



Na yaqona kei na ivakatakilakila vakavanua ena yatu Pasivika

Kava and ethno-cultural identity in Oceania

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Ivakamacala taumada

Ena dua na vakadidike ka rau vakayacora o Garibaldi kei Turner (2004, p. 1, 5) erau a vakaraitaka kina ni dau tiko eso na mataqali kau ka nodra itavi me ra dau vukea na kena vakaqacotaki kei na kena mareqeti na veiwekani vaka-kawa vakavanua, itovo, ivakarau kei na bula veimaliwai ni dua na uma-tamata. E rawa ni oka kina eke na nodra isema vakayalo, nodra itovo vakavanua kei na ivakarau ni bula, na soqo vakavanua kei na veisolevuji, veisa kei na veisolisoli vakavanua, vakabulabulataki kei na railesuvi ni nodra umavosa kei na veika vakaliniquisitiki, nodra tiko veimaliwai vaka kawa tamata vata, medra wainimate kei na ivakarau ni nodra kana mai na kau se co tubu wale se nodra gunu. Era vakatokai na mataqali kau vaka oqo mera '*Kau semati ki na itovo ni dua na vanua*' ka vakatokai vakaPeritania me '*Cultural Keystone Species*' ka ra ivakatakilakila ni dua na kawa tamata. E dau kainaki vei ira na mataqali kau vakamareqeti vaka oqo ni, kevaka era na yali ena nodra bula na kawa tamata era dau vakayagataka, ena rawa ni laki vakavurea na tiko yavavala kei na luluqa ni nodra itovo vakavanua kei na veika e dau kilai tani kina na kawa tamata koya.

E sega ni vakabekataki na dina levu sai koya ni dua na kau bibi ka semati ena nodra itovo e levu na lewe i Pasivika, na yaqona ka kilai raraba me 'kava' ka vakatokai tale ga vakasainisi me '*Piper Methysticum*'. E ya tukuna o Zagefka (2016, p. 76) ni yaqona e ivakatakilakila ka vakaduiduitaki koya ni dua na kau ka semata e levu na yanuyanu ena yatu Pasivika ena kena tautauvata na nodra itovo vakavanua ena kena vakayagataki na yaqona. Ia, ni e ka, veivakurabuitaki ni sa teteva tale tiko ga e levu na mata ilawalawa, sega ni ra vola kawabula ena Pasivika, na kena vakayagataki na yaqona, ka ra sa vakabibitaka ka matanataka tale jiko ga na itovo ni kena gunuvi kei na kena qaravi na yaqona vei keda na iTaukei kei na veivanua tale eso ena Pasivika. Na nodra matanataka jiko na iyaloqalo qo, e vakatokai ena kena vosavosataki vakaPeritania me 'diasporic identity formation in reverse' ka rawa ni vakamacalataki vakaViti me vaka ne: na kena vakadadamuri ka vakabulabulataki tale na ivakatakilakila vaka Pasivika mai vei ira saraga na kai Pasivika tu e Vavalagi, ka vakatale ga kina na kena vakadadamuri mai vei ira na veimata tamata tale eso era bula veimaliwai vata voli, ka ra sega ni cavutu mai na Pasivika. Oqo e oka kina na kai Vavalagi, Esia kei na veivanua tale eso ena noda vuravura. Na inaki levu ni wase ni ivola oqo sai koya na noda veiwasei taka na ulutaga bibi qoka na 'yaqona', ka na vakatabakidua na noda veitalanoa ena bibi ni yaqona vua na kawa iTaukei, ia ena raici tale tiko ga the duidui ni vakanananu me baleta na yaqona, mai na loma ni Pasivika ka vaka tale ga kina na veivakasama mai na taudaku ni Pasivika. E so na vakasama era tokona ka so tale na vakasama era ririkotaki ni rawa ni na tamusuka na kena tomani na vakayagataki ni yaqona kei na itovo vakavanua e salamuria na kena gunuvi.

Matua-vosa era vakayagataki: ivakatakilakila vaka; kava; yaqona; Viti; ivakatakilakila vakavanua ena wasa Pasivika; veivakalotutaki

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Abstract

Garibaldi and Turner (2004, p. 1, 5) explain the role that particular plants play in facilitating the shared ancestry, practices and social experience of an ethnicity. This can include spiritual connections, cultural expression and practice, ceremony, exchange, linguistic reflection, socialisation, medicinal and/or dietary systems. They term these plants 'cultural keystone species' and icons of identity, plants that if removed would cause some disruptions to the cultural practices and identity of an ethnic group. Undoubtedly, kava (*Piper methysticum*) is the cultural keystone species for many Oceanic and Pacific peoples; a "differentiating element of common culture" (Zagefka, 2016, p. 761) informing their ethno-cultural identity. That influence is also extending to new non-Pacific Island user groups who have embraced elements of kava ethno-cultural identity in what has been termed diasporic identity formation in reverse. This chapter will discuss kava with specific reference to ethnic positionality in Fiji, while recognising the tensions from inside and outside the region that support and threaten the continuance of the kava drinking tradition.

Keywords: identity, kava; yaqona, Fiji, Oceanic Pacific cultural identifiers, evangelical

Na itekitekivu ni yaqona ena wasa Pasivika

Na kau oqo na yaqona, ka vakatokai vaka sainisi me '*Piper methysticum*', e kunei ena vuqa sara na yanuyanu ena loma ni yatu Pasivika. E dau tubu ka totolo sara na kena balavu ni toso tiko na kena yabaki, ka dau ono se laki walu sara na iwasewase ni tolona ki na dua na vuna ka dau vavaku talega na tolona (thick noded stems). Na vavaku ni tolona e vakatau tiko ena yabaki ni bula ni vuni yaqona. Na drauna tale ga e vaka na ibulibuli ni yate ka draudrau lelevu ka dau tekivu tete mai na drauna oqo mai na lomaloma se utoni drauna. Na bibi ni yaqona e kune dei koto ena kedra itukutuku kei na nodra itukuni na kai Pasivika, ena nodra dui yanuyanu me tekivu mai Papua Niukini ena mua-i-ra ni Pasivika me laki yaco sara i Hawaii ki na Tokalau ni wasa Pasivika, me vaka e kunei votu ena nodra vakadidike eso na daunivakadidike o ya ko Lebot kei ira na nona ilawalawa (Lebot et al., 1992, p. 121). Ia, ena nona vakadidike o Lindstrom, edua tale na daunivakadidike (Lindstrom, 2004, p. 12), e vakaraitaka kina ni dina ga e duidui vakalailai na ivakavakadewa ni nodra itukuni kei na kedra itukutuku me baleta na kena vakayagataki na yaqona, e kunei votu ga ena nodra itukutuku cokovata e rua na ulutaga lelevu: ai matai, na veivakavoui ka vakatokai vakaPeritania me 'regeneration' vata kei na vuavua idrau ka kena vakaPeritania na 'fertility' ka qai kuria ena vakadidike vata ga koya o Lindstrom, ka kaya ni qai dau vakaqacotaki na vakabauta ni rua na ulutaga oqo, oya na kena dau qaravi na nodra kalouvu vata na kena dau tukuni vakawasoma tiko na itukutuku oqo ena veisoqoni vakavanua, me "vakataudeitaka kina na nodra itovo ni vanua vata na veika era sa mai kilai vakatabakida kina vakavanua" (p. 12).

