

A malu i fale le gagana, e malu fo'i i fafo

**The use and value of the Samoan language in
Samoan families in New Zealand**

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A thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

2017

School of Social Sciences and Public Policy
Faculty of Culture and Society

Aotelega – Abstract

New Zealand census data indicates Samoan language use has declined rapidly in the last 20 years, particularly among the New Zealand-born Samoan population. The aims of this qualitative and family-based study were to identify factors which might impact these declines with five South Auckland families through group and individual *talanoaga*, participant observations, speech recordings and 24-hour recall sheets of language use. These were carried out over a one-year period exploring the valuing and, more particularly, use of the Samoan language in Samoan families, including whether there was a relationship between the two. Research suggests that the ultimate survival of a language depends on the intergenerational transmission of language within the family. The Samoan family was chosen as the vehicle for this study given its central place in the *fa'asamoa*, as the place where values, beliefs and practices are nurtured and where activity and decision-making changes occur. Youth are a second focus in this study because they are the carriers of Samoan language, yet data shows that they are experiencing the most language shift. This study was situated in the global context of language shift and maintenance, and so responses were grouped according to domains of language use. A bricolage approach was employed to connect the multiple ways of knowing and knowledge construction of the *fa'asamoa*.

The findings highlighted that Samoan was highly valued in these families as the heart of *fa'asamoa* and connected with spirituality, identity, culture and communication. This high valuing, however, did not transfer to the use of the language, particularly among the youth. Instead, language shift was evident in most families, with the exception of those which made deliberate efforts to use and enrich the Samoan language. The complexity of intermarriage in Samoan families was also an influencing factor, which is likely to continue to impact the future of the Samoan language. For the youth, Samoan language use was confined to the private domains of the home and church. However, and significant within these two previously safe domains, was that Samoan language use was changing largely through the use of digital technology and the internet, even by grandparents and elders. At the same time youth asked questions such as 'do you need to speak Samoan to be Samoan?' The lack of quality time as a family, and the changing family compositions, schooling and geographical environments, were also factors that

influenced Samoan language. The study conclusions were that intentional efforts such as having a language champion, Samoan-only language rules in the home, and quality family time together, are needed. However, more importantly, the impact of the use of digital technology and the internet and other new media on Samoan language use and sustainability is a new and changing area which is likely to continue to have a considerable impact on Samoan language use. It is argued that sustaining the Samoan language, and other minority language groups in New Zealand, will require family, community and State partnerships to ensure that the Samoan language continues to be valued and used in New Zealand.

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Dedication

O lenei su'esu'ega ou te aualofa ai i nai o'u mātua peleina o Tagaloa Robert John Wilson ma Aiono Elisapeta Taumaia Wilson.



Faafetai mo le tu'u'upuina mai o le gagana Samoa ia te a'u. Na oulua fa'afailele ma fafau mai lo'u nei tagata i le gagana, tu ma le aganu'u o le olaga fa'asamoa i totonu o lo tatou aiga, lea ua fa'amanuiaina ai lenei taumafaiga.

O le mafua'aga lea o le ulutala o lenei su'esu'ega:

'A malu i fale le gagana, e malu fo'i i fafo'

O le fale ma le 'āiga e malu ai le tagata. Ou te talitonu a malu fo'i i fale le gagana Samoa, e fa'apenā fo'i ona malu i fafo.

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Attestation of authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Salainaoloa Wilson

Translation and use of Samoan language in this thesis

The translation of Samoan words and phrases in this thesis are translated for meaning depending on the context. Samoan words that have been incorporated into the text are written in italics with an accompanying English translation in brackets; subsequent mentions of Samoan words are then included without translations. The glossary section will provide a list of translations for all Samoan words used in the thesis. Written Samoan is usually expected in the *Gagana T*¹ (GT) as the formal register of Samoan, and the more informal *Gagana K*² (GK) register is discouraged (Lee Hang, 2011). However, one of the aims of this study was to capture language use in its natural form. Therefore, quotations of Samoan language from participant responses and observation data are presented in both GT and GK as they occurred in the speech.

¹ /t/ style, also known as *tautala lelei* (good speech), is the register used in formal situations and during church services

² /k/ style/ or *tautala leaga* (bad speech) is the register spoken every day, a more colloquial style of Samoan.

Fa'afetai tele lava – Acknowledgements

Le Atua le Tamā, fa'afetai mo lau tausiga alofa. Fa'afetai mo au meaalofa ua e fa'aoloina ai lau 'au'auna vaivai. Le Ali'i e Iesu, fa'afetai i lou Agaga Pa'ia lē na fai ma fa'amatala loto i lenei faigamalaga. Fa'afetai o lea ua tini lau o le fa'amoemoe auā o lea ua i'u taumafaiga o a'u nei su'esu'ega. Ou te tatalo ina ia fai lea ma o'u sao ma ia aogā mo o'u tagata ma vi'ia ai lou suafa pa'ia. O le tatalo lea e ala atu i le suafa o lou alo o Iesu Keriso. Amene.

Heavenly father, thank you for all your gracious blessings and gifts you give me each day of my life – especially the gift of your son Jesus and the Holy Spirit. Lord Jesus, you promised to be with us always. I thank you for being with me on my PhD journey. Thank you Holy Spirit for inspiring and helping me to bring this PhD study to fruition. Amen.

Ou te lē fa'agaloina Afi'a i si ona vao. Mai le ta'ele o lo'u fatu, ou te momoli atu ai le fa'afetai tele lava i ē uma sa lagolagoina lenei fa'amoemoe. Fa'afetai lo outou agalelei.

My heartfelt and sincere thanks to my primary supervisor, Afioga Tagaloatele Prof. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop. Your commitment to Samoan and Pacific people, especially postgraduate students like myself, is undeniable. I thank you for being there from day one of my postgraduate journey as an honours student in 2007, through to my Master's, and now the PhD. You have been unwavering in your support and pushing me along. The words “this is really great, Sala” and “fa'amalosī” were what got me through when I was at the verge of giving it all up (several times); thank you for believing in me. I have been immeasurably enriched and blessed to know you, work with you, and be supervised and mentored by you. *Faafetai tele lava* to my second supervisor, Prof. Allan Bell. Thank you also for your patience, your expertise and knowledge. I have learned so much from you, and as I head into my academic career, I will continue to look up to you and your leadership and expertise in the field. *Ia fa'afualoa pea e le Atua o oulua soifua auā le a'oa'oina o fanau lalovaoa a Samoa ma le Pasefika* (May the Lord continue to bless you both and grant you good health as you continue teach and inspire other Samoan and Pacific students).

O se fa'afetai lē 'a'u'a'u lenei mo 'āiga ta'itasi na auai i lenei su'esu'ega. This study could not have been done without the five participant families. I am deeply humbled by

your generosity, enthusiasm, time, sharing of knowledge, and the *talanoaga* we had. Thank you for welcoming me into your lives and into your homes, and for supporting me all the way even when the data collection for this research had finished. I will never be able to repay you all for all you have sacrificed, but I hope and pray that I have done justice in this thesis to all you have shared with me. *Fa'afetai le agalelei.*

My sincere gratitude to AUT for funding this research by way of the the Vice Chancellor's Doctoral Scholarship and the AUT Manukau PhD study award. A special thank you to the former Institute of Public Policy (IPP), my first home when I arrived in Auckland. I will never forget how welcoming you all were, and all the support you gave me in my work and study. I would also like to thank the AUT School of Language and Culture, especially Head of School Associate Prof. Sharon Harvey, Deputy Head of School Annelies Roskvist and Associate Head of School Deborah Corder for all the support, especially during this last year as I tackled a new fulltime academic position and PhD study. I am so grateful and fortunate to be working alongside you all in our school. *Fa'afetai lava.*

One of the biggest helps throughout this study was the AUT Pacific Postgraduate Writing Retreats. *Fa'afetai tele lava* Tagaloatele Prof. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop and your team – Fa'alava'au Dr. Juliet Nanai, Prof. Marilyn Waring, Associate Prof. Camille Nakhid, Dr. Julia Ioane and Dr. Laumua Tunufa'i for your *alofa* for Pacific postgraduates at AUT. Fa'afetai also to the writing retreat '*āiga* – the postgrad students who have walked this journey with me. I have truly appreciated the time away at our retreats. The workshops, one-on-ones, food, walks and activities were a huge source of support, learning, encouragement, comfort and fellowship. *Fa'afetai le fesoasoani mai ma le faamalosi'au.*

Thank you to my Auckland family and friends. The MB209/MH206 PhD room crew – thank you for making the potentially lonely PhD journey such a rewarding one, shared with one another. I am blessed to have made some lifelong friends and unforgettable memories along the way. I wish you all the best for the remainder of your PhD journeys and future endeavours. Special mention to Pafitimai Salā Fa'asaulala Tagoilelagi-Leota (B1). You have been a constant support throughout this whole PhD. Thank you *uso* for being my older sister, teacher, counsellor, sponsor (lol), and friend. We connected over our love for the Samoan language and culture, and I believe God definitely put you in my life for a reason, especially to walk this PhD journey with. *Alofa atu uso.* Last, but not

least, thank you also to my 'FAMILY FIRST' group of friends, our 'dad' Tony Solomona, Meiolandre Tima, Asenati Tavita, Rebecca Du and Uili Uili. Thank you all for all the love and support (and mocks). I am blessed to call you all my family.

Thank you my team of editors and proofreaders, Margaret Keys, Dr. David Atkinson, Dr. David Parker and Barbara Sutton. *O se fa'afetai fa'apitoa i le fetalaiga ia Tauanu'u Sitagata Perenise Tapu* for all your help especially with the naming of this thesis. You have such a wealth of Samoan language and cultural knowledge, and I am grateful that you always take time to help me whenever I call on you. *Fa'amanuia le Atua, fa'afualoa pea lou soifua aua le tautuaina o 'āiga, nu'u, ekalesia ma le atunu'u.*

E momoli atu le fa'afetai fa'apitoa i le Afioga Bishop Peter Brown CSsR (Pule'aga Samoa-Pago Pago), Afioga Patele Jerry Sialau To'alepai, Afioga Patele Maleko Tufuga-Api, Afioga Patele Raphael Lobo, Afioga i le Tiakono Faumuinā Salā Tagaloa Theodore Sialau Toalepai, ma le Afioga i le ali'i Felela Br. Kieran Fenn FMS mo o outou tapuaiga e ala i talosaga, lenei ua i'u ai ma le manuia lenei faamoemoe. Fa'amanuia le Atua.

E manatua ai foi mātua o o'u mātua ua fai i lagi le folauga, Unasa Sialau Muavae Pelenato To'alepai (Papa) ma Leiloa Togafu'afu'a Imeleta Maiava To'alepai (Mama) mo le fa'afaileleina mai o a'u i le gagana. E manatua ai foi le Afioga Moseniolo Ioane Vito (Io), one of my favourite people in this world, and who was so integral in my study of the Samoan language and culture. I also remember my late grandparents Robert John Wilson and especially my grandmother Nana Eileen Mary Wilson who taught me how to read and speak English. I hope I have made you all proud.

E le fa'agaloina le fa'afetai i o'u 'āiga ma la 'outou lagolago mai i so'o se itū. E fa'asilisili le fa'afetai i o'u mātua o Tagaloa Robert John Wilson ma Aiono Elisapeta Taumaia Muavae Wilson, o o'u uso ma o latou aiga – Pauli Saifagaloa Maria Goretti ma le fanau, Judith Sameme ma Lafaitale Star Ah Kuoi ma le fanau, fa'apea fo'i Carmel Vaetoeilefaga ma Alapati Leiua. Thank you for all the support and prayers. No words will ever be enough to show my gratitude for all you have sacrificed so that I could study, especially away from home. Thank you for your patience, and for being the voice of reason and always reassuring me that I could do this, especially when I wanted to give it all up. A special thank you to my nephew Paul Emille Ah Kuoi. Moving over from Australia to live with me during the final stages of my PhD thesis meant I could not

dedicate as much time to spend with you. Thank you for putting up with your cranky Aunty. Your turn to do a PhD now. To my partner, Segi Uili Uili – you have been my rock. Thank you for standing beside me and holding my hand through this journey, for having faith in me and for always reassuring me that things will be OK. Thank you also for always holding the fort when I have been noticeably absent from everything. I thank the Lord each day for you and look forward to what the future brings us. Special thanks to your family, especially the ‘Preston family’ for everything.

I love you all, my family. This thesis is our thesis.

O le tatalo ma fa'amoemoega ia aogā le taumafaiga vaivai i o'u tagata Samoa ina ia fa'alototeleina ai i latou ma tinoū e fa'afailele, fa'aaogā ma fa'atāua le gagana fa'apea tu ma aga a Samoa auā o lo tatou tofi fa'apitoa ma le matagofie lea mai le Atua.

My prayer is that my generation and the next will all aspire to strive for excellence, no matter what it may be. May we also value and use our Samoan language, our gift from God. *Tautuanā lo tatou tofi mai le Atua ne'i valetu'ulima.*

Home is where it all begins.

A malu i fale le gagana, e malu fo'i i fafo.

In accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC), final ethics approval for this study 13/343 was granted on 14 January 2014 (see Appendix 5).

CHAPTER 1

Fa'ata'imuaga – Introduction

1.0 Introduction

I am a daughter of Samoa and New Zealand. I was born in Wellington New Zealand to a Samoan mother and European father, and I am the second youngest of four sisters. I come from two culturally different families: my *Pālagi* (European) family is small; my father is one of two children and I have two first cousins. By comparison, my Samoan family is large, comprising not only my nuclear family, but also the '*āiga potopoto* (extended family). My mother is one of thirteen children, and, at the time of writing, I can count over sixty-five first cousins. My mother, the second-eldest of thirteen siblings, was the first in her family to leave Samoa for New Zealand in the early 1970s to finish her schooling in New Zealand and then to work to provide for her family in Samoa.

My first language was Samoan, and my parents made the conscious decision that they would speak only Samoan to my sisters and me until we started school. My parents' decision to nurture us in the Samoan language and *fa'asamoa* (Samoan way of life) was based on the Samoan saying "*o tama a manu e fafaga i fuga o laau, a o tama a tagata e fafaga i upu ma tala*" (the offspring of birds are fed on the nectar of trees, but the young of humans are fed with words) (Le Tagaloa, 1996). Through this nurturing with words and stories, my sisters and I have come to know who we are, where we come from, and our place in Samoan society. This was made slightly easier by the fact that my European father spoke Samoan, having lived and worked in Samoa, and because we were constantly surrounded by our '*āiga potopoto*. I often refer to our house as the train station because it was the house that all of my mother's siblings lived in when they arrived from Samoa before they had families of their own. People were always coming and going, and so we children were constantly hearing and speaking Samoan.

My '*āiga* (family) is the most important thing to me. I have been fortunate to grow up with my Samoan '*āiga* and both my *Pālagi* and Samoan grandmothers. I only learnt to speak more English when I started school, and my *Pālagi* nana was instrumental in teaching and supporting my English language development; she was the only person I

was allowed to speak English with at home. The rule of speaking only Samoan at home remained well into my schooling years. I was also fortunate to have Mama, my Samoan grandmother, around while I was growing up. My mother often recalls a time she and my father took me to Samoa as a baby. Mama would often feed me with food which she had chewed and rolled into balls (*mama*)³, and it was not until I was older that I realised the significance of this food from Mama's mouth. I learnt that the *mama* is more than food; it has a spiritual meaning. As Tui Atua (2009c) explains, the "munching imparts into the food, spiritual mana from the agaga or spirit of the muncher" (p. 74). The *mama* is the way the *fa'asamoa* is fed to the heart and soul of the young by parents and grandparents.

I also recall my mother and grandmother telling us *fāgogo* (stories)⁴ to put us to sleep at night. My favourite was the story of Sina, her ten brothers and the *sau'ai* (giant), and I later acted out the part of Sina in our school play at St Mary's Primary in Savalalo, Samoa. The *fāgogo* were more than just story telling. The *fāgogo* nurtured us with stories, knowledge, values, rituals, beliefs, and practices which are shared through language. I realise now how fortunate I was to grow up with these stories, many of which have not been enjoyed by the youth of today.

Annual trips with my family to Samoa kept me connected to the homeland and the *fa'asamoa*, especially when I spent a year living there and going to school at St Mary's Savalalo when I was nine years old. In New Zealand I was also very active in my Samoan Catholic church and attended *A'oga Aso Sā* (Sunday school) from a very young age. I was an *Autalavou* (youth group) leader for many years, and represented the Wellington Samoan Catholic Chaplaincy at World Youth Day 2008 in Sydney. In these and other ways, being Samoan and speaking Samoan became an integral part of my *fa'asinomaga* (identity) as a daughter, sister, godmother, aunt, cousin, friend and a *tama'ita'i Samoa* (Samoan woman). With these, I know my *tofi* (rights and responsibilities) through *tautua* (service).

Maintaining my Samoan language has been a struggle, at times, due to growing up in a predominantly English-speaking society. In my *'āiga* and in my previous work as a

³ Food which has been chewed up (usually by elderly) to soften and then roll into balls. These 'dumplings' would be used to feed young children (Tui Atua, 2009c, p. 74).

⁴ *Fāgogo* is a literary art form of storytelling. It almost always includes chants, and for the 'points to be driven home', the moral of the story is usually in the form of a chant (Le Tagaloa, 1996).

Samoan language tutor I have seen language shift happen around me. I firmly believe that had it not been for the foresight of my parents in ensuring that we spoke Samoan at home, I would not be able to speak Samoan today. I have grown to love and appreciate the Samoan language more as I get older, and take pride in being able to share my *tofi* from God with others.

For me, I see the commitment to help preserve my language as an obligation (Bell, 2014; England, 1992) placed on me by God and my Samoan community. This study to research, document and raise awareness about the use of the Samoan language in New Zealand and ways to sustain it has become a highly personal challenge, and I know that I need to go back to where it all begins, and where it began for me – the *‘āiga*.

1.1 State of the Samoan language

1.1.1 New Zealand

In my earlier Master’s study, I explored the perceptions of Samoan students, parents, and teachers on the place and value of the Samoan language in New Zealand. Spurred on by census data which showed Samoan language shift occurring in New Zealand, the overarching assumption for that study was that if Samoans valued the Samoan language, it would mean that they would also speak the language. The findings from my study showed that the Samoan language was highly valued by the Samoan community (Wilson, 2010). However, I did not explore actual language use, which is the focus of this study.

Looking at the census data six years later, I saw that the Samoan language is the language⁵ with the third-highest number of speakers who say they can have a conversation about a lot of everyday things, after English and Maori (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c). However, as seen in Figure 1.1, there had been a significant decline in the fluency of the Samoan language. In the years 1996 to 2013 there was a marked decrease in the percentage of Samoans who indicated they could speak Samoan in everyday conversation (see Figure 1.1).

⁵ Spoken by 86,403 people (2.2 per cent of people who stated at least one language) (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c)

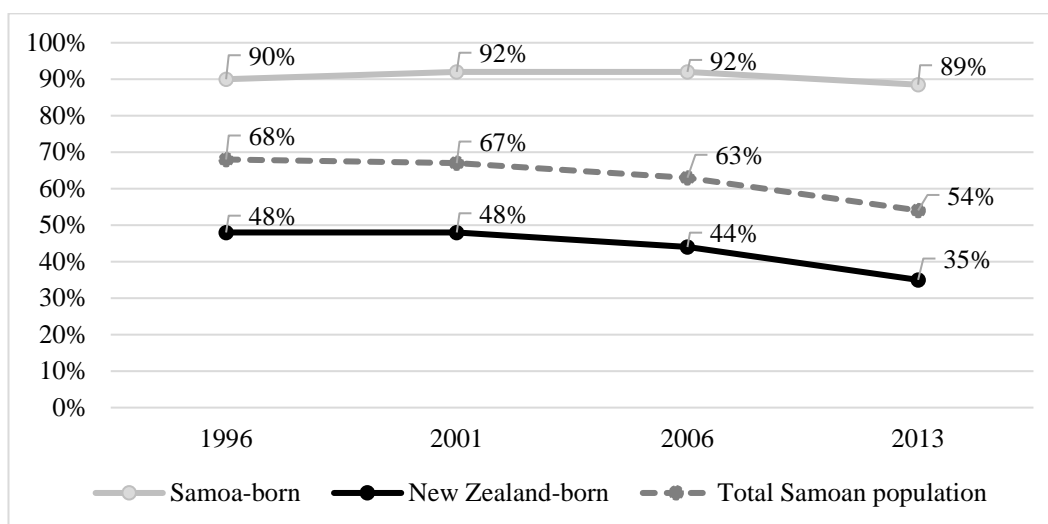


Figure 1.1: Speakers of Samoan in everyday conversation 1996 – 2013⁶

The 2013 census data showed that for the Samoa-born Samoans, there was a slight decrease of three per cent. However, 35 per cent of NZ-born Samoans (31,410), in particular, indicated they could speak Samoan, a drop of nine per cent from the previous census, and of 13 per cent since 1996. In addition, only 32 per cent of youth under the age of 15, who are expected to be the future carriers of the Samoan language, said they could speak Samoan (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.). Bell (2014) suggests that this sort of age grading is “a typical marker of intergenerational language shift away from the community language and towards the dominant language” (p. 56). Other census data indicated that English is the most widely spoken language for 87.4 per cent of Samoans (and 91.5 per cent of NZ-born Samoans) (see Appendix 1). The decline in the fluency of Samoan language use in New Zealand suggests that intergenerational transmission among the NZ-born Samoan population is slowing, and that monolingualism in English is becoming the norm. With the increase of NZ-born⁷ Samoans, and as the rates of decline in language use increase, this poses a serious threat to the intergenerational transmission of Samoan in New Zealand. In fact, it could be argued that the Samoan language in New Zealand is becoming endangered.

Looking at the 2013 data raised the question for me, if the Samoan language was so highly valued (Wilson, 2010), why was Samoan language shift occurring? What were the patterns of shift, and what factors were contributing to these patterns? Was this an isolated

⁶ In the census, people identify which language(s) they can hold a conversation about everyday things in.

⁷ 62.7 per cent of the Samoan population in New Zealand are NZ-born (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c).

case, or was this happening with other minority languages in New Zealand and around the world? Research shows that globally languages are being lost at an alarming rate, particularly minority languages. Researchers predict that many of the world's approximately 7,100 languages spoken today are in danger of dying and there is agreement that between 35 and 50 per cent of the world's living languages will not survive into the next century (Lewis, Gary, Simons, & Fennig, 2016; Stanford & Whaley, 2010). Krauss' famous prediction in 1992 suggested that as much as 90 per cent of languages are in danger. The Pacific has been defined as the most linguistically diverse region in the world, with over 1,313 languages (Lewis et al., 2016). However, in line with global trends, it is widely believed that a considerable proportion of these languages will not survive (Simons & Lewis, 2011; Tryon, 2006). In sum, these data suggests a grim future, particularly for minority group languages.

A number of characteristics contributing to language shift have been identified in global research. First, language shift is most prevalent in migrant and minority communities (Bell, 2014; Garcia, 2003), where *lingua franca* (common languages) such as English – the medium of instruction in schools, and the language of the majority of television, commerce, and other media – are threatening to displace the migrant or minority languages. Second, language shift can be a relatively quick process; estimates are that language shift may be completed within three generations (Fishman, 1991) and sometimes even two generations, as the language of the dominant population gradually displaces the minority language mother tongue. Third, the prestige that is associated with English by its speakers as a 'world language', as well as a related tendency to regard English monolingualism as the norm (May, 2009), are factors here, as is the prevalence of English in everyday life. Fourth, is the important role of youth as the future carriers of language (Fernandez & Clyne, 2007; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005) which was also a key finding in my previous research (Wilson, 2010). As the New Zealand census data has indicated, youth will be the crucial population for the intergenerational transmission of language.

1.1.2 Samoa as the source of nourishment of the Samoan language

The Samoan language⁸ is the language of the independent state of Samoa (formerly Western Samoa) and of the territory of American Samoa. The languages of government and commerce, as enshrined in the Samoan Constitution, are Samoan and English (The Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa 1960). The language is classified as belonging to the Austronesian family. There are a total of approximately 430,677 speakers of Samoan worldwide, of which an estimated 199,000 are residing in Samoa (Lewis et al., 2016), and 86,403 live in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c).

An assumption has always been that the Samoan homelands are the source of nourishment for the Samoan language in New Zealand, and that this ensures its security (Wilson, 2010). However, there is evidence which indicates that language change is taking place in Samoa (Nunes, 2006; Spolsky, 1988; Va'ai, 2011; Vague, 2014). Spolsky (1988) proposed that there were signs of serious erosion of the Samoan language in Samoa. Almost thirty years later, Va'ai (2011) found that an even greater spread of the English language was taking place in Samoa, and that English was the preferred language of commerce and tourism. Vague (2014) linked this to the recent advances in technology and the spread of digital media (television, music, movies) and mass media. Television broadcasting is increasingly in English. News bulletins were presented bilingually, reaching even the most remote villages in Samoa, along with the rapid development of television, movies, technology, and instant downloads. Fuata'i (2011) suggests that text language in particular has 'corrupted' the Samoan language. Moreover, Samoan is an oral language, and in many ways an oral culture also, and oral traditions are still practised in Samoa. However, families and younger generations today, particularly those living in and

⁸ The Samoan language is made up of two distinct registers: the everyday conversational Samoan, and the formal *gagana fa'amatai* or *gagana fa'afailauga* (oratory) or *gagana fa'aaloalo* (dignified language), which uses a distinct lexicon separate from the everyday language, characterised by a poetic style of speaking that is laced with proverbs, metaphors, and reference to Samoa's myths and legends. Pronunciation in both registers can either be spoken in two styles – /t/ style or *tautala lelei* (good speech) which is reserved for formal or polite speech, or /k/ style, referred to as *tautala leaga* (bad speech) commonly used in everyday informal speech. The /t/ style is used for written Samoan, in times of worship, for communication with elders in the family, and in studies at secondary school and university. The /k/ style, in comparison, is used in colloquial speech and by orators during meetings and cultural observances (Fuata'i, 2011).

around Apia, have less exposure to these traditions and show less interest in learning them (Vague, 2014).

The increased use of English in Samoa is a huge challenge to the sustainability of the Samoan language in Samoa, and as the source of nourishment of Samoan language maintenance in New Zealand. For example, Tauiliili (2009) posits that while migrants from Samoa have in the past been a constant source of Samoan language maintenance in New Zealand, many immigrants today do not speak Samoan with the frequency of earlier days. Furthermore, many of the earlier migrants from Samoa to New Zealand have not maintained their links with Samoa.

As a Samoan, born and raised in New Zealand, these global patterns of language shift and language change in Samoa were concerning. If globally languages are shifting rapidly and there is language change in the homeland, what does this mean for the Samoan language in New Zealand? Moreover, if language shift is happening to the Samoan community, the largest Pacific population in New Zealand, what will happen to other minority languages in New Zealand? Other census data highlighted that the seven largest Pacific languages in New Zealand are all facing a similar decline (see Appendix 2) particularly among their NZ-born members (Statistics New Zealand, n.d., 2006, 2014c).

1.2 Research gap

There has been a growing amount of research in New Zealand on the state of Pacific languages (Amituanai-Toloa, 2010; Bell, Starks, Davis, & Taumoeofolau, 2001; Hunkin-Tuiletufuga, 2001; McCaffery & McFall-McCaffery, 2009). However, much of this research has comprised quantitative surveys based on census data and questionnaires. There has been some qualitative research on Samoan language use in domains such as the school (Fletcher, Parkhill, Faafoi, Taleni, & O'Regan, 2009; Long, 1994; Siilata & Barkhuizen, 2004; Starks, 2005), and the church (Dickie & McDonald, 2011; Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003; Spolsky, 1988; Fouvaa, 2011). Global research indicates that language has a better chance of survival if it is spoken in the home (Fishman, 1991; Hlavac, 2013). Yet research on Samoan language use in the family has not been done. The crucial role of the Samoan family as the socialising and educating agency and source of identity (Freeman & Showel, 1953; Waite, 2001) has been underexplored, as has the

relationships among family members and the way a family organises itself and how this influences language today. Drawing on this, research on actual Samoan language use in the family is vital. This will reveal the emotional, conflictual, and structural aspects of language shift, as well the attitudes held by family members toward the Samoan language.

This study, therefore, will focus on the use of the Samoan language in the family, to explore the stories that underpin the statistics, and to focus on the fundamental sociolinguistic questions of who speaks what language, to whom, when, and why. It is evident to me that research on Samoan language use in the home is needed to critically examine not only the values and motivations of Samoan speakers, but also how “social, linguistic, environmental and economic processes intersect in order to know how to account for the varied interests involved in cases of language endangerment” (Muehlmann, 2007, p. 32). Language shift does not occur in isolation, so research is needed at both the macro- and micro-societal levels to discover the wider social, cultural, physical, demographic and political influencing factors on language maintenance and shift (Fishman, 1992, 1997; May, 2001).

1.3 This study

This qualitative family-based study explores the nature and extent of the use and valuing of the Samoan language. It is framed through a Pacific worldview. The research questions are:

1. How is the Samoan language valued and used within Samoan families in New Zealand?
2. What domains of language use do families engage in, and how do these support Samoan language maintenance?
3. What strategies can be employed to support Samoan language maintenance today?

This research sample unit is Samoan families, given the integral place of the *‘āiga* in the *fa’asamoa* and its role in the socialisation of a child. These families are those living in South Auckland, the ‘Polynesian capital of the world’ (Anae, 2004; Cave, Ryan, & Panakera, 2003). Using a bricolage (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Rogers, 2012), the design incorporates mainly qualitative approaches (including phenomenology) as the methodology (Denscombe, 1998;

Dowling, 2007; Grbich, 2013), and qualitative data collection methods such as *talanoaga* (Kolone-Collins, 2010), digital recordings, participant observation (Marshall & Rossman, 2006), and 24-hour recall sheets of language use in digital technology and the internet.

The research takes into account the wider social, cultural, physical, and demographic nature of Samoan families and the Samoan community in New Zealand, including the impact of the rapid expansion in digital technology and interactive media on patterns of language learning and use today. In doing so, the research will elicit strategies to support Samoan language sustainability.

In the literature, the terms *heritage language*, *community language*, *family language*, *migrant languages*, and *minority languages* are used almost interchangeably. In this thesis, I use them to refer to the mother tongue.

1.4 Study context

1.4.1 Value of the Samoan language

Samoans view the Samoan language as being synonymous with culture, and intimately linked with spirituality and identity, which together have been termed as the Samoan indigenous reference (Fonoti, 2011; Fuata'i, 2011; Tui Atua, 2014). The Samoan language is seen as having a spiritual power (Fouvaa & Hunkin, 2011; Lui, 2007) and as a *tofi* (duty, responsibility, inheritance) gifted from God in a similar way that the Hebrew language was God's gift to the Hebrew people, and the Greek language to the Greek people. Samoans are tasked to *fa'asoa* (pass on) the Samoan language, their inheritance, to the generations that follow. Other *tofi* include *fanua* (land), *aganu'u* (culture), *tu ma aga* (customs and traditions), *tala o le vavau* (myths and legends) and *tala fa'asolopito* (history) (Tui Atua, 2000; Fonoti, 2011). *Tofi* are sacred and the *fe'au* (messages) which Samoans acquire from these *tofi* will guide and instruct their thoughts, spirits and actions (Tui Atua, 2005).

Related to and stemming from the *tofi* is *fa'asinomaga* (identity), grounded in the Samoan language and culture. The Samoan language is the defining factor of being Samoan (Hunkin-Tuiletufuga, 2001; Le Tagaloa, 1997), and is what Samoan people live and breathe (Tui Atua, 2005). One of the most famous sayings by Aiono Fanaafi Le Tagaloa,

a prominent Samoan scholar, historian, educator, linguist, and authority on Samoan language and culture, reads:

A leai se gagana, ua leai se aganu'u. A leai se aganu'u, ona po lea o le nu'u.

When you lose your language, you lose your culture. When there is no longer a living culture, darkness descends on the village (Le Tagaloa, 1996, p. 1).

The Samoan language is also regarded as a *measina* (treasure), and has *utuvāgana* (words) that are 'deep and meaningful' (Kolone-Collins, 2010). As Le Tagaloa (1996) explains:

The Samoan philosophy of language believes that the proper diet for young humans is language. Feed the human with words: sweet words; polite words; fearless and courageous words; harsh and strong words; deep and spiritual words, words of tofamanino; words of atonement; words of reconciliation and forgiveness; words of the tapuaiga; for the words and tones of the mother tongue will enhance and facilitate the realization of each individual being created by God (p. 82).

Samoan histories such as genealogies and family histories, *tala o taeao o Samoa* (tales of significant moments in Samoa's history), and *tala o taua* (stories of war) are contained within the words of the Samoan language. Prior to the documentation of the Samoan language, the spoken words were the means by which these histories were passed on (Tauiliili, 2009, p. 12). Tui Atua (2013) maintains that God continues to speak to the Samoan people through mythologies, history, values, customs, culture, and the Samoan language.

1.4.2 Global and national strategies to support minority languages

There are two fronts to arguments for mother-tongue maintenance. First, at the community level, and second, at a global level, from a global language-rights perspective (Trudell, 2004). In earlier years, arguments for maintaining mother tongues were largely driven by the speech communities themselves. Since then, global theorising regarding languages has seen the emergence of national and global conventions and declarations which emphasise the right to language as a fundamental attribute of cultural identity and empowerment for individuals as well as groups. The pattern of global recognition of languages had first focused on the perspective of language as a human right, then on the rights of indigenous communities to their vernacular language, toward a focus on minority and migrant languages.

The 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*⁹, did not provide a right to language, but Article 2 establishes that:

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms regardless of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status (United Nations, 1948, art. 2).

By the early 1990s, global declarations put more emphasis on peoples' rights to language, focusing on individual and collective rights. The 1990 *Universal Declaration of the Collective Rights of Peoples*, agreed to in Barcelona, stated that:

All peoples have the right to express and develop their culture, language, and rules of organization (UNESCO, 1996, p. 2).

Article 3 of the 1996 *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* (Barcelona) affirmed the right of language groups¹⁰ within language communities¹¹ to use their own language, both in public and in private, to interrelate and associate with other members of one's language community, and the right to develop one's culture. Article 3 also highlights the collective rights of language groups to include the right for their own language and culture to be taught, the right to an equitable presence of the language in communications media, and the right to receive attention in their own language from government bodies and in socioeconomic relations (UNESCO, 1996, p. 5).

With a specific focus on indigenous peoples' rights, The 2008 *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) outlined rights for indigenous peoples to ensure the intergenerational transmission of their languages. Article 13 stipulates that:

Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons (The United Nations General Assembly, 2008, art. 13).

⁹ This declaration is non-binding on states.

¹⁰ A language group is defined in Article 1 of the *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* as "any group of persons sharing the same language which is established in the territorial space of another language community but which does not possess historical antecedents equivalent to those of that community. Examples of such groups are immigrants, refugees, deported persons and members of diasporas" (UNESCO, 1996, p. 4).

¹¹ A language community is defined as "any human society established historically in a particular territorial space, whether this space be recognized or not, which identifies itself as a people and has developed a common language as a natural means of communication and cultural cohesion among its members" (UNESCO, 1996, p. 4).

Article 14 of the UNDRIP further gives the right:

To establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages (The United Nations General Assembly, 2008, art. 14).

In addition, Article 16 states that:

Indigenous peoples have the right to establish their own media in their own languages (The United Nations General Assembly, 2008, art. 16).

UNESCO gives priority to minority and migrant language rights and linguistic diversity. It is also mandated to deal with language issues, relating especially to minority languages. Article 1 of the UNESCO constitution states that language should not induce any kind of discrimination (UNESCO, 2012).

The 2001 *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* also gives priority to languages and linguistic diversity. Its associated action plan calls for member states to safeguard the linguistic heritage of humanity, and to support and encourage linguistic diversity, while respecting the mother tongue at all levels (UNESCO, 2003a). In a similar vein, the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* recognises the vital role of language in the expression and transmission of living heritage. This convention outlines that all intangible cultural heritage domains – from knowledge about the universe to rituals, performing arts, and handicrafts – depend on language for their day-to-day practice and intergenerational transmission.

Samoa

Concerns for the status of the Samoan language in Samoa have also received political attention, such that in January 2014, the Samoan Government passed the Samoan Language Commission Act 2014 which declared Samoan as the national official language. The aims of the new act were to ensure that Samoan is “accorded the status, right and prestige as to its use in all government institutions or state institutions” (Samoan Language Commission Act 2014, s 4). A Samoan Language Commission (SLC) was also established; its core role is to promote the Samoan language, and “to initiate, develop, co-ordinate, review, advise upon, and assist in the implementation of policies, procedures, measures designed to give effect to the declaration in section 5 of the Samoan language as an official language of Samoa” (Samoan Language Commission Act 2014, s 7a). This

new act aligned with the Head of State of Samoa, Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi's 51st Samoa Independence Speech in 2013, which highlighted the issue of Samoan language loss:

The Samoan language, like the languages of other small Pacific island countries, faces threat of loss. Because of increasing demands for English language television, radio, movies and literature, the English language threatens to usurp our Samoan language, in a similar way to which the sea today threatens to usurp Tuvalu. This threat is a threat to our tofi (or inheritance). In Tuvalu, it is a threat to their lands; in Samoa, it is a threat to our language (Tui Atua, 2013).

These actions by the Samoan Government to promote the use and value of the Samoan language point to the fact that the Samoan language could be in danger.

With regard to schooling, the Samoan language continues to be taught by public, private and mission schools, and is used as the medium of instruction to teach other subjects from years one to six in primary schools. In addition, Samoan is offered as a second language course primarily for non-Samoan speakers, as well as for Samoan speakers who do not possess the standard competency in the Samoan language (Nunes, 2006).

New Zealand policies and practices

Pacific peoples have been migrating to New Zealand for over a hundred years, in search of a better life attained through education and better jobs (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003; Spoonley, 2001; Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). Pacific people are an increasing population in New Zealand today forming almost seven per cent (295,941) of the total population, and are predicted to increase to almost 11 per cent by 2038 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c). Samoans are the largest Pacific group, at 48.7 per cent (144,138) of the total Pacific population, and are youthful with a median age 21.5 years. Ninety-two per cent (133,971) of Samoans live in the North Island of New Zealand, and 66.5 per cent of Samoans live in Auckland (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a, 2014c), which is where this study is located. Notable also is the diverse nature of the Samoan community today; 67.2 per cent (89,271) are now born in New Zealand, there is an increase in intermarriage, and there are significant numbers of third- and fourth-generation New Zealand families (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c).

As is well reported, in the past Pacific migrants faced a range of challenges when they settled in New Zealand, many of which influenced language retention, especially so in

the earlier years when mother-tongue maintenance was not yet seen as a strength (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2003). Instead, anecdotal reports support the belief that it was considered difficult to master English and achieve academically if one held on to one's mother tongue.

New Zealand is now home to 213 ethnicities and 160 languages (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.), and has been classified as one of a small number of culturally and linguistically super-diverse¹² countries (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013). Despite the fact that New Zealand continues to become increasingly multicultural, minority languages have come under increasing pressure from the effects of public monolingualism in New Zealand (Harvey, 2016; Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013). English is the default language of business, government, education and the media (Lee, 2013).

Language policy

New Zealand does not have a national languages policy. However, the indigenous Maori language and New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL) are official languages, alongside the national language of English. In addition to the global declarations and conventions mentioned in section 1.4.2, New Zealand is party to other international laws which have some relevance for language in New Zealand. The most far-reaching binding protection for linguistic human rights for minority languages in New Zealand is provided in Article 27 of the 1966 *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR), ratified by New Zealand in 1978 (Human Rights Commission, n.d.). Article 27 declares:

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008, p. 110).

The ICCPR has been adopted in the *New Zealand Bill of Rights Act* 1990 (section 20), forming part of New Zealand domestic law (Ministry of Justice & Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2000, p. 44). This requires the New Zealand government to foster an environment in which people have the opportunity both to learn and to use their languages.

¹² Super-diversity is a notion intended to underline the unprecedented levels of ethnic and linguistic diversity (Harvey, 2016; Vertovec, 2007).

The *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to a National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minority* (which expanded on Article 27 of the ICCPR), sets out States' obligations to protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities (Ministry of Justice & Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2000). The *United Nations Convention on the Rights Of the Child* (UNCROC), which New Zealand ratified in 1993, confirms language as being an essential element of social justice (United Nations, 1990). While the UNDRIP has not been ratified in New Zealand, which has been a point of considerable contention especially for indigenous Maori, the then-New Zealand Prime Minister John Key described the UNDRIP as an aspirational document to be implemented "within the current legal and constitutional frameworks of New Zealand" (Human Rights Commission, n.d.).

Despite the influence of these and other global and national frameworks, New Zealand has not moved any closer toward a national languages policy:

- In 1992, Waite released his landmark report titled *Aotearoa: Speaking for Ourselves – A discussion on the development of a New Zealand languages policy* which argued strongly for the need for a language policy that would put structures in place to ensure language security, including syllabi and curriculum materials for use in language maintenance programmes. This call for a framework was largely influenced by The Australian National Languages Policy 1987. Since that time, New Zealand educators, language advocates and community leaders have been eagerly awaiting the appearance of "an explicitly formulated languages policy which would set broad strategic directions, linking language learning and teaching to other areas of activity such as commerce, trade, tourism, diplomacy, and social and cultural development" (Benton, 1995, p. 161).
- In 2005, the call for a national languages policy was renewed in the New Zealand Action Plan for Human Rights presented at the New Zealand Diversity Forum.
- In 2008, the Statement on Language Policy, developed through the national language policy network of the New Zealand Diversity Action Programme, was presented by the Human Rights Commission in 2008, to no avail.

- In 2012, a Pacific Languages Framework was released by the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs¹³ (MPIA), which put the onus on the communities to take ownership of maintaining and revitalising their Pacific languages, and indicated that the Government's role was "primarily to support Pacific communities to achieve their language aspirations" (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2012, p. 4).
- In 2013, the Royal Society of New Zealand's (RSNZ) (2013) paper *Languages in Aotearoa New Zealand* summarised the wide range of issues that minority languages face in New Zealand. Noted specifically was the absence of "official status for languages not native to the New Zealand mainland, but to which New Zealand could be seen to have a responsibility, such as the associated state and territory languages: Cook Islands Māori, Tokelauan and Niuean" (p. 3); these are languages of the realm of New Zealand. Furthermore, given the aims of cultural diversity, there is still little recognition of other languages in New Zealand, such as migrant languages (predominantly Pacific, Asian and European languages), in legal, cultural, and educational settings, yet "these linguistic skills make up an important part of the asset base that migrant settlers bring to New Zealand" (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013, p. 3).
- In the absence of any national progress on a national languages policy, Auckland took the initiative with an idea to develop an Auckland Languages Strategy (ALS) and raised this at a workshop on a national languages policy in 2012 in Auckland.
- The Tāmaki Makaurau ALS working group, convened by COMET¹⁴, drafted the ALS which was presented to the Auckland City Council in April 2015. This was subsequently accepted and launched in November 2015, with the hopes that it would be a precursor to a national languages strategy (Te Hononga Akoranga & COMET Auckland, 2015). At the time of writing, there was no available information on the progress of this strategy.

By way of contrast, government agencies have recognised that Samoan is the language of communication for the Samoan community, and, as a matter of policy, have provided information – such as immigration materials, health information and messages, and educational information – in the Samoan language (Wilson, 2010). The Ministry for

¹³ The Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs (MPIA), as it was known then, is now called the Ministry for Pacific Peoples (MPP).

¹⁴ Community Education Trust Auckland

Pacific Peoples (MPP) also promotes the Pacific language weeks¹⁵ in New Zealand which have grown significantly since *Vaiaso o le Gagana Samoa* (Samoan language week) was first celebrated in 2007.

Education

Pacific languages have received significant support from the Ministry of Education (MOE). Pacific language curriculum statements were developed based on the 1992 New Zealand Curriculum Framework. The Samoan language was the first (in 1996¹⁶); the Cook Islands language curriculum followed in 2004, followed by Niuean in 2006, and Tongan in 2007. These languages are now all recognised NCEA subjects. The MOE's current Pasifika Education Plan (PEP) 2013-2017 sets out the Government's strategic direction for improving Pasifika education outcomes. Support for Pacific languages in the PEP comes in the form of learning Pacific languages as a second language, rather than supporting mother-tongue maintenance in education. The Superdiversity Stocktake¹⁷ highlighted three main points with regard to language learning in education. First, that "there has been a significant decline in secondary school students learning a second language, only 20.3 per cent, the lowest since 1993" (Chen, 2015, p. 179). Second, while there are English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) programmes to aid overseas-born students to develop their English language proficiency, there is nothing done "to help those students to develop their other languages" (p. 79). Thirdly, students do not get credit for being able to speak multiple languages. The support for these languages has been largely community-led, as will be discussed.

There is firm promotion of Samoan language at the early childhood education (ECE) level. *A'oga Amata* (Samoan ECE) are modelled on *A'oga a Faife'au* (pastors' schools) in Samoa (Tanielu, 2004), and draw heavily on the *Kohanga Reo*¹⁸ (Maori ECE)

¹⁵ Other Pacific language weeks are celebrated for the Cook Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Fiji, Niue, and Tokelau communities. These are supported by the New Zealand Human Rights Commission in conjunction with government agencies and Pacific community groups.

¹⁶ The Samoan language curriculum statement (*Ta'iala mo le Gagana Samoa i Niu Sila*) was published in 1996 in both English and Samoan. It was the first curriculum guidelines document for teaching and learning a language from early childhood to the end of secondary school. A review of Samoan in the New Zealand Curriculum was completed in 2009 (Ministry of Education, 2009).

¹⁷ This is New Zealand's first stocktake of the implications of New Zealand's ethnic super-diversity for business, government, and citizens.

¹⁸ *Kohanga Reo* (literally 'language nest') are total immersion ECE centres where all education and instruction is delivered in *Te Reo Maori* (Maori language) ("Licensing criteria for Kōhanga Reo," n.d.).

movement and its part in the successful revitalisation of the Maori language¹⁹ (Hunkin, 2012). In 2014, 389 licensed ECE services throughout New Zealand reported using Samoan²⁰, and Samoan was used as the language of communication for more than 80 per cent of teaching contact time in 31 licensed services (Ministry of Education, 2015a). The gains there have also been made at the primary and secondary school levels. In 2015, Samoan was offered as a separate NCEA subject in 46²¹ schools in New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2015b). The first Samoan bilingual programme in New Zealand was started in 1987 in Auckland (Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2009) and, at the time of writing²², there are currently 35 Samoan immersion services, of which 15 use Samoan as their main language for at least 80 per cent of teaching contact time (Ministry of Education, 2015b). Samoan is also offered as a major subject for a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree at Victoria University of Wellington, and is a minor subject at the University of Auckland. The quality of the Samoan language varies by context and it is difficult to measure how much of an effect this is having on the maintenance of the Samoan language in New Zealand.

Community

The advances in the teaching, learning and promotion of the Samoan language are a direct result of the strong support in the Samoan community. Groups such as SAASIA²³ (the national association of Samoan *A'oga Amata* teachers in New Zealand), the F.A.G.A.S.A²⁴ Inc. (the national organisation for the teaching of Samoan language in New Zealand) and *Fotu o Mālama*²⁵ (Auckland-based association for teachers of Samoan language at secondary schools and tertiary institutions) are examples of groups

¹⁹ The success of *Kohanga Reo* provides a basis for the regeneration of the Maori movement by creating intergenerational foci (Fishman, 2001) which were designed “to reassemble the language from the ‘mouths and memories’ of the grandparental generation for transmission to the very young, while enabling the parental generation to learn alongside their children if they had the time and inclination” (Fouvaa, 2011, p. 21).

²⁰ This data is based on Samoan being used between 1 and 100 per cent of the time in these ECE services.

²¹ 52 schools had students enrolled in a Pacific language as a separate subject: 23 primary schools, 28 secondary schools, and 1 composite school. Samoan was the most common language.

²² Based on data statistics from 2015 (Ministry of Education, 2015b).

²³ SAASIA stands for *Sosaiete a A'oga Amata Samoa i Aotearoa*: The national association of Samoan *A'oga Amata* teachers in New Zealand. It was founded in 1987 and provides guidance, support, and advice to *A'oga Amata* across New Zealand.

²⁴ F.A.G.A.S.A stands for *Faalāpotopotoga mo le A'oa'oina o le Gagana Samoa i Aotearoa*: The organisation for the teaching of the Samoan language in New Zealand. It was established in 1976 and is a non-profit and independent organisation.

²⁵ The *Fotu o Mālama* was formally launched in November 2015 in Auckland, New Zealand.

advocating for the teaching and maintenance of Samoan in New Zealand. SAASIA's philosophy is to promote the use of Samoan culture and language with Christian beliefs in *A'oga Amata* across New Zealand. F.A.G.A.S.A Inc. provides bilingual literacy services for education providers and employers, and were also instrumental in the establishment of the *Fale'ula o Fatua'i'upu o le Gagana Samoa*, the International Samoan Language Commission in 2002²⁶. F.A.G.A.S.A Inc. also holds annual national Samoan language speech contests for secondary school students in New Zealand. There are also community language schools such as the Pasifika Education Centre (PEC) in Auckland, which teach the Samoan language and culture, and there are other community-led *aganu'u* (Samoan culture) classes.

Samoan has some support in the mass media domain. Radio, for example, as a community-driven initiative, has also proven highly effective in promoting community languages. In the 1990s, Pacific community radio access had two stations in Auckland and Christchurch (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003; Hunkin-Tuiletufuga, 2001). Today, Auckland-based Radio 531pi runs its Samoan-community language programme, *Le Foafoa o Aotearoa*, every Thursday evening (6.00 pm to 6.00 am). Wellington's Samoan radio station, *Le Siufofoga o le Laumua* (Samoan Capital Radio), broadcasts for 38 hours a week, Monday to Friday, with podcasts readily available to access online. Niu FM, the first national Pacific radio network in New Zealand, based in Auckland, broadcasts music and news from around New Zealand, the Pacific, and Australia. Radio is particularly valued by workers, especially those doing evening shift work, and older family members who tune into Samoan talk-back shows. However, it is unknown whether young Samoans listen to these programmes. There is no Samoan television station, despite repeated attempts and applications in earlier years. However, television shows such as *Tagata Pasifika* and *Fresh TV* promote Samoan and Pacific cultures and languages, although programming is done in English.

Newspapers produced in Samoan and English are another rich source of language promotion, and many of these are also readily available online. Examples include the *Samoa Observer*, *Samoa Times*, and *Talamua* (which is made available exclusively online). These papers source news from Samoan communities in New Zealand, Samoa,

²⁶ The Samoan Language Commission was formally recognised in Samoa by the *Samoan Language Commission Act 2014*.

and around the world. While these newspapers do generally seem to attract older readers, mostly first- and second-generation speakers, there are efforts now to create publications, particularly online, to serve second-, third-, and fourth-generation Samoan speakers and new language learners. The availability of these publications on popular social networking platforms such as Facebook and Twitter have now meant that the younger generation Samoans and Samoans in the diaspora are able to access these publications.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study has importance for a number of reasons. Firstly, this family-based research will set a baseline of knowledge and understanding of the factors influencing Samoan language shift. Currently, there is a feeling in Pacific communities that their home languages are secure, and if not, there is always the homeland to go back to (Wilson, 2010). While this research focuses on the Samoan community, the largest Pacific population in New Zealand, findings from this study may also resonate with other Pacific language groups.

Secondly, this research will also serve as a wake-up call to the New Zealand Samoan community on the state, place, and valuing of the Samoan language. Furthermore, in line with New Zealand's cultural diversity goals, this research will a) make a significant contribution to the knowledge about the place of the Samoan people in New Zealand, especially as a case study of what factors influence language maintenance among a youthful, migrant and diasporic population, and b) help to inform national language policy and decision-making.

Lastly, this research will contribute to the global knowledge base of language maintenance and shift by minority peoples, more specifically the language experiences of migrant, minority, and diasporic peoples. The significance of the study also lies in the fact that micro-level studies of Samoan language use in Samoan speech communities and the diaspora are still somewhat scarce.

1.6 Organisation of this thesis

The thesis is organised into six chapters, including this introduction – which has set the background to the study, the research gap, study context of Samoan language shift, my standpoint, and the significance of this research.

The second chapter reviews the literature on language maintenance and shift, and is presented in three sections: the importance of languages, how the language debate has been framed in research, looking specifically at minority languages and giving priority to the family domain, and research on the Samoan language.

Chapter three describes the research design and discusses the research framework, bricolage, the methodology (phenomenology), and the data collection and analysis procedures. The chapter also describes the settings and the participants, and concludes with reflections on the research design and process.

The fourth chapter presents the research findings. This is a lengthy chapter because the findings from the five participant families are presented as separate ‘nested stories’ so as to highlight the influencing factors on speaking Samoan, such as the relationships between family members, for example. The findings privilege the voices of each family as distinct from one another. The family stories are presented in the order in which the data collection with each family took place.

Chapter five draws findings from all five families together as a discussion about the families and their valuing and use of the Samoan language. The chapter is set out in four parts: the first section begins with how the families value the Samoan language, the second section discusses how these values have impacted language use within the family domain and other domains of interaction, the third part highlights factors influencing Samoan language use, and the final section discusses how these factors influence the sustainability of the Samoan language within the families.

The thesis concludes with chapter six, being a summary of the findings, research conclusions, possible strategies for Samoan language maintenance which have arisen from the study, and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

Iloiloga o mau – Literature review

2.0 Introduction

This review is presented in three sections. The first reviews literature vis-à-vis how the language debate has been framed, situating it where appropriate within the wider global discourses of language endangerment, shift, maintenance and sustainability. In the second section, global research on minority language maintenance and shift is discussed with prominence given to the family domain as the main socialisation agency, its role as the primary site of the intergenerational transmission of language (Fishman, 1991; UNESCO, 2008b), and its importance in language-based studies. The third section presents research on the Samoan language, as the focus of this study.

2.1 How has the language debate been framed?

While languages are evolving and changing globally, the last several decades have seen a significant increase in interest in minority languages and the phenomena of language shift, endangerment and loss (Sallabank, 2013). In addition, literature exploring linguistic diversity around the world, and efforts to revitalise and maintain minority languages in places where majority languages are impinging on their use (Stanford & Whaley, 2010), continue to increase rapidly. With globalisation and the increasing frequency of air travel, satellite communications, and newer instant information flow via the worldwide web (Verges, 1992), majority languages are squeezing out minority languages at an alarming rate. Much of the literature has been situated within the phenomenon of language endangerment, which has been most pertinent especially in raising public awareness about the reality of shrinking linguistic diversity (Stanford & Whaley, 2010). As languages continue to shift, scholars have developed models to assess the linguistic vitality of languages and ways to revitalise them.

2.1.1 Language endangerment

In the last thirty years, linguists, anthropologists, language activists, and speaker communities have advocated on behalf of endangered languages (Hill, 2002). They have developed methods and identified factors that could contribute to the maintenance of a language, reverse language shift and, in some cases, revive threatened languages. The discourse on language endangerment is multifaceted. The thinking behind this phenomenon points to linguistic diversity, and is usually two-pronged. One view links linguistic diversity to biodiversity, in that “preserving the diversity of the world’s languages is as good for the cultural environment as biodiversity is for the material one” (Duchêne & Heller, 2007, p. 2). The other view constructs linguistic diversity as part of the world’s cultural heritage. Duchêne and Heller (2007) argue that discourses of endangerment are fundamentally discourses about “other kinds of threats which take place, for specific reasons, on the terrain of language” (p. 4); these threats to social order are more than likely from ‘other’ forces from the ‘outside’ and threaten languages and their central role in the construction of meaning and social organisation. Discourses on language endangerment in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries were largely concentrated on “the continuous struggle against colonisation, land appropriation, broken treaty promises, assimilation, marginalisation and genocide” (Patrick, 2007, p. 35) which gave rise to international concern in relation to language endangerment and language rights, particularly for indigenous and minority groups.

