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Language change: linguistic imperialism
or empowerment?
*Observations on the use of English in
contemporary urban Samoa.*

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Abstract

English is widely considered to be a global language, the lingua franca of the modern world, and the language of globalisation. For some cultures, this English imperialism equates to the loss of their indigenous language(s). Amidst growing concerns that language loss is occurring in the Pacific, this research seeks to explore the use and purpose of English in contemporary urban Samoa, and considers the effect this is having on *Gagana Samoa* – the Samoan language.

Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's practice theory, this study argues that English occupies an important place in Samoan society as it possesses symbolic and economic capital which can be utilised by both individuals and family units, within Samoa and overseas. Furthermore I explore the role of music in English language acquisition and use, and assert that music is a means of gaining symbolic capital within Samoan society. Finally I discuss Samoan perspectives of language change and consider the future of the English and Samoan languages in Apia.

The fieldwork for this research was conducted over a period of six weeks in the village of Moata'a, and the wider Apia area in Upolu, Samoa. My research methods consisted of participant observation, discussions with key informants and informal interviews. I also carried out observations at three early educational establishments, Sunday school, preschool and primary school.

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Chapter One: Introduction

I am not the first anthropologist to travel to the Samoan islands to study the language and culture. In fact, in some ways this is a well-worn path. Margaret Mead (1928), Elinor Ochs (1988), Alessandro Duranti (1981), Derek Freeman (1983), Lowell Holmes (1924) and Bradd Shore (1982) amidst others have all paved the way for this research.

Samoa, officially known as the Independent State of Samoa (*Malo Sa'oloto Tuto'atasi o Sāmoa*) and sometimes also called Western Samoa, is comprised of two large islands, Upolu (1,113 sq.km) and Savaii (1,820 sq.km), together with the very small islands of Apolima and Manono which are inhabited, and Fanutapu, Namua, Nu'utele, Nu'ulua and Nu'usafe'e which are uninhabited (Hughes, 1997:11) The capital Apia is on the northern coast of Upolu and is the largest and only city in the country.

This research took place primarily in the village of Moata'a, though I conducted fieldwork in the wider area of Apia also. According to the 2011 census, there are nearly 37,000 people residing in Apia (Samoa Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Moata'a has a population of approximately 1600 people. Unusually, Moata'a has only one church within its village boundaries; the Congregational Church of Samoa.

Moata'a is bordered on one side by the Pacific Ocean, and rocky beaches, and on the other closely situated villages which eventually reach densely forested mountains. The streets and houses in many ways reminded me of an average Auckland suburb, though they are each on large, lush sections of flat land. Moata'a has one preschool and one primary school, both of which are situated on the church's land, alongside the pastor's house. There is one shop which sells a range of snacks and drinks, and one roadside fruit and vegetable stall, both of which open and close on the owners' whim. Unlike many villages in Samoa, Moata'a did not have a curfew signaling *Sa* (prayer time) (Ochs, 1988:13), though I did not walk the streets after dark so I am unsure if this devotional period still occurred.

Moata'a was chosen as my research site for several reasons, some personal and some practical. A few months prior to my departure I had a chance contact with an Australian woman via the Trip Advisor website who recommended an accommodation option at a place called Taumesina, within the Moata'a village. As I had no contacts, friends or family in Samoa, I was exploring different accommodation options which were feasible both in terms of accessibility to local people, and my personal finances. Taumesina suited both of these requirements, and after conversing with the owners, who were extremely friendly and interested in my research, I chose to base myself there.

Taumesina is a small suburb within Moata'a consisting of around 50 properties. Much of it is built on reclaimed land which was once a lagoon, though a small portion of the lagoon still exists. I stayed in a small, family run motel of sorts. I had a studio unit which resembled a typical cabin you would find in a New Zealand camping ground; minimally furnished but clean and comfortable. The owner's house was located behind me and I spent a lot of time there playing with the children and puppies, talking to the grandmother and eating dinner with the family.

As I was located within the village I was privy to many aspects of typical daily life. In the morning I watched the children walking to school in their brightly coloured uniforms, and frequently in the afternoon several of them would end up at my unit where they would draw pictures, teach me games, and allow me to practise my Samoan. The evenings were abuzz with the sounds of crickets and geckos chirping, dogs barking, and the occasional pig squealing. On Sundays the morning air would be thick with a delicious smelling smoke from the *to'onaii* (Sunday family lunch), and in the afternoon there would often be a game of volleyball or water polo, from which the squeals of laughter rang out loudly.

Taumesina's proximity to Apia was one reason I chose to stay there (Moata'a is a short 5 minute drive from the centre of Apia), as I later discovered I had some family friends there who were very keen to meet me, and assist with my research whenever they were able. Also, as this was my first time conducting fieldwork I wanted to be close to Apia to have ready access to communication devices so I could contact my supervisors if necessary. The

National University of Samoa is also based very near Apia which was of great assistance to me.

Another contributing factor was the relatively brief timeframe of six weeks which I had to spend in Samoa. I felt that I would settle into life more quickly in an urban environment such as Apia, than I would in a remote village in Savaii or Manono Island which I also considered. This was an important factor as I was well aware of the necessity to build rapport with informants, and to observe as much of the 'normal' day to day occurrences as possible. Also, being aware of my status as a *Palagi* (European), I felt it would be beneficial to position myself in Apia where people were more accustomed to tourists, volunteers and ex pats, many of whom were *Palagi*, in the hope of reducing this transitional period.

A further consideration was that I felt it would be interesting and valuable for me to research an area that is undergoing significant social and cultural transformations. Arguably, these changes are only exacerbated by anthropologists such as myself entering the country and bringing with them a host of foreign influences. This paradox is discussed more in the methodology chapter. Despite this, I felt it important to study a village such as Moata'a which is establishing a balance between traditional practices and Western influences, as this is in many ways the likely future of Samoa.

Significance of Research

Samoan society has been undergoing gradual, but significant changes for some time. Some of these changes include: migration to New Zealand and Australia leading to dispersed family members which has shifted the traditional role of the *matai* slightly while increasing the influence of Samoan pastors (Fitzgerald & Howard, 1990:35). Elsewhere, some *matai* (chief) titles are being split across two or more individuals to increase the number of *aiga* (family) who are eligible for political positions (Pearson, 1992:70). Education also has allowed some young people to secure high paying or prestigious jobs, which has increased their status within their *aiga*, and village.

One of the most apparent changes in Samoa, however, is the language change. Through migration, tourism, and globalisation English has become increasingly prevalent in Samoan society (Nunes, 2006:8). Furthermore, due to its status as a global language, English holds considerable economic, political and cultural power in Samoa. English is recognised alongside Samoan as an official language, and is used primarily in education and for commercial, media and government purposes (Tcherkezoff, 2005:247).

The prevalence of English in Samoa, and the subsequent language change which is occurring is a concern for many Samoans both in Samoa and abroad, who fear that English is taking over their indigenous language, and that language loss is in fact occurring as fewer people are speaking Samoan (Afatasi, 2005; Amituanai - Toloa, 2010:80; Collins, 2008; Taumoeofolau, 2011).

Language change is a global concern, especially as it can often equate to language loss. According to the Foundation for Endangered Languages (2014), there are approximately 7,000 distinct languages spoken throughout the world today. Each year around twenty five of these die out, and by the end of this century around half of these are expected to have been lost (Brennan, 2013).

Although language change and loss has occurred throughout much of human history, this has typically happened in geographically confined areas amongst small communities (Hale et al., 1992:4). In contrast, language loss of the twentieth and twenty first centuries has been characterised by a much larger shift, resulting in a loss of cultural knowledge and diversity. As Ken Hale describes it; "...politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a condition which can only be described as embattled." (Hale, et al., 1992:2).

More than just language is at risk, as language and culture are fundamentally intertwined. In 2012, the United Nations held a forum on 'The Study on the role of languages and culture in the promotion and protection of the rights and identity of indigenous peoples' (2012). As they called for greater research to be carried out into indigenous language change, they summed up the importance of language in the following statement:

“Language is an essential part of, and intrinsically linked to, indigenous peoples’ ways of life, culture and identities. Languages embody many indigenous values and concepts and contain indigenous peoples’ histories and development. They are fundamental markers of indigenous peoples’ distinctiveness and cohesiveness as peoples.”

It also needs to be understood that only a very small amount of oral traditions (stories and songs) are recorded, either on a recording device or in written form. Therefore, once they are lost, they are gone forever. Harrison stresses the importance of what is being lost when this occurs; “We stand to lose volumes; entire worldviews, religious beliefs, creation myths, observations about life, technologies for how to domesticate animals and cultivate plants, histories of migration and settlement, and collective wisdom. And we will lose insight into how humans fine-tune memory to preserve and transmit epic tales.” (2008:159).

Samoa is in many ways the optimal environment to research indigenous language change. Samoan is traditionally an oral culture, and though a written language now exists and is widely utilised, many oral traditions still remain in use. Significant language loss has also not occurred in Samoa yet, and thus there may be valuable lessons to be learned regarding how the Samoan language has remained in use despite adopting English as an official language, and how a largely bilingual society has emerged. Furthermore, research into language change in Samoa now, before widespread language loss does possibly occur, allows for changes to be implemented if necessary.

Although Samoa has been the site of several studies into language acquisition and use (Kernan, 1969; Mayer, 2001; Milner, 1961; Ochs, 1988; E Schultz, 1965) many of these were several decades ago when language based traditions were somewhat stronger than they are today. An example of this is the *fagogo* (roughly translated to traditional fairy tales) told by the elderly to young children at night before they went to sleep (Efi, 2003:52). *Fagogo* are credited as being a source of Samoan pedagogy as they were a means of cultural and language transmission. These were once an integral part of daily life in Samoa, but are now rarely practised (Kolone - Collins, 2010:27).

This research has significance not only for Samoa but for New Zealand also, and especially for the Samoan communities in New Zealand. At the time of the 2013 census there were more than 140,000 Samoans living in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). This number is expected to steadily increase, and by 2026 it is projected that Pacific people will comprise at least 10% of the population. Samoans will make up approximately half of this population. These individuals will form a large segment of new job entrants, consumers, taxpayers and voters, and as such are an important part of New Zealand's future.

Samoan is currently the third most spoken language in New Zealand, though there is evidence to suggest that this is steadily declining, especially amongst New Zealand-born Samoans (Fisher, 2010:204; G. A. Hunkin, 2012:206). Consequently there have been calls from several organisations for more research into the languages and cultures of Pacific peoples to assist in a greater depth of understanding and awareness in the hopes of reversing this loss. Among these organisations are the Human Rights Commission (2004) and the Ministry for Pacific Island Affairs (2012), both of whom are aware of discrimination against Pacific language speakers, and who are concerned about language loss in the Pacific communities of New Zealand.

This need for further research has also been identified by several educational bodies in New Zealand. One of these is the New Zealand Kindergartens Incorporated Te Putahi Kura Puhou o Aotearoa, which is the governing organisation for more than 435 kindergartens throughout New Zealand. They have argued for a greater amount of research into Pacific language learning, so that more Pacific languages can be offered in early childhood education (New Zealand Kindergartens Limited, 2012:4). They contend that this is necessary to demonstrate respect toward Pacific cultures and languages, and encourage participation in early childhood education from Pacific families. In addition they stress the numerous benefits of bilingualism, and suggest that all children, regardless of their ethnic background, would benefit from such exposure to different languages (2012:6).

As children are spending an increasing amount of time in early childhood centres (Education Counts, 2013), these environments are having an important impact on their

social, cognitive and emotional growth, and their subsequent futures. The curriculum which all early childhood centres operate from is Te Whariki (Ministry of Education, 1996). Te Whariki recognises the importance of language in early childhood education;

“Language is a vital part of communication. In early childhood one of the major cultural tasks for children is to develop competence in and understanding of language. Language does not consist only of words, sentences, and stories: it includes the language of images, art, dance, drama, mathematics, movement, rhythm, and music. During these early years, children are learning to communicate their experiences in many ways, and they are also learning to interpret the ways in which others communicate and represent experience.” (Ministry of Education, 1996:72)

Quality early educational experiences have been linked to significant benefits for children. Some of these include problem solving skills, literacy and numeracy development and social confidence (A. Smith, Inder, & Ratcliff, 1993:20; Vesely, Ewaida, & Kearney, 2013:760). These benefits also extend to later on in life. Participation in early childhood education has been identified as a cause for improved social and economic futures, especially amongst children from poorer communities and socio-economic backgrounds (Mitchell, Wylie, & Carr, 2008; Wylie, 2008). Pacific Islanders are over-represented in low income households and unemployment statistics (The Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2012).

As there are a high number of Samoan and other Pacific Island migrants to New Zealand it is also important to have an understanding of their cultural and societal norms. For children especially it is useful for teachers to know the educational environment which they are accustomed to so that they can ease the transition for them. Statistics show that many Pacific migrant children who arrive in New Zealand struggle with adjusting to an unfamiliar setting, and this can be reflected in their educational results (Flockton & Crooks, 2001:74; Munford, Sanders, Maden, & Maden, 2007).

While this research is not specifically exploring the Samoan language, English can be considered a Pacific language as it is an official language in Samoa and all other Pacific nations. Furthermore, the English spoken in Samoa is not necessarily the same English

that is spoken in New Zealand. Regardless, the language learning methods present in Samoan educational facilities may be of use to early childhood centres in New Zealand, particularly those who have a high number of Samoan families participating.

This research also has significance in a global sense as it contributes to the growing body of knowledge of the English language, and its role in language change. This is an important area of research as an increasing number of countries are adopting English as an official language, and many more countries are incorporating it into their curricula (Papprill, 2013). Furthermore, English is now widely considered to be the global lingua franca; the common means of communication for speakers of different native languages (Cogo, 2008:58; Firth, 2009:161; Hulmbauer, Bohringer, & Seidlhofer, 2008:27).

Aims of the research

There are three primary aims of this research. The first is to explore the English language in the context of Samoan society. I am interested in the function of English in society, its purpose and the benefits that arise from its use. In other words, why is English spoken in Samoa? Specifically in Apia as this is the place where English is most prevalent in Samoa.

