite deviant in some respects from other Yasawan communalects. This is particularly the case in the categories of preverbal pronouns and possessive pronouns.

#### 3.1 Preverbal pronouns

Table 2 shows the preverbal pronouns for various areas of the Yasawas and Nalotawa in Ba and Savutu/Navatusila in Colo for comparison. In contrast to Standard Fijian, pronouns in most of Western Fiji have tense distinctions. The past or non-time are represented by *-u#* and the present/future by *-i#* in all non-singular cases (except for the merging of dual and trial third person) in all the communalects studied except for Wayan, which has remarkably different first and second non-singular forms.

The Wayan trial form has a medial bilabial [mb] or [β] in the first and second persons, whereas other Yasawa communalects have a vowel change from first person exclusive to form the second person nonsingular pronouns.

|      |                  |       |                  |
|------|------------------|-------|------------------|
| Ie2  | <i>maru/mari</i> | Ile2  | <i>muru/miri</i> |
| Ie3  | <i>matu/mati</i> | Ile3  | <i>mutu/miti</i> |
| Iepl | <i>mamu/mami</i> | Ilepl | <i>mu/mi</i>     |

In Wayan there is no difference in form between first person exclusive dual and third person dual/trial.

There is no tense distinction in the Wayan first person inclusive trial, exclusive plural, and all second person non-singular pronouns. These are constructed by adding a number marker to the second singular past form *o* giving

|      |            |
|------|------------|
| II2  | <i>oru</i> |
| II3  | <i>oba</i> |
| IIpl | <i>om</i>  |

There are communalect variations in distinguishing tense. Pawley's (1967–68) data suggests a future/non-future distinction exists at Marou village on Naviti:

|                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>o i lā</i>  | 'You are going' |
| <i>e na lā</i> | 'You will go'   |
| <i>o lā</i>    | 'You went'      |

Both Biggs (1948:84) and Raven-Hart (1953:34) stated that the first person inclusive/exclusive distinction was not apparent in Nalotawa and Yasawa Island communalects respectively.

### 3.2 Cardinal pronouns

In other varieties of pronoun Wayan again differs from other Yasawa communalects in the first person non-singular forms. For example the cardinal or focal pronouns are:

**Table 3:** Cardinal pronouns<sup>2</sup>

| Person | Waya               | Soso            | Marou           | Yaqeta          | Malakati        | Teci             |
|--------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| I      | <i>o yau</i>       | <i>o yau</i>    | <i>o yau</i>    | <i>ko yau</i>   | <i>o yau</i>    | <i>o yau</i>     |
| Ii2    | <i>o tuketa</i>    | <i>o taru</i>   | <i>o taru</i>   | <i>o daru</i>   | <i>o taru</i>   | <i>o daru</i>    |
| Ii3    | <i>o vatiketa</i>  | <i>o tatou</i>  | <i>o tatou</i>  | <i>o datou</i>  | <i>o tatou</i>  | <i>o tatou</i>   |
| Iipl   | <i>o vatiketa</i>  | <i>o mam</i>    | <i>o tatou</i>  | <i>o da</i>     | <i>o tatou</i>  | <i>o tatou</i>   |
| Ie2    | <i>o rukemam</i>   | <i>o maru</i>   | <i>o maru</i>   | <i>o maru</i>   | <i>o maru</i>   | <i>o maru</i>    |
| Ie3    | <i>o vatikemam</i> | <i>o mamtou</i> | <i>o mamtou</i> | <i>o mamtou</i> | <i>o mamtou</i> | <i>o mamutou</i> |
| Ieipl  | <i>o vatikemam</i> | <i>o mam</i>    | <i>o mamtou</i> | <i>o mam</i>    | <i>o mamtou</i> | <i>o mamutou</i> |
| II     | <i>o iko</i>       | <i>o iko</i>    | <i>o iko</i>    | <i>o iko</i>    | <i>o iko</i>    | <i>o iko</i>     |
| II2    | <i>o muru</i>      | <i>o muru</i>   | <i>o muru</i>   | <i>o muru</i>   | <i>o muru</i>   | <i>o muru</i>    |
| III3   | <i>o mutou</i>     | <i>o mutou</i>  | <i>o mutou</i>  | <i>o mutou</i>  | <i>o mutou</i>  | <i>o mutou</i>   |
| IIipl  | <i>o mutou</i>     | <i>o mu</i>     | <i>o mutou</i>  | <i>o mu</i>     | <i>o mutou</i>  | <i>o mutou</i>   |
| III    | <i>o koya</i>      | <i>o koya</i>   | <i>o koya</i>   | <i>o koya</i>   | <i>o koya</i>   | <i>o koya</i>    |
| III2   | <i>o koru</i>      | <i>o koru</i>   | <i>o koru</i>   | <i>o koru</i>   | <i>o koru</i>   | <i>o koru</i>    |
| III3   | <i>o koru</i>      | <i>o kora</i>   | <i>o koru</i>   | <i>o koru</i>   | <i>o koru</i>   | <i>o koru</i>    |
| IIIipl | <i>o kora</i>      | <i>o kora</i>   | <i>o kora</i>   | <i>o kora</i>   | <i>o koru</i>   | <i>o kora</i>    |