The most frequent discourse of language death applies an organic metaphor, comparing endangered languages with endangered animal and plant species (Krauss 1992; May 2001) where, like living organisms, languages live out their allotted life spans and fade away in due course. This has been refuted by May (2013) who argues that the language ecology paradigm “actually reinforces, albeit unwittingly, the inevitability of the evolutionary change that it is protesting about” (pp. 3-4). Languages may not even live or die at all. Edwards (2010) expresses the idea that they may have an allotted life per se, but this life is granted by human society and culture rather than by the laws of nature. The biological metaphor neglects to take into account that there are other wider social and political factors at play in language. The loss of a language may be viewed as a failure of speakers to compete in a world of languages where only the ‘fittest’ survive; however, if a language does die, it is because the context and circumstances of the speaker/s have

changed, most often due to limited language contact and situations of conflict. Discussing the ‘health’ of a language (Hamp, 1989) using ‘illness’ invites quasi-medical comparisons (Bell, 2014). Linguists have demonised the death metaphor on the grounds that language itself supersedes the concern for the speakers themselves. This raises the question of why language death takes place. Duchêne and Heller (2007) suggest it is about “understanding the importance of an ideological complex in which languages figure centrally but they are not the only element” (p. 7). Crowley (2007) proposes that the discourse of language endangerment is very rarely simply about the endangerment of a language but has often been used to achieve political ends. There is a need to extend the discussion further than issues of inequality which focus on small languages with a small number of speakers, most commonly indigenous languages, without much concern given to other languages spoken by a greater number of people such as those in the diaspora.

2.1.2 Language shift and maintenance

Language shift has been defined as the “change (gradual or not) by a speaker, a group of speakers, and/or a speech community from the dominant use of one language in almost all spheres of life to the dominant use of another language in all spheres of life” (Pauwels, 2005, p. 719). Put simply, one language is adopted over another (Bell, 2014). Language shift has been studied both at the macro- and micro-societal levels. The macro-societal level represents how community factors such as migration, industrialisation, urbanisation, and governmental policies shed light on language shift (Fasold, 1984). The micro-societal level deals with the individual and factors that are directly related to the individual’s goals and motivations (Karan, 2011). Shift in a language usually occurs because of low status and pressure of economic disadvantage, which are regarded by Hale (1998) as the most compelling triggers for language death, and unfavourable demographics and institutional neglect or opposition, particularly in education (Bell, 2014; Holmes, 2013).

May (2013) describes language shift and loss as an uneven contest between minority and majority languages, the outcome of which is almost certain. Many factors influence a minority group to shift from using one language for most purposes, to using another language for just about everything. Migration has always been part of human history since ancient times, and examples of the process of language shift within migrant groups include the Chinese in Australia, the Indians in Mozambique, Japanese in Peru and

Polynesians in California (Bell, 2014). Other examples include speakers of Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Welsh who, since relocating to England, Ireland and Wales, shifted to the use of English also, as it was deemed necessary both to secure employment and for their social wellbeing. The colonial situation prevalent in the Pacific gave rise to negative attitudes towards Pacific languages in New Zealand. As Taumoefolau, Starks, Bell, and Davis (2004) observed, Pacific languages are “losing their mana except in very traditional domains, such as traditional ceremonies which require oratory in the Pacific language. This kind of attitude would have to be overcome if the languages are going to be maintained successfully” (p. 52). Other causes of shift occur because of “migration, of contact with a stronger or more prestigious language, or of changing ethnic/cultural values, and may occur relatively suddenly or over the course of decades or generations” (Pan & Gleason, 1986, p. 199). In these circumstances, “the average age of speakers is rising, and friends and relatives from speakers’ social networks are passing away” (Wodak, Johnstone, & Kerswill, 2011, p. 499).

When all speakers of a language die, so too does the language. When a language gradually dies, the process is similar to that of language shift (Holmes, 2008, p. 58). Kloss (1984) gives three main causes of language death: 1) language death without language shift (the speech community itself dies out); 2) language death due to language shift (the speech community does not exist in a concentrated way, or the language succumbs to the intrinsic hostility of the technology-based infrastructure of modern civilisation); and 3) nominal language death (a linguistic ‘downgrading’ to dialect status, for example when a speech community stops writing or speaking their language). It is generally agreed that loss of language can be viewed as being the result of either external forces (military, economic, religious, cultural or educational subjugation), where colonial powers such as Portugal, Spain, France and England invaded and imposed their languages with their rule (Holmes, 2008), or internal forces such as a community’s negative attitudes toward their language or “because some set of circumstances leads members of a speech community to assign greater practical value to speaking a language other than the one that their parents and grandparents spoke” (Stanford & Whaley, 2010, p. 12). However, the process of language loss is not always immediate (except in the cases of genocide and disease), or even solely the result of voluntary shift. Spolsky (2011) insists that language shift is not a simple binary shift but is, in fact, a gradual process involving habitats such as domains, participants, topics and occasions. In a similar vein, May (2013) suggests, “both internal

push and external pull factors are invariably involved” (p. 155). Most often, speakers of a language are not always aware of language shift, given that it is often a gradual process over several generations.

On the opposite end of the spectrum is language maintenance. This term is closely linked to language shift. It is often difficult to find a universal definition of language maintenance which is accepted by all linguistics scholars. Mesthrie and Leap (2009, p. 245) state that language maintenance signifies the continual use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful language. Spolsky (2015) proposes that there are two different approaches to language maintenance, the first being natural intergenerational transmission where parents speak the language to their children, and the second being school-based teacher-conducted teaching of a language. According to Spolsky, both work to a certain extent. Natural transmission, for example, kept Hebrew alive for 2000 years; it should not be despised completely. The choices made by speech communities with regard to language use may, in extreme circumstances, lead to language death, leaving no speakers of a language, or if this shift does not occur, or if it occurs only in certain domains, then there may be some degrees of language maintenance (Clampitt-Dunlap, 1995).

Language sustainability

Although the notion of endangered language has been pertinent in the research literature for decades, as can be seen, the guiding metaphor behind it has not been without its shortcomings (Stanford & Whaley, 2010). Scholars have proposed the sustainability discourse as an alternative to viewing languages in biological terms, and regarding them more as a valuable cultural resource (Bastardas-Boada, 2005, 2007; Stanford & Whaley, 2010) situated in a particular ecological relationship with other languages. This is because languages are not merely biological but they are inherently cultural as well. In order to view languages as cultural resources, they need to be considered not only in their current use, but in their sustainability over time (Stanford & Whaley, 2010). Thus, an ecologically oriented approach to the sustainability of language looks further than the maintenance of a language for its speakers, and will help to promote long-term sustainability especially for minority groups whose language systems are often products of language maintenance or revitalisation efforts.

The sustainability approach has been applied across various disciplines. In education, Ladson-Billings (1995) published her breakthrough article which gave a theoretical statement for using culturally relevant pedagogies. Paris (2012) later developed Billings' study into culturally sustaining pedagogy. This stance went further than responsive or relevant cultural experiences of young people, offering ways to support young people in "sustaining the cultural and linguistic competence of their communities while simultaneously offering access to dominant cultural competence" (Paris, 2012, p. 95).

It has been argued that linguistic shift from the mother tongue or minority language to a dominant language is "a measurable indicator of the unsustainability of the associated community and of subtractive bilingualism leading to monolingual, monocultural outcomes" (MacPherson, 2011, p. 165). A language is sustainable so long as it is used despite the changed circumstances and (social) environment. The most direct way to ensure the sustainability of a language is the transmission of that language from one generation to the next. Not only does this depend on parents' motivation to transmit the language to their children from birth, but a language must be used daily, especially in the home (Ehala, 2014, p. 89). The issue of the sustainability of the Samoan language in New Zealand is pertinent, given the rate at which the Samoan language is shifting in New Zealand and the efforts already in place to maintain Samoan (and Pacific languages) in New Zealand.

2.1.3 Models

Ethnolinguistic vitality

Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) first introduced the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality defined as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (p. 308). It proposes the combination of three sociostructural contexts – status, institutional support, and demography – into a single factor (Ytsma, Viladot, & Giles, 1994). The greater the strength or vitality possessed by an ethnolinguistic group, the better chance the group would have to preserve its collective social identity and maintain its language in various domains of life. Groups with weak vitality were expected to assimilate linguistically or cease to exist as distinctive groups (Giles et al., 1977; Sachdev, 1995).

Since then, linguists have developed many models to measure the vitality of the world's languages. Schmidt's (1990) model suggests four states of languages: firstly, healthy languages (all generations actively use the language in multiple domains and activities); secondly, weakening languages (those spoken by the older generation but not fully transmitted to the younger generation); thirdly, dying languages which have very few speakers; and finally extinct languages which have no speakers. Krauss (1992) also defines three categories of languages: moribund, where languages are no longer spoken by children; endangered, where languages are still being learned by children but if present circumstances continue, will cease to survive into the next century; and lastly, safe languages which may have either official status and/or very large numbers of speakers. However, while the number of speakers of a language can give an idea on the health of a language, it is not necessarily a crucial factor in assessing language vitality. As May (2013, p. 155) asserts, it is not so much how many speakers there are of a language, but *who* speaks it (and why) that is of most significance.

Reversing language shift

To counteract the erosion of many of the world's languages, a growing language revitalisation movement around the world is supported by more and more literature on language revitalisation developed in the 1990s. Given that languages could, in fact, become endangered and in some cases die, Fishman's (1970) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) has been used to assess the position of endangered languages.

Table 2.1 Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Stage 1	Some use of Xish ²⁷ in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts
Stage 2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either
Stage 3	Use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighborhood/community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen
Stage 4	Xish in lower education (types a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws
Stage 5	Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra communal reinforcement of such literacy
Stage 6	The attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement
Stage 7	Most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age
Stage 8	Most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories

²⁷ Xish refers to minority languages, while dominant languages are called Yish.

Fishman suggests an eight-tier scale to reverse language shift; the higher the GIDS rating, the lower the intergenerational continuity and maintenance prospects of a language network or community (Fishman, 1991; UNESCO, 2011). Most relevant to this study is what Fishman (1991, 1997) stressed as the critical stage of reversing language shift, the sixth stage concerned with the intergenerational transmission of a language. Fishman's belief is that a language has a better chance of survival if it is spoken in the home, and that the home and family are the core of language maintenance. The family is central to this stage and has "a natural boundary that serves as a bulwark against outside pressure, customs and influences" (Fishman, 1991, p. 94). In this way, it is expected that through the family, the community will not need to look to the State and other institutions for policies and resources to maintain their heritage languages. Around the sixth stage revolve all language maintenance efforts, whether by the State, local community, media, schools and other social institutions (Canagarajah, 2008). Fishman further emphasised that without the functionality of the family in preserving the heritage language, other domains and stages on the GIDS scale would not be effective. The crucial stage of daily intergenerational, informal oral interaction requires full appreciation and extra careful attention (Fishman, 1991).

Critics of Fishman's GIDS scale argue that too much emphasis is placed on language and language management, distracting attention from the social and economic factors which are most likely going to be major sources of changes in language shift (Spolsky, 2004; Wodak et al., 2011). Simons and Lewis (2011) note that language endangerment is a major problem in the world today, yet the scale is heavily weighted on the 'safe' side of the scale, and only distinguishes two stages of endangerment (stages 7 and 8). In a similar way, Williams (1992) maintained that the GIDS does not pay adequate attention to power, struggle and conflict between and within communities. Penfield, Cash, Galla, Williams, and ShadowWalker (2006) emphasised that focusing on the negative aspects of the problem tend to blot out the many positive things that occur such as the revitalisation of large state-recognised languages such as Maori and Hawaiian. For example, in Hawaii there has been an increase in the number of speakers of the Hawaiian language. This has created a multigenerational speaker population, despite the fact that a generation gap still exists between elders and their children (Galla, 2010).

The apparent unquestionable position of the sixth tier of the scale has been questioned. Hornberger and Kendall (2001) argue that the intergenerational transmission of the endangered language in the family cannot be the only short-term mechanism needed for the survival and maintenance of that language. This is further complicated by the changing times and compositions of the ideological family, with the increase of single-parent families, the growing unmarried parent rate, intermarriage, as is the case for Samoan families in New Zealand. Other critics have maintained that the GIDS focuses on literacy and has a western bias (Austin & Sallabank, 2011). However, these criticisms are not necessarily justified. Even though in modern and urban environments, the family may have lost a lot of its socialisation power, it is still the most common and inevitable basis of mother tongue transmission, bonding, use and stabilisation (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2010). The Samoan language in New Zealand is struggling at stage six of the GIDS scale; intergenerational transmission is affected in the family domain as it is not being fully transmitted to the younger generation, and for this reason Schmidt's (1990) model would place the Samoan language within the realm of weakening languages. This placement towards the endangered side of the scale leans towards the argument for the endangerment of the language in New Zealand today.

UNESCO also proposes a framework which identifies nine factors of language vitality: 1) intergenerational transmission; 2) absolute number of speakers; 3) proportion of speakers within the total population; 4) shifts in domains of use; 5) response to new domains and media; 6) availability of materials for language education and literacy; 7) governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use; 8) language attitudes; 9) type and quality of documentation, where intergenerational transmission is at the top of the list (UNESCO, 2011b). With regard to intergenerational transmission, UNESCO (2003b) suggests six degrees of endangerment (Table 2.2). On this scale, I propose that the Samoan language in New Zealand is unsafe as studies show that fewer of the younger generation register proficiency in the Samoan language (Taumoefolau, Starks, Davis, & Bell, 2002), and language use is limited to domains such as the home, church, and to some extent the school. Maori, for an example before the language revitalisation movement began in the 1980s, was at stage 2 of the scale with mostly the grandparental generation who spoke the Maori language (Ngaha, 2007).

Table 2.2 UNESCO’s six degrees of endangerment in intergenerational transmission

Stage 5	Safe – the language is used by all ages, from children up
Stage 4	Unsafe – the language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains
Stage 3	Definitely endangered – the language is used mostly by the parental generation and up
Stage 2	Severely endangered – The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up
Stage 1	Critically endangered – the language is used mostly by very few speakers, of great-grandparental generation
Stage 0	Extinct – no speakers

Language shift and language maintenance must be studied at the micro-societal level to understand individual motivations central to language choice and use. However, to fully understand the values and motivations of an individual, they must be explained from a macro-societal view also; each individual must be treated as belonging to a family and society (Karan, 2011). Each family though, is part of a larger community which has bearing on language choice and use. Lacking in the research literature is a view of language shift from both the macro- and micro-societal levels.

2.2 Global research on language maintenance and shift

Global research has also shown that language loss is most prevalent in migrant communities particularly those with larger numbers living outside of the homelands (Garcia, 2003). Most of the disappearing languages are indigenous or tribal languages (Krauss, 1992); largely affected are the native languages and cultures of Africa, North and South America, Asia and the Pacific. In Australia, for example, of the 250 languages once spoken, 150 are extinct and 70 are endangered. A third of Papua New Guinea’s 860 languages are in danger of disappearing and are being replaced by English and Tok Pisin. The Celtic languages of Western Europe (Irish, Welsh, Scots Gaelic, and Breton) are also in danger, despite recent government policies to revive them (Ostler, 1999).

In bilingual or multilingual communities, language declines take place where speakers who have the capability to choose which language to use, do so to the detriment of the mother tongue (Gal, 1979). Migrant groups face many issues with adjustment at many levels as well as loss. This loss can be manifested in “loss of one’s significant nation and culture, loss of an internal sense of harmony, loss of familiarity and, quite often, loss of one’s mother tongue” (Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005, p. 290). Their desire to assimilate and/or acculturate into the new host country, affects language use and

maintenance, especially in families (Canagarajah, 2008; Clyne & Kipp, 1997). The loss of the mother tongue has serious implications for intergenerational socialisation since language is the vehicle by which values and cultural heritage of a particular society is transmitted (Fishman, 1991). When a language is lost, it results in the irrecoverable loss of unique cultural, historical, and ecological knowledge (UNESCO, 2003b). This is a serious threat to linguistic diversity with global languages such as English eroding minority languages the world over.

A significant proportion of the literature on language shift and maintenance is situated within the school and church domains. The following section will present literature from these two domains, followed by a separate section which gives prominence to research into minority language use in the family domain as the focus of this study.

2.2.1 Domains of language use

The language an individual chooses to speak in different situations in bilingual or multilingual society is not random (Bell, 2014). Rather, individuals choose which language/s they speak according to the space in which they are interacting. In his seminal work on the New Jersey barrio, Fishman (1972) first introduced the notion of domain to sociolinguistics. Domains are social spaces, such as the home or family, education, the neighbourhood, religion, workplace, public media and the government (Spolsky, 2007). In his research of community languages in Australia, Clyne (1991) analyses several domains where community languages are used such as the home, work, neighbourhood, school, and local religious community. He also reports on ethnic media such as press, radio, television, and video and their role for community languages. However, several decades later, digital technologies and the internet are new arenas where people work, study, and socialise, and are a medium for reshaping those activities (Fitzgerald & Debski, 2006). The contemporary study of language use in Melbourne by Hlavac (2013) further defined domains as spheres of activity. One was media and leisure which comprised radio, music, TV, videos/DVDs, newspaper and other paper media, and the internet. The media and leisure domain, however does not fully encapsulate other forms of digital technologies. While media and technology are both digital domains, they both designate opportunities for consumers to be able to respond instantaneously, which more traditional

forms of media do not always allow. For this study, digital technology and the internet will be an additional domain to mass media.

Domains are further distinguished by three main elements: the topic of talk as in what is appropriate to talk about in the domain, the locale or physical setting, and the expected role relations between participants (Bell, 2014; Fishman, 1972). For example, in the family domain, the key participants are parents (sometimes there are reported differences between mothers and fathers), children (with differences according to age, gender and birth order) and significant others, such as grandparents. The home serves as the physical setting, and the topic of talk usually focuses on domestic and other familial matters. Each individual may fill different roles in different domains simultaneously, with conflicts sometimes obvious. Across these domains, an individual's language choice may vary considerably, even across their different role relations within the same domain (Fishman, 1991, p. 45). Based on an understanding that domains are primarily connected to social activities (Hlavac, 2013), the activities may or may not be equally prestigious or otherwise connected to power and status differences (Heller, 2006). Research in bilingual and multilingual societies tends to emphasise the domains associated with institutional public areas such as religion and education. However, the more private situations with family and friends are also included (Bell, 2014). An analysis of the language variation from person to person, and across domains for the same person will be helpful to attain a picture of whether a language or multiple languages are being maintained or experiencing shift.

Education

It is hardly surprising that much of the literature on language maintenance and shift is focused on the role of school in both maintaining heritage languages (Nesteruk, 2010), as well as questioning their role in promoting language endangerment (Mufwene, 2003). As Holmes (2008) explains, the school is one of the first domains where language shifts from the migrant language to English occurs. Yu (2005) points out that the higher the level of school that children reach, the more access a child has to the dominant culture, which consequently promotes language shift. Such an explanation has indeed been invoked to account for the endangerment of migrant languages in places like the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, and, for example, the spread of English in Ireland at the expense of Gaelic. Children of migrants most likely arrive into school speaking one (or

more) local vernacular varieties or dialects, and are expected in their time at school to master a selected official, national, religious or classical, standardised language (Spolsky, 2004). Very soon, languages such as English become the norm.

Several studies have highlighted schooling as the decisive factor and catalyst in minority language shift (Cheng, 2003; Wong Fillmore, 1991, 2000). One pertinent example is Wong Fillmore's (1991) study of language-minority families²⁸ in the United States of America (US). Children had participated in preschool programmes that had been conducted partly or entirely in English. Interviews with approximately 1,100 families revealed that while children entered formal schooling with little or no English, they quickly discovered that the key to acceptance is English, and soon English had become their language of choice, both in and outside the home. These changes affected all of the family members, and parents reported that although English was not a language that they felt they could express themselves easily in, they were using it increasingly to speak to their children. Surprisingly, most of these parents were not necessarily bilingual, but learned English to communicate with their children.

As minority languages continue to shift due to the effects of formal schooling, many minority groups have set up heritage language (HL) schools to address the erosion of minority languages and help teach young people more about their heritage cultures (Joo, 2009). Indigenous languages such as Hawaiian and Maori have relied heavily on the role of the school to revitalise the indigenous languages. With the help of language nests, immersion schools and language advocates and educators, Galla (2010) insists that Hawaiian and Maori are prospering in multiple domains such as education, the workplace, mass media and the government. Bodnitski (2007) argues that not only can community language programmes help to facilitate children's development of literacy in their home languages, but they also create an environment in which children can communicate with and make friends with students from the same ethnic background who can speak their heritage language.

Other studies have questioned the effectiveness of community and HL schools. Fishman (1991) argued that learning the HL at school alone was not enough to prevent language

²⁸ The families interviewed included American Indians, Arabs, Latinos, East and Southeast Asians from a variety of backgrounds, and others (Wong Fillmore, 1991, p. 327).

attrition. In many minority language communities, speaking and/or learning the minority language is not seen to associate with academic achievement, and the pressure to succeed in the academic and professional realms often has detrimental impacts on language maintenance. Chiang's (2000) study found that while HL schools helped Chinese American youth to identify more with their Chinese cultural background, factors working against their success included Chinese Americans' pronounced emphasis on academic achievement in American schools. Young Chinese Americans experienced rapid language shift to English "at a cost of gradually alienating themselves from their ethnic language" (p. 84). This was partly due to parental pressure on children to master the language needed for academic acceleration. As with Joo's (2009) research of Korean adolescents in the US, many community language schools only offered limited teaching hours in the language, and therefore the Korean adolescents in the study "were not able to experience extensive learning of their heritage language" (p. 86).

The merits of bilingualism have also been extensively researched. The literature on bilingualism suggests that literacy in minority languages ensures a much wider variety of functions for that language, and bilinguals' ability to switch between languages and think in more than one language can be seen as increasing their conceptual development (Baker, 2003; Cummins, 2000). A major study by Peal and Lambert (1962) found certain cognitive benefits in being bilingual; ten-year-old bilingual children from Montreal French schools performed better on verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests than their monolingual counterparts. In many multilingual societies however, bilingualism may often be replaced by passive bilingualism. Studies also show that a similar situation arises in New Zealand with a push for more support for bilingual and immersion education (Tuafuti, 2010; Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005, 2009), yet language attitudes still, in part, favour English over Samoan and other Pacific languages.

Church

While much of the literature on language maintenance and shift emphasises the importance of the home and family in the intergenerational transmission of language, there is a growing amount of research that documents the significant role of the church in maintaining ethnic identities and languages. Spolsky (2004) claims that religious observances help maintain languages, particularly after immigration as it "preserves an

earlier version of a language for public ceremonies, particularly when sacred texts are maintained in the original, even when they are also available in translation” (p. 49). Han’s (2013) study on the role of Christian churches built by, and for, racialised minority immigrants and their children in Canada, offers another perspective. One of Han’s main findings concluded that the minority church constituted a major social space for socialisation, as well as contributing to minority language maintenance for minority youth even when they attended an English congregation and worshipped in English. Language maintenance occurs when the churches “constitute spaces and opportunities for youth to interact in minority languages informally and/or formally, with peers intra-generationally and/or with adults inter-generationally” (Han, 2013, p. 126). The provision of opportunities to communicate with peers and first generation HL speakers at church is particularly relevant for migrant and minority language children and young people.

In contrast, other studies report that the church’s role in maintaining minority languages is shifting. The Korean parents in Park and Sakar’s (2007) study in Montreal had doubts about the effective development of their children’s first language in the Korean church. Parents argued that “the high level of proficiency in the Korean language may not be achieved just through exposure to the Korean language through church activities and social interactions” (p. 230). In migrant communities, many immigrant children are monolingual in the dominant language or know very little of their HL, and many HL churches have had to change the linguistic structures of their activities and services. For example, Choi and Berhó (2016) found in their study of Latino ethnic/immigrant churches in Oregon, US, that the use of language within the Latino church had a significant impact on whether or not younger generations stayed in these Latino churches. Second- and third-generation immigrants, who were mostly youth, knew very little Spanish and found the use of Spanish in the church particularly challenging. As a result, many left the monolingual Spanish-speaking church for bilingual or English-only churches, and so the Latino churches found themselves pushed to English- speaking activities to accommodate the younger generations.

2.2.2 Research on minority languages in the family

The family is the main agent in the socialisation of children (Freeman & Showel, 1953; Morris & Jones, 2008; Waite, 2001). Scholars have long argued the critical place of the

family in helping children to learn values and behaviours that make it easier for them to adjust to their surrounding environments (Parke & Buriel, 1998). As noted, the family is also the central agency of the intergenerational transmission of a language, and it is argued that the maintenance of a language relies heavily on the family (Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2012).

The family is also the site of linguistic socialisation. This includes all the ways that the social interactions of a child provide opportunities to learn the forms and functions of their language, and also the ways that those around them use the language to facilitate that child's ability to use the language in order to become a member of a particular sociocultural community (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Language issues that are relevant to minority language families, language dilemmas and the decisions facing minority languages have been framed in the literature within the general discourse of language policy. According to Spolsky (2004), there are three components of language policy for a speech community:

...its language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence the practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management (p. 5).

Accordingly, the family is seen as the critical domain in language policy literature (Spolsky, 2004). Family language policy (FLP) may be “covert or overt, may constitute beliefs, practices and management, may involve planning and cultural as well as ideological motivations” (Stavans, 2012, p. 19). Recently, there have been an increasing number of studies of FLP, exploring and seeking to understand the inner workings of the family and some of the external influences on it (Spolsky, 2012). However, many basic questions are still to be answered. Language issues explored using a FLP framework focus largely on parents' reports and general assessments of their children's language knowledge, rather than language use in a natural setting. The focus also tends to be weighted on language ideologies, use and management within the family domain, without enough focus on external influences and/or the other domains with which families interact, outside of the family home, which this family-based study aims to achieve.

Factors influencing language use in the family

The family provides a complex context for negotiating policies and practices regarding language, and is influenced by a variety of interacting factors (Li Wei, 2012; Schüpbach, 2009). Language choice is ultimately influenced by factors such as attitudes and beliefs towards a language, parental influence on children, parents from different backgrounds, status issues, and the presence of older family members. All these factors inevitably increase motivation to use the minority language (Edwards, 2010). In addition, the crucial role of the home and family is being further undermined by “changing parental employment patterns, childcare practices, and family lifestyles, each of which diminish the mother’s and father’s roles as the primary (if not sole) ‘transmitters’ of the minority language” (Morris & Jones, 2008, p. 131). As will be seen, the family is not necessarily a self-contained institution, as Fishman (1991) has suggested, that can adopt its own strategies and devices for language transmission. Rather, it has to negotiate its linguistic responsibilities alongside other social and economic pressures.

Attitudes, beliefs, values

A pertinent factor in family language choices relates to the family’s perception of the prestige and value of the minority language, particularly for economic and social mobility (Jones & Morris, 2007). Wardhaugh (2010) argues that people tend to give more prestige to the language spoken by the majority or those who have been identified as the powerful group in society. The other language (in this case, minority language), is accorded low prestige and some speakers may even deny that they have knowledge of that language. Negative attitudes towards heritage languages are often a hangover of colonial attitudes (Canagarajah, 2008) as global languages such as English take on a higher status. Parents are often torn as they are influenced by upward socioeconomic mobility for their children. As Darquennes (2007) argues:

The economic revaluation of the minority language could play a decisive role in overcoming the everyday situation in many language minorities in which parents, while still identifying themselves strongly with the minority language, stop using their heritage language and start using the majority language with their children when they no longer experience a socio-economic value attached to the endangered language (pp. 64-65).

Often, minority languages are not the preferred language for work and job advancement, particularly in the diaspora. More often than not, languages such as English prominently

feature as the most valuable in these contexts (Chiang, 2009). In other studies, minority languages have not been encouraged in family homes, for fears that it would affect children's learning in school. Parents in Seloni and Sarfati's (2013) study of Judeo-Spanish speakers in Turkey assumed that speaking both Judeo-Spanish and French would impede their children's academic success in school, and so Judeo-Spanish was avoided as a home language. In a similar vein, Begay's (2013) study of the Navajo community in the US found that parents were reluctant for their children to learn Navajo for fears that the language would hinder their children's academic pursuits and achievement (in English).

The literature also reveals the key relationship between language, identity and culture. Although self-identification with a language is not an exclusive feature in the formation of a person's ethnic or cultural identity, "it remains a common feature in the formation of the notion of 'in-group' membership of a speech community" (Hlavac, 2013, p. 413). Park and Sakar (2007) were able to elicit that the parents in their study had highly favourable attitudes toward language maintenance for their children, particularly in order to maintain their ethnic identity as Koreans. Similarly, Joo's (2009) study of the Korean community in the US challenged a deficit-model view of language minority parents and a misunderstanding that minority language parents are often likely to be regarded as inactive and incompetent in helping their children maintain their heritage languages. The parents considered the heritage language to be a vital means of preserving the Korean ethnic identity, which they regarded as an essential component of their children's lives, and made efforts to foster continual learning of the language both in and outside the family home. It is likely that language maintenance attitudes will be different for indigenous minorities, migrant communities and diaspora communities.

Parental influence

A large and growing body of literature has found a strong correlation between favourable parental attitudes towards the mother tongue and the desire to teach the mother tongue in order to transmit their culture and promote positive family interaction (Jones & Morris, 2009; King & Fogle, 2006; Park & Sarkar, 2007). Jones and Morris (2009) theorised that parents who valued the Welsh language highly, were more likely to create opportunities and allow for their children's Welsh language socialisation within the home, than those

who did not value the Welsh language so highly. Similarly, Guardado (2008) examined language socialisation in 34 immigrant families from ten Spanish-speaking countries residing in Greater Vancouver. A case-study approach and discourse analysis revealed that parents utilised explicit and implicit directives, recasts and lectures to socialise children into Spanish language ideologies. Participants placed most of the responsibility on parents for children's first-language maintenance, despite children often resisting their parents' socialisation practices.

On the other hand, the literature also reveals that positive attitudes towards minority languages do not necessarily equate to the use of minority languages. Revis (2015) studied the immigrant Ethiopian and Columbian communities in Wellington, New Zealand, and found that while parents valued their respective languages highly, they did not necessarily enact their positive minority language beliefs by deliberately socialising their children into using the minority language. Some parents believed that their children would develop proficiency in the minority language regardless of their language use in the home. Often parents are misinformed; they may believe that children become bilingual so long as they hear the minority language being spoken in the home (Curd-Christiansen, 2013; Wong Fillmore, 1991). The result, in many cases however, is subtractive bilingualism. The importance of speaking the minority language at home is reinforced by Merino (1983) who suggests that language learning is not automatic, and that parents need to make more concerted efforts to ensure their children are speaking the minority language in the home.

Age

Age is a crucial factor in maintaining minority and migrant languages. Gal (1979) produced evidence that the correlation between language use and age is to be interpreted as an indication of change through time. However, Lieberman (1980) argues that generational differences do not always denote changes through time, but rather may be the effects of age grading (as cited in Otsuka, 2007). Speakers may acquire the language while they are young, and achieve proficiency as they grow, or, in the case of migrant communities such as those in Australia, the child's willingness to use his/her mother tongue may decrease with age, particularly if he/she is deprived of the chance to learn the same language in other domains such as education (Pauwels, 2005). The long-term fate

of these languages, therefore, rests on efforts to maintain the language and use these in as many domains as possible.

Increasingly, there is a consensus in the literature that identifies adolescents as the crucial group in terms of maintaining minority languages (Fernandez & Clyne, 2007; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005), whether they migrate at this age or go through their adolescence with immigrant parents. Wong Fillmore's (2000) study revealed that not only was it common for immigrant families to lose their heritage languages, but that language shift within families was largely due to children, and the effect on families was negative because family members could not understand one other. Tannenbaum and Berkovich (2005) explored linguistic patterns adopted by adolescents who migrated to Israel from European areas of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Using questionnaires, they found that the adolescents reported positive attitudes toward their mother tongue (Russian) and culture, but a lesser willingness to know and use their first language (L1). They suggested that the adolescents were more focused on personal issues such as identity formation (which, interestingly, did not necessarily mean mastery of their L1) and peer relations, with less emphasis on mastery of their language and culture. Likewise, a study of Tamil in Melbourne families by Fernandez and Clyne (2007) showed that the older the child, the greater the likelihood that some language shift would occur in the family. Many families mentioned that their children were fluent in Tamil and readily spoke it until they began school, after which time they increasingly used English within the family, especially with their siblings. The shift that takes place with adolescents will be a key factor in this research.

Gender

Gender differences also occur with language choices in the family. The literature tends to favour females as maintaining the minority languages over males (Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Portes & Hao, 2002; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). Jones and Morris (2009) reported that the amount of time a child spent with a Welsh-speaking parent was a significant factor in early language acquisition, particularly with the mother. This is also reflected in Chiang's (2009) study of multilingual families in Singapore which revealed that one of the most important features that affected the language socialisation of family members in the Singapore Chinese community was the role of the mother. Tannenbaum and

Berkovich's (2005) study of Russian adolescents in Israel found that girls reported higher proficiency in their L1 (Russian) than boys, which indicated a somewhat higher tendency toward language maintenance consistent with other studies. The study also found that girls reported more explicit parental efforts aimed at language maintenance than boys, thereby reinforcing "the role of girls as bearers of culture and language of origin" (p. 302). In contrast, some studies highlight that women are less concerned with mother tongue maintenance, and are more likely to encourage their children's shift to new language as a way of ensuring their success in the new society (Gal, 1979; Kress, 1984). In Canagarajah's (2008) study of language shift in the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora family, the findings suggested that women shifted to English more rapidly than males because women believed that English allowed them to be more economically independent, to gain education, employment, and even marriage outside of the restrictions of caste or dowry.

Connection to homeland

The connection to the homeland also influences the value placed on the mother tongue. Research has shown that "one-on-one ties to the ethnic homeland, usually relatives, was a good predictor of ethnic language maintenance, whereas absence or limitations in this area led to changes in this and less maintenance of ethnic language" (Garcia, 2003, p. 36). For example, findings from Bodnitski's (2007) study highlighted the parental belief that familial relations (including those with the extended family) and family cohesion depended on whether or not their children knew the Ukrainian language. In addition, some families tend to maintain their mother tongue to accommodate other family members such as recently arrived relatives from the homeland (Canagarajah, 2008).

Extended family

Many studies have investigated the role of immediate family members in developing a child's learning (Wong Fillmore, 1991). However, few have looked specifically at the role of extended family. Some research has explored the role of grandparents in a child's linguistic development and the intergenerational transmission learning interactions that take place. Jones and Morris (2009) found that grandparents were the most involved in the language acquisition of the child, particularly the maternal grandmother. In Nesteruk's (2010) study, all participants emphasised the importance of maintaining the mother tongue in order to communicate across generations. A grandparent in the home

helps ‘tremendously’ with the transmission of the mother tongue. Parents in Dagenais and Berron’s (2001) study chose to speak the heritage language in the home so that their children would be able to communicate with the extended family, with other members of the language communities and with people in their homelands. Furthermore, studies in North American reservations have shown that the indigenous languages there are threatened as three-generation families no longer live under one roof. The children’s exposure to their indigenous language is reduced under such circumstances (Edwards, 2004) as is the case with many migrant and minority groups around the world.

Mass media

Fishman’s (1991) GIDS scale highlights the importance of the mass media domain. It is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain minority languages when the print and non-print media are impinging on them more than ever before (Fishman, 2007). Television, for example, has had a noticeable cultural impact among Native Americans. In more remote areas, this has happened only in the last decade. With increased electrification and satellite dishes everywhere, Indian children are suddenly watching MTV²⁹, listening to heavy metal, and playing video games, none of which makes any use of their native language (Fishman, 1991). Television has also attracted the attention of sociolinguists. In the case of Maori, broadcasting in Maori on television has been argued as essential for the standing of the language and to transmit and raise the prestige of the Maori language (Bell, 2010).

Empirical studies have not been able to prove a ‘causal relationship’ between the media and a viewer’s behaviour (Bell, 2010; Mirvahedi, 2012). Fishman (1991) argues that the mass media alone can never replace the integral role of face-to-face interaction or intergenerational transmission. Nevertheless, its contributing role in maintaining endangered languages especially is crucial. Other forms of media such as print media are not seen to be an outmoded medium. Community newspapers, for example, are and still can be a successful medium for language maintenance and revitalisation (Derhemi, 2012). As Fishman (1997) notes in his study of Hungarian language maintenance, the mere fact that these publications showed up in Hungarian-American homes created the stimulus for these families to read and speak Hungarian. Similarly, parents in Park and Sakar’s (2007)

²⁹ MTV is a music television channel

study reported that they used Korean books such as the Korean translation of the Bible, to help their children maintain Korean.

Digital technology and the internet

With the advent of the internet and the exponential growth of technology and new media, the increasing frequency of air travel and satellite communications, life has changed and people all around the world are able to communicate and exchange ideas via the internet and other technologies. Existing research in the area of technology and language maintenance has mostly been conducted in the context of indigenous languages (Fitzgerald & Debski, 2006). Research has shown that information and communication technologies have a significant impact on language use around the world, especially on indigenous cultures (Penfield et al., 2006) and minority language speakers. For example, digital technology, particularly online technology, has been used increasingly to document but also revitalise endangered languages (Begay, 2013; Galla, 2010; Penfield et al., 2006), and many of these languages appear to be making a smooth transition. However, the introduction of technology creates both positive and negative challenges (Galla, 2010). The question of whether digital technologies and the internet support the revitalisation and maintenance of minority languages or further endanger them is still unclear, and the research and reports on this issue are contradictory.

On the one hand, the onset of the information age has also meant that for widely used languages, the language of the private sphere is now becoming more public as all forms of social communication become mediatised and relationships operate within an exchange of written messages in front of a perceived audience (Ka'ai, O'Laire, & Ostler, 2012). Social networking platforms such as Facebook and Twitter have become ways in which language communities, particularly fragmented endangered language groups around the world, can connect, communicate and share with one another online, regardless of geographical distances (Mato, 2012). In fact, indigenous revitalisation efforts around the world argue strongly that "it is difficult to expect the languages of the indigenous people will be able to survive the 21st century in this culturally diverse and technological enhanced world" (Galla, 2010, p. 46). Galla's research with native communities in the US found technology had "been influential in bridging the digital divide that is prevalent within Native American communities" (p. 37). For many minority

languages now, more material is produced on the internet than in traditional print media. For example, Maori, once endangered, has been transmitted through apps and language-learning websites. Speakers of many minority languages can now be producers as well as users of their own language and, in some cases, technology provides the opportunity for indigenous voices to be heard (Galla, 2010).

While intergenerational transmission is seen to be the cornerstone of language survival, the reality is that in minority and migrant language contexts, this is not always possible. The potential and influence of technology and media for language revitalisation efforts, particularly online, both in terms of encouraging language use and sharing techniques across communities, is undeniable and should be considered with endangered languages. Despite this, the new information age and its unrestricted capabilities have also threatened small linguistic communities in relation to their cultural preservation (Verges, 1992). Given this, as important as digital technology and new media are, “the nature of mass communications makes it almost impossible to isolate one element such as broadcasting from other social factors such as schooling, migration or socioeconomic status which may affect language maintenance” (Bell, 2010, p. 9). This cannot be an answer on its own, however. Given the changing times, a study on Samoan language maintenance and/or shift must take into account the effects of digital technology and the internet.

2.3 Samoan language research

Research on the Samoan language has, for the most part, focused on the value that the Samoan community places on the Samoan language, with less prominence on the actual use of Samoan language throughout the multiple domains of interaction.

The research on Samoan language will be presented in three parts, beginning with research into the value of Samoan. The research from both Samoa and New Zealand are presented separately. It will be seen that the literature highlights the struggles and questioning by younger generation Samoans, particularly in the diaspora, of the proposed relationship between valuing Samoan and speaking Samoan. In addition, while there is significant research on the role of the Samoan church and schools on maintaining Samoan, research on the use and valuing of Samoan in the family domain is relatively scarce. Finally, research based on census, questionnaire and statistical data suggests

language shift in New Zealand. However, in the absence of publicly available data from Samoa, some research highlights that language shift in Samoa is likely.

2.3.1 Value of Samoan

The literature has emphasised the importance of the Samoan language as the mouthpiece for the *aganu'u Samoa* (Samoan culture). Tauili'ili (2009) posits that the Samoan language is more important than the *aganu'u* because without Samoan, the *aganu'u* cannot exist. In the same way Hunkin-Tuileufuga (2001) concludes that “the relationship between language and culture is like oxygen to human survival. Without one, the other will not survive” (p. 197). Lesa (2009) proposes that if the Samoan language is lost, it may result in a sense of confusion with cultural identity. Since “full participation in Samoan social and cultural interactions require competency in the Samoan language, and especially in the *gagana fa'aaloalo*³⁰, many children and young adults cannot function adequately in social and linguistic interactions in their Samoan communities” (p. 73). Tui Atua (2005b) echoes this warning, saying that should Samoa lose its *tofi* – should the Samoan children neglect to be fed with words to nourish their minds and souls – there will be no more Samoan people, and without Samoan people, there is no Samoa.

A considerable amount of literature has focused on the core relationship between the Samoan language and Samoan identity (Fouvaa & Hunkin, 2011; Hunkin, 2012; Le Tagaloa, 1997; Mailei, 2003). Le Tagaloa (1997) claims that there is nothing more that distinguishes a Samoan from other people other than language. The mother tongue provides *fa'asinomaga* as well as role and place in society. The well-known Samoan saying “*e iloa oe i lau gagana*” (you can tell a Samoan by their language) encapsulates this significant relationship between the Samoan language and identity. According to Tauiliili (2009), the language that one speaks reveals whether he or she has been raised well in the *tu ma aga* of a Samoan, and whether they are adequately prepared for the *fa'asamoa* in the future. Hunkin (2012) argues that this relationship is unquestionable, because the ‘health’ of a language indicates, to a certain extent, the health of an ethnic group: “The higher the number of those who speak an ethnic language the more likely it

³⁰ Refers to the language of respect in the Samoan language

is that the language and its attendant values are strong. Language loss suggests a weakening of these values and a questioning of ethnic identity” (p. 204).

Research with Pacific people in the last twenty years indicates that many Samoans in New Zealand, particularly NZ-born Samoans, struggle with being caught between cultures. Issues of language in relation to their identity as Samoans comes into question (Tiatia, 1998). Some Samoans learn and speak Samoan so that when they return to Samoa, the Samoan language brings together the uncertainty and confusion of the experience of growing up and living outside Samoa (Heather-Latu, 2003). Nonetheless, a growing number of NZ-born Samoans are claiming that language is not a defining element for any Pacific identity in New Zealand (Anae, 1998; Holmes, Roberts, Verivaki, & Aipolo, 1993; Macpherson et al., 2001; Tiatia, 1998). Some tend to be drawn away from their belief in cultural authority which the *aganu’u* prescribes, and lean towards a wider Pacific identity, therefore replacing their community-based identity which is no longer available to them (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979). Hunkin (2012) describes this as ill-informed logic, and warns that Samoan-ness is “ultimately rendered redundant if one is unable to articulate the nuances of that Samoan-ness, most of which are best captured and made apparent through the Samoan language” (p. 208). As noted in chapter one, it is this very generation who are registering the most language shift (Taumoefolau et al., 2002). This calls into question the future of the Samoan language in New Zealand.

Many Samoan parents have attempted to establish the Samoan language, lifestyle and worldview in their children, while others have created a new space in which there is more freedom to be different sorts of Samoans. Macpherson (1999) questions why parents emphasise the importance of English, that their children do not feel they should speak Samoan to be Samoan. He proposes that this perception is a hangover of colonial belief in the importance of the English language. Some Samoan parents believe that NZ-born Samoans are not true Samoans based on the premise that “they have not mastered the knowledge, skills, and language that are at the centre of the Samoan identity” (Macpherson, 1999, p. 57). Despite the fact that the twenty-first century has seen positive changes in New Zealand, with the development of *A’oga Amata*, the inclusion of the Samoan language as part of the teaching curriculum within schools and universities, the identity crisis of NZ-born Samoans still remains a constant dilemma (Tima, 2013). This raises issues of what exactly it means to be a real Samoan and further perpetuates the so-

called divide between Samoan-born Samoans and NZ-born Samoans (Anae, 1998; Tiatia, 1998).

2.3.2 Samoan language in Samoa

Early research on the Samoan language indicated that there were many influences on the Samoan language in Samoa. Prior to the arrival of Christian missionaries in Samoa, the Samoan language did not exist in written form. Histories, genealogies, and esoteric knowledge belonging to *‘āiga potopoto* were transmitted orally across generations (Lee Hang, 2011). The arrival of the first Christian missionaries in the early 1830s marked the beginning of the written Samoan language as it exists today. According to Spolsky (1988), colonialism with Germany and later New Zealand in the early half of the twentieth century in Samoa, saw the English language gain much prominence, opening Samoa up to international cultural and economic influences. However, Meleisea (1987) claims that Christianity brought many changes to Samoan culture but the missionaries alone were not responsible for introducing changes to the Samoan language in Samoa. In fact, Vague (2014) points out that it was the early European settlers and the German and New Zealand occupations which had lasting effects on language. They saw the linguistically diverse nature of the Pacific as a barrier to expanding their colonies, thereby forcing the mechanisms deemed necessary to change the perspectives of the Pacific Islanders (Hunkin & Mayer, 2006). Macpherson (2001) concludes that it was this encroachment of colonial languages that ultimately led to the loss and decline of some indigenous languages and the identities associated with and expressed in them.

On the other hand, the literature also suggests that the Samoan language and culture were strengthened by foreign influences. Firstly, missionaries found Samoans eager to learn the ways of the *Pālagi* and to embrace the English language and what this offered (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1984; Nunes, 2006). Secondly, as Le Tagaloa (1996) suggests, the missionaries did not promote English at the expense of Samoan. Rather, they encouraged the use of the vernacular in Samoa, and encouraged pastors, teachers and others to teach and learn the vernacular, and to conduct all affairs and even preach in the language of the people. They used the vernacular to convert Samoans to Christianity. According to Tanielu (2004), the *A’oga a le Faife’au* which was set up and run by pastors, was integral to the maintenance of Samoan as “a repository and melting pot of knowledge where

Christian religion, civilisation and the Fa'a Samoa were expressed interdependently and intersupportively and, at times, in contradiction with one another" (p. 9).

With regard to education, unlike many Pacific nations, Samoa's literacy was first introduced in Samoan (Vague, 2014). Schooling during the early 1900s was for the most part focused on religion. The primary aim of education during this period was to enable Samoans to read and write in Samoan (Va'ai, 2011). As a result, the missionaries were instrumental in documenting the Samoan language, and with the help of local converts, the Bible had been translated into Samoan by 1855 (Lewis, 2009). Despite this urge by religious leaders, Nunes (2006) argues that the Samoan language was not always afforded its importance in the education system in Samoa. Gradually, English was integrated into the curriculum and Samoan children began to lose competency in their own language. It was reported that students were forbidden to use Samoan in the school grounds, and until quite recently were often physically punished for doing so (McCaffery & McFall-McCaffery, 2009).

There has been some literature to suggest more awareness of language shift in Samoa, particularly among the youth generation. Lameta's (1999, as cited in McCaffery & McFall-McCaffery, 2009, p. 103) research in Samoa found that the use of Samoan by choice among young children is declining by approximately 15 per cent each generation because children prefer to speak English, even though they can speak Samoan. Lameta predicted that in less than three generations, and unless the trend is reversed, less than 40 per cent of Samoans in Samoa may be able to speak Samoan. Le Tagaloa (1996) attributes this dilemma to modern Samoans not respecting the Samoan language enough to continue learning it at school:

Most parents do not want their children to learn Samoan in school, saying that they will automatically know the language by being born Samoan and claiming that Samoan should not take up the time that should be devoted to the teaching of real and more important subjects like English, the Sciences etc. (p. 80).

Concerns have also been raised about the future of the Samoan language in Samoa. As technology continues to permeate into the homes of Samoans, so too does the English language, penetrating Samoan society at an increasing rate, and, in some cases, with some detrimental effects on the Samoan language (Vague, 2014). Fuata'i (2011) suggests that this can be attributed to the texting generation of youth in Samoa who he believes have corrupted the Samoan language.

A number of studies have argued that Samoan and English co-exist in relative harmony in Samoa as a form of linguistic hybridisation (Va'ai, 2011) which occurs in both formal and informal domains of Samoan life. Colloquial varieties using different combinations of Samoan and English continue to emerge in Samoa. Examples are children's talk in the playground, *fa'afafine* (effeminate males)³¹ language use, and localised varieties of language. This creative use of English merging with Samoan in different domains has created "various kinds of patois or bricolage which were largely understood within the context of their creation and usage" (Va'ai, 2011, p. 51). As Va'ai argues, this does not show detrimental harm to the Samoan language but rather is an example of how Samoans appropriate and innovatively use English within different domains. Vague (2014) echoes Va'ai, highlighting that English is an important element of Samoan society, despite evidence showing that Samoan language use in Samoa is waning. Vague proposes that language change in Samoa is inevitable but, as to the extent and severity of it, it is a matter of perspective.

It is important to note that language change in Samoa ultimately has an effect on Samoan language in New Zealand. There is a common perception that despite language shift occurring in New Zealand, there is always the homeland to return to (Wilson, 2010). This may no longer be the case.

2.3.3 Samoan language in New Zealand

A review of the Samoan language literature in New Zealand reveals three trends. Early research solidified the role of the family in transmitting and maintaining the language. The 1990s saw language shift beginning to occur, and the church assumed much of the responsibility of the home and family to maintain the Samoan language. Recent research has seen schools assuming a greater role in maintenance efforts, and there is currently a strong push for the State to provide more support for bilingual and Samoan immersion schooling to address Samoan language shift and maintenance.

Previous research on the Samoan language (in the 1980s) indicated that the Samoan language was faring well. Dunlop's (1982) study with Samoan parents confirmed that parents set the language patterns in the home, and there were rules that demanded Samoan

³¹ Effeminate males who dress, act and identify themselves as would-be women' (Va'ai, 2011, p. 53).

children spoke English at school and Samoan at home. A decade later, signs of language shift began to show. Leota and Setu's (1996) study used questionnaires to elicit language use patterns by Samoan families in Christchurch and found that while elder family members such as grandparents used Samoan as the language of communication, the children did not speak Samoan with each other. Similarly, Roberts' (1999) study of the Samoan, Dutch and Gujarati speech communities in Wellington indicated that there were marked differences between language use patterns of Samoan migrants and NZ-born Samoans, who were more likely to speak both Samoan and English at home. Reports from questionnaires showed that while a lot of Samoan was still being spoken in the respondents' homes, this was "partly a function of their comparatively recent arrival in New Zealand and not wholly due to strong language maintenance processes within the community" (p. 344). In the early 2000s, language use continued to decline among the NZ-born generation of Samoans. The most comprehensive study of Pacific languages in New Zealand, was the Pasifika Languages of Manukau Project (Taumoefolau, Starks, Davis, & Bell, 2002). This study found that Samoan language use in the Samoan community was age graded, with the majority of older Samoans speaking Samoan, while the youth were becoming increasingly monolingual in English. Similarly, all four main language groups in the study – Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands Māori and Niuean – were undergoing similar patterns of language shift with a greater proportion of older and middle-aged speakers registering proficiency in their languages compared with younger respondents (Starks, 2005; Taumoefolau et al., 2002). At the time, the authors suggested that language was a less important issue for the younger Samoan generation and that a rapid shift to English was possible in the next generation.

It is notable that the aforementioned studies used questionnaires as the main research method. While questionnaires and quantitative surveys based on census data are particularly useful for large-scale projects, smaller in-depth studies such as this study require opportunities to capture views on language and language use, which could perhaps be better gauged using interviews and other qualitative research methods.

Church

As Samoan language use continued to decline, the Samoan church assumed more of a role in maintaining Samoan (Dunlop, 1982; Fouvaa, 2011; Holmes et al., 1993; Leota &

Setu, 1996). Spolsky (1988) proposes that after the family, the Samoan church is the second key agency in social and cultural life in New Zealand. Samoan churches provide spiritual guidance for Samoan families and communities, as a source of identity, and as mediators between the Pacific and the New Zealand ways, as well as its significant role in teaching the Samoan language (Coyner, 2005; Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003; Lesa, 2009). The church's role in developing the literacy of Samoan children is also significant (Dickie & McDonald, 2011; Fouvaa, 2011; Tanielu, 2004). This is evident in *A'oga Amata* which are often created by the church and under the tutelage of the pastors' wives and community groups. Many Samoan families have reported worshipping in churches where only the Samoan language is used. Programmes in the churches such as Bible classes, *A'oga a le Faife'au*, *A'oga Aso Sā*, *Autalavou* and other church activities are conducted almost entirely in Samoan (Fouvaa, 2011), and many youth participate in combined youth events where their pride in the Samoan language and culture is showcased and shared (Wilson, 2010).

Samoan churches are seen to be the custodians of the Samoan tradition and the site where much cultural reorganisation is taking place (Ablon, 1971; Alofaituli, 2011). As Fairbairn-Dunlop (1984) explains, this is because churches have functioned as miniature Samoan communities. Many Samoan families struggle to duplicate in New Zealand the *'āiga* structure in Samoa, and therefore the church becomes the prime educator of the *fa'asamoa* (Alofaituli, 2011). This is particularly relevant for NZ-born Samoans who use the context of church "as a place of unity and one where they come to understand the articulation of the Samoan language and culture" (Fouvaa, 2011, p. 17) which they do not necessarily get to practise at home (Wilson, 2010). Despite this, many NZ-born Samoans are leaving traditional Samoan churches because they often feel marginalised by the Samoan church and struggle to mediate between the traditional *fa'asamoa* and New Zealand ways (Fuatagaumu, 2003; Tiatia, 1998).

While Samoan churches have been strongholds and bastions of the Samoan language, research now shows that English is creeping into Samoan churches. Leota and Setu (1996) reported in the early 90s that Samoan services were becoming increasingly bilingual. The *talanoaga* in Wilson's (2010) study with Samoan parents, teachers and students in Wellington New Zealand, highlighted that English was becoming a lot more prominent in Samoan services given the language barrier which existed among youth, and their

parents and church elders. In the Samoan diaspora, Samoan church Ministers in Lesa's (2009) research of Samoan churches in Hawaii did not support the teaching of the Samoan language because they believed it is 'insignificant in the career world'. Many Ministers neglected their roles to the Samoan language (p. 152), were comfortable with the use of English in their churches by the youth generation, and did not see the lack of competency in the Samoan language as a problem. This is concerning, given youth's role as future carriers of language and culture, particularly in the diaspora.

Education

More recent attention has focused on the link between Pacific language use and shift, and education. While the Pacific ECE sector appeared to be faring well, Tagoilelagi-Leota, McNaughton, MacDonald and Farry (2005) observed in their study of Pacific students' transition from ECE to primary school, that the Pacific students began to lose their first language after their first year at school. Taumoeofolau et al. (2004) suggest that this can be attributed to the fact that young Pacific children at school interact for the majority of their day in English. Interaction with their peers, because of their ethnicities, would be with one another in English as their language in common. To address the diminishing state of Pacific languages in New Zealand, many researchers and academics have insisted that the inclusion and promotion of Pacific languages in education is key (May, 2009). Researchers, language advocates and educators have called for more support from the State for bilingual and immersion curricula to be implemented in New Zealand schools, particularly at the primary school level where the gap in language teaching and acquisition has appeared (Hunkin, 2012; McCaffery, 2010; McCaffery & McFall-McCaffery, 2009; Wilson, 2010).

A considerable amount of literature has been published on the effectiveness of bilingual education and immersion education (Amituanai-Tolosa & McNaughton, 2008; Baker, 2003; Cummins, 2000; Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005, 2009). Research on Pacific bilingual education in New Zealand has identified the significant outcomes of bilingual education such as identity (Amituanai-Tolosa, 2010; Hunkin-Tuileufuga, 2001) and achievement (Amituanai-Tolosa & McNaughton, 2008; Goldring, 2006; Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005). Despite this, Franken, May and McComish's (2008) literature review on Pacific languages research suggests that many Samoan parents have not considered the Samoan

language as having any educational value with the context of schooling. Historically, this has most often been attributed to Pacific students' home environment and/or their bilingualism (Hunkin-Tuiletufuga, 2001). Tuafuti and McCaffery (2005) conclude that it is not the fault of families, but rather of the education system:

The blame for Pasifika educational failure has been placed squarely on the supposed deficiencies of Pasifika families, languages, and cultural values and traditions, rather than on the structural disempowerment experienced by Pasifika peoples, including the failure of the education system to cater adequately for them (p. 483).