The second aim of this research is to explore the teaching methods for English in Samoa. Who teaches English to whom, how is it taught, is this teaching limited solely to educational facilities such as primary school or is it present in other areas of society also?

The third aim of this research is to determine the effects English is having on the Samoan language. Some of the questions that inform this aim are; Is this language posing a threat to Samoa? What do Samoans think of having English as an official language? Are they encouraging its use, or are they lamenting its prevalence?

Thesis overview

In Chapter Two I present a detailed review of the literature relevant to this topic. I begin by detailing the long standing relationship between anthropology and Samoa, and listing some notable ethnographic contributions. Next the history of Samoa from the Tongan invasion in 950 through to independence in 1962 is briefly outlined. I then discuss the

arrival of the missionaries and their introduction of a formal education system in Samoa. The English language in Samoa is subsequently explored, and the impact of its use on the Samoan language is considered. I then briefly describe *Gagana Samoa* (Samoan language), detailing its five vocabularies; *tautala lelei*, *tautala leaga*, *fa'alupega*, *gagana fa'aaloalo* and the *fa'afafine* dialect. Music in Samoa is explored next as I discuss the importance of music in the Samoan culture and consider the changes this has undergone. Finally, I examine the relationship between music and language.

Chapter Three begins by detailing the preparations I undertook prior to embarking on this fieldwork; my time spent at the Pasifika Haos at Victoria University taking language lessons and learning about Samoan cultural values and norms. I then consider my role as a cross cultural researcher and what it means to be an 'outsider' to Samoan society. Next I describe my research methods; participant observation, key informants and informal interviews, and discuss the successes and difficulties I experienced with each of them. In the latter part of this chapter I discuss my methodology regarding children; gaining access, building rapport, and, my role as an 'atypical adult'.

Chapter Four is split into parts. The first broadly outlines the use of English in Apia; who speaks it, where it is present, when it is heard and how it is used. I discuss attitudes toward English; the parents' belief of its importance for their children's education, its role in the tourism industry, and its perceived status as a global language that helps to connect Samoa with the world. I also consider the role of the media in Samoa relating to English exposure. In the second part of the chapter I discuss in detail how English is used, and taught across three different educational experiences; Sunday school, preschool and primary school.

In Chapter Five I explore the role of music in Samoan society. I begin by outlining the importance of music to the Samoan culture, both in traditional and contemporary society. I then discuss the role of music in English teaching and acquisition, using recent literature to assist my argument. The social role of music is also discussed, and I explore how music is linked to cultural identity, and cultural transmission in Samoa. Finally, drawing on

Bourdieu's practice theory I apply the concept of musical habitus to Samoan society and argue that music can be used as a tool for individuals to gain symbolic, cultural and social capital.

Chapter Six briefly outlines the history of language change in Samoa, and discusses how English has become the global lingua franca. I then explore the social function English has in Samoa, and continuing to use Bourdieu's practice theory for my analysis, I argue that English carries symbolic power in Samoan society, and that an individual's symbolic capital is also awarded to their family members due in part to the hierarchical structure of Samoan society. The Samoan perspectives of language change are explored, and the opposing views discussed. I also consider the future for the Samoan language, and discuss some of the positive efforts that are being made to retain it.

Finally, in Chapter Seven I conclude the discussions and arguments made in this research. I also explore some of the limitations of this research and offer suggestions for the direction that future research may take.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter consists of four broad sections. The first details the history of Samoa, including the arrival and impact of the missionaries. The second section outlines the introduction of English in Samoa, and discusses some of the changes which have resulted from this. The third part of this chapter describes the Samoan language and deconstructs it into five sections (formal and colloquial, oratorical register, the respectful (chiefly) vocabulary and the *fa'afafine* dialect). The final section briefly outlines the history of Samoan music, discusses contemporary Samoan music and explores the literature regarding the relationship between music and language.

Anthropology and Samoa

The Pacific, or Oceania as it is also called, has a rich, longstanding history with anthropology, and numerous pioneering studies have been conducted there. Perhaps the most famous of these remains Bronislaw Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922). But there are also many others who have contributed to anthropology, especially in the development of participant observation as the primary ethnographic method; Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), Hortense Powdermaker's *Life in Lesu* (1933), Raymond Firth's *We the Tikopia* (1936) and Douglas Oliver's *A Solomon Island Society* (1955) to name a few.

One does not have to look far to determine the reasons for its popularity. The dense population of indigenous peoples, existing in small-scale societies, with only an oral language perfectly fit into the desired subjects of twentieth century anthropological research. Oskar Spate, a geographer, described the Pacific region as "whole congeries of little universes, ready-made isolates for study, each capable in appearance at least of being readily grasped as a whole" (1963:253).

Samoa in particular has proved to be a rich resource for anthropologists and considerable research has been conducted into many aspects of Samoan life. The most well known of

these is the aforementioned '*Coming of age in Samoa*' by Margaret Mead¹, which explored the experiences of adolescents growing up in American Samoa. Other notable ethnographic works include Lowell Holmes' description of village life (1924), Felix and Marie Keesing's examination of the various forms of communication (1956), Alessandro Duranti's exploration of the Samoan political system (1981) and Elinor Ochs' research into children's language socialisation (1988).

Other areas that have been explored in recent times are conflict resolution (Bradd Shore, 1982), the significance of eating (Mageo, 1989), medical belief and practice (Cluny Macpherson & Macpherson, 1990), *fa'afafine* identities (Schmidt, 2003), the significance of *fagogo* (traditional Samoan stories) in children's education (Kolone - Collins, 2010) and, recovery processes after a tsunami (Murphy, 2013). This list is not in any way meant to be an exhaustive or complete collection of scholarly works on Samoa; rather it is intended as an indication of the variation of research which has been conducted recently.

History of Samoa

The islands which comprise Samoa are believed to have been inhabited for approximately 3,000 years (Leach & Green, 1989:321). Archaeological remains provide evidence to suggest that inter-island contact between Samoa, Fiji and Tonga occurred. At one point around 950 Samoa was invaded and conquered by the king of Tonga, Asoaitu (Lambie, 1979:19). Tongan rule lasted approximately 500 years to 1450, when a great war broke out and they were driven from the Samoan islands. From this time Samoa continued to rule as an independent country.

Samoa's first known contact with the Western world occurred in 1722 when a Dutchman, Jacob Roggeveen briefly visited (Myers, 1969:12). Further contact ensued in 1768 when Louis Antoine de Bougainville arrived at Manu'a (Scholefield, 1919:148), and again in 1787 when La Pèrouse sailed through the Pacific (Moyle, 1988:2). European contact increased throughout the nineteenth century as American whalers visited Samoa to trade. However,

¹ Mead's work has been heavily criticized by Derek Freeman (1983), though recently his own has also come in for criticism (Levine, 2010; Shankman, 2009). For a thorough examination of the debate see Caton (2000).

Keesing notes that this early contact, during which time much trade occurred, did not have a significant effect on Samoan society, with the exception of the acquisition of traded items such as muskets, nails and knives (1934:25).

Long term exposure to Westerners began around the 1800s when a group of British men, made up of runaway sailors and escaped convicts from the British penal settlements in Australia and Norfolk Island, arrived in Samoa (Lambie, 1979:128). Many of these men aligned themselves with various chiefs, who valued their bravery and expertise in fighting. Despite these alliances, nearly all seemed to suffer a violent death either at the hands of a fellow convict, or by their hosts who could no longer put up with them. A few, however, settled down peacefully and established a home, becoming the first European settlers in Samoa (ibid).

The first official contact with the Western world was established in 1830 by Reverend John Williams from the London Missionary Society when he sailed from Tahiti to Samoa on his ship the 'Messenger of Peace' (Lambie, 1979:140). Reverend Williams received a warm and welcome response by chief Malietoa who promised that he would do all in his power to spread the Christian religion throughout Samoa. Williams did not linger for long, but instead left several Tahitian missionaries to set about teaching the Samoan people about the word of God. He returned in 1832, and to his great delight found that Christianity had been adopted by a large amount of the Samoan population of Savaii, Upolu and Manono Island (J. Williams, 2009:426).

Until 1899, Samoa was an independent country. The Tripartite Convention in this year saw the Western islands of Samoa come under political control of Germany, and be renamed German Samoa, while the Eastern islands became American territory and were renamed American Samoa (Nolan, 2002:1463). During German rule, Apia was developed into a trading post, and a small European population settled there. In 1914, during the First World War, Britain asked New Zealand to take control of Samoa from the Germans. As a result of this shift in political power Samoa was renamed Western Samoa and it remained under New Zealand jurisdiction until 1962 when Samoa gained independence,

becoming the first small Pacific nation to do so (Tcherkezoff, 2005:251). In July 1997, the Samoan government amended the constitution and changed the country's name to Samoa (PacLII, 1997).

Missionaries in Samoa

Much of the early literature on Samoa comes to us from the diaries of missionaries. Though they vary in quality, each of them provides a fascinating glimpse at Samoa as it underwent considerable changes and developments. Three which deserve mentioning for their careful translations, attention to detail and relatively unprejudiced accounts are; John Williams' *'A narrative of missionary enterprises in the South Sea Islands'* (2009), George Turner's *'Nineteen Years in Polynesia'* (1986) and August Kramer's *'The Samoa Islands'* (1994). Another contribution from a missionary is in the form of the first Samoan dictionary, written by George Pratt in 1862 (1911).

The changes and effects which stemmed from the arrival of the missionaries in Samoa are difficult to quantify. Christianity became the national religion, the traditional political systems were superseded by German and then New Zealand government rule, the English language was introduced, and many aspects of the culture were altered in some way. For instance, polygamy was outlawed, more conservative dress was encouraged and strict physical punishments were introduced (Davidson, 1967:35).

One of the primary goals of the missionaries was to establish an education system in Samoa. This was both as a means of transmitting further knowledge, and also to allow the native peoples to enjoy some of the 'civilised' activities such as reading, writing and arithmetic (J. Williams, 2009:409). Unlike many Pacific nations, Samoa's literacy was introduced in the local language. According to Keesing & Keesing, the teaching of written Samoan was a priority amongst these missionaries (1973:7).

By the 1900s four distinct school systems were being run by the different missions present in Samoa (F. Keesing, 1934:415). The London Missionary Society ran schools where the children of ambitious parents were sent to prepare them for higher education (the boys commonly ended up at Malua College for training as pastors). The Methodist, Roman

Catholic and Mormon missions each had district schools as well as boarding schools, and the most promising students were sent to be trained for church service. Marist brothers and sisters also ran two schools, and there was a German-run private school for European children. In addition, each Samoan church had a small school which was operated by the pastor (F. Keesing, 1934:416).

Schooling during this time was heavily focused on religion, as the curriculum was determined by the mission body in charge of each particular school. Formal education proved to be very effective, and several chiefs began attending school alongside the children. This resulted in nearly one hundred percent of reading age Samoans being literate in their own language by 1900 (F. Keesing, 1934:416). This also greatly enhanced the spread of Christianity throughout Samoa.

In 1920, after New Zealand had taken political control of Samoa from Germany, a secular, free education system was implemented throughout the nation. This decision was met with great reluctance by both the missionaries and members of the community, and after much discussion it was agreed that the two systems would be integrated (F. Keesing, 1934:417). At this stage lessons were all still conducted in Samoan, with English being studied only by a few elite individuals such as pastors and high ranking chiefs (F. Keesing & Keesing, 1973:6; Thomas, 1974:50).

Gradually however, English was increasingly incorporated into the curriculum, and there are anecdotal reports of students being punished for speaking Samoan during school hours (Nunes, 2006:36). Unfortunately the literature concerning education in Samoa during this period is very scarce so it is difficult to know the path which English instruction took. By the 1960s however, there were growing concerns amongst parents and members of society at the lack of children's knowledge of Samoan, and as a result a Samoan language subject was introduced into the curriculum (Mayer, 2001:81).

English remains the dominant language across all educational facilities in Samoa with the exception of preschools and some village or church run schools. There are two universities in Samoa; the National University of Samoa and *Le Iunivesite O Le Amosa O*

Savavau (the indigenous university), as well as a University of the South Pacific agriculture campus in Alafua. The National University of Samoa (NUS) offers a wide range of courses, nearly all of which are taught in English. The exception to this is the Samoan language course, and the Samoan oral and written literature course. The agriculture courses offered at the University of the South Pacific (USP) are also offered only in English. In contrast the *Le Iunivesite O Le Amosa O Savavau* teaches its entire curriculum in Samoan, but only offers two degrees; a Bachelor of Arts and a Master of Arts (Nunes, 2006:4).

English

While there has been some focus on researching the Samoan language (A. Duranti, 1981; L. D. Holmes, 1969; F. Keesing & Keesing, 1973; Mayer, 2001; Milner, 1961; Ochs, 1988; Pawley, 1966; Platt, 1980; E Schultz, 1965), less interest has been paid to the role of English in contemporary Samoan society. To the best of my knowledge there exist only two scholarly works devoted exclusively to examining English in Samoa; Muriel Myers' MA thesis exploring the effect of borrowed English words in the Samoan language (1969), and Dr Emma Kruse Va'ai's book '*Producing the text of culture: the appropriation of English in contemporary Samoa*' (2011). This current research is intended to contribute to this gap in the literature.

Although Samoa was exposed to English from the 1700s, it did not have a meaningful influence on society until after the arrival of the missionaries in 1830. Even at this stage, the exposure was gradual as the missionaries devoted much time and energy to learning the Samoan language and translating hymns, stories and eventually the Bible into Samoan (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1996:180; Fraser, 1896:171).

From the 1900s English use has gradually increased, and in contemporary Samoa, both English and Samoan are official languages and most of the population has some degree of fluency in both. Va'ai describes Samoa as a "literately hybrid society", where Samoan and English are used interchangeably for specific communication domains (Va'ai, 2011:4). She asserts that hybridisation is a normal response to an introduced language as it is a means of assimilating rather than being overrun.