Ni laurai na vakadidike ni kau (se vunikau), vakadidike ni vosa vata kei na vakadidike ni uto ni veika bula, se kena vosavosataki vakaPeritania me '*genetics*', e kunei rawa ena macala ni vakadidike oya ni kunei taumada na yaqona vei ira na kawa tamata

ka ra a tawa vanua taumada ena veiyatu yanuyanu ena wasa Pasivika, ka ra vakatokai mera Lapita, se kena vakaPeritania beka na 'Austronesian Lapita Cultures' ena nodra mai tawana na vualiku kei Vanuatu, me rauta tiko na 3000 na yabaki sa oti, me vaka e vakaraitaka tiko na daunivakadidike o Lebot kei ira na nona ilawalawa ena yabaki 1992. Na vakadidike oya e vakacilava tale eso na itukutuku. Dua na kena vakaraitaki ni kau oqo e sega ni gadrevi kina me vakatubu kawa ena sorena, me vaka na veikau tale eso, ka tei sara ga na tabana me rawa ni vakatubu kawa kina. Oqo e vakavuna me laveti cake na kena mareqeti me nodra kau na Kalouvu, ka vakabauti ni ra susuga ka vakamareqeta na Kalouvu me yacova ni ra gole mai na imatai ni tawavanua era okati ena vuvale vakaAustronesians ki Vanuatu. Na isema qo ni yaqona vata kei ira na Kalouvu e vakavurei kina edua na ile ni tiko na mana kei na sau ena kena vakayagataki na yaqona (Aporosa, 2014). Na kena mana oqo e vakabauti ni solia ki vua na yaqona me vakayaco-ka me rawa ni wili tale ga vakawainimate (Lebot & Cabalion, 1988; Lim, 2016).

E vakaraitaka o Kirk Huffman (2012, p. 25), edua na kena dau ena vulici na itovo kei na ivakarau vakavanua ni dua na uma tamata, ena nona railesuva tiko na tete ni yaqona me tekivu mai Vanuatu, e vakaraitaka o koya ni kevaka era musu ka ologi vakavinaka na taba ni yaqona, e rawa ni ra laki teivaki ena dua tale na vanua, ena loma ni rua na macawa ni soko tiko e waitui. Ena vuku ni dina oqo, sa rawa ni da semata na kena vakatetei na gunuvi ni yaqona ena Pasivika raraba vei ira na butu vanua taumada, ni sebera sara nodra qai yaco mai muri ena wasa Pasivika na yago vulavula mai Yurope. Ena nodrau volavola na kena dau ena itovo kei na ivakarau vakavanua ena tokalau kei Polinia, e rau duavata kina kei Huffman, o Kirsh vata kei Green (2001) ena nodrau ivola ka rau vakaraitaka kina ni sa matata vakasigalevu sara tu ga ni gole taumada mai ena muaira ni wasa Pasivika na yaqona ena kena teteva

mai na veivanu ena loma ni Pasivika. E nanumi tiko ni yaco kece oqo ena gauna vata ga e tawani kina na vanua se ni oti ga vakalailai na tawa vanua taumada oqo mai vei ira na Lapita ena nodra tawana na vanua “*vakaViti - vakaToga - vakaSamoa*” (p. 256). E dau vakanananu taki tu ni nodra veivoli taumada na tamata na Lapita, e kau kina na yaqona kina veivanua eso ena mua-ira kei Vanuatu, ka oka talega kina eso na vanua ena iwase ni vanua levu mai Papua Niukini (Lebot kei na so tale, 1992).

E dina ga ni kainaki ni veivoli e vu ni kena vakatetei na yaqona ena loma ni Pasivika, e ratou vakaraitaka tale ga o Lebot, Merlin kei Lindstrom (1992) ni dua talega na vu ni kena vakatetei oya na veisa vakaveiwekani vakavanua, ka sa dau semata na kawa tamata vata kei na Kalou vu se na nodra ivakatawa vakayalo (p. 120). Na kedrau isema na yaqona vata kei na Kalouvu kei na kena Mana e salamuria e tukuna tiko vei keda, ni ko ira na tawavanua taumada ka ra dau mataitaka nodra veisokoyaki voli ena veiwasa voravora ena loma ni Pasivika, era nanumi ni nodra ikaukau voli kei ira na yaqona mei dranumi se tataqomaki vei ira, ka vakauwasivi ena kena dau tawa tiko na nodra ilololo ena dua na iyau bibi vakayalo, me ra dau solia vakailoloma se veisa kei ira era sota kaya ena nodra igolegole, ka me vaqaqacotaki kina nai sema ni veivoli vakavanua (Lebot kei na so tale, 1992).



Vakatakarakara naba 1: Vakarau ni lose yaqona ena gauna edai, ka vakayagataki na ‘isulu ni yaqona’ (Vakarautaka na itaba: Todd Henry, 2019)

Na vakarautaki ni yaqona, na revurevu vata kei na ivakatakilakila ena wasa Pasivika