The question then arises, if English is seen to be the key to academic success and social mobility, how does this view account for the enduring concern about poor educational achievement by Pacific students?

Despite Samoan and other Pacific languages being promoted as being central to Pacific identities, this does not necessarily correlate with the apparent view of the lack of educational merit of Pacific languages (Franken et al., 2008). Taumoefolau et al. (2004) state quite clearly, that Pacific language maintenance “must take place within the general goal of bilingualism and biliteracy in English and the Pasifika language” (p. 52). That said, Taumoefolau and colleagues pointed to the fact that even if Pacific languages are taught at school, language maintenance will not be successful if Pacific languages are not spoken in the home and in the church. The role of the family, therefore, is central to these efforts.

Family

In Samoa, the unit of society is the family and not the individual (Lui, 2003); the *‘āiga* has always been seen as the basic unit of Samoan social structure and one of Samoa's most stable features (Gilson, 1963). The family is the *fale o le gagana ma le aganu'u* – the family houses the Samoan language and culture (Tauiliili, 2009). Within the family, values, beliefs and practices are nurtured and this is also where activity and decision-making changes occur. According to Faalau (2011), the traditional Samoan family consists of a kin group whose members are connected to its communal and chiefly titles. This kin group comprises family members under the guidance or leadership of a selected chief called the *sa'o*. It centres on the village, has five main groups, each with its own

important roles and functions within the village: the *tama'ita'i* (daughters of the *matai*³²); *faletua* and *tausi* (wives of the *matai*); *aumaga* (untitled males, sons of the *matai*); and *tamaiti* (young children). At the centre is the *matai* (chief), who heads the Samoan family (Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998). The *fa'amatai* (chiefly system) has the '*āiga* at its core. The '*āiga* is part of the '*āiga potopoto* and in this basic unit, the children are born, nourished and receive their initial education (Tagaloa, 2008). Beyond the immediate family is the *nu'u* (village). The *nu'u* sustains and keeps the families within it safe within the geographical boundaries of the village. In the *nu'u*, “members of the '*āiga* are birthed, nurtured and allowed to exhibit a sense of adventure, independently coming to know their own, socialising with their peers in other '*āiga* in the *nu'u*...” (Tagaloa, 2008, p. 69). Within each '*āiga*, individuals are held together by *vā* (relationships) which are *tapu* or *sā* (sacred) and sealed by *feagaiga* (covenant). Despite the strength of the *fa'asamoa* in Samoa, language shift is reported, even in the family where some Samoan parents do not speak Samoan to their children (Tauiliili, 2009).

On the one hand, it has been argued that the *fa'asamoa* has been well conserved in New Zealand, largely due to the '*āiga*, as well as providing conditions to successfully support migrant Samoans economically, socially and psychologically (Ablon, 1971; Macpherson, 1999; Macpherson & Macpherson, 2010; Pitt & Macpherson, 1974). However, it has also been suggested that the modern Samoan family is fragmented in the diaspora (Faalau, 2011; Fitzgerald & Howard, 1990). Members of the '*āiga* live back in the homeland villages, some live in local urban areas, while others live abroad in metropolitan centres in Australia, New Zealand, the US mainland, and Hawaii. The '*āiga* structure for families in the diaspora is not an extension of the '*āiga* in Samoa but is structurally and operationally different. Alofaituli (2011) suggested that although still important, “the family and village connections and chiefly titles are not as influential within the diaspora, and the young Samoans view opportunities for success as individualistic” (p. 73).

New Zealand is a different space, place and time, and the sense of community is harder to accomplish for Samoan people. Their numbers have grown too large to be thought of as being like villages in the homeland. This is because “the authority of family heads and chiefs is strained, the role of formal education through schooling is more powerful and the differences and links between generations becomes stretched and strained” (Ritchie

³² *Matai* are chiefs (high chiefs and orators).

& Ritchie, 1979, p. 17). In addition, the composition of the Samoan family in New Zealand now paints a different picture with an increase in solo parent-headed families and multiple ethnicity, for example (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c). In spite of these functional changes, Silipa (2004) believes that the '*āiga* continues to be the basic unit of society for Samoans, and that the essence of a traditional pre-European '*āiga* continues to prevail. As validated by the Samoan saying '*o le 'āiga e malu ai le tagata*' (the family provides shelter for a person), "the '*āiga* permeates every layer of society, and it will never fail to provide a permanent safe haven for its members" (Silipa, 2004, p. 266).

There has been little research on the actual usage of Samoan language in families. Fouvaa's (2011) research is one study to date which explored the family's role in Samoan language maintenance in New Zealand. Using multiple methods (questionnaires, interviews and observations), Fouvaa explored family *fono* (meetings) and church *fono* and concluded that both the family and church were robust institutions which provided properties and strategies for the maintenance of the Samoan language in New Zealand. A strategy which arose from the research was that young people learn the Samoan language better when they socialise and interact with their parents. This process of sharing was a strategy to not only sustain language but also culture, in turn sustaining one's *fa'asinomaga*. As Le Tagaloa (1996) states, the '*āiga* is the place that a child develops his/her involvement in family activities, thereby also increasing his/her *fa'asinomaga*. When done successfully, "the unity within the family and closeness of every individual member makes the family healthy and wealthy" (Fouvaa, 2011, p. 191). Within family *fono*, parents were able to encourage their children to share their views and ideas on issues in the Samoan language, and parents modeled to the children the use of Samoan language so that children would be familiar with it. In traditional *fa'asamoa* settings, children are not encouraged to speak back to their parents, and so therefore there are often limited opportunities for children to speak Samoan in homes (Fouvaa & Hunkin, 2011).

Research has also suggested that many Samoan families today do not use or encourage the use of Samoan in homes. Taumoefolau et al. (2002) found that despite the home being one of the sanctuaries where language is often maintained, the Samoan respondents in their study indicated that there were signs of Samoan language shift within their family homes, as language use in the home was not very strict. What arose was non-reciprocal use of Samoan between the generations of the families, a pattern that was evident across

all four Pacific languages in the study. Historically, one of the reasons young Samoans were encouraged to use English at home was the parents' belief that the English language was the language of success (Fouvaa, 2011). Parents encourage their children to learn English as quickly as possible to ensure academic security for families (Heather-Latu, 2003). The Samoan students in Silipa's (2004) research said they continued to uphold their parents' cultural moral values, but they had also "sought the 'majority culture' as the key passport to success and social mobility" (p. 140).

2.4 Chapter summary

The purpose of this review is to present the literature on language sustainability against the global literature on language endangerment, shift and maintenance. Two important factors have emerged from the studies discussed, firming up the research design for this study. First, there are numerous social, cultural, physical, demographic and political factors which affect language sustainability. These highlight the fact that language shift does not occur in isolation (Fishman, 1992, 1997; May, 2001, 2013). Second, language shift is most prominent in migrant and minority groups (Garcia, 2003) and, in most cases, language shift is completed within three generations (Fishman, 1991; Joo, 2009; Li Wei, 2000). This is significant because the Samoan community in New Zealand is a minority language group, and statistics show that Samoan language use is declining rapidly.

Research has pointed to the family as the critical domain in the intergenerational transmission and sustainability of minority languages (Fishman, 1991; UNESCO, 2008b). There has been much research and discussion conducted into factors which influence minority language use in families. However, it is clear that most of the literature is heavily weighted on parental attitudes toward language maintenance, so a need has arisen for more research into children's views and attitudes towards maintaining the minority languages. Furthermore, in order to fully understand language shift, a qualitative lens must be used to research and understand language shift and maintenance, and both parental and children's values must be included.

Samoan language research, both in Samoa and New Zealand, has largely focused on the value of the Samoan language, using questionnaires and statistical data, while studies of actual Samoan language use, especially in Samoan families, is limited. To my knowledge,

a study of Samoan language value and use in Samoan families in New Zealand had not been conducted before mine. Overall, these studies highlight the need for a study of Samoan language value and use in families that will take into account the wider social, cultural, physical and demographic nature of the Samoan family and Samoan community in New Zealand. Micro-level studies such as this study are still relatively scarce.

CHAPTER 3

Aulape o le su'esu'ega – Research design and methods

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three parts and begins with the design of this study. The second part describes the research process, and the third concludes with reflections on the research design. As noted, research on Samoan language maintenance and shift has relied largely on statistical data and the valuing of Samoan language. These statistics provide a valuable snapshot of language shift but less on actual Samoan language usage and factors influencing language use and sustainability.

The aim of this exploratory research is to bring meaning to what the statistics of Samoan language use in New Zealand show by documenting people's perceptions and experiences of language use and, more particularly, their expectations. I saw the importance of focusing on the *'āiga* because of its central place in the *fa'asamoa* (Faalau, 2011; Lui, 2003; Silipa, 2004) so gaining in-depth insights into the factors influencing language use in the family context, including the relationships between family members, and how the *'āiga* negotiates its language practices in relation to other aspirations and priorities. The research will also explore the domains of Samoan language use (Fishman, 1972) through the family, while giving prominence to the voices of Samoan youth and their experiences because young people are the future carriers of the Samoan language.

For this qualitative study, I used a bricolage research approach (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004) because I saw this research connecting the multiple ways of knowing and knowledge construction through the lens of a Pacific worldview. This, I believe, will ensure the cultural validity and integrity of the study (Du-Plessis & Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2009; Gegeo, 2009; Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2001). The bricolage aligns with the Samoan worldview of social engagement in the construction of knowledge. As noted in chapter one, the research aims are to explore the following:

1. How is the Samoan language valued and used within Samoan families in New Zealand?

2. What domains of language use do families engage in, and how do these support Samoan language maintenance?
3. What strategies can be employed to support Samoan language maintenance today?

3.1 Research approach

3.1.1 Constructivism

In order to philosophically situate this qualitative research, it is important to position the beliefs about the nature of reality (ontology), and the nature of knowledge (epistemology) (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The paradigm, or set of values and beliefs, which guides this research is interpretive constructivism which proposes that there is no one observable reality (Tracy, 2013). Rather, reality and knowledge are socially constructed and reproduced through communication and interaction, and are dependent on context. The goal is to understand a particular situation or context rather than the discovery of universal laws or rules, which a positivist approach presupposes (Willis, 2007).

As outlined in chapter one, the aim of this research is to explore how knowledge and meaning about language is constructed and evidenced in family behaviours and relationships. The study acknowledges that reality is connected and known through society's cultural and ideological categories, and that family members actively use the tools and traditions of the family groups they are engaged in (including language) to construct their own unique understandings of the world. In turn, they share their understanding with other members of the family and communities (Heigham & Croker, 2009; Morrow, 2007; Ormston, Spencer, Barnard, & Snape, 2014; Willis, 2007). This mutually engaging process aligns with the Pacific worldview of social engagement in the construction of knowledge, as will be discussed. The interpretive constructivist paradigm enables me to explore and answer the research questions from multiple perspectives, as in the bricolage approach, rather than a single perspective.

3.1.2 The Pacific worldview

In order to understand Samoan families' experiences, it was necessary to explore these through the Pacific worldview. This is described as being holistic in nature and encompassing three interconnected and interdependent elements. Pacific peoples see their

place in the world as being connected to the creator God (spiritual/sacred) who created people (social systems) and the natural environment (resources). See Figure 3.1 for the sustaining of families and communities (Du-Plessis & Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2009; Fairbairn-Dunlop et al., 2014). Therefore, the Pacific worldview is one that “understands the environment, humans, the animate and inanimate – all natural life – as having its sources in the same divine origin, imbued with the life force, interrelated and genealogically connected (Tui Atua, 2007, p. 13). These three elements reinforce and validate what it is important in life: maintaining harmony and a balance between these elements is fundamental to achieving a good life (Du-Plessis & Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2009, p. 111).

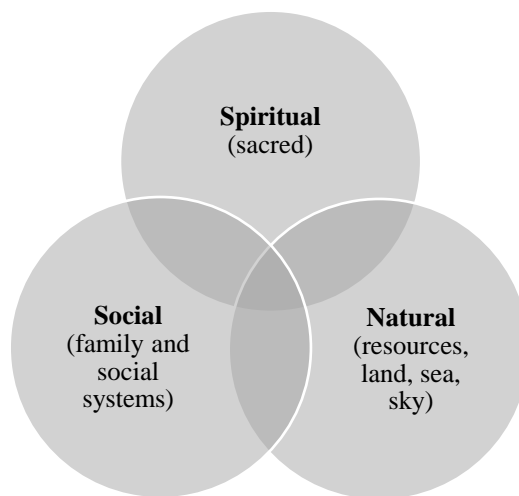


Figure 3.1: The Pacific worldview

As Sanga (2004) proposes, reality is subjective to the context for Pacific peoples. It is “experienced...particularistic to time and space...it is local...it changes” (p. 44). In the Pacific worldview, ancestors (including those long gone) are members of their world and rulers of their environment (Sanga, 2004). Therefore, Pacific indigenous systems are based on cumulative and purposeful life experiences built over generations, and include the past, present and future (Health Research Council, 2014):

I am not an individual; I am an integral part of the cosmos. I share divinity with my ancestors, the land, the seas and the skies. I am not an individual, because I share a ‘tofi’ (an inheritance) with my family, my village and my nation. I belong to my family and my family belongs to me. I belong to my village and my village belongs to me. I belong to my nation and my nation belongs to me. This is the essence of my sense of belonging (Tui Atua, 2003, p. 51).

The family is the main institution in Pacific communities. Individual identity is located in extended family-based systems and institutions. Relationships are what bind the

fa'asamoa together (Faavae et al., 2016) and, within the family, relationships are paramount and are maintained through *vā* (distance, space between two places, things or people). In this study, these relationships between individuals and their contexts is a central dynamic to be explored. Relationships are inseparable from the context and social realities of the Samoan people. The organisation of the goals and values of the family are central to an understanding of Samoan language use and valuing.

3.1.3 Qualitative research

A qualitative approach was chosen because this enables diverse perspectives and practices for generating knowledge, and leads to understanding the meanings people make of their experiences (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Morrow, 2007; Patton, 2015). A core tenet of qualitative research is a detailed and in-depth view of a phenomenon.

As noted, many studies of language shift and maintenance have relied on statistical data to show trends of shift and/or maintenance. Qualitative studies focus on people's experiences:

Whereas quantitative methods can enable the researcher to get a broad understanding of a phenomenon, qualitative approaches are able to delve into complex processes and illustrate the multifaceted nature of human phenomena (Morrow, 2007, p. 211).

Qualitative research therefore draws on characteristics that emerge from the perspectives of its participants, and is context specific.

The aim of using a qualitative research design for this study was to provide insight into language use and factors influencing language use, and social or other factors impacting on Samoan families' use of the Samoan language. As the researcher, a qualitative approach enabled me to be privy to an in-depth understanding of experiences not otherwise observable. These experiences could not necessarily be observed using survey or other quantitative data-gathering strategies (Morrow, 2007, p. 211).

3.1.4 Phenomenology

In order to understand the essence of the shared and lived experiences of the Samoan families and their language use, I chose phenomenology as the research methodology. Phenomenology, as an interpretivist research methodology, is concerned with what can

be understood about the social world. It seeks to discover and illuminate the essence of people's perceptions, attitudes and beliefs, feelings and emotions, and the meanings they attach to a phenomenon (Denscombe, 1998).

This research fits solidly within the interpretive realm of phenomenology (Dowling, 2007; Grbich, 2013), the goal of which is an increased understanding of the multiple interpretations of the meanings individuals make of their experiences (van Manen, 1997) by making sense of (or interpreting) the individual voices of Samoan family members and the meanings they assign to Samoan language valuing and use. It was assumed that the relationships among family members are a central factor in language use. The result will be an account of their lived experiences as a family on their own terms rather than ones prescribed by pre-existing theoretical concepts (Smith & Osborn, 2015; Woodwell, 2014). Furthermore, these experiences will be influenced by a Pacific worldview.

3.1.5 Bricolage

Bricolage has been described as a critical, multi-perspectival, multi-theoretical and multi-methodological approach to inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 1999; Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Rogers, 2012). The bricolage approach takes account of the complexity of the lived world; the epistemological and ontological assumptions that underpin the bricolage are that "the domains of the physical, the social, the cultural, the psychological, and the educational consist of the interplay of a wide variety of entities" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 327) align with the Pacific worldview.

The bricolage as a research approach is conceptualised from the French term *bricoleur*, a 'jack of all trades', adept at performing multiple tasks by collecting and retaining tools, and making do with 'whatever is at hand' to produce an object – the bricolage (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). As a Samoan researcher and methodological bricoleur (Denzin & Lincoln, 1999), I will draw on western and Samoan knowledge processes to capture the essence of the multiple experiences of the participants (Tracy, 2013). Therefore, this will enable me to move beyond the blinds of particular disciplines (Warne & McAndrew, 2009) to peer through an interdisciplinary conceptual window to a Pacific world of research and knowledge production. To my mind, the bricolage research process accommodates the complexity of the meaning-making processes, and adds rigour, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to this study.

3.1.6 Research methods

To be true to the multi-methodological and multi-perspectival nature of the bricolage, data was obtained from different perspectives. In this study, the data collection methods were *talanoaga* (talks or narratives), participant observation, speech recordings, and one-week recall sheets of language use in digital technology, the internet and mass media. Phenomenological studies try to get as close as possible to the phenomenon, in order to interpret the lived experiences of research participants; hence the value of participant observation and in-depth interviewing (Patton, 2015).

Talanoaga

In the Pacific way, the lived experiences of people are shared, and knowledge is constructed through *talanoaga*. As Faavae, Jones and Manu'atu (2016) and Vaiioleti (2006) explain, *talanoa*³³ is an existing cultural practice in Pacific cultures where oratory and verbal negotiation have deep traditional roots; Samoan and other Pacific languages and cultures were not written down. *Talanoaga* is the Samoan equivalent of *talanoa* and is a concept I have grown up with. In Samoa, *talanoa* means 'to talk', either informally or formally during a *fono* (meeting). *Talanoaga* come in many forms but the essence is the exchange of knowledge and relationship building.

Traditionally, the Samoan *talanoaga* takes place between young and old, on a one-to-one basis, in a group of people, or among groups of people:

In the immediate 'āiga, parents talanoa with their children about past experiences that may encourage better futures for them and most importantly they talanoa about maintaining good relationships with their 'āiga. In the 'āiga potopoto (extended family), the matais (chiefs) of the family talanoa about family matters such as land and other family inheritances, passing on and acknowledging family gafa (genealogy), the place and role of the 'āiga in the nu'u (village) as well as in the itumalo (district). In the village level, talanoa is the most commonly used approach for the matais (chiefs) of the villages during their fono or meetings to negotiate and solve issues to maintain or re-establish order. During talanoaga a fono, the matais make laws, strengthen tapu (taboos) of the village, bring peace and harmony to every family, and build agreement for new developments and planned changes leading to better living (Kolone-Collins, 2010, p. 35).

Research method parallels can be drawn with semi-structured interviews. However, *talanoaga* are grounded more heavily. Using *talanoaga* in this study enables me to be

³³ These authors use the term *talanoa* in the Tongan context, and as one that most Pacific cultures are familiar with. In this thesis, I refer to *talanoaga* as the Samoan equivalent of *talanoa*.

part of each participant's world, so capturing a fuller richness of Samoan language use. This social engagement in critiquing these views would add a different layer of understanding, and is a vastly different experience from the use of research surveys and questionnaires (Fairbairn-Dunlop et al., 2014).

During *talanoaga*, people come together to share experiences and construct knowledge and reality. When Samoans *talatalanoa* (talk), the *talanoaga* can include elements of *fa'asamoa*, worldviews and ways of being, *gagana Samoa* and *aganu'u*. The sharing that takes place builds on events, experiences, and history of the past, present and future. Furthermore, *talanoaga* are deeply interconnected with concepts of cultural engagement and addressing core principles fundamental to forming/maintaining relationships with Samoan people in a wider range of contexts. These principles include the importance of *fāiā* (building relations through kinship or affinity), *vā fealoaloa'i* (relationships between people) and *fa'aaloalo* (respect) (Health Research Council, 2014). In the context of the *fa'asamoa*, *fa'aaloalo* is defined by *tu ma amioga lelei* (respectful behaviour). During *talanoaga*, the researchers and participants should be in a state (of mind, heart and emotion) and power level that “enables the participant to share authentically what is common sense to Pacific peoples, and for the research to hear and understand those in the level (world/s) of the participant/s” (Vaiotei, 2013, p. 206). *Talanoaga* therefore aligns well with phenomenology as an approach that is familiar, friendly, respectful, encouraging of the heart to open up willingly and express mutual interest; a vehicle by which the research participants could, in a personal encounter, story their issues, their realities and their aspirations (Vaiotei, 2006).

The data-collection aims were to have *talanoaga* with individual members from each generation in the participant families; the number of *talanoaga* would depend on each family, and how many family members would be comfortable engaging in *talanoaga*.

Participant observation

I chose the participant observation research method to supplement the data gathered from the *talanoaga*. Observation entails entering a field to learn the meaning and potential structure of phenomena (Tsuji, 2012, p. 58). As Spradley (1980, as cited in Tracy, 2013, p. 65) suggests:

Participant observation includes not only studying people but also learning from (and with) people – particularly through analysing three fundamental aspects of human experience: (a) what people do (cultural behaviour); (b) what people know (cultural knowledge); and (c) what things people make and use (cultural artefacts).

Specifically, researchers generate knowledge and understanding of a particular group by carefully observing participants, interacting, listening to what is said in conversations, asking questions and gathering other data. Examples are audio or video recordings, and reflecting after the fact (Bryman, 2004; Heigham & Croker, 2009; Tracy, 2013).

For this research, I knew that observing the families in their family settings was important also. Within the *‘āiga* setting there could possibly be opportunities to see things that may routinely escape awareness among the individuals within each family. Given that all social systems involve routines, participants in those routines may take them so much for granted that they are unaware of important nuances that are apparent only to an observer. I would ask families to choose two events such as church activities, sports games, and any others that they would feel comfortable for me to attend.

Speech recordings

Speech recordings are a common method of assessing natural language use, somehow accessing and recording what is generally referred to as the vernacular, untainted by interactions with the researcher as much as possible (Wertheim, 2002, p. 511). I decided to make speech recordings of language use in the family homes because I was aware that my presence in the homes would undoubtedly alter family language and behavioural practices. Often termed as the ‘observer’s paradox’ (Labov, 1972), those who are being observed often speak differently when being ‘monitored’, as opposed to a casual and natural setting. As Labov (1972) argues:

We focus upon natural groups as the best possible solution to the observer’s paradox: the problem of observing how people speak when they are not being observed. The natural interaction of peers can overshadow the effects of observation, and help us approach the goal of capturing the vernacular of every-day life in which the minimum of attention is paid to speech (p. 256).

I wanted to collect speech samples, not to assess the quality of the language but to find out the amount and usage of Samoan in natural settings. The aims were that speech recordings would be taken in the family homes at times when I was not present. Each family would be given a recorder and asked to turn it on during at least two normal every-

day interactions; for example at the dinner table, during breakfast, or while watching television. The aim was to analyse two of these interactions. As a form of ‘non-reactive research’ (Marshall & Rossman, 2006), data obtained in this way, would not interfere with the on-going flow of every-day events for families.

One-week, 24-hour recall sheets of Samoan language use in digital technology, internet and mass media

Given the rise in digital technology use and access to the internet and mass media, particularly among youth, I also saw the value of incorporating another supplementary method, a 24-hour recall sheet administered over the period of one week. A one-week, 24-hour recall sheet was designed to gather information about language use and interaction by the youth participants in digital technology, the internet and mass media domains on a daily basis. The youth in each household would be asked to fill out the 24-hour recall sheets over a one-week period. I knew that this self-reported data would require the honesty and accuracy of participants’ responses. The responses were valuable. As will be discussed, some difficulties arose in this process, and changes were made to the 24-hour recall sheets. This will be discussed further in the following section.

3.2 Research process

3.2.1 Site

Auckland has been labelled as the Polynesian capital of the world (Anae, 2004; Cave et al., 2003). South Auckland³⁴ was chosen as the site for the study because of its significant resident Pacific population³⁵ and high numbers of Samoan speakers (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c). South Auckland refers to the suburbs that encompass the Manukau and Manurewa-Papakura wards of Auckland Council³⁶ (which include the Mangere-Otahuhu,

³⁴ South Auckland is not an official place name, but is commonly used by New Zealanders to refer to the suburbs that start at Otahuhu, moving south to Manukau and the surrounding suburbs west and east of Auckland’s Southern Motorway (SH1), as far as Papakura. It does not include the eastern and northern former Manukau City suburbs such as Howick or Pakuranga.

³⁵ Most Pacific peoples (92.9 per cent) live in the North Island, of which almost two thirds (66.5 per cent) live in the Auckland region (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a, 2014b). In the Mangere-Otahuhu and Otara-Papatoetoe local boards, Pacific peoples are the largest population group at 60.9 per cent and 45.7 per cent respectively. Pacific people also account for 33 per cent of the Manurewa local board and 14.5 per cent in Papakura.

³⁶ The Auckland Council is divided into 13 wards and 21 local boards, which play a key role in the council’s governance, representing and making decisions for local communities (Auckland Council, n.d.).

Otara-Papatoetoe, Manurewa and Papakura local boards) (Figure 3.2) (Statistics New Zealand, 2010).

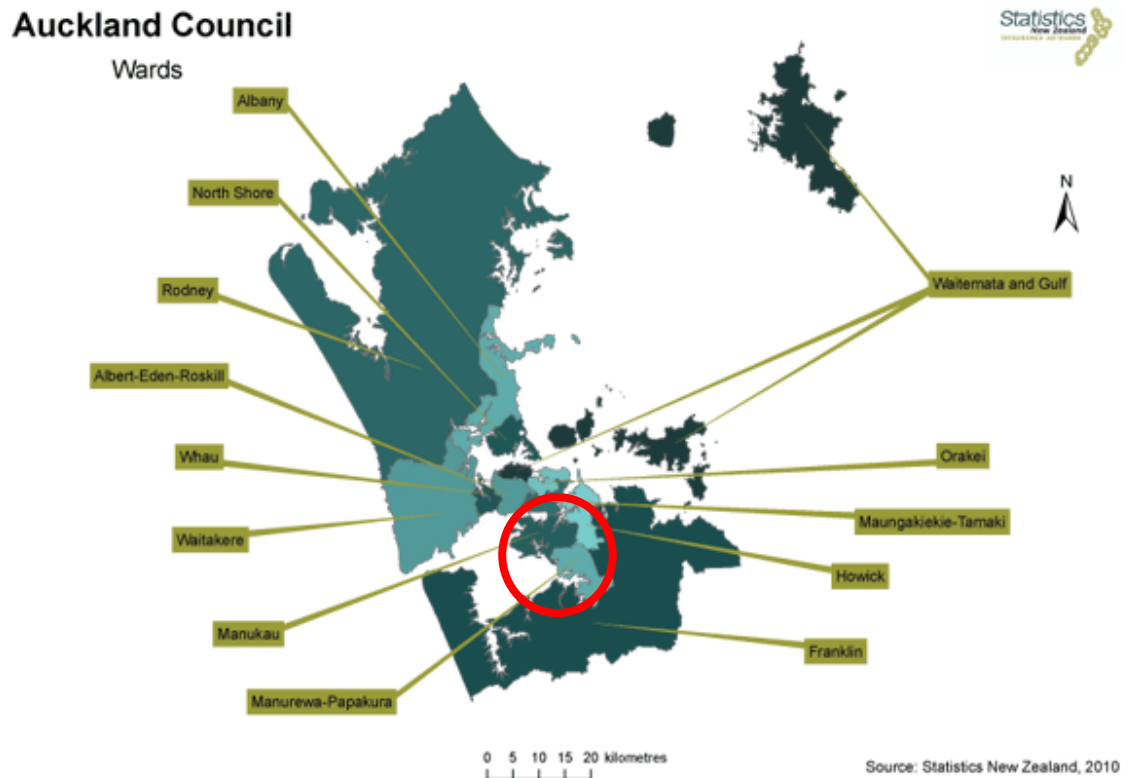


Figure 3.2: Auckland Council wards

Samoan is the second most-commonly spoken language in Auckland after English (372,615 speakers) with almost 51,336 speakers (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c). Notably, also, South Auckland has the largest number of Samoan language programmes in preschool/language nests, bilingual education programmes, secondary schools, and a large number of Samoan-speaking churches. In sum, South Auckland provides more chances to speak and hear Samoan both inside and outside family homes.

The selection of South Auckland as the recruitment site could be viewed as a limitation, given its significant Samoan population and number of Samoan speakers. However, South Auckland was a valuable place to carry out this exploratory research and provide a snapshot in time of up to six Samoan families and their experiences of Samoan language use. This is new research for South Auckland and New Zealand, and is the platform that needs to be taken in order to understand and explore the Samoan language in New Zealand.

3.2.2 Sample and recruitment

The aims were that up to six Samoan families would be recruited by self-selection. Each family would:

- reside in South Auckland;
- have at least one Samoan-speaking parent;
- have at least one secondary school child (preferably at NCEA³⁷ level).

It was essential that at least one parent was Samoan. It was also anticipated that some families might consist of three generations and have a grandparent present. This would enable me to explore more deeply any influences a live-in grandparent had on Samoan language use. The youth factor was also important, given the role of youth as future carriers of language, and also the data of youth speakers in New Zealand demonstrating significant language shift. The adolescent years are the important years when youth are negotiating their place within society, questioning their identities, and making educated decisions which will influence their futures (Wilson, 2010). It was hoped that some of the families would have a recent migrant from Samoa living with them, so to explore any influence on Samoan language use in the home.

Recruiting the sample for this study was not straightforward. A Samoan Congregational³⁸ church in South Auckland was selected as the most suitable site for families, due to the high participation of Samoans³⁹, and that Samoan Congregational churches primarily conduct their church services and activities in the Samoan language, an important factor in this research. Contact was made with a *faiife'au* (church Minister) and a meeting was arranged to discuss the study and seek permission to recruit families from his church. At the meeting, the *faiife'au* said that he must discuss the study with his board of elders first. Some time passed with little contact. As a result, I had to look elsewhere. First, I recruited

³⁷ NCEA are New Zealand's national certificates of educational achievement. These are national qualifications for senior secondary school students. Students study NCEA at levels 1 to 3, and typically begin their NCEA level one studies at 15 or 16 years of age (Year 11).

³⁸ The Samoan Congregational churches refer to the Christian Congregation Church of Samoa (CCCS) or *Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa* (EFKS), originally established in Samoa by the London Missionary Society (LMS), the Samoan Methodist church, and the Pacific Islands Presbyterian Church (PIPC).

³⁹ The 2013 census revealed that 83.4 per cent of the Samoan ethnic group reported that they were affiliated with at least one religion, the most common of which was Roman Catholic (22.8 per cent), followed by Presbyterian, Congregational and Reformed (17.1 per cent), and Christian not further defined (11.4 percent).

two families from personal contacts and carried out *talanoaga* with both families. However, shortly after this, both families withdrew from the study.

Meanwhile, I sought another Samoan church from which to recruit participants. I approached a *faife'au* from another Congregational church in South Auckland and requested a meeting with him to discuss the study. The *faife'au* and his *faletua* (wife) were enthusiastic, suggesting that I attend a church meeting after a Sunday service to discuss the research with the congregation; this was the most appropriate way to invite families to participate. I attended the service, and made a presentation about my study, inviting and answering questions. I left a set of participant information sheets with my contact details inviting interested church members to read in more detail and then contact me if they would like to participate. Three interested families contacted me after more discussions, and the data collection commenced with those three families. The fact that I could only recruit three families at this stage meant that I could get the data collection underway. However, I struggled to recruit more families until one of the participant families suggested another two families. This snowball approach then produced the final sample. Actual numbers of participants could not be determined at the time of recruitment, given the likely variations in family size.

The final sample comprised five families. As seen in Table 3.1, there were 29 participants in total. With the exception of a Tongan father in one family, all other parents in the study were Samoan and spoke Samoan fluently. Only one family had a grandmother residing in the family home. Four of the five families had children studying at NCEA level. In one family, one child was a tertiary student, and the other child was a recent tertiary graduate, which brought another dynamic to the study. In addition, as seen, all children in this study were born in New Zealand.

Table 3.1 Family and participant profiles⁴⁰

Family	Participant	Age	Birthplace
Tanielu (7 members)	T_Grandmother	70	Samoa
	T_Father	48	Samoa
	T_Mother	46	Samoa
	T_Daughter1	17	New Zealand
	T_Daughter2	15	New Zealand
	T_Son1	14	New Zealand
	T_Niece	25	New Zealand
Masina (5 members)	M_Father	54	Samoa
	M_Mother	45	Samoa
	M_Daughter1	26	New Zealand
	M_Daughter 2	23	New Zealand
	M_Daughter 3	18	New Zealand
Lelei (5 members)	L_Father	40s	Samoa
	L_Mother	40s	Samoa
	L_Daughter1	18	New Zealand
	L_Daughter2	14	New Zealand
Fiafia (8 members)	F_Father	43	New Zealand
	F_Mother	31	Samoa
	F_Son1	16	American Samoa
	F_Daughter1	15	American Samoa
	F_Son2	11	American Samoa
	F_Daughter2	8	New Zealand
	F_Daughter3	4	New Zealand
	F_Son3	2	New Zealand
Galo (4 members)	G_Father	57	Samoa
	G_Mother	49	Samoa
	G_Daughter1	24	New Zealand
	G_Son1	22	New Zealand
Total: 29 members			

3.2.3 Data collection

Ethics approval from AUTE⁴¹ was granted on 14 January 2014 (see Appendix 4). The research methods were piloted in March 2014. As a result of the pilot, the *talanoaga* schedule (Appendix 5) and the one-week recall sheet was amended to a 24-hour recall sheet of Samoan language use in digital technology, the internet and mass media (Appendix 6). The data collection phase commenced in June 2014 and was completed in October 2015 (Figure 3.3).

⁴⁰ The family names and individual participant names are pseudonyms to protect their identities.

⁴¹ AUTE – Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

June 2014	July 2014	August 2014	September 2014	October 2014	November 2014	December 2014	January 2015	February 2015	March 2015	April 15	May 2015	June 2015	July 2015	August 2015	September 2015	October 2015
Tanielu								Tanielu								
	Masina								Fiafia							
	Lelei												Galo			
					Fiafia											

Figure 3.3: Data collection phase

As seen in Figure 3.3, data collection with families often occurred concurrently, and the length of time for data collection with each family varied. Given this variation, the data collection with each family generally consisted of the following steps:

- Meeting with the whole family (*talanoaga*) to introduce the study and gain consent to participate
- The family decides who would have *talanoaga* (both individual and group)⁴².
- Individual and group *talanoaga*
- Observations (two events per family)
- Youth participants fill in a 24-hour recall sheet of language use in digital technology, the internet and mass media
- Collection of 24-hour recall sheets and catch-up *talanoaga* with whole family

Depending on the family, the order in which the steps occurred varied. The actual data collection and estimated total hours per family is in Appendix 12. These six steps will be outlined and explained in more detail below. The first step with all families was a family *talanoaga*.

Talanoaga

It was important to take culturally appropriate procedures when conducting fieldwork, particularly before entering family homes, to ensure that the *talanoaga* process was collaborative and sharing; this established good interpersonal relationships and rapport

⁴² Not all family members were expected to participate in the *talanoaga*, but a minimum of one member per generation was required. Family members could decide whether they wanted to be interviewed individually or together with other family members.

with the participants. The *talanoaga* were guided by a *talanoaga* schedule (see Appendix 5), and questions were adapted during the course of the *talanoaga* to enable other issues to arise and be discussed. As a fluent speaker of both Samoan and English, I was able to conduct the *talanoaga* in the language/s the participants felt most comfortable with. I believe this enabled me to accord the family members the *fa'aaloalo* (respect) they deserved, especially in the Samoan language, which is central to the *aganu'u*. During the study, I found that the older participants (grandparents and parents), as well as some of the younger participants, chose to speak Samoan; the younger participants mainly spoke in English. At times, both languages were used throughout the *talanoaga*.

A significant amount of time at the beginning of the study was dedicated to getting to know one another by building rapport so that participants felt comfortable enough to share with me, and we became conversational partners and *talatalanoa* (talked) as if we were friends. The *talanoaga* also provided opportunities for mutual understanding and discovery, reflection and explanation, where, through their responses, I was able to probe in depth into each participant's viewpoints and lived experiences through their perspectives, in the organic, flexible and adaptive nature of the *talanoaga*.

In the Samoan way, food was provided for all participants upon each visit to the family homes and at each *talanoaga*, for example cakes, biscuits, pizza and other food. At the conclusion of each *talanoaga*, a small *meaalofa* (gift) was given to all research participants, not as a *taui* (reward), but rather as an acknowledgment of their time, energy, the knowledge they had shared, and to show my appreciation for all they had sacrificed in order to participate in the study. The *meaalofa* were in the form of gift vouchers and, although small, were appreciated by all participants. After the examination of the thesis, I will prepare a summary of the research findings and all families will be revisited again with the summary and a family *meaalofa*.

Family talanoaga

After initial contact was made with each family, a whole family *talanoaga* was organised to discuss the study so that all family members were aware of exactly what the study entailed. Then the family could decide whether they wanted to participate in the study. It was also a time to invite questions from family members, as well as providing the chance to request any input on the study going forward. Participants were given a participant

information form (see Appendix 7) and were asked to sign a participant consent form (see Appendices 8 and 9). Children under the age of 16 signed an Assent form (Appendix 10), and parents signed a consent form (Appendix 9) on their behalf. It was important that consent was gained from all family members because even though not all of them would participate in individual or group *talanoaga*, they might be observed in their family settings throughout the study. In addition, at the family *talanoaga* I asked each family to discuss, as a family, who wanted to have individual *talanoaga* with me.

Individual/group talanoaga

I asked families to select at least one family member from each generation to have a *talanoaga* with me. I do not know how the families selected who would be interviewed. In three out of the five families, only the mothers were interviewed. In one case, both the mother and father agreed to be interviewed together. In another family, the mother and father were interviewed separately. For the *talanoaga* in three families, parents asked all their children to be included in a group *talanoaga*, while the parents in the other two families decided their eldest child should participate. The *talanoaga* were conducted in a variety of settings such as the participant homes, on site at AUT University, and at other public places such as a café. The participants selected the site that was most convenient for them, and the majority opted to leave their house to do so.

Participant observation

As noted, families were asked to choose two events (see Appendix 12) which they usually attended as a family, which I could also attend and observe. While some families were open to being observed, two were reluctant at first. However, as the study progressed, they felt more comfortable inviting me along to family events. I attended church youth performances, events and birthdays; these events were often followed by casual visits to the homes to follow up, which provided further opportunities to observe. During the observations, I discreetly recorded a wide spectrum of information while being mindful of my surroundings. At times I was an observer (such as at church events), while at other times I was a participant observer (in the homes). The data I collected was in the form of field notes and my own impressions and reflections after the observation activities, which

I noted in my research diary⁴³. These were organised under four main headings which were noted during observation: setting (space and objects), systems (procedures), people and behaviour (Heigham & Croker, 2009). While initially I had planned to observe families for an hour at a time, observations at the various events ranged from an hour to several hours. These observations also provided the opportunity to follow up on observation data by asking questions in the *talanoaga* with family members, in order to identify, confirm and gain a better understanding of certain patterns of language use, values, beliefs and understandings of the family members (Grbich, 2013; Tracy, 2013).

Speech recordings

The youth participants in each family were given one digital recorder per family to capture family language use. The process was that one child in each family was asked to turn the recorder on during a normal every-day interaction. Each family was asked to record two interactions. Initially, I had seen that I would analyse up to an hour of interactions per recording to keep this consistent across all families. However, many recordings were several hours in duration. This was an unexpected bonus.

It is acknowledged that the method of recording language use was semi-unobtrusive, as the children were expected to turn the device on and off, which therefore meant some element of awareness of the recorder's presence. However, it was apparent, when listening to the recordings, that the longer the recorder was left on, the more family members appeared to forget and carry on 'as normal' which meant that language use was more likely to be natural. All recordings were transcribed verbatim for analysis, and translations were provided for Samoan (and Tongan) language use present in the recordings.

When used in isolation, data gathered by recording language use may distort the overall picture of language use in families (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). However, to my mind, the recordings provided the information needed regarding the frequency and nature of language use in the family when direct observation was not always possible.

⁴³ The research diary was also used to record reflections after each individual and family *talanoaga* as well as all other visits to each family.

24-hour recall sheets of Samoan language use in digital technology, the internet and mass media

The aim had been that youth participants in each family would be asked to fill out a 24-hour recall sheet over the period of one week to report their language use in text messages, social media, television, music and the internet. However, after the pilot study it became clear that this was a significant demand, as the children either forgot to fill in the sheets, or misplaced their forms. Instead, it was decided that they would be asked to record their language use over a period of two to three days. The majority were willing to complete the forms. However, for others it took several attempts. The forms were collected from each family when completed. The children reported their estimated language use. Interestingly, some even gave actual numbers and percentages of Samoan language use. In the end, these reports provided important insights into language use with relation to digital technology, the internet and mass media – an important factor in research on Samoan language use, particularly in this digital age.

3.2.4 Data analysis

From the four data-collection methods, I collected a substantial amount of data. However, analysing the data was a significant undertaking which took several months; it was overwhelming. Given the scope of the research, not all the data could be analysed for this thesis.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA)

I used an interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) to analyse the data (Smith, 2011; Smith & Osborn, 2008, 2015). IPA is underpinned by three fundamental principles: phenomenology, which is concerned with attending to the way things appear to individuals in their lived experiences (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014; Smith & Osborn, 2015), hermeneutics (the theory of interpretation) and, idiography, the commitment to examining, in detail, specific cases prior to moving on to more general claims (Biggerstaff & Thompson, 2008; Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014; Smith et al., 2009; Smith & Osborn, 2015). IPA studies usually have small numbers of participants and so it is possible to explore, in depth, the similarities and differences between cases (Smith et al., 2009). In this way, IPA is dynamic and therefore is often described as a double hermeneutic or dual

interpretation process (Smith & Osborn, 2008). For example, the researcher tries to make sense of the participants attempting to make sense of their lived experiences. IPA fits the phenomenological nature of this study because “...it seeks an insider’s perspective on the lived experiences of individuals, and interpretative in that it acknowledges the researcher’s personal beliefs and standpoint and embraces the view that understanding requires interpretation” (Fade, 2004, p. 648). In this way, as a Samoan researcher conducting Samoan family-based research, I am able to use my insider status to interpret the data with insight.

Unlike most IPA studies, which predominantly consist of interview data only, the data set for this study consisted of *talanoaga* which were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim, participant observation field notes, 24-hour recall sheets and speech recordings which had also been transcribed before being subjected to analysis. I was able to triangulate all the sources of data to increase the validity of the study findings (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, Dicenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014) as well as to strengthen the quality of the qualitative research. This allowed for the multiple perspectives and multiple realities of the research participants to be treated and applied, as far as possible, on an equal footing and in an equally consistent way (Flick, 2014).

IPA starts with and goes beyond a thematic analysis (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). The analysis was carried out in two phases, beginning with individual families, bringing together the *talanoaga*, observations, recordings and 24-hour recall sheets to show individual responses and the relationships. The second phase brought all five families together (as seen in chapter five) and analysed the similarities and differences across the families. According to Smith (2011), “the best IPA studies are concerned with the balance of convergence and divergence within the sample” (p. 10). Central to this perspective was finding levels of analysis which enabled me to see patterns across the families while still giving voice to the particularities of individual lives from which those patterns emerged (Smith, 1999, as cited in Brocki & Wearden, 2006). This required engaging in an interpretative relationship with the data.

Talanoaga

Individual transcripts were typed into Excel spreadsheets and printed for analysis. Each transcript was analysed separately to seek emerging themes before examining the other

talanoaga transcripts for each family. Each script was read and re-read multiple times to get a sense of the nature of each participant's account. Coding was done manually, and notes were made in the margin; these pointed to potential themes, and other (descriptive, linguistic and conceptual) findings. As Clemens (2015) explains, researchers have argued that to reinforce the integrity of the idiographic nature of IPA analysis, it is important to bracket themes percolating from one interview and not let those influence analysis of a different case. In addition, many IPA studies do not encourage the use of set questions or pre-ordained lists of themes (Fade, 2004). However, this study was different. Although themes had been identified from the literature, during the interpretative phase the data was revisited to extract emerging themes which were then incorporated into a narrative of nested stories (Smith & Neergaard, 2015) of each family's experiences with Samoan language valuing and use.

Observations, recordings and 24-hour recall sheets

The speech recordings were also transcribed verbatim and typed into Excel spreadsheets, then printed, analysed and coded by hand to answer questions. Examples were 'who speaks what language?', 'to whom, when, and where?' Language patterns, such as code-switching⁴⁴ (Duranti, 1990; Yu, 2005) were looked for. Similarly, the observation field notes and 24-hour recall sheets were read and re-read several times, and analysed for emerging themes within each family and across families. Comments and potential themes were noted in the margin. While this meant there was some description, it also allowed for interpretation because IPA recognises that there is no such thing as an uninterpreted phenomenon (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014).

The meticulous analysis of individual transcripts and the triangulation of sources against extant literature was a time-consuming and lengthy process as the analysis was both inductive (moving from the particular, in each case, to the shared), and iterative (moving back and forth between the description and interpretation) (Smith et al., 2009). However, executing the analysis manually, although very time-consuming, was particularly rewarding as I felt as if I was closer to the data. The analysis of the data in this way satisfied "methodological rigour, eliminated alternative interpretations and produced a

⁴⁴ The alternative use of two or more languages within the same utterance (Yu, 2005, p. 1).

compelling case” (Iacono, Brown, & Holtham, 2009, p. 45). In essence, the analysis provided for aligning what participants said they did, and what they actually did.

3.3 Reflections

A bricolage study is not a straightforward task. The data-collection and analysis stages were intense, to say the least, and more time-consuming than I had initially thought. During the planning, data-collection and analysis phases of the research, I was constantly negotiating and renegotiating, aligning and realigning both theory and method; this required a lot of time, patience, trial and error, and perseverance. Reflecting on the design of the study and the actual data collection and analysis, several factors contributed to the success of the study.

Firstly, this family-based research could not have been possible without the study participants’ time and goodwill. The recruitment process itself was not without its obstacles and difficulties (as seen in 3.2.2). However, the families who participated were open and willing, not only to participate in the research, but they also welcomed me into their homes and church, introduced me to their families (including extended families), and were genuinely interested in the study and wanted to be involved. When I returned to the homes on multiple visits, the families were welcoming and forthcoming of their time and aspirations. True to the value that Samoans place on reciprocity, I also found that I happily assisted them in other ways, such as helping some of the children with their schoolwork, providing references for scholarship applications, and giving advice about further study.

Secondly, time. During the initial research design phase of the study the estimated contact time with families was approximately 60 hours in total. However, approximate contact hours were recorded during the data-collection phase; these amounted to an estimated 107 hours of total contact time across all families (see Appendix 12 for full details). As an example, Table 3.2 indicates the types of contact and contact hours carried out with the Tanielu family. Data collection was predicted to be completed in six months. However, the actual data collection spanned a period of 16 months. Samoan families are busy; many parents in the study did shift work, had multiple jobs, and the children had extra-curricular

as well as church responsibilities, so it was often difficult to schedule time with the families.

I always kept in mind that any given situation might have a number of meanings, so I was careful not to judge. Instead, I was open to a myriad of interpretations. At times, it was difficult to go beyond recording just the words that people said but I also listened to the participants and was aware of the context. Without always being able to take notes during the observation, field notes had to be made as soon as I left the event, in order to capture as much as possible. The entire observation process was very emotionally, spiritually and physically draining; it was much more than I had anticipated at the outset.

Table 3.2 Total hours of data collection and contact hours⁴⁵ (Tanielu family)

Family	Contact type	Duration	Total contact hours (approx)
Tanielu	Whole family meeting	4 hours	28.5 hours
	Follow up family meetings	1.5 hour	
		2 hours	
	Delivering and collecting materials	1 hour	
	Phone calls	1 hour	
	Talanoaga – T_Grandmother	3.5 hours	
	Talanoaga – T_Mother	1 hour	
	Talanoaga – T_Daughter1	1.5 hours	
	Speech recordings	0.5 hours	
		1.5 hours	
	Observation – church	5 hours	
	Observation – birthday	4 hours	
	Observation – home	2 hours	

During the data collection, it became apparent that this study was a significant awareness-raising activity for the participant families and community. Their awareness was raised about the state and place of the Samoan language in New Zealand, notwithstanding issues surrounding Samoan language shift and maintenance. Many of the participants shared that they had not thought, let alone talked about, Samoan language value and use in this way before. Moreover they had not previously reflected on their own language practices. Given this, I do not believe that this had a significant effect on the data I collected from each family. Not only did the research benefit the study aims, but the participant families also benefited from being able to share their experiences.

⁴⁵ These times are approximate and rounded to the nearest 30 minutes.

3.4 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented the research design as a family-based, qualitative and phenomenological study, using the bricolage as critical, multi-perspectival, multi-theoretical and multi-methodological approach to the study. The methods used (*talanoaga*, participant observation, recordings and 24-hour recall sheets) in this study align with the multiple realities of the Pacific and Samoan worldview, and were a fitting way to illuminate the views and knowledge about Samoan language use and value by Samoan families.

The following chapters present and discuss the main findings from the research. Chapter 4 introduces each family, and presents the findings from each of the five families as a form of nested stories. Chapter 5 discusses the main findings from across the five families against the literature. Confidentiality of all participants in this study is maintained by using pseudonyms.

CHAPTER 4

I’uga o le su’esu’ega – Findings

4.0 Introduction

These findings are presented as individual family narratives to retain the relationships between the nested stories about the ideals and practice of Samoan language use. The five stories are a mix of interview materials, observations and self-reflections and include 24-hour recall sheets of language used in digital technology, the internet and Samoan language media, by selected children in the families. While varying in length, each reveals a complex array of challenges and enables family members to share with respect to sustaining the Samoan tongue, including a question which is emerging (by younger members especially): ‘Do you really need to speak the language to ‘be a Samoan’?

Stories are presented in the order in which families joined the study, beginning with the Tanielu family⁴⁶. While each family had its own distinct patterns of language valuing and use, differences between family members and the extent and nature of intergenerational transmission were also evident. Patterns are influenced by factors such as where the families live, household composition and parental aspirations for the children, and employment responsibilities. Two of the families were blended, two were organised more as nuclear families, and one was a three-generation family. No recent migrants lived with these families at the time of the study.

Each family story⁴⁷ is set out in four parts. Because discussion revealed there was a person in each family *who set the tone* in the Samoan language (a language champion), each story begins with their accounts. Interestingly, with the exception of the Galo family, each of the language champions were women. Furthermore, a number of the language champions explained how their views had changed over time, being influenced by new learnings. Whereas in earlier days they had championed English ‘to get a good education

⁴⁶ The Tanielu family story is slightly longer than the others because it presents views from three generations of family members.

⁴⁷ In these stories, participants are referred to by pseudonyms that differentiate them by family (using the first letter of their family name which is also a pseudonym) and membership in the family. For example, the Tanielu grandmother is known as T_Grandmother, and the Masina mother is known as M_Mother. Children are differentiated by their place in the family, with 1 being the oldest, as in G_Daughter1.

and a good job' they were now promoting the Samoan language. Finally, a cautionary question was posed: Are family language systems resilient enough to survive the loss of a champion? This has importance for future transmission and maintenance efforts.

Part two focuses on views of the valuing of Samoan, followed by part three where the focus turns to actual language-related behaviours organised by domains (Fishman, 1972) of language use inside the family domain and outside. The growing impact of technology on language practices of all family members is signaled here. Part three is a mix of observations and self-reflections by family members as to language sustainability. The fourth part looks toward the future of sustaining Samoan within each family. The chapter concludes with a summary of the main findings across families.

4.1 The Tanielu family

The Tanielus are a three-generation family: the grandmother (T_Grandmother), her daughter (T_Mother) and her husband (T_Father), and their three children (T_Daughter1, T_Daughter2 and T_Son1) (see Table 4.1 for family profile). A niece (T_Niece) also lives with the family; caring for her grandmother is her task. T_Grandmother is one of the eldest surviving members of the extended family. The Tanielu home is where many extended family members gather on a regular basis. In addition, T_Grandmother often moves between two homes because she wants to spend time with other family members, especially her other grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

T_Mother grew up in Samoa and then moved to Fiji when her parents were called to the ministry there. She later moved to New Zealand where she met her husband. Their three children and niece were born in New Zealand, and they have always lived in the South Auckland area. Faith and education are the hallmarks of this family. The grandmother and her daughter are both trained teachers and T_Grandmother was the wife of a retired church Minister until his passing. The three Tanielu children attended *A'oga Amata*, which were conducted solely in the Samoan language, and all children are at secondary school: T_Daughter1 is at a local secondary school and the other two attend one outside their school zone. The family worships at the nearby Samoan Congregational church, Ekalesia Fa'apopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa (EFKS), where one of T_Mother's nieces and her husband minister.

Table 4.1 Tanielu family profile

Family member	M/F	Age	Place of birth	Age at arrival	Highest level of education	L1	Occupation	Religion
T_Grandmother	F	70	Samoa	40s	Secondary school (Samoa)	Samoaan	Retired teacher & Minister's wife	EFKS
T_Mother	F	48	Samoa	15	Tertiary	Samoaan	Lecturer	EFKS
T_Father	M	46	Samoa	17	Secondary school (Samoa)	Samoaan	Labourer	EFKS
T_Daughter1	F	17	NZ	N/A	Secondary school	Samoaan	Student	EFKS
T_Daughter2	F	15	NZ	N/A	Secondary school	Samoaan	Student	EFKS
T_Son1	M	14	NZ	N/A	Secondary school	Samoaan	Student	EFKS
T_Niece	F	25	NZ	N/A	Secondary school	Samoaan	Carer	EFKS

4.1.1 Setting the tone in the family

T_Grandmother was undoubtedly the family matriarch in the extended family. She set the tone for the valuing and use of the Samoan language and her views were echoed many times in the comments of other family members. T_Grandmother is well versed in the Samoan language, which she sees as connecting the past, the present and the future. She also drew particular attention to the spiritual beliefs that underpin the relationship between the language and *aganu'u*. In her view, people achieve a healthy and happy life when they know the language, understand the relationship between language and culture, and most importantly how this plays out in their life as Christians:

T_Grandmother: *O le generation lea e i ai la'u fagau ma le fagau a la'u fagau, kalosia e makukua a'e lakou ke kaofiofi mau. A lē iloa gei la le lakou gagaga ma fa'avaivai, e loga uiga e lē iloa e gei fagau le lakou gagaga, aganu'u ma le olaga fa'akelisiago ma le olaga alofa, fa'asoa ma le fa'aposiposi. O le 'ā ola mai lakou, o a'u lava, ga o a'u a.*

My children's generation and my grandchildren's generation, I hope that they continue to hold on to [the language and culture]. Once they lose their language, and give up, it means these children won't know their language, culture and the Christian way of living, as well as living in love and sharing. They will grow up living as individuals.

Her aim had been to raise her children as close as possible to the way she had been raised in Samoa: this was the best way she could equip them for the future. She feared she had not passed on all the knowledge she should have; saying she drilled the following harsh words into her family every day:

T_Grandmother: *A ou ola a, e alu a le fa'asamoa i kokogu o lo'u fale. Sei vagagā ua ou oki, ae ou ke va'ai aku a i la'u fagau o la e malosi a le fa'asamoa. A ou mafaufau i ai, ou ke fai so'o a i ai, a uma gei lo'u ola kou ke lē fa'asamoa. O le 'ā kou fegagui gei? Maumau le kou gagaga. Maumau mea ga a'oa'o mai ai oukou ma le umi ga kakou mafuka i le fa'asamoa. Kou ō la ia kou ke gogofa vālea, e le gaka iga lē iloa le kou gagaga, ae le iloa le kou agagu'u, ua leai ma se kou iloa fa'aaloalo. O le 'ā kou ola pei o meaola.*

As long as I'm alive, the Samoan language will continue to be spoken in my house. I can see that my children and grandchildren still speak Samoan well. Come to think of it, I say to my grandchildren all the time, when I die [I know] you are not going to speak Samoan any more. Are you going to speak English? What a waste of your language. What a waste of everything you have learned, living in the Samoan way of life. You will end up not knowing how to live, not only being unable to speak your language, but you won't know your culture, you won't have any respect. You are going to live like animals.