Myers also describes English and Samoan as existing in somewhat distinct speech communities. For instance, English words are often spoken in Western – related environments such as schools, banks and businesses, whereas during informal conversations between friends, Samoan is likely to be spoken (Myers, 1969:88). In certain contexts English fluency is seen as a mark of prestige, but at other times people will be ridiculed for it (Va'ai, 1997:33). Commonly heard phrases include “*nanu soo*” (too much English) or “*fia palagi*” (wanting to be a Palagi).

Although much code-switching occurs, there are many English words which have been ‘Samoanised’ (altered slightly to fit with the Samoan vocabulary). There is some consistency to how English words are absorbed. For instance, the letter ‘d’ becomes a ‘t’, and the letter ‘b’ becomes a ‘p’. So a word such as butter is pronounced *pata*. Additionally, all Samoan words end in a vowel (Myers, 1969:97). So any English words which end in a consonant are rearranged to finish in a vowel. Some examples of this are *elefane* (elephant), *lanuari* (January), and *intaneti* (internet).

English is not the only language which Samoan has adopted. For instance the Tongan word ‘*lotu*’ is now used as the word for church in Samoa (Myers, 1969:85). Also, the Tahitian word for horse ‘*solofanua*’ has been adopted as a Samoan term. These words were brought to Samoa with the mission teacher exchange by the teachers who hailed from Tonga and Tahiti (J. Williams, 2009:289).

Samoa is not alone in its view of English as a global language that is beneficial to learn. English is used as an official language in 70 countries around the world, and more than a hundred countries teach English in school as a means of international communication (Honna, 2012:248). Bolton estimates that approximately 800 million people in Asia speak English, primarily as a second language (2008:4). Though the reasons for this widespread attraction are complex, Atchison argues that one of the primary reasons is that English carries both social and political prestige (2001:252).

Any oral society which adopts a literacy system faces a risk of losing some orality. In his book *'When Languages Die'*, David Harrison has devoted an entire chapter to the diminishing value and existence of oral traditions worldwide (2008:141 - 161). He argues that there are several fundamental differences between an orality in its natural habitat of performance, and orality which has been preserved through documentation.

Such discussion is pertinent to Samoa. Although many oral art forms are still practised, the younger generations, especially those who are living in and around Apia, are gaining less exposure to oral traditions while also showing less interest in learning them. This is a potential cause for concern. As Grenoble & Whaley point out, intergenerational transmission is essential to a language's continuance and revitalisation (2006:13). Thus any language, including Samoan, is dependent on children learning and using it.

These concerns are not new. Violette expressed an early fear that increased contact with the Western world would lead to a gradual disappearance of the Samoan language (1879:xcii, cited in Milner, 1961:297). Subsequently, in 1969, Holmes commented on the shifting priorities of Samoan youth stating "for the young, the distinction of being an orator of ability runs a poor second to the prestige of being a good auto mechanic, taxi driver or government office clerk" (1969:351).

Recently there has been renewed discussion regarding the loss of the Samoan language. One of the most poignant examples was presented by the Head of State Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi during his speech at the annual Independence Day celebrations. He commented that "English threatens to usurp our Samoan language the way the sea today threatens to usurp Tuvalu" (Faalogo, 2013). He continued "If we lose our language, we lose the meaning of why we are here today."

These comments reflect the growing concerns among many members of Samoan society, as well as the Samoan community overseas (Fisher, 2010; Taumoefolau, 2011). In his article 'To Let Die' Galumalemana Alfred Hunkin, a highly respected Samoan scholar living in New Zealand, writes that the loss of the Samoan language poses a serious threat to the wellbeing of the entire Samoan community in New Zealand. He argues that the loss of

one's language can contribute to a loss of ethnic identity, which can subsequently contribute to a range of social problems including a lack of productivity (2012:204).

Gagana Samoa (Samoan language)

The Samoan language belongs to the linguistic family Austronesian (formerly called Malayo-Polynesian) (L. Holmes, 1924:6) and is believed to have been one of two Polynesian dialects which developed approximately 2260 years ago (Suggs, 1960:46). It has been dubbed the "Italian of the Pacific" due to its soft, pleasant sound (Churchward, 1971:402; L. Holmes, 1924:6). Samoan is the first language for all of the Samoan Islands' population of approximately 195,000. When incorporating the Samoans who also live abroad, the total number of speakers worldwide is estimated to be around 370,000.

Samoan is an oral language, and in many ways, an oral culture also. This is evident in their social structure, etiquette and ceremony (F. Keesing & Keesing, 1973:4). Language is considered an important aspect of *fa'aSamoa*, and, as such, appropriate speech is enforced from a young age (H. Odden, 2011:599).

There are several lexicons within the Samoan language that are referred to as either dialects or vocabularies. Though the exact number differs depending on who you speak to, for the purposes of comprehensiveness for this review I will describe all five possible distinctions; *tautala lelei*, *tautala leaga*, *fa'alupega*, *gagana fa'aaloalo* and the *fa'afafine* language.

The first two; *tautala lelei* 'good speech' (formal, polite speech) and *tautala leaga* 'bad speech' (everyday, informal speech) are the most commonly used (G. Hunkin, 2009:5; Ochs, 1988:56). The *tautala lelei* consists of using the letters 't' and 'n' when speaking, so girl is said "*teine*" and hello is "*Talofa*". This is also the official written language in Samoa, thus children are taught to write this way and it is present in the Bible, newspapers and books. *Tautala leaga* substitutes the letters 'k' and 'g' for 't' and 'n' respectively, and thus girl becomes "*keige*" and hello "*Kalofa*". In borrowed English words 'r' is also substituted with 'l', and 't' can replace a 'd' (Myers, 1969:46). For example, the word radio becomes '*latio*' – and can then be rendered '*lakio*' colloquially.

The distinction between these two forms refers not to the quality of the speech, but rather the context in which it is uttered. 'Good speech' is used primarily in Western-dominated situations, for instance churches and schools. Meanwhile 'bad speech' is used in everyday village life amongst friends and family. However, Ochs stresses the importance of context; good speech can be used to demonstrate anger toward a friend, and bad speech can be considered good within a village meeting (Ochs, 1988:57). There is also an element of personal choice involved. For instance, I was told of some orators who chose to speak using the colloquial form as it emphasised their message. However, other orators choose to speak using the polite form as they feel the occasion requires some formality.

The *fa'alupega* is the third Samoan vocabulary. The *fa'alupega* is an honorific which details the genealogy of each *matai* title (Davidson, 1967:17). Each *fa'alupega* is a record of the village and district's history. Keesing & Keesing describe it as a "Who's Who of a community, a district and even all of Samoa" (1973:74). The *fa'alupega* is used by *matai* to address other *matai* in the most respectful way, as it connects the addressee with their family and ancestral place of origin. Knowing the identity of someone also means everyone can place themselves in relation to that person and others present. Va'ai states that using the *fa'alupega* creates an environment of appropriate spaces between people, thus maintaining and respecting the *va* (sacred space) between them (Va'ai, 1997:39).

To place this in context, there are two types of *matai* in a village. The *Ali'i* is the high chief who is generally responsible for decision making, and the *Tulafale*, the oratory chief who is responsible for speaking on behalf of the *Ali'i* and the village (A. Duranti, 1981:358; H Odden, 2003:4). The *fa'alupega* is used by *matai* to address other *matai*, typically in formal situations such as a funeral or a wedding. It depends on where the *matai* is from, and which title has been bestowed upon him. Mention of this specific phrase is the only way in which a *matai* is supposed to be addressed.

Traditionally, these *fa'alupega* were learned by young men from their elders, and once they had a sound knowledge of these, and were competent in speaking the oratory

language, they would be considered for a *matai* title (Davidson, 1967:17). However, in 1915, H S Griffin, a missionary who served as the supervisor of the Malua printing press at Malua theological college, published a book called '*O le tusi fa'alupega o Samoa*' which contained all of Samoa's *fa'alupega*. This detailed the traditional honorifics and salutations relating to the *matai* titles for Upolu, Savaii, Manono and Apolima Island (S. J. Smith, 1924:111). Prior to this book, other versions had been created such as one by Augustin Kramer in (1901), but none had been published in Samoan and thus were not widely used.

The transformation of this oral knowledge to a written one has seen several changes in the way the *fa'alupega* are learned. Many *matai* no longer have this knowledge verbally stored, but review the book when necessary. Changes have also occurred to the treatment of the *fa'alupega*. An example of this is evident in the most recent version of the book which was released on Fathers' Day 2013 (9 August) by the Ministry of Women, Community and Social Development. The new edition, called '*Tusi Fa'alupega o Samoa Aoao*' includes changes to the *fa'alupega* of approximately 40 villages who wanted the alterations made to reflect recent developments (Tupufia, 2013a). The decision to alter the existing *fa'alupega* was met with considerable reluctance by many members of the community who felt it heretical to change such an integral part of Samoa's history (Malifa, 2013a, 2013b). Such changes would likely not have been possible if it were not for the publication of this book.

The fourth vocabulary of Samoan is the *gagana fa'aaloalo* or dignified language, also sometimes called *gagana fa'amatai* (chiefly language). It uses a distinct lexicon separate to the everyday Samoan language and it is characterised by a descriptive, poetic style of speaking, often using proverbs and making reference to myths and legends (E. Schultz & Herman., 1949:140). *Gagana fa'aaloalo* is used in several contexts. One of these is when an untitled individual or someone of lower rank is addressing a *matai*, or a person of higher rank. In this situation the lower ranked person will substitute polite terms for everyday words. For instance, '*aiga* (meal) becomes *taumafataga*, and *ulu* (head) is *ao* (L.

Holmes, 1924:7). Another circumstance *where gagana fa'aaloalo* occurs is when two untitled people meet for the first time and want to demonstrate respect to each other. An example of this is a mother meeting her child's teacher (F. Keesing & Keesing, 1973:131).

Gagana fa'aaloalo is used most commonly however by *matai* to open and conclude formal ceremonies, perform ceremonial tasks, and also between two *matai* who are having a private conversation (H. Odden, 2011:597). In a ceremonial situation the *fa'aaloalo* is used (in combination with the *fa'alupega*) to acknowledge the hosts or guests and to outline the reason or purpose of the occasion. This speechmaking is known as the *lauga* (A. Duranti, 1983:6).

The fifth Samoan vocabulary, though it should be stated that not all Samoans would agree with this distinction, is the *fa'afafine*² dialect, or as it is commonly known in Samoa; the 'fafa language'. There are two aspects to this speech style; the reversal of syllables and the mixing of both Samoan and English syllables within one word. An example of the latter is present in words such as 'Montrella' (Monday), 'sistra' (sister) and 'strop' (stop) (Va'ai, 1997:77). More commonly though syllables of Samoan words are reversed to alter the sound but retain the meaning. Some examples include *tama* (boy) which becomes *mata*, *teine* (girl) is *neite*, and *a'u* (we) is *u'a*.

Some Samoans do not recognise the fafa language as anything more than slang, or drunken fun. However Dr Kruse-Va'ai praises the uniqueness of the dialect in her book stating: "The unconventional use of language by *fa'afafine* is partly a sign of identity as well as a genuine enjoyment of language and its creative potential. They are an example of a smaller and distinctive speech community in Samoa. (Va'ai, 1997:82)".

As mentioned above, written Samoan uses the *tautala lelei* or good speech. When writing in Samoan there is also the involvement of diacritics. These are the glottal stop (ʻ), and the macron (̄). They are extremely important in the written sense as they can alter the

² Fa'afafine are a recognized third gender in Samoa (Schmidt, 2010)

meaning of the word entirely. For instance, the word *pau* means to stop. *Paū* means to be stern, *pāu* means skin, and *pāū* is to fall (Dawson, 2013). These diacritics were introduced when the first Samoan dictionary was published in 1862 by George Pratt. However, controversy ensued over the use of them as it was argued that fluent speakers of Samoan recognised these cues orally and therefore did not need to use them. As a result, from the 1970s, diacritics have been absent from Ministry of Education published schoolbooks.

Recently however, a proposal from the Samoan government in the form of the Language Commission Bill has sought to reinstate these diacritics. Ainslie Leapai, a spokesperson from the Ministry of Education Language Division stated that the symbols “emphasize the exact meaning of a word and thus the meaning of the whole sentence in which that word is used, and the ministry fully supports the government’s decision to restore the symbols and signs in the use and teaching of the Samoan language” (Dawson, 2013). The most recent dictionary published also uses diacritics suggesting a widespread shift in perspective (Ma'ia'i, 2010:xiii).

Music in Samoa

Music is one of humankind’s oldest surviving material artifacts. Though we cannot be sure of its precise origins, it has been around for at least 44,000 years as this is the date of the oldest known musical instrument; a bone flute (Kunej & Turk, 2000:235). The earliest known existence of Samoan music dates to the time of the Tongan invasion sometime in the thirteenth century (Moyle, 1988:2). Songs during this period existed for important activities including war, paddling and tattooing. Some of these songs remained in use across several generations while others were composed spontaneously after a significant event such as a volcanic eruption (Solomona, 2009:27), or the death of an important person (Kramer, 1994:157). Music also often accompanied everyday occurrences such as welcoming and farewelling guests, walking, cooking, healing, and as accompaniments to adult and children’s games.

Music is an active, important part of Samoan culture. A quote from L. Churchill eloquently describes this: *“An early impression, in fact one of the very earliest, which one gets of Samoa is that it is a land of music. Before the steamer which brings him has cast anchor, the air is ringing with the songs of the boatmen as they row or paddle to meet the newcomers...the canoe melodies are as old as the life of the people”* (1902:68, cited by Moyle, 1988:161).

As mentioned previously, in the nineteenth century the arrival of the missionaries saw great changes occurring in Samoan society. This European influence extended to Samoan music, and its accompanying activities. Some of the traditional dances were deemed sinful and inappropriate, and were subsequently abandoned (Moyle, 1988:22). Many songs were also discarded, and now even their names have been forgotten. For instance, *‘manuao’* – a song sung in praise of a chief, sung while walking along the road, and *‘talalo’* a song accompanied by a clapping of hands are no longer practised, or widely known (Violette 1879:258, cited by Moyle, 1988:23).