Na gunu oqo na yaqona e caka mai na kena dau losei na waka ni vuni yaqona drokadroka sa tuki oti ka vaka talega kina na wakana sa sigani oti ka tuki oti talega me pauta. E dau losei ka vusoi sara vakavinaka me yacova na kena sa yacovi na kena tagede me sa veisau na irairai ni wai ka vusoi vata kaya ka me sa laki qeleqele tale tu na rokana (me vaka e vakaraitaki toka ena ivakatakarakara naba 1). Ena vanua ko Vanuatu kei na veivanua eso ena muaira ni pasivika kara dau vakayagataka talega na yaqona, na waidroka e vusoi vata kaya e dau lailai sara ka dau sosoko na medra wai ni yaqona, me vakatauvatani kei na veivanua tale eso ena Pasivika, me tekivu mai Viti ka mua vaka kina tokalau kei Viti (Toga vata kei Samoa) (Aporosa, 2014). Na wainimate e tiko ena yaqona ka vakatokai

me kava lakatoni (kavalactones), e vakamocera na uwa ni yagoda ka laki vakavuna talega na nunu ni qavokavoka, tebe ni gusu kei na veimasela e vuqa, ka laki vakavuna sara e dua na ituvaki vakaciriloloma kei na dakoba ni vakasama (Aporosa, 2011, 2017, 2019a; Aporosa et al., 2020). Ia, e dua na tikina bibi me nanumi tiko ni revurevu ni gunu yaqona e sega ni vaka na revurevu ni yaqona ni Vavalagi se wai gaga ni veivakamatenitaki; ka oka kina na marau vakasauri se vosavosa e yalona, ia na mateni ena yaqona ni Viti e vakavuna me savasava tuga na vakasama ka dau vakavurea na veitalanoa bibi vata kei na vakatulewa bibi (Aporosa kei Tomlinson, 2014; Aporosa, 2019b).

E ya vakaraitaka o Lebot kei ira na nona ilawalawa ena nodra vakadidike (1992) ni yaqona e tiko na nona itavi bibi sara ena nodra bula vakavanua e levu na kai Pasivika; ka sa tiki tu ni nodra dau vakaraitaka kina na kedra ivakatakilakila vaka kawatamata ena gauna era dau vakayagataka kina. E vuqa sara na vakadidike me baleta na Pasivika era sa vakaraitaka oti na kedrau veisemati na yaqona mei ivakatakilakila ni veivanua ena yatu Pasivika (Aporosa, 2014, pp. 35–44). Qo e wili kina eso na vanua e Papua Niukini, ka vakauasivi ena loma ni tikina o Middle Fly ka ra tiko kina na yavusa Gogodala, ka ra vakayagataka jiko na yaqona me yacova mai edaidai (Crawford, 1981). Ia, e sega ni yaco ekeya; me vaka ni sa kunei tale ga ni ra vakayagataka na yaqona o ira na kai Pohnpei ena vanua o Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) e na

yatu Maikoronisia. E rau vakaraitaka o Balick vata kei Lee (2009), me baleta na vanua o Pohnpei, ni rau bibi ruarua na kau vata kei na gunu e caka mai ena kau oqo na yaqona ka dau vakatakilai kina na nodra ivakatakilakila vakawa tamata na kai Pohnpei (p. 165).

Ni da rai ena vanua o Vanuatu, na yaqona e tukuni ni bibi sara ena kena vakaraitaka na itovo, ka sa ivakatakilakila ni vanua o Vanuatu (Young, 1995). Ia, ni da dewa yani i Toga matanisiga, e vakaraitaka tiko o Finau kei na so tale (2002) ni vakayagataki na yaqona e Toga e gaunisala ni nodra vakadeitaka kina na yavusa Toga na nodra itovo vakavanua kei na kedra ivakatakilakila. Ia e kuria o Fehoko (2014) ni vanua ni gunu yaqona era vanua ni kena vaqaqacotaki ka vakadewavi na nodra itovo, vakavuvuli, matuavosa kei na vakabauta (p. 91). Ia, ni da dewa yani e Samoa, na yaqona e dau tukuni tu ni dua na ivakatakilakila

bibi vakavanua, ka e vakatakilakila talega ni veikauwaitaki vakaveiwekani ena itovo vakavanua e Samoa, me vaka e vakaraitaka toka o Minahan ena yabaki 2012. Ia, e dua tale na daunivakadidike e tukuna vei keda edua tale na itukutuku ka duidui toka vakalailai mai vei ira na itukutuku veisemati ka talaucaki toka ecake. E vakaraitaka o Tengan ena yabaki (2008), edua na itukutuku vakaciriloloma sara. Na talanoa ni kena cabe yani na isulu ni lotu kei na kena revurevu, na matanitu koloni kei na kena revurevu vata kei na kena sa luluqa tiko mai na itovo kei na ivakarau vakavanua e na vanua o Hawaii. Na itukutuku vakaciriloloma qoka me baleti Hawaii, esa sagai me vakavinakataki se bonati ena gaunisala e vuqa, ka dua vei ira oya na kena sagai me ia tale na veisemati kei na yaqona, me vakataudeitaki tale kina na kilaka vakavanua, ka vakaqacotaka na ivakatakilakila vaka kawa tamata e na vanua o Hawaii. Me vaka e vakamacalataka e dua na kena dau ena itovo ni vei mata tamata se vakaperitania beka na 'Anthropologist', o Dr Nancy Pollock, e ya vakaraitaka cokocoko tuga ena nona vakadidike ka tabaki ena yabaki 1995 na bibi ni yaqona ena ivakatakilakila vakavanua vaka kawa tamata ena veiyatu yanuyanu ena wasa Pasivika, ka vaka oqo ne na nona itukutuku: Na vakayagataki ni yaqona e Toga, Samoa, Futuna, Viti kei Pohnpei e iyaloalo ni ivakavuvuli kei na vakabauta vakavanua ena gauna edaidai ka vaka talega kina ena veigauna eliu sa sivi yani (p. 2). Na iwasewase ni ivola qoka e vakatabakidua tiko ena vanua o Viti, ka yavutaki tiko ena nona cavuta tiko na kena dau qoka o Dr Pollock ni vanua o Viti e dua talega na vanua e vakayagataka na yaqona me ivakatakilakila vakavanua ni itovo kei na ivakarau, me vaka esa vakaraitaki taumada koto yani ecake. E na veiwasei tale tiko ga na iwase ni vola qo ena isema ni yaqona ki vua na kawa iTaukei vata kei na nodra itovo kei na ivalavala vakavanua o ira na iTaukei era tiko e Viti ka vaka tale ga kina o ira na kawa iTaukei era tu mai ena veiyasai vuravura tale eso.