Only Yaqeta maintains four persons for cardinal pronouns. Other Yasawa communalects distinguish singular, dual and plural, combining trial and plural for first and second person and dual and trial for third person. The one plural for both first persons in Soso needs to be verified. Malakati has only a singular and plural distinction in the third person, otherwise the same forms were recorded in Naviti and Yasawa islands.

The Wayan first and second person pronouns have the prefixes *ru-/tu-* for dual and *vati-* for trial. These are not found in paradigms for other Yasawan communalects.

### 3.3 Possessive pronouns

In all Fijian communalects there is a complex system to represent possession particularly among possessive pronouns, which vary according to the semantics and syntax of the noun possessed. Earlier analyses of Standard Fijian distinguished morphosyntactic possessive pronoun constructions depending on whether the noun was a kin term, inalienable, drinkable, edible or neutral. Pronouns were considered to concord with nouns of a particular gender.

Milner (1972:66) demonstrated that the same noun could take different forms of possessive pronouns depending on the particular situation.

- na noqu yaqona* 'my kava' (which I have grown to sell)  
*na mequ yaqona* 'my kava' (which I drink)

<sup>2</sup> Source: Pawley (1967–68).

He described these as nouns (bases) belonging to more than one class or gender. He also recognised the existence of a 'passive' class in contrast to an 'active' or neutral class.

Later analysts rejected the idea of gender categories in favour of contextual conditioning of the form of possessive (Geraghty 1983:246-251; Schütz 1985:465).

In a detailed examination of Wayan, Pawley and Sayaba (1990) identified eight possessive constructions.

**Table 4:** Wayan possessive constructions

| Construction | Semantics          | Prefix     | Position  | Article |
|--------------|--------------------|------------|-----------|---------|
| 1            | kinship            |            | postposed | proper  |
| 2            | kinship            |            | preposed  | none    |
| 3            | natural part       |            | preposed  | none    |
| 4            | manufactured part  | <i>ke-</i> | preposed  | common  |
| 5            | food possession    | <i>ke-</i> | preposed  | common  |
| 6            | drink possession   | <i>me-</i> | preposed  | common  |
| 7            | passive possession | <i>ke-</i> | preposed  | common  |
| 8            | active possession  | <i>le-</i> | preposed  | common  |

I have tested this typology and the examples chosen by Pawley and Sayaba on speakers of Soso and Nacula communalects.

The first construction, defined as kinship 1, is a closed category restricted to about 20 kinship terms. The proper article precedes the possessed noun which is followed for all except the second singular and third non-singular by a remnant article *i* before the possessive pronoun. Soso and Nacula pronouns lack the remnant article. Both Soso and Nacula informants used *tina-yau* or *tina-qu*, the Bauan construction.