Presumably many of the traditional songs were discouraged as they referred to the pre-Christian Samoan gods. Evidence of this is found in John Williams’ diary entries from his visit in 1832. He writes of witnessing 40 men dancing a frantic dance, accompanied with sticks as they chanted a song to the gods to return their chief who had been missing at sea for the last 3 months (Moyle, 1984:178). Additionally, some of the traditional dances were reportedly performed by naked girls and women – something which was deemed inappropriate by visiting missionaries (Stair, 1897:133).

In addition to banning traditional songs, the missionaries also introduced new melodies and tunes to Samoa. Stillman states that hymnody was determined by the missionaries and thus differed greatly between mission stations and countries in the Pacific (1993:91). When there was not a delegated melody for the hymn, the missionaries often assigned a British or American tune for it to be sung along to. Interestingly, although Samoa was evangelized by Cook Island missionaries, the indigenous choral singing of the Cook Islands

did not take hold in Samoa, suggesting there was some active choice in the adoption of the Western melodies (Stillman, 1993:95).

Scholarly sources of Samoan music exist in three forms; early ethnographic surveys from missionaries and explorers, anthropological ethnographies, and general surveys in encyclopaedias. Unfortunately, research into this area has been scarce, and in some instances its validity is questionable. McLean emphasises the fact that much of the existing information regarding music in Oceania, came from sources which were not reliable (1993:392). In many cases, the accounts were written by people who were not trained musicians, and they often sourced material from travellers and explorers who did not belong to the Samoan culture. This is important to remember, but as these reports are the only surviving records of this time they are immensely valuable and must not be ignored.

At the end of the nineteenth century, during a time when both America and Germany had political interests in Samoa, a series of studies into Samoan life were conducted. One notable piece of work during the German colonisation was from the aforementioned Dr Augustin Kramer, who carefully detailed many aspects of Samoan society including performance culture in his book 'The Samoa Islands' (1994). This work was very warmly received in Samoa, with many people praising Kramer's accuracy in his translations, and knowledge of the Samoan language (Meleisea, 2007:283). Missionaries such as John Williams (2009:349), George Turner (1884:131), John Stair (1897:133) and George Pratt (1911) also all commented on the role of music in Samoan life, but generally did not record specific details.

There exists only a handful of scholarly works devoted to Samoan music, all of which are written by non-Samoans (Solomona, 2009:10). One of the first of these was presented by ethnographer Peter Buck who compiled an extensive review of song, dance and musical instruments in Samoa (1930:574), but he did not include a musical analysis. Ethnomusicologist Frances Densmore was one of the first to write exclusively about Samoan music, though her report was only three pages long (1932). New Zealand scholar

Richard Moyle is responsible for the most comprehensive collection of Samoan music to date in his book *'Traditional Samoan Music'* (1988). Jacob Wainright Love also published a book titled *'Samoan Variations: Essays on the Nature of Traditional Oral Arts'* based on his 1979 doctoral dissertation which explores music in Samoa in some detail (1991).

The first known instance of Samoan music being professionally recorded occurred in the early 1900s by the Berlin School³. More recently, Richard Moyle released a CD titled *'The music of Samoa'* which contains a number of traditional songs he recorded during his fieldwork in the 1960s (1973). There was also an album released by musical scholars Ad and Lucia Linkels in 1982, which included a wider variety of Samoan songs including conch music, church hymns and popular Western-influenced songs (Linkels & Linkels, 1982).

Samoan music is, and has always been predominantly vocal, with musical instruments being used to regulate the tempo (Moyle, 1988:3; Solomona, 2009:26). Some of the traditional instruments were drums, flutes, pipes, and Conch shells – though these were used specifically for parade in peaceful times and as triumphant signals in war (Stair, 1897:135). Moyle states that the Samoans were eager to adopt new instruments however. It is recorded that one of the American whaling ships which visited in 1827 had a chest full of European instruments such as trumpets and whistles to trade (1988:3). Few of the traditional instruments remain, and there are suggestions that some of these were taken by missionaries to display in European museums (Desnmore, 1932:416).

Music in Samoa has undergone many changes, as society has developed and foreign influences have been absorbed. Solomona (2009:28) outlines several of these changes; traditional paddling songs (*pese alo va'a*) have been modified for use as dance songs to be performed at celebrations, historical incidents recorded in song lyrics are now considered proverbs and are used by orators at special occasions and pastors during the Sunday sermon, and, song lyrics depicting village feuds and reconciliations are now featured in commercial songs played in nightclubs and bars.

³ The Berlin School was the name given to Enrich M von Hombostel and his followers

Moyle however argues that there has been a small revival of traditional songs, which are now intended for a non-Samoan audience. This has emerged in response to an increasingly profitable South Pacific festival culture (1988:9). An example of this was the application of the Mau rebellion song to a Westernised melody. Furthermore, though many of the traditional songs have passed from regular use (Moyle, 1988:9), the melodies still remain (Solomona, 2009:28). Densmore refers to these as 'crystallised' melodies, and notes that this practice is also found amongst the Tule Indians of Panama, some Filipino communities and the Ute Indians in North America (1932:416).

Contemporary Samoan music is extremely varied, as demonstrated on the aptly named CD 'Music from Western Samoa: from Conch Shell to Disco' (Linkels & Linkels, 1982). Many successful artists have released songs inspired by Christian hymns and gospel music through to country, rock, pop and jazz (Seloti, 1998:808). Frequently, the melodies of the original songs remain unchanged, and are overlaid with Samoan verses. Brass bands have also become rather popular in Samoa in recent times (Solomona, 2007). An example of this is the police band procession which occurs every weekday morning in Apia, which is accompanied by a brass band.

Despite the significant changes that have occurred to the style, content and performance of Samoan music, there is no doubt that it is as important as it was before European contact. Moyle emphatically states that song is an integral part of Samoan society, as it both heightens emotions, particularly humour, and adds dignity and formality to ceremonial occasions (Moyle, 2009). Solomona also points out the popularity of music in events such as the Teuila festival, an annual event in Samoa which attracts large numbers of Samoans from all over. He argues that Samoan music is an essential element of Samoan cultural identity, and that festivals based around music such as Teuila help to maintain, strengthen and express this character (2009:104).

Though the form of music may have changed, and is continuing to change, the enjoyment of music by Samoan people remains. Children are exposed to music almost from the moment they are born, and they grow up hearing music at home while their siblings

complete their chores, during church, on buses, and any occasion there is a gathering of people. As Kiley states “Anywhere, anytime, and for any reason, Samoans find ways of making music.”(2008:1).

Music is also an important learning tool for children in Samoa, and song features heavily in preschools and primary schools. Of particular relevance is the ways which music can be used to teach English to children in Samoa. In 2006, twenty one Australian student teachers spent six weeks teaching English in primary schools in Apia (Ljungdahl, 2007). They found that one of the most effective ways to engage with the class, as well as teach English was through songs, even ones which were completely unfamiliar to the students. Singing helped to create a happy and enjoyable environment which was felt to enhance the children’s confidence, while also allowing them to practise grammar and pronunciation (2007:96).

Relationship between language and music

Interest in the relationship between music and language is not new, and recognised similarities between the two have existed for some time. In the 19th century, Edward Hanslick, who is credited as being one of the pioneers of musical aesthetics (Binns, 2004:204), described music as a language in itself, one which is mysteriously untranslatable (1957:50). In the 1800s Richard Wagner suggested that language and music both stemmed from the same source, that of “speech-music” (Brown, Merker, & Wallin, 2000:8). Meanwhile Herbert Spencer postulated that singing was emotionally intensified speaking (1857:400). Several years later Charles Darwin addressed this relationship, stating that music was the inherited, diluted remnant of courting practices from our animal ancestors, and that language was a by-product of it (1871:56).

It was not until the next century however that direct links between language and music were established. In the 1960s G. Bartle (1962) and Jack Richards (1969) published pioneering articles detailing the connection between language learning and music and argued for the use of music in classrooms. In the following decade Livingstone proposed that human beings evolved the ability to sing before they learned to speak (1973:25).

Obviously, this suggestion cannot ever be empirically tested but it did encourage discussion and the interest in the language- music phenomenon has steadily developed since this time.

The language and music relationship is now supported by research from a range of fields, including; cognitive science (Johansson, 2008:419; Levitin & Tirovalas, 2009:214), anthropology (A. Merriam, 1964; Trehub & Trainor, 1998:43) sociolinguistics (P. Campbell, 1998:44), psychology (Patel, 2008:38; Schellenberg & Peretz, 2008:45), ethnomusicology (List, 1963:2) and Second Language Acquisition (Lake, 2002:100; Wilcox, 1995:291). There is a plethora of research across these disciplines concerning this connection and the various ways it is manifested. For the purposes of this literature review it is necessary to be selective in listing only what is directly relevant to this research, though even this lofty goal will leave out a considerable amount of interesting and valid work.

The list of music's potential benefits is long, and growing, particularly in relation to children. Music has been found to successfully aid in teaching not only languages, but also mathematical and social concepts (P. Campbell, 1998:42), gross and fine motor development and concept development (the alphabet, loud and quiet) (Barrett, 2006:217). Music has also been linked to literacy developments in children. For instance, Douglas and Willatts found that children who were competent rhymers also tended to be competent readers for their age (1994:103). Another study by Overy reported that rhyming songs have been found to improve reading and spelling abilities in dyslexic children (2000:220). Music has been credited with having long term effects on increasing individuals' verbal memory also (Chan, Ho, & Cheung, 1998:128).

Teaching children songs at preschool and primary school has also been found to be beneficial. Hearing, learning and reciting songs is believed to be important as this contributes to phonological awareness; the ability to recognise and manipulate different speech sounds. Children's songs typically include rhyming sounds (e.g. lick, sick), alliteration (e.g. he hated hats), onomatopoeia (e.g. baaa-baaa or mooooo) and other repetitive patterns (Yopp & Yopp, 2009:14).

In addition to the many benefits music can bring to children, Campbell argues that it is important to them. Singing allows them a form of emotional expression, as well as being a source of enjoyment, a means of communication, a validation of religious and social ritual, and, a reinforcement of culture (2002:62). The connection between music and emotion is well established. It is believed that music alters the levels of several brain chemicals, including endorphins and cortisol (the hormone involved in the “fight or flight” response) (Wolfe, 2010:193).

This chapter has provided an overview of the literature of the history of Samoa, the changes which arose from the arrival of the missionaries, and the effect the introduced language of English has had on various aspects of Samoan society. I also explored the role of music in the Samoan culture, and discussed the transformations this has undergone over the past few centuries. Finally, I argued that music and language share a strong connection. This premise will be explored in more detail in the fourth and fifth chapters as I discuss the contemporary role of music in Samoan society, with particular attention given to music in an educational environment. The following chapter will outline my methodology used for this research.

Chapter Three: Methodology

In this chapter I will discuss the methodological considerations of carrying out ethnographic research in Samoa. I begin by describing some of the preparations I undertook. Then I will consider concerns relating to cross cultural research, and individuals such as myself who are ‘outsiders’ to the culture in which they are conducting research. Next I outline the specific research methods I employed; participant observation and informal interviewing, and discuss the importance of key informants to this research. Finally I will describe the methods used to gain access to, and build rapport with the children.

Preparations

Four months prior to my departure I enlisted the help of a Samoan tutor from Victoria University. We met at the Pasifika Haos⁴ at Victoria University, for a couple of hours every fortnight on average. Our meetings comprised a mixture of language lessons and informal conversations about Samoa; what my tutor missed, what I could expect, how to behave, things to see and do and so on. The combination of my insatiable curiosity and her pride and passion for her country meant that our time together passed quickly, and often the language lessons made up a smaller part than they perhaps should have. Nonetheless, these sessions were invaluable preparation to me, in more ways than I understood at the time.

Through our discussions I developed a simple comprehension of the Samoan language so that I was able to converse with my informants as well as understand some of the conversations I overheard. I also had the opportunity to gain a basic understanding of village protocol, and respectful behaviour. For instance I knew to remove my shoes before entering a *fale* (house), to say “*tulou*” (excuse me) as I walked past any adult sitting down, and I knew not to eat while walking through a village.

⁴ Pasifika Haos is a student run facility for Victoria University Pasifika Students. It offers a study space, meeting rooms and a place to socialise with other students.

My time in the Pasifika Haos also prepared me in other ways that I wasn't expecting. By being exposed to, and interacting with, many Samoan individuals (in addition to others from elsewhere in the Pacific) I grew somewhat accustomed to certain mannerisms that are commonly used. For instance, Samoans love to laugh, they will often find humour in the most inconsequential act or phrase, and laugh heartily wherever possible (Metge & Kinloch, 1978:16; Ormsbee, 1894). This can initially be quite disconcerting until you come to realise that there is no ill intention behind it and the best thing to do is join in.

Something else I had to become familiar with was the different use of body language and non verbal cues. There are many differences in behaviour that I was not accustomed to. For instance, Samoans frequently use their eyebrows to indicate 'yes' or to show agreement (Metge & Kinloch, 1978:13). This took me some time to get used to, and I was very glad I had the chance to do so prior to going to Samoa because I encountered this frequently in conversations with my informants.

Research Methods

My methodology was necessarily flexible throughout the duration of my fieldwork. The primary method used was participant observation, which was conducted in a variety of settings within Moata'a village and the greater Apia area. I also utilised informal interviewing to gain a deeper understanding of what I was seeing and experiencing. Both methods were used within a considered framework of cross-cultural research and I endeavoured to let my participants dictate the direction and nature of our interactions wherever possible.

Cross-Cultural Research

Cross-cultural research is in many ways at the core of anthropological research. However it brings with it a range of methodological and ethical issues that must be carefully considered if it is to be successful. Unfortunately some researchers have been criticised by their participants as they feel misrepresented, exploited, and, in some cases, damaged by the reported findings (Corbie - Smith, Thomas, & St. George, 2002:2460;

Freimuth et al., 2001:803; Macklin, 2000:291). It is a privilege to be invited into another society or country, and we must therefore treat it as such.