Na yaqona kei na ivakatakilakila rabailevu vakavanua vaka-kawai Taukei

Na kau oqo na yaqona, ni vakasoqoni vata kei na kena dui gacagaca ni veiqaravi vakavanua, vata kei na itovo ni kena gunuvi vei keda na iTaukei, e dau laurai saraga me dua na ivakatakilakila kaukauwa vakavanua vakawa iTaukei (Aporosa, 2008). O ira na iTaukei e Viti era dau vakatoka tu ga ena vosa ni veisiga se 'vakavarada' oya na yaqona me 'grog' (Geraghty, 1996), ia ena gauna ga e sa dau cavuti kina ena gauna ni veitalanoa bibi, esa qai dau cavuti ga kina erua na vosa: matai, na 'yaqona' ka kena ikarua na 'wainivanua'. Ena kena sagai me vakamacalataki na isema se kena vakaPeritania na 'linguistic significance' e cavuti tiko ena vosa oqo na 'wainivanua', Asesela Ravuvu (1983) ka vakane:

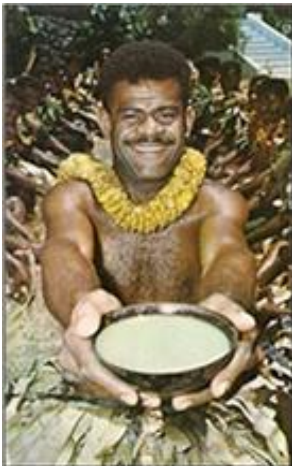
Na ibalebale kilailevu ni vanua sai koya na qele, ia vua na kawa iTaukei, e tabikai vica tu na ibalebale ni vosa oqo na vanua ka sega ni yalani ena qele na kena vakadewataki. Na ibalebale rabailevu ni vanua sai koya na itovo kei na ivakarau ni dua na uma-tamata e semati ena dua na uma qele koya. E dua tale na kena ibalebale sai koya na tamata kei na kedra umaumani vata vaka tokatoka, mataqali, yavusa kei na kedra veisemati ka veiwekani na veiyavusa koya kara vakaliuca edua na nodra iliuliu. Ni da dewa yani ena itovo, e vakatakilakilataka tiko na ivakavuvuli, vakabauta vata kei na ivakarau vakavanua ena loma ni vanua oya. (p. 76)

Ni da vakananuma na veika sa vakamacalataka toka na Daunivuku o Asesela Ravuvu e cake me baleta na ibalebale ni vosa oqo na vanua; oti koya me da qai vakasoqona vata na kena ibalebale oqo vata kei na vosa na 'Wainivanua': e sa vakaraitaka tiko ni wai oqo na yaqona edua na wai bibi ka sa ivakatakarakara tiko ni qele, kena uma tamata kei na kena itovo; na kena gunuvi talega esa vakadeitaki tale kina vei ira era gunuva, na kedra ivakatakilakila kei na ivalavala vakavanua e salamuria na kena vakayagataki na yaqona vei ira mai na nodra dui delaniyavu (Aporosa, 2014, p. 68). Na gauna esa lose ka vakarautaki oti kina na yaqona, e sa ka rokovi ka mana na yaqona (Tomlinson, 2004; Turner, 1986).

Ena vuqa sara na noda veikorokoro e Viti, ni sa oti na qaravi itavi ena dua na siga, e sara qai dau gole mai na turaga, kei na vuqa talega na gauna, o ira talega na marama: ka ra dabe vakawavokita na tanoa mera veitalanoataka na veika e qaravi rawa ena dua na siga, navuci na veika me qaravi ena siga ni mataka ka dau veitalanoataka talega na veitukutuku matanidavui eso ka vakawavoliti ira (Aporosa, 2008). Na kena vakaraitaki tiko na iyaloalo dina ni bula vakaitaukei ena ivalavala ni kena gunuvi na yaqona: me ivakatakilakila tudei vakavanua ni kawa iTaukei, esa laki vakavuna sara na kena dau laki vakaraitaki tu na tanoa se na itaba ni qaravi yaqona (loselose kei na tu yaqona) me vakatakilai tu kina na vanua o Viti kei na kena kawa tamata (ivakatakarakara naba 2). E dua na kena ivakaraitaki oya na tanoa ena kena tabaki tiko ena ilavo ni Viti oya na dua na sede (ivakatakarakara naba 3); ka vaka talega kina ena ivakatakilakila (logo) vata kei na icocovi ni sotasota ni rakavi yunioni ka dau vakayacori tiko ena veiyabaki - ka vakatokai na Ratu Sukuna Bowl - ka rau dau veisivisitaka na timi erua - na Ovisa kei na Mataivalu (ivakatakarakara naba 4), (Dean kei Ritova, 1988).

Me vaka e vakaraitaka tiko o Ratuva vata kei Vakabua (2007, pp. 92–99) na kena gunuvi na yaqona e vakaraitaka, vakadeitaka ka matanataka na kedra iyaloalo na iTaukei, nodra itovo kei na nodra ivakarau ni bula. Na vakasama oqo e vakadeitaki ena

kena semati na tanoa vata kei na Turaga Talai sa bale Ratu Sir Vanayaliyali Lalabalavu Sukuna (1888–1958) ka levu era kaya ni vakatagedegede era yacova na turaga talai sa bale, e vakatagedegede cecere duadua ka rawa ni yacova edua na kawa iTaukei (Lal, 1985; Scarr, 1980). Ena kena mai semati oqo na yacadra na Turaga Talai sa bale Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna vata kei na tanoa—ka vaka talega kina na wainivanua e dau gunuvi e na loma ni tanoa—me matataka na kena ivakatakilakila vata kei na kena icocovi bilo na sotasota ka dau vakayacori ena veiyabaki ka vakatokai na Ratu Sukuna Bowl, e sa mai vakaraitaka e dua na iyalovalo bibi sara me baleta na vakavuvuli ni ‘vakaturaga’ vata kei na vakatulewa; ka vakaqacacotaki yani na vakasama oqo ena kaukauwa e tiko ena tabana ni veitaqomaki ena noda vanua—na Mataivalu vata kei na Ovisa—ka rau dau valataka na Bilo levu na Ratu Sukuna Bowl. E sega walega ni yaco e keya: e rawa talega ni laurai ena nodra itaba ni veivoli eso ena tabana ni sara vanua e Viti ka vaka tale ga kina ena ‘telecard’ ni kabani na Telekomu e Viti ka vaka talega kina ena sitaba ni meli e Viti (raica na ivakatakarakara ka 5, 6 kei na ka 7 e koto qoka era).



iVakatakarakara naba 2: Sitaba ni vale ni meli – iSevusevu vakaturaga (Vakarautaka na itaba: sega ni kilai)



iVakatakarakara naba 3: Na ilavo ni Viti ka vakatokai me ‘dua-na-sede’. (Vakarautaka itaba: Matanitu ko Viti, 2006).