**Table 5:** Construction 1. kinship possession: 1

Example: 'mother'

| Person | Wayan                   | Soso                 | Nacula               |
|--------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| I      | <i>o mnai au</i>        | <i>o tina yau</i>    | <i>o tina yau</i>    |
| II     | <i>o mnam</i>           | <i>o tinam</i>       | <i>o tinam</i>       |
| III    | <i>o mnaya</i>          | <i>o tinaya</i>      | <i>o tinaya</i>      |
| Ii2    | <i>o mnai rumeda</i>    | <i>o tina taru</i>   | <i>o tina daru</i>   |
| Ii3    | <i>o mnai vatimeda</i>  | <i>o tina tatou</i>  | <i>o tina datou</i>  |
| Iipl   | <i>o mnai meda</i>      | <i>o tina tā</i>     | <i>o tina dā</i>     |
| Ie2    | <i>o mnai rumemam</i>   | <i>o tina maru</i>   | <i>o tina maru</i>   |
| Ie3    | <i>o mnai vatimemam</i> | <i>o tina mamtou</i> | <i>o tina mamtou</i> |
| Iepl   | <i>o mnai memam</i>     | <i>o tina mam</i>    | <i>o tina mam</i>    |
| II2    | <i>o mnai rumem</i>     | <i>o tina muru</i>   | <i>o tina muru</i>   |
| II3    | <i>o mnai vatimem</i>   | <i>o tina mutou</i>  | <i>o tina mutou</i>  |
| IIpl   | <i>o mnai mem</i>       | <i>o tina mū</i>     | <i>o tina mū</i>     |
| III2   | <i>o mnadru</i>         | <i>o tinadru</i>     | <i>o tinadru</i>     |
| III3   | <i>o mnadru</i>         | <i>o tinadru</i>     | <i>o tinadru</i>     |
| IIIpl  | <i>o mnadra</i>         | <i>o tinadra</i>     | <i>o tinadra</i>     |

The second construction, kinship 2, has only six examples, three of which (*batuvu* 'man's sister's child'/'woman's brother's child', *karua* 'close relative' and *tavale* 'cross-cousin') occurred also in construction 1. The form of pronoun copies those of construction 1, except for a preposed position without an article, inclusive pronouns in Nacula show /t/ rather than /d/. More research is needed to determine whether Soso has a kinship 2 pattern. *Kawa* 'progeny' had the first and second singular forms for the construction but the other persons had the forms for construction 8. *Tavale* had the possessive structure of construction 1.

**Table 6:** Construction 2. kinship 2

Example: 'progeny'

| Person | Wayá                           | Soso                 | Nacula           |
|--------|--------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| I      | <i>qu kawa</i>                 | <i>qu kawa</i>       | <i>qu kawa</i>   |
| II     | <i>m kawa</i>                  | <i>mu kawa</i>       | <i>mu kawa</i>   |
| III    | <i>e kawa</i>                  | <i>lea kawa</i>      | <i>a kawa</i>    |
| Ii2    | <i>rumeda (or tumeda) kawa</i> | <i>ledaru kawa</i>   | <i>taru kawa</i> |
| Ii3    | <i>vatimeda kawa</i>           | <i>ledatu kawa</i>   | <i>tu kawa</i>   |
| Iipl   | <i>meda (or da) kawa</i>       | <i>leda kawa</i>     | <i>ta kawa</i>   |
| Ie2    | <i>rumemam kawa</i>            | <i>lemaru kawa</i>   | <i>maru kawa</i> |
| Ie3    | <i>vatimemam kawa</i>          | <i>lemamtou kawa</i> | <i>matu kawa</i> |
| Iepl   | <i>memam kawa</i>              | <i>lemamu kawa</i>   | <i>mam kawa</i>  |
| II2    | <i>rumem kawa</i>              | <i>lemuru kawa</i>   | <i>murú kawa</i> |
| II3    | <i>vatimem kawa</i>            | <i>lemutou kawa</i>  | <i>mutu kawa</i> |
| IIpl   | <i>mem kawa</i>                | <i>lemu kawa</i>     | <i>mua kawa</i>  |
| III2   | <i>medru (or dru) kawa</i>     | <i>ledru kawa</i>    | <i>ru kawa</i>   |
| III3   | <i>medru (or dru) kawa</i>     | <i>ledru kawa</i>    | <i>ru kawa</i>   |
| IIIpl  | <i>medra (or dra) kawa</i>     | <i>ledra kawa</i>    | <i>ra kawa</i>   |