The primary ethical concern for cross-cultural research is that the research does not harm these sometimes vulnerable communities, but instead benefits them (P. Liamputtong, 2008:3; Miller Cleary, 2013). While this can be applied to all research communities, it is of particular relevance when the researcher is an 'outsider' to the culture, and especially important when dealing with indigenous groups such as Māori, who are somewhat marginalised within their society (L. Smith, 1991:59). Though Samoa is not a colonised country, status differences between *Palagi* and Samoans do exist with Palagi generally perceived to hold a higher status (Ochs, 1988:54, Odden, 2003:148), and thus a power imbalance for Western researchers such as myself can be present.

Arguably the most important method for effective cross-cultural research is cultural sensitivity (Papadopoulos & Lees, 2002:259; Stone - Goldman & Olswang, 2003:15; Weinfurt & Maghaddam, 2001:108). This remained at the forefront of my mind throughout all of my interactions with my participants. I was well aware that I was a guest in their country, and I endeavoured to conduct myself accordingly. This meant being aware of *fa'a Samoa*, and mindful of the *fa'aaloalo* (respect) etiquette, which took on many forms depending on the context. For instance, I altered my appearance in different situations; to visit the pastor I wore a *lavalava* and t shirt as this was considered the appropriate attire, and when observing at a school I wore a *puletasi* as the teachers did.

Another consideration is to follow the appropriate societal rules to ensure your presence is accepted within the community. To do this, before I departed New Zealand I contacted the National University of Samoa and requested their advice regarding village permission. Once I arrived in Samoa I met with the head of Samoan Studies and Anthropology and was advised that my research was too small in both scope and duration to need any formal consent from the village *matai*, a sentiment that was echoed by my host family. I did however introduce myself to the pastor – an important figure in the village - and

presented him with a small gift. This facilitated my acceptance into Sunday school, church and village events.

Another important guideline for cross cultural researchers is the use of language, particularly when the researcher is not proficient in their participants' language. Many scholars employ the use of translators who serve as 'cultural brokers' (Hennink, 2008:25) between the participants and researcher. The use of a third person has been criticised however for the unquantifiable effects they have both on the informant, and their interpretations of what the individual expresses (Edwards, 1998:205; Temple, 2002:848). Also, an important element of participant observation is the relationships which are formed between the researcher and their informants. Use of an external medium such as a translator often creates a distance, making relationship building difficult and thus potentially lessening the quality of data (Hennink, 2008:30).

As mentioned above, I took Samoan lessons prior to beginning my fieldwork and thus I was able to converse simply with my participants in their mother tongue. Although I spoke in Samoan as much as possible, often my participants found it easier to converse with me in English (both because my Samoan wasn't proficient enough to have an in-depth conversation, and also because some people told me they found English easier to talk in). When speaking in English, I kept my language simple and clear to ensure I could be understood as easily as possible.

At times, my obligation as an anthropologist carrying out cross-cultural research weighed heavily on my shoulders and I was well aware of the power I possessed. The Mead-Freeman controversy⁵ was present in my mind for the duration of my fieldwork and it served as a motivation for me to be as accurate and careful as possible in my observations and transcriptions. In fact, on a few occasions I encountered individuals who were familiar with Margaret Mead's work and who gently challenged me on my presence and purpose in Samoa. These conversations served to further consolidate my desire to

⁵ For a detailed discussion of this debate see Shankman, P. (2009). *The Trashing of Margaret Mead*. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.

present a positive image of anthropologists working in Samoa through demonstrating cultural sensitivity and awareness that conducting fieldwork is a privilege rather than a right.

Some scholars have criticised ethnography as a cross cultural methodology for giving the researcher too much power over controlling what they see and what they record (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982:35; Tupuola, 1994:175). Richardson argued that rather than representing the informants' perspective "...the people studied are treated as garnishes and condiments, tasty only in relation to the main course" (1989, cited in Tupuola, 1994:179). It has also been suggested that cross cultural research should be exclusively conducted by individuals who are 'insiders' to the culture, meaning those who share cultural, linguistic and social features (Bishop, 2005:113; L. Smith, 1991:137; Tillman, 2002:9).

However other scholars have expressed difficulties associated with being an insider to their research community. For instance, Tuafuti describes how difficult she found it to distance herself when necessary from family and community involvements (2011:34). Meanwhile, Unluer found that her participants assumed she already knew a lot of what they did, so often did not explicitly explain their behaviour to her (2012:8). Furthermore, even those individuals who are classified as insiders are not necessarily viewed as such by their informants. Melissa Gilbert who conducted research in her home city found that she had so little in common with the working-class women she interviewed that she could not consider herself an insider, nor did she feel her informants did (1994:92).

There is also a growing body of thought arguing that the strictly defined 'insider' and 'outsider' terms are in fact no longer relevant, as the researcher's identity is fluid rather than fixed (Irvine, Roberts, & Bradbury-Jones, 2008:45; Mercer, 2007:15; S. Merriam et al., 2001:410; Serrant- Green, 2002:40). Dwyer & Buckle suggest that researchers occupy a "space between" where they exist somewhere along a continuum of a complete insider and a complete outsider (2009:60). Where they exist is determined by the context of their research, personal background and experiences, as well as research motivations. The

responsibility therefore falls on the researcher to determine where on the scale they sit, and to adjust their actions accordingly.

Furthermore, human beings cannot be confined to a single social group. As Nayaran succinctly summarises: “We all belong to several communities simultaneously...people born within a society can be simultaneously both insiders and outsiders, just as those born elsewhere can be outsiders, and if they are lucky, insiders too” (1993:676). Such communities exist between the personal, professional, social and spiritual dimensions of our lives. These places are fluid as our desires and responsibilities shift throughout our lifetime.

It can be difficult entering an unfamiliar society, and I do not deny that my perceived outsider-ness was very much apparent. There were the obvious physical characteristics signifying that I was a *Palagi*; my pale skin, green eyes and light brown hair. But there were also numerous nonphysical features such as the manner in which I spoke (both in Samoan and English), my lack of comprehension at some jokes and my inability to perform seemingly simple tasks such as scraping the inner flesh from a coconut.

There were times when these differentiating factors were isolating, yet in other instances I believe they worked to my advantage. The Samoan culture is one built on generosity and kindness, and I certainly experienced both of these. I sensed that my incompetencies were sometimes viewed as endearing and entertaining, and they served to strengthen the relationship between myself and my informants. Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, my inadequacies positioned my informants as experts, thus elevating them to a status of some power.

As mentioned above, *Palagi* hold a certain status in Samoa (Ochs, 1988:54; H Odden, 2003:148; Rankin, 2008:124), and I am certain that on a few occasions I was assisted based primarily on my identity. I am positive that I was indulged more than a young female Samoan researcher would have been in some situations. There were also instances where I believe my *Palagi* identity hindered me somewhat, such as my initial attempts to observe families when “good behaviour” was very much employed.

Apart from my status as a *Palagi*, there were other attributes which assisted my entry into the field. Both my age and gender seemed to award me access to a variety of situations. Being in my mid-twenties I was old enough to be considered an intelligent conversational partner, meaning people generally felt comfortable talking to me about a range of topics. I was also old enough (and I suspect being female helped) for the parents of some of the village children to feel comfortable leaving their children with me, and thus we spent a lot of time together playing and walking through the village to the local shop. I was, however, deemed young enough to be 'mothered', to be taken care of, advised and assisted. I believe being female also assisted me in establishing these relationships with older women as they adopted a mothering role.

Despite the measures I took, it would be unfair and inaccurate to claim that a cultural bias is not evident in this research. Coming from a different cultural background has undoubtedly shaped my experiences in Samoa and my interpretations of what I observed. I have attempted to limit these, and wherever possible acknowledge them also. Also, while conducting my fieldwork I frequently discussed my impressions and thoughts with my key informants to allow them to offer me a different perspective or to correct me if they felt I was wrong.

Participant Observation

I intended to go to Samoa and carry out what I considered to be 'traditional fieldwork' (using a participant-observation method in the homes and village of Samoan families) following closely in the footsteps of the pioneering anthropologists both in Samoa and elsewhere. I wrote a quote from Dell Hymes at the beginning of my field diary to remind myself of the importance of the ethnographic method; "Some social research seems incredibly to assume that what there is to find out can be found out simply by asking." (1981:84).

To my initial chagrin, the Samoans I first encountered did not agree with Hymes. They told me they would much rather be interviewed than knowingly observed. This didn't seem to stem from any embarrassment or uncooperativeness, but simply a belief that

little could be gained from 'watching'. Thus my first attempts at observing family life were thwarted by an expectation and a desire for me to interview them, and then leave.

This reluctance necessarily changed my methodology, as it was important to me to shape my research approach to fit into the community. As requested, I incorporated informal interviews into my method. These were sometimes carried out in combination with observations and at other times were not. As well as interviewing, I still conducted participant observations in a number of key settings; church, village events, primary schools, a preschool, Sunday school and peer groups.

An important aspect of participant observation for this research was saying 'yes' to as many invitations as possible. This was particularly important in the initial stages of this research when I was meeting people and forming relationships with them. Chance encounters and spontaneous conversations often proved to be the most valuable experiences. As O'Reilly notes; "Walking, eating and doing other things with people involves unspoken meanings, memories, shared understandings, and all is interaction with others in the establishment of relationships" (2012:100). Accepting invitations allowed me to be exposed to many situations I would not have otherwise been privy to, while simultaneously building relationships with my research community.

Another characteristic of my participant observation was following the lead of my key informants, and attempting to allow the wider community to shape my research. By handing over some of this responsibility I placed my informants in a position of power as they were in control of the situation. On numerous occasions it was obvious that people enjoyed taking their "*Palagi* friend" to a social gathering or a village event. They also enjoyed suggesting places for me to visit, people to talk to and events to attend.

Informal Interviews

As mentioned above, I supplemented participant observation with informal interviewing. Informal interviews, also called 'passive interviews' (O'Reilly, 2012:117) and 'guided conversations' (Hochschild, 2010:626), are an established method for qualitative researchers, and particularly anthropologists (Dewalt, 2002:13; P Liamputtong, 2009:3;

O'Reilly, 2012:116). They are useful as they allow an individual to express their thoughts, opinions, beliefs, experiences and understandings in their own words (Anyan, 2013:1). They are as Taylor suggests meant to “explore the insider perspective” (2005:39).

During interviews I endeavoured to keep the tone very informal and to make my participants feel as if we were ‘conversational partners’ (Tracy, 2013:132) rather than interviewer and interviewee. This meant that although the purpose of our meeting was often to discuss a particular subject, over the duration of our conversation many topics were discussed and the speech flowed organically. I felt this was important for several reasons. One was that a greater quantity of speech was elicited when the individual felt relaxed and free to talk openly rather than structuring their answers to my questions. The benefit of these open answers was that new information that I was unaware of was introduced to me.

Utilising an informal approach also allowed me to minimise some of the perceived differences which existed between myself and my participants. For instance my social status as a *Palagi* and as a researcher undoubtedly altered some individuals’ behaviour, and the manner in which they spoke to me. My participants’ backgrounds and social standings varied greatly, and this also contributed to their perceptions of me. By creating a comfortable environment I believe this served to reduce some of my ‘power’ and often gave my informants more power as they were positioned as the experts. By keeping the structure of the conversation informal and fluid, they controlled what they shared with me and how they shared it.

The informal approach also allowed for a great deal of reflexivity as we discussed various topics. I found my understanding of my research deepening as I listened, processed and then framed further questions. This reflexivity is recognised as one of the advantages of interviewing as a qualitative method (Fontana & Frey, 2005:698; Tracy, 2013:132). Tripp states that during an interview as knowledge is shared, meaning is created between the individuals, and this interactive process contributes to the researchers’ understanding of the topic (1983:41).

Additionally, these casual conversations suited the context of my research. I met many of my informants somewhat accidentally and often in informal situations; for instance at a barbeque, at the marketplace, or in a van picking up children for Sunday school. Also, as is typical in Samoa, some of my meetings were organised only a few minutes in advance. On one such occasion I received a call from a friend telling me he was meeting with a friend in town and that Roger Stanley, the President of the Fa'afafine Association, would be present. He picked me up shortly after and within 20 minutes of the phone call I was sitting in a cafe chatting to Roger.

These spontaneous meetings meant that I often didn't have time to prepare a specific set of questions for each of my informants, which meant the informal interviewing method worked very well. The occasions where I did meet with someone at a designated place with the intention of interviewing them were slightly different, though I still endeavoured to keep our conversations casual, and let my participants talk freely.

I attempted to begin the conversations as openly as possible, and then at a later stage hone in on specific topics that had arisen. Depending on the context of the conversation I would typically begin with a brief outline of myself and where I was from, followed by a very general description of my research interests. At times that would be enough to get people talking and a conversation would ensue. Other times I would make a somewhat vague statement such as *"So I'd love to hear your opinion on this"* or *"I'd love to hear anything you had to say about this"* to begin the discourse.

Conducting effective interviews was more difficult than I initially expected. Spontaneously creating questions based on the other person's answers, and keeping the tone of the interaction conversational rather than formal was not always easy. There are also numerous non verbal cues that had be taken into consideration; eye contact, appropriate facial expressions and body language, times to remain silent, to prompt a deeper answer and when to move the conversation along (P Liamputtong, 2009:50).

One cue in particular I had to learn was the importance of silence. According to Metge & Kinloch, a common characteristic of Samoan people is pausing to think, as their culture

values silence and meaningful communication (1978:27). I found this particularly true of older males who would sometimes pause for 30 seconds or so, often with an averted gaze while they gathered their thoughts. It took me some time to realise this and adjust my behaviour accordingly, but when I did, this frequently elicited considerably more information.

It should be noted that despite my best efforts to make my participants feel comfortable and encourage open conversation, I am also aware that my topic assisted me in itself. I frequently gained a sense that people were happy to help me as the Samoans are proud of their language and culture, and it was something they could all contribute to in some way. In many ways it was a 'safe' topic. For instance, two separate individuals told me that they had turned away scholars who were interested in researching the *fa'afafine* culture as they did not agree with *Palagi* notions of transsexual men.