Yaqona kei na veivakatakilakila rabailevu vaka mata-i-soqosoqo eso

Na ivakatakilakila kei na ivakatakarakara era ka bibi sara ena kena vakamacalataka na icavuti vaka mata-i-soqosoqo (Linnekin, 1990). E ya qai kuria sara yani o Hamrin-Dahl (2013), ni solesolevaki vaka mata-tamata ena Pasivika ena gaunisala ni kena dau vakayagataki na iyau ni vanua; veika kilai levu ena vanua koya, vata kei na ivakarau vakavanua ni dua na vanua—ni rauta toka na itaba gauna ni sa oti kina na tu galala mai na veiliutaki vakakoloni—e vakataudeitaka e dua na ‘ivakatakilakila taukei’ ka rawa ni veitaduitaki vata kei na ivakatakilakila ni Vavalagi. E qai kuria o koya ka kaya, ni mai Hawaii ka vaka talega kina mai Samoa ena gauna edai, esa ciqomi sara tu ga na tanoa me ivakatakilakila vakavanua ni matanitu lewai koya vaka i koya, ena itabagauna, ni sa oti na tu galala mai na veiliutaki vakoloni (ibid, 2013, p. 32). Ia, e wili vata tale tikonga kei na tanoa, ena ivakatakilakila ni matanitu o Samoa qali vakaAmerika (ivakatakarakara naba 8), oya na ‘iroi ni lago’ se yacana vakaSamoa na ‘fue’, ka dua talega na iyau vakamareqeti vakavanua ena vuqa na mata tamata ena yatu Pasivika. E vuqa tale na ivakatakilakila kilai levu ena Pasivika e wili kina na dalo, vuni-niu, seni bua vata kei na yaqona.



iVakatakarakara naba 4: iVakatakilakila ni Ratu Sukuna Bowl ka culai koto ena nodra siqileti nai vakalesilesi. (Vakarautaka na itaba: Tabana ni Mataivalu ni Viti, 2009)



iVakatakarakara naba 5: Tutaki yaqona vakaturaga (Vakarautaka na itaba o Siers, J., 1979, ‘Fiji in Colour’).

Na bula vakaViti, na yaqona kei na matanitu

E sa ciqoma tale tiko ga na matanitu o Viti na bibi ni yaqona mei vakatakilakila vakavanua vaka-itauekei; ka ratou veikaroni ka veitokoni sara tiko na tabana ni Vola Vosa kei na Itovo ka vakatokai vakaPeritania me Institute of iTaukei Language and Culture (ITLC), ka sa nodratou itavi bibi ena matanitu oya na kena taqomaki na itovo vakaViti kei na veika da vakatakilalai tani kina na iTaukei. Ena dua na ivola itukutuku ka vakamacalataka tiko na cakacaka ni tabana ni vosa kei na itovo, edua na itaba levu ni rua na turaga itaukei rau losea tiko na yaqona vakaturaga e bau tale toka ga me tiki ni vakamacala, ka sa vakadeitaka na veiqaraqaravi vakavanua oqo kei na lalawa se gagadre ni nodratou tabana me baleta na kena maroroi na itovo kei na ivakarau vakaViti. Ni da raica eso na itukutuku mai vei ira na kena dau ena itovo vakaViti me vakataki: ai matai, e dua na daunivakadidike vakacegu ena Tabana ni Vosa kei na Itovo vakaViti, Sekove Degei (2007) ka vaka ne: “Vei ira na iTaukei, na yaqona e isema kina vei tabagauna sa sivi yani, e itovo vakavanua ka sega ni tawasei rawa ka sa tali curumaki koto ena ivakarau vakavanua ka na sega ni vinaka na bula kei na gacagaca ni veiqaravi vakavanua vakaiTaukei kevaka e yali o koya. E dina ga ni na kena vakayagataki qo na yaqona e laurai talega ena veimata tamata ena Pasivika, la kivua edua na iTaukei, na yaqona e semati vakaramase kina vakavuvuli ni kemui vakatakilakila vakavanua” (p. 3).



iVakatakarakara naba 6: Na itaba ni tanoa kei na itaba ni veivoli kei na vakau yaqona e vavalagi (Vakarautaka na itaba o Yunivesiti ni Ceva ni Pasivika, yabaki e tabaki kina: sega ni kilai)



iVakatakarakara naba 7: Na itaba ena telecard ni Telecom ka vakaraitaka tiko edua na veiqaraqaravi vakavanua (Vakarautaka na itaba o Fiji Posts & Telecommunications Limited, 1994).

Na cava era kaya na iTaukei me baleta na yaqona

Ena yabaki 2014, era a vakatarogi na qasenivuli iTaukei ena vuku ni ulutaga ni kena vakayagataki na yaqona: ka ra tarogi kevaka e bibi na vakatatabu ni gunuvi ni yaqona ena vei bogi ena kena sagai me vakalailaitaki na dagadaga ka vu mai na yaqona; ena kena gadrevi tiko me vakavinakataki na ivakarau ni veivakatavulici e koronivuli vei ira na qasenivuli, (Aporosa, 2014). E saqata vakaukauwa sara edua na Qasenivuli liu na vakasama ni kena vakatabui na yaqona ka vakaraitaka vaka ne: “E na sega ni dua ena tarovi keimami rawa mai na gunu yaqona. E vuqa era na via tarovi keimami, io ena sega ni ra rawata rawa vakadua baleta ni tiki tu ni neimami ivakarau vakavanua kei na neimami vakaturaga” (p. 153). E ya tokona na vakasama oqo edua tale na qasenivuli ka tukuna ni “yaqona e itakele ni neimami itovo” (p. 151). Ia, e ya sauma talega edua na qasenivuli ka vaka ne, “E rawa ni ra vakauqeti keimami na tamata me keimami cegu [na gunu yaqona], ia me ra nanuma tiko ni neimami gunu tiko oqo e baleta tiko na neimami ivakarau, itovo kei na vanua” (p. 159), ka vakaibalebale taka tiko ni yaqona e bibi ena itovo vakavanua ka ivakatakilakila ni vanua vata na kena uma tamata vata kei na kena ivakarau.



iVakatakarakara naba 8: Na ivakatakilakila (Official Seal) kei Samoa qali vaka-Amerika