Wayan pronouns for construction 3, natural parts including body parts, are the same as those in construction 2. Nacula pronouns, however differ in the third person *e* instead of *a*. The only variation in Soso is in the inclusive dual. All Pawley and Sayaba's semantic categories for this construction were tested and found to be present in Soso. These include extrusions on the body, external parasites, intimate possessions, name, voice, breath, rights and obligations, skill and names of manufactured objects derived from body part terms or containing the prefix *i-*.

**Table 7:** Construction 3. natural part possession

Example: 'head'

| Person | Waya                          | Soso                 | Nacula          |
|--------|-------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| I      | <i>qu ulu</i>                 | <i>qu ulu</i>        | <i>qu ulu</i>   |
| II     | <i>m ulu</i>                  | <i>m ulu</i>         | <i>mu ulu</i>   |
| III    | <i>e ulu</i>                  | <i>e ulu</i>         | <i>e ulu</i>    |
| Ii2    | <i>rumeda (or tumeda) ulu</i> | <i>daru/taru ulu</i> | <i>taru ulu</i> |
| Ii3    | <i>vatimeda ulu</i>           | <i>du ulu</i>        | <i>tu ulu</i>   |
| Iipl   | <i>meda (or da) ulu</i>       | <i>da ulu</i>        | <i>ta ulu</i>   |
| Ie2    | <i>rumemam ulu</i>            | <i>maru ulu</i>      | <i>maru ulu</i> |
| Ie3    | <i>vatimemam ulu</i>          | <i>matu ulu</i>      | <i>matu ulu</i> |
| Iepl   | <i>memam ulu</i>              | <i>mamu ulu</i>      | <i>mam ulu</i>  |
| II2    | <i>rumem ulu</i>              | <i>muru ulu</i>      | <i>muru ulu</i> |
| II3    | <i>vatimem ulu</i>            | <i>mutu ulu</i>      | <i>mutu ulu</i> |
| IIpl   | <i>mem ulu</i>                | <i>mu ulu</i>        | <i>mua ulu</i>  |
| III2   | <i>medru (or dru) ulu</i>     | <i>dru ulu</i>       | <i>dru ulu</i>  |
| III3   | <i>medru (or dru) ulu</i>     | <i>dru ulu</i>       | <i>dru ulu</i>  |
| IIIpl  | <i>medra (or dra) ulu</i>     | <i>dra ulu</i>       | <i>dra ulu</i>  |

The manufactured parts paradigm, construction 4, for third person only is identical for Waya, Soso and Nacula.

**Table 8:** Construction 4. manufactured parts

Example: 'mast'

| Person | Way/Soso/ Nacula     |
|--------|----------------------|
| III    | <i>na kea vanā</i>   |
| III2   | <i>na kedru vanā</i> |
| III3   | <i>na kedru vanā</i> |
| IIIpl  | <i>na kedra vanā</i> |

Construction 5 is labelled food possession and the example given for Waya is *tovatova* 'garden' which is a food source, showing that not just edible objects, but things associated with food, such as sources of food or containers of food may have the *ke-* prefix or infix for this construction.

Milner gave this example from Standard Fijian (1972:66):

*na nomudou dalo oqo?* 'is this your taro-patch?'  
*na kemudou dalo oqo* 'here's your taro (to eat)'

This is not the case in Nacula or Soso where *ilaulau* 'garden' uses construction 8, the active category with *le-*, but Soso allows *na kemu cakau* 'your fishing ground'.