T_Grandmother added that she continually reminded her family about the wealth of knowledge and 'treasures' held by Samoan elders, and urged them to seek and make the most of the elders' *fautuaga* (advice):

T_Grandmother: *Kakou ke kā'ua o le 'oa ma le tamao'āiga, le tagata matua e kausi i kokogu o le 'āiga auā o la e i ai uma a le tamao'āiga o le 'āiga, la e i kokogu uma a meaalofa la e pasi mai ia kakou, a o la e gofo mai foi ma le agoago o mea la e auaua'i mai. O le mea e kāua o le pu'epu'e mau o kagaka makukua o le 'āiga e pei o grandparents ma aunties ma uncles makukua, pu'epu'e mau meaalofa ga e needinga mo le olaga akoo. A mavae aku loa matua, e lē koe maua.*

We refer to our elderly as the wealth and riches; we care for the elderly in our families because they are the ones who possess all the riches in the family, they have all the gifts to pass on to us; they are holding on to so much that they could give us. This is why it is so important to treasure the elderly such as our grandparents and the older aunties and uncles; capture those gifts that you need for the rest of your lives. Once they are gone, you can't get them any more.

So strong was this grandmother's voice that any successes in the Samoan language at this time can be attributed to her influence. While her impassioned ideals were embraced by the parents and children, some differences in practice were evident as were some shifting in views.

4.1.2 Value of the Samoan language

All members of the Tanielu family talked long and animatedly about what the Samoan language means to them. While separated for ease of discussion, the main themes were spirituality, culture and identity as embedded in the language; the importance of language in communication especially in keeping the family together in New Zealand, and education.

The concepts of spirituality, culture and identity are often treated as distinct. However, both the grandmother and mother not only saw these as inseparable but also linked together by language.

Spirituality and culture

The spiritual place of the Samoan language was uppermost in T_Grandmother's mind. To her, the Samoan language has a deep and meaningful connection with God and then through and into one's heart and soul. She said 'when you speak Samoan, the language touches your heart...touches your mind, and connects to your heart'. These words were like food which sustains a person. On this point, T_Mother agreed, likening Samoan to a spiritual power that 'draws a person from within'. This relationship, through words with God, was fundamental to wellbeing, as was having harmonious relationships with others:

T_Grandmother: *Ae a fa'apea e lē iloa le gagaga, papa'u a le iloa e le kagaka o le Akua, leai se kū ma agaifagua leaga e ō fa'akasi ma le developiga o le gagaga, developiga o le ola fa'aleagaga o le kagaka, ma laga agaifagua. E lalaga fa'akasi. E kāua le gagaga mo mea o le pa'ia ma le mamalu, le kapu ma le vā kapuia, ma le vā o kagaka ma le Akua. E lē mafai ga kaukala i ai le gagu lakou i gi ga mea, e lē mafai. E lē fa'amamafa i mafau fau a kagaka, le wellbeing o le kagaka...le vā o le kagaka ma uso a kagaka, le vā o le kagaka ma loga Akua, le vā o le kagaka ma loga 'āiga.*

If you don't know the language, you have a shallow relationship with God, and you do not know how to conduct yourself, because a person's language, life, and spiritual life development and your behavior, go hand in hand. They are woven together. The language is important for maintaining the sacredness of relationships as well as the relationship between a person and God. People do not prioritise in their minds the wellbeing of a person... the relationship between a person and their neighbour, the relationship between a person and their God, the relationship between a person and their family.

In each of the *talanoaga*, both T_Grandmother and T_Mother referred to the Samoan language as a *tofī* from God to the Samoan people. In turn, Samoans were tasked by God to speak of this 'blessing' and to nurture and pass it on (*fa'asoa*). To neglect to do this means a loss of God's blessings. T_Grandmother used the term *fa'asoa* to illustrate the relationship between language, spiritual beliefs and culture. She explained that the first step when a fisherman brings his catch ashore is to *fa'asoa* the catch with other village families. Furthermore, when there is an abundance of fish, families see this as a gift from God. However, when some fisherman stopped sharing their catch and began selling it for their individual gain, fish became scarce until eventually there were no more fish; *ua*

*teva*⁴⁸. T_Grandmother likened the Samoan language to fish given by God to sustain the village. She cautioned that if Samoans did not pass on the Samoan language, it would become like the fish, *teva* (run away):

T_Grandmother: *E i ai le kaimi e keva ai le gagana Samoa. O le fa'amaguia, o le meaalofo, o le kofi. O le gagaga la e aumai ia kakou e kausi ma fa'apelepele ma fa'asoa. A kakou lē fa'asoaiga le gagaga Samoa, e keva. A i ai a le keva, e alu a ma goodbye e lē koe maua, e fulikua mai a ma alu ai a le gagana. Ae afai e koe fo'i mai a lau gagana Samoa ia ke oe i se kaimi, e koe sau oga o la e fa'asoa mai e le kagaka ia oe, ae e ke lē koe maua on your own vagagā ua koe aumai a i ou lima, koe fa'asoa mai e le kagaka ia oe.*

There will be a time when the Samoan language will be lost. The language is a blessing, a gift, our duty. The language is given to us to look after and care for, and to share. If we do not pass on the Samoan language, it will run away. If the language runs away, it will go and wave goodbye to you and never come back. The language will turn its back on you and leave. But if at one time your Samoan language comes back to you, it will only come back because someone else has passed it on to you. You cannot get it on your own. It must be put into your hands by someone else who has shared it with you.

T_Mother described the *gagana Samoa* as the 'carrier of the Samoan culture connecting one's soul to every aspect of culture' and without the language, culture became 'diluted'. She used the example of her family living in Hawaii. They could not speak Samoan. In her view, this meant they had a 'diluted and wounded' understanding of the *fa'asamoa* and, in addition, they were unable to 'fulfil the protocols and expectations in depth because there was no language to accompany it'. T_Grandmother backed this with the example that when Samoan children spoke English, there was no *alofa* (love) there. English words were just being 'thrown about in the wind' with little or no meaning. They did not 'touch' her nor 'speak to her soul'. By way of contrast, Samoan words were wrapped in *alofa*. When T_Grandmother spoke Samoan to her family, she was showing them her *alofa*, the kind of love that 'knows no limits' and remedies all bad situations:

T_Grandmother: *E lē mafai ga kupu gi misa i kokogu o 'āiga pe a lelei le gagaga. O le gagana Samoa e fofōina mea uma, e alu a ma le alofa e leai se kulimagu, e leai se kuā'oi. A ou gagu loa i se Pālagi, e lē mafai oga meaningful saka kala pe a fa'apālagi pe go deeper. O laka gagaga e alu ma loka alofa, e alu ma loka loko... e kō aku ma loka faku.*

There is no reason for fighting in the family if the Samoan language is present. The Samoan language remedies everything. It goes with love that has no end, no boundaries. If I speak English to a European, I can't say anything meaningful, because I do not have a deep understanding of English. My language is spoken with love, and with my spirit... from my heart.

⁴⁸ *Teva* means to walk out on something/someone, or run away.

T_Mother mirrored her mother's view, adding that people would not understand the true meaning of *alofa* if they did not know the language:

T_Mother: If you don't know your language, you don't know the meaning of the word love, *e ke lē iloa alofa* (you don't know how to show love). People can refute it, but there's truth to some extent. *Gai kamaiki la e lē iloa fa'asamoa* (These kids who don't know how to speak Samoan), they love just as good to their parents, but it's understanding *le alofa e lē fa'akuā'oia* (to love without boundaries), *e ke alofa* (you love) you don't expect anything back, *ma le alofa figau mo mea lelei* (and showing love to strive for better things).

T_Grandmother saw the Samoan language as both dictating and supporting culture, especially in the way relationships were maintained. Simply put, those who did not respect the Samoan language were 'abusing' the Samoan language and culture:

T_Grandmother: *E lē fa'apea e ke kaukalo mai i le gagana Samoa* just for the sake of it. *O le a le mea la e aumai e lau gagana? Ua i ai se mea o sau mai i i?* [Points to her heart] *pe ga o le lapisi a, pei o gagaga ia ua kele ai le fa'aaogāiga o le gagana Samoa e isi kagaka. Ga o le abuse-iga o le gagana Samoa, ga o le mimika e ka'u o le Samoa, ae lē iloa po o le a kogu le fa'asamoa lea, ae lē o malamalama i le fe'au la e aumai. O le gagana Samoa e alu ma ana aga, aganu'u, agaifanua, e afifi mai kokogu o le gagana Samoa, e momoli ai le fe'au lea e ave, pe o se fe'au o le alofa... O le gagana Samoa e kakau ga fa'apenā.*

You can't just speak Samoan for the sake of it. What does the language carry with it? Is there anything that comes from here? [Points to her heart], or is it just rubbish, like the Samoan language I often hear people using. It's just abusing the Samoan language, showing off, saying you're a Samoan, but not knowing exactly what is being said in Samoan and what the message is. The Samoan language carries with it how to conduct yourself, the culture, customs, the message you are passing on, the message of love. That is how the Samoan language should be.

While T_Daughter1 agreed that 'Samoans have a culture, and you need the language for the culture' she did not appear to have such a 'deep' understanding of the spiritual powers of the Samoan language – T_Daughter1's responses focused mainly on the relationship of language with identity.

Identity

All three generations valued Samoan as an important identity marker, having significance for how people perceive themselves and others as 'Samoans'. Both T_Mother and T_Daughter1 described the language as 'theirs and their identity' passed on by their ancestors to be carried with them wherever they went so that others would know they were Samoans.

Samoan was their ‘right’, ‘their voice and for those living away from Samoa especially, their connection with the homeland:

T_Mother: You can speak perfect English but you will never own it, but if you speak Samoan, you own it because it is the language of your mother country.

T_Mother’s parental role was to ensure her children have this sense of belonging and know themselves as Samoan. She had chosen her children’s names with this in mind. Wherever they went, their Samoan names belonged to them, and others would know they were Samoan:

T_Mother: It’s your responsibility as a parent to make sure they have their sense of belonging, their sense of identity, their cultural identity... they’re true to the word ‘Samoan’ so when they claim they are Samoans, there is something to back it up. That’s why all my kids’ names are in Samoan. Wherever they are, they will always know who they are from their names. I’m an advocate for giving my kids Samoan names. It was very deliberate.

She further urged that it was time for Samoans to ‘name stuff’ with Samoan words, so claiming ownership: ‘why use English, when we have the vocabulary?’

How much language?

Almost without fail, each *talanoaga* moved to this question: How much language/fluency do you need to be a Samoan? The *talanoaga* also unveiled thoughts around ‘real’ and ‘plastic’ Samoans, and there were similarities and differences on these points within the family.

Both T_Grandmother and T_Mother were passionate that people must absolutely (intentionally) speak Samoan as a way of proving their ‘Samoanness’. Speaking Samoan just ‘for the sake of it’ was not enough. T_Mother said Samoans made excuses to mask their lack of competency using their birthplace (New Zealand) or the fact that they were *afakasi* (half-caste) as ‘excuses’ for this. In her view, these people were not acknowledging their ‘blessing from God’ by making concerted efforts to learn and speak Samoan.

T_Mother: It doesn’t really matter where you were born; it’s your connection to the *fanua*, the land. The Kiwi-born label has been put on [people] by Kiwi-born Samoans, the ones who are not secure in their language or confident, so they use that as a cloth to cover themselves, to avoid not being accused of not being able to speak Samoan, and I think it’s way overrated. Some people my age and over...they do this.

T_Mother shared with me that she was not always as fluent as she is now and put this down to the length of time she had been in New Zealand and the fact that in her job she was expected to use English. She had realised this when she had been asked to speak on the Samoan radio station and, had at times, struggled to find the Samoan words without switching to English to explain herself better. She was also conscious of 'losing face' with her community, that they expected more from her given that she was born in Samoa, a Minister's daughter and also a *matai*. She recalled that in earlier days she had enrolled in advanced Samoan language classes when her father had told her that her Samoan was 'terrible'. Since that time, she had made the commitment to herself to speak Samoan as much as possible inside and outside the home. She considered herself truly bilingual and able to switch between both languages with ease.

T_Mother's thoughts took a new direction, and she tempered her view, which was interesting. She queried whether, rather than measuring 'Samoanness' by language competency, it might be useful to look instead at 'fluency' in the Samoan culture. For example, sometimes people spoke Samoan fluently, but knew little about the *fa'asamoa* values and beliefs; these are two distinct knowledge systems:

T_Mother: I don't think necessarily you need to speak Samoan to be Samoan. But to fully implement the culture to its fullest you've got to understand the language and have some proficiency. What comes out of your mouth cannot deny your DNA. You can speak French and Samoan and speak French like hell, but that doesn't make you French. What makes you fluent? Knowledge of the culture.

On the point of any differences between NZ-born Samoans and their Samoan-born counterparts, T_Grandmother made the observation that while often Samoan-born Samoans thought of themselves as the 'real Samoans' they were sometimes guilty of not valuing Samoan. Many were quick to dismiss their heritage and the language once they arrived in New Zealand, trying to learn English as fast as possible. She accused this group of being *fia Papālagi* (trying to be European).

T_Daughter1, on the other hand, was torn between the 'ideals' of what society perceived to be a 'real' Samoan, and the feelings of inadequateness shown by those who could not speak Samoan fluently. T_Daughter1 said:

T_Daughter1: Ideally, a real Samoan speaks Samoan. It's one of the main factors of being Samoan 'cos if you didn't some people would be like, 'you're a plastic Samoan'.

She proposed Samoans should at least speak a little Samoan or at least understand it. Furthermore, while she appreciated her grandmother's and mother's teachings, she sometimes felt like she was being a plastic Samoan and not living up to their expectations:

T_Daughter1: When I don't speak Samoan, my mum calls me a plastic Samoan, 'cos like whenever I try to speak Samoan it comes out as if I'm a *Pālagi* person trying to speak Samoan. I wanna sound like my mum...like if I wanna teach my kids Samoan. I need to learn how to speak Samoan like how my parents brought me up, I can't just at the moment.

Communication

Language was valued because this facilitated and encouraged communication between members and particularly within the family. T_Grandmother was strong in her view that speaking the same language brought the family together, while the absence of Samoan would 'break the family', thus contributing to a loss of Samoan values. To T_Grandmother, a Samoan family was grounded in the *fa'asamoa*, and the *fa'asamoa* was measured by whether or not members spoke Samoan. She recalled her father's teachings on this point:

T_Grandmother: *O le isi kala e fai so'o a e lou kamā, fai mai, e iloa a le kamāli'i i laga kaukua ma le gagaga a laga 'au kaukua. La e fai mai laga kala, a kaugu'u loa mālō i fale o la e kaukala mai i le gagaga Samoa ma kaukala mai i upu o le alofa ma upu fa'aalalo, e kasi a le mafau fau o mālō ia, o le 'āiga kamāli'i lea. Fa'alogo i le gagaga a kagaka. O le gagaga, o amioga, o le savali, o le gai oi, o le kaukala, savali, e iloa ai le kamāli'i.*

Something my father would often say was that a chief is known by his service and the language of his servants. He told us that once visitors arrive into our family home and they hear our family speaking in Samoan, and speaking the words of love and respect, then these visitors will know straight away that this is a chiefly family. Listen to how they speak. You know this by their language, their conduct, how they walk and talk.

She also believed families should be strong enough to protect and nurture the language from outside influences: it worried her that extended family members were beginning to speak more English to the point where family meetings were conducted almost entirely in English, which 'wasn't the way families should operate'. T_Mother was pleased and proud that this was not the case in their family:

T_Mother: Our family [members] overseas really envy us that we can switch between the two languages. Because the old people tell the jokes in Samoan, the others don't get it and they ask us to explain but it's not as funny in English. So we have the odd cousins who are Kiwi-born around my age and they are starting to say English sentences, but insert Samoan words – just to get that sense of belonging and say I am who I am, or I can be like you, and we encourage it too.

Education

T_Mother valued Samoan language fluency as the solid foundation for English language fluency and schooling. She and her mother, T_Grandmother, voiced their frustrations that some Samoan parents still believed that if they did not focus on English their children would not succeed academically at school. T_Mother said Samoan children have been speaking English very well for decades but they were still underachieving academically:

T_Mother: How many years have we spoken English in New Zealand? Fifty years? Our kids have spoken English in the past and look, our children still fill the underachievement [box], the brown tail in school data, and our kids speak English.

4.1.3 Language use

This section is divided into three sections beginning with aligning responses against the domains of interaction that the participants raised, starting with the family domain. Within the family domain, the family rules with regard to language use are presented first, followed by language practices using the data from *talanoaga*, voice recordings, observations and the 24-hour recall sheets. Other domains are presented separately. Digital technology, the internet and mass media domains are presented separately, although these are also accessed and utilised within the home also. The last part of this section looks forward to the future.

Family

Family rules

The Tanielu family rule is that Samoan only should be spoken in the home. The main language enforcers were T_Grandmother and T_Mother, and the father occasionally. T_Grandmother said she only spoke Samoan in the home, irrespective of whom she was talking to, and that hearing English at any time in the home ‘hurt’ her ears and made her so angry to the point where she refused to speak to anyone who spoke English to her, even her grandchildren. She got exceptionally angry at hearing any English in the household. She told them English was not her language and she did not want it spoken in her house. However, she noticed that the children were beginning to not understand her when she would say something in Samoan:

T_Grandmother: *O isi kaimi, a fai aku kala i ai i makou mea e fai, e ese le mea lea ou ke fai aku ai, ese le mea la e fai mai, oga ou iloa lea... ou oke ai lea, e ala ga e lē malamalama i a'u kala ia e fai aku, ua amaka oga e lē malamalama i le fa'asamoa.*

There are times when I ask for something to be done, and what I asked is different from what is being done, and that is how I know... Then I tell them off. The reason why you don't understand what I'm saying is because you are beginning to not understand the Samoan language.

T_Mother said she constantly reminded her children to speak only Samoan to her and their father, or they would be disciplined for not following the rules:

T_Mother: *Ia o le pō a o le guku* (I slap their mouths), when they speak English, it's *puka, puka le guku* (make a rounded cheek to slap). But we've kind of moved away from that and make them take ownership of the language, so that they have a sense of pride. They don't need reminding or me having that reinforcement. It's been left to them to make the call, but we always say, *fa'asamoa, fa'asamoa i le fale* (speak Samoan at home).

The Tanielus had deliberately introduced two other activities to reinforce the Samoan language and push the Samoan only rule. First was the *lotu afiafi* (evening prayer session) which everyone was expected to attend. As is the custom, the *lotu afiafi* included Bible readings, hymns, and reflection, all in Samoan. T_Grandmother led these, but every family member prepared and contributed. Regular *talanoaga fa'ale'āiga* (family meetings) were a second activity which reinforced Samoan language use, knowledge and understanding. T_Grandmother and T_Mother said they used these times to encourage their children in using Samoan language.

T_Mother said that observing the family rule and keeping their home an English-free zone had been quite easy when her children were young. However, this had become more of a struggle today particularly because the influence of technology changed the nature of family communication. She was aware that as her children had grown older they were starting to speak English to one another.

T_Mother: Having Samoan in the home was never an issue until we got the next generation, my nieces and nephews. That is when the rule was never silent. It was re-emphasised, even to the point where we would – and I did it a lot – I would smack my nieces for speaking English.

Language practices

Observations confirmed that Samoan was the first language for all three generations of the Tanielu family, and there continued to be a lot of Samoan spoken in the house but more between the grandmother and the parents. During my visits to the family home, it

often felt like I had been transported to Samoa, especially when the parents and grandmother used words and phrases (often very amusing) that reminded me of being in a village in Samoa.

Grandmother

T_Grandmother's words that she only spoke Samoan in the home, irrespective of whom she was talking to, was confirmed in observations. While she rarely spoke English, she did code-switch now and then, more so with other adults but seldom with the children. In our *talanoaga*, she substituted English words in her speech, while on a daily basis T_Grandmother spoke two different registers of Samoan. To her children and the older grandchildren, she spoke using the /k/ style⁴⁹ (see example 1)⁵⁰, but with her great-grandchildren, she almost always spoke using the /t/ register (see example 2)⁵¹:

1. T_Grandmother to T_Niece

T_Grandmother: ***Ku'u maia** **ga** mea po o ā? Aumai **gi** ma mea.*
What are those? Give us some.

T_Grandmother: *Sau e avaku le lola lea ma oe. Fa'afekai **kele** lava. Ia maguia a, e!*
Come and take this roll for yourself. Thank you very much.
Bless you!

2. T_Grandmother to her three-year-old great-granddaughter when she came home from school

T_Grandmother: *Na e fiafia la i lau a'oga? Na tusi sau ata? A o oe e ese le lelei o lou lima e tusi au ata.*
Did you enjoy school? Did you draw a picture? You are so clever at drawing pictures.

As seen in the examples, T_Grandmother spoke /k/ style to her older niece but switched to /t/ style when speaking to her three-year-old great-grandchild. The /t/ style is the register of the language that young children learn first from their parents and at the *A'oga Amata*.

Parents

Both parents were fluent in Samoan, their first language. T_Mother was also a fluent English speaker, whereas her husband T_Father was not so confident. Therefore, Samoan

⁴⁹ /t/ style also known as *tautala lelei* (good speaking) is the register used in formal situations and during church services. /k/ style or *tautala leaga* (speaking badly) is the register spoken every day, a more colloquial style of Samoan.

⁵⁰ In example 1, the letters in bold refer to the parts of the words which indicate the /k/ style.

⁵¹ In example 2, the letters in bold refer to the parts of the words which indicate the /t/ style.

was their best language of communication with each other. They both said they tried to speak only Samoan to their children, and during my visits with the family T_Mother or T_Grandmother would tell the children off with words such as '*Fa'asamoa! Fa'asamoa! E lē o oukou o gi Pālagi*' (speak Samoan, speak Samoan. You are not Europeans). T_Mother was well known in their family for being the 'clown' and so it was not unusual to hear her remind her children to speak Samoan using colourful language and causing the family members (including her children) to laugh uncontrollably:

T_Mother: *Shhh, fa'asamoa. Leai a se isi o gagu aku. Va'ai aku e uliuli o kou muli ae kou ke fia fegagui.*

Shhh, speak Samoan. Nobody is speaking English to you. Can't you see you have black bums but you still want to try and speak English?

T_Mother and T_Grandmother were aware that the children spoke English to one another, and were concerned. An anxious T_Mother found she was constantly reminding her children to speak Samoan. However, she had noted an interesting change in her own behaviour. T_Mother said while she tried to maintain the Samoan-only policy she had found that sometimes her children could not understand what she was saying in Samoan. At these times, she was torn between enforcing the Samoan-only rule, and speaking in English. Faced with this dilemma, she said she had started to code-switch sometimes, using some English words when her children looked lost:

T_Mother: Sometimes *a fa'asamoa aku i ai* (if I speak Samoan to them), they look lost and then I switch to English. And then I think, well what am I trying for? Is it maintaining the Samoan language or making them understand what I am trying to say? What is the goal here? And really it's both. The point is to understand one another.

This was evidenced in the following example, when T_Mother deliberately switched languages to ensure her daughter understood how to fill out a form. The words in bold indicate instances of code-switching:

T_Mother: *Kago la'ia o oe e fa'amaumau i i ga. Kusi i le avagoa ga e fa'afesaga'i ma le vaega lea*
You record it there. Write it in the space on the opposite side

T_Daughter1: Huh?

T_Mother: **Just after your technology** *po o le a le gagaga* and **what time of day and why**
Just after technology and what language and what time of day and why

T_Daughter1: Why?

T_Mother: *Ia, kusi ai le Facebook i le po leaga lea fa'ako'ā* **access** *i le po*
Just write Facebook down because you only access it in the evenings

Children

Three patterns of language use among the children were observed. First, the Tanielu children and niece made a point of speaking only Samoan to their grandmother. Second, they were more likely to speak Samoan to their parents, and third, among themselves, English was the main language used.

The following example shows T_Mother and T_Father instructing their niece in Samoan to use the dishwasher to wash the dishes, and T_Niece's response in English to her aunt and uncle's instructions:

T_Mother: *Ga o le ku'u i ai o le pauka ma kī le paipa*
 Just put the powder in and turn the tap on

T_Niece: Nah, I have to rinse it anyway

T_Father: *Kakau ga rinse a? Rinse mamā a?*
 You have to rinse it aye? Rinse it well, ok?

T_Niece: Yeah

In addition to these general trends, there were significant differences between the three children in their language use. For example, the eldest child, T_Daughter1, was most likely to disobey her parents by speaking in English. She also said while she 'tries to speak Samoan', she felt inadequate and 'plastic' because she struggled to speak 'good Samoan'. Because of this, she sometimes would not speak Samoan at all:

T_Daughter1: I speak English mainly. I try to like speak Samoan 'cos yeah I'm like [a] plastic. When I started to speak English I always spoke it at home and then I'd get in trouble. But for us, me and my siblings, slowly getting to English, we're not speaking Samoan any more but we try to.

On the other hand, T_Daughter2 and T_Son1 usually spoke Samoan to their parents and grandmother; they appeared to be able to switch between languages with ease. Perhaps T_Daughter1's thoughts and language use practices may signal possible language shift.

Domains of interaction within the family

While mass media is a distinct domain, and digital technology and the internet is an emerging domain, they are presented within the family domain because they are accessed by the family and as a family. Other domains of interaction outside the family home are presented in the next section.

Mass media

The family were not great Samoan language media consumers. T_Grandmother would often purchase several weekly Samoan newspapers (in Samoan) featuring national news, news from Samoa and other Samoan communities around the world. However, according to T_Grandmother, she was often the only person in the house who would read them.

The family did, however, enjoy watching Samoan movies together as a family, which featured well-known Samoan and local Samoan actors. In fact, the family often tried to schedule a family movie night once a week, and when they could, they would watch one of the latest Samoan movies. T_Daughter1 said she enjoyed watching the movies with her family, especially because there was always an element of humour to them, usually in the style of *faleaitu* (clowning), which almost always includes an actor trying to speak English (but not doing very well at it). Not only did the family find the movies entertaining but, as T_Mother argued, they were a great source of learning for her children. They were entirely in Samoan, but they also depicted life in Samoa. Most importantly to her, they always had a Christian element to them:

T_Mother: I think those *aka kifaga* (Samoan movies) are good in that they have the cultural learning behind them, especially the fact that almost all of them have a Christian element. And then, of course, the language and culture. My family loves them. There is always humour. And we laugh at our people trying to speak English. We watch them as a family. Our whole family enjoys it.

The local Samoan radio station (1593AM) would be playing in the family home throughout the day and in the car. T_Mother said she and T_Father often deliberately had Samoan radio and music on in the car, to ensure their children were hearing the Samoan language. There were differences among the children. For example, T_Son1 enjoyed listening to Samoan music, and would sing along. He was also very musically talented. One evening when I was spending time with the family in their home, he played a few Samoan songs on his guitar and sang to entertain the family. T_Daughter1 liked to listen to the radio with her grandmother and parents but was uninterested in the talkback programmes they enjoyed because it was ‘only the older people who call in’. She enjoyed the children’s programmes which were on the air at the time her dad picked her up from school.

Digital technology and the internet

Perhaps the most astounding finding was the huge presence of technology in the family home. Each member of the Tanielu family had a smart phone. There were two iPads, two laptops, and a PC⁵² in the house, and, with the introduction of Wi-Fi, the internet was readily accessible.

The children were often observed on a laptop or their phone or iPad in their rooms and this was, according to T_Grandmother and T_Mother, interfering with family time. However, the children were not the only ones doing this. At various points in time, everyone in the family appeared to be on their own device, either playing games, spending time on Facebook or sending text messages. Both parents have a smartphone and enjoy spending a lot of time playing games on their phones. T_Grandmother admitted that she spent a lot of time on her iPad or on Facebook, as did T_Mother and T_Father. Coupled with the busy nature of everyone's schedules – the children's after school sports, T_Mother working long hours at work, and T_Father's early-morning shifts at work – the only time the family had together was in the evening. Any spare time the children had, they went to their rooms either to do homework and spend time with each other, or online. This frustrated T_Grandmother who saw the effects of technology in the home as taking over quality family time. This appeared to negate earlier views that the Samoan language was what held their family together:

T_Grandmother: *O electronics, pe e ke gofo mai i i le, e ke gofo a ma e gūgū ma fai a au ka'aloga i lau iPad. O le kagaka lea e gofo aku i i sa kakau ga lua kalagoa, socialise...makou 'āiga ua influence i le mea lea. Ua uma ga ou kalagoa ai foi, ou ke le maga'o i le mea lea. O kakou e i'u iga kakou vālea. Fai a le masigi a le kagaka ia, no language. "Va'ai oukou ua leai se isi e kaukalo, no communication!"*

With technology, you might be sitting here in silence and just playing games on your iPad. The person sitting over there is who you should be talking to, socialising [with]... my family has been influenced by this. And I have said I don't want that. We are going to end up being stupid. Everyone is on their own device, there's no [verbal] communication. "Look here, everyone, no one is talking, [there's] no communication!"

T_Grandmother emphasised that technology was 'brainwashing' young children and that online media and social networking in particular had affected both spoken but also written Samoan. As keen Facebook users, both T_Grandmother and T_Mother had noticed that there was not much Samoan written online, and the Samoan language they did come

⁵² PC is a personal computer.

across was, in their view, not of good quality. T_Grandmother gave the example of a new form of ‘hybrid Samoan’ which consisted of letters from the Samoan alphabet and then letters from the English alphabet (that the Samoan alphabet did not have) to spell out Samoan words, which was not only very difficult to read, but was also, in her view, being disrespectful to the language⁵³. T_Grandmother was also unhappy at the ‘bad language’ many Samoans were so freely using online (swear words both in Samoan and English), and she was concerned her grandchildren would be influenced by it. T_Daughter1 liked to use Samoan on Facebook and Instagram but often found it easier to use English, especially with her friends online.

While family members did not necessarily access Samoan-specific websites online, T_Mother did highlight popular *faleaitu* type videos which were now gaining prominence, particularly on Facebook. She and her friends and family often watch videos such as those created by the HHODS⁵⁴ and *Momeachokes*⁵⁵, which have appealed to audiences worldwide, particularly NZ-born Samoans. The effectiveness of this Samoan humour has, in T_Mother’s view, engaged NZ-born Samoans and encouraged those who cannot speak Samoan well to learn Samoan:

T_Mother: I don’t really access any Samoan websites on a daily basis but when a friend says check this out... Like the Hollywood Husbands of Da Samoa. I told my cousins in Hawaii and they watched it. Sometimes they don’t get it. But [with] *o isi mea* (other things), they do click. That Samoan humour, it’s effective. That website just came recently but about five years ago there was a change. Our Kiwi-Borns wanted to go back and learn their language because they saw some role models. There’s now a thrust or a drive for *kamaiki ga fagagau i gei* (those who were born here) to learn their language. I see that in our youth they like joking and putting in some Samoan words, something that’s not going to be funny if they put it in English.

Text messaging was also seen as one of the culprits for changing written Samoan. T_Grandmother and T_Mother shared the view that the abbreviation of the Samoan language and its resulting hybrid nature, was not seen as being ‘true Samoan’ and was doing more harm than good to the Samoan language. When family members texted from Samoa or sent messages on Facebook, T_Daughter1 would often not understand the language they were using, so she would get her sister to help her read it. It was this

⁵³ An example of this is the Samoan word *malosi* (strong). This is often seen written online as *maloc*. The pronunciation of the letter ‘c’ is the same sound that ‘si’ is in Samoan, therefore, ‘c’ is substituted to abbreviate the word *malosi* to *maloc*.

⁵⁴ HHODS – Hollywood Husbands of Da Samoa, a group of comedians who post funny Samoan videos on Facebook for entertainment.

⁵⁵ *Momeachokes* is a popular Samoan comedian (real name Poloma Iosefa) who posts Samoan skits on Facebook and Instagram. He has a huge following from all over the world.

language that T_Mother believed was affecting the Samoan language, and she worried that her children would also pick it up:

T_Mother: Texting just sucks in Samoan. I find it so difficult to read. Like *malosi*, ma lo and c. And *ga* is just g. *Fa'amolemole* 4 a mo l e x2. I think it sucks. It's not true Samoan. When you text, because texting is always abbreviated, how will texting maintain the written language? It will never. Maybe spoken when you hear it being said, but for maintaining its written context, it's doing damage. Sometimes I will abbreviate to save time and money, so I'm not out there to destroy the language, but I would rather ring and have a proper conversation than text.

With everyone in possession of a device in the family home, T_Grandmother and T_Mother voiced their frustrations of how communication with the children often took the form of a text message or online message rather than communicating verbally. Often, the children would text their parents from their bedrooms, rather than talking with them. At one point, all three children had their phones confiscated by their mother. T_Mother also turned the Wi-Fi off in the home and told her children off for spending too much time on the internet. In her 24-hour recall sheet, T_Daughter1 did not spend much time texting, but reported that she spent about 80 per cent of her evenings on Facebook or Instagram.

Other domains of language use

The two main domains of interaction associated with Samoan language outside the home, as identified by the Tanielus, were the church and schooling, and each were carefully selected.

Church

T_Grandmother, T_Mother and T_Father all stated firmly that the main reason they attended the local Congregational Samoan church was that they knew it was one of the few places where they could 'do everything in Samoan'. The family were very active in the groups and activities at church. T_Grandmother was a well-respected elder of the church community and for her former role as a church Minister's wife. T_Father was a *ti'ākono* (deacon), T_Mother led the *Autalavou* and was also a *faia'oga A'oga Aso Sā* (Sunday school teacher). T_Niece was also a *faia'oga A'oga Aso Sā*. The children all enjoyed attending *Autalavou* and *A'oga Aso Sā* and were enthusiastic about attending all the church activities. Everyone sang in the church choir.

While they were happy with the way that church was organised, at the same time, T_Grandmother and T_Mother noted that there appeared to be real language challenges at the church – particularly among the youthful generation who seemed to speak English almost all the time. There were families at church whose children did not speak Samoan at all. This had concerned church leaders who, driven by the Minister, were trying to find ways to remedy this. Aware that many of the youth did not understand all parts of the church service, the Minister had started to deliberately use some English to highlight key points in his prayers and sermons so that the young people would understand. Along the line of T_Mother's views earlier, in his opinion, 'getting the spiritual message' across to the youth was the important thing:

T_Mother: At the church now, it's bilingual but the faife'au (Minister) is 10 per cent in English and the rest in Samoan, and I think he does that smartly because when he knows some things are hard for the kids to understand. He switches to English just to get them to understand, and then he goes back to [using] Samoan.

The Tanielu children confirmed that this was happening. T_Daughter1 said that she often spoke English with her friends at church, sometimes even to the Minister and his wife, who would then remind her to speak Samoan. T_Mother said it wasn't only the Minister, but many parents were also now talking to their children in English at church. As a result, at *Autalavou* meetings she encouraged them to speak Samoan and tried to tailor the meetings to include a Samoan language and/or *aganu'u* element. She also invited guest speakers or church elders to present on a topic of interest or aspect of the *aganu'u* at the meetings:

T_Mother: And so as the youth leader, I encourage the kids, *a kou o mai i le Aukalavou, fa'asamoa* (when you come to youth group, speak Samoan). *A kou o aku ese foi ma a'u pule a oukou i le kou gagaga e fai, ae sā ga gagu mai se isi i i, o lea e kaumafai le kou fa'asamoa* (when you leave from here, it is up to you what language you speak, but no one is allowed to speak English here, we are trying to work on your Samoan).

As a regular guest speaker at church events, T_Grandmother also saw the influence that the church could have on ensuring the use and maintenance of Samoan and so she often spoke to the young people and children in particular regarding the importance of speaking Samoan and understanding *aganu'u*. She also encouraged the parents to support this in their homes. These changes were noted.

Education

As noted (see Table 4.1) the Tanielu children had attended schools which either taught in Samoan (*A'oga Amata* and bilingual units) or taught the language as a subject. At the same time, T_Mother was strong in the belief that Samoan should be taught in the home (as above) and it was not the school's role to teach her children English. Given her background as a lecturer in ECE, T_Mother chose to send her children to *A'oga Amata* when they were young. However, she and her husband decided against enrolling them in Samoan bilingual units once they began their mainstream schooling because Samoan 'was still strong in the home', and they wanted them to concentrate on other subjects at school.

When T_Daughter1 started secondary school, she noticed that she was not speaking as much Samoan as she previously had, so she decided to take Samoan as a subject at school. T_Mother supported this. T_Daughter1 found that the classes supplemented her language practices in the home, and the fact that she spoke some Samoan at home also meant she enjoyed the classes and learning new things:

T_Daughter1: I wanted to learn more and start speaking Samoan again fluently. It kind of helped 'cos I started speaking Samoan at home from that time. Learning new words was good; we did heaps of verbal stuff, using the respectful way of saying toilet and [things like] that. And we did speeches all the time in Samoan.

T_Daughter2 and T_Son1 attended a secondary school that did not offer Samoan as a subject, and they did not express a wish to learn Samoan at secondary school.

4.1.4 Future

When asked to rate their competence in the Samoan language (1=lowest, 10=highest), T_Grandmother, T_Mother and T_Daughter1 all three rated their Samoan language competency as high, especially the grandmother who rated her proficiency the highest. The high rates for both English and Samoan perhaps showed that all family members knew they were bilingual, and fluent in both languages.

Table 4.2 Tanielu family: Self-reported L1 and L2 and language proficiency

Family member	L1	L2	Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
			Sam ⁵⁶	Eng ⁵⁷	Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng
T_Grandmother	Samoan	English	10	9	10	9	10	9	10	9
T_Mother	Samoan	English	8.5	9	9	9	7.5	8	9	8
T_Daughter1	Samoan	English	7	8	8	9	7	8	8	9

T_Daughter1, who was seen as the weakest Samoan speaker of the three children, rated her Samoan quite highly, given she often referred to herself as being ‘plastic’ and not speaking Samoan as well as she could. T_Mother rated herself slightly higher in English speaking, and reading. Even though Samoan was her first language, she was not as fluent as she hoped she would be, and she believed her Samoan needed constant enrichment:

T_Mother: If I read the Bible I would rate it as an 8, but if I read Samoan text where the context is Samoan culture, I would probably rate it as a 7. There are some words I don’t think I know. It’s not the kind of language I speak every day.

Awareness of Samoan language shift in the family

While the Samoan language was promoted very strongly (as T_Grandmother and the parents made deliberate and intentional efforts to try to prevent and, in some cases, reverse the process of language shift) every member was aware that language shift was occurring – within and outside the family. The family said this was the most important domain; it was being influenced and was, in turn, also influencing Samoan language use and maintenance.

Many families in New Zealand nowadays no longer speak Samoan. While many parents can speak Samoan, they elect to speak English to their children, and this is what T_Grandmother believed was the determining factor in whether the language survived or not. She did not want this for her family. She firmly disagreed with the argument that children cannot learn Samoan effectively in New Zealand because of the environment they are living in. Rather, she argued that regardless of the fact that digital technology and new media have a major influence on language learning and maintenance, the family has the power to control these outside influences and needs to design family rules and practices to have that control. The crucial time when a language was in real danger, she believed, was when children began to speak English, both inside and outside the home.

⁵⁶ Sam – Samoan.

⁵⁷ Eng – English.

This view was also endorsed by T_Mother, and she and T_Grandmother worked together to ensure everyone knew what was expected of them in terms of their language use in the home:

T_Grandmother: *Ua ou faikau i research faimai o le augakupulaga loga kolu e ogo disappear ai le gagaga Samoa. Ua ou fa'alogu aku, ua kau pei a ua fa'amaogia mai i lo'u mafau'fau. Kou fegagui soo, fegagui so'o. Ae a kakou o i mea kakou ke o i ai, o lo'u mimika ia pe a ou fa'alogu aku o fa'asamoa mai la'u fagau. A fa'asamoa gei la'u fagau, e fe'avea'i solo ulu o kagaka.*

I've read research which says that it will be the third generation that will lose the Samoan language, and from what I'm hearing it might just be right. You speak too much English. When we go to places, I am so proud when I hear my grandchildren speaking Samoan. When my grandchildren speak Samoan, people turn to look and see who is speaking.

Youth were also pointed to as the generation in New Zealand who showed the most signs of language shift. T_Daughter1 explained that many of her peers, both at school and at church, did not speak Samoan and, more importantly, were not brought up speaking Samoan either, signaling a break in the intergenerational transmission of the language in the family. This family believed wholeheartedly that the only ones who could rescue the Samoan language were the families themselves, that the home was where it all began. If children could not see their parents valuing the language themselves, then they could not expect the children to value it either. T_Daughter1 appeared to understand what her grandmother and parents were trying to teach them all at home, that language shift was widespread in the Samoan community; youth and the family were the key to ensuring the language would survive:

T_Daughter1: At school, a lot of our Samoan people don't know how to speak Samoan. Yeah, we're losing the language 'cos a lot of our youth will all speak in English now. I just met new people at my new school, they don't know how to speak Samoan. Even my friends at my old school can't and they're still trying to learn and they weren't brought up speaking Samoan. They're the future and if we learn now, we can teach our younger generation instead of losing it now, then the younger generation are not going to speak Samoan.

The most important factor in the quest to maintain Samoan in the family was the children seeing that their grandmother and parents were united in the message they pushed. This proved to be very effective:

T_Mother: What really is good is that the kids don't hear Mum say something and me saying something else, or my husband saying something else. We all are quite uniform in the push for Samoan language at home.

4.1.5 Summary

This three-generation family have extremely firm beliefs in the value of the Samoan language, both in identifying as Samoans and also in the spiritual connection that the Samoan language possesses; it which permeates all aspects of living the *fa'asamoa*. The grandmother was very much a language champion in this family; her voice and beliefs were evident across the generations of this family. The family sees the role of the family as being solely responsible for ensuring the Samoan language is transmitted to the children and maintained. Deliberate efforts by the grandmother and parents to spend more time together, as a family, such as family talks and *lotu afiafi* ensure the children speak Samoan, and also enrich their Samoan language. Samoan language use in domains such as the church and media also promote the use of the Samoan language for this family, and their church in particular gives special attention to this issue, and designs programmes in their church to encourage them to use and value the Samoan language. This family's spiritual beliefs underpin all facets of their lives, and therefore the spiritual connection of the Samoan language also ensures that the language is further valued in this family. As a result, they have managed to maintain the Samoan language with all family members still speaking Samoan on a regular basis, both inside and outside the home.

4.2 The Masina family

The Masina family is a small family of two adults and three girls (M_Daughter1, M_Daughter2, and M_Daughter3) who are the offspring of the mother's first marriage.

Table 4.3 Masina family profile

Family member	M/F	Age	Place of birth	Age at arrival	Highest level of education	L1	Occupation	Religion
M_Father ⁵⁸	M	54	Samoa	19	Secondary school (Samoa)	Samoan	Process worker	EFKS
M_Mother	F	45	Samoa	18	Secondary school (Samoa)	Samoan	Retail	EFKS
M_Daughter1	F	26	NZ	N/A	Secondary school	Samoan	Retail	EFKS
M_Daughter2	F	23	NZ	N/A	Secondary school	Samoan	Student	EFKS
M_Daughter3	F	19	NZ	N/A	Tertiary	Samoan	Student	EFKS

⁵⁸ M_Father is the stepfather.

The father has children to his previous marriage; they live with their mother in South Auckland also. The three girls are NZ-born, unlike M_Mother who migrated to New Zealand as a teenager. M_Mother raised them alone until seven years ago when she met M_Father. The whole family attends a local Samoan Congregational church.

In this family, the roles of the parents appear to be clearly defined and this influences, in turn, how the children interact with their parents, and their language choices. The three girls appear to know their roles and responsibilities as *tama'ita'i Samoa* (Samoan girls) – they speak when spoken to, prepare and serve refreshments and, while we sat on the chairs, they sat on the floor. The father was initially somewhat guarded. However, he warmed up after discovering we had some village connections in the Samoan village he was from and the people we knew. As noted in my research journal:

My first impressions of this family, the father – an older Samoan man – is very straight up and to the point, almost a little scary, but very staunch. The mother is chatty, speaks entirely in Samoan with occasional words in English, so I can tell she can probably speak English also. The girls are lovely and friendly.

4.2.1 Setting the tone in the family

From the very first meeting, it was clear that M_Mother set the tone in the household regarding language valuing and use. As a single parent for many years, M_Mother said she had tried her best to bring her children up in the *fa'asamoa* as she knew it; she had lived it in Samoa. This was based on core values of the *aganu'u*, such as *alofa* and *fa'aaloalo*, and also included remaining connected to the homeland, Samoa. In her view, too many Samoan families in New Zealand were straying from the 'pure' or 'authentic' way of living as it exists in Samoa, which she believes was the only way to raise her children in New Zealand. In addition, she believes that some Samoan families in New Zealand are following the 'western way of life' where there seems to be no *vā* (boundaries) between parents and children, and children and others. This is not her way. To her, the Samoan language has a key role in the *fa'asamoa*, and losing the Samoan language would be 'like living without direction':

M_Mother: *O la'u mea lea ou ke fai ai i la'u fagau, ou ke maga'o e ola a'e e pei o le mea ga ou ola mai ai i Samoa. E o'o foi le alofa i 'āiga la e i Samoa, la ua iloa foi e lakou. A ou fai aku e sao mai kupe e ave i Samoa, la ua fiafia a lakou e fai. Va'ai i le keke o 'āiga Samoa ia i'igei ua ola fa'apālagi i'igei. O a'u, ou ke lē magao i le olaga ga fa'apālagi ua kau aumai i kokogu i'igei. Ou ke kago a kalagoa i la'u fagau le olaga ga ou ola mai ai. E kakau foi la ga ou alofa i kagaka la e pologa i Samoa.*

This is what I'm doing with my children. I want them to grow up how I grew up in Samoa. Even with the love we show our families in Samoa, they know this now too. When I ask them to give me money to send to Samoa, they do so happily. Many Samoan families here in New Zealand are living like Europeans. For me, I don't want them to grow up in the European way of life that many people do here in New Zealand. I talk to my kids about how I grew up in Samoa. They then need to show love to those who are struggling in Samoa.

She said she continually drilled her girls in the values of being a 'good' *tama'ita'i Samoa* such as the cleanliness of one's home, just as would be the case back in Samoa. She knew she was hard on her children at times, physically disciplining them at times and using the harshest words in Samoan, just as she was raised:

M_Mother: *O lo'u kū malosi ia i keigeiki. Ou ke fasi ia lakou, ou ke oke foi. Mo'i a. A ou oke gei, pei a le oke fo'i gale a le kagaka i Samoa. Ou ke kago a oke i la'u fagau, ia lakou iloa lo'u gaugauka'i ia i lakou. Pei la o le kaimi gei, la e gogofo mai a ia a'u. Fa'apea a a'u ai a fue e sōsola, ae lea ou ke iloa aku la ua maua e lakou le ola lea ga ou ola mai ai, o le alofa.*

I am hard on my children. I do hit them, and I tell them off. I'm being honest. When I do tell them off, it's like how someone in Samoa tells someone off. I tell them off so that they know my love for them and how I want the best for them. Even to this day, they are still living with me. I thought that if I give them a hiding they will run away, but I can see that they now understand they are living the way I lived in Samoa, the way of life based on love.

M_Child 1 described her mother as her role model adding 'I respect our mum and the job she's done'. This daughter said she would raise her own children just the same way.

4.2.2 Value of the Samoan language

All family members spoke extensively about the central role of language to their identity as Samoans, and in communication especially with elder family members. Again a relationship between identity, language and culture was made.

Identity and culture

Samoan language was highly valued as an identity marker particularly by the children who strongly believed speaking Samoan was a key factor in being a 'real Samoan'. M_Daughter1 said that 'everyday life without Samoan language is like not being able to be Samoan'.

Real Samoans?

In the ensuing discussion about what constitutes a ‘real Samoan’, a number of points were raised. Firstly, having Samoan blood does not automatically qualify a person as being Samoan. A person could be Samoan by blood, but if they have unfavourable attitudes or try to bury their Samoan language by refusing to speak it, then they are not ‘real Samoans’. M_Daughter1 argued that ‘you cannot change who you are; your language and everything else should remain the same. It’s important’. Her mother agreed:

M_Mother: *O lo'u magaku, pe o oe o se afakasi, ae a fa'apea o oe o le Samoa mogi a ua e iloa kaukala, ua e iloa uma a mea kau Samoa. E kusa a e lē o oe o se kagaka e koko Samoa ae ga e ke maga'o e fa'akāua ia ke oe le fa'asamoa, lau kaukala ma le fa'akigoga o kū ma agagu'u fa'asamoa mogi, o le Samoa mogi a legā. Ae lē o le kagaka la e fai mai o le Samoa, e koko Samoa, e iloa fa'asamoa ae lē maga'o la e kaukala. E lē o se Samoa la le kagaka ga. Ua ka'u mai ai i i, o ia o le Samoa, ae la e maga'o e kagu i lalo laga gagaga, e le fa'aaogāiga laga gagaga e kaukala ai i oga kagaka.*

I think that even if you're half-caste but you say you're a real Samoan, that means that you know how to speak [Samoan], you know about Samoan things. Even if your blood isn't Samoan but you want to value the *fa'asamoa*, the way you talk, and you carry out Samoan customs, that's a real Samoan. But not the person who says they're Samoan, has Samoan blood, who knows how to speak Samoan but won't speak it – that person isn't a real Samoan. This tells me that they're Samoan but want to bury their language; they don't use it to speak to their own people.

A second point was made, that just speaking Samoan does not make someone a ‘real Samoan’. For M_Daughter3, being a real Samoan means acknowledging first and foremost, that being Samoan is a *tofī* from God, ‘something that you've got to carry with you and you've got to have pride in it’. This idea of the Samoan language being a *tofī* was reiterated by the eldest of the children (M_Daughter1) who described being Samoan as a privilege. In her view also, despite one's skin colour or Samoan blood quantum, a real Samoan is someone who speaks Samoan but also:

M_Daughter1: [A real Samoan] honours their background. It's a gift to have [Samoan] culture in you, like to identify with it is even amazing, you've got to dig deep to find out who you are.

All three children believe that the absence of this ‘respectful attitude’ would render one a ‘plastic Samoan’, or a ‘fake Samoan’: ‘...you may look Samoan, but you do not act, or speak ‘Samoan’. A ‘plastic’ Samoan therefore denotes connotations of inauthenticity; whether one speaks Samoan or not has an influence on this judgment. In their view, many NZ-born Samoans do not speak Samoan. At the same time, they also think that many of

their Samoan-born counterparts look down on NZ-born Samoans ‘as not being real Samoans’ because they assume NZ-borns cannot speak Samoan:

M_Daughter2: For you to be a real Samoan, you know how to *fa’aaloalo* (respect), like the way you act around people. And you know the *kū* (how to conduct yourself), *savali* (walk), *kaūkala* (talk) and how you speak to other people.

M_Daughter1: You’ve got to know what you're saying, you can't just say, oh I'm Samoan but you don't know your village and stuff. It's how you've defined yourself and what being Samoan is to you. To me, if I was to say I was Samoan and I'm not, that means I would be plastic. To me being plastic would be no *fa’asamoa* at all, and I'm not willing to learn it but yet I still want to be a Samoan and I'm *fia Pālagi* (wannabe European) in ways, but I know I'm Samoan.

M_Daughter3: It's just that mind-set that they have *fa’apea e maualuga lakou oga sa fagagau i Samoa, a ka ika gei ou ke fagau i Niu Sila ae ou ke le iloa kaukala* (they think they’re better because they were born in Samoa but I was born in New Zealand therefore I do not know how to speak Samoan) ... that's the difference.

Language and culture

All family members see a fundamental connection between language and culture. M_Mother used the example of the Samoan concept of *vā fealoa’i* (maintaining harmony between relationships) to demonstrate this connection.

To M_Mother, speaking Samoan demonstrated respect which is integral to the *fa’asamoa*. In her view, the nuances of meaning which are integral to the concept of *fa’aaloalo* cannot be expressed in English. Not only that, the English language is unable to accurately portray the levels of respect needed for certain occasions, which Samoan can. Furthermore, she explained that she chose to speak Samoan to her children so that they would understand and know how ‘to talk to certain people, who to speak respectfully to, and who to speak the everyday Samoan to’. She said she had seen how the absence of the Samoan language in families could lead to a break in the *vā fealoa’i* and cause rifts in families:

M_Mother: *O le mea muamua e kupu, o le lē maua o le vā fealoai, ua sopoia le vā o mākuā i fagau, fagau i lakou uso a kagaka, o le vā fegofoa’i fo’i gale. Afai la ua kakou fekāgofi e fa’amamulu le kakou gagaga, ia loga uiga la, ua alu a fa’asolo’ākoa le faiga o le olaga, ua pei a ua kau kupu mai gei.*

What’s happening is people do not respect relationships with one another, children cross the boundaries with their parents, peers, and in their relationships with people they live with. If we let go of the Samoan language, then our lives would become meaningless with no direction, like what is happening nowadays.

The children expressed a similar understanding, noting that not speaking Samoan meant a break in this link.

Communication

The need to be able to communicate with family in Samoa was a second valuing raised by M_Mother:

M_Mother: *Lea ua popoko ai kama'ika'iga ia. Lea la ua o aku i Samoa, ua popoko, ua iloa fa'asamoa. E lē pei o isi ga o aku, e fiu le vaega la e i Samoa e fegagui i ai e lē iloa fa'asamoa.*

The girls now are clever [at speaking Samoan]. They can now go to Samoa and they are able to speak Samoan. Unlike others who go to Samoa, those in Samoa struggle with them and have to speak English to them because they don't know how to speak Samoan.

M_Daughter2 strongly supported her mother and said she had appreciated more fully the value of being able to speak Samoan when she spent three months living in Samoa with her grandparents. Speaking Samoan had been essential. When she returned to New Zealand 'I came back a FOB⁵⁹; I learned off the little kids and picked it [the language] up. It felt wrong speaking English to my nana'. M_Daughter2 was thankful for the time spent with her family in Samoa which she said had helped maintain her language fluency. She did note, however, that her Samoan competency did start to shift a few months after she returned to New Zealand.

The children also shared how speaking Samoan meant they could contribute or were part of the discussions taking place around them – should they wish to – always keeping in mind their mother's words that they must speak Samoan correctly so as not to bring 'shame on the family' (M_Daughter2).

4.2.3 Language use

This section is divided into three parts, beginning with aligning responses against the domains of interaction that the participants raised, and starting with the family domain. Within the family domain, the family rules with regard to language use are presented first, followed by language practices, using the data from *talanoaga*, voice recordings,

⁵⁹ FOB, short for 'Fresh off the boat', slang for someone who has recently arrived from Samoa, perhaps with limited English. Also used to describe Samoans who act like they have just arrived from Samoa, typically because they speak Samoan fluently and their command of English is minimal.

observations and the 24-hour recall sheets. Other domains are presented separately. The digital technology and mass media domains are presented separately, although these are also accessed and utilised within the home. The last part of this section looks to the future.

Family

M_Mother described their family as close-knit ‘with a lot of love and respect’ while the youngest child said their family was ‘like everything, it's like our foundation, I can't live without it, like that's my backbone’ (M_Daughter3).

Family rules

The family rule was to speak Samoan in the home. M_Mother argued forcefully that she followed this rule because of her Samoan upbringing. Also, she took great joy in knowing her children had an understanding of the intricacies of the Samoan language and the different forms of the language used in different social situations, adding, ‘the girls wouldn't have achieved this if I had not been strict’.

M_Daughter1 confirmed that their mother was ‘very strict on speaking Samoan’ and there was trouble if they did not:

M_Daughter1: Our mum pounds it in us every day: “don't speak English!” Even when we have *loku afiafi* (evening prayers), these guys have to learn how to *kakalo* (pray). And even if they say it in English, *e le'i uma le kakalo* (the prayer hasn't even finished) and my mum will say *fai aku fa'afia ia oukou e aua le fegagui* (I've told you so many times not to speak English). She always pounds it in us every day.