Yaqona me ivakatakilakila vakavanua vei ira na iTaukei e ra tu e Vavalagi

Me vaka ni ra sa gole vakavuqa sara tiko e Vavalagi na iTaukei kei ira na lewenivanua ena Pasivika ka ra dau vakayagataka na yaqona; era sa kauta talega kei ira na medra yaqona kei na kena ivakarau vaka vanua e semati ena kena gunuvi. Na kena lai vakayagataki qoka na yaqona e Vavalagi esa “gaunisala kilai levu ni kena vakadeitaki ka matanataki na nodra kai yanuyanu se kai Pasivika”, ka vakadeitaki talega kina na veisemati vakaveiwekani ena nodra vanua vou ka sema vaka talega kina ki na nodra dui delaniyavu ena Pasivika; ka ra vakaraitaka na nodra ivakatakilakila vakaiTaukei (Aporosa, 2015, p. 62). Na kena sa mai vakayagataki e Vavalagi oqo na yaqona, esa laki vakavurea na kena dola eso na valeni gunu yaqona ka cicitaki vakabisinisi me vaka saraga edua na irairai ni

vale ni gunu yaqona ni Vavalagi, ka vakatokai na bar se café's, me rawa ni ra vakayagataka o ira era sega ni kai Pasivika ka ra taleitaka talega na gunuva, ka ni vaka ni veiganiti vata kei na nodra itovo ni bula na kena gunuvi ena vale vaka oya (Wolinski, 2018). Ia, e veivakurabuitaki sara vakalevu oya na kena tubu tikoga na iwiliwili ni tamata ka ra daugunu yaqona tale ga ia, era sega ni kai Pasivika: ka ra sa dau laki gunu yaqona vata saraga kei ira na kai Pasivika era tu vata kaya e Vavalagi, ka ra sa ciqoma ka vakatovototaka tale tikoga eso na ivakarau kei na ivalavala ni kena gunuvi na yaqona ena loma ni Pasivika. Oqo esa vakatokai tiko vakaPeritania me "diasporic identity formation in reverse" ka ra ciqoma na kai Pasivika me sa kena ivakadei na bibi ni *Kau semati kina iTovo ni nodra vanua* se vakaPeritania: "cultural keystone species" kei na ivakatakilakila vakavanua ka sa laki vakaqacacotaka sara vakalevu na ivakatakilakila vakavanua ka semati ena kena vakayagataki na yaqona (Aporosa, 2015).

Na veisaqasaqa kina vakavuvuli ni "Yaqona mei ivakatakilakila vakavanua vakaiTaukei"

E veivakurabuitaki dina na levu ni itukutuku volai vakaivola vata kei na ivakadinadina ka laurai ena vakatakarakara/itaba eso era sa vakaraitaki tiko yani ena ilalakai o qoka, ka sara dusia tikoga na bibi ni yaqona me ivakatakilakila vaka kawa-tamata ena Pasivika, ka vakauwasivi e Viti. E dina ga ni tiko edua na iwase ni tamata e Viti ka ra dau vakalewa na kena vakayagataki vakasivia na yaqona; ka ra nanuma ni vakaleqa na rawaka ni tamata ena nona cakacaka (Baba, 1996; Kava, 2002; Rawalai, 2014; Singh, 2007; mo raica na Kumar kei Aporosa, 2018, me baleta na veisaqasaqa kina vakasama oqoka), ia, e vinaka ga ni sega ni laki vakavuna me biu laivi na kau bibi qoka vata kei na itovo vakavanua ni kena gunuvi mai vei ira na iTaukei. Ia, ena gauna edaidai, e dua na mata ilawalawa lailai (ka sa tubu tiko) era sa vakaraitaka tiko mai ni yaqona e sega ni tiki ni nodra itovo se kedra ivakatakilakila vakaiTaukei. E vuqa vei ira na vosa beca tiko qo na yaqona era lewe tiko ni veisoqosoqo lotu vaKarisito me vaka na New Methodist, Assemblies of God vata kei na All Nations (Aporosa, 2014, pp. 154–157). Ia, era saqata sara tiko na itukutuku oqo na soqosoqo lotu taumada e Viti me vaka na lotu Wesele vata kei na lotu Katolika, ka rau se tokona tiko ga na vakayagataki ni yaqona kei na itovo ni veiqaraqaravi vakavanua. Ia, e kani veivakurabuitaki talega eso na itukutuku tabaki me vaka e vola tiko o Ryle (2010) ka vakaraitaka tiko ni o ira na italatala ni lotu vaKarisito ena loma ni Pasivika ena nodra dau vunau voli vei ira na ivavakoso, era sa dau semata sara tikoga na veiqaraqaravi vakavanua vakaturaga vakaiTaukei me rau sema tiko kei na ivakavuvuli ni Turaga levu na Karisito na noda ivakabula; ka vakatauvatani tiko kei so na vakavuvuli

bibi me vaka na: veiliutaki, soli bula ena vuku ni ka vinaka vata kei na veiqaravi (p. 20). Ia, e sega walega ni yaco e keya: Na lotu Katolika e Samoa e na nodratou vakamacala taka na noda ivakabula o Jisu Karisito, eratou kainaka kina ni o koya e dua na Vuni Yaqona vakaturaga e na koro ko Peceliema (Taofinu'u, 1973, p. 2).

E ratou vakabauta na Lotu Waisele e Samoa ni yaqona e tiko kina e dua na kaukauwa ni veivakabulai kei na veivakasavasavataki me vaka na kena vakasavasavataki keda na tamata ivalavala ca na dra nei Karisito (Fa'asi'i, 1993, p. 62). Ia, ni da toso voleka mai noda vanua, e vakaraitaka o Torren (1988, p. 709), ni raica tale ga o koya ni rau tautauvata sara vakalevu na itaba ni "kana vata ni lako sivia ka vakayacora na gone turaga o Jisu Karisito vata kei ira na 12 na Tisaipeli" vata kei na "mata isoqoni ni gunu yaqona vakaturaga". E kuria nona ivakamacala ni yaloyalo e boroya o Leonardo da Vinci ni otioti ni kanavata ni lako sivia oya e vakavurea na vakasama ni dua na iyaloalo ni dua na isoqoni ni gunu yaqona vakaturaga kara gunu tiko kina na veituraga ni mataqali kei na turaga ni yavusa (tisaipeli) ni dua na vanua vata kei koya na turaga iTaukei, se tui, se vunivalu (Jisu) ni vanua koya, ka dabe taudua toka mai ena ulu ni sau ni tanoa (lomadonu). Na iyaloalo ni kanavata ni lako sivia oqo vata na kena ivakatauvatani e cavuti koto ecake, e kaya o Toren, ni vakaraitaki matanavotu ni vakarau kei na itovo vakaViti dina (p. 696), ka sa matanataka saraga na "vakaViti" dina (raica na Ryle, 2010, pp. 23–25).