**Table 9:** Construction 5. food possession

Example: 'garden' (as a food source) or 'cassava' (Soso and Nacula)

| Person | Waya                         | Soso/Nacula                |
|--------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| I      | <i>na qiau tovatova</i>      | <i>na kequ tavioka</i>     |
| II     | <i>na kem tovatova</i>       | <i>na kemu tavioka</i>     |
| III    | <i>na kea tovatova</i>       | <i>na kea tavioka</i>      |
| Ii2    | <i>na rukeda tovatova</i>    | <i>na kedaru tavioka</i>   |
| Ii3    | <i>na vaticeda tovatova</i>  | <i>na kedatou tavioka</i>  |
| Iipl   | <i>na keda tovatova</i>      | <i>na keda tavioka</i>     |
| Ie2    | <i>na rukemam tovatova</i>   | <i>na kemaru tavioka</i>   |
| Ie3    | <i>na vaticemam tovatova</i> | <i>na kemamtou tavioka</i> |
| Iepl   | <i>na kemam tovatova</i>     | <i>na kemam tavioka</i>    |
| II2    | <i>na rukem tovatova</i>     | <i>na kemuru tavioka</i>   |
| II3    | <i>na vatikem tovatova</i>   | <i>na kemutou tavioka</i>  |
| IIpl   | <i>na kem tovatova</i>       | <i>na kemū tavioka</i>     |
| III2   | <i>na kedru tovatova</i>     | <i>na kedru tavioka</i>    |
| III3   | <i>na kedru tovatova</i>     | <i>na kedru tavioka</i>    |
| IIIpl  | <i>na kedra tovatova</i>     | <i>na kedra tavioka</i>    |

Drink possession has the affix *me-* and a similar construction to that for food possession. Included in this construction 6 are mushy fruits, sucked objects such as *na mequ tovu* 'my sugar cane' and some soft seafood *na mequ yaqa* 'my shellfish' but *na kequ vasua* 'my clam'.

**Table 10:** Construction 6. drink possession

Example: Water (for drinking)

| Person | Waya                             | Soso/Nacula            |
|--------|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| I      | <i>na meqiau wai</i>             | <i>na mequ wai</i>     |
| II     | <i>na mem wai</i>                | <i>na memu wai</i>     |
| III    | <i>na mea wai</i>                | <i>na mea wai</i>      |
| Ii2    | <i>na rumeda (or tumeda) wai</i> | <i>na medaru wai</i>   |
| Ii3    | <i>na vatimeda wai</i>           | <i>na medatou wai</i>  |
| Iipl   | <i>na meda wai</i>               | <i>na meda wai</i>     |
| Ie2    | <i>na rumemam wai</i>            | <i>na memaru wai</i>   |
| Ie3    | <i>na vatimemam wai</i>          | <i>na memamtou wai</i> |
| Iepl   | <i>na memam wai</i>              | <i>na memam wai</i>    |
| II2    | <i>na rumem wai</i>              | <i>na memuru wai</i>   |
| II3    | <i>na vatimem wai</i>            | <i>na memutou wai</i>  |
| IIpl   | <i>na mem wai</i>                | <i>na memū wai</i>     |
| III2   | <i>na medru wai</i>              | <i>na medru wai</i>    |
| III3   | <i>na medru wai</i>              | <i>na medru wai</i>    |
| IIIpl  | <i>na medra wai</i>              | <i>na medra wai</i>    |

Constructions 7 and 8 signify whether the possessor is passive or active. The passive example used, *ialoalo*, means the image of someone, such as the reflection in water. There may be semantic differences in usage of this word in Nacula and Soso, where *ialoalo* is used for the images in a motion picture, and the Bauan word *itaba* is used for the modern image such as a photograph. Hence *na kequ itaba* 'my picture' is a picture of me, whereas *na lequ itaba* is 'the picture I have taken'. The passive construction has the same form as the food possession construction. The active construction, for example *sue* 'house' substitutes *le-* for *ke-*.