Informants

Samoan society is extremely connected, at times it seems that everyone knows everybody else as they are either a relation ("that's my cousin" is a phrase heard frequently) or a friend from somewhere along the line. Because of this closeness, who you know is considered extremely important. Additionally, the Samoans are very welcoming to a friend of their friend, sibling or cousin. Thus establishing core contacts was of the utmost importance as these relationships led to further contacts which had a flow on effect.

I was extremely fortunate to meet two such contacts, one through a mutual acquaintance, and one through a family member. Both had lived in Upolu for their whole lives and at times seemed to know everyone on the island. They became key informants as well as what O'Reilly calls a 'gatekeeper' (2012:91), and their assistance in arranging interviews, introducing me to people and our countless discussions about my research were invaluable.

As well as gaining access to participants through my gatekeepers, I established contacts within the village. I began by integrating myself with the children as they were more

forthcoming than many of the adults. I was fortunate that I arrived at the beginning of school holidays so there were a lot of children around. Through spending time talking with them and joining in on their games I was quickly accepted as part of their group and came to be viewed as a friend. This made my subsequent observations at Sunday school and the village primary school easier as many of the children already knew me and were quick to introduce me to any who did not.

In addition to gaining a child's perspective I also enjoyed these interactions as I felt less pressure to talk and behave carefully as was necessary around adults. These feelings seemed to be echoed by the children. Despite my efforts I was constantly making mistakes, getting my Samoan words mixed up and forgetting basic protocol. This clumsiness served both as entertainment for the children (and adults for that matter) while also elevating them to a position of an expert. I was viewed as Corsaro describes, an "incompetent adult - a big, dumb kid" (2003:16). He suggests that when viewed as an incompetent adult you are positioned in a place where the children are able to take you under their wings and look after you – often a novel experience. This novelty was enhanced further due to the hierarchical nature of Samoan society, in which children are placed toward the bottom.

Odden notes that one particular benefit he experienced from being an 'atypical adult' in Samoa was that it allowed him to build a rapport with children and spend time with them both individually and in groups without greatly affecting their behaviours and play (as would likely happen if another adult from their village was present) (2003:151). This was echoed in my interactions with children in Samoa. Their behaviour frequently changed if another adult or older sibling appeared, and would return to normal after they left.

Another advantage to my position as an atypical adult was that it allowed the children to assume different roles around me. For instance, some children delighted in their roles as 'experts' and spent time teaching me Samoan words, games and various other tasks such as how to crack open a coconut. Others assumed a role of protector and rather enthusiastically kept all dogs well away from me and promptly told anyone off for being

“cheeky” to me. It was apparent that they enjoyed performing these tasks, as they were carried out of their own accord, not because of requests or encouragement from me.

There is little existing literature focusing on ethnographic research and participant observations with children (Gaskins, Miller, & Corsaro, 1992:7; Gottlieb, 2000:122; Weisner, 2005:2). One of the most widely cited publications is by sociologist Nancy Mandell who wrote *“The least adult role in studying children”* (1988). Mandell argues that with appropriate behaviour, an adult researcher can minimise their presence so much that the children they are interacting with will begin to think of them as children (1988:435). I strongly disagree with this view. Whilst I made every effort to reduce the differences between the children and myself; for instance not interfering in disputes, as well as spending time telling stories, singing songs, playing volleyball and drawing pictures with them, I do not for a moment believe that they considered me to be a child.

In this chapter I have sought to outline the methodological considerations I employed while conducting this research. I discuss the importance of sensitivity in cross cultural research, and reflect on the impact of my role as an ‘outsider’ and a *Palagi*. The value of informal interviewing, and attempting to position the informant as the expert has also been considered. Finally I describe the concerns relevant to conducting ethnographic research with children in Samoa, and argue that adopting a role as an atypical adult is beneficial in building rapport with the children without disrupting the relationships with adults (parents and teachers). In the next chapter I switch gears to begin a discussion of my ethnographic findings and outline the use of English in Samoan society. Specifically I examine the use of English in preschools, Sunday school and primary schools in Apia.

Chapter Four: English in Apia

English is a growing influence in Samoa, and one which is increasingly penetrating more areas of society. This chapter seeks to outline contemporary English use in Apia, and discuss the different forms of English exposure children are presented with. I will also examine the role of English in children's education. The chapter is in two parts; the first is concerned with English at a societal level, and the latter focuses on children's learning and use of English at preschool and primary school.

As already discussed, English has been present and spoken in Samoa since the arrival of Christian missionaries in the 1830s. It is now firmly established as an official language in Samoa, and is particularly prevalent in Apia. It was often said to me "*Samoa is our first language, and English is our second language*". In fact I heard this same phrase from so many different people, I began to wonder if it was a mantra that was taught to people from childhood.

English is considered an important element in some areas of Samoan society. Parents strongly encourage their children to learn and use English as they consider it necessary and important for their future endeavours. A frequent comment was that English is a "global language" and that knowing and understanding it was important to connect Samoa to the rest of the world. A sound comprehension of English is believed to greatly improve both educational and career prospects in Samoa and overseas. This was important to many parents I spoke to. They expressed a desire to give their children a better life than they had, and they viewed English learning as a key component in this plan.

One mother told me "*...life was very hard for me in Savaii, my parents came to Upolu to work and my grandparents looked after me and my brothers but we didn't have much. We didn't have a lot of money. Sometimes we went to school with only a coconut for lunch, we were hungry and life was hard...that's why I want my daughter to do well in school, it's important that she gets a good education so she can get a good job here in Apia.*"

Another mother in the village where I stayed was happy for her daughter to spend most afternoons and often much of Saturday at my unit talking to me as she wanted her to practise her English. I was told by another village member that her oldest daughter had finished school but was apparently not competent in English, and was very shy so she was having trouble finding a job. According to Tanielu those who are not educated or do not do well in school in Samoa are labelled 'dumb' and considered to be backward and ignorant (1997:46).

Another comment I heard repeated was that English was good for the tourism industry in Samoa. Certainly every tourist-related individual I came into contact with; taxi drivers, hotel staff, waiters and waitresses, shop assistants and bank staff had a sound command of English. Nearly all of the tourists I encountered where I stayed, through friends and at various events did not speak or understand any Samoan, and those who did had only a very limited knowledge of some basic words. Tourists contribute more than 120 million dollars per year toward Samoa's economy, and approximately 30% of the workforce is employed in some area of tourism (GlobalEdge, 2013). Thus, English is an important part of the tourism industry for Samoa.

A testament to the level of English spoken in Samoa became apparent to me in a conversation I had with an Australian Aid volunteer. He had been living and working in Apia for 13 months and he confessed somewhat bashfully to me that in that time he had learnt no Samoan. I was surprised to find his sentiments echoed by other Australian Aid volunteers I talked to. Though the level of competency in Samoan differed amongst the individuals, the general consensus was that they didn't learn because there was no need to. English was spoken almost exclusively in the workplace, they tended to socialize with other volunteers and the Samoan friends they made were happy to converse in English with them.

Another surprising example of the level of English and English speakers present in Samoa was demonstrated when talking to two Samoan men in their mid-20s who had been born and raised in Apia by Samoan parents. Though they had grown up speaking Samoan at

home, and Samoan and English at school, they were sent overseas to New Zealand and Australia for their high school educations. They both told me that upon returning to Samoa as young adults they found that they had forgotten much of their mother tongue, and as they gravitated toward English speaking companions, they had not regained the language despite living in Samoa for several years.

It is unlikely these men had lost their recollection of the Samoan language entirely, as linguistic and psychological evidence suggests that there is a permastore associated with language, and in particular an individual's first language (Ammerlan, 1997:71; Bahrick, 1984:22; Matlin, 2009:311). With time, and repeated exposure to the language it is very likely they would regain their fluency more quickly than a non-native speaker learning the language for the first time. It is nonetheless interesting that they described themselves in this manner.

Of the families I observed, Samoan was spoken almost exclusively at home when both parents were Samoan. English appeared only briefly when a *Palagi* was present or in circumstances where it was easier to code switch using an English word. '*Afakasi*' (half-caste) families, where one parent was of Western descent and the other Samoan, used a mixture of English and Samoan creating a bilingual environment. I did not observe any 'expat' *Palagi* families, though I did hear of individuals who had been raised '*Palagi style*' speaking only English.

Within the village, English was a vibrant force amongst the children when I was present. When walking through the village to the local shop or fruit stall, if it was a weekend or after school, I would be met with a chorus of "Hi Pippa" and then "Bye Pippa" as I walked past the children's houses. Often several of them would accompany me on my walk and we would spend the time conversing in Samoan (me) and English (them). They were adept at code switching and would seamlessly shift between speaking to me in English and talking amongst themselves in Samoan.

Though some were shyer than others, overall they were keen to talk to me in English and show off how much they knew. One ten year old boy told me "*I like talking in English –*

but only to Palagis. I talk to my friends in fa'aSamoa. I talk to my sisters in fa'aSamoa and English." When the children played amongst themselves they conversed primarily in Samoan, though the older they were, the more English words that appeared in their speech.

English influences are found widely throughout Apia in numerous forms. The sole movie theatre in Samoa plays all its films in English for instance. The buses which are gaily painted in an assortment of bright colours bear large slogans such as 'Jesus is my Saviour', 'Pray for Salvation' and 'Don't worry be happy'. Much of the signage outside shops, road signs, restaurant menus, flyers and food packaging are in English, though they are sometimes in Samoan also. For example, a sign indicating the entrance to a petrol station in my village was '*Ulufale, Entrance*', and road signs are often '*Alu Lemu, Slow Down*'.

The Apia Library is another example of the level of English available in Samoa, as the vast majority of books are written in English. The library is reasonably large with a selection of fiction and nonfiction books and magazines. There is a small room in the library called the 'Pacific Room' which holds books and journals related to Samoa and the other Pacific Islands. Most of these books are published in English. The library also has numerous signs adorning the walls which encourage reading. These are written in English. Some of them were; 'A reading nation is a leading nation and healthy nation', 'A role of a mother is to guide her children how to read not to beat' and 'Education leads to a successful life'.

English appears to be a particularly pervasive force for the younger generations in Samoa. One example of this is mobile phones, which most teenagers in Apia seem to have, and which certainly all would have access to. Cell phones are the equivalent of iPod's for youths in Samoa. They are used to play music on various occasions; when walking to the local store, walking home from school, while playing volleyball and while doing chores. All of these songs are popular American or British songs, and are in English. Mobile phones also provide access to social networking sites where the primary language is often English. Recharge cards for mobile phones are written in both English and Samoan, though English is more dominantly displayed (see Figure 1 below).

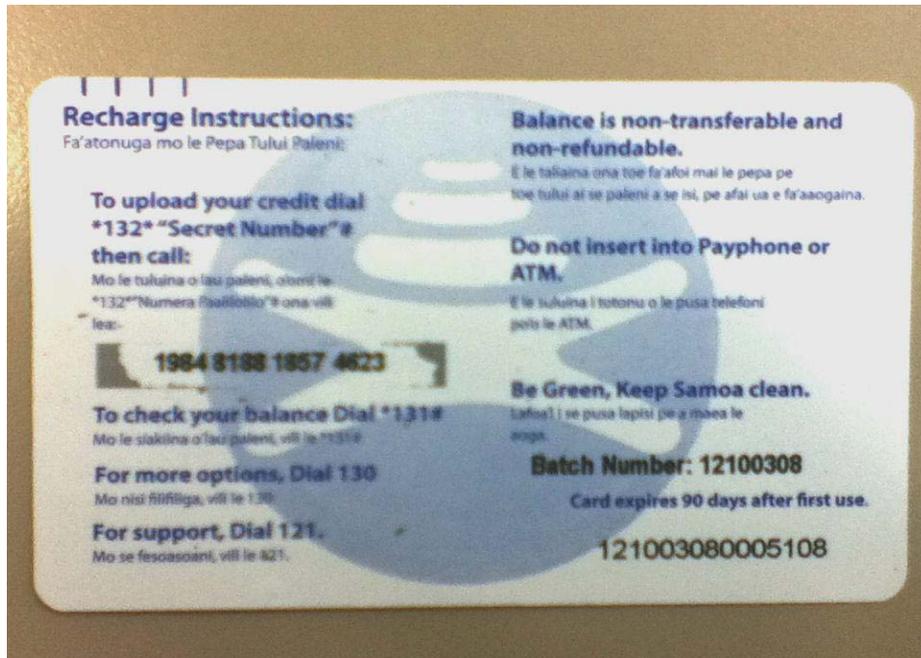


Figure 1 A prepaid cell phone credit card from one of the two phone companies in Samoa.

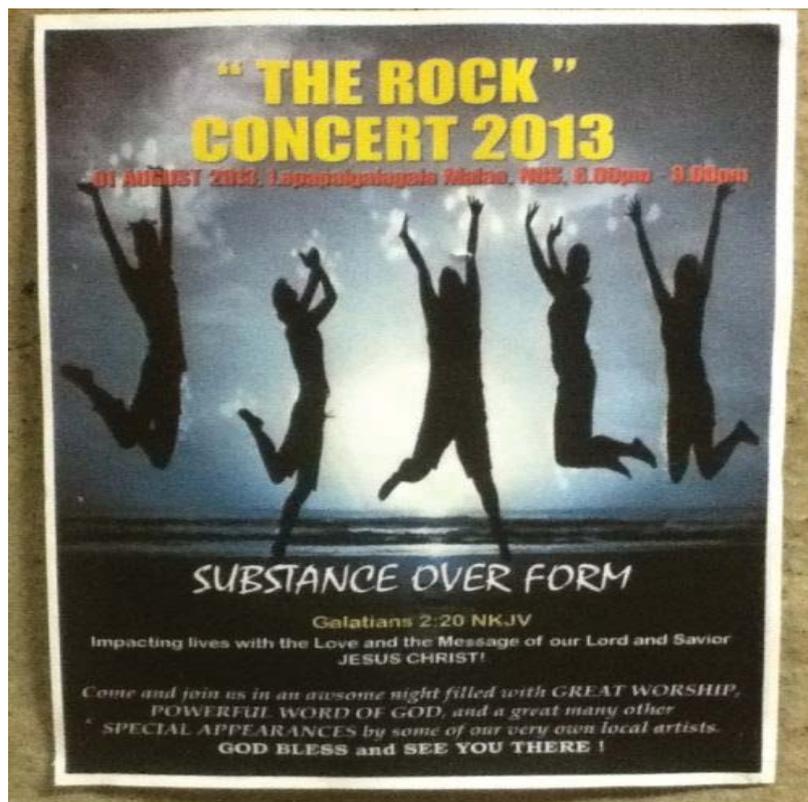


Figure 2 An example of a flyer written in English. Seen at the National University of Samoa.