Ia na taro levu e tiko: se cava sara mada na vuna e ra sa veisau kina na nodra nanuma na iTaukei ka ra sa lewena tiko na veisoqosoqo lotu vaKarisito vou eso, me ra cakitaka kina na kedra isema kina yaqona?, me vaka ni sa kilai vakasigalevu tu ni sema tiko kina kedra ivakatakilakila vakavanua. Ia, na isau ni taro oqo e rawa ni vakamacalataki vakacaca ka vaka ne: E vu mai na vakasama oqo ena kena vakayagataki na yaqona ena gauna ni taudaku ni kuila vakaPeritania (dakunikuila), me gaunisala ni veivosaki nei koya na bete ki vua na Kalou-vu ni vanua se yavusa, me vaka e vakaraitaka tiko e vuqa na daunivakadidike. Ia, e vakaraitaka tiko edua ka tauyavutaka na isoqosoqo lewe ni lotu na New Methodist, o Talatala Atu Vulaono, ni yaqona edua na tiki ni lotu makawa ena nodra gauna na noda qase ka sega ni mai vua na Kalou (Titus, 2009; raica talega na Vulaono, 2001). E sega tale ni wasea na nona vosa ni a cavuta ni yaqona e "gunu me i Setani", ka kuria yani na nona ivakamacala ni: vakayagataki me vakaleqa na bula vakaiTaukei, (Fiji Times, 2008a, p. 2; 2008b, p. 2). Na vakasama oya ni yaqona e 'gunu mei Setani' esa dua na ivunau taleitaki sara vakalevu nei Vulaono ka rawa ni cavuti me nona itarabu (FBC, 2017) ka ra sa vakamura sara tale ga na veimatalotu vovou vakaPenitikoso ka ra vakanamata vakatabakidua ki na kena

vakawabokotaki na gunuvi ni yaqona kei na ivakarau vakavanua ka salavata kaya e Viti (Aporosa, 2014).

E dina ga ni so era na raica na nodra vosabecataka na yaqona na veisoqosoqo lotu vou oqo me rawa kina na nodra italanoa lasa se ka ni veiwali, na ka e sa qai laurai matanavotu mai na nodra vosa e le vuqa, ni o Vulaono e sa besetaka na nona itovo kei na ivakarau vakavanua. E na nodra vakanananu na vuqa, o Vulaono esa volitaka na nona ivakatakilakila vakawaiTaukei, ka sega ni baleta ni sa biuta na yaqona, io e baleta ga ni nona vakabauta oya ni yaqona e mena gunu ka iyaragi nei Setani (Aporosa, 2014, p. 153). Na isema qo kivua na tevoru, ka ra vakatusa tiko e vuqa na matalotu, e rawa ni vakarivarivabiti sara vakalevu, baleta ena rawa ni vakayalia vakadua yani na bibi kei na veika e vakatakilakilatata tiko na yaqona ena bula vakaiTaukei vata kei na noda vakaturaga.

Era dau cavuta wasoma na dauvunau lotu vakaPenetikoso na tiki ni vola tabu e koto qoka era me tokona na nodra saqata na yaqona ka vaka koto qo: “Ia kevaka e sa tu vata kei Karisito e dua na tamata, sa qai buli vou, sa lako tani na veika makawa, raica sa yaco me vou na ka kecega!” (NIV, 2011:2 Koronica 6:17). Me vaka ni levu na itovo semati ki na yaqona era yavutaki mai na daku ni kuila ni bera na lotu vaKarisito, era sa qai dau okata vakawasoma na veimata lotu vaKarisito vovou na yaqona me gunu ni “gauna makawa”. Era kuria ni “gauna makawa” qo era wili talega kina na meke kei na vakayagataki ni tabua (bati ni tovuto) kei na vakayagataki ni yaqona ena kena ivalavala vakavanua ni vakawati (Ravuvu, 1993, p.46). Ena yasana kadua, “na gauna vou” oya na kena luvati tani na “veika makawa”, oya na ivalavala vakavanua makawa. Era sa taurivaka na veimata lotu vovou vakaPenetikoso na gauna vou kara sa taurivaka eso tale na ivalavala ni bula kei na kena itovo, mera vakatakilakilatata kina na nodra vanua me vaka na kena veisolitaki na kateni sovu me isosomi ni tabua, kei na gunuvi ni wainimoli me isosomi ni yaqona ena soqo vakavanua eso.

Na taro levu me baleta na inaki ni yaqona

Vei ira na lewe vuqa, na isema ni yaqona ki na sau kei na mana vata kei na vanua, e tarova kina na kena vakaisosomitaki mai na so tale na veika wale e nanuma me dauvakacabori; qo na veika era vakatoka eso me matana taka tiko na “ivakarau vakapalositika”. Qo e dina ka dau vakaraitaki ena gauna ni veisoqo bibi ni veiqaraqaravi vakavanua me vaka na “matanigasau” (Cretton, 2005; Ratuva, 2002). Ena veisoqo vakavanua ni veivosvosoti qo,erau na sota na ito ruarua, vakacabori ka losei na yaqona ka veitalanoataki na leqa ka vakavuna na duidui se veicoqacoqa se na luluqa vakaveiwekani, ka veitalanoataki na kena iwali. Me vaka ni laurai na yaqona, ena kena gunuvi, me ivakatakilakila ni vanua,

na veisorosorovi ni vanua, ena kena veiwaseitaki na gunuvi ni kena yaqona, e vakaraitaka na veivakaduavatataki ni vanua. Qo e dua na gacagaca ka le levu era veiletitaka ni vakayali kina na kena mana se vakayacoka ni vakayagataki na wainimoli—se na kena isosomi ena vakabauta vakaPenitikosi ka sega ni veisemati ki na vanua. Na kena vakayacori qo e rawa ni vakavuna na vakayali ni vuku se kila-ka vakaiTaukei kei na keda ikilai vakavanua ka vaka tale ga kina na kena rawa ni vakacacana na noda tiko sautu ka veilomani.

E ripotetaka na UNESCO ena ruasagavulu kalima na yabaki sa oti ni “vakayali ni itovo kei na ivakarau vakavanua, se na keda ivakatakilakila, e uto ni noda leqa ena noda bula veimaliwai voli” (Teasdale & Teasdale, 1992a, p. 1). Na nodra ile oya ni veika qo e sega ni yalani ga kina nodra itovo kei na ivakarau vakavanua na itaukei ni vanua, ia ki na veivanua tale eso ena mua-i-ra ni noda vuravura ka vakatokai vakaPeritania me ‘Western societies’, ka ra sa muria vakabalavu tiko mai na sala ki na vakasama vaka-capitalism. Na rai vaka-capitalism qo e vakabibitaki kina na veisisivi, na vakayagataki ni veika bulia na tamata kei na veiqaravi saumi, kei na nodra vakayagataka vakasivia na iyaubula sega ni rawa ni vakavou me ra rawa tubu kina, ka ra sa vakayalia tale ga kina na wakadra titobu” ka sa vakarusa ka vakayavalata na tudei vata kei na vutuniyau ni bula vakaveiwekani vakavanua.