She also recalled that their birth father always spoke Samoan, even though he knew enough English to get by and, that the ‘Samoan-only’ rule was adhered to by their mother's new partner (M_Father). Both M_Daughter1 and M_Daughter3 said ‘we speak Samoan to him hard out because we have to.’

Language practices

Samoan was the first language spoken by all members of the Masina family, and Samoan was the main language of communication between the parents. While the children spoke mainly Samoan to their parents, they seemed to be more comfortable speaking English with one another.

Parents

Both parents said that they spoke only Samoan to each other and to the children in the home setting. One evening I joined M_Mother and the girls in the kitchen while they were preparing dinner. M_Father was in the sitting room watching the news. Much of the talking in the kitchen was about what it meant to be a *tama'ita'i Samoa* and, not surprisingly, these conversations were carried out in Samoan which would be the only way to convey these meanings:

M_Mother: *Va'ai oukou, o le kigā alofa e fai sa'o aku a ia ke oukou. O mai e valu kalo ia, saka fai. Kou ke fai ko'alua uma a. Sau e fa'aka'ika'i le fai o le mea'ai, e fai sou ko'alua, ae faimai le kigā o lou ko'alua e fai se mea'ai e ke iloa fai.*

Look here girls, a loving mother will tell you straight: Come and peel the taro and boil these green bananas. You will all have husbands one day. Come and learn how to cook so that when you have a husband and his mother asks you to cook food, you know how to.

That the parents spoke only Samoan to each other was confirmed in the observations and voice recordings (see below) where the only English words used were those borrowed from English and which do not always have an equivalent in Samoan, such as the affectionate term, *hun*:

M_Mother: *A o fea le pegi mūmū ga ia oe?*
Where is the red pen I gave you?

M_Father: *A ga ou avakua.*
I gave it to you

M_Mother: ***Hun**, va'ai le maka lea e i i.*
Hun, look here's the marker pen

The mother was also observed sometimes speaking some English to her daughters. M_Mother explained that she did this so that she could 'learn how to speak English better'; she sees her daughters as the ones who can best teach her. M_Mother also shared that she sometimes tended to switch to English when she was wanting to be funny:

M_Mother: *E i ai leisi kaimi, pe a ga o lakou ua fegagui vagagā ua i ai lakou kei, ua fegagui. Se'iloga la ua vala'au aku se igoa o seisi o lakou, ga iloa la ia e fa'asamoa. Ou ke fa'alogu aku loa, fai aku, "magaia, ua alu a le fia Pālāgi a?" Ma kaliē ai loa la ia o le au vaega la. Fai aku, "o le a le mea ua fegagui ai o oukou o Samoa uma a!" Ae seāseā fo'i gale o e fa'alogu o fegagui.*

There are times when it's just them at home; they speak English and when they have the young ones over they speak English. If I call out one of their names, they know they have to speak Samoan. Once I hear [them speaking English], I will call out, "Oh, so you are wanting more and more to be European". Then they laugh. I would say something like

“why are you all speaking English when you are all Samoan?” But you hardly ever hear them speak English.

The mother was aware that English was being spoken more and more in the home, especially among the girls. The parents had nicknamed their middle child, M_Daughter2, the ‘*Pālagi*’ and seemed to joke about this. On our first meeting, M_Daughter2 was introduced to me by M_Father as the *Pālagi* of the family, and they all laughed. M_Daughter2 said:

M_Daughter2: I get called *Pālagi*. The whole family knows. When I’m doing something I don’t really want to do, I might say something [in Samoan] and it comes out wrong.

Perhaps naming her a *Pālagi* meant she was almost forgiven by other family members for her lack of competency (defence mechanism). However, there are also negative underlying tones around the notion of being called a *Pālagi*. M_Daughter2 was not exhibiting all the required elements of being a Samoan; one of these is speaking Samoan, and because of this, the other family members may not have thought her worthy of being called a Samoan.

Children

The three children said they agreed to, and mainly abided by, the Samoan-only rule. They confided that they often spoke English with one another, and sometimes spoke English to their mother but never to their father. However, they resorted to English when they could not find the correct Samoan word to articulate what they wanted to say.

Of the three, the eldest M_Daughter1 was the most fluent and appeared to be bilingual, code-switching with ease. M_Daughter3 was more reserved and not as confident in Samoan, but when she did speak she seemed to also be proficient in both languages. However, she was most comfortable with English. By way of contrast, the middle daughter, M_Daughter2, spoke almost only in English because she was ‘scared of making a mistake’. She understood Samoan and was able to give short instructions in Samoan but struggled, at times, to reply in Samoan. This was a little surprising as she was the one who had lived in Samoa. M_Daughter2 said that when she returned from Samoa she had been fluent. However, less than two months later her competence had dropped to a 5 out of 10 because ‘it’s easier to speak English, and because I was surrounded by these guys’ (her other sisters) and her peers.

M_Daughter1 said that they were determined to speak Samoan with their sister. Among themselves, the sisters said they spoke a ‘mixture of Samoan and English’, normally using Samoan when they wanted to tell jokes. Observations confirmed that they were more comfortable speaking English to one another, even when the parents were around. When they spoke Samoan to one another there were frequent instances of code-switching. Most interesting, however, was that the most Samoan spoken by two of the three was when they were giving instructions or telling off younger family members. At these times, their words (and tone) mirrored almost exactly what their mother used.

In the following excerpt from a voice recording, the three girls were babysitting and playing with their young niece, Sina⁶⁰. Most of the interaction was in English, but noticeably, Samoan was most commonly spoken when they were either instructing Sina to do something or telling her off:

M_Daughter1: *Oso i luga, Sina! Ku’u i kua ou vae!*
Jump up, Sina. Put your legs back

M_Daughter2: *Penti*, come front
Undies, come to the front

M_Daughter3: *Sina sau i luma*
Sina, come to the front

Sina: Why?

M_Daughter2: Sina are you all right?

M_Daughter1: Sina, get up. Sorry. *Ku i luga!*
Sina, get up. Sorry. Get up!

M_Daughter1: *Sina sau i luma*
Sina, come to the front

M_Daughter2: *Leai Sina, gofo i i ga*
No Sina, stay there

M_Daughter1: *Vaai ou alu aku kikiga oe i i ga e!*
Watch out or I’ll come there and strangle you!

Domains of language use in the family

M_Mother said she deliberately ensured her children were exposed to Samoan, as much as possible. In the home, the family enjoyed listening to the Samoan radio and watching Samoan movies, as well as using Samoan on Facebook. While M_Mother used Samoan

⁶⁰ Pseudonym.

in all these domains, her children did not always do so; English was their predominant language.

Mass media

The family utilised various forms of Samoan language media in the home, including the Samoan language radio station, Samoan movies and online media. The family listened to the radio avidly. M_Mother listened to the radio daily at home and at work, while M_Daughter1 noted ‘we listen to it everyday. It’s on from morning till night time’ and M_Daughter2 said ‘they’re never turned off’. Radios were in the parents’ bedroom, the kitchen, and in both cars. The news and talk-back shows were family favourites, and the family often enjoyed listening to these programmes – especially the Samoan music – together:

M_Daughter2: One thing we all like is singing; when we're in the car, when a church song comes on, it's always M_Father who starts singing and we all try to add our words in [even] when we don't know the lyrics. That's one of the many reasons why we love listening to [the radio]. And the *kalas la e fa'asau mai Samoa* (news from Samoa). When our parents do the cooking, our radio is on; it's either CD or the radio.

The family also watched popular Samoan movies together on DVD. M_Mother saw these as another language and culture learning time and were a way the children saw these concepts in action:

M_Mother: *O aka video, o le isi mea ga ou ke favour ai le au gigi'i ia, o le fiafia ia e makamaka i aka video Samoa. E ke iloa le mea ua ala ai ga makamaka la'u fagau i aka ia auā o la ua malamalama i uiga o le fa'asamoa ma uiga o kala. La ua lakou iloa le uiga o le aka, la e mean i ai le aka. Ua aogā aka fa'apegei ua iloa ai e la'u fagau le uiga o le kele o mea fa'asamoa, o le agagu'u ia aemaise foi le gagaga.*

The [Samoan] movies are another favourite for my children; they really like watching Samoan videos. Do you know why they enjoy it? Because they understand exactly what is being shown regarding the Samoan way of life, and what the language means, and what the intended messages are in the story. These videos are a good learning tool also for my children to learn about different aspects of the Samoan way of life, culture and the language.

Digital technology and the internet

The family did not have home access to the internet but they could all access the internet on their smartphones. The mother and all three children had active Facebook profiles, however it was not seen as a place for the children to use Samoan. The children said they facebooked in Samoan for about 20 per cent of the time, and also interacted with their peers on their church Facebook page which was largely in the English language.

The children did not use Samoan much for text messaging, although they would often send Samoan text messages to certain people such as their mother, or ‘older Samoans’. M_Daughter1 explained that she made the effort of texting her elders in Samoan as a mark of respect, even though messaging in Samoan required ‘more effort than texting in English’:

M_Daughter1: For me I know who I always text Samoan to, and sometimes for some reason I will always speak Samoan at a particular time and then I'll text Samoan, but then I'll get so lazy because the text takes so long to write and it takes up so much more space and then I'll go back to English ‘cos I'm too lazy to text the whole thing out in Samoan.

English, Samoan, Samlish⁶¹?

The three children had mixed views about using the Samoan language on the internet. M-Mother on the other hand said she always posted in Samoan because she was a ‘real Samoan’, unlike many of her own generation who appeared to be ‘ashamed’ of using Samoan online. She also expressed her worry about the effects that digital technology and online media was having on the Samoan language. M_Mother explained that even her family in Samoa, whom she had assumed would use more Samoan online, were now ‘speaking a whole other language’ online. Rather than code-switching, they used a hybrid kind of Samoan which featured an interplay of both Samoan and English to create new words. This, she disapproved of highly, and viewed the practice as being disrespectful to the language:

M_Mother: *Ia a'u a ia o le Samoa moni, ou ke kaukala a ka ika fa'asamoa. Kele o le au Samoa ua sau fa'aigilisi. Seāseā ou kau aku i se status a se kagaka Samoa o fa'asamoa mai a. Ou ke ofo a'u, ai e mama i sesē se fuai'upu. A o a'u a ia, ou ke lē kea pe sesē se fuai'upu auā e lē o sa'u gagaga. O kakou a maua le sesē ua a'amu, a ua ala ai ga a'amu oga ga e ke iloa e lē lelei sau fa'asamoa. Ou ke oso aku i luga o le Facebook a le isi kamaikiiki ga a le makou gu'u, makuā ese a le iku'āiga gagaga lea ua fa'aaogā i Samoa. Ua pei o se esipagiolo po o se gagaga fo'i gale. Fai aku, “sole o ā ea au kala ga e fai mai?” Fai mai, “sole ke ofo a'u, leva ga kou i'iga makua'i kou behind kele sole, o le gagaga lea ua amaka ga fa'aaogā i Samoa”. Fai mai foi lo'u uso, ia o le gagaga lea ua a'e mai i'igei.*

I'm a real Samoan and I speak Samoan. A lot of the Samoans [on Facebook] speak in English. Hardly ever do you see a Samoan person post in Samoan. I'm so surprised; maybe they're ashamed that they might make mistakes. To me, I don't care if I make a mistake [in English] because it's not my language. We are all too quick to make fun of people who make mistakes but the reason why you make fun is because you know your own Samoan isn't that good. I jumped on Facebook and I saw one of the boys from my village posting and using a totally different language. It seemed like Spanish or some language like that. So I asked him “what kind of language is that you're speaking?” and

⁶¹ Samoan English.

he replied, “I’m surprised, you have been there for a while now but you’re so behind. This is the language we are using now, here in Samoa”.

There are varying views on the effects of the English language on the Samoan language, especially in Samoa (see Chapter 2); whether English and Samoan co-exist in Samoa (hybridity) or if ‘new forms’ of Samoan show language shift.

Other domains of language use

Outside of the home, the two domains in which family members used Samoan were the church and school. For the children, the church and school were not exclusively Samoan domains, as will be seen. In fact, English was the dominant language for all three children in both domains.

Church

The family were very active at their local Samoan Congregational church: in the choir, the *Mafutaga a Tinā* where M_Mother is the treasurer, *A’oga Aso Sā*, and they supported various church events and activities. Their church operated largely in Samoan. All the church services were conducted in Samoan, and hymns were also sung in Samoan.

However, M_Mother lamented that the youth at their church spoke English, even those she knew were competent in Samoan, saying this was a ‘real shame’. Their *fai’fe’au* was aware that Samoan was a language barrier for some youth and deliberately translated parts of his sermons into English. Recognising youth language difficulties, M_Daughter2 talked about the dedicated programmes the church had set up, not only teaching *gagana Samoa* and *aganu’u* but challenging people to value and take ownership for their learning too:

M_Daughter2: We have *gagana* (Samoan language) classes as well. [NAME OF PERSON] takes them. Yeah, she’s really good, ‘cos she starts from scratch. It is helpful, it helps us learn what not to do and what to do. I remember in one lesson, she said “*e lelei lou fa’asamoa?* (Is your Samoan good?)” ... I’m a Samoan and yet I don’t know *le loko ma le a’ago* (the heart) of Samoan language? It made us really think. In her view, ‘our church, and our youth, it’s strong in *fa’asamoa*.’

M_Mother happily shared that while many church youths found language learning a struggle, her children were often the first ones to put their hand up to carry out and participate in cultural activities/ceremonies at the church. For example, at a recent church event, the church community required girls to participate in a ceremonial presentation of

gifts (*sua*). M_Daughter1 had been the first to offer, and at another church youth event, M_Daughter2 played an integral part in the cultural festivities as *fuataimi* (conductor) for the church youth group performance. Given her partial fluency in Samoan, M_Daughter2 had worked especially hard to learn her part and, on the day, she spoke very eloquently in Samoan and appeared to be very comfortable in her role.

Education

Schooling was an influencing factor in Samoan language learning for this family. Unlike M_Daughter1 who had attended a mainstream kindergarten and school, M_Daughter2 and M_Daughter3 had attended *A'oga Amata* right up until primary schooling where they had been enrolled in Samoan bilingual units. Secondary school saw changes to this pattern, bringing also a dominance of English in their every-day lives and a small 'fade away' in Samoan (M_Daughter3).

When faced with the decision of whether to study Samoan at secondary school, the children had differing views. While M_Mother urged all her children to learn Samoan at school and the children felt like 'they didn't have a choice', they actually had made their own choices. M_Daughter1 had studied Samoan but decided to stop after year 11 because this clashed with her other options for further study – she didn't see Samoan as a priority for her future career. The youngest of the three had studied Samoan right up until year 13, because she enjoyed it and because she wanted to learn more about the Samoan language and the *aganu'u* and, she didn't want to be labelled a plastic Samoan:

M_Daughter3: Everything at home was mainly English 'cos of school. I wanted to learn more about the language 'cos I kind of knew that my language was fading away. At school it was just straight English and I had a lot of different types of friends so that made my language fade away. I just continued on with the English...yeah and I'm speaking less Samoan. For me I think it was to help us maintain our culture and our background, like you can't say that you're Samoan when you speak English all the time, but there's probably a purpose and I think it's like they want our culture so it helps us if we're going to be bilingual... We were so young; we didn't have a choice. But from year 9 until year 13 I actually understood, because if I hadn't gone to those classes, I think I would've been plastic and would not know how to speak [Samoan] It helped me a lot. I'm glad I did go.

M_Daughter2, who was not confident in her Samoan abilities, had chosen to learn Maori instead because she 'was not doing well in Samoan classes'. She saw the Samoan classes as a 'waste of time because I knew I would fail all my assessments and wouldn't pass anything, so I took Maori'.

In summary, while the children were adamant that they spoke a lot of Samoan in the home, they were aware that a shift in the Samoan language was taking place which could be attributed to schooling.

4.2.4 Future

As a snapshot of where they were at that particular point in time of their lives, the three children were asked to rate their own competence in both their L1 (Samoan) and L2 (English) according to their ability to speak, read and write in both languages. Their competence in both languages varied. See Table 4.4 below, where 1=lowest, 10=highest:

Table 4.4 Masina children: Self-reported L1 and L2 and language proficiency

Participant	L1	L2	Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
			Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng
M_Daughter1	Samoan	English	10	9	10	9	10	8	10	9
M_Daughter2	Samoan	English	5.5	9	7	8	5	7	5	8
M_Daughter3	Samoan	English	6.5	9	7	9	9	8	7	8

As can be seen, M_Daughter1 saw herself as a fluent bilingual in both Samoan and English. Notably, she rated herself more fluent in Samoan than in English. This may not necessarily be the case. M_Daughter2 rated herself as more proficient in English, and accordingly rated her Samoan speaking, reading and writing quite low in comparison with her sisters. M_Daughter3 scored her English proficiency higher than her sisters' Samoan competency. As the youngest of three, she was currently learning Samoan at school, and said she was 'slowly getting her confidence back'.

4.2.5 Summary

It could be said that this family depicts language essentialism, in that Samoan is seen as an inalienable province of being Samoan (ethnolinguistic linking). This is the tone that the mother set in their family. While the mother's essentialism appears to be in the spirit of the children, in practice this was not always evident. This means that the Samoan language is 'everything' and core to the children's upbringing. The mother's teachings are echoed in what the children shared, regarding what they think is important and true regarding the Samoan language. The Samoan language is highly valued first and foremost in their identity as Samoans and their view of what constitutes a 'real Samoan'; that the

ability to speak Samoan is not only an important factor but so too is an understanding of what comes with 'being Samoan', including knowledge of the *fa'asamoa*. To be able to communicate with other family members in Samoan is also seen as important. To this end, all family members speak Samoan most of the time in the home, albeit to varying degrees by the children.

There are also variations across the different family members with the domains in which they use the Samoan language and the degree to which these have influenced their language practices. For example, while the family is heavily involved in their Samoan church and church activities, their use of Samoan media differs. The mother's push to use Samoan everywhere means this extends to many different kinds of mass media such as radio, music, technology and social networking. The children did not necessarily follow suit. This family is also aware of language shift happening within the family, particularly with the middle child, M_Daughter2, whose Samoan is 'not as good' as the others. The effect of formal schooling was highlighted as a possible factor influencing shift in not only M_Daughter2 but also the other children, to some extent, but given that this family prides itself on their 'background' and upbringing, they continue to do their best to depict and live the life of a 'real Samoan' by prioritising the Samoan language in all facets of their lives, albeit not without struggle.

4.3 The Lelei family

The Leleis are a blended family of four comprising L_Father, L_Mother and two of L_Mother's children (L_Daughter1 and L_Daughter2) both of whom were born in New Zealand. The distinct life journeys of the Lelei family members demonstrate the impact of changing places and time on relationships as well as Samoan language valuing and use, especially for children. So these are outlined first.

Both L_Father and L_Mother were born and raised in Samoa, and Samoan is their first language. L_Mother also lived as a child in American Samoa and Fiji, and when she had won a scholarship to study in Christchurch, she brought her former husband and their two children with her. She described this time as one of 'culture shock not having many Samoans around'. She, her former husband, and their two children moved back to Samoa. However, after her marriage broke up, L_Mother decided to migrate with her children to

New Zealand; they lived with her mother and her sister's family. L_Mother had been a solo mother for many years before meeting her new husband (L_Father). She spoke warmly about the loving support she had received from her family during those years living in West Auckland. L_Father had migrated to New Zealand, leaving his former wife and their six children in Samoa. When he and L_Mother married, he brought his six children to New Zealand to live with them, and so the family moved to a bigger house in South Auckland. At the time of the study, L_Father's children lived in South Auckland with their birth mother. Sometimes one of L_Father's sons comes to stay with them. However, he was not part of this study.

Table 4.5 Lelei family profile

Family member	M/F	Age	Place of birth	Age at arrival	Highest level of education	L1	Occupation	Religion
L_Father	M	47	Samoa	30s	Secondary school (<i>Samoa</i>)	Samoaan	Labourer	Mormon
L_Mother	F	49	Samoa	22	Tertiary	Samoaan	Nurse	Mormon
L_Daughter1	F	18	NZ	-	Secondary school	Samoaan	Student	Mormon
L_Daughter2	F	14	NZ	-	Secondary school	Samoaan	Student	Mormon

Our discussions indicated that these changes in the composition of the Lelei family, their housing and neighborhood arrangements had had an impact on their language use. For example, looking back, L_Mother said she had experienced language shift in Samoan when she moved from Samoa to American Samoa where English was the dominant language. In addition, while she had excelled academically, she now saw that this may have been at the expense of losing her Samoan language. She said she may have become a bit *fia Pālagi* and spoke more English:

L_Mother: *Ua ou koe fo'i lea i Samoa ua uma le three years, ua ese a la'u fa'alogo i lo'u laulaufaiva, ua a ea... Seāseā e maua gi kagaka Samoa i Kalaiesekeke, sei vagaga ua e alu i le loku ga PIC e ke va'ai ai i gai students, ua leai a se isi ua fia fa'asamoa, ua kele ga fegagui. Faigaka a.*

When I went back to Samoa after three years [of schooling], I was not able to speak [Samoan]. I rarely found many Samoans in Christchurch to speak to unless I went to church at the PIC where I would see some students, but no one wanted to speak Samoan. Everyone spoke English. It was hard.

Her children also noted changes in their own language practices. L_Daughter1 and L_Daughter2 both spoke about growing up in a 'quiet' West Auckland neighbourhood where there were few Samoans. They described West Auckland as '*Pālagi* central'

(L_Daughter1) indicating that they were surrounded by Europeans. L_Daughter2 said ‘we became *Pālagi*-fied’ and seldom interacted with other Samoans or Pacific people. They both noticed a great difference when the family moved to South Auckland (when L_Father’s six children arrived). Then, ‘lots and lots of Samoan was spoken’. At first L_Daughter1 enjoyed having so many siblings but then she said it became ‘annoying’:

L_Daughter1: ... ‘cos you know how it was only me and L_Daughter2, I thought it was so cool having more brothers and sisters but then after that it was annoying. But then I got over myself. I wasn’t used to that.

L_Daughter1 had also lived with her maternal grandmother for a year. There, she had had to learn to speak Samoan properly so she could communicate with her grandmother. Her uncles and aunts had also been very strict about speaking Samoan, which was not the case at her own home:

L_Daughter1: ... ‘cos my grandma was sick I helped look after her. She didn’t understand English so I had to always speak Samoan to her. She didn’t allow me to speak English. She was like, *fa’asamoa!* (speak Samoan!). Oh, I’d speak English to my aunt but my uncle told me to speak Samoan.

4.3.1 Setting the tone in the family

There was no Samoan language champion in this family. L_Mother said she had tried hard in the past to ensure her children spoke Samoan. This had been much easier and almost automatic when she and her children lived with her mother in the family home where everyone spoke Samoan. At the same time, she knew she had ‘slipped’ in her efforts to champion Samoan due to time and also because she feared for the academic security of her children. In her bid to ensure that her children had the same access to education that she had had, learning and speaking Samoan was not prioritised. She hoped that the early start she gave her children would be sufficient to sustain them throughout their lives. While not said, L_Father appeared to deliberately step back from assuming a strong parenting role because he was not the birth father.

4.3.2 Value of the Samoan language

While family members did not speak at length about the value of the Samoan language, L_Mother and the children had contrasting views on this. L_Mother argued the importance of Samoan for identity and for communication. However, the children questioned whether the Samoan language was necessary for their identity as Samoans.

Identity and culture

In L_Mother's view, if you want to call yourself a 'Samoan' you must be able to speak Samoan; to call yourself Samoan and not be able to speak was 'useless'. By way of contrast, L_Daughter1 and L_Daughter2 knew Samoan was important to their heritage as Samoans but speaking Samoan was not necessary to their identity as Samoans. The youngest child did not really care for speaking Samoan because 'everyone speaks English' (L_Daughter2). L_Daughter1 said Samoan identity 'is in your blood' and believed it was up to the individual to define themselves, rather than the language defining them. When reminded that many Samoan youth were losing the language, they did not see that to be important:

L_Daughter1: ... 'cos we are like dying out, [well,] not dying out but in this generation not many of us know how to speak it and I think it's important because [of] where we came from, our origin. I don't know. I just think it's important.

L_Daughter1 appears to contradict herself, in the above statement. This could perhaps indicate a reevaluation of her own thinking regarding identity. She also believed there were different rules for Samoan-born Samoans and NZ-born Samoans. For example, being NZ-born could be used as an excuse not to be a fluent speaker or not to speak Samoan at all. L_Daughter2 recalled being called *fia Pālagi* on several occasions when she tried to speak Samoan, and said that had made her 'stick to speaking English even more; I don't want to speak Samoan'. In L_Mother's view, Samoan-born Samoans should be role models for NZ-born ones, and could not be forgiven for choosing not to speak Samoan. She frowned upon those who came from Samoa to New Zealand and 'ditched their Samoan for English', using her husband's children as an example. While they had come from Samoa at 10 years of age (and older) they no longer spoke Samoan to her. She saw this as not valuing the language.

In her view also, in order to be 'Samoan' one must also know their *aganu'u*, and to do this they must be able to speak Samoan. L_Daughter1 agreed with this, adding that in order to spare the embarrassment of 'not knowing the language, customs and stuff, we should know everything about it'. L_Mother knew many parents were not teaching their children Samoan:

L_Mother: I tell you something, *kele o kamaiki e lē iloa [fa'asamoa]...a fa'asamoa aku, e le iloa fa'asamoa. A oka kilokilo la i le background o kamaiki, o lakou mākuā e lē o gi kagaka akamamai*, meaning *e lē lelei gi galuega. A o kamaiki e makuā lē iloa, e lē fia*

fa'asamoa. Ua ou come across i ai. E lē lelei le simeli a mākua, e vaivai. E lē lelei gi galuega, but their kids, makuā fia Papālagi a, e lē fia fa'asamoa.

I'll tell you something, many kids don't know [how to speak Samoan] ... if you speak Samoan to them, they do not know how to speak Samoan [back]. If I look at the kids' background, their parents do not have a strong education background, they do not work in good jobs. But the kids don't know at all [how to speak Samoan]; they don't want to speak Samoan. I've come across this. The parents can't speak English well; it's weak. They don't work in good jobs but their kids just try very hard to be like Europeans. They don't want to speak Samoan.

Communication

L_Mother talked about the benefits of knowing two languages and being able to switch between the two when necessary. She recalled the challenges New Zealand Samoans visiting Samoa experienced when they could not understand what was being said, and was grateful that her children understood enough Samoan 'to get by':

L_Mother: O le kāua auā e mafai ga feso'oka'i ma ka ika i kagaka. Ia a'u a ia e kāua fo'i i la'u fagau, a oka kilokilo i ai, o aso ia a o i Samoa, a o aku kagaka e lē iloa fa'asamoa, e makua'i leiloloa, e lost a pe a fai kalagoaga fa'asamoa ma kausuaga. E kaliē kagaka ae kilokilo le isi i le isi. O L_Daughter1 ma L_Daughter2 a fai gei kausuaga fa'asamoa e kaliē ai fo'i la'ua, pe a fai mea a le la kamā, e kaliē, pe a fai foi gagu a si koea'iga.

The important thing is being able to communicate with others. For me it's important for my children also. The way I look at it, when I was in Samoa, people would come over who couldn't speak Samoan, or had no idea at all, and they appeared to be lost when people would talk and joke in Samoan... Everyone was laughing and they would be looking at each other. L_Daughter1 and L_Daughter2 are able to laugh when there are jokes [told in Samoan], especially when their father jokes around and when he tries to speak English.

In her profession as a nurse, L_Mother had also come to realise the full benefits of being bilingual in Samoan and English. She had recently completed a Certificate in Interpreting and Translation and said she was called on frequently to work as an interpreter in the hospital, and for the courts in the afterhour's service.

The children said they had little need to speak Samoan. For example, most of their extended family spoke English; even family members from Samoa who came to visit them. In addition, their step-siblings, who had come to live with them in New Zealand, had wanted the girls to speak English to them so their English would improve. L_Daughter1 said she sometimes felt inadequate and a disappointment to her mother. She was thankful that she had been able to speak Samoan to her grandmother.

4.3.3 Language use

This section is divided into three parts. The first part looks at domains of interaction, beginning with the family domain. The family domain part presents the family rules with regard to language use, followed by actual language practices using data from the *talanoaga*, voice recordings, observations and the 24-hour recall sheets. Other domains are presented separately. The digital technology and the internet and mass media domains are presented separately, although they are also accessed and utilised within the home. The last part of this section looks to the future.

Family

Family rules

There appeared to be no Samoan language rule in the family; ‘if the children speak Samoan, they speak Samoan’ (L_Mother). Sometimes, L_Father conducted *lotu afiafi* in Samoan. However, when the girls said grace before meals, they prayed in English.

When the children were younger, L_Mother said there had been an ‘unspoken’ rule that the children spoke Samoan and this had been observed. Furthermore, even when the girls had enrolled at Kindergarten, they spoke Samoan at home. This rule had worked well at the time because they had been living with L_Mother’s family and the girls had communicated with their grandmother, uncles and aunts in Samoan. At around primary school age, the girls began to use more English. Looking back, L_Mother said maybe she was at fault. She enrolled her children in English-medium schools because she wanted to set them a strong educational foundation. The children also attended the local English-speaking ward of the Mormon Church. As a result, with the exception of family gatherings, there were few chances outside the home for the children to speak and hear Samoan.

Language practices

Samoan was the language of the parents in this family and English was the language of the children. Sometimes the parents spoke English to the girls when they saw the children did not quite understand what their parents said. L_Daughter1 said she had heard her parents complaining to each other that she and her sister were not speaking Samoan.

However, ‘we didn’t really get in trouble if we didn’t [speak Samoan]’ (L_Daughter1). She also knew that her stepfather (L_Father) had been surprised that she and her sister did not speak Samoan ‘better’. However, this did not faze the girls:

L_Daughter1: They would just complain to themselves, like “you don’t know any Samoan, like I can’t believe”... My dad’s like to my mum, “these children don’t know how to speak Samoan” we’re like, “whatever!”

Parents

L_Mother said she usually spoke Samoan ‘unless I’m with non-Samoan speakers’. Furthermore, because Samoan was L_Father’s first language, they spoke Samoan to each other most of the time. L_Father seldom spoke English, except to the children, which was ‘making him more confident in English’. L_Mother sometimes ‘forgot to switch off from work mode’ and found herself speaking English to the girls and would often ask herself, ‘why am I doing that?’ She also laughingly added that the girls often poked fun at her English. Observations confirmed that the parents spoke at length and comfortably with each other in Samoan while the girls always spoke to each other in English. There was not much conversation in English between parents and children. Observations and recordings also show that when either of the parents talked to the girls, it was often one-sided and mainly in the form of instructions, sometimes in ‘quite colourful Samoan’ using good and bad Samoan words (swear words and other derogatory language):

L_Mother: *A okegia la'u fagau ou ke fa'asamoa. Ou ke lē kaikai a gagu... A ou kaugu'u i le fale e* always a “*o le a le mea ua lē fai a le mea lea?*” *E lē kaikai a ga ou fa'apea* “why didn’t you do this?” *E o'o foi pe a ou vili mai i le fale, “ua kapega le fale?” Ou ke le fa'apea* “did you clean the house?”

When I tell my children off, I do it in Samoan. I never [do it] in English. When I arrive home, I always [ask] “why hasn’t this been done?” I never say “why didn’t you do this [in English]?” Even when I ring home, “have you cleaned the house [in Samoan]?” I don’t say [in English] “did you clean the house?”

In the following excerpt from a voice recording, the family had just finished their dinner. Throughout the recording, the parents spoke in Samoan but the children did not engage. When instructed to clear the table, they still did not reply until their mother told them off. Note also, the children’s responses were all in English:

L_Father: *O mai e kapega aku le laulau lea. L_Daughter2, fai aku le mea lea.*
Come and clear this table. L_Daughter2, come and do this.

L_Mother: *Ua ou 'ai laikiiki a. Fa'afetai fai mea'ai. Kele loa fuala'au i mea'ai, e lē ai loa, a?*

I don't [want to eat] any more. Thank you for the food. When there's lots of vegetables, you don't eat much, do you??

L_Father: No, no, no, no, no.

L_Mother: *L_Daughter2, kapega aku mea ia. Ga o lou alu ifo a e kope mea ga e, ma avaku kakou toilet paper i kua.*

L_Daughter2, clear this away. Just go and do that quickly and take the toilet paper to the back.

L_Father: *Fa'amago lelei fa'ako'ā ku'u la ia i kokogu.*
Dry them properly before you put them in.

L_Mother: *L_Daughter1?! L_Daughter2?!*

L_Daughter1: What?

L_Daughter2: Yeah?!

L_Mother: *O a au mea o fai?*
What are you doing?

L_Daughter2: I'm sitting! Can I not sit? I just finished eating and my stomach's full.

L_Mother: *Ia, alu ifo e kapega le mea lea ga fa'asigo aku ia oe.*
OK, go and clear away the things I told you to do.

silence

L_Mother said she had become resigned to the fact that things probably would not change, and so she now let her children speak whatever language they felt most comfortable with. While L_Father was always present around the fringes of L_Mother's conversations with her daughters, he did not participate directly. Perhaps he did not see it as his duty.

Children

L_Daughter1 described how the frequency of their Samoan speech had changed while they were growing up. When their step-siblings arrived from Samoa, there had been a lot of Samoan spoken in the house; L_Daughter1 had made the effort to speak Samoan with them. Her younger sister, though, was 'pretty much speaking English straight away'. L_Daughter1 said her Samoan had been most fluent and confident when she lived with her grandmother, aunt and uncle for a year. They only spoke Samoan, and while L_Daughter1 felt she had been 'forced' to speak Samoan, she had found herself speaking more and more Samoan to the point that when she returned home to live 'I was like blah blah blah, thinking I was cool with my Samoan' (L_Daughter1) but after a while gravitated back to English.

Interestingly, both girls used an apologetic tone when explaining why they did not speak ‘as much Samoan as we should’ even though they did not feel disadvantaged by this. They chose not to speak Samoan because their Samoan might not measure up to what people would expect of them, adding that because they were NZ-born, their Samoan language skills would not compare well with their Samoan-born siblings:

L_Daughter2: Being NZ-born, I sort of feel like I don’t want to speak Samoan ‘cos they would be, “oh, you’re so *fia Pālagi*” (trying to be European) and I’m fine I’ll just stick to speaking English. I don’t want to speak Samoan. Sometimes I just don’t speak, I know how to say some stuff but I just don’t want to... I just say *fa’afetai* (thank you).

L_Daughter1: Sometimes I’m not *mā* (embarrassed) but I’m scared somebody might say oh you can’t speak Samoan. Sometimes I have to think about what I want to say before I speak, that’s like when you speak to elders and stuff so... I don’t know what to say sometimes and what context to use it in.

English is the main language for L_Daughter1 and L_Daughter2. When their parents speak Samoan to them, they usually reply in English, with occasional Samoan words. In the following excerpt from a voice recording of an interaction between L_Mother and her children, L_Mother asks the youngest girl for clarification about a letter from her school. The mother speaks in Samoan for the duration of the interaction, while L_Daughter2 responds to all her questions in English:

L_Mother: *L_Daughter2, o le a le mea lea? Kilokilo i le mea. Kusa lea ua uma ga kokogi le NCEA a?*
L_Daughter2, what’s this? Come and look at this. So, the NCEA [fees] have been paid already, right?

L_Daughter2: Mmm.

L_Mother: *O le a le isi pili lea e i i?*
What’s this other invoice for?

L_Daughter2: ID card

L_Mother: *O se mea fou?*
Is it for a new one?

L_Daughter2: It's my ID card.

pause

L_Mother: *L_Daughter2, ua fai ipu ia ga ou fai aku ai?*
L_Daughter2, have you done the dishes I told you to do?

L_Daughter2: What? You told me to go do the *ipus*⁶², and I'm going to do it...

⁶² *Ipus* is an example of a Samoan and English code-switch within the word. The word *ipu* translates to dish/dishes. L_Daughter1 added an ‘s’ onto the end of the word *ipu* (dish) to make it plural as she would have for most words in English.

L_Mother: *L_Daughter2! Aua ge'i oso lou guku, e?! Fai aku a ma e fai mai!*
 L_Daughter2! Don't answer back, ok? I ask you to do something and you
 answer back!

silence

L_Daughter1 also shared that there actually were not many chances for her and her sister to read or write Samoan, although 'Mum sometimes texts me in Samoan' (L_Daughter1). Both girls described their mother's family as mainly *afakasi* (half-castes) who mostly spoke English at family gatherings, and L_Mother confirmed this. Because L_Mother's family lived on the North Shore, Auckland, they did not visit them often. However, L_Daughter1 said she felt close to her mum's family. By way of contrast, the girls described their stepfather's family as being more into their *fa'asamoa* and they were more likely to speak Samoan and be involved in *fa'asamoa*. They knew this was partly because L_Father was a *matai* and had obligations to *tautua* (serve) his family and his *matai* title. While L_Father's family lived nearby in South Auckland, the girls did not regularly attend those family gatherings, which, as L_Mother highlighted, were the only times her children were able to observe and try to learn the *fa'asamoa*.

Domains of language use in the family

Within the home, there was not much interaction in Samoan while using technology and mass media, particularly with the children. The parents were avid consumers of Samoan media, such as the Samoan radio and music, however the children were uninterested.

Samoan media

L_Father and L_Mother loved the Samoan radio, newspapers, music and movies. However, the children did not; in some cases, they were very vocal in their non-approval. The parents were enthusiastic listeners to Samoan radio and always played it in the car, much to the dismay of their children. In L_Daughter1 and L_Daughter2's 24-hour recall sheets, both girls said they had to listen to 1593AM Samoan radio station every day (because of their parents):

L_Daughter2: Oh my gosh, [the Samoan radio] is the first thing it goes to, even if we tell them to change it, they say "that's the news". "Oh my gosh, just turn it off, we just want to listen to the music". I like the Breeze though. It's just the Samoan radio that I find so annoying.

In fact, L_Daughter1 said she actually detested the Samoan radio station, and was very impatient with their parents playing Samoan music all the time. Her stepfather liked to 'blast his old Samoan songs'. On Sundays, when L_Daughter1 was at church, L_Father and L_Mother would play their Samoan church music in the home. L_Mother could not really understand why her children protested so strongly, and why they asked her to change the station or play the music the adults enjoyed. Ironically, when some favourite Samoan love songs played, L_Mother said she would often catch the girls singing along, even though they would complain all the time.

In addition, L_Father and L_Mother absolutely loved watching Samoan movies, which they borrowed from their friends. L_Daughter1 commented, 'I don't know why my parents watch it. It's such bad comedy, and it's so bad'. For L_Father, as a recent migrant from Samoa, watching the movies was quite nostalgic. However, L_Daughter2 said that when she had watched one with her parents, she had 'got into the dramas' and had ended up having a good laugh with them. She was able to understand the dialogue and the plot.

Both parents read Samoan newspapers as often as they could get their hands on them. Sometimes L_Father purchased them; at other times L_Mother would bring home copies from the hospital or clinics where she worked. At yet other times, L_Mother would read these papers online. The children did not read the papers:

L_Mother: *Ou ke faikau i le gusipepa Samoa. E uma ga ou kago gagā aku gusipepa pe a ou kau i ai i se falema'i e ave e faikau. Ou ke fiafia a i gusipepa ia mai Samoa pei o le Observer ma le Samoa Times. E i ai fo'i le isi mea ga e ave fua, lea e i ai kala fa'asamoa, e lē keke a gi kala, ae e maua a i isi dairy.*

I read the Samoan newspapers. If I come across any Samoan newspapers at the hospitals, I hide them and bring them home to read. I enjoy [reading] the papers from Samoa like the Samoa Observer and the Samoa Times. There is another free newspaper which has Samoan stories in it; not many, but you can get them free from the dairy.

Digital technology and the internet

Everyone in the house had an active Facebook page, which they updated regularly. L_Mother said she often communicated in Samoan with other Samoans on her Facebook page, especially her friends from her school days in Samoa and American Samoa. They would share jokes in Samoan among themselves online. In addition to Facebook, both girls also had Instagram accounts and they reported updating these social media accounts many times a day but said they never used any Samoan on them. When asked about

whether they accessed any other websites which have some Samoan content, L_Daughter1 and L_Daughter2 said ‘we didn’t even know there were websites like that’.

In addition, everyone in the family had a smartphone with the latest software to access the internet. Text messaging was not seen as a place to use Samoan as everyone said they mainly send texts in English because it was ‘easier’. L_Mother said she would only text in Samoan to her children to be funny or to swear at them for something they had done:

L_Mother: *Se’i loga e fai sa’u kala malie pe palauvale i ai, ou ke text fa’asamoa i ai. Ou fai i ai ‘kaepu’, ‘kae’, pe a ou fia aka. Ou ke kago text i le English e faigofie, pe ga o le lua upu ua malamalama kamaiki. Ae le gaka i ga, e fosi e le kelefogi e fa’apea o sese, e avaku le text ua sesē le upu.*

Unless I was saying something funny or swearing at them, I would text them in Samoan. I would say ‘kaepu’ (fart), ‘kae’ (shit) if I wanted to laugh. I text in English because it’s easier; only two words and they understand. And plus, with predictive text, if I text in Samoan it comes out wrong.

In their 24-hour recall sheets, L_Daughter1, in particular, would send up to 60 text messages in a day, and only a fraction would be in Samoan or a mixture of Samoan and English, most likely to her mother. L_Daughter2, on the other hand, said she never sent any text messages in Samoan.

Other domains of language use

It was apparent that the Lelei family did not use Samoan in many domains outside the home. The family did not attend a Samoan-speaking church, nor had the children attended *A’oga Amata* or enrolled in Samoan language courses.

Church

L_Mother explained that their family was not really a church-going family. L_Daughter1 was the only family member who attended church on a regular basis and her younger sister attended when she felt like it:

L_Mother: To tell you the truth, *ou ke le’i alu a i se loku* (I don’t go to church)... *iku’āiga loku i le fale* (it’s the kind of church you have at home), you have your own beliefs there but *e ke kalikogu* (you believe).

Growing up, L_Daughter1 recalled going to the Samoan ward of the Mormon Church where parts of the service were in Samoan, including the hymns. However, their lessons in the primary school classes (of the church) had been conducted in English. L_Daughter1

no longer attended the Samoan ward but had joined the *Pālāgi* ward, where all lessons and the Sacrament⁶³ were conducted in English. There, she said, she was more comfortable even though not many Samoans attended. Sometimes, both girls would attend their uncle's Samoan Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church, where the entire service was led and conducted in Samoan.

L_Mother drew attention to the clear differences between youth who attended the Mormon Church, and those who attended the Samoan Congregational churches. In her view, while the Mormon Church did not really encourage the *fa'asamoa*, youth at the Samoan churches spoke Samoan well despite being born in New Zealand, and they appeared to know their place in the *fa'asamoa*:

L_Mother: *O le Mamoga, e mo'i a e o aku e fa'apālāgi uma a polokalame a kamaiki leaga o la e fa'apea e lē mafai [ga fa'asamoa]. A o ekalesia Ka'iki ma le Mekokisi, e i ai a'u kasegi ga lea e loloku i le Ka'iki, o le lelei ia o kamaiki. Fagagau i'igei, ola i'igei. O le fa'asamoa, oka se lelei, o le fa'aaloalo ia. A ō aku i o'u luma, e fa'akulou. E ko'a'aga foi e ō i mea ia e fai i le falesā, auā o la e malosi i kokogu o le ekalesia le a'oa'o o mea fa'apegā.*

When you go to a Mormon church, all the kids' programmes are conducted in English because they don't think they will be able to understand otherwise. As for the Methodist and EFKS churches, I have cousins who go to the EFKS church, the kids are so good. They were born here, grew up here, but their Samoan is very good. They are so respectful. When they walk in front of me, they excuse themselves. And, they always go to help with things that need to be done at church, because the church encourages and teaches them to do those things.

Education

From the outset, L_Mother had wanted her children to succeed academically. When they were young, and she had believed their Samoan language was secure, she sent them to an English-medium play centre and then to mainstream primary schools. If Samoan was offered at any of the schools her children had attended, L_Mother said she would have encouraged them to take Samoan as a subject because 'I know the value of it' (L_Mother). The secondary school that both girls attended was in a predominantly European/Asian/Indian area of Auckland and there were 'hardly any Islanders at school' (L_Daughter2). Neither of the girls had taken Samoan as a school subject. L_Daughter1 was in her final year of secondary school and, because her aim was to be a doctor, she was focusing her attention on Calculus, Chemistry, Biology, English and Physical

⁶³ This refers to the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, an ordinance in which church members eat bread and drink water in remembrance of the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

Education. According to L_Daughter2, she was not concerned with Samoan at school because ‘they would just be teaching me what I already know’. This was interesting to note, given her earlier feelings of inadequacy and her perceived partial competence in Samoan. While she said there were ‘poly clubs’ at school, she did not participate in any of them and did not have plans to take Samoan as a subject in her remaining years at school.

4.3.4 Future

When talking with this family, there did not seem to be any concern or worry for the future regarding the Samoan language in their family. As far as L_Mother saw it, her children were ‘still good at speaking Samoan’ and she had no fears that her children could lose their language.

As a final activity, L_Daughter1 and L_Daughter2 were asked to rate their language competencies on a scale from 1 to 10 with 10 being the highest. Both girls rated themselves quite low in Samoan, despite their mother previously stating that both her children ‘speak Samoan very well’. L_Mother said L_Daughter1 was the better Samoan speaker and attributed this to the fact that L_Daughter1 had lived with her grandmother for a year.

Table 4.6 Lelei children: Self-reported L1 and L2 and language proficiency

Participant	L1	L2	Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
			Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng
L_Daughter1	Samoan	English	5.5	9	6	8	5	7	6	7
L_Daughter2	Samoan	English	6	9	6	9	3	8	4	8

As seen, the girls rated their literacy in Samoan particularly low, especially L_Daughter2, with speaking only slightly higher than her sister. It was evident that although Samoan was their first language, English had become, and continued to be, their preferred and ‘stronger’ language of communication.

4.3.5 Summary

The Lelei family are an example of a family where language shift is currently occurring. Observations and recordings in the home show there are clear differences between the valuing of Samoan and the use across the two generations of this family. The Samoan

language does not appear to be as highly valued across both generations, and the parents largely accept the shift. While L_Mother sees the value of Samoan for her identity as a Samoan, the children do not; nor do they feel they need Samoan to communicate with other family members. This is interesting to note, despite their feelings of inadequacy on many occasions for not being able to speak Samoan as well as their mother hoped. The absence of a Samoan champion and language rules in the home means that Samoan is spoken in the home by the parents but not by the children, and the children are impartial to using Samoan in any other domains. Furthermore, there appears to be limited opportunities outside the home for the family to hear or speak Samoan, given that they do not attend a Samoan-speaking church, and the children do not learn Samoan at school. The disruption of the families splitting then recombining also seems to have affected the Samoan language significantly.

4.4 The Fiafia family

The Fiafia family is a blended, multiethnic (Samoan-Tongan) family of eight. F_Mother is Samoan, as are the four elder children from her previous marriage. She and her partner, F_Father, have two young children together, aged four and two. F_Mother was born in Samoa and raised in American Samoa; Samoan was her first language. When her marriage broke up, she migrated to New Zealand with three children and a fourth child on the way.

Living in New Zealand was a big change from American Samoa, especially keeping the Samoan language alive with her children. As a solo parent, she lived with her mother and sisters until she met F_Father. F_Father is Tongan and was born and raised in New Zealand. English was his first language, although he moved to Tonga in his teenage years to 'learn his Tongan language and culture'. Since that time, F_Father has lived in the United States of America for a number of years, before returning to New Zealand. The Fiafias live in South Auckland where the children attend a local Samoan congregational church; F_Father is Catholic. One child (F_Son2) is at boarding school during the week, returning home in the weekends.

Table 4.7 Fiafia family profile

Family member	M/F	Age	Place of birth	Age at arrival	Highest level of education	L1	L2/3	Occupation	Religion
F_Father	M	43	NZ	N/A	Secondary school (Tonga)	English	Tongan	Labourer	Catholic
F_Mother	F	31	Samoa	20	Tertiary	Samoa	English	<i>A'oga Amata</i> educator	EFKS
F_Son1	M	16	Am. Samoa ⁶⁴	7	Secondary school	Samoa	English	Student	EFKS
F_Daughter 1	F	15	Am. Samoa	6	Secondary school	Samoa	English	Student	EFKS
F_Son2	M	11	Am. Samoa	2	Primary School	Samoa	English	Student	EFKS
F_Daughter 2	F	8	NZ	N/A	Primary School	Samoa	English	Student	EFKS
F_Daughter 3	F	4	NZ	N/A	Preschool	English	Tongan Samoa	Student	EFKS
F_Son3	M	2	NZ	N/A	Preschool	English	Tongan Samoa	Student	EFKS

4.4.1 Setting the tone in the family

It was a challenge trying to identify who set the tone on language use in this family, given the English, Tongan and Samoan mix. Samoan was F_Mother's first language, and she said she made sure her four eldest children had the same opportunity. As an *A'oga Amata* teacher, she strongly believes that the *A'oga Amata*'s role is to supplement home learning. Over the years, she noticed that many of the children coming into *A'oga Amata* had less and less Samoan; and that *A'oga Amata teachers* seemed to be expected to play the role of the parents and teach Samoan. She found it frustrating that their efforts at the centres were not supported once the children returned home, adding 'why should I speak Samoan to them when they are going to go back home and speak English'. She was also saddened by the fact that more English was being spoken in the *A'oga Amata* where she worked, to cater for the non-Samoan speaking children.

Given her firm beliefs on the role of the family in teaching and nurturing the Samoan language with their children, she was finding her own role to teach and enrich Samoan with her children difficult. All her children favoured English over Samoan, but her two

⁶⁴ American Samoa.

youngest children in particular, ethnically Tongan and Samoan, spoke English as a first language. Furthermore, she had made the decision that they would not be schooled in *A'oga Amata* like her other children had been, but that they would go to English-speaking preschools. There was a hint of regret in her voice as she explained this; she felt that she had not done what she had encouraged other families to do.

4.4.2 Value of the Samoan language

F_Mother and her two eldest children were the main discussants here; their views focused on the importance of Samoan language to heritage/identity, and setting an educational foundation for employment. F_Father also had views on this, more specifically with regard to his two children (F_Daughter3 and F_Son3) who were ethnically Samoan and Tongan. F_Father argued the value of them learning both their Samoan and Tongan heritage, and shared his hopes that the children would learn both languages as they got older:

F_Father: I think Samoan or Tongan is important as well because that's where their parents come from. I think they should learn it as they're growing up. That way, when they get older, they know where their parents come from.

Identity

F_Mother described the Samoan language as integral to her being, because it was her mother tongue, and 'the first language I ever heard'. She also saw the language to be a gift from God, in the same way her children had been gifted to her from God. She argued that to be a 'true' Samoan, one must know how to speak Samoan; it is imperative that NZ-born Samoans know how to speak Samoan and how to carry out their cultural obligations 'so they will not be out of place' if they return to Samoa:

F_Mother: *Ou ke iloa a e kāua ke le ia a'u la'u gagaga Samoa a, auā o le gagaga lea ga ou fagau mai ou ola a'e, o le gagaga muamua a lea ga ou fa'alogo i ai.* It should be a treasure to any Samoan, 'cos *o le meaalofa lea a le Atua ia tatou. E kakau ga kakou fa'apelepele i ai, e pei o le kakou fagau lea ua aumai e le Akua.* It's just like *ga aumai e le Akua kakou ke kaukakala ai ma fa'aaogā.*

I know the Samoan language is valuable because it's the language I was born with and grew up with; it is the first language I heard. It should be a treasure to any Samoan 'cos it is a gift from God for us. We have to treasure it, just as our children are gifted from God. It's just like God gave it to us to speak and use.

The Fiafia children had mixed feelings about what being a Samoan means and how this is associated with the language. For example, F_Son1 argued that speaking Samoan would mean you were a ‘real Samoan’ but in the same breath, said that one could still be Samoan even if they could not speak Samoan. When questioned further it became clear that his idea of being Samoan encompassed ‘knowing our religions, legends, and how we’re brown’, not just skin-deep (F_Son1). He further proposed that a measure of one’s ‘Samoanness’ would be if one could speak Samoan, one would be a ‘better’ Samoan, while those who could speak Samoan but chose not to, would be labelled as *fia Pālagi*. His sister, F_Daughter1, was uncertain as to whether the language was important to her identity as a Samoan. She knew that, ideally, speaking Samoan put a family in a better light than others; it made them proud, and signaled to society that they were a ‘good’ Samoan family. At the same time, she questioned whether speaking Samoan had any relevance for her life:

F_Daughter1: I think Samoan is important but not really important. Oh no, it’s really important. By speaking Samoan it shows who you really are. You have to be able to speak Samoan, to be known as a Samoan. Oh, it’s both. Who you represent when you go out, you’re taking your family’s name.

Education and employment

F_Mother was a teacher at the *A’oga Amata*, and Samoan language was clearly her love, her talent and her knowledge base. She understands very well the importance of speaking the Samoan language for employment purposes and this aligns with her commitment to ensuring children have a solid Samoan language foundation, despite the many frustrations. She also discussed the cognitive benefits associated with language learning, which, she said, reinforces the importance of ensuring a child’s first language is solid before acquiring a second language:

F_Mother: *O le mea ga e kakau ai ga galulue fa’akasi mākua ma faia’oga a le A’oga Amata, auā o lea e fai mai su’esu’ega a le vaega lea, fai mai gei a lelei le first language a le tamaitiiti mai le laitiiti, e faigofie foi na pick up isi gagaga ma whatever language e alu aku e faigofie ga lakou pick upiga.*

The thing is that parents and Samoan ECE teachers need to work together, because there is research that shows that if a child is grounded in their first language from a young age, it is easier to pick up another language, and whatever language comes their way, it is easy for them to pick up.

F_Daughter1 also commented on the importance of being able to speak Samoan in the workforce. Her dream is to become a doctor, and she can see the benefits of being able to converse in Samoan with Samoan patients:

F_Daughter1: It's important in New Zealand, in case that person doesn't know English and you can help them by speaking Samoan to them. When I become a doctor it will be important. I can help in case they don't understand what I'm trying to tell them and I can translate it.

4.4.3 Language use

This section looks at language use, firstly in the family domain, and then other domains of language interaction. Within the family, family rules regarding language use are presented first, followed by actual language use. The last part of this section looks at the future of the Samoan language for this family.

Family

Rules

There was no general rule for what language should be spoken in the home, although there seemed to be agreement on the principle of 'mother tongue maintenance'. F_Mother said that in the early days she had raised her four eldest children to speak Samoan. This had been a 'family given' and she had not felt the need to have an explicit rule. However, a change in language use took place when she and F_Father had come together. She said that having three languages in the home was challenging. As a result, she had opted not to have a rule as to what language to speak but everyone would speak English. It was 'easier that way':

F_Mother: I heard some families have rules: you go to school and you speak English, and come home and speak Samoan. But it's hard for us because F_Father speaks Tongan, I speak Samoan most of the time to the kids. I hear three languages being spoken at different times.

While Samoan is often spoken by F_Mother to her four eldest children, F_Father speaks Tongan to the two youngest children. English is the main language of communication between the parents and English is the only language the six children share in common. While there is no explicit rule, observations show that expectations are clear as to who is expected to speak each language, and to whom. For example, the aim was that the two youngest children spoke and understood Tongan. Given his own upbringing, F_Father

said he had decided that once he had children of his own he would make sure they spoke Tongan so they would learn and appreciate their heritage. Therefore, F_Father speaks Tongan to them. While they understand, they cannot respond in Tongan. F_Mother speaks Samoan to her four older children but is much stricter with the two eldest, expecting them to understand and respond in Samoan. F_Son1 and F_Daughter1 said their mother often got angry with them for not speaking Samoan to her. To the other children, the mother was a lot more relaxed:

F_Son1: She tells us to think, and then think [in] Samoan, and we will take ages. We speak English but we are trying to translate in our heads it takes ages. We have to think about how we say it in Samoan. She gets mad when we speak in English.

Language practices

Parents

Observations confirmed that a mix of three languages was spoken in this family. Neither parent could speak each other's heritage tongues. They knew some of the phrases but generally communicated with each other in English.