During my first week in Samoa I attended a public concert called the 'Youth Alive Gospel Dance Challenge'. It was a large and professional production which attracted at least a thousand spectators. Interestingly all of the signage, of which there was a lot, was in English. There were large banners displaying slogans such as "Youth addicted to Jesus". The introductory songs – all church songs – were sung in English. The dance teams all had English titles too, of which my favourites were; 'da mob', 'Supernatural crew' and 'Zealous Omega'. Most of the songs that were played as the teams took the stage were in English; a mixture of contemporary and 90s pop and hip-hop music. My friend who accompanied me to the event told me that English was used in case any *Palagis* such as myself were present, though I did not see any others.

English is integrated into society at a political level also. An example of this is the Head of State's Independence Speech given at the annual Independence Day celebration in Apia. The speech is given first in Samoan, and then repeated in English. Independence Day was described to me as one of the most important days of the year for Samoans, and as such, many people travel from Savaii and elsewhere in Upolu to participate in the celebration. I was told that this speech was given in both languages to ensure everyone present understood.

Media is another influence on English usage in Samoan society, particularly in television and the newspapers. The Samoan Observer is the largest national newspaper which is published in both English and Samoan. Founded in 1979, it is published Monday to Friday, on Saturday as the 'Weekend Observer', and on Sunday as the 'Sunday Samoan'. A large section of it is written in English, though it does include a smaller insert in Samoan which covers the headlines and top stories. The editor explained to me that the newspaper was initially directed at businesses, and thus it was printed in English. It has remained in English since English is a global language. *"If we published it in Samoan we'd only be reaching 180,000 people or so...we include an insert in Samoan for our readers who don't have a good grasp of English or there are some who prefer to read it in Samoan."*

For adults and children alike, cinema and television are important influences in Apia. The one cinema in Samoa is extremely popular, and many of the viewings sell out. The films shown are contemporary Western ones that are simultaneously playing in New Zealand and Australia, and are in English.

Television also is a popular pastime for many Samoans. Television was introduced to Samoa in 1964 when the United States provided American Samoa with it for educational purposes (Schramm, Nelson, & Betham, 1981). Some parents encouraged their children to watch television as a means of learning English, and this practice continues today. Many of the families I spent time with had the television on constantly in the background, even when they weren't in the room. Sometimes the children would sit and watch it, especially when a song was playing over an advertisement or a program they recognised came on, and at other times they seemingly ignored it.

I would estimate that approximately ninety percent of the advertisements shown on television in Samoa are displayed in English. Some of these are tourism related featuring a hotel for instance or an attraction, but many of them appear to be directed at local residents. Advertisements for everything from Fisher & Paykel refrigerators, to stationery supplies to cell phones are in English. The main exceptions to this rule are government related advertisements. Some examples include the opening of a new hospital in Moto'otua, one from the Samoan Bureau of Statistics regarding household spending, and an advertisement from the Ministry of Education promoting not hitting children across the head. These were all in Samoan.

All of the Western television shows and movies that were played on television that I saw were in English. Many of the shows were ones that evoked childhood nostalgia; Little House on the Prairie and Dr Quinn Medicine Woman for instance. There were also a number of more current programmes however, such as Law & Order and Hawaii 5.0.

There were two programmes I saw which were in Samoan; a current affairs show and Samoa Star Search (this is a programme very similar to American Idol or X Factor). The majority of the songs sung were in English, but the judges spoke in a mixture of English

and Samoan, though predominantly Samoan. In addition to these programmes there is also a religious channel which features Samoan sermons and choir singing.

The effect of these forms of media on society, but particularly on children cannot be overstated. Several decades ago, prior to television being available in Samoa, Keesing described the Apia cinema as “the greatest educational influence in Samoa other than schools.” (1934:441). Television has only increased the effects of the cinema and numerous social changes have been observed as a result of their greater access to knowledge, and also a deepened understanding of ‘other’ people and places (Va'ai, 2011:115).

An example of the socialising effect television can have on small children became evident to me one day when one of the girls from the village came by my unit to visit me. As it was raining heavily, we went inside where I turned the television on. The movie John Carter was playing, and my little friend was instantly mesmerised. We sat and watched it in silence for a few minutes before she began narrating it to me in English. "Girl loves that boy...look that man loves the princess but she don't love him, she loves that other boy...maybe it's her husband...oh princesses are always so beautiful...a pretty *Palagi* princess...he's going to hurt him, he don't like him...". It was difficult to tell how much of the language she understood and how much she gleaned from body language, but I was impressed nonetheless.

After a few weeks in Apia I began to realise that English and Samoan occupied different areas of the community. In some places I would be immersed in Samoan; people would be speaking it around me, and would converse with me in Samoan. However, at other places I would hear mainly English being spoken, and even when I spoke in Samoan I would often be responded to in English. Tourism related organisations, for instance, were a place where even the Samoan staff would address each other in English. Other examples include banks, schools, universities and government buildings. Meanwhile, at the fish market, central bus stop and local eateries, Samoan was the dominant language. It is important to note that there is considerable cross over, one place cannot be labelled

as only English or Samoan speaking; rather one language is predominantly associated with that institution.

Fishman describes these distinctions as 'language domains' and defines them as "institutional contexts or socio-ecological co-occurrences" which designate the "major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings" (1972:19). A domain is constructed based on relationships between communicators, the topic of communication, and, the environment the communication takes place in, in accord with the wider norms and values of a society.

According to Fishman, language domains exist at both a macro and micro level. Three micro domains relevant to Samoa are; the religious domain, family domain and the social domain. Language use related to these domains is constructed and constrained by social and cultural norms, and expectations (Fishman, 1972:19). Taking the family domain as an example; who speaks what to whom is largely determined by rules of etiquette central to *fa'aSamoa*. For instance, a young man will address his grandparents differently than he would his younger siblings as he is expected to demonstrate respect to his elders. Furthermore, how that same young man would speak to his sister is different to how he would talk to his brother, as the brother/sister relationship is considered sacred in Samoan culture (Netzler, 2012; B Shore, 1976:279).

These language domains seem to be utilised in the media also. The advertisements described above are examples of how English and Samoan exist in different domains. The English voiced ads which promote cell phone, clothing and ice cream shops are seemingly directed at younger members of society, and I suggest that they are using English as a marketing tool. Meanwhile the few Samoan language advertisements which carry more serious messages are aimed at a more mature audience.

In summary, English is prevalent in many different areas and used in a number of different ways in Apia. It is incorporated into both work and leisure activities, and is an established part of Samoan media. The remainder of this chapter will switch gears and focus on English's role as an educational language in Samoa. To do this I will discuss how English is

used in the three earliest formal educational experiences; Sunday school, preschool and primary school.

Education

English is taught to children in Samoa from the two earliest educational opportunities; Sunday school and preschool. Not every child in the village necessarily attends both of these venues, but many children in Apia do attend at least one. Samoan is the primary language spoken in these two settings; however English did appear at both in song. Primary school is the next formal and first official environment in which children learn English. Each of these educational settings will be explored in detail below.

Sunday School

One of the first environments where early English exposure occurs is at Sunday school. In Moata'a this ran from approximately 8am to 9am, prior to the church service. The number of children present varied greatly; on average there were around thirty, but one day during a torrential rain storm only eleven turned up. The youngest children sat on mats to the front, and the oldest behind them. There were a few toddlers present but they were mostly kept occupied by their grandmothers who sat on chairs behind the children.

The first Sunday in every month was communion, which meant Sunday school consisted solely of singing songs. On the remaining Sundays in the month, the first half hour was spent singing, and then the children were divided into four groups based on age. The youngest of these groups typically spent the remainder of the time singing more songs, though on one occasion a Sunday school teacher showed them A4 sized pictures of a Bible story and discussed the story with them in Samoan. The older groups of children also sang some songs but the teachers focused more on discussing the importance of respecting Jesus, accepting him into their lives and learning lessons from the Bible. These discussions were carried out in Samoan.

The songs sung at Sunday school were Christian-themed. Some examples are 'With Jesus in the family' (*A iai Iesu i se aiga*) and 'Jesus is the answer' (*O Iesu o le tali mo le lalolagi i*

aso nei). These songs were often sung in both English and Samoan. If the children pronounced a word incorrectly, particularly in English, the teacher would stop the singing and have them repeat the word until she was satisfied. They would then sing the verse from the beginning. An example of one song;

With Jesus in the family,
happy happy home, happy happy home,
happy home.
With Jesus in the family,
happy happy home, happy happy home,
happy happy home.

Although Sunday school is clearly not intended as a language school, English is introduced to children through song, and proficiency is expected. This highlights the perceived importance of English comprehension; that it is present even in a non-educational setting and perhaps more importantly, it is present in a Samoan environment. By this I mean to differentiate between a preschool and primary school which is widely acknowledged as a Western institution, and church which is proudly held to be a Samoan establishment.

Preschool

The children at the Moata'a preschool I observed were between 2 and a half and 5 years of age. The setting was in many ways more formal and structured than those in New Zealand⁶ and elsewhere in the Western world. The children arrived around 9am, finished at 12 and were collected between 12 and 12:30pm. There was a thirty minute interval for them to have lunch, often with their parents who waited for them in an adjoining *fale*. Apart from this interval there was no free play time, instead they were engaged in lessons with the teachers – although the younger ones were allowed to wander off and occupy themselves at times.

The preschool was in many ways a Samoan language environment. All instructions to the children were given in Samoan, the teachers talked to each other in Samoan and I only heard the children speaking to each other in Samoan. I saw one book being read to the

⁶ I have worked in various preschools as a reliever for several years so I have some knowledge of the environment

children, and this was also in Samoan. There were some educational posters on the wall in English; an ABC chart, colour and animal charts, but I don't believe the children were of an age that they were literate enough to appreciate them. There were also several large posters of Jesus adorning the walls, and some Samoan scriptures.

However, English was also incorporated into this environment as lessons for the children, albeit in a small way. For instance, the teachers frequently translated a word into English and had the children repeat it. One morning as all the children were sitting on the floor, the teacher selected one of the older girls to stand in front of the class. She proceeded to ask her a series of questions in Samoan, which the girl answered in Samoan and the teacher translated into English for the rest of the children to repeat.

Teacher	" <i>O le a le lanu o lou ofu?</i> "	(What colour is your dress?)
Girl	" <i>E lanu mumu!</i> "	(It is red)
Teacher	"Red. Your dress is red. Her dress is red. Red."	
Class	"Red"	
Teacher	"Red"	
Class	"Red"	
Teacher	" <i>E lanu a lou ofutino?</i> "	(What colour is your shirt?)
Girl	" <i>E lanu pa'epa'e</i> "	(It is white)
Teacher	"White, Your shirt is white. Her shirt is white. White."	
Class	"White"	
Teacher	"White"	
Class	"White"	

On another occasion English was used in a lesson about shapes. The senior teacher sat in front of the children holding up an A1-size plastic shape chart, and used a wooden stick to point to each different shape. As she pointed she named the word in Samoan, and then repeated it in English. The children were instructed to repeat the English word, often several times. An example is given below.

Teacher [pointing to a square]	" <i>Fa'atafafa</i> . Square."
Class	"Square"
Teacher	"Square"
Class	"Square"

Teacher	“Square”
Class	“Square”
Teacher	“Square”
Class	“Square”
Teacher [pointing to a triangle]	“ <i>Tafatolu</i> . Triangle.”
Class	“Triangle”
Teacher	“Triangle”
Class	“Triangle”
Teacher	“Triangle”
Teacher	“Triangle”
Class	“Triangle”

Once the teacher was satisfied with the children’s pronunciation she held up her index finger and drew the shape in the air, while listing the directions out loud in Samoan and English. For instance, with the square she said “*luga, taamilo, lalo, taamilo, up, across, down, across*”. The children all copied her with their fingers, and then repeated the shape’s name in English once again. This continued for the all of the shapes shown on the chart.

Much of the interaction with the children in preschool occurred through singing. Approximately thirty songs were sung over a two hour period. This was another instance where English was introduced, as several of the songs were sung first in Samoan and then repeated in English. Other songs were sung in a combination of English and Samoan. Most had corresponding hand and body actions making them engaging and enjoyable for the children. An example of one Samoan-English song is recorded below. The corresponding numbers of fingers were held up as each number was sung.

“*Tasi* is one, *lua* is two, *tolu* is number three. NUMBER THREE! [Shouted]. *Fa* is four, *lima* is five, one, two, three, four, five. *Ono* is six, *fitu* is seven, *valu* is number eight. NUMBER EIGHT! [Shouted]. *Iva* is nine, *sefulu* is ten, six, seven, eight, nine, ten.”

Another day, the principal had a discussion with the children about important people in society; who they were, what they did and why they were important. Some of the people mentioned were police officers, doctors, nurses, farmers, fisherman and fire fighters.

Once she had described them, everyone stood up and sang a song about being a fire fighter. This was sung first in Samoan and then repeated in English.

<i>Ave le ta'avale fuimu</i>	(x3)	[Steering wheel actions]
<i>Mimilo i le pi'oga</i>	(x3)	[Turning wheel motion]
<i>Va'ai poo fea le mu</i>	(x3)	[Hold hand over eyes to look]
<i>Pe'a i le apefa'i</i>	(x3)	[Climbing motion]
<i>Ki le vai</i>	(x3)	[Spraying a hose action]
Drive, drive, drive the fire truck	(x3)	[Steering wheel actions]
Turn, turn, turn the corner	(x3)	[Turning wheel motion]
Look, look, look for the fire	(x3)	[Hold hand over eyes to look]
Climb, climb, climb the ladder	(x3)	[Climbing motion]
Spray, spray, spray the water	(x3)	[Spraying a hose action]

The preschool is the first formal exposure children have to English, and, interestingly, as evidenced above this takes place primarily through song, with a few exceptions such as learning colours and shapes. Songs were used to engage the children, especially as they were combined with interactive body movements which made them enjoyable for the children.