From this brief examination, it appears that the morphosyntactic and semantic constructions identified by Pawley and Sayaba for Wayan possessive pronouns concur with those for Nacula and Soso except for some semantic variations.

## 4 Vocabulary

Pawley and Sayaba estimated a cognate count of 61% in a 'basic vocabulary' 200 word list between Bauan and Wayan (1971:415).

Among the Yasawa communalects, Wayan seems to be the most deviant. I have shown above, the uniqueness of the Wayan *ru-* and *vati-* forms of pronouns. Some common words vary:

| English    | Wayan             | Other Yasawan |
|------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 'house'    | <i>were</i>       | <i>sue</i>    |
| 'no'       | <i>lala</i>       | <i>tikai</i>  |
| 'tomorrow' | <i>qwataqwata</i> | <i>roaroa</i> |

Other island communalects have minor lexical variations. Nacula uses *wara* not *bi* for 'many'. Naviti communalects have *driu* not *drisi* for 'red'. The demonstratives in particular show great variation:

| English | Waya                 | Soso         | Nacula     | Yasawa      |
|---------|----------------------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| 'this'  | <i>kwē/kwema</i>     | <i>kwei</i>  | <i>eki</i> | <i>kwei</i> |
| 'that'  | <i>sōkwē/sōkwema</i> | <i>sōkwē</i> | <i>agi</i> | <i>oki</i>  |

Lexical variation may occur between villages on the same island. On Naviti, Malevu uses *lequcia* 'to see' instead of *dania* which is used elsewhere on Naviti. Kese has *viseu* for *visawaqe* 'to play' and Somosomo says *sakisere* not *saro* for 'chest'. This demonstrates that Yasawan communalect divisions occur at village as well as island level.

## 5 The sociolinguistic situation

Yasawan speech is being influenced by Standard Fijian. I found that the word lists I consulted often mixed Bauan words with the communalect it purported to record. Often a Bauan verb had the Yasawan transitive ending *-Cia* (where C stands for various consonants). Parents from Nacula say that younger people tend to use more general words like *nō* instead

of *gatule* for 'lie' or *vinā* for 'good' when a more appropriate term would be the more specific *koba* 'a good smell'.

Within a village, the speech of informants may vary according to differences in age, educational attainment, time spent outside the village or degree of immunity from outside influences. Yasawan communalects compete against other languages. The Fijian language variety heard on the radio is Standard Fijian, the newspaper is in that language or English, and the language of instruction in school is English.

Within the family, the mother's communalect influences the children's speech. Generally wives reside in their husband's village. In Soso, there is still considerable intermarriage within the village. In a sample of 24 Soso married men, 14 have married Soso women, seven married other Yasawan women, two brothers married Ba women and only one wife came from a non-Western speaking area.

On the surface, this would seem a stable linguistic situation, but when the birthplace of the previous generation is considered, the influence of the mother's speech becomes apparent. Of the 14 couples where both partners came from Soso, 10 had at least one mother from Waya or Viwa and only three couples had both mothers from Soso. Because of this there is a strong Wayan influence on the Soso communalect.

There are also strong links between the Yasawas and some villages in Ba, particularly Vitogo, Naviago and Votua, where some settlement in the Yasawas originated and which are still linked through intermarriage.

## 6 Conclusion

The Yasawas are a distinctive geographical region which has been largely isolated from contact with English-speakers, except for some villages on the tourist cruise route. Although the influence of Standard Fijian is strong, communalects are maintained, which allows comparison both at island and village level. Waya has some markedly different features from other Yasawan communalects notably in its pronouns. Preverbal pronouns represent tense differently. The forms of possessive pronouns, though unique, still conform to the position of the pronoun relative to the possessed noun characteristic of Yasawan pronouns.

There are lexical differences which characterise individual islands, or villages within an island. A rigorous linguistic survey of this area is needed to give further insights into the nature of Yasawan communalects and factors causing language change.

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