When asked what languages she spoke in the home, F_Mother explained that as a family they speak English, and that she herself speaks 'whatever language comes out of my mouth... that's the language I speak' (F_Mother). She sees this flexibility as necessary so that everyone in the family can communicate. Most of the time she tries her best to speak Samoan to her children, especially to her two oldest children, and this comes easily to her. However, because the two younger children do not speak Samoan, she often finds herself speaking English to all her children without realising it. She knows she speaks less Samoan to F_Son2 and F_Daughter2.

In the following interaction, F_Mother instructed F_Son1 to take the rubbish to the bin, in Samoan. As can be seen, she switches to English to talk to the younger children and her husband before reverting to Samoan to talk to F_Son1 again:

F_Mother: O ai ga va'ai i le ki a le ka'avale? Ave le mea lea i le lapisi. Lea son.

Who has seen my car keys? Take this to the rubbish. Here, son.

F_Son1: What?

F_Mother: *Kago e ave le mea lea i le lapisi!*
Take this and put it in the rubbish bin!

F_Mother: Babe?

F_Father: What?

F_Mother: You want the kids now?

F_Father: Yeah.

F_Mother: Baby, go Daddy Papa. F_Daughter3?

F_Daughter3: I'm here mum.

F_Mother: *F_Son1, fai gi ofu māfagafaga o kamaiki a. Fa'alogo mai? Aumai le fagu'u e makua'i u'u mamā o lakou kigo pe a makua'i mamago lelei muamua.*

F_Son1, make sure you put some warm clothes on the kids, ok? You listening? Get the oil and oil their whole bodies once they have dried off.

As with the other recordings and observations, there were not many discussions between F_Mother and the children, rather a more directing of behaviour⁶⁵, particularly to the two children who can speak and understand the most Samoan:

F_Mother: *O le mea ou ke fefe ai, ke'i ua malosi kele le Igilisi ma mou aku ai le kakou gagaga a, but I'm trying my best e kaukala fa'asamoa i la'u fagau. Oke fa'asamoa, iku'āiga oke fo'i ga e gaka ai le oke [LAUGHS]. So'o se iku'āiga kala a e kogi aku a i ai. But ou ke fiafia ai, I'm not soft fo'i gale ia lakou pe ou ke fai fai lemu i ai.*

What scares me is that English might be too strong and we end up losing our language but I'm trying my best to speak Samoan to my children. I yell at them in Samoan, the kind of telling off that has no limits. Whatever comes out my mouth, I throw it at them. But, I'm happy that I'm not soft, or take it easy on them.

F_Mother's comments show an awareness of language shift, which could lead to language loss. F_Mother also pointed out that the most Tongan spoken in the house was when F_Father was telling off the two youngest children; that 'Tongan is spoken like half and half to the little kids when they're naughty...and when he asks them to do something' (F_Mother). F_Mother also admitted that she was 'scared' that language shift was occurring in her family and she feared that her children might lose the Samoan language.

F_Father's first language was English. With the four oldest children, F_Father always speaks English; to his children (F_Daughter3 and F_Son3) he speaks English but deliberately speaks Tongan to them also. He said this is a conscious decision that his children would speak English as a first language, and then that he and F_Mother would

⁶⁵ In the *fa'asamoa* children are not expected to answer back when their parents are speaking to them.

speaking their languages to them in the hope that they would pick up both Samoan and Tongan:

F_Father: Well, to me I kind of thought English would be the first language for the younger ones when they came along for school. Right now, I talk to my kids in Tongan, and F_Mother talks to them in Samoan. It's like they kind of understand both languages. I think they should learn it as they're growing up.

The following is an excerpt from a recording of the young children playing while F_Father and F_Daughter1 are watching TV. When the children begin to fight and annoy their father, he tells them off in English, but note the change in language to Tongan when he tells off his two youngest children⁶⁶:

F_Daughter2: Stop. It's mine. Daddy, she's going to tear up the newspaper. Daddy, she's pulling my hair.

F_Father: Stop it, F_Daughter3!

F_Daughter2: Say sorry. You're not getting anything. Dad, F_Daughter3 is not getting anything

F_Father: ***Tu'u ki o lunga!*** F_Daughter3, ***ha'u!***
Stand up. F_Daughter3, come!

F_Daughter1: F_Son3! Shit!

F_Father: What did he do?

F_Daughter3: He just *igi*⁶⁷ me
He just pinched me

F_Father: Stop it, F_Daughter3!

F_Father: Don't do that to your sister, OK? Hear me? Don't do that, that's not nice, OK F_Son3? ***Uma!*** Give your sister a hug. ***Uma!***
Don't do that to your sister, OK? Hear me? Don't do that, that's not nice, OK F_Son3? ***Kiss!*** Give your sister a hug. ***Kiss!***

F_Daughter3: Daddy, look at him he pulling my ear

F_Father: Hey! ***Tukunoa'i ho tokoua!*** Don't push him. F_Daughter3, you almost hurt your brother. Enough. ***Tuku ia! Tuku ho'o pehe! Tuku ia!***
Hey! **Leave your brother alone!** Don't push him. F_Daughter3, you almost hurt your brother. Enough! **Stop it! Stop being like that! Stop it!**

The parents both commented that the lack of quality family time was likely influencing their language practices. They were both very busy and, parenting was shared. The daily routine was that F_Father headed to work very early in the morning while F_Mother got

⁶⁶ The bold words indicate Tongan utterances.

⁶⁷ *Igi* (to pinch) in Samoan.

the children ready for school, took them to school, and then brought them home when she finished work. Here, the older children would prepare dinner and when F_Father arrived home from work, he would take care of the children while F_Mother went to the gym or to the other many meetings she was involved in in the evenings. The only real time the family spent together was in the weekends when F_Son2 came home from boarding school. F_Mother knew that even the weekends were taken up with church meetings and activities:

F_Mother: *O makou ma kamaiki* (me and the kids), I drop them off then I go to work. After school *o aku le au ko'alua lea o F_Daughter1 ma F_Son2* (F_Daughter1 and F_Son2 come over [to my work]). F_Son1 has got training every day. I've got a routine to go to the gym too. When I come home we don't do many *mea'ai e umi ga kuka* (meals that require a lot of cooking). I just quickly do the food, *sau loa F_Father fa'avela ma gofo ma kamaiki* (then when F_Father gets home he heats the food up and stays with the kids). Mostly everyday I go do my stuff. *Sau loa i le fale, ka'ele, moe* (then I come home, shower and sleep).

Given the mother's busy schedule, it appeared that the children were often with their father in the evenings and so English was the main language for F_Father to communicate with the children. This busy 'Pālagi-type' work lifestyle, which has become common for Samoan (and Pacific) families in New Zealand, appears to have affected language practices in this family significantly.

F_Mother's aim was to schedule more time together as a family, such as more *afiafi fa'ale'āiga* (family nights) or *lotu afiafi* which they used to do as a family. Regretfully, F_Mother explained that they no longer had these family times, or it only occurred if there was a problem:

F_Mother: *O afiafi foi ga e fa'ale'āiga...ou ke magakuaga le loku Mamoga e fai lakou mea ga o family night, e kalakalagoa ai po o ā gi mea o makā'upu fa'ale'āiga e fia kalagoa ai ma soālaupule ai matua ma le fanau. Share aku mākuā ae share mai foi kamaiki i mea e lē o fiafia i ai, mea e kakau ga fa'alelei, o mea ga lakou fai i le a'oga. Makou ke lē faia la... sometimes. E fai makou mea ga when there's a problem, ia fai loa le makou family night but not always which is something e kakau ga fai so'o. Se'iloa ua kupu se fa'alavelave fa'ako'ā fai se family talk. O makou e lē faia gi makou loku afiafi e fa'amāsagi e faikau le Kusi Paia, fai fa'asolosolo faikau le fuai'upu a le isi, faikau le fuai'upu a le isi... O le mea foi ga ola mai ai. E fai loku i le afiafi. Faikau le Kusi Paia.*

Family evenings... in the Mormon Church they have family nights to talk about any family issues that need to be discussed. Parents and children can discuss together. Parents can share and then the children can share as well about what they are not happy with, what needs to be improved, what they did at school. We don't do it though... [just] sometimes. We have them when there is a problem, then we will have a family night but not always, which is something that should be done all the time. We only have a family talk when something [bad] happens. We don't have evening prayers to get them [the children] used to reading the Bible or to take turns [to read scripture] so that one can read

one passage, another can read another passage. I grew up with it. We had evening prayers. [We] read the Bible.

While both parents tried to speak their own languages to the children, the difficulties in negotiating three languages has often proved troublesome and so English has become the default language for communicating.

Children

The children showed varying degrees of competency in the three languages spoken in this household. The four eldest can understand Samoan, and although F_Son1 and F_Daughter1 might speak some Samoan, they mostly speak English. F_Son2 attended boarding school, returning home on the weekends. Observations were that he and his sister F_Daughter2 did not speak Samoan at home, but understood it when their mother spoke Samoan to the two eldest children. For F_Daughter3 and F_Son3, English is their first language but they can also understand Tongan when their father speaks to them, although they do not speak it often. F_Daughter3 is the most talkative of the two youngest and speaks English all the time. F_Son3, the baby, was barely two years old but was starting to say English words.

F_Son1 and F_Daughter1, like many older siblings in Samoan families, are accustomed to taking care of their younger siblings. In the recordings and during my observations, I noted that F_Son1 would often help prepare dinner for his siblings, and F_Daughter1 helped to shower and feed the children while their mother was away and their father was watching TV. F_Daughter1 seemed to have the most interaction with her siblings on a day-to-day basis. When she was babysitting, she often spoke some Samoan to the younger siblings, with a great deal of fluency. The Samoan was mostly instructions to her younger siblings to do something or telling them off. In the following example, the father, F_Daughter3 and F_Daughter1 are playing with the baby (F_Son3). The baby keeps reaching for his father and sister's plates. Both F_Father and F_Daughter1 tell the baby off, in Tongan and Samoan:

F_Daughter1: *E fia fasi oe?* Hey! Shhh!
You want me to smack you? Hey! Shhh! [SAMOAN]

F_Father: F_Son3! Shit! *Tuku ia!*
F_Son3! Shit! **Stop it!** [TONGAN]

F_Daughter1: *Alu i o! Alu i o!*
Go away! Go away! [SAMOAN]

F_Daughter3: Daddy, here.

F_Daughter1: ***Koeikiiki kuma lou guku!*** [SAMOAN]
I'm going to punch your mouth soon!

The mother is particularly proud of her two eldest children; she believes they are still able to speak Samoan well. F_Mother explained that there was no rule in the house as to what languages to speak. However, she appeared to have an implicit expectation for F_Son1 and F_Daughter1, as the oldest, to speak Samoan, given that they were already speaking it when they migrated to New Zealand. On a recent trip home to Samoa, F_Mother said her family in Samoa were pleasantly surprised that her two oldest children could speak Samoan well and read the Bible in Samoan. In their view, children born outside of Samoa were not expected to be able to speak Samoan:

F_Mother: *E kēke'i le makou 'āiga, o lea makou ke o aku i'igei i Niu Sila, e lē kakau ga iloa kaukakala, ae faikau aku e la'u vaega le Kusi Paia makua'i seki a le faikau. La e iloa, e mo'i o la e faigakā le ka'uga o upu a o la e kaumafai, e kēke'i e fa'apea e lē iloa faikau le Kusi Paia.*

My family were shocked, we came from New Zealand and [the children] should not know how to speak [Samoan], but when my kids read the Bible, they were really good at it. They know that it's not easy to read some words, and they're trying, but they were shocked because they thought they couldn't read the Bible.

It is clear that the language all of the children were most comfortable with is English. When I spoke Samoan to F_Son1, he appeared to understand well but replied in English. When his mother spoke to him, he either gave short replies such as 'ia' (yes), remained silent to show he was obeying the order, or he replied in English. F_Daughter1 was more competent in Samoan and spoke more Samoan than her older brother, often code-switching between English and Samoan. Given the choice, both F_Son1 and F_Daughter1 said they preferred to speak in English:

F_Daughter1: Mum speaks mainly in Samoan but we all answer in English. When we are hanging around by ourselves at home, it's always in English. We don't really speak Samoan to each other.

Domains of language use in the family

There are factors that influence language practices inside and outside the home, such as technology. The parents use digital technology and Samoan media but the children do not view them as useful domains to speak Samoan in. Most of the support within the home comes from extended family members and trips to the homeland.

Extended family

Other chances to speak Samoan have included speaking with members of the extended family, such as grandparents and family members from Samoa. The children and their mother had lived with their grandmother when they first arrived from American Samoa. They said that while other family members in the house spoke English, the grandmother and F_Mother always spoke to each other in Samoan. Regular contact with the grandmother was still maintained by F_Son1 and F_Daughter1. Their grandmother, a ‘freshy who was a straight FOB’ (F_Daughter1), always spoke Samoan to them, and made sure they responded in Samoan. They said this helped them retain their Samoan:

F_Son1: We used to live with our nana. The whole family stayed there, my mum and her siblings and their kids. It was a big house. There was probably five or seven kids. My nana always speaks Samoan to us. She understands English but when she speaks, we always laugh at her because she sounds so fresh⁶⁸. We always speak Samoan to her.

F_Daughter1: She’s a straight FOB. Sometimes we had to translate programmes on the TV to her.

Having a steady influx of visiting family members from Samoa, and trips back to Samoa, also help Samoan language maintenance efforts. F_Son1 and F_Daughter1 recalled having many family members come and stay with them, which also meant that they had to speak Samoan to them. The family had also travelled back to Samoa with F_Father, and got to spend time with F_Mother’s family in Samoa. F_Mother said it was important for NZ-born children, like her children, to visit Samoa; that growing up in New Zealand for their whole lives meant that they did not know the *fa’asamoa*. Her hope for her children is that when they go to Samoa they know their place and take part in Samoan activities. The children have enjoyed their times in Samoa and said they spoke more Samoan in Samoa when they were with the other children in the village. They also had to take part in church services and youth activities at their church in Samoa, which also ‘forced them’ to speak more Samoan. F_Daughter1 recalled how scary it was being there for *Lotu a Tamaiti* (White Sunday⁶⁹) in Samoa, where she had to read the Bible in Samoan, but she said she also really enjoyed it.

⁶⁸ Fresh – comes from FOB (Fresh off the Boat).

⁶⁹ White Sunday is also known as ‘children’s day’, and carries on the custom of biblical education for children. Most children get new white clothes, and the whole family goes to church and the children recite memorised speeches from the Bible and performances (Mageo, 1998).

Mass media

The Fiafia family were not big Samoan language media consumers, often finding the Samoan radio and movies ‘uninteresting’. Samoan newspapers were not enticing enough to be read by anyone in the family. F_Mother said she liked to listen to the Samoan radio station but did not often get a chance to listen to it because they had no radio at home, nor Wi-Fi access to listen online. She noted that children these days did not seem to be interested in Samoan radio either, as was the case with her children; she felt it did not cater for the youth of today:

F_Mother: *Ia ua pei o kakou kamaiki e le igikalesi kele i le leikiō Samoa auā e leai gi pese... I think ga ou fa’alogologo i le polokalame a kamaiki e sau i le leikiō Samoa i le kā o le kolu. Ia, makaulia e le’i ku’ua kamaiki i le kaimi ga, o la e i le a’oga. Ia o kamaiki lea high school, e lē igikalesi lakou i gi ga mea. E igikalesi a lakou i mo pese, o musika.*

Our children are not really interested in the Samoan radio because they don’t play songs... I think I listened to a kids programme on the Samoan radio at 3 o’clock in the afternoon. Remember, kids haven’t finished school then. As for the high school kids, they’re not interested in that. They are more interested in [pop] songs and music.

The young people prefer to listen to music on their devices. For example, F_Son1 was often in his room playing music, singing and dancing. He and his sister (F_Daughter1) enjoyed listening to music by Samoan artists, such as Vaniah Toloa, because they liked the lyrics to his songs. Samoan movies were not popular in the household either. F_Mother saw these movies as a ‘waste of time’ and were ‘too expensive’ but would still borrow copies of movies from her friends to watch. The children would also watch them:

F_Daughter1: Sometimes we watch Samoan movies. My mum gets them from her friends. My favourite is *Toe fo’i tama Savai’i*, I like that one ‘cos of the old lady. She’s funny.

F_Son1: The funny ones like *Tama fai popo*, are easy to understand ‘cos the subtitles come underneath.

With the help of subtitles, the children are able to understand parts of the movies that are difficult to comprehend.

Digital technology and the internet

Technology has a presence in the household. The parents, F_Son1 and F_Daughter1 all own mobile phones, and observations showed that the younger children often play on an iPad for extended periods of time. However, with no internet access in the home, none of these devices can be connected to the internet there. Facebook and other online social networking are accessed on the mobile phones providing they have credit and data.

The children do not see social networking sites such as Facebook as an avenue for them to use Samoan. They said all their communication online was in English, except perhaps when communicating with some children from church. Their 24-hour recall sheets also show that all text messaging is also in English. F_Mother, on the other hand, said she enjoyed using as much Samoan as she could online, particularly when talking to her friends and family. She also tried to text family members in Samoan. For her, this is more than just communicating; it is also about saving face. She feels that if she uses ‘too much English’ online, she may be perceived by the Samoan community as ‘wannabe *Pālagi*’:

F_Mother: *Ou ke mix i la’u Facebook ae most of the time I can feel kilokilo mai kagaka ‘o le fia gagu ia’. “O le ā le mea e gagu ai ae lē fa’asamoa, po o se Pālagi?”. E ala ai ga ou kago fa’apālagi i isi kaimi auā ka ke iloa o la e i ai isi a’u friends e lē iloa fa’asamoa. So might as well do it in English gai lo le fa’asamoa ae uma translate i le English. Ia, but I like to speak Samoan.*

I mix [languages] on my Facebook [page], but most of the time I can feel people looking at me thinking I’m a wannabe European. “Why would she use English instead of Samoan, like she’s a European?” The reason why I use English at times is that I know I have friends on Facebook who can’t speak Samoan. Therefore, I might as well do it in English instead of using Samoan and then have to translate it into English. Yes, I like to speak Samoan.

F_Mother shared how she believed that technology affects the Samoan language and communication, both in New Zealand and in Samoa, as everyone seems to prefer to communicate online or via text messaging on their phones now, rather than having face-to-face conversations. Their lives in New Zealand now mean ‘we hardly have any time to talk, not like in Samoa where we all talk to each other’. Family time occurs around the television rather than in conversation, and the children watch television once they get home from school until they go to bed at night. The speech recordings and observations confirmed this. The television is always on, and the younger children enjoy watching their cartoons, or they play games on the iPad. F_Father watches the news while the children play and eat dinner. The older children have their favourite television programmes such as *Shortland Street*; they watch them daily before they go to bed. There does not seem to be much communication happening between the parents and children.

Other domains of language use

For this family, most of the support for the Samoan language came from outside the family home by way of the church and the school.

Church

F_Mother and her children attended, and were very active in, their local Samoan Congregational church. They described their current church as being very strong in the *fa'asamoa*. It pleased F_Mother that her children enjoyed their church and she knew that the church had an influential role in helping to maintain the Samoan language for its congregation. F_Father was a Catholic but did not attend church; he often stayed home with the youngest children (F_Daughter3 and F_Son3) on Sundays as he often became bored with everything at church being in Samoan.

Their church Minister, his wife and some of the church leaders in the congregation had a keen interest in the *fa'asamoa* and they also focused many of the church programmes on teaching and instilling in the church youth (and their parents) the importance of knowing their *gagana Samoa* and *aganu'u*. The Sunday service, various group activities within the church, and church meetings were almost all entirely in Samoan:

F_Mother: *I kokogu o le falesā o le kele ia o le fesoasoagi a le loku i le atiina'eina ma le fa'atūmauina ole gagana a? O le A'oga Aso Sā, o le aufaipese, auā o la e pese i pese Samoa. Ia, o le Aukalavou o la e a'oa'o ai mea fa'asamoa, ma le loku a as a whole o la e fa'alologologo aku i folafolaga la e fai mai e le failaukusi, ia o la e laulau mai kupe, le aofa'iga o kupe ma mea fa'apēgā.*

The church is a big help in the development and retention of the language... at Sunday School and even the choir [because] they sing Samoan songs. They teach the Samoan culture at youth group, and even the church as a whole; when you listen to the secretary's report, he reads out of the details, and money etc [in Samoan].

F_Son1 and F_Daughter1 were enthusiastic about church life, and enjoyed being involved in church, especially the *Autalavou*, where they met up with their friends. F_Son1, in particular, said he spoke a lot of Samoan at church, but said there was also a lot of English spoken, especially by the youth who struggled to speak Samoan. Because of this, Samoan and English were often used side by side by church leaders, solely for the benefit of the young people. The Minister conducted all the church services in Samoan but would deliver his sermon in both Samoan and English so that the young people could follow. F_Daughter1 said she found this helpful because 'sometimes the Samoan words he uses are too hard'. Similarly, the Sunday school teachers used Samoan and English in their classes, which F_Son1 appreciated, because 'it makes us understand what she just said'. The church also produced a newsletter in Samoan which was published monthly online.

F_Son1 admitted that ‘we don’t really read the church newsletter; I just look at the pictures. It’s pretty much all written in Samoan.’

Education

The six children attended different schools, and some were able to learn or use Samoan at school while others were not. F_Mother said she encouraged her two eldest children to study Samoan at school; they and their two siblings (F_Son2 and F_Daughter2) had also attended *A’oga Amata*. However, the two youngest children attended an English medium preschool. F_Mother pondered as to why her youngest two children could not speak Samoan but suggested it could have been attending an English-medium preschool that had perhaps influenced their Samoan language learning:

F_Mother: *E malamalama lelei a. All of them, I mean not F_Daughter3 and baby a ‘cos la e a’o’oga i le a’oga Pālagi, a o F_Son2 ma F_Daughter2 ga a’o’oga i le a’oga Samoa lea ou ke i ai. So it’s kind of e lē keke gi la upu Samoa. For baby, e le’i kaukala. E lē kaikai oka fa’alogo i le fale o kaukala fa’asamoa, e gagu a. Ga fa’apea la ia, but I speak Samoan at home? The older ones speak Samoan at home but o le a le mea ua le kaukala fa’asamoa ai F_Daughter3? Mea la ga e ka’u mai ai makua’i malosi a le influence a le Igilisi.*

They all understand [Samoan]. All of them, I mean not F_Daughter3 and baby ‘cos they’re at an English medium preschool, but F_Son2 and F_Daughter2 went to the Samoan ECE I am at. Therefore, it’s kind of like they don’t have much of a Samoan vocabulary. For baby, he can’t talk yet... I never hear them speak Samoan at home; they speak English. Then I wonder why? Because I speak Samoan at home? The older ones speak Samoan at home but why doesn’t F_Daughter3 speak Samoan? That’s how I know how strong the influence of English is.

The two middle children had a different schooling experience. They began at the *A’oga Amata* where their mother was teaching, and then went to primary school and intermediate school respectively. F_Son2 was the only child who got a fully funded scholarship to board at what his mother described as a ‘really good school’. As a result, he was only home during the weekends. Neither school taught Samoan nor had bilingual units. The two eldest children, on the other hand, continued to learn Samoan at secondary school. F_Daughter1 went to a local secondary school that had a long history of teaching Samoan. Initially, she who wanted to be a doctor did not take Samoan as a subject. However, her mother encouraged her to take Samoan because, in her view, the Samoan teacher at the school was one of the best in Auckland. Her older brother F_Son1 was in a bilingual unit at his school, which used Samoan as the medium of instruction for three days of the week. He said he really enjoyed the bilingual unit because they taught him about Samoan values such as respect. As a result, F_Son1 said he felt accepted and that

he belonged there. This was not the case for him in other classes with his non-Samoan teachers, such as his Mathematics teacher:

F_Son1: We speak Samoan pretty much all the time because most of the people in my class are all in the low class for our year and our teacher knows heaps of them don't understand English that much. She will speak English to the other people who don't know how to speak Samoan. The Samoan classes help. We have three days of Samoan: Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, and the other days are our other options. We take Samoan just for one period, because there's English, Maths and then Samoan. We are respectful in Samoan class 'cos that's our culture. My Maths teacher always comes and I'm quiet but when I'm in his class I'm not. He always growls at me. Everyone in our Samoan class is always well behaved. We know in the Samoan class we will get told off or she will tell us to go to another class.

For both F_Son1 and F_Daughter1, the fact that they went to schools which supported Samoan language learning also meant that they got the chance to 'hang around' other Samoans, thus providing more chances to speak Samoan. As F_Daughter1 explained, 'there's heaps of Samoans at my school and heaps of my friends are Samoan, and I mainly speak Samoan with my friends'. However, F_Son2 was not so fortunate. Living at boarding school for five days of the week meant he was not hearing or speaking any Samoan.

4.4.4 Future

On a final note, F_Mother and her two oldest children were asked to rate their competency in their L1 and L2 (i.e. English, Samoan). Each family member rated themselves quite highly in speaking English, as well as reading and writing. F_Mother sees herself as being bilingual in both Samoan and English.

Table 4.8 Fiafia family: Self-reported L1 and L2 and language proficiency

Family member	L1	L2	Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
			Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng
F_Mother	Samoan	English	10	9	10	9	10	9	10	8
F_Son1	Samoan	English	10	10	10	10	9	6	8	5
F_Daughter1	Samoan	English	9	8	10	8	6	10	7	10

The children rated themselves quite highly in speaking Samoan. F_Son1 reported to be able to speak English well, but said his other literacy skills in English were low, especially compared with Samoan, which he argued, was much higher across the board. This was interesting, given he said he speaks less Samoan than his younger sister (F_Daughter1). F_Daughter1's ratings show that English is her stronger language, and while she was

confident about speaking Samoan, she did not feel she was literate in reading and writing in Samoan.

4.4.5 Summary

The Fiafia family has given insights into the challenges that multiethnic and blended families experience in New Zealand. Competing values and beliefs mean the family has struggled to transmit and maintain both Samoan and Tongan in the family. English is the main language of communication, and it is the first language for the younger children in the family. One of the biggest challenges for the family is that the children do not use the Samoan language much outside the home, apart from at church. Limited domains of use, as well as ‘choosing not to speak Samoan’ mean there has been little opportunity to speak Samoan. Furthermore, different rules for different children mean there is no one consistent language policy for the family. This has resulted in a clear break in transmission of Samoan language with the younger children in the family, which has also affected language practices in the home. The changing nature of both the family structure, and migration from Samoa to New Zealand, has added further challenges for this family in the transmission and retention of Samoan. Clearly, a multiethnic family influences both ethnic languages, defaulting to English.

4.5 The Galo family

The Galo family is a nuclear family of five, comprising the two parents and three children, the eldest of whom was not living at the family home and therefore was not included as part of the study. Both parents were born and educated in Samoa before moving to New Zealand as adults at separate times, for better employment opportunities. They met in Wellington, New Zealand, married and moved to Auckland with their three children shortly after their youngest child (G_Son1) was born. The family have lived in South Auckland ever since. Samoan is the first language for all family members.

The children described their family as a ‘close Samoan family’; the children (G_Daughter1 and G_Son1) have a very close relationship, especially since their older sister ‘does her own thing’ (G_Daughter1). G_Son1 affectionately described his mother as his ‘protector.’

Table 4.9 **Galo family profile**

Family member	M/F	Age	Place of birth	Age at arrival	Highest level of education	L1	Occupation	Religion
G_Father	M	57	Samoa	20s	Tertiary (Samoa, NZ)	Samoaan	Teacher	EFKS
G_Mother	F	49	Samoa	20s	Tertiary (Samoa)	Samoaan	Customer service	EFKS
G_Daughter1	F	24	NZ	N/A	Tertiary	Samoaan	Nurse	EFKS
G_Son1	M	22	NZ	N/A	Tertiary	Samoaan	Student	EFKS

4.5.1 Setting the tone in the family

As adult migrants to New Zealand, G_Father and G_Mother said they tried to raise their family in their new home following the advice of their relatives already in New Zealand. They were eager for their children to be successful in New Zealand, and so had encouraged them to learn English as quickly as possible. They had enrolled the children in an English medium preschool, and ‘good Catholic schools’ so that they had ‘the best chances at education’ (G_Daughter1). Clearly, once the children started school, Samoan took a ‘back seat’ to English. In fact, Samoan was no longer spoken in the home. As G_Son1 recalled, ‘I think our parents just stopped telling us [to speak Samoan]’. After his own further study, and noticing the changes in students at the schools he taught in, particularly in Samoan bilingual units, G_Father began to see a link between children knowing their mother tongues and having them supported at school, and academic achievement:

G_Father: Ga ou alu ave aka pepa i le mea lea o le TESOL. Ga ou alu lea i le [NAME OF SCHOOL] e i ai lakou bilingual classes. Mea ga ala ai ga ou gaugau i le TESOL e fesoasoagi i ai. Ou alu loa lea i le [NAME OF SCHOOL] i le mea lea ou ke i ai ua oka iloa ga aoga pepa ia ga ou alu ave mo le bilingual education.

I went and studied TESOL papers. Then I went to [NAME OF SCHOOL] where they have a bilingual class. I really wanted the TESOL [qualification] so I could help. Then I went to [NAME OF SCHOOL] where I am at now, and I now realise how important those bilingual education papers were.

G_Father said he then looked at his own children, and realised that they had begun to lose the Samoan language. They lamented that somewhere along the way ‘we went wrong’ (G_Mother), and perhaps ‘we could have done more’ (G_Father).

When the children were growing up, they had both their grandmothers living in the family home. The children initially could speak Samoan because they had to communicate with grandmothers who had very limited English. After starting school, they moved away from

speaking Samoan and spoke English all the time. G_Daughter1 recalled having communication difficulties with their grandmothers once they started school; ‘we understood each other but not really’ (G_Daughter1).

As a result, G_Father then steadfastly encouraged his children to value Samoan and learn to speak it again. This had included changing to a church where parishioners spoke Samoan. G_Father became actively involved in their new church as a deacon, and the children joined all the church activities and groups. Now, he also regularly gives seminars to the youth at his church on the issue of valuing one’s mother tongue.

4.5.2 Value of the Samoan language

The parents and children had differences of opinion regarding valuing the Samoan language. In this family, the parents talked about the spiritual value of Samoan, as well as language being the defining characteristic of Samoan identity. The children lean towards language being an ideal but do not see this as a necessity. However, both parents and the children understand the importance of Samoan to education and employment.

Spirituality

When asked about the value of the Samoan language, G_Father immediately spoke of his *tofi*, the gift from God in the form of the Samoan language. As we talked, it was clear that he was a very spiritual person in his outlook. His children described him as being ‘obsessed with God’; he places a high value on the power of God in his life. When he talks to God, he believes this can only be achieved through the ‘richness’ of his mother tongue, his *tofi*:

G_Father: *O la’u meaalofoa lea o le gagana Samoa. Ia ke a’u a ia, ou ke iloa e kelē le aogā ia ke a’u. A e kalagoa i le Akua, o le Akua a o le Samoa. E ke kalagoa i ai, e mālamalama fo’i le Atua ia te oe. Ou ke gagugagu fo’i, ua uma upu, ae pei o le gagaga Samoa, e ‘oa. E ‘oa le kamāo’āiga o le gagaga Samoa e ke fa’asoa ai.*

My Samoan language is a gift. I know it has a lot of value for me. When you talk to God, God is a Samoan. You talk to him, and God understands you. When I speak English, I run out of words but the Samoan language is rich. The richness of the Samoan language enables me to get [my message] through.

While G_Father encourages his children to pray in Samoan during *lotu afiafi*, the children can only pray in English.

Identity

Parents and children have contrasting views about the role of the Samoan language in terms of what it means to be Samoan. G_Mother thinks that speaking Samoan is the distinguishing factor for Samoans and that it is her responsibility to speak Samoan and 'pass it on'. For her, ideally Samoans should be able to speak or at least understand Samoan:

G_Mother: *Po o fea a e o i ai, e pei e lē magaia le faimai o se Samoa ae lē iloa fa'asamoa. O legei vaikaimi ua pule a le kagaka ia i aga aiā, o aga rights e lē mafai oga kakou ave'esea, fa'apea leai e lē o oe se Samoa leaga e ke lē iloa fa'asamoa. O le Samoa, got Samoan blood, ae pei a e magaia le ka'u a o le Samoa, ma alu aku ai foi ma le gagaga ua magaia kele. E kakau ga e kaumafai e kalagoa fa'asamoa. Afai e lē o fluent a o malamalama gai isi [upu].*

Wherever you go, it's nice if you say you're Samoan and you know how to speak Samoan. Nowadays, everyone is all about their rights, and you can't take someone's rights away from them, like saying you're not a Samoan because you don't know how to speak Samoan. A Samoan has Samoan blood but it's nice if you say you're Samoan and you can speak Samoan. That is really good. You should try to speak Samoan, even if you're not fluent but you know some [words].

By way of contrast, neither child sees Samoan as necessary for their identity as Samoans in New Zealand. For as long as they can remember, they have spoken English and English has become the norm. G_Daughter1 said that it was not right to decide how Samoan someone was, based on their language ability, but rather it encompassed how one 'feels' and much more. She said that she had always referred to herself as Samoan:

G_Daughter1: I would say you don't have to speak Samoan to be Samoan. That's how I feel. It's who you are. It's in your blood. It's not something that you can change. And, Samoan is not just about the language; it's more than that. To disregard that, just because of one thing, I don't think that's right. That's kind of sad.

Both children shared how at times they had struggled with their own identities; they felt others had judged them for not speaking Samoan. At one stage, G_Son1 considered himself more Maori: 'I was hard out Maori, part of the *kapahaka*⁷⁰ group, and I really enjoyed performing'. Similarly, G_Daughter1 also questioned her identity, 'I didn't know where I stood with my culture and myself as a *teine Samoa* (Samoan girl); I couldn't speak Samoan and people expect that of you'. She wondered if perhaps this was because they had not been raised in a 'traditional Samoan family'. She also noted that this might

⁷⁰ Maori performing arts.

be why she and her siblings had been encouraged to have a voice and to not be afraid to speak out, which she knew others perceived as being disrespectful.

Both children said that they had had ‘light-bulb’ moments where they realised that Samoan was important in their lives. This dawned on G_Son1 during Sunday school (at his cousin’s church) when the teacher asked him something in Samoan, and he replied in English. Astounded, the teacher told him off for not being able to speak Samoan. Up until then, G_Son1 said he had never felt that way. ‘That was a shock’ (G_Son1). Similarly G_Daughter1 shared that her ‘light-bulb moment’ came at secondary school when she realised it was ‘cool to be able to speak your language’, and she noticed others her age embracing their Pacific languages and cultures. She said, ‘oh God, we don’t know how to speak Samoan! Perhaps me and my brother had been too obsessed with the English language, that it was like one of the coolest things ever, to be rich in your culture’. This resonated with G_Daughter1 again when she was studying to be a nurse:

G_Daughter1: I feel like I didn’t realise the importance of Samoan until I was in tertiary studies. Then it was Pacific papers, your community is Pacific, high in Samoan, the language...and then it was... oh my God, you know nothing!

Employment

Both parents talked about the benefits of being bilingual in their current jobs. The mother, a trained teacher who, at the time of the study worked in customer service, talked about being able to help customers on a daily basis, particularly elderly Samoans who had limited English. She believed that ‘whatever job you have [in New Zealand], you need your Samoan’ (G_Mother). At the school where he teaches, G_Father explained the ‘warrior scholar’⁷¹ message he tried to push with all his students; that being a warrior scholar means more than just being a scholar academically, but also means being a scholar in the mother tongue. He said he urged his students to value their heritage languages as it was becoming increasingly important in New Zealand:

G_Father: *O le makou topic la e fai gei o le 'I'm a warrior scholar'. E lē fa'apea la academically oga ave'a ai lea o oe ma warrior scholar. E pei e mafai ga e warrior scholar i lau lava gagaga a? Kusa o lea ua iloa, lea ua a'oa'oiga i le iugivesike lau gagaga, loga uiga ua mafai ga e maua lau galuega i lau lava gagaga.*

The topic we are doing now is ‘I’m a warrior scholar’. It doesn’t mean that you’re a warrior scholar just because you are achieving academically. You can be a warrior scholar

⁷¹ The use of the word ‘warrior’ here connects students with their Samoan history and famous Samoan warriors.

in your own language. So, now that your language is being taught at university means that you can get a job knowing your own language.

G_Mother said she also tried to push this message with her children, and encouraged her daughter that once she got into nursing, being able to speak Samoan would also be beneficial when working with Samoan patients. As a student nurse, G_Daughter1 said she had had some difficult situations with patients who expected her to speak Samoan because she looked Samoan. She described one particular occasion where she took offence; a Samoan patient had accused her of not being able to speak Samoan:

G_Daughter1: One patient told me “you need to know your language! You need to speak your language!” And I was like, ok... And then I [thought], you arsehole, when he walked off. Because sometimes I feel it’s not my fault that I wasn’t able to speak the language. But I understand that Samoan is so important for my job too because I work with families and you’re conversing more with the family. We do reflections in our nursing studies and that’s what I write, that people see you and you’re brown and they immediately expect you to speak your language. So that was hard for me.

G_Daughter1 shared that she felt she was unfairly judged for not being able to speak Samoan, especially since she felt that it was not her fault her parents had not ‘made her’ speak Samoan. While she said those experiences were unpleasant for her, in hindsight, G_Daughter1 felt that they helped her to realise how speaking Samoan can help her in her job.

Communication

G_Father said Samoan was the only language that he could truly communicate in. He cannot communicate his thoughts and feelings as well in English, as it is not his first language:

G_Father: *E sili aku ga au la'u feau* or a message *lea ou ke kaunafai e deliver, i la'u lava gagaga, lea ou ke iloa fai*. That’s my belief. *A fai i le Igilisi, se'iloa e makua'i su'esu'e ma saili [gi upu]*.

I’m able to really get my message through in my own language. That’s my belief. If I try to do it in English, I would have to spend a lot of time looking [up words].

Being in uncomfortable situations because of not being able to speak Samoan made G_Son1 realise how important it was to learn to speak it. At family gatherings, he said he often feels isolated, uncomfortable and is unable to participate because of his limited Samoan. He realises that it is ‘wrong’ that when others speak Samoan he cannot afford them the same respect:

G_Son1: I think it's important. I guess I just want to be able to speak [Samoan] not only to my parents but to other people like my family who come from Samoa. Sometimes I just...when they're having their talks, sometimes I want to join in but I don't know how to, because they're just speaking in Samoan. Like now, they always come every Sunday and I just sit by the TV and I'm just... I understand what they're saying...but I just can't jump in... I don't know... it just feels wrong when they're all speaking Samoan and laughing and I'm speaking English.

4.5.3 Language use

This section is divided into three sections, beginning with aligning responses against the domains of interaction that the participants raised. Within the family domain, the family rules with regard to language use are presented first, followed by language practices using the data from *talanoaga*, voice recordings, observations and the 24-hour recall sheets. Other domains are presented separately, such as the digital technology and the internet and mass media domains, although these are also accessed and utilised within the home. The last part of this section looks to the future.

Family

The family predominantly speaks English. Samoan language shift was evident and, according to the family members, it had happened gradually over time (15 years or so) since the children started school. Given this, Samoan is still spoken in the home by the parents, more so by G_Father. The children speak English.

Rules

The Galos do not have a rule for which language to speak at home. The parents said that when the children were younger, the rule was to speak Samoan at home and English at school, and that was enforced. G_Son1 remembered his father being strict and he would tell the children off for speaking English: '*O oe se Pālagi? Fa'asamoa mai*' (Are you European? Speak Samoan).

Somewhere along the way, as noted, both parents had stopped enforcing the Samoan-only rule at home. G_Daughter1 remembered losing the Samoan language quite quickly, to the point where their grandmother had tried to make them pray in Samoan during their evening prayers; that had been difficult because of the children's limited Samoan. G_Mother recalled being more relaxed with her children once they went to college, and

said she got ‘sick and tired of telling the children to speak Samoan’ so she left it up to them to decide what they wanted to do. She had noticed that when G_Daughter1 went to secondary school, G_Daughter1 did not have many Samoan friends to speak Samoan with, so G_Daughter1 stopped speaking Samoan altogether. Because there were no longer any grandparents living in the family home, the children were not ‘forced’ to speak Samoan any more. From then on, there was no longer a rule to speak Samoan at home:

G_Mother: *O le isi mea, e kau fa’apea a fa’asamoa keke i ai a o’o aku i le a’oga po o malamalama i kala la e fai mai e a’oa’o ai kamaiki i le a’oga. E faigakā.*

Also, I wondered if I speak too much Samoan to them, will they understand what they’re trying to teach them in school? It’s hard.

In recent times, G_Father realised that his children had all but lost the Samoan language. He and G_Mother said they had not realised how little their children understood Samoan until they were much older. Given this, there was no commitment to enforce language rules in the home.

Language practices

English was observed to be the main language of communication in this family, especially with the children. Besides the parents speaking Samoan to each other, there was still very little Samoan spoken in the home. Of the two parents, G_Father spoke the most Samoan to his children.

Parents

Both children confirmed that their parents spoke a lot of Samoan and mainly with each other. G_Father was the main Samoan speaker in the house. G_Mother said he spoke Samoan for about 80 per cent of the time, and he spoke in English for the benefit of the children. When the children asked for help, G_Father would explain in English. Observations confirmed that G_Father was much more confident speaking Samoan. Now and then the family would have *lotu afiafi* which G_Father led; the prayers and Bible verses were read in Samoan by G_Father. He also encouraged his children to try their best to pray in Samoan. Most of the time, they said they just sat and listened in the *lotu afiafi*.

G_Mother said she spoke ‘half and half’ at home but mainly English to the children. She had tried to speak Samoan to her children but they often did not understand. English had

become their language of communication (to her children) because she was worried that if she spoke too much Samoan, her children would not be able to understand her. However, when she disciplined the children, she usually used Samoan. Even then she often found herself regressing and reverting to English to make sure they got the message:

G_Mother: *O G_Father, e koe afe fa'apālagi i kamaiki. A fai foi ua oka ika, ou ke gagu pe malamalama kamaiki i kala ia e fai aku... a o lea [Points to G_Father], e koe afe gagu i kamaiki. Po o ofi i kamaiki kala ia fai i ai pe a kaukala i le fa'asamoa?*

G_Father hardly ever speaks in English to the children. When I am angry, I speak in English so that the kids know what I am trying to say but this one here [Points to G_Father] hardly ever speaks English to the kids. I'm wondering if the message is getting through to the kids in Samoan.

Observations at the home showed that G_Mother code-switched frequently, mostly with her children, and not so much with G_Father, as seen in their interaction of a family meeting to discuss their eldest child's wedding. The words in bold show the instances where G_Mother switched from English to Samoan:

G_Mother: ***Fai le venue lea muamua, ma mea ma** expenses **o le** venue.* Those other things we can discuss in a month
***Secure the venue first and the** expenses **for the** venue.* Those other things we can discuss in a month.

G_Father: *Ia, fai legā **aikia***
 Yes, go with that **idea**

Daughter:⁷² I'm stressing out now.

G_Mother: Why you stressing out? Don't stress for nothing! ***Mea ga ga fai aku, fai ma*** talk about it ***gai lo le*** do it all yourself.
 Why are you stressing out? Don't stress for nothing! ***That's why I told you to*** try and talk about it ***instead of*** trying to do it all yourself.

In addition, G_Father's use of the word *aikia* in the interaction above is a transliteration of the word 'idea' in English. The word in Samoan is *manatu* (idea).

Although G_Mother speaks in Samoan to her husband most of the time, she was observed in the presence of her children, frequently speaking English to G_Father:

G_Father: *Ae a si lo'omakua o Fale, ali'i Mum?*
 How about the dear old lady Fale, Mum?

G_Mother: How is she going to get there? Someone has got to get her. She has to get someone to...

G_Father: *Ga e i ai laga fagau...*
 She has children...

⁷² The eldest daughter, who returns home now and then. She was not included as part of the study.

This is an example of the auditor effect; when one of the children (who does not speak Samoan) is present, then English is chosen.

Children

G_Daughter1 and G_Son1 said they were virtually monolingual in English; they do not speak much Samoan. Furthermore, they feel uncomfortable trying to speak Samoan or being in situations where there is a lot of Samoan being spoken. G_Mother said that her children had been ‘too lazy’ to speak Samoan as they were growing up. G_Daughter1 knew her mother thought they had been lazy, but disagreed. She argued that it was not her fault that she could not speak Samoan, because her parents did not ‘make us speak Samoan’. G_Daughter1 said that their focus was to do well at school, and this meant English was the more important language.

Both children noted that the importance of Samoan recently shifted in the household and their parents were trying to get them to speak more Samoan at home. G_Daughter1 believed this was because ‘they just realised how bad our Samoan is’. When their parents spoke Samoan to them, the children always replied in English, as at their *lotu afiafi*, and they appreciated that their father was trying but admitted it had been a struggle:

G_Daughter1: One thing our Dad did tell us was to start learning how to say a prayer in Samoan. And we understand that too because we will be asked sometime soon to say a prayer in Samoan. I've been trying before my meals but I'll sit there for ten minutes and be [thinking] how do I say this? I have to keep going back and thinking about what I should have said.

The children speak English to each other. They said they often joked about their inability to speak Samoan, making fun of each another when they failed. For example, G_Son1 would try out his Samoan and G_Daughter1 would say, ‘Don’t speak Samoan because you don’t sound Samoan’. His Samoan did not make sense:

G_Son1: Sometimes I try to talk [in Samoan] to this one [sister] and then she says “stop! You don’t sound like a Samoan”. So I just talk in English.

The children said their mother would often giggle when they tried to speak Samoan because, as G_Daughter1 explained, it sounded ‘so bad’. G_Son1 was the least shy to try and speak Samoan. He would often insert Samoan words into his English sentences. He said that since attending their new church, he had felt empowered to learn to speak Samoan better. In one particular recording of a conversation between him and his dad,

this was evident. I was surprised to hear him speak entire sentences in Samoan, albeit with instances of English borrowings:

- G_Son1: *Dad, fea lau charger o le laptop?*
Dad, where's your charger for the laptop?
- G_Father: *A'e, e i ai a'u meaa'oga e fai. Se'i uma a'u meaa'oga ga avaku lea.*
I have some homework to do still. Wait until I have finished my homework then I'll give it to you.
- G_Son1: Dad, how do you say jealous in Samoan?
- G_Father: *Lokoleaga.*
Jealous.

G_Son1 said he tried to speak some Samoan among his peer group also, and felt 'cool' being able to interact with his peers on that level.

Like her brother, G_Daughter1 also felt empowered to try to learn to speak more Samoan. She said she had picked up new Samoan words and phrases from her church friends. When I collected G_Daughter1's 24-hour recall sheet, I noticed she had written a note at the bottom of the page:

G_Daughter1: Since our last face-to-face interview, I have drastically been immersed in culture and language and with being involved more at church. Therefore [I have] more exposure to language and speaking more Samoan and [have greater] confidence.

She later explained that her newfound confidence and support from her church family had allowed her to speak and learn more Samoan. Earlier, G_Daughter1 had also mentioned that a cousin of hers also encouraged her to speak Samoan with her. These were the people that G_Daughter1 and G_Son1 felt 'safe' speaking with:

G_Daughter1: I think I speak Samoan more confidently with my cousin who lives in Samoa now because she lived with us for a while. I think because it's more relaxed, and I'm way [more] comfortable having funny and normal conversations with her. I'm not stressed out worrying whether other people are judging me. I think that's what it is too, eh; we are thinking about what other people are thinking of too.

Domains of language use in the family

Samoan movies, newspapers and radio proved to be the main avenues that ensured that Samoan was spoken and heard in the family home. Regular trips back to the homeland have been another significant learning experience for the children, often reminding them of the value of being able to speak Samoan.

Mass media

G_Father and G_Mother are the main consumers of Samoan media in the home. The radio has been the most utilised; newspapers are read now and then and the family sometimes watches Samoan movies. The children, in particular, enjoy listening to Samoan music.

G_Father made a point of listening to the Samoan radio every morning and afternoon, to the point that G_Mother would often complain of sore ears from hearing the radio ‘blasted everyday’. G_Father said that not only was it a chance to hear Samoan being spoken, but it also became a site of cultural learning for him. He knew the the *aganu’u* was not one of his strong points, and listening to the Samoan cultural programmes led by renowned Samoan cultural experts on the radio was his opportunity to learn more about *aganu’u*. He listened, wrote down his notes, and practised.

The children preferred to listen to popular urban radio stations that had a Pacific or Maori flavour (such as Niu FM or Mai FM). They said they would only listen to the Samoan radio because their parents had it on in the house. G_Daughter1 said that when she tried to change the station, her father would get angry. Therefore, she would sit and listen to some programmes with him, but only the ones that were in English:

G_Daughter1: Me and my dad always listen to that ‘Think a minute’ [programme]. It’s a Bible story in English but ... we would be trying to listen to Mai FM or whatever, and he [says] no! 1593AM or 531pi. He’s like you can *ki* (switch to) that when we go.

The parents would only watch Samoan movies or read the Samoan newspaper now and again. G_Father reads papers like the Samoan Observer online but the children are not interested. G_Mother’s sister would bring a copy of a Samoan DVD over to the house and the family would watch them together. According to G_Daughter1, ‘we would sit there and we’re, like, oh my God, is this serious?’

However, G_Son1 in particular enjoys listening to Samoan music. On his 24-hour recall sheets, he reported that he listened to Samoan music approximately 40 to 70 per cent of the time, on average, every day. In recordings taken in the family home, I noticed that there was often Samoan hip-hop music playing in the background, which G_Son1 was singing along to. G_Daughter1 said she did not listen to Samoan music.

Digital technology and the internet

Apart from Facebook and text messaging, the family did not report using much Samoan online or with any other forms of technology.

G_Mother, who uses Facebook, said she would often go online to connect with family, especially her siblings who live in Samoa. In our *talanoaga*, both parents discussed changes that they had observed in the type of Samoan language being used online, which G_Father termed as 'shorthand Samoan'. This style of Samoan, similar to abbreviated text message language, G_Mother disliked seeing. She believes this has contributed to changes in written Samoan. This view appears to parallel fears that texting is ruining the English language. In her view, this kind of abbreviated Samoan is not useful for the New Zealand Samoan population, for example, who are trying to learn Samoan:

G_Mother: *Pei ua shorthand le gagaga i luga o le internet. Ka ke fiu e kau faikau. O lo'u ika ia pe a fai se Facebook a seisi fa'apega. Ua sui ai le gagaga. Ua lē lelei mo kamaiki ia e kupukupu a'e ma kamaiki ia e kau a'oa'o le fa'asamoa. O a'u la e leai, a fai le fa'asamoa, e alu uma a le upu fa'asamoa.*

The [Samoan] language on the internet is shorthand. I find it really hard to read. I get really angry when I see someone write like that on Facebook. It's changing the language. It's not good for kids who are trying to learn Samoan. As for me, no, if I am going to write in Samoan, I write in full Samoan.

The children reported spending a lot of their day online, particularly in the morning before school but also very late in the evenings. While G_Son1 said he did not use much Samoan online, G_Daughter1 said she would use about 20 per cent Samoan, especially on Facebook when she would chat and send messages to her church friends. The internet for her was a non-threatening environment with no time limit, where she could take her time to write posts in Samoan. This was one of the most useful ways she found to not only use Samoan but to learn from others who were using Samoan online:

G_Daughter1: Probably on my Instagram I use Samoan. There's no timelimit, there's no one watching me speak. I will write on there like hashtag '*āiga* (#āiga)', or if I'm at church, what we have done at church... Now that I am on the committee for the challenge and us four have a Facebook mail we just mail each other and talk smack. And when I'm on there reading what they're saying in Samoan, I'm like, oh yeah I can use that too, I know what they're saying. So I'd be, like, 'yeah yeah *oki akua le mea ga*' (that sucks), and little things like that I'm picking up on.

Text messaging between the parents and children were mainly in English. G_Mother said she might send the odd Samoan text to her children but rarely got any replies in Samoan. G_Son1, a prolific texter, sent on average between 400 and 500 text messages a day, a

small percentage of which were in Samoan or a mix of Samoan and English. He enjoyed trying out his Samoan in text messages to his friends. In one of the voice recordings taken in the home, G_Son1 was heard asking his dad how to say the word 'jealous' in Samoan so that he could text it to his one of his friends. G_Daughter1, on the other hand, said she did not like sending text messages in Samoan.

Other domains of language use

Church

The most influential factor that supported Samoan language for the Galo family was the Samoan church they attended. G_Father described it as a catalyst spurring the children, in particular, to value and learn the Samoan language. The church also reminded the parents to revalue and help their children to learn and speak Samoan.

G_Father was baptised in the Methodist church and G_Mother grew up in the EFKS church. When they moved to Auckland, they attended a Catholic church, before moving on to a PIPC⁷³ church. The parents said that attending non-Samoan-speaking churches had been a factor in their children's Samoan abilities not being supported:

G_Mother: *O leisi ga mea ua lē lelei ai, e blame a ma'ua i le isi kaimi, a ga makou ō lelei i se loku Samoa, ou ke iloa e iloa e la'u fagau le fa'asamoa. Makou ō mai loa ō loa i le a'oga a le Pope, ua misasā i le Pope. A fai misasā o le a'oga, it's all in English. Aga makou o i se loku Samoa, mo programmes ia o le A'oga Aso Sā, Aukalavou, they will be better in the fa'asamoa. O le kasi ga sasi a ma'ua, that's what we think those days was the best mo kamaiki. That's what we thought was best. Makou ō fo'i i le PIC e le involve kele.*

Another reason why [their Samoan] is not good [is that], we blame ourselves a lot of the time. If we went to a Samoan church, then I know my children would know how to speak Samoan. When we came, they went to Catholic schools; they went to mass. When they had mass, it was all in English. If we went to a Samoan church for programmes like Sunday school or youth group, then they will be better in Samoan. That was one of our mistakes. That's what we thought in those days was the best for the children. That's what we thought was best. Then we went to PIPC church and didn't really get involved.

The family now attends a local Samoan Congregational church where Samoan is spoken. Everyone in the family spoke favourably of their new church, and I got the feeling that after trying out so many different churches, this was the one that fit, the one that supported everyone's goals. The Congregational church gives them not only the spiritual sustenance

⁷³ Pacific Islands' Presbyterian Church.

they need, but also embraces the Samoan language and culture in what the children see as a non-threatening way. This is extremely important for G_Daughter1 and G_Son1, who have struggled with this their whole lives. They feel welcome and comfortable in their new church environment, and they have quickly become active members of the church community. As G_Daughter1 explained, as she sang the praises of her new church, ‘Dad is really spiritual, he’s rubbing off on us now’:

G_Daughter1: The church has been really good to me. I tell everyone that I know that I feel so much whole, because it’s appreciating my faith and my culture. I love my church. I honestly do. I’ve just joined the *Aufaipese* (choir), and we go to *Autalavou* (youth group). I’m part of the Biggest Loser challenge committee so me and [NAME OF PERSON] take Zumba on Wednesdays.

The family described the church as one that strives to push the Samoan language and culture, and dedicates programmes and activities for this purpose. There are many chances for young people to not only witness, but take part in different cultural activities. This was the appealing factor especially for G_Daughter1:

G_Daughter1: This is why I feel so whole at church, because they’re telling us it’s important and they speak to us in Samoan, but they’re not forcing it and making you feel like oh my God, you’re so plastic!

Autalavou programmes are mostly in Samoan and the youth leader speaks Samoan to the children and often makes their activities ‘Samoan only’. G_Daughter1 said she has often struggled to find the Samoan words to express herself but it also forces her to speak Samoan, which she finds helpful. G_Son1 gave an example of an activity they did at *Autalavou* that had been an eye opener for him:

G_Son1: At *Aukalavou* we had a debate... and we had to choose which language is your first language and we were the only ones who stayed on the English side, but only because English is the language we use the most. We were so uncomfortable. Everyone [else] moved over to the Samoan side. We didn’t think that everyone would, until we talked about it and then heaps of them came back because they do speak English more. Then we talked about the importance of the language and it made sense.