It is also clear that English is viewed as an educational language, as it was reserved for lessons rather than interactions between the teachers, parents and children. This finding was echoed by Sherley who reported that English was only used during lessons with the children at preschools she observed. Discussions with parents, talks between teachers, and informal conversations with the children were all conducted in Samoan (2002:93).

Primary School

The next area of English exposure that children experience is at primary school. There are three different types of primary schools in Apia; government schools within the villages, private schools in downtown Apia and mission schools that are associated with a church (Ministry of Education Sports & Culture, 2013). In Apia there are 31 primary schools, 21 of which are government run, 4 mission schools and 6 that are privately owned and operated. I conducted observations at two different schools, one private school in the city centre

and one government school in Moata'a village. I was able to observe each of the different classes over a number of days.

Each school in Apia has their own uniform, distinct by its colour, which is strictly enforced by a morning inspection requiring clean fingernails, shorts under the girls' dresses and for hair to be tied up neatly. The children were split into classes based on their age; often a class would have children of two ages for instance 8 and 9 year olds. Class sizes were large, with anywhere from 45 to 65 children per room.

Samoan teaching methods differ somewhat from New Zealand and other Western countries. Tanielu notes that Samoan teaching favours passiveness in students who are taught through rote learning, repetition and note taking (1997:53). This is in contrast to Western styles of teaching which encourage independent thinking, problem solving and class discussions. This difference in approach was reflected in the teaching styles also. The teachers were stern, tough and sometimes impatient with the children, yet when speaking to me they were funny, caring and passionate about their jobs. They spoke fondly of their students and lamented the large class sizes and lack of funding available for resources such as visual aids.

Primary schools in Apia teach seven subjects; English, Samoan, science, mathematics, social studies, art and physical education. The mission schools also include an eighth subject; religion. Typically forty-five minutes or so is spent on each of these during the day, and there is a thirty minute interval around midday. At some schools Friday is a 'free-choice' day where students can choose which activities and subjects they wish to engage in. Fridays are also days when dance and singing practices are sometimes carried out meaning the regular timetable is disrupted.

Lessons are taught in both Samoan and English (with the exception of the Samoan subject) at primary schools, the ratio of which is dependent on the age of the class. In the new entrants' classes, Samoan is the primary language. There was a small amount of English present both in songs such as ABC and the counting song mentioned previously that the children presumably knew from preschool. English was also interspersed in other ways.

Often an instruction was given first in Samoan and then repeated in English straight afterwards. For instance, “*Nofo lalo*. Sit down.” and “*Aua le pisa*. Be quiet”.

The amount of English instruction incrementally increases in relation to the age of the class. As mentioned, the younger classes were addressed and instructed primarily in Samoan. As the age of the classes increased so did the amount of English. Children were told “good” rather than “*lelei*” or “yes” instead of “*ioe*”. English was also increasingly mixed together with Samoan. For instance, a teacher in a year four class told her students “Go back to your seats. Find your science book. Write the date. Quiet. *Aua le pisa*. *O a na mea e fai? Nofo lalo!*” (Be quiet. What are you doing? Sit down!).

English lessons for the younger children are kept relatively simple and are often explained in Samoan to ensure the pupils’ understanding. For example, during a lesson for a year two class, the teacher wrote a short list of sentences in English on the blackboard, and then read them out in Samoan before instructing the children to copy them down and complete the sentence. The list included ‘My name is’, ‘I am a’, ‘My father’s name is’, and ‘My mother’s name is’.

During another English lesson, this time for a year one class, the teacher pointed to each letter on an alphabet chart and had the class name the letter, then reproduce the sound of the letter. She also pointed to the corresponding picture (e.g. an apple next to an A) and asked the class to name the object in both English and Samoan. An excerpt is below.

Teacher	“Name” [pointing to the letter u]
Class	“U”
Teacher	“Name”
Class	“U”
Teacher	“Name”
Class	“U”
Teacher	“Sound”
Class	“ooooo”
Teacher	“Sound”
Class	“ooooo”
Teacher	“ <i>a fa Palagi?</i> ” (In English?) [pointing to the picture of an umbrella]
Class	“umbrella”

Teacher *"fa'a Samoa?"* (In Samoan?)
Class *"fa'amalu"*

One lesson which seemed to begin the day for many classes was listing the days of the week. I witnessed this in all the age groups I observed, though how much of it was said in Samoan and how much in English was determined by the age of the class. The new entrants spoke it in Samoan, a year three class in English and a year six class repeated it once in English and then again in Samoan. The English version from the year three class is below.

Teacher *"What's today?"*
Class *"Wednesday"*
Teacher *"What's today?"*
Class *"Today is Wednesday"*
Teacher *"What was yesterday?"*
Class *"Tuesday"*
Teacher *"What was yesterday?"*
Class *"Yesterday was Tuesday"*
Teacher *"Again"*
Class *"Yesterday was Tuesday"*
Teacher *"What will tomorrow be?"*
Class *"Tomorrow will be Friday"*
Teacher *"Again"*
Class *"Tomorrow will be Friday"*
Teacher *"There are seven days of the week, ia"*
Class *"There are seven days of the week. Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday."*
Teacher *"Again"*
Class *"There are seven days of the week. Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday."*

Another example of this gradual change to English was witnessed in the songs that the classes sang. The younger children sang these songs in both Samoan and English, normally Samoan first. The older children however sang them only in English. A popular song sung in years two, three and four is below.

*"Stand up, sit down
Stand up, turn around"*

And now, sit down
Stand up, turn around
Sit down”

“Hands on shoulders,
hands on knees.
Hands behind you,
if you please.
Touch your shoulders,
now your nose,
now your hair and now your toes.
Hands up high as before,
now clap your hands, one-two-three-four!

In addition to these songs, there was an English phrase used by the teachers in all of the classes that I observed, and which was repeated every 10 minutes or so, always in English. “*Hands up, hands down, hands up, hands down*”. Sometimes this was extended to include “*shoulders, lap, up, down*”. This was explained to me as part of the physical education teaching, as it was important for children to move around and release some energy. I was also told that it helped the children to refocus and pay attention to the lesson.

English was sometimes also used during the teaching of other lessons. For instance, during one maths lesson with a year six class I observed, the teacher addressed her pupils primarily in English. She selected two boys of different heights, and pulled them up to stand in front of the class. She proceeded to ask a series of questions in English; “Who is taller?”, “Who is shorter?”, “Who is the tallest?”, “Who is the shortest?”, “How can we measure them?” However, instructions were still given in Samoan; *Tusi I lau api mea nei, nofo sa’o I luga, aua le pisa* (copy this into your books, sit up straight, be quiet). In another class during a science lesson, a teacher had a magnet and a pile of metal and plastic objects. She repeatedly asked the children which items were magnetic using a mixture of English and Samoan. For instance, “Have a look at the plastic. *E pipi’i? E pipi’i? Leai*. It’s not metal.”

The teachers, like the parents I spoke with, expressed a belief in the importance of English learning for Samoan children. One teacher said that she attempted to speak in English as much as possible to her class so that they learnt the language; however she told me she slipped into Samoan when she was cross with them. So instructions such as “stop that” or “be quiet” were often expressed in Samoan. Another teacher told me that it was important for her to speak in English to her pupils as there were several *afakasi* (half caste) students in her class who didn’t understand a lot of Samoan.

In addition to the teaching, there was also some encouraged exposure to English through other means. For instance, the homework for a year eight class one evening was to watch the news that night and write a half page story about one of the stories. The only news programme widely available on television in Apia was One News from New Zealand, so it would have been viewed in English. Also, at one of the schools, year seven and eight students took computer classes where they learnt Microsoft Word and Microsoft Publisher; both programmes which are in English.

In the oldest class I observed - a year eight class – some of the students spoke amongst themselves in English. This was the only age group where I observed this happening. With the younger children English was reserved for *Palagis* and school lessons. An eight year old explained to me “*I speak English to you cos you’re Palagi, I speak fa’aSamoa to my friend cos she’s not Palagi.*” This reinforces my earlier suggestion that Samoan is the primary language, particularly amongst children as it is their first language, and English is viewed as a second language, and as a *Palagi* language. From a young age children learn a social differentiation between these two languages, and start to associate them (in a limited way) with different domains.

As at preschool, songs are utilised as a teaching method in primary schools in Apia. Many of the songs which were learnt in preschool were also sung in primary school making the transition between environments smoother. Furthermore, in addition to being an effective language teaching tool, I suggest that songs are also a source of enjoyment for the children (and perhaps teachers also), as they are a respite from the reasonably strict

classroom environment where rote learning is employed. This link between language and emotion will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

The teacher mentioned above, who admitted to reverting to Samoan when cross with her students, provides an interesting example of the dominant language appearing during a heightened emotional state. Applied Linguist James Lantolf argues that a return to an individual's dominant language is a common, involuntary reaction to cognitively demanding situations (2006:89). So, for instance when excited (or frustrated as in the example of this teacher), an individual may unconsciously switch back to their first, or most fluent language. This suggests that even though English is learned and used from a young age, Samoan remains the primary language of use.

These observations at two different primary schools in Apia demonstrate that English plays an important role in primary school education in Samoa. The teachers share the view held by many parents that English is necessary to learn in childhood, and ensure their pupils are exposed to it as much as possible. Music also emerged as an important part of the classroom, primarily as a teaching method, but also as a way of managing the class, and as entertainment for the children during break times. This role of music in Samoa will be explored in greater detail in the following chapter.

This chapter presented the reader with an overview of English use in different areas of Samoan society, and highlighted its growing influence with the younger generations. Specifically I discussed the role of English in the different educational experiences children in Apia have, and outlined the various ways this language is incorporated into lessons. As demonstrated, music plays an important part of English teaching in the Samoan education system. The following chapter will explore the role of music in preschool, Sunday school and primary school and develop the premise that music is a socialising tool in Samoan society.

Chapter Five: Music in Apia

The importance of music in Samoan culture cannot be overstated. Music is more than just entertainment; it is a form of art, a means of preserving oral histories, has significant ceremonial purpose, and, perhaps most importantly, is an integral part of the Samoan identity. Samoan music has undergone many transformations over time, but its role in society has not lessened. This chapter explores the contemporary social function of music in Samoa and the role music has in English language teaching and acquisition. To assist in my analysis, I draw on elements of Pierre Bourdieu's practice theory.

An excellent introduction to music in Samoa occurred during my first week of fieldwork when I attended a church run youth concert in Apia one Friday evening. There was a large crowd gathered of several hundred people. Before the concert began and the youth groups took the stage, warm up songs were played. During a couple of upbeat pop and reggae songs the whole crowd seemed to be on their feet dancing. Everyone - from babies being swung around by their parents or siblings, to the elderly who were supported by a relative - was moving to the music. Later on in the evening, as the event was winding down and hymns were being sung, numerous people stood with their arms outstretched and eyes closed as they sung along to the music. They clearly felt a deep connection with the music.

Music is almost another language in Samoa, and it is everywhere. Music is heard on the local buses and on teenager's phones as they walk along the streets or convene in groups outside shops. It can be heard when walking through a village as babies are sung to by their mothers, grandmothers or aunts. Each weekday morning the police band marches to the sound of a brass band through the centre of Apia. Men and women, young and old sing and hum almost constantly, seemingly unaware of doing so. Furthermore, they display an obvious enjoyment; they clap, sing along, sway, dance and engage with it.

Much of what is heard in Apia today is contemporary pop, hip hop, reggae and R & B music, featuring artists such as Bob Marley, 50 cent, Chris Brown and Beyonce. These genres of music are popular with both the older and younger generations, and are also

often used when creating 'new' Samoan songs. A common practice nowadays is to take a popular Western song and dub over the lyrics with an original Samoan song's lyrics, or a Samoan translation of the English lyrics (Va'ai, 1997:120). This is referred to by some Samoan musicians as "karaoke", while others view it as stealing (Kiley, 2008:4). Nevertheless, this music is enjoyed throughout Samoa.

As briefly discussed in Chapter Two, song has always been an important aspect of Samoan children's lives. Traditionally there existed numerous songs for children – for gathering shellfish, when they lost a tooth, when it rained, and for many other occasions (Moyle, 1988:136). Nowadays music is still an active, influential part of childhood in Samoa. Much of the focus however has shifted from everyday activities and life events to Christianity. Songs such as "*A iai Iesu i se aiga*" (Jesus in the family), "*O Iesu e lalelei*" (Jesus is beautiful) and "*O le Atua lo'u tamā*" (I am a child of God) are commonly heard.

Music also acts as a substitute for language in some circumstances. For example, the grandmother of the family I was staying with in Samoa had very limited English. Our conversations normally consisted of her asking me "where you going?", "where you from?", and then after a brief attempt at conversing in Samoan she would break into her favourite song, 'You are my Sunshine'. She sang this in English, at least once during my visits to the house. I was told on numerous occasions that this was her way of communicating with me and of telling me that I was part of her family as this was considered the family's song.

Music and English language learning

For many children in Samoa music is the first meaningful exposure they have to English. With the exception of *afakasi* (half caste) families, Samoan is the primary language spoken at home, and is the native tongue for most children (Ochs, 1988:2; H Odden, 2003:102). As discussed in the previous chapter, at Sunday school, preschool and primary school, children begin to be exposed to English through music, and are encouraged to slowly begin learning this language as they learn these songs.

Music is an important teaching method in both preschools and primary schools in Apia. Music is present both in a formal context when used by teachers, and informally between the children themselves. Many of the songs are sung in both English and Samoan. These are sometimes combined, and sometimes repeated in each language. An example of the former is the *Savalivali* song below. This song was a popular one, evident by the enjoyment children displayed when singing it at primary school.

Savalivali means go for a walk
Tautalatala means too much talk
Alofa ia te oe means I love you
Take it easy, *faifai lemu*

Teine manaia means pretty girl