Ena itinitini ni ripote ni UNESCO, e kaya ni rui ka bibi ki na tiko sautu kei na veilomani ena bula vakaveimaliwai vakavanua, na veivakatavulici kei na vulici ni itovo kei na ivakarau vakavanua e veiganiti dina. Qo e dua na porosese se takete ka vakararavi vakatabakidua kina titobu ni ivakatakilakila vaka kawatamatavata vakavanua. (Teasdale & Teasdale, 1992b, p. 70). E duavata tale ga ena nona vakanananu o Thaman (1992) ka nona ile ni dua na vuna e yaco kina na luluqa ni veika eda vakamareqeta ena noda bula vakaveimaliwai vakaitikotiko vakavanua oya na lecaika ni noda kila na noda itovo kei na ivakarau vakatamata yadua.

Veitalia mada ni tiko e dua na tawase levu ena kedra maliwa na iTaukei, ka ra veiletitaka tiko ni yaqona e nodra se sega ni nodra ivakatakilakila vaka iTaukei. Ia, me vaka e vakaraitaka o Dalton kei ira tale eso (2001), ka vakavurea eso na vakasama yaga mai na kena veitalanoataki. Era tautauri mai ena ivakatagedegede ni nodra veimaliwai vakasaikoloji (yacana tale ga na ciori vakasystem) ka kaya, “ni o ira na tamata yadua, lewenivanua raraba, kei na dui tagede ni veiwekani ena kedra maliwa e vakatautaki tiko na kena bula vei ira tiko ga vakataki ira”.

E vakuria o Newman kei Newman (2011) ni:

Nodra itutu ni vakasama na dauniciori ena System, oya ni ka bibi na ka taucoko mai na isoqoni ni

veitikina. Ena dua na system—veitalia madaga ke vaka e dua na sela, se gacagaca ni yago se dua na tamata, se vuvala, se soqosoqo e okati se umani kece kina na duidui tikina ka ra wasea vata ga e dua na takete se iyacoyaco—na veiwekani ni duidui itavi era dui qarava, e dua na itinitini kei na dua na ivakatakilakila. Ena sega ni rawa ni kilai vakataucoko na system mai na kena kilai yadudua na kena vei tikina. Na porosese kei na veiwekani ni veitikina qori e lai vakavuna e dua na ka levu se ka taucoke era veirogoci ka duavata me vakayacori rawa kina na nodra veiqaravi. E dua na kena ivakaraitaki oya ena system ni umavosa, e levu cake sara mai vana tagede ni kena dau vakayacori na veivosaki, vakayagataka na lawanivosi, kei na kilai se vulici na veivosi yadua. Na nodra cakacaka vata ena sala yaga na veitikina se gacagaca yadudua ena dua na buturara se yavu e vakaibalebale sara vakalevu. E vaka tale ga kina e dua na system ni matavuvale oya ni levu cake mai na isoqoni ni veika e kilai kina kei na veitikidra na lewena kei na matavuvale yadua (p. 50).

Me vaka e vakaraitaka o Newman kei Newman (2011), ni ciori vaka-system e okati kina na keda ikilai se vakatakilakila. Ena vuku ni tikina oya, ena “sega ni rawa ni veisautaki na kedra ikilai na lewe levu mai na dui nanuma yadua ni kena veitikina lalai”. Era vakatulewataka na lewe levu na “buturara se yavu ni ibalebale e veiwaseitaki”, se me baleta na iwase ni vola qo na ivakatakilakila se ikilai vaka kawa tamata vakavanua. Me vaka na veika sa cauraki oti, na ile oya ni “sega ni tiki ni ivakatakilakila vakaiTaukei na yaqona”, se mani raitayaloyalotaki, vaka-vakasama se vakanuinuitaki tu, nina sega ni veisautaki na isema bibi ni yaqona ki na ivakatakilakila vaka kawatamata vakavanua ki na iwase levu ni iTaukei. Na duavata qo e laurai tale ga ena veivanua kara dau vakayagataki yaqona ena Paisivika raraba, vei ira na vakatawa vanua kei ira na lewe ni Pasivika ka ra sa biu vanua.

iTinitini

E sa vakadigova na iwase ni vola oqo, oya ni yaqona e dua na ivakatakilakila laugunuvi me mata taka, matana taka, ka tiki tudei ni kedra ikilai na lewe i Pasivika, ka vakabibi sara e Viti. E sa vakaraitaka tale ga na iwase ni ivola qo, ni sega wale ga ni vakayacora na yaqona na itavi bibi ni ivakatakilakila vaka kawa tamata vakavanua, ia sa taurivaki tale ga vei ira eso na lewenivanua ena taudaku ni Pasivika, me vaka vinakataka na nodra dui rai me baleti ira. Ia oqo e sa vakavurea eso na lomatarotaro, se cava sara mada na vuna era vakabauta kina eso, ni yaqona me ivakatakilakila ka vaka talega kina na kena gunuvi, e sega ni okati me kedra ikilai ena gaunisala vata ga oya. Na veilubale era cauraki mai me veisaqasaqa kei na kena vakayagataki na yaqona, e oka kina na kena revurevu ena igu se kaukauwa ni tamata ni oti na kena vakayagataki ka vaka talega kina na veisaqasaqa ni

veimata lotu vovou vaKarisito ka ra yavutaki mai ena taudaku kei Viti. Ia, na veicoqacoqa oqo e sega ni yacova na vakatagedegede me vaka ‘sau’ ka, ka me vakalilai taka na kena gunuvi na yaqona/kava e Viti kei na yatu Pasivika, ka rawa ni da vakavinavinaka ena titobu ni kena veiwekani kei na itovo, kei na kena sa veiwaki kaukauwa sara tu. Mei soqoni, e dina ni vuqa era saqata ka ra vosabeca na bibi ni yaqona/kava mei vakatakilakila rabailevu vakavanua veikeda na kawa itaukei—ka ra cauraka tiko ni sega ni tiki ni kedra ivakatakilakila vakavanua na yaqona—oqo e nodra nanuma ga edua na iwiliwili lailai sara ni lewenivanua.

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