G_Father said he had been thrilled to see how involved his children were at their new church, and had noticed an immediate change in them. Not only did they appear happy and comfortable at church, but also they had begun to pick up some Samoan words and phrases and frequently asked him at home what certain words meant. In addition, because the Minister gave his sermon in both Samoan and some English, his children were beginning to understand the gist of the Minister’s sermons, and they would often discuss them later, as a family, at home.

Education

As a registered teacher (both in Samoa and New Zealand), G_Father continued to teach in New Zealand. He furthered his study in postgraduate teaching, gaining a Master of Educational Leadership in 2015. Their dream for their children was that they succeed at school; they believed this was key to their success in New Zealand.

Both children shared their parents' dreams to excel academically but neither of them studied Samoan at school. Samoan was not offered as a subject at G_Son1's secondary school, but he was very focused on his science subjects and his goals for university study. G_Daughter1's goal was to be 'a scholar'; Samoan was offered as a subject at her school but she said it was not an option for her at school because the perception was that it was unscholarly. To be a scholar meant to do well at other subjects. Therefore, Samoan took a back seat:

G_Daughter1: I always think during school and stuff we were so school focused and we thought we were like scholars. We were always top of whatever we were doing, so I think Samoan took a back seat.

However, G_Daughter1 eventually did try learning Samoan as a subject but found it so difficult that she concluded she was 'too dumb' to carry on learning it. G_Son1 considered taking Samoan language papers when he was at university, but was nervous that his Samoan would not be 'good enough' to understand what was being taught in class.

4.5.4 Future

As a final note, the children rated their Samoan and English language abilities, in terms of reading, writing, listening and speaking.

Table 4.10 Galo children: Self-reported L1 and L2 and language proficiency

Family member	L1	L2	Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
			Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng	Sam	Eng
G_Daughter1	Samoan	English	3	8	3	9	5	9	3	7
G_Son1	Samoan	English	4	9	3	9	4	9	3	8

As seen, both children were stronger in English, despite Samoan being their first language. Both thought that they could read Samoan better than they could speak or write it.

The future for the Galo family looks interesting. While shift has occurred to the extent where the children do not speak Samoan, they are beginning to understand it, and a shift in attitudes from both parents and children mean that the family appears to be revaluing their language. As G_Daughter1 argued, 'I think if it was maintained for us, if we were able to grow up speaking it [we would learn]' but now the onus is on the children, and they have made the decision themselves to improve their Samoan language skills. Furthermore, both children realise the importance of the home domain for them, that 'family is the main thing' (G_Son1), and that within their family they could and would be able to reverse the shift. There were signs that this was underway.

4.5.5 Summary

While the children had grown up speaking Samoan at home with extended family members, the period of formal schooling and a focus on academic security was seen as a key period that caused the children's Samoan language to shift. However, the family are now making significant shifts in (re)valuing and learning the Samoan language. The parents strongly believe in the value of the Samoan language, both in its spiritual sense as the *tofi* from God and also for identity as Samoans. Of the two parents, G_Father is championing efforts in the family to revitalise Samoan, and deliberate efforts include changing the church the family attends to a Samoan-speaking one, in which G_Father and the children are actively involved. The parents tend to interact with some Samoan media and technology at home. However, the children have not been not interested. The church has proved to be the biggest support of the Samoan language, and because of this the children's attitudes towards Samoan are changing, and they are beginning to be more confident in speaking Samoan.

4.6 Chapter summary

Each of the five families in this study have distinct patterns of language valuing and use, both within the family and in domains outside of the family, influenced by factors such as geographic location, family composition, parental aspirations for the children, and employment responsibilities. A key finding was that all the children in this study were NZ-born, and have their own views, which more often than not conflict with their parents' views.

Samoan is generally highly valued across the families in terms of communication, identity and culture but not so highly valued in schooling and employment. Parents had firm beliefs that Samoan was a distinguishing factor in what makes a 'real Samoan'. However, the children in the families recognised this more as the ideal rather than the key identity marker. Discussions centred on how much Samoan language was enough to be Samoan.

A key finding for the parents was that Samoan had a spiritual power; it is a *tofi* from God which should be cared for and shared from one generation to the next. However, not everyone in this study, particularly the children, sees the spiritual connection with the Samoan language. In all families, the introductory period of formal schooling signaled changes in language use in families, and for the Lelei and Galo families, in particular, academic security meant that Samoan language took second place to English, the language of academic excellence.

In each family, there was a person who set the tone for language use and valuing, and three families effectively championed it. In all but one family, they were female; the exception was the Galo father. Within families, competing values and beliefs among parents and children, influencing factors such as family composition as with multiethnicity in the Fiafia family, blended families (Manase, Lelei and Fiafia families), the influence of grandparents, educational aspirations, time together as a family, and trips home to Samoa, meant a negotiation of language use, and in most families resulted in English as the main language of communication in the family. In two families, parents had clear and explicit Samoan-only rules in the home, which were enforced, and Samoan appeared to be faring well in these families. However, the question arises, what happens when there is no longer a language champion? With the absence of language rules and champions in three families, Samoan language shift has been occurring. In terms of sustaining the Samoan language patterns in the families, the children are central to these efforts. However, in all these families, the children prefer to speak English, and parents are increasingly speaking English to their children. Language abilities across families show language shift and, in some cases, loss of language, which poses a serious threat to the intergenerational transmission of Samoan.

Most disturbing is the impact of digital technology and the internet on the parents' language use, and that of their children, and on their times together as a family. The findings show that technology and the internet have changed the nature of communication

in the family and it has interfered with quality family time. The children, especially, do not see technology and the internet as domains for Samoan language use and promotion, nor are they interested in Samoan language media. This has led to the increasing influence of English within the family homes.

Outside the family home, the biggest support for sustaining Samoan has come from Samoan-speaking churches. Generally speaking, only the parents see the place and value of Samoan in the workplace, and only two families (Masina and Fiafia) have children learning the Samoan language at school. The families where language shift is more evident, such as the Galo and Lelei families, and to some extent, the Fiafia family, show a reduction of children's Samoan language use across domains. It can be argued that this has a significant impact on sustaining the Samoan language.

CHAPTER 5

Autaluga o i'uga ma mau i le su'esu'ega – Discussion

5.0 Introduction

This chapter draws together and discusses the findings from observing all five families in this study. These families are diverse in terms of composition, socio-economic status, and length of time in New Zealand. As will be seen, these factors have influenced how and when the Samoan language was used, as well as the difference in perspectives about language shared by the parents and children. A main finding was differences between 'what was said' (value) and 'what was done' (actions).

In this chapter, I classify findings using Fishman's (1972) domains of language use so as to identify domains which were of most importance in these families. Each domain is viewed through the lens of the family's ideals and practices. Priority is given to the voices of youth in these domains as the future carriers of the Samoan language and culture.

The chapter is set out in four parts, beginning with how families have valued the Samoan language. Part two discusses language use in the family and across other domains of interaction such as the church, school, mass media, workforce, digital technology and the internet, and how these domains have challenged and enabled the maintenance of the Samoan language in these families. The third part discusses the factors which influence Samoan language use in these families. The chapter concludes with strategies for maintaining the Samoan language which have arisen from the findings. As will be seen, the key intervention point is the young people.

5.1 Value of the Samoan language

The valuing of the Samoan language can be distinguished between intrinsic and extrinsic values; the intrinsic value of Samoan as in spirituality, identity, culture, family unity, and the extrinsic value for communication with other Samoans, in the workplace, as well as its importance in education.

The most important values attributed to the Samoan language by family members were spirituality, identity and culture. Samoan writers Tui Atua (2014) and Fonoti (2011) have termed the inter-relationships of these values as the Samoan indigenous reference. Most of the parents and elders have valued Samoan highly for its spiritual power and its connection to culture and identity as ‘real Samoans’, which aligns with Ehala’s (2014) view that the value of language lies in enabling members of a society not only to exchange information, but to express their collective identity. However, there were value differences among family members and generations which may have an impact on Samoan language transmission and maintenance. The youth assigned more importance to the functional value of Samoan to communicate, and less to the intrinsic values of the Samoan language.

5.1.1 Spirituality

The parents and elders in the study saw the Samoan language as a *tofi*, and an inheritance that they must nurture, treasure and *fa’asoa* their children. They felt a sense of responsibility and a divine duty, as parents, to do this. Neglecting this duty means neglecting to fulfil the tasks given by God (Lui, 2007; Tui Atua, 1989; 2005b). In addition, they spoke of the spiritual power of being connected with God through prayer and being able to relay what is in the depths of their hearts and souls, in a language that has been gifted to them by God. However, the youth did not share their elders’ belief that the Samoan language is an inheritance and legacy from God. Rather, they associated language with communication, identity and culture. Samoan researchers Fouvaa and Hunkin (2011) stress that children need constant reminding to hold steadfast to the knowledge that their *gagana Samoa* is their *tofi* from God. This was not evident in the children’s views of the Samoan language. It could be argued that the parents may have neglected their duty of ensuring their children also recognise the spiritual power and value of the Samoan language.

5.1.2 Identity and culture

Fishman’s (1991) proposal that “when you talk about language, most of what you are talking about is culture...the way of life, the way of thought, the way of valuing, and human reality” (p. 72) came through strongly in the *talanoaga* with the parents from all

five families. All participants stressed the fundamental relationship of language, identity and culture, as other minority language research has also found (Chiang, 2000; Fishman, 1977; Guardado, 2008a, 2008b; Joo, 2009). Two notable related points which were raised, not only by the youth in this study but also by the elders, was the question of whether you need to speak Samoan to 'be Samoan'. A second question was about whether it is necessary to know the Samoan language to understand the *aganu'u*. These are treated separately for ease of discussion.

Do you need gagana Samoa to 'be Samoan'?

Many participants, young and old, made a distinction, based on language, between what they labelled as being a 'real' Samoan or a 'plastic' Samoan. Views about what it means to be Samoan were not straightforward; there were differences in the views of the parents, the grandparent and youth in this study.

Undoubtedly, for the parent and grandparent generations in this study, Samoan is an intimate element of their identity as Samoans, as other studies have also shown (Guardado, 2008a; Joo, 2009). All parents in the study believe that the use and fluency of the Samoan language indicates a stronger, real Samoan, and all want their children to be real Samoans. As noted, one parent admitted she had, at times, called her children 'plastic Samoans' when they did not speak Samoan fluently. Macpherson (1999) and Hunkin (2012) have both argued that many Samoan parents do not believe that NZ-born Samoans are true Samoans because they have not mastered the knowledge, skills and language which is central to the Samoan identity. Interestingly in two families, views of speaking Samoan not only equate with being a real Samoan but also a 'better' Samoan. On the other hand, one parent tempered her views and suggested that perhaps one's Samoan-ness should not be measured on fluency in the language but more on knowledge of, and participation in, the *aganu'u*. Again, this raises a further question: can one fully understand the nuances of meaning in the *aganu'u* without a strong command of the Samoan language?

As shown in the majority of the children's views, the Samoan language was seen as important but not a defining element of their identities. This idea aligns with other research about Pacific languages and identities in New Zealand (Holmes, Roberts, Verivaki, & Aipolo, 1993). Instead, some children argued that being Samoan is more than

just speaking Samoan; rather, it is in the blood, it is about thinking and feeling Samoan, and having knowledge and appreciation of the *aganu'u*. This resonates with Canagarajah's (2008) study which concluded that the Tamil identity was "redefined in terms of cultural rituals and not language" (p. 169).

One child in the study believed that the importance of speaking Samoan in New Zealand had diminished because 'everyone speaks English in New Zealand'. Others felt that they could afford the excuse of not being fluent in Samoan because NZ-born Samoans are not expected to speak Samoan. This perception has serious implications for Samoan language maintenance in New Zealand, given that the Samoan population is youthful and mostly NZ-born. If young NZ-born Samoans especially do not view the Samoan language as being important for their identities, they would therefore be unlikely to see the value of speaking Samoan and maintaining the language.

Do you need the gagana Samoa to understand the aganu'u?

Most parents argued the crucial relationship between speaking Samoan and understanding the finer nuances and meanings of the *aganu'u* such as *fa'aaloalo* and the *vā fealoa'i*. These values are at the heart of Samoan beliefs and practices. One mother firmly stated that one must be able to speak Samoan fluently in order to understand, participate and carry out the many aspects of the *aganu'u* properly, and that 'without the Samoan language, the Samoan culture would become diluted'. Her strong views align with those of Tui Atua (2005a, 2009a) and Tauiliili (2009), that the Samoan language is the vehicle and lifeblood of the Samoan culture, and, as so eloquently expressed by Le Tagaloa (1996), that 'without the Samoan language, there is no culture, and when there is no longer a living culture, then darkness descends on the village'.

While all the children felt that speaking Samoan was important, and they understood their parents' hopes for them to be proficient, they did not believe that one must be a fluent speaker of Samoan to understand the *fa'asamoa* core values and ideals. This suggests that speaking Samoan does not necessarily include a transfer of core values and beliefs, and vice versa. This is a contrast with Hunkin's (2012) view that one cannot fully understand the nuances of meaning encapsulated in the *aganu'u* without a strong command of the Samoan language. An interesting observation, however, is that the children of parents

who stressed an understanding of the interconnection of *gagana* and *aganu'u*, showed more confidence to participate in cultural activities, especially those at church.

5.1.3 Family unity

Family cohesion, close relationships and trust were found to have a significant correlation with language preferences, as other studies have also indicated (Li, 1999; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). For some families, the maintenance of Samoan ensures familial unity, and bridges generation gaps. For example, the grandmother in the study believes that the Samoan language holds her family together; that without the Samoan language, it would signal a break in their family life, dynamics, the way they functioned, as well as a loss of the Samoan values and beliefs that their family has been founded upon. In another family, the Samoan language keeps the children's bond with their mother close.

Most of the children in this study do not share the same emotional attachment to the language as their parents have. It appears that the issue of whether to maintain the Samoan language is dependent on whether families see the language as more than a means to communicate (Bastardas-Boada, 2005, 2007; Ehala, 2007, 2014). Perhaps, a family 'in love' with the language and who associates the language with meaning-making as Rohani, Choi, Amjad, Burnett and Colahan (2012) suggest, would want to maintain the language for the 'love of it' and ensure it is passed on to future generations. Two of the study's families exhibited this higher level of commitment to Samoan language maintenance. However, not all families in this study aspired to do the same. This issue of sustainability of a language is worth exploring further.

5.1.4 Communication

All five families saw being able to speak Samoan as an important means of communicating with others, particularly for young people to communicate with their parents, grandparents and family in the homeland, akin to other studies of speech communities in the diaspora (Canagarajah, 2008; Wu, 2007). Four families highlighted that communicating with the extended family in Samoan was the more authentic and natural language to use. Furthermore, older participants talked about a deeper level of communication; they cannot communicate from the depths of their hearts and souls in

any other language other than Samoan. Much like the parents in Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe's (2009) study, the parents in this study believe that speaking in Samoan enables an exchange of their inner feelings and emotions and also reinforces closeness and family bonds. In the same way, Fuata'i (2011) maintains that the Samoan language is the pathway to one's soul. This was not the case for most of the children in this study. In fact, some expressed regret that they could not communicate in Samoan, especially with members of their extended family, and mentioned that they often felt isolated and left out of family conversations because of this.

5.1.5 Education

All parents emphasised that they wanted the best for their children; they sent their children to the best schools to obtain professional careers, and this included learning the Samoan language further. This differs with Hunkin-Tuiletufuga (2001) and Macpherson (1999) who suggested that parents often do not see the value of Samoan in ensuring academic and professional achievement for their children. Most of the parents in this study had studied at tertiary level and therefore knew and spoke of the importance of learning Samoan at school. Moreover, they said they encouraged their children to learn Samoan at school. In fact, three parents in the study were educators across the ECE, secondary and tertiary sectors, and another parent and the grandmother had also been teachers; all stated that they were aware of the associated cognitive and academic benefits of bilingualism (Baker, 2003; Cummins, 2000). One mother argued that students could excel academically if they are culturally secure.

The majority of the younger participants in the study did not assign the same educational status to the Samoan language. Only three of the children studied Samoan as a school subject. Two did so in order to learn more about their Samoan culture. Another recognised that her language was 'fading away at home' and decided to learn Samoan at school to overcome this perceived loss. Research indicates that schools are now playing a larger role in teaching Samoan (and other Pacific languages) in New Zealand, particularly for Samoan children who come from English-speaking homes (McCaffery & McFall-McCaffery, 2009; Wilson, 2010). However, most of the young people in this study viewed the Samoan language as unscholarly and superfluous to their future careers. Research has found that higher levels of education promote language shift because of the need to

succeed academically and professionally, thus diverting the attention of the young people away from maintaining their ethnic language and culture (Chiang, 2000; Chiang, 2009; Yu, 2005). In this study, English was perceived as the more important language for academic and economic security; one child, for example, explained that ‘our focus was to be scholars; that’s why we concentrated on English and not Samoan’. For many, this has meant a rapid language shift to English.

The lack of prestige for the Samoan language could be attributed to the status of the Samoan (and other Pacific) languages in New Zealand. However, with the absence of a national New Zealand languages policy (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013; Waite, 1992), and limited support from the state for the promotion, learning and maintenance of Samoan and other Pacific languages, New Zealand is still overwhelmingly monolingual and has not shifted from its ‘English is enough’ public policy position (Harvey, 2016). In addition, the fact that Samoan has only recently (in 2014) become an official language in Samoa also raises questions about the prestige of the Samoan language in the homeland. This appears to have affected attitudes towards the maintenance of ethnic languages in New Zealand (including Samoan).

5.2 Samoan language use

Fishman (1972) lists the following social spaces of language use (domains): home or family, education, the neighbourhood, religion, workplace, public media and the government. As a result of my study, I have also added a digital technology and the internet domain. Given the importance of the family domain as the site concerned with intergenerational transmission of language (Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2012), the discussion in this section will begin with the family domain.

5.2.1 Patterns of language use in the family

The patterns of language use in each family were compiled from the data: what participants said they did with regard to their language use, what the observations showed, and how they self-defined their language competencies. There was no one pattern of language use across all five families, and there were clear differences of language use across all families and across generations (see Appendix 3). In many cases, there were

differences between what participants said regarding their language practices, and what the observations and recordings showed.

Grandparent

Observations confirmed that the one grandparent in this study spoke Samoan all the time in the family home, regardless of who she was speaking to. She would refuse to respond to anyone who spoke English to her. Her expectation was that her children would also have the same focus with their children (her grandchildren), and that everyone in the home would speak Samoan.

Parents

All parents spoke Samoan as their first language. They stated that Samoan was spoken to their children in the home and it was their only home language. Observations confirmed that most parents spoke Samoan to their children. However, many did not ask or require their children to respond in Samoan. There did not appear to be a strong awareness of how their linguistic choices in the home served as a model for their children's language use (see also Revis, 2015). The general feeling was that children would acquire Samoan and become bilingual as long as they could hear their parents speak Samoan, without much effort on the parents' part to ensure it was successful. For example, one mother expressed that 'as long as they hear us speaking Samoan in the home, they will hopefully learn it when they get older'. Research suggests that this is not always the case; the result of such actions is often subtractive bilingualism (Wong Fillmore, 1991). Other studies have argued that the acquisition and development of a home language is not automatic, and some structures of the language can be forgotten if parents do not make efforts to ensure their children speak their mother tongue (Merino, 1983; Revis, 2015).

Observations suggest that the parents tended to over-report their Samoan language speaking behaviour and under-report those relating to their use of English. In fact, many spoke more English to their children than they had previously stated, as Yu's (2010) study also found. Another finding was that, in most cases, the nature of the Samoan language spoken to the children was mostly instructive or disciplinary. Furthermore, after the discipline and instruction, parents would then switch back to English. This finding supports a study by Kearney, Fletcher, and Dobrenov-Major, (2011) that the minority

language is used mainly to direct behaviour. Apart from directing behaviour, the opportunities for children to communicate and use the Samoan language are therefore limited (Faalau, 2011; Fouvaa & Hunkin, 2011). In two families, however, the children were encouraged to give opinions and discuss matters in Samoan. This provided more chances for them to develop and enrich the Samoan language within the home.

One family had parents of different ethnicities; the parents struggled to transmit their two heritage languages in the dominant presence of English in the home. Observations showed that often the parents employed the one-parent one-language approach, hoping that their children would acquire both Samoan and Tongan by hearing them speak it. However, there were significant inconsistencies between who was speaking which language. For example, Samoan was only spoken to the older children, while the father only spoke Tongan to the two youngest children, which resulted in marked differences in language use between siblings. This signaled a break in the transmission of Samoan to the youngest children especially. Given that the statistics in New Zealand show an increase in families of multiple ethnicities within Pacific communities, this is a crucial issue for Samoan families; it warrants further research as to how to reconcile and negotiate which languages to teach and use in the family.

Children

Most children in this study spoke very little Samoan inside and outside the home. A few spoke Samoan frequently to their parents and elders, and some spoke a mixture of English and Samoan. However, the majority were more comfortable speaking English to their parents and among themselves. In the observations and recordings there were rarely any instances suggesting otherwise, which is in accord with other minority language studies (Canagarajah, 2008; Joo, 2009; Wu, 2007; Yu, 2010). Generally it can be said that most of the children appeared to be more aware of their English-speaking behaviour. In their view, English was the main language of communication in their homes, as opposed to their parents who stated that Samoan was the main language of communication.

In regard to the quality of the Samoan language spoken by the children, the parents in four of the five families believed their children spoke Samoan well or very fluently. However, the children did not always agree with their parents; most reported their Samoan language abilities were much less than their parents had stated (see Tables 4.2,

4.4, 4.6, 4.8, and 4.10 on the children's self-reports on Samoan language competency). This was especially evident in reading and writing Samoan, whereas speaking Samoan and listening ability recorded higher ratings.

5.2.2 Other domains of language use

This research took a wider look into the domains of language use that families interact with, as in Fishman's (1972) domains (home or family, education, the neighbourhood, religion, workplace, mass media and the government). I have added the digital technology and the internet domain which arose from the study and impacted language use within the family.

Family	Family			Church			School			Mass media			Workplace			Digital technology & the internet		
	G	P	C	G	P	C	G	P	C	G	P	C	G	P	C	G	P	C
Tanielu	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
Masina		✓	✓		✓	✓			✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓
Lelei		✓									✓			✓			✓	
Fiafia		✓			✓	✓			✓		✓			✓			✓	
Galo		✓			✓	✓					✓			✓			✓	✓

Figure 5.1: Domains of Samoan language use by family and family members⁷⁴

In this study, each family decided which domains their members interacted with. As can be seen in Figure 5.1, Samoan is spoken by all families across multiple domains. However, the strength of the Samoan spoken is not indicated here. Three families claimed to speak Samoan across all six domains, and there were differences across generations. Parents tended to use Samoan in several domains outside the home, while the children's use of Samoan outside the family home is limited.

Looking across domains of language use for the Samoan families (Figure 5.2) gives an idea of the domains that are predominantly Samoan-speaking for these families, and those which English is the main language spoken. As can be seen, Samoan is still used by many of the participants in the home, church and mass media domains. However, in the school, workplace and digital technology and internet domains, language use tends to be, for the most part, in English. Figure 5.2 does not account for the choices of every individual in

⁷⁴ G – grandparent, P – parents, C – children. The areas under 'G' are shaded in the table, because in four families there were no grandparent participants.

this study, but it is useful in that it gives a snapshot of language use by the five families in this study.

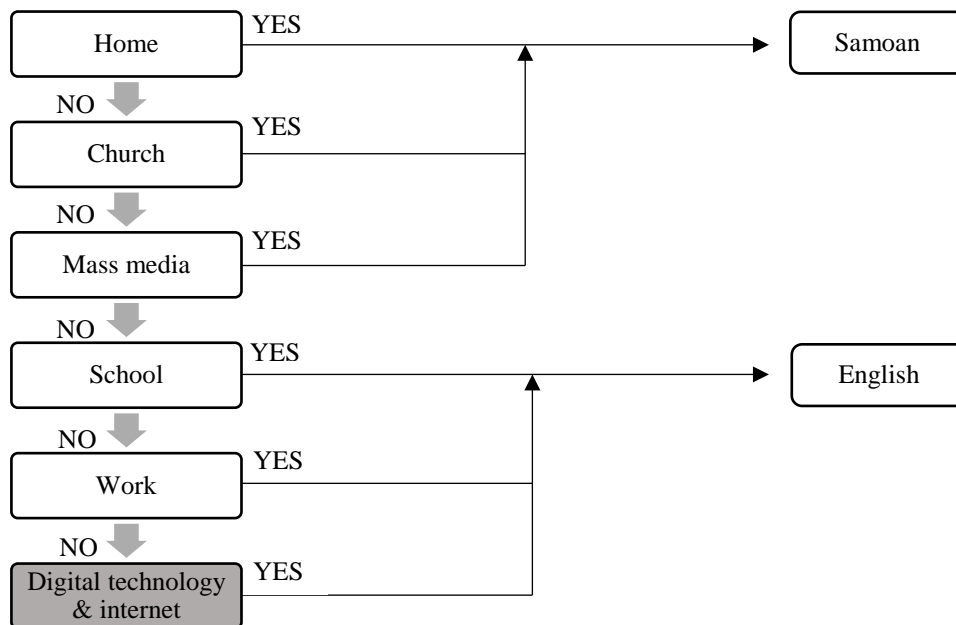


Figure 5.2: Language use across the families⁷⁵

Church

Four out of the five families were active members of a Samoan-speaking Congregational church, while one family attended the *Pālagi* ward of their local Mormon church. Most families spoke very positively about their church as being ‘strong in the *fa’asamoa*’ which, to them, meant language and culture. The children enjoyed going to church, particularly for the social interaction with other young people in church-related activities such as the *Autalavou* (see also Fuatagaumu, 2003; Holmes et al., 1993). Observations at the churches highlighted that the Samoan language and culture were well represented, giving young people a deeper insight into the language and culture and providing opportunities to learn and practise.

However, a highly significant finding was that English is creeping into the Samoan church; the young people are seen as the reason for this development (see also Wilson, 2010). Four families indicated that their church Minister translated key points of his sermons into English. This was to keep the youth engaged and aware of key messages

⁷⁵ The digital technology and the internet domain is a different colour in Figure 5.1 to highlight that this was a new domain which was added to the existing domains of language use.

from the sermons, while at the same time ensuring the main language was still Samoan so that young people were constantly being surrounded by it. However, parents and children also reported that English was being used more in church groups such as the *Autalavou* and *A'oga Aso Sā* as the younger generation at the church were becoming increasingly monolingual (in English).

For one family in particular, it seemed that the church had taken on the family's role of teaching the Samoan language. This differs from previous research on Samoan churches which stressed the role of the church as supplementing language maintenance in the home (Fouvaa & Hunkin, 2011; Fuatagaumu, 2003; Lesa, 2009). For the children in this particular family, the church had enhanced their competence in the Samoan language and culture, which they said they had not learned at home and at their previous churches. The decision to attend their current Samoan church had 'reawakened' the Samoan language in their family; the children said they gained more confidence to speak Samoan and what it means to 'be Samoan'. As one of the children shared, 'I feel so much more whole. It's like appreciating my faith and my culture. I love my church'.

The one family who did not attend a Samoan church said the decision was deliberate. The children preferred to attend the *Pālagi* ward of their church which had few Samoan members. This reluctance could possibly be attributed to what Fuatagaumu (2003) describes as feelings of marginalisation by the Samoan church, experienced by NZ-born Samoans who struggle to mediate between the *fa'asamoa* and 'New Zealand ways'. This often leads NZ-born Samoans to find alternative non-Samoan places of worship where they "find comfort in being treated as children of God, regardless of race, sex and culture" (pp. 215-216). Admittedly, the mother felt that her family was missing out because they had chosen not to attend a Samoan church. She admired young people who attended Samoan churches, who, to her, appeared to be more confident and competent in the Samoan language and culture. This point warrants further research.

Education

As noted, it was expected that if Samoan was highly valued, this would transfer into the education domain also. Most of the children in this study had attended *A'oga Amata*. One family had also enrolled their children in bilingual classes at primary school, and the children from two families were studying Samoan as a subject at secondary school. The

parents in these families did not view the school's role as one of teaching their children how to speak Samoan, but more to supplement Samoan language use at home. One parent in this study argued that the school's role was to teach English, not Samoan. This was surprising, given that the majority of children in the study did not speak much Samoan in the home. Instead, this parent believed that learning Samoan at school was so that the children could have a chance to continue to hear and speak Samoan, and perhaps enrich their cultural knowledge. While there is a current push from language advocates and educators in New Zealand for more support from the state to teach Pacific languages (Franken et al., 2008; May, 2009; Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005), for most of the children in this study, Samoan language classes at school were not a priority; they thought there were more important subjects to take for their future careers (see also Wilson, 2010).

Several families identified the years of formal schooling as the period of time when language use changed in their families from predominantly Samoan-speaking to English-speaking, in order to provide what was perceived as conducive learning environments for the children. This view supports Mufwene's (2003) argument that the role of schooling is an ecological factor that can promote language endangerment. Further research on a home-and-school partnership in language teaching and maintenance is needed.

Workplace

In this study there seemed to be an increasing understanding among most of the parent participants about the economic advantages of being able to speak Samoan. Perhaps the fact that three of the parents are educators, and all involved in some sort of Samoan language teaching, explains their perceptions. All claim to use Samoan on a daily basis at work, whether with other employees or with customers or students. One mother described how useful it was for her to be able to speak Samoan in her customer service role. One of the children in the study is currently working as a nurse; she also discussed the benefits of being able to speak Samoan at work. This had propelled her to want to learn how to speak Samoan more fluently so that she could better help her Samoan patients. Some of the children in the study also highlighted that Samoan could be useful in their future careers. However, many had not considered its importance before our discussions. As Lee (2013) argues, increased multiculturalism in New Zealand society means that speaking a language other than English is more common than it was two decades ago. Knowledge of

and ability to use Samoan and other Pacific languages is not only an advantage in the New Zealand workforce, but is almost a necessity in many sectors of the workforce. While the parents in this study generally understood this, it did not appear to influence the children to want to speak Samoan on a daily basis.

Mass media

Studies of families living in the diaspora have found that audiovisual materials and other forms of media have helped to maintain heritage languages (Derhemi, 2012; Wu, 2007). Each of the families in this study had different types of Samoan media, such as Samoan movies, music, radio stations, and print media such as newspapers in the family homes. The uptake of these forms of media by children was very limited; in most families the parents were the only consumers. The Samoan Bible, however, was the main Samoan text in family households. Samoan newspapers were not widely read in the home. However, older family members particularly enjoyed listening to Samoan radio, especially talkback shows and news items from Samoa, which kept them connected to the homeland. Although most parents believed that exposing their children to a variety of Samoan media, especially Samoan radio, would acquaint them with their culture (for example, *aganu'u* programmes on the radio) and enhance their language competence (see also Bodnitski, 2007), the children were not interested in the Samoan radio stations, and some even said they 'detested listening' to them. The majority felt that the Samoan radio programmes were annoying and unexciting. They did, however, enjoy popular contemporary Samoan and Pacific music, which they would often listen to on urban radio stations.

Samoan movies, which are gaining popularity among the Samoan community in Samoa and in the diaspora, were a family favourite for all the families. One parent explained that these movies depicted 'real Samoan life in the islands'. Parents particularly enjoyed watching these films with their children, because in their view the children were able to see core concepts of the *fa'asamoa* as well as Christian values depicted in the movies, and thus learn from them.

Digital technology and the internet

The influence of digital technology and the internet on Samoan families in this study was striking. A significant finding was that technology permeated almost all aspects of family

life, so much so that it affected the amount and nature of communication in the family. As noted, each participant in the study had at least one device (mobile phone, iPad, iPod, laptop, computer, and other tablets) and every family member had access to the internet (via Wi-Fi or mobile phone data). Just one family did not have Wi-Fi connected at home.

According to the 24-hour recall sheets (see Appendix 6), all the children were prolific texters. For example, one child reported that he sent approximately 500 text messages per day. However, text messages were rarely in Samoan because it was 'easier to send text messages in English'. Parents talked to were also aware of hybrid or 'shorthand' Samoan (as described by one parent), similar to abbreviated Samoan and caused by text language which in their view was destroying written Samoan. They were fearful that this would cause their children to write in a similar way, thinking that it was the correct way to write Samoan.

Social networking is popular among all family members, and all participants use Facebook to communicate with friends and family, particularly those in Samoa and abroad, as Lee's (2013) research also found. Parents post messages in Samoan to friends and family, while most of the children rarely reported using much Samoan language online, including with relatives. In addition, the majority of participants do not use the internet specifically to access Samoan-specific material and websites. However, a few mentioned watching Samoan comedy videos which were usually posted in Facebook groups. Popular online comedians such as *Momeachokes*, *Kala Ula* and *Hollywood Husbands of Da Samoa* (HHODS), which one parent highlighted as a personal favourite, are gaining momentum and popularity among Samoans worldwide; they use the Samoan language in their skits to poke fun at Samoans and the *fa'asamoa*. Their clever and humorous use of the Samoan language popularises Samoan language and culture with the younger generation especially.

Some parents were concerned about the amount of time their children were spending on their devices and on the internet; it interrupted family time together. As indicated by most parents, communication between family members was becoming increasingly electronic rather than face to face during family time at home. Given the significant uptake of technology by both parents and children in the study, the influence of technology on the Samoan language and its maintenance in families warrants further research.

5.3 Factors influencing Samoan language use in the family

Multiple factors have influenced Samoan language use in the five study families. The presence of a language champion and language-related rules in the home, as well as sustained contact with extended families and the homeland, were found to significantly increase the likelihood of speaking Samoan in the home. However, the lack of quality family time, and changing family structures and environments challenged Samoan language use and therefore its maintenance.

5.3.1 A language champion

This study has highlighted the importance of a language champion. Each family had one person who, in their beliefs and practices, directly influenced and ‘set the tone’ of how the Samoan language was used, and to what extent it was maintained, or not, in that family. I have termed this as ‘championing’ language maintenance efforts in the family. As was the case with three out of five families in this study, research suggests that these champions are usually the parents in the families, and more specifically the mothers (Morris & Jones, 2008). In this study, one father was also a Samoan language champion.

The woman’s role as caregiver, teacher and nurturer is evident in this study. One mother said she has tried her best to raise her children in the *fa’asamoa* according to her own upbringing in Samoa, and the Samoan language is a major component of this. In another family, the grandmother has taken on the role of promoting and ensuring Samoan is spoken in the home. Studies of three-generation families have documented the crucial role of grandparents in heritage language maintenance (Braun, 2012; Clyne, 1991; Eriksson, 2015; Hatoss, 2013; Ishizawa, 2004; Morris & Jones, 2008; Nesteruk, 2010; Ruby, 2012). As this study has also found, the role of grandparents in families is highly valued, particularly in cultures which instil respect for one’s elders. The elderly in the Samoan culture are highly respected for their wisdom and seniority (Fouvaa, 2011).

One father noticed his children had lost the Samoan language. After learning about the merits of bilingualism in his work as a teacher, he took the necessary steps to ensure his children (re)learned the value of the Samoan language. He decided the family would attend a Samoan church where his children were able to learn and recognise the value of the Samoan language. In effect, this father championed the reversal of language shift in

his family. While in four of the five families, the person who either championed or set the tone of language use in the family was either the mother or the grandmother, the role of fathers in the Samoan language maintenance warrants further research.

Despite this, the absence of a Samoan language champion in two of the families has had an effect on language use and consequently the maintenance of Samoan within the family. While parents set the tone and choice of language use in the family, in many of the families it was, more often than not, in English. One mother reported that she had done her best ‘to bring up our children how they should be brought up in New Zealand’, which for her meant privileging the English language so that her children would not be economically and academically disadvantaged. Another mother shared that she may have regretfully ‘slipped’ into not pushing the value and use of the Samoan language to her children more. As a result, the children in these families were experiencing language shift to varying degrees.

5.3.2 Rules

Two families in this study stated that they had a clear and explicit Samoan-only rule which was enforced in their households. The children were aware of the rule, and observations showed that children were scolded for speaking English in the home. Be that as it may, the Samoan-only home in this study still had a significant dominant English-speaking component, similar to Chumak-Horbatsch's (1999) study, which was exacerbated by the presence of English media, digital technology and the internet (television, computer, the internet, cellphones, books), as well as school activities, events, games, sports, homework and friends. The presence of the English language in the family presented many challenges (as seen in sections 5.2.1; 5.2.2).

Three out of the five families, on the other hand, stated that they did not have such a rule in their households. As one mother mentioned, ‘we speak whatever language comes out’, which was often English. In the absence of an explicit language rule in the homes, children could choose what language/s they wanted to use. Some children refused to speak Samoan even though their households had been, at one point in time, only Samoan-speaking households. Surprisingly, English was the ‘easier’ language for communication in these three families, even with the Samoan-speaking parents. Over time, many parents in this study had become relaxed about enforcing language rules in the home and, as one

mother explained, ‘I got sick and tired of telling them to speak Samoan’. This resembles findings from Wong Fillmore’s (2000) study where parents did not force their children to speak their heritage language and very few parents realised the consequences of language loss on their families until it was too late (p. 208).

5.3.3 Quality time as a family

A lack of time together as a family was a significant factor in language use and maintenance in these families. In line with other language maintenance studies (Hatoss, 2013; Wilson, 2010), in the drive for economic security, parents in this study were doing shift work and/or had multiple jobs. Observations also confirmed that all families were busy with family responsibilities to the church (see Mailei, 2003; Wilson, 2010), as well as school and sporting commitments. At the same time, a key finding was that the time they did have together was significantly influenced by technology and the internet (as was discussed in 5.2.2). As a result, there was a danger that children were missing the socialisation in, and opportunities to use and enrich, the Samoan language. Furthermore, parents had fewer opportunities to model to their children the use of the Samoan language so that they could be familiar with it (pronunciation and nuances of meaning), as also noted by Fouvaa (2011).

Two families made deliberate and intentional efforts to spend time together as a family. These parents demonstrated a stronger awareness of the effects of their linguistic choices, and therefore used family time together to encourage the use and enrichment of the Samoan language. This fits the Samoan belief that everyone learns together at the same time. Both families had *lotu afiafi* every evening, and one family said they have *talanoaga fa’ale’āiga* where family members were encouraged to share issues that affected them as a family. Central to these family talks was the use of the Samoan language to express their emotions, and for parents to impart their *a’oa’iga* (teachings) to their children (see also Fouvaa, 2011). One mother expressed that she wished her family had regular *talanoaga fa’ale’āiga*, rather than ‘just when bad things happen’. These families had recognised the need to make an extra effort to find strategies to spend more time together as a family and therefore promote the use and maintenance of Samoan in the home. The *lotu afiafi* and *afiafi fa’ale’āiga* as robust strategies for maintenance and enrichment of language, deserve further consideration by Samoan families.

5.3.4 Family structure

As noted, three families in this study were blended families. The mothers in these families had, at some point, been solo parents before marrying their current partners. It appeared that these changes in family structure had an influence on language practices. For two families, the introduction of a new partner had reinforced Samoan language maintenance efforts. As one child explained, when her mother remarried, she gained new siblings who were from Samoa, so when she was young the family spoke more Samoan in the home.

This study confirmed findings in the literature, that grandparents can play a key role in maintaining the heritage language in the family, particularly if they reside in the family home (Braun, 2012; Clyne, 1991; Hatoss, 2013; Ishizawa, 2004; Morris & Jones, 2008; Nesteruk, 2010; Ruby, 2012). As the only three-generation family in the study, the influence of the grandmother on Samoan language use within her family is immense (as discussed in section 5.2.1). The children in the other four families had had the chance to live with a grandparent at different points in their lives, and all explained that this had been a key factor when they spoke Samoan at home. Interestingly, most children in the study identified that when their grandparents left their home they noticed their own Samoan language use begin to shift to English.

5.3.5 Changing environments

Geographical location and change in environments was another influencing factor. All families had lived in different places in New Zealand or abroad, and the varied environments generated different challenges to language maintenance efforts. For example, moving to Christchurch from Samoa was a culture shock for one mother and her family; they found themselves in a place where very few Samoans lived. Living in different neighbourhoods in Auckland also provided challenges for this family and, as their eldest child highlighted, growing up in a quiet neighbourhood in West Auckland was '*Pālagi* central' which in turn impacted on their chances to speak Samoan outside the home. While this was not the case for all families in the study, geographical location and changes in family structure may have an impact on language maintenance efforts in the family, and warrants further research.

5.3.6 Connection to the homeland

All the parents in this study want their children to be able to interact and communicate with their families in Samoa; trips to Samoa have proved effective for some families to remain connected to their families there. Each family in this study had travelled to Samoa together, and one family travelled to Samoa regularly. The experiences varied among the families and, for some, have been life changing. As Heather-Latu (2003) suggests, the trips often bring together all the uncertainty and the confusion of their experience of living in New Zealand. For one family, in particular, the trips had been a significant learning curve for the children who expressed the realisation that ‘we should speak Samoan’ after struggling to communicate with family members in Samoa.

Visitors such as extended family members from Samoa to New Zealand also had a significant influence on language practices in the family home. The presence of any non-English-speaking parents, other adults, and other children in a household has been found to increase the likelihood of a child speaking the minority language (see also Ishizawa, 2004). Recent migrant family members from Samoa also ensured that Samoan was spoken more in the homes of the study families.

5.4 Samoan language sustainability into the future

Four main points regarding strategies to ensure the sustainability of the Samoan language in New Zealand have emerged strongly in the study findings. These are discussed below but are not prioritised. First, maintaining the Samoan language in New Zealand, and in some families reversing language shift, is an ongoing and complex task which requires deliberate and intentional efforts. Second, families rely on the schools to support Samoan language learning. Third, and closely related, is the continual role of the Samoan church for language and cultural preservation. Fourth, is the potential influence of digital technology and the internet on the future maintenance of the Samoan language.

5.4.1 Family

Participation in this study was evidently a ‘wake-up call’ for most of the research participants. Many parents shared that before the study they had not thought about their own language practices. Nor had they believed they could influence the maintenance of

the Samoan language in their families. Most parents had assumed that language acquisition and intergenerational transmission of the Samoan language happened automatically; that children would pick up Samoan naturally as long as they heard it spoken in the home. Research has hypothesised that the ‘sensitive period’ from infancy to puberty (around 12 years of age) is the crucial period for first language acquisition (Pallier, 2007; Sakai, 2005). During this period, if there is constant input and output of the L1, by 10 or 12 years of age the child should be able to maintain their L1 into their adult life.

A few parents realised that it was almost impossible to curtail the presence and prevalence of the dominant English language in Samoan homes in New Zealand due to digital technology, the internet, mass media, and the effects of schooling and the workforce on family members without deliberate efforts to facilitate the use and enrichment of the Samoan language. This study suggests that Samoan language maintenance in Samoan families is only possible if parents and families make intentional efforts on a daily basis to develop and maintain the heritage language. This aligns with Frese, Röder and Ward’s (2015) study findings who argued that “it is feasible to transmit heritage language to young children if practical strategies are in place, but it is exceptionally difficult to maintain it when children are going to school, due to the peer pressure and lack of support and encouragement coming from mainstream society” (p. 18).

The parents in two of the families have been more aware of their own language practices, and have ensured that rules are in place to ensure Samoan is spoken at home. They implement dedicated family times (such as *lotu afiafi* and *talanoaga fa’ale’āiga*) which encourage the use of Samoan and also give opportunities to talk with and facilitate the enrichment of the Samoan language and culture. In this instance, the sustainability of the Samoan language in these children is not just communication in Samoan, but the constant enrichment of the language and culture. Another parent began to realise language shift was occurring with his children and had revised his own actions; he started to make intentional and deliberate efforts to encourage his children to start speaking Samoan again, such as attending a Samoan church.

The core role of the Samoan family in linguistic socialisation of a child was still seen as paramount by the parents in this study. This confirms Fouvaa’s (2011) study finding that

the family is a robust institution which provides both the properties and strategies to maintain the Samoan language.

5.4.2 Church

This study has confirmed that the Samoan church continues to be a major support system for Samoan language and cultural preservation (Fouvaa & Hunkin, 2011; Fuatagaumu, 2003; Lesa, 2009). However, the role of the church as a stronghold of language maintenance is threatened by the increasing presence of English in church activities, including church services. This is mainly because of the increase in language shift among the younger generations in the church congregations. The role of the church is further challenged by the increase of charismatic churches (many of which do not speak Samoan), as well as other English-speaking churches which many young Samoans attend. These churches do not conduct services in Samoan, nor provide many opportunities for young Samoans to learn and participate in Samoan cultural activities. The study findings suggest that attending a Samoan church increases the chances of speaking and hearing Samoan outside the family home, and thus provides further conditions to maintain the Samoan language. As noted, attending a Samoan church has helped revive the Samoan language for the children in one family. Fishman (1991) stresses that without the functionality of the family in preserving the heritage language, other domains will not be effective. In saying this, relying on the church alone to maintain the Samoan language will not be successful if the Samoan language is not adequately supported in the home.

5.4.3 School

While all parents in this study were supportive of Samoan language learning at school, they saw the role of the school as supplementing language learning in the home. All the parents firmly believed that it was their responsibility as parents to teach their children how to speak Samoan. This differs from some New Zealand research which suggests schools have an increasing role in teaching the Samoan language (and other Pacific languages), particularly in bilingual education (Amituanai-Tolosa, 2010; McCaffery, 2010; McCaffery & McFall-McCaffery, 2009; Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005, 2009; Wilson, 2010). Global and national research confirms that speaking a mother tongue is fundamental for secure identities, which in turn is associated with academic security

(Hanley & Noblit, 2009; Lameta-Tufuga, 1994; McCaffery & Tuafuti, 2003). However, for most of the children in this study, the years of formal schooling meant that acquiring and mastering English became the focus and, as one child explained, ‘Samoan took a back seat’. The perception was that the Samoan language as a school subject was unscholarly (see 5.2.2), and therefore was not useful for their future careers. Given this, it is acknowledged that in Samoan families where parents do not speak Samoan, the schools’ (and churches’) role in facilitating Samoan language learning increases and continues to be a significant support for Samoan language maintenance in New Zealand.

5.4.4 Mass media

The role of ethnic media such as press, radio, television, and video/DVD in supporting community languages has been widely documented (Clyne, 1991). However, in this study, the effectiveness of ethnic media such as Samoan radio and newspapers appears to be age graded. All parents indicated that they listened to the Samoan radio stations and most read Samoan newspapers but the children did not find them appealing or relevant. On the other hand, Samoan movies and music are rising in popularity; all families watch Samoan movies together, and the younger participants especially enjoy listening to Samoan music. Some parents pointed to the effectiveness of Samoan movies in teaching their children more about Samoan culture, notwithstanding the Samoan language, as well as ‘spiritual living’ as depicted in movies. The potential of Samoan movies and music for language maintenance has not been explored much and warrants further research.

5.4.5 Digital technology and the internet

A significant finding in this study was the influence of mass media, digital technology and the internet on language use and efforts to maintain Samoan in Samoan homes. Most participants in the study had not realised how much of an influence technology and media had on their language use and also the effect they had on the nature of communication in the family. Very little was found in the literature on this issue. Most of the research focuses on how multimedia technology, mobile apps, and the internet can help to revitalise endangered languages (Begay, 2013; Galla, 2010; Haag & Wayne Coston, 2002; Penfield et al., 2006). However, the full extent of the impact of the internet on family language practices, for example, is still unclear. The internet is an arena where

people work, study, and socialise as well as a medium which is reshaping the more 'traditional' ethnic media activities (Fitzgerald & Debski, 2006, p. 88). The reality is that this is the digital age, and it is difficult to halt the infiltration of the English language and other influences into family homes via digital technology and the internet. Further research could be undertaken to investigate the potential of the digital technology and internet domain in increasing the levels of Samoan language transmission and maintenance.

5.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the patterns of language use and valuing which have emerged from the findings from the five participant families. The maintenance of the Samoan language in Samoan families is a complex challenging phenomenon.

Overall, the findings align with previous research on language maintenance and loss within migrant and minority language families across generations (Fishman, 1991; Joo, 2009; Li Wei, 2000; Wong Fillmore, 2000); by the second and third generation, the majority of families are English dominant if the heritage language is not adequately supported in the family. This study has confirmed that the Samoan language in New Zealand is weakening and is unsafe (Schmidt, 1990; UNESCO, 2003b) as the fragile nature of many families in New Zealand, and the effort to maintain Samoan in a contesting environment prove to work against Samoan language use in many Samoan families. However, with adequate support the crucial role of the family, as identified in Fishman's GIDS (1991), in the maintenance of Samoan in New Zealand, still remains.

It was expected that a relationship between how the Samoan language was valued and used (Gomaa, 2011; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Spolsky, 2004, 2009; Yu, 2010; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009) would be found. However, this was not the case. All five families value the Samoan language highly, and the value could be discerned by generation. The differences in attitudes were all rooted in different underlying ideas, ideals and cultural and social goals. While the older generations (parents and grandparents) value the Samoan language highly for its spiritual dimension as the *tofi*, and for the deeper meanings associated with the words of the Samoan language, the younger participants in this study mainly see the value of Samoan for communicating. The young people have

also raised some important questions about identity and have suggested that competency in the Samoan language is not the defining factor of being Samoan but merely one component in a complex understanding of Samoan identity. Overall, Samoan is not seen as a scholarly subject by the children in this study, despite their parents placing much value on the connection between being culturally secure and achieving academically. Further research, to explore the causes of these beliefs and its implications, is warranted.

While Samoan was valued by all families, only two families made intentional efforts to maintain and enrich the Samoan language within their families. One other family was beginning to take deliberate actions to counter what they described as language shift, while the other two families did little. Instead, they seemed to assume their children might simply pick up the language inside or outside the home. Efforts to maintain the Samoan language in the family have been influenced by a variety of factors. However, perhaps the most significant finding in this study is the influence of digital technology and the internet on Samoan language use and communication in the family. While there are both challenging and enabling factors regarding the effects of mass media, digital technology and the internet on Samoan language sustainability, there is a need for more research. This is imperative, given the uptake of technology and media by Samoan youth but also because the younger generation of Samoans are the future carriers of the Samoan language and culture.

It is evident that Samoan language maintenance requires deliberate and intentional efforts to not only maintain but also enrich the Samoan language. The presence of a language champion and rules for Samoan language use in the home has proven to be very effective for the use and maintenance of Samoan in some families. Interaction in domains outside the home, such as the church and school, provides further opportunities to speak Samoan. However, these are not effective without adequate support from the family domain. The Samoan language can be maintained in New Zealand. However, it needs to be family generated and led, and supported by the Samoan community.

CHAPTER 6

I'u o manatu – Conclusions and recommendations

6.0 Introduction

This qualitative study set out to examine Samoan language use and the factors influencing the decline in fluency of Samoan language use by Samoans in New Zealand, particularly NZ-born Samoan youth – a trend which statistics show has been rapidly increasing in the last twenty years (Statistics New Zealand, 1998, 2001, 2008, 2014). While previous studies have looked specifically at the value of the Samoan language, there has been little research on actual Samoan language use generally, and more particularly within the family. An assumption by many was that if the Samoan language was highly valued by Samoans, it would also be used widely. In order to provide an understanding of the factors influencing Samoan language shift, this study explored both the use and valuing of the Samoan language from a qualitative perspective and through the lens of the family. The *'āiga* was chosen as the research site, given its central place in the *fa'asamoa*, its importance as a socialisation agency and as the principal domain of language transmission and use (Fishman, 1991). Furthermore, the family domain enabled the exploration of patterns of language use and how this may be impacted by factors such as intergenerational relationships between family members, the choices they made in terms of schools and churches attended, radio stations listened to, who spoke Samoan to whom, when, and for what purpose, and other variables such as length of time in New Zealand and shifts in geographic locations. While research on Samoan language use has been conducted in the school and church domains, this is the first time that a family-based study has been used to explore Samoan language use in this way.

The study was conducted with five families over a one-year period. These families were diverse in terms of composition (three-generation, multiple-ethnicity, blended families). Notably, none of these families had any migrants living with them; the assumption has been that migrants from Samoa co-residing in family homes supports Samoan language maintenance. The research design incorporated phenomenology and a bricolage of research methods through a Pacific worldview. Narratives and other data gained from the *talanoaga*, observations, speech recordings and 24-hour recall sheets were collected and

discussed in this thesis using Fishman's (1972) domains of language use. As noted, there was a special focus on youth as future carriers of the Samoan language in New Zealand.

This chapter presents conclusions and recommendations about Samoan language use, value, and sustainability drawn from the study. The implications for future language use for other Samoan families and communities, and at the policy-making level in New Zealand, are also outlined, as well as some recommendations for further research.

6.1 Conclusions

This study of language use by Samoan families in South Auckland, representing both the largest Polynesian population in the world and the highest numbers of Samoan speakers in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2014; Te Hononga Akoranga & COMET Auckland, 2015), supports the national statistical data that Samoan language shift is occurring generally and among Samoan youth. These findings will likely resonate with other Pacific language groups in New Zealand, as well as other national and global minority ethnic language communities who may be facing the dilemmas of mother-tongue sustainability.

6.1.1 Samoan language use in the family

My main study aim was to explore Samoan language use in Samoan families. Although there were variations in the patterns of Samoan language use within the family homes, by age and across other domains of interaction, language shift was occurring in all five families, some more than others. Firstly, this evidence of language shift is concerning because the grandparent, parents, and their children in this study were all first-language Samoan speakers. An exception was the Fiafia family where the father was Tongan. In this family, the younger children spoke a combination of Tongan, Samoan, and English. Secondly, all of these families lived in South Auckland where Samoan is the second-most spoken language (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). If these patterns of vulnerability and language shift use are found in South Auckland, the larger question then becomes what is happening in smaller Samoan communities in other areas of New Zealand, such as where there is less support for the Samoan language outside of the family domain. Related

was that many of these Samoan youth were a little ambivalent about maintaining the Samoan language. This is discussed further in 6.1.3.

Second, although the Samoan language was highly valued by these families, this valuing was not often mirrored in their actions. It may be true that Samoan was more highly valued by the Samoan elders as their *tofi* from God and as a defining element of their identity as Samoans. However, youth, on the other hand, did not share this view. For them, Samoan was more a communication tool. Even so, this did not correlate with their actual language use. For example, in most of the families, youth were highly likely to speak English both with their parents and when speaking to one another. Notable also was that the conversations were marked by increased code-switching, which, more often than not, led to more English being spoken. By way of contrast, parents and elders conversed in Samoan with one another and most attempted to speak Samoan to their children.

Of considerable significance also was that despite global recognition of language rights (as discussed in chapter 1), no one in the study expressed their fundamental right to use and maintain their Samoan language. This point warrants further research.

6.1.2 Factors influencing Samoan language use

The second aim of this study was to explore factors influencing Samoan language use in the family, including in other domains of interaction, using Fishman's (1972) domains of language use. The findings confirmed that the family was the main domain of Samoan language use (see figure 5.1). In turn, the family determined member participation in other domains of language use, such as church, school, workplace, and mass media. Whereas all parents in this study used Samoan across multiple domains, the use of the Samoan language outside of the home by youth was limited. A major study finding was the increasing impact of digital technology and the internet on communication patterns in family homes, as will be discussed.

Family

My conclusion was that if the Samoan language is to be maintained, this needs to begin in the family. In terms of family composition, the Samoan language was more likely to

be maintained if the family was three-generational; the significant role of the grandparent in this study in ensuring Samoan language was spoken in the home was highly important. Appertaining to this was the emergence of language champions in the families – a person who set the tone of Samoan language use in the family; the families with a language champion were more likely to speak Samoan. As previously noted, the grandmother in one family and the mother in another promoted the use of Samoan, enforced Samoan language rules in the home, and provided opportunities to enrich the Samoan language. In another family, the father had recognised his children were no longer speaking nor understanding Samoan and had therefore tried to implement ways to reverse this shift. Conversely, in two families the absence of a Samoan language champion meant that these families struggled to maintain the Samoan language.

What is more, there were no migrants from Samoa residing in the family homes, and therefore it was not possible to explore the role of Samoa in terms of nourishing the Samoan language in this study. However, it is hoped that the current dialogue in Samoa regarding Samoan language change (see chapter 1) will strengthen support for Samoan in New Zealand. Further research should be undertaken to examine the links between Samoa and New Zealand more closely.

Intermarriage was another factor affecting Samoan language use in this sample. This was highlighted in the competing loyalties confronted by the Fiafia family when they had to decide which language would have prominence in their family in the future – Tongan, Samoan, or English. Further studies with families of multiple ethnicity are strongly recommended, particularly as the rate of intermarriage continues to increase in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, n.d., 2014).

Church

Most studies highlight the church, particularly the congregational churches, as the main domain of Samoan language use and maintenance in New Zealand. All but one family in this study attended a Samoan-speaking church, so there was an assumption that Samoan would be spoken for the majority of the time. This was not so. A significant study finding was that English was gradually encroaching into this former stronghold of Samoan language and cultural identity. For example, more English was being spoken in church groups such as the *Autalavou* and *A'oga Aso Sā*, and church ministers were also seen to

be faced with the challenge of having to use English in their services to keep youth ‘in’ the church, rather than face the danger of losing them. An implication of this is the possibility that perhaps Samoan churches in New Zealand are changing. Will they continue to be the bastions of Samoan language and culture? Moreover, what about Samoan families who do not attend Samoan-speaking churches? This issue is an intriguing one, which could be usefully explored in further research.

School

Most of the children in this study had attended *A’oga Amata*. This had set the platform for the sustainability of the Samoan language for these children. Of the others, some had participated in Samoan bilingual units and the majority had attended mainstream schooling. It emerged from the findings that their transition into mainstream schooling, where English is the medium of instruction, had a significant impact. For example, there is very little support for Samoan language in primary schooling in particular and, by the time these children had advanced to secondary level, many were not taking the Samoan language as a school subject. Coincidentally, these were the years they had noticed their patterns of language use changing. The factors included conflicting ideas by parents who saw the value of the Samoan language in education, and children making their own decisions about their study courses, which were made according to what they thought would be useful for their future careers. The children’s experiences dictated that English was the language of their lives as students, and an impetus from English-based popular culture promoted the perception that for Samoan youth, English and its inherent bodies of knowledge took precedence over maintaining Samoan. As aptly expressed by one participant, ‘we wanted to be scholars and so Samoan took a back seat.’

Digital technology and the internet

As noted, a most significant study finding was the impact of digital technology and the internet on Samoan language use in these homes by the grandparent, parents, and children. In fact, digital technology and the internet were changing the nature and amount of face-to-face communication in these families quite significantly. Hence, my recommendation is that this domain be added to Fishman’s (1972) domains of interaction. The amount of Samoan language used in this domain could not be well determined;

however, the participants shared that the use of technology and the internet had influenced significantly the time they spent together as a family. Not only that, most of this technology and internet use was in English. The findings also highlighted that there was a limited presence of Samoan media and resources in the homes (apps, online presence, in magazines and books) that were enticing enough for Samoan youth to engage with. Clearly, the digital technology and internet domain has emerged as a critical domain for language use, and the reality is that the power and impact of technology as a means of communication cannot be avoided and will likely influence Samoan language sustainability in New Zealand.

6.1.3 Youth as future carriers of the Samoan language

An important assumption in this exploratory study was that youth would be the future carriers of the Samoan language in New Zealand, and generally. Drawing on these study findings, Fishman's (1991) prediction that minority languages might be lost within three generations is likely to be a reality in many Samoan families in New Zealand unless deliberate actions are taken. In sum, the decisions that Samoan youth make today will have a significant impact on the future of the Samoan language in New Zealand.

Most of the youth in this study did not place high importance on the intrinsic value of the Samoan language (as in spirituality, identity, culture, family unity). Many did not see a value in learning Samoan at school, and questioned whether speaking Samoan was a defining element of 'being Samoan'. Instead, their daily life realities were influenced and grounded in the New Zealand context. It can be said that youth are weaving new Samoan identities in New Zealand (Anae, 1998; Macpherson, 1999; Macpherson et al., 2001; Tiatia, 1998) in which Samoan language competence may not be required. More in-depth research is needed to explore the function of Samoan language as a mechanism for establishing individual and cultural identity (Lewis & Simons, 2016; Stanford & Whaley, 2010), and what effects that will have on the future of the Samoan language in New Zealand.

6.2 The future of the Samoan language in New Zealand

The results of this study suggest that the Samoan language is in a fragile state in New Zealand today. As a minority language in New Zealand, the Samoan language is continuously open to threat from the primary language, which is English. It is also worthwhile to note that efforts to ensure the value and continued use of the Samoan language in the homeland point to concerns about language shift there. If shift continues to occur at the rate at which it is declining now in New Zealand, the Samoan language could become endangered in New Zealand in the near future. As a result, urgent and deliberate actions are needed in order to sustain it.

6.2.1 From language maintenance to language sustainability

The findings indicate compellingly the importance of actions to use the Samoan language. I propose the need to rethink the focus of research and language planning, and to look beyond language maintenance towards the sustainability of Samoan for the future. Language sustainability is dynamic and future-oriented; it refers to a renewal and further enrichment and development of past language practices to meet the needs of the present, while looking forward to the future (García, 2011; Makalela, 2016). The focus of language maintenance literature and programmes in New Zealand has primarily been concerned with the problems of how to support language. However, to maintain a language implies that there is something there to maintain. As the study findings show, most of the Samoan families, especially Samoan youth, are not speaking, listening, writing, reading and talking about the Samoan language as much as would be desirable to ensure the future sustainability of Samoan.

Sustainability of the Samoan language necessitates that Samoan is spoken across generations and changing environments. This requires a proactive nurturing within each of the domains of Samoan language use, especially digital technology and the internet. The role of the family, as the primary site of socialisation and intergenerational transmission of a language, is fundamental (Fishman, 1991; UNESCO, 2008a), and the intergenerational sustainability of the language requires parents and families to play a lead role (Ehala, 2014). Furthermore, if the Samoan community is serious about the future of the Samoan language, then action is needed, facilitated by a better understanding of

how best to sustain the language in the current context. Youth and families need to be central to these efforts.

6.2.2 Recommendations

The following courses of action are recommended to sustain the Samoan language. These begin with the family, the community, and then conclude with national policy-making. Finally, suggestions for further research are also outlined.

Practical recommendations

Family

The *‘āiga* is, and continues to be, the heart of Samoan language sustainability. The strength of the *‘āiga* as the central focus of identity and belonging, and the site of enduring intergenerational transmission and socialisation (Li Wei, 2012; Spolsky, 2012). The findings of this study complement those of earlier studies which have insisted that the factors outside the family, such as language, educational and migration policies, the economy, and national media, cannot themselves sustain the Samoan language without securing intergenerational transmission in the home and family (Fishman, 1991; Pauwels, 2005, 2008). This is the challenge this study issues to Samoan families in New Zealand.

Greater efforts are needed to ensure that there are intentional, deliberate, and regular actions to use and sustain the Samoan language. For example, parents and elders need to be language champions and encourage their children to speak Samoan in and outside their family homes. They must also model their language practices to their children and speak a range of Samoan language with their children (colloquial, conversational, right through to *upu maotua*⁷⁶), and not just to instruct and discipline them. It is hoped that parents and families can foster in their children a love of the Samoan language for its beauty, value, and possibilities, so that young Samoans too can recognise the importance of speaking Samoan; this goes to the crux of Samoan values, knowledge, and belief systems. Families must also find ways to spend more quality time together as a family, such as making time for *lotu afiafi* and *talanoaga fa’ale’āiga*, which encourage the use and enrichment of the Samoan language.

⁷⁶ Difficult language

Families must also recognise the pronounced influence that technology has on communication within the family, as well as the impact of extended exposure of children to English-related digital media and the internet, particularly if there is limited Samoan being spoken in the homes. This has gone unnoticed and unchallenged. For example, ‘babysitting’ children with digital devices with predominantly English-medium content, in lieu of spending more time engaging in conversation in Samoan with children, will not enrich their Samoan language. Accordingly, as has been discussed, this is vital for children in the crucial years of language acquisition (from infancy to puberty), where children require constant input and output of their L1 in order to maintain it successfully (Pallier, 2007; Sakai, 2005). There is, however, potential for technology, media, and the internet to support language sustainability. The presence and use of more relevant Samoan media in homes such as Samoan movies (which most of the families in this study particularly enjoyed), Samoan radio programmes which cater to the Samoan youth of today, music, language-learning apps, and Samoan-language DVDs and books, will ensure there is more Samoan heard and spoken in family homes. For example, the recent development of apps such as *Measina* and *Fa’asamoa*, which are dedicated to teaching and promoting the preservation of Samoan language and culture, are steps in the right direction. These steps need to be positive and pro-Samoan, rather than anti-English, which the Samoan youth will resist. If the sustainability debate is to move forward, particularly in this digital age, a better understanding of how to use this domain as a vehicle for Samoan sustainability needs to be developed.

Community

It was evident in this and other studies (Taumoefolau, Starks, Davis, & Bell, 2002) that many Samoans are unaware of Samoan language shift in New Zealand, and many do not recognise shift occurring in their families and communities. These conversations need to take place in the churches and community groups. Not only will this educate and strengthen individual families by providing opportunities for young Samoans to be exposed to and to speak Samoan outside the home, but the community in turn will be strengthened by Samoan families who are confident and grounded in their language, culture, and identities.

Samoan churches, especially, play a vital role in raising community awareness of Samoan language shift, and their continued role in Samoan language sustainability should not be underestimated. Importantly, Samoan churches must also recognise the influence that English is having within the church domain, and make deliberate efforts to find ways to encourage young Samoans to use the Samoan language at church services, programmes, and church activities. Further research should therefore concentrate on addressing the paradox Samoan churches currently face in sustaining language and their need to keep their Samoan youth engaged and in the church.

Another important practical implication is to find ways to utilise the Samoan language and cultural expertise among members of the Samoan communities. For instance, there is a current reawakening of community-led Samoan language and culture classes, attracting NZ-born Samoans, particularly middle-generation, to learn the Samoan language and culture. More support for community-led classes such as these would be particularly valuable for Samoan youth and children, notwithstanding the growing number of non-Samoan-speaking families and families of multiple ethnicities. Similar weekend classes in Wellington, New Zealand, for Chinese youth to learn the Chinese language have had great success. Fluent Samoan speakers and cultural experts in the Samoan communities must develop and lead similar programmes for Samoan youth and families in New Zealand.

Finally, there is also a demand for more Samoan language resources, particularly in digital form, which can be accessed online and via multimodal forms of technology, which other Samoan diaspora communities could also access. This would be another avenue to utilise linguistic and cultural expertise in the Samoan communities.

National

Sustaining Samoan in New Zealand requires that Samoan is valued not only for its intrinsic value to Samoans, but also for the significant social and socioeconomic benefits for individuals, communities, and for New Zealand society (May, 2009). Given New Zealand's aims to be a culturally diverse nation, and the realities of an increasing migrant and, in this case, Samoan population, it is in New Zealand's best interest to acknowledge and reinforce the linguistic and cultural richness of superdiversity (Chen, 2015; Harvey, 2016). In the past, arguments for language maintenance based on cultural identity reasons

have not gathered much traction at the policy level. However, superdiversity brings with it rich cultural knowledge and worldviews that must be incorporated into the larger systems of knowledge. This research is a timely wake-up call that actions to sustain the Samoan language, therefore, may not necessarily be easy but are valuable, not only to Samoan and Pacific communities but also to New Zealand as a nation.

For Samoan youth in particular to recognise and value the need for a greater range of linguistic and intercultural repertoires to meet the challenges and opportunities of superdiverse New Zealand, the multilingual region and globalisation (Chen, 2015; Harvey, 2016), there is a need for a national languages policy, one which recognises the importance of New Zealand's languages and commits to supporting their sustainability. A languages policy sends a clear message to the Samoan and other language communities in New Zealand that their languages are valued and have a place in New Zealand. While it is acknowledged that the practicality of a national languages policy may not be considered at this point in time, a Pacific languages policy may be more feasible in the interim. This is particularly relevant for the Pacific languages of the realm of New Zealand, which are experiencing more advanced language shift (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.). The Auckland Languages Strategy is a good step in the right direction, and has laid the foundations for a future languages policy.

The impact of the absence of any languages policy in New Zealand is particularly evident in education, and the push for more support for Samoan (and Pacific) bilingual and immersion schooling in New Zealand has fallen on deaf ears (Amituanai-Tolosa, McNaughton, & Lai, 2009; Tagoilelagi-Leota, McNaughton, MacDonald, & Farry, 2005; Te Hononga Akoranga & COMET Auckland, 2015; Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005, 2009). As this study has shown, the schooling years appear to be the critical years for intervention to avoid long-term Samoan language shift. A reasonable approach to tackle this issue could be for the State to provide more support for immersion and bilingual schooling, particularly in areas where there are high numbers of Samoans. Education policies also need to challenge the perception that learning Samoan and other languages at school is unscholarly, and multilingual students should be given credit for speaking multiple languages. Therefore, teaching Samoan in schools will be vital for Samoan families, especially for non-speaking Samoan families and those of multiple ethnicity.

This will also require the provision of training for fluent Samoan speakers to become Samoan language teachers.

Recommendations for further research

As previously noted, the following are recommendations for further research work:

- More research is required to explore the impact of migrants from Samoa on language sustainability. Is Samoa still the source of nourishment for the Samoan language in New Zealand?
- Given the global declarations and frameworks on linguistic and cultural rights, further research is needed to assess how this impacts Samoan (and other Pacific) language-valuing and use in New Zealand
- The findings from this study provide insight into a group of five families in South Auckland, New Zealand. This study could be replicated with other Pacific language groups in New Zealand, as well as other minority languages in the diaspora
- Further research should be undertaken to examine more closely how families of multiple ethnicity deal with the competing loyalties which arise in multilingual families and how this impacts on language sustainability
- It is recommended that further research be undertaken to explore issues around language and identity for Samoan youth, to determine what and how identity in the New Zealand context will enable or challenge Samoan language sustainability.

6.3 Final remarks

This family-based research, though intense, was a highly rewarding process, and I consider it the only suitable way to conduct a study of this kind. The bricolage approach proved to be a robust method of exploration which captured the nuances of meaning embedded within the language transmission. Decisions about language practices were also explored, and more particularly, the inherent changes in the way language is used – according to the nature of these family relationships. In the case of the Samoan language, the stories and patterns of Samoan language value and use by Samoan families, and in

particular Samoan youth, are central to the sustainability of the Samoan language in New Zealand. As noted, Samoan families and the community must lead sustainability efforts with support from the State. In sum, this study has clearly shown that the home and family is where this begins.

A malu i fale le gagana, e malu fo'i i fafo.

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Upu ma uiga – Glossary of words and phrases

<i>afakasi</i>	half-caste
<i>afiafi fa'ale'āiga</i>	family evenings
<i>agaga</i>	spirit
<i>aganu'u</i>	culture
<i>aganu'u Samoa</i>	Samoan culture
<i>aganu'u fa'asamoa</i>	Samoan culture
<i>'āiga</i>	family
<i>'āiga potopoto</i>	extended family
<i>aikia</i>	idea
<i>alofa</i>	love
<i>a'oa'iga</i>	teachings
<i>A'oga a Faife'au</i>	Pastor's school
<i>A'oga Amata</i>	Samoan early childhood centre
<i>A'oga Aso Sā</i>	Sunday school
<i>aumaga</i>	untitled males
<i>Autalavou</i>	youth group
<i>e iloa oe i lau gagana</i>	you can tell someone by their language
<i>Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa</i>	Christian Congregational Church of Samoa
<i>fa'aaloalo</i>	respect
<i>fa'afafine</i>	effeminate males
<i>fa'amatai</i>	chiefly system
<i>fa'asamoa</i>	Samoan way of life
<i>fa'asamoa!</i>	speak Samoan!
<i>fa'asamoa mai</i>	speak Samoan to me
<i>fa'asinomaga</i>	identity
<i>fa'asoa</i>	to pass on
<i>fāgogo</i>	Traditional Samoan stories or stories told verbally in the traditional way

<i>fāiā</i>	building relationships through kinship or affinity
<i>faia’oga</i>	teacher
<i>faia’oga A’oga Aso Sā</i>	Sunday school teacher
<i>faife’au</i>	church Minister
<i>faleaitu</i>	Samoan comedy, clowning
<i>fale o le gagana ma le aganu’u</i>	the house which retains the language and culture
<i>faletua</i>	wife, wife of a high chief
<i>Fale’ula o le Fatua’i’upu o le Gagana Samoa</i>	International Samoan Language Commission
<i>fanua</i>	land
<i>fautuaga</i>	advice
<i>feagaiga</i>	covenant
<i>fe’au</i>	message, chore
<i>fia (Pa)pālagi</i>	trying to be European
<i>fono</i>	meeting
<i>fuataimi</i>	conductor
<i>gafa</i>	genealogy
<i>Gagana</i>	language
<i>gagana fa’aaloalo</i>	language of respect, formal language
<i>gagana fa’afailauga</i>	language of oratory
<i>Gagana K</i>	/k/ style register of Samoan (informal)
<i>gagana Samoa</i>	Samoan language
<i>Gagana T</i>	/t/ style register of Samoan (formal)
<i>gagana Tokelau</i>	Tokelauan language
<i>‘ia</i>	Yes (colloquial)
<i>ipu</i>	plate, dish, cup, glass
<i>itūmālō</i>	district
<i>kapahaka</i>	Maori performing arts
<i>Kohanga Reo</i>	Maori immersion Early Childhood Education
<i>lotu afiafi</i>	evening prayers

Le Siufofoga o le Laumua
lingua franca

Lotu a Tamaiti
Mafutaga a Tinā

manatu

mama

Mama

matai

meaalofa

measina

nu'u

o le 'āiga e malu ai le tagata

o tama a manu e fafaga i fuga o lā'au, a

o tama a tagata e fafaga i upu ma tala

o oe se Pālagi?

Pālagi

sā

sa'o

sau'ai

Ta'iala mo le Gagana Samoa i Niu Sila

tala fa'asolopito

talanoa

talanoaga

talanoaga fa'ale'āiga

talatalanoa

tala o le vavau

tala o taeao o Samoa

tala o taua

tama'ita'i

Samoan Capital Radio

a common language between speakers

whose native languages are different

White Sunday

women's fellowship group

thought, idea

food chewed and rolled up into balls

grandmother

chief

gift

treasure

village

the family provides shelter for a person

the offspring of birds are fed on the

nectar of trees, but the young of humans

are fed with words

Are you a European?

European, western, foreigner

sacred

head (chief) of the family

giant

Samoan language curriculum statement
(NZ)

history

to talk

talk/s

family talks

to talk with two or more people

myths and legends

tales of significant moments in Samoa's

history

stories of war

daughters, daughters of the matai

<i>tama'ita'i Samoa</i>	Samoan girl/woman
<i>tamaiti</i>	children
<i>tapu</i>	sacred
<i>tapua'iga</i>	devotion, support
<i>taui</i>	reward
<i>tausī</i>	wife of an orator (chief), to care for
<i>tautala leaga</i>	/k/ style register of Samoan, bad speech
<i>tautala lelei</i>	/t/ style register of Samoan, good speech
<i>tautua</i>	Service, to serve
<i>teine Samoa</i>	Samoan girl
<i>Te Reo Maori</i>	Maori language
<i>teva</i>	to run away
<i>ti'ākono</i>	deacon
<i>tofāmanino</i>	vision
<i>tofi</i>	right, duty, inheritance
<i>tu ma aga</i>	customs and traditions
<i>tu ma amioga lelei</i>	respectful behavior
<i>ua teva</i>	has run away
<i>upu maotua</i>	difficult language
<i>utuvāgana</i>	vocabulary
<i>vā</i>	distance, space between two places, things or people
<i>vā fealoa'i/fealoaloa'i</i>	relationships between people
<i>Vagahau Niue</i>	Niuean language
<i>Vaiaso o le Gagana Samoa</i>	Samoan language week

Fa’apu’upu’u o upu – Abbreviations

ALS	Auckland Languages Strategy
AM	Amplitude Modulation
Am. Samoa	American Samoa
app	Application, a software application
AUT	Auckland University of Technology
AUTEC	Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
BA	Bachelor of Arts
CCCS	Christian Congregational Church of Samoa
CD	Compact Disc
COMET	Community Education Trust Auckland
DNA	DeoxyriboNucleic Acid
DVD	Digital Versatile Disc
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EFKS	Ekalesia Fa’apotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa
Eng	English
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
F.A.G.A.S.A	Fa’alāpotopotoga mo le A’oa’oina o le Gagana Samoa i Aotearoa
FLP	Family Language Policy
FOB	Fresh Off the Boat
GT	/t/ style register of Samoan (formal)
GK	/k/ style register of Samoan (informal)
GIDS	Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
HHODS	Hollywood Husbands Of Da Samoa
HL	Heritage Language

ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ID	Identity Document
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LMS	London Missionary Society
MOE	Ministry of Education
MPIA	Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs
MPP	Ministry for Pacific Peoples
NCEA	National Certificate of Educational Achievement
MTV	Music Television
NZ	New Zealand
NZ-born	New Zealand-born
PC	Personal Computer
PEC	Pasifika Education Centre
PEP	Pasifika Education Plan
PIC/PIPC	Pacific Islands Presbyterian Church
RSNZ	Royal Society of New Zealand
SAASIA	Sosaiete a A'oga Amata Samoa i Aotearoa
Sam	Samoan
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
SLC	Samoan Language Commission
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TV	Television
UNCROC	United Nations Conventions on the Rights Of the Child
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US	United States (of America)
USSR	United Soviet Socialist Republics
Xish	Minority languages
Yish	Dominant language
Xmen	Minority language speakers
Ymen	Dominant language speakers

Appendices

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Appendix 1

Languages spoken in everyday conversation 2013: A summary of the Samoan population (multiple response data)

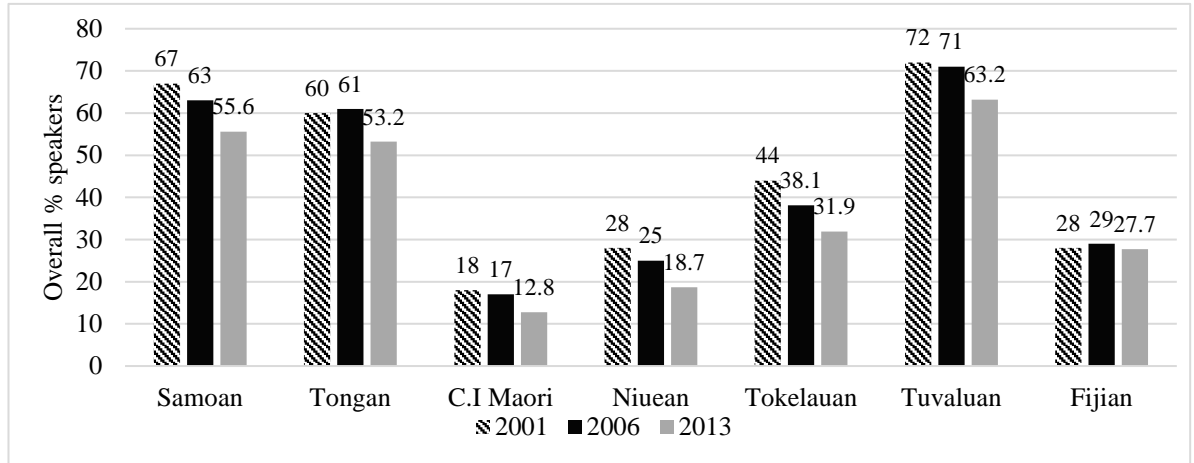
Languages spoken	NZ-born		Samoa-born		Total	
	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%
% who speak English	81720	91.5%	40053	49%	126027	87.4%
% who don't speak English	5319	6%	8310	10.2%	13950	9.7%
% English speaking not stated	2232	2.5%	1467	1.8%	4161	2.9%
% who speak Samoan	31410	35.2%	44361	89%	77892	54%
% speak Samoan and English	30297	33.9%	36231	44.3%	68436	47.5%
% speak Samoan but no English	1113	1.2%	8130	9.9%	9456	6.6%
Total Samoan population	89271		49830		144138	

(Statistics New Zealand, n.d)

The data in this table allows for multiple responses. For example, of the 144,138 Samoans in New Zealand, 126,027 (87.4%) speak English. 77,892 (54%) speak Samoan and of these speakers of Samoan, 68,436 (47.5%) speak both Samoan and English. Samoans who speak both Samoan and English are included in the 126,027 Samoans who speak English. People can be counted several times in this table depending on the number of languages they speak.

Appendix 2

Speakers of Pacific languages in everyday conversation 2001 – 2013



(Statistics New Zealand, n.d.)

This table provides the overall percentage of speakers of the seven largest Pacific languages in New Zealand over the period 2001 – 2013. The number of speakers of a language are from members of that particular ethnic community. For example, in 2013, 18.7 per cent of Niueans in New Zealand could speak Niuean (*Vagahau Niue*) in everyday conversation.

Appendix 3

Observed language practices by family⁷⁷

Name	Gene- ration	Family	Age	Personal dominant language	Language use with 1 st generation	Language use with 2 nd generation	Language use with 3 rd generation
T_Grandmother	1	Tanielu	70	S	S	S	S
T_Father	2	Tanielu	48	S	S	S	S
T_Mother	2	Tanielu	46	S	S	S	S
T_Daughter1	3	Tanielu	17	E	S	S	E
T_Daughter2	3	Tanielu	15	E	S	S	E
T_Son1	3	Tanielu	14	E	S	S	E
T_Niece	3	Tanielu	70	E	S	S	E
M_Father	1	Masina	54	S	S	S	N/A
M_Mother	1	Masina	45	S	S	S	N/A
M_Daughter1	2	Masina	26	E	S	E	N/A
M_Daughter2	2	Masina	23	E	S, E	E	N/A
M_Daughter3	2	Masina	19	E	S	E	N/A
L_Father	1	Lelei	40s	S	S	S	N/A
L_Mother	1	Lelei	40s	S	S	S, E	N/A
L_Daughter1	2	Lelei	18	E	E	E	N/A
L_Daughter2	2	Lelei	14	E	E	E	N/A
F_Father	1	Fiafia	43	E	E	E, T ⁷⁸	N/A
F_Mother	1	Fiafia	31	S	E	E, S ⁷⁹	N/A
F_Son1	2	Fiafia	16	E	E, S	E, S	N/A
F_Daughter1	2	Fiafia	15	E	E, S	E	N/A
F_Son2	2	Fiafia	11	E	E	E	N/A
F_Daughter2	2	Fiafia	8	E	E	E	N/A
F_Daughter3	2	Fiafia	4	E	E	E	N/A
F_Son3	2	Fiafia	2	E	E	E	N/A
G_Father	1	Galo	40s	S	S, E	E	N/A
G_Mother	1	Galo	40s	S	S, E	E	N/A
G_Daughter1	2	Galo	24	E	E	E	N/A
G_Son1	2	Galo	22	E	E	E	N/A

⁷⁷ S is Samoan, E is English, T is Tongan. Where there are two languages in a cell, the language choices are listed in order of preference.

⁷⁸ F_Father only speaks Tongan to his two youngest children (F_Daughter3 and F_Son3) who are ethnically Tongan.

⁷⁹ F_Mother mainly speaks Samoan to the two eldest children, F_Son1 and F_Daughter1.

Appendix 4

Ethics approval



14 January 2014

Peggy Fairbarin-Dunlop
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Peggy

Re Ethics Application: **13/343 The use and valuing of the Samoan language in Samoan families in New Zealand today.**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the AUT University Ethics Committee (AUTC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 14 January 2017.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 14 January 2017;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 14 January 2017 or on completion of the project.

It is a condition of approval that AUTC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this. If your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply there.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, please use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

All the very best with your research,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Salinaolua Wilson salwiso@aut.ac.nz

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

WASOP Level 5 WA Building City Campus

Private Bag 92008 Auckland 1142 Tel: +64-9-221-2222 Fax: 8316 email ethics@aut.ac.nz

Appendix 5

Talanoaga schedule

These questions here are a guide for the *talanoaga*. However, this list is not exhaustive nor will the interview be restricted to only these questions. The *talanoaga* as informal conversations will be open to questioning, probing and (re)aligning of any questions relating to the valuing and use of Samoan language in families in New Zealand. Questions may also differ slightly for different generations.

WHO IS THE FAMILY?		RESEARCH Qs
Childhood & Family	1. Where were you born? Who brought you up?	
	2. What ethnic groups do you identify with?	
	3. Where did you grow up?	
	4. When did you come from Samoa?	
	5. What languages did you speak in the home growing up?	
Education	6. Where did you go to school?	
	7. Was Samoan language used in the school? Explain.	RQ1
LANGUAGE USE?		
Language usage	8. What is the language most used in your home?	
	9. What and when do you use English/Samoan?	RQ1
	10. What language do you use when speaking to different relatives?	
Language proficiency	11. In what language could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?	
	12. In your view, how would you rate your reading, speaking, listening, writing in Samoan?	RQ1
Valuing of language	13. How important is the Samoan language for you? In everyday life? In NZ today?	
	14. Identity: Do you need the Samoan language in order to be Samoan? Discuss.	RQ1
	15. Who do you think is responsible for teaching the Samoan language in NZ today?	
DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE?		
Church	16. Do you attend church services? What language/s are your church services held in?	RQ2
	17. What language is used at other church gatherings?	
Visiting	18. Do you ever visit Samoa? And how often?	
	19. What language do you speak there?	RQ2
Work	20. Do you have many visitors from Samoa come and stay with you?	
	21. What language/s do you speak at work/school? When? To whom?	RQ2
Media	22. How often do you: read a Samoan newspaper? listen to the Samoan radio? listen to Samoan CDs etc? watch Samoan videos? go to a Samoan website?	RQ2
	23. Do you email/text/facebook/tweet? In what language/s?	
LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE		
	24. Do you think it's important to know how to speak/read/write in Samoan?	
	25. Do you think the Samoan language should be maintained in NZ? Discuss.	RQ3
	26. Who do you think should take responsibility for supporting Samoan?	
	27. What ways do you think can help to maintain the language in NZ today?	

Appendix 6

24-hour recall sheet of Samoan language use in digital technology, the internet and mass media

Name: _____ Age: _____ Male/Female: _____ Date: _____

Instructions: Please fill this out in the evening before you go to bed for one day.

	Day:
Text messages <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Approximately how many texts did you send today? Approximately how many were in Samoan, if any? How many were a mix of Samoan and English, if any? Time: mainly in the morning, afternoon, evening? 	
Social networking: Facebook/Instagram/Twitter etc <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Did you FB/Instagram/Tweet etc today? What percentage of these was in Samoan, if any? What time did you mainly FB/Instagram/tweet etc? 	
Skype/FaceTime/video call <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Did you skype/FaceTime/video call today? How much was in Samoan, if any?? Time: mainly in the morning, afternoon, evening? 	
TV/Movies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Did you watch TV today? Did you watch any Samoan programmes/movies? Which ones? Time: mainly in the morning, afternoon, evening? 	
Radio/Music <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Did you listen to the radio? If so, which radio stations? Did you listen to any Samoan radio programmes? Did you listen to other Music (CDs, iPod, phone etc)? Approximately what percentage were Samoan songs? 	
Internet/Emails <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Did you use the internet today? Did you go on any Samoan websites? Which ones? Did you send any emails today? To who? Approximately how much was in Samoan if any? 	
Comments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Please write any comments you have about today. 	

Appendix 7

Participant information sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced:
October 2013

Project Title
The use and valuing of the Samoan language in Samoan families in New Zealand

An Invitation

Talofa lava. I am Salainaolua Wilson and I am currently a postgraduate student at AUT University studying towards my Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degree. I am being supervised by Tagaloatele Prof. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop and Prof. Allan Bell. This research is a component of my PhD qualification and involves exploring the use and valuing of the Samoan language in Samoan families in Manukau. I would like to invite you to be part of this study.

What is the purpose of this research?

As is well documented, Pasifika languages, especially the Samoan language is being lost in New Zealand, particularly amongst the youthful, NZ-born generation. There is a lack of research looking at the views of the speakers of these languages, which is the focus of this study. The aim is to explore the use and valuing of the Samoan language within the Samoan family to raise awareness and set a baseline of whether and how language shift is occurring and to identify factors contributing to mother tongue security and, decline.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You have indicated your interest after the church meeting. Your contact details have been obtained from that meeting.

What will happen in this research?

For this research I will be working with up to six Samoan families in Manukau. I will be interviewing up to three people per family which will involve a face-to-face talanoaga (informal conversation or interview) conducted at a time which is convenient for the family members. Recordings of voice recordings and participation in family activities may also be involved. You are in no way obliged to agree to an interview or group talanoaga session or participant observation. Should you feel the need to withdraw from the project at any time, you may do so without question prior to the completion of data collection.

The interviews, discussions and voice recordings will be taped or digitally recorded so that I can capture the richness of the conversation. These conversations can be carried out in either English, Samoan or both. I will transcribe each conversation and return to you for your approval. This is to ensure that I do not misinterpret any words or meanings. The responses I collect will form the basis of my research project and will be incorporated into the thesis.

What are the discomforts and risks?

No risks and discomforts are anticipated. As in the practice of *va fealoai* (relationships) which is paramount to the fa'asamoa, your participation will be treated with utmost respect.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

All data collection interviews will be carried out at your home at a time most suitable for you. All personal details, information and opinions will be kept confidential. No other person besides me and my two supervisors will see the transcripts. All interview transcripts, tapes and observation notes will be destroyed six years after submission and approval of the final research report. Furthermore, while the report will remain in the form of an unpublished thesis, a copy of the final report will be made available to you and your family and research findings may be published in academic journals and or disseminated at academic/professional conferences.

What are the benefits?

Your participation in this study is the opportunity to give voice to the statistics of what is happening with the Samoan language in New Zealand. Not much has been written about what Samoans believe as the value and place of the Samoan language here in New Zealand, yet it may be one of the most important discussions the Samoan people will have regarding the future of their language in New Zealand. Your input will be a valuable contribution to the discussions but also to this particular research. As a doctoral candidate, your work directly contributes to my PhD thesis, and may be used in any related conference and seminar presentations and journal articles.

How will my privacy be protected?

I will be transcribing the information thus I will not reveal your identity or the identities of any other person mentioned in the thesis, conference presentation or any written journal articles related to this research. Pseudonyms will be used to name each participant. I will not engage in any casual conversations in relation to interviews or interview materials and will ensure that the interviews are not overheard in any way, shape or form. You should be aware however, that given the research is based in your church, other families may get to know of your involvement in the study. It is strongly encouraged that you refrain from discussing the study with fellow church members in order to protect your privacy.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There are no financial costs. However, your participation using your valuable time is significant in this research.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

I will arrange a time suitable for you to meet and discuss with you whether you would like to participate in this research. Should you decide before the arranged time that you agree to participate, you may contact me on the contact details provided. I am planning to make initial contact with you in January 2014. Once you have read and understood this form, I will give you a week to make a decision as to whether you would like to participate in this research.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

As part of research procedure, you will be asked complete a written Consent Form before any data collection takes place. I have attached this form. Please take the time to read over this. Please note that you do not have to feel obligated to take part and that you are welcome to contact me at any time for clarification.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Tagaloatele Professor Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, pfairbai@aut.ac.nz +64-9-9219999 x 6203.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTECH, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.

Auckland University of Technology
Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142, NZ

T: +64 9 921 9999
www.aut.ac.nz

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher contact details:

Salainaoloa Wilson,
School of Social Sciences and Public Policy
AUT University
salainaoloa.wilson@aut.ac.nz
+64-9-9219999 x 6094 (work)
+64-211488677 (mob)

Project Supervisors contact details:

Tagaloatele Prof. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop
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Prof. Allan Bell
Secondary Supervisor
Institute of Culture, Discourse & Communication
AUT University
agbell@aut.ac.nz
+64-9-9219999 x 9683 (work)

Fa'afetai lava and thank you very much for considering my request

***Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 14 January 2014, ATEC
Reference number 13/343***

Faamatalaga mo le silafia o i latou o le a auai i lenei suesuega

Aso:

Oketopa 2013

Ulutala o le suesuega

O le faaaogaina ma le faatauaina o le Gagana Samoa i totonu o 'āiga Samoa i Niu Sila

O le talosaga

Talofa lava. O lou igoa o Salainaolua Wilson ma o loo ou sueina nei le faailoga o le Fomai o le Faatufugaga (PhD) i le Iunivesite o Tekonolosi i Aukilani. O a'u faiaoga mo lenei suesuega o le tamatai Polofesa Afioga ia Tagaloatele Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop ma le alii Polofesa o Allan Bell. O lenei suesuega o loo ou suesueina le faaaogaina ma le faatauaina o le Gagana Samoa i totonu o 'āiga Samoa i Niu Sila. O lea o loo talosagaina lau susuga pe faamata e te fia auai i le suesuega.

O le a le uiga o le suesuega?

E pei ona molimauina i faamaumauga, e foliga mai ua amata ona mou atu gagana Pasefika i totonu o Niu Sila e aofia ai ma le Gagana Samoa, aemaise i latou na fananau i Niu Sila. O le autu o lenei suesuega o le suesueina lea po o le a le faaaogaina ma faatauaina o le Gagana Samoa i totonu o 'āiga Samoa, ma po o le a le tulaga o le Gagana Samoa i totonu o Niu Sila; pe o a ni auala e ono faamallosia ma faaaauaina ai le Gagana Samoa, ma po o a foi mafuaaga ua amata ai ona mou atu.

Pe faapefea ona filifilia ma valaauina au ou te auai i lenei suesuega?

O lou suafa na ou maua mai i faamaumauga o e o loo fia auai i le suesuega ina ua maea ona faasalalau i le fonotaga a le ekalesia.

O se a se mea e ona tupu i lenei suesuega?

Mo lenei suesuega, o le a ou faatalanoa ai 'āiga Samoa e ono o loo alaala i Manukau. O le faatinoina o lenei suesuega e aafia ai talanoaga faasamasamanoa ma nisi e le sili atu i le toatolu tagata mai 'āiga taitasi ma ni talanoaga fai toatele a le 'āiga i soo se taimi lava ma soo se nofoaga e finagalo i ai le o loo finagalo e auai i lenei suesuega. E talosagaina foi se avanoa ou te auai ai i se tasi o mafutaga faale'āiga pe a talafeagai ma malilie ai le 'āiga. A e finagalo e te faamaamulu mai i lenei talanoaga pe o se talanoaga fai toatele po o le suesuega foi, e tuuina atu lava ia te oe le loto faitalia e te filifili ai pe e te malie i ai pe e leai.

O nei talanoaga uma o le a pueina lea i se laau pue leo, ina ia mafai ai ona ou pueina mai mataupu eseese ole talanoaga. O nei foi talanoaga e mafai ona faaperetania, pe fa'asamoa foi pe faaaogaina uma foi gagana uma nei e lua. Ou te tusitusiina uma le talanoaga ona tuuina atu lea o faamaumauga o le tusitusiga e te faitau i ai ia ma lou foi silafia. E taua le tuuina atu le kopi o lau tusitusiga aua e lelei lou silasila ma toe faitau ou manatu ina ia aua nei i ai se nunumi, pe o se sese foi. O talanoaga ma faamaumauga uma o le a ou faaaogaina e fai ai lau suesuega.

E i ai se mea e ono faapopoleina ai au i lenei suesuega?

E leai se mea e ono fa'apopoleina ai oe ona o lenei suesuega. O le a tausisia pea le va fealoai, o se vaega taua o le aganu'u fa'asamoa. E taua tele lou sao i lenei suesuega ma e le afaina pe afai e te le fiafia pe le logo lelei ia te oe ni mataupu e uiga i lenei faatalanoaga, e mafai lava ona faamuta le talanoaga i soo se taimi e aofia ai ma le tapeina ole laau pueleo.

E faapefea ona alofia nei popolega?

O lou auai i lenei suesuega e le faatauinauina ae fai i lou finagalo malie. I soo se taimi lava e mafai ona e le taliina ni fesili, taofi le faatalanoaga pe faamaamulu mai le suesuega i soo se taimi.

O a aoga o lenei suesuega?

O se avanoa lenei e fa'asoa ai ni ou manatu i le tulaga o le Gagana Samoa i Niu Sila. I le taimi nei, e le tele ni suesuega faapea foi ni faamaumauga pe o a ni manatu faaalua o tagata Samoa i le taimi nei e faatatau tonu ile Gagana Samoa. E ia te au se lagona vaivai, o le tatou Gagana o se mataupu e pito i sili ona taua pe tatou tepa i le lumanai o le tatou nonofo ai i Niu Sila nei.

E faapefea ona puipuia lou tagata mai le silafia o le lautele?

O soo se faamaumauga e patino tonu i lau susuga faapea foi o ou manatu faaalua, e na o lenei suesuega o le faaaogaina ai. O talanoaga, mea pueleo ma faamaumauga uma e taofi uma seia maea le ono tausaga. Na o matou ma a'u faiaoga o le a vaavaai i nei faamaumauga. E maea loa le tolu tausaga ona faaleaogaina (susunu) uma lea o nei tusitusiga ma faamaumauga. A maea foi le suesuega, o le a maua se kopi o le suesuega ae lei lolomiina aua au faamaumauga ma lou silafia. I lea lava taimi e mafai ona faaaogaina lenei lava kopi ole suesuega e lolomiina i totonu o tusi a le Iunivesite ia ma faaaogaina e alii ma tamaitai polofesa.

E i ai se tau o le auai i lenei suesuega?

E leai se tau. Ae peitai, e faatauaina lou taimi ua faaavanoaina mai mo lenei suesuega.

E i ai se avanoa e tu'u mai ou te mafaufau ai i lenei valaaulia?

Afai e te malie e auai i lenei suesuega, e talosagaina le faaavanoaina o se itula o lou taimi e fai ai se talatalanoaga. Ae afai e te fia faafesootai mai ae lei oo i le taimi o le ta feiloaiga, e mafai ona e faafesootai mai e auala o loo ta'ua i lalo. O le ta uluai feiloa'iga ua fuafua mo Novema 2013, e faatalanoaina ai lenei suesuega ma faamautu ai ni ou taimi avanoa.

E faapefea ona ou auai i lenei suesuega?

O loo faapipii atu se pepa o le "Feagaiga o maliliega" mo lou silafia. Faamolemole, faitau lelei i ai ma faafesootai mai pe a i ai ni mea e fia faamalamalama atili ona saina lea o lenei pepa ae lei amatalia lenei suesuega.

Se a se mea e ao ona ou faia pe afai e i ai ni mea e tulai mai e faapopoleina ai au i lenei suesuega?

Afai e i ai se mea e faapopoleina ai oe i lenei suesuega, fesootai muamua le faiaoga mo lenei suesuega, le tamaitai Polofesa, Afioga ia Tagaloatele Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, Imeli: pfairbai@aut.ac.nz, Telefoni: +64-9-9219999 x 6203.

E mafai foi ona faafesootai le failautusi - Komiti o Tulafono (Ethics) a le Iunivesite o Tekonolosi i Aukilani, Kate O'Connor, Imeli: ethics@aut.ac.nz, Telefoni 921 9999 ext 6038.

Mo nisi faamatalaga, faafesootai:

Tamaitai Suesue:

Salainaoloa Wilson

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Faiaoga:

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Prof. Allan Bell
Secondary Supervisor
Institute of Culture, Discourse & Communication
AUT University
agbell@aut.ac.nz
+64-9-9219999 x 9683 (work)

Fa'afetai lava mo le amanaia mai o le faatalaula atu o leni sutesuega

Ua taliaina e le Komiti o Tulafono (AUTEC) a le Iunivesite o Tekonolosi i Aukilani i le aso 14 Ianuari 2014. O leni feagaiga ua talia ma ua tuuina i ai le fuainumera faapitoa a le AUTEC: 13/343.

Appendix 8

Consent form

Individual talanoaga/interviews

Project title: *The use and valuing of the Samoan language in Samoan families in New Zealand*

Project Supervisors: *Tagaloatele Prof. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop
Prof. Allan Bell*

Researcher: *Salainaoloa Wilson*

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information sheet dated 13 October 2013.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that quotes from transcripts and/or excerpts of audio files may be quoted in presentations, publications and in the final thesis.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant's signature:.....

Participant's name:.....

Participant's contact details (if appropriate):

.....

Date:.....

*Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 14 January 2014 AUTEC
Reference number 13/343*

Feagaiga o Maliliega

Talanoaga ma tagata taitoatasi

Ulutala: *O le faaaogaina ma faatauina o le Gagana Samoa i totonu o 'āiga Samoa i Niu Sila*

Faiaoga: *Tamaitai Polofesa Afioga Tagaloatele Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop
Alii Polofesa Allan Bell*

Tamaitai Suesue: *Salainaoloa Wilson*

- ☐ Ua ou faitauina ma ua ou malamalama i faamalamalamaga uma o leni suesuega ua tuuina mai ia te au i le pepa o "Faamatalaga mo le silafia o i latou o le a auai i leni suesuega" i le aso 13 Oketopa 2013
- ☐ Ua maea ona tuu mai ia te au le avanoa e mafai ai ona ou fesiligia leni suesuega faapea foi ona taliaina fesili ma lou malie atoa i ai
- ☐ Ou te malamalama o le a faamaumau ma pu'eina nei talanoaga i se laau pueleo
- ☐ Ou te malamalama e ia te au le loto faitalia e mafai ai ona ou faamaamulu mai i leni suesuega i soo se taimi ae lei maea le suesuega
- ☐ Afai ou te faamaamulu mai leni suesuega, o faamaumauga uma o leni suesuega o le a faaleaogaina (susunu)
- ☐ Ou te manao ma malie atoa e auai i leni suesuega
- ☐ Ou te manao ina ia tuuina ma ia te a'u se kopi o le tauaofa'iga o leni suesuega pe a maea. Ioe ☐ Leai ☐

Sainia lou suafa:

Tusi lolomi lou suafa:

Tuatusi (pe a talafeagai):.....

.....

.....

.....

Aso:

*Taliaina e le Komiti o Tulafono (Ethics) a le Iunivesite o Tekonolosi i Aukilani i le aso 14 Ianuari
2014 AUTEK Reference number 13/343*

Appendix 9

Consent form

Group talanoaga/interviews

Project title: *The use and valuing of the Samoan language in Samoan families in New Zealand*

Project Supervisors: *Tagaloatele Prof. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop
Prof. Allan Bell*

Researcher: *Salainaoloa Wilson*

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 13 October 2013
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that identity of my fellow participants and our discussions in the focus group is confidential to the group and I agree to keep this information confidential.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the focus group and that it will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that quotes from transcripts and/or excerpts of audio files may be quoted in presentations, publications and in the final thesis.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that while it may not be possible to destroy all records of the focus group discussion of which I was part, the relevant information about myself including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will not be used.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant's signature:.....

Participant's name:

Participant's contact details (if appropriate):

.....

.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 14 January 2014 AUTEK Reference number 13/343

Feagaiga o Maliliega

Talanoaga ma le 'āiga

Ulutala: *O le faaaogaina ma faatauaina o le Gagana Samoa i totonu o 'āiga Samoa i Niu Sila*

Faiaoga: *Tamaitai Polofesa Afioga Tagaloatele Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop
Alii Polofesa Allan Bell*

Tamaitai Suesue: *Salainaoloa Wilson*

- Ua ou faitauina ma ua ou malamalama i faamalamalama uma o leni sutesuega ua tuuina mai ia te au i le pepa o "Faamatalaga mo le silafia o i latou o le a auai i leni sutesuega" i le aso 13 Oketopa 2013
- Ua maea ona tuu mai ia te au le avanoa e mafai ai ona ou fesiligia leni sutesuega faapea foi ona taliaina fesili ma lou malie atoa i ai
- Ou te malamalama o le a faamaumau ma pu'eina nei talanoaga i se laau pueleo
- Ou te malamalama e ia te au le loto faitalia e mafai ai ona ou faamaamulu mai i leni sutesuega i soo se taimi ae lei maea le sutesuega
- Afai ou te faamaamulu mai leni sutesuega, o faamaumauga uma o leni sutesuega o le a faaleaogaina (susunu)
- Ou te manao ma malie atoa e auai i leni sutesuega
- Ou te manao ina ia tuuina ma ia te a'u se kopi o le tauaofa'iga o leni sutesuega pe a maea. Ioe ○ Leai ○

Sainia lou suafa:

Tusi lolomi lou suafa:

Tuatusi (pe a talafeagai):

.....

.....

.....

Aso:

*Taliaina e le Komiti o Tulafono (Ethics) a le Iunivesite o Tekonolosi i Aukilani i le aso 14 Ianuari 2014 AUTEK
Reference number 13/343*

Appendix 10

Consent form

Parent/guardian

Project title: *The use and valuing of the Samoan language in Samoan families in New Zealand*

Project Supervisors: *Tagaloatele Prof. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop
Prof. Allan Bell*

Researcher: *Salainaoloa Wilson*

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 13 October 2013.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that quotes from transcripts and/or excerpts of audio files may be quoted in presentations, publications and in the final thesis.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw my child/children and/or myself or any information that we have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If my child/children and/or I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to my child/children taking part in this research.
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes ☐ No ☐

Child/ren's name/s :

Parent/guardian's signature:

Parent/guardian's name:

Parent/guardian's contact details (if appropriate):

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 14 January 2014 AUTEK Reference number 13/343

Feagaiga o Maliliega

Mo matua o alo ma fanau e i lalo ifo o le 16 tausaga

Ulutala: *O le faaaogaina ma faatauaina o le Gagana Samoa i totonu o 'āiga Samoa i Niu Sila*

Faiaoga: *Tamaitai Polofesa Afioga Tagaloatele Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop
Alii Polofesa Allan Bell*

Tamaitai Suesue: *Salainaolua Wilson*

- ☐ Ua ou faitauina ma ua ou malamalama i faamalamalama uma o leni suesuega ua tuuina mai ia te au i le pepa o "Faamatalaga mo le silafia o i latou o le a auai i leni suesuega" i le aso 13 Oketopa 2013
- ☐ Ua maea ona tuu mai ia te au le avanoa e mafai ai ona ou fesiligia leni suesuega faapea foi ona taliaina fesili ma lou malie atoa i ai
- ☐ Ou te malamalama o le a faamaumau ma pu'eina nei talanoaga i se laau pueleo
- ☐ Ou te malamalama e ia te au le loto faitalia e mafai ai ona ou faamaamulu mai ai la'u tama/fanau i leni suesuega i soo se taimi ae lei maea le suesuega
- ☐ Afai ou te faamaamulu mai ma la'u tama/fanau mai leni suesuega, o faamaumauga uma o leni suesuega o le a faaleaogaina (susunu)
- ☐ Ou te manao ma malie atoa e auai la'u tama/fanau i leni suesuega
- ☐ Ou te manao ina ia tuuina ma ia te a'u se kopi o le tauaofa'iga o leni suesuega pe a maea. Ioe ☐ Leai ☐

Tusi lolomi le suafa o lau tama/fanau :

Sainia le suafa o le matua:

Tusi lolomi le suafa o le matua:

Tuatusi a le matua (pe a talafeagai):

.....

.....

Aso:

*Taliaina e le Komiti o Tulafono (Ethics) a le Iunivesite o Tekonolosi i Aukilani i le aso 14 Ianuari 2014 AUTEK
Reference number 13/343*

Appendix 11

Assent form

Project title: *The use and valuing of the Samoan language in Samoan families in New Zealand*

Project Supervisors: *Tagaloatele Prof. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop
Prof. Allan Bell*

Researcher: *Salainaoloa Wilson*

- ☐ I have read and understood the sheet telling me what will happen in this study and why it is important.
- ☐ I have been able to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that quotes from transcripts and/or excerpts of audio files may be quoted in presentations, publications and in the final thesis.
- ☐ I understand that while the information is being collected, I can stop being part of this study whenever I want and that it is perfectly ok for me to do this.
- ☐ If I stop being part of the study, I understand that all information about me, including the recordings or any part of them that include me, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.

Participant's signature:.....

Participant's name:.....

Participant's contact details (if appropriate):

.....

.....

.....

Date:.....

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 14 January 2014 AUTEK Reference number 13/343

Feagaiga o Maliliega

Mo alo ma fanau e i lalo ifo o le 16 tausaga

Ulutala: *O le faaaogaina ma faatauaina o le Gagana Samoa i totonu o 'āiga Samoa i Niu Sila*

Faiaoga: *Tamaitai Polofesa Afioga Tagaloatele Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop
Alii Polofesa Allan Bell*

Tamaitai Suesue: *Salainaoloa Wilson*

- Ua ou faitauina ma ua ou malamalama i faamalamalama uma o leni sutesuega ua tuuina mai ia te au i le pepa o “Faamatalaga mo le silafia o i latou o le a auai i leni sutesuega” i le aso 13 Oketopa 2013
- Ua maea ona tuu mai ia te au le avanoa e mafai ai ona ou fesiligia leni sutesuega faapea foi ona taliaina fesili ma lou malie atoa i ai
- Ou te malamalama o le a faamaumau ma pu’eina nei talanoaga i se laau pueleo
- Ou te malamalama e ia te au le loto faitalia e mafai ai ona ou faamaamulu mai i leni sutesuega i soo se taimi ae lei maea le sutesuega
- Afai ou te faamaamulu mai leni sutesuega, o faamaumauga uma o leni sutesuega o le a faaleaogaina (susunu)
- Ou te manao ma malie atoa e auai i leni sutesuega
- Ou te manao ina ia tuuina ma ia te a’u se kopi o le tauaofa’iga o leni sutesuega pe a maea. Ioe ○ Leai ○

Sainia lou suafa:

Tusi lolomi lou suafa:

Tuatusi (pe a talafeagai):.....

.....

.....

.....

Aso:

*Taliaina e le Komiti o Tulafono (Ethics) a le Iunivesite o Tekonolosi i Aukilani I le aso 14 Ianuari 2014 AUTEC
Reference number 13/34*

Appendix 12

Data collection and total contact hours by family

Family	Contact	Duration	Total contact hours (approx)
Tanielu	Whole family meeting	4 hours	28.5 hours
	Follow up family meetings	1.5 hour	
	Delivering and collecting materials	2 hours	
	Phone calls	1 hour	
	Talanoaga – T_Grandmother	1 hour	
	Talanoaga – T_Mother	3.5 hours	
	Talanoaga – T_Daughter1	1 hour	
	Speech recordings	1.5 hours	
	Observation – church	0.5 hours	
	Observation – birthday	1.5 hours	
	Observation – home	5 hours	
	Observation – home	4 hours	
Masina	Whole family meeting	2 hours	22 hours
	Follow up family meetings	3 hours	
	Delivering and collecting materials	1 hour	
	Phone calls	1.5 hours	
	Talanoaga – M_Mother	1.5 hour	
	Talanoaga – M_Daughter1, M_Daughter2, M_Daughter3	2 hours	
	Speech recordings	3 hours	
	Observation – church	0.5 hours	
	Observation – home	0.5 hours	
	Observation – home	4.5 hours	
Lelei	Whole family meeting	3 hours	20.5 hours
	Follow up family meetings	2.5 hours	
	Delivering and collecting materials	1.5 hour	
	Phone calls	1.5 hours	
	Talanoaga – L_Mother	1.5 hours	
	Talanoaga – L_Daughter1, L_Daughter2	2 hours	
	Speech recordings	1 hour	
	Observation – home	0.5 hours	
	Observation – home	1.5 hours	
	Observation – home	1 hour	
	Observation – sports event	3.5 hours	
Fiafia	Whole family meeting	2 hours	20 hours
	Follow up family meetings	2 hours	
	Delivering and collecting materials	1 hour	
	Phone calls	2.5 hours	
	Talanoaga – F_Mother	1 hour	
	Talanoaga – F_Son1, F_Daughter1	2 hours	
	Talanoaga – F_Father	1.5 hours	
	Speech recordings	1 hour	
	Observation – church	0.5 hours	
	Observation – home	3 hours	
	Observation – home	3 hours	
Galo	Whole family meeting	1.5 hours	16 hours
	Follow up family meetings	3 hours	
	Delivering and collecting materials	1 hour	
	Phone calls	2.5 hours	
	Talanoaga – G_Father, G_Mother	1 hour	
	Talanoaga – G_Daughter1, G_Son1	1.5 hours	
	Speech recordings	1.5 hours	
	Observation – home	1 hour	
	Observation – home	1 hour	
	Observation – home	1 hour	
			107 hours (approx. total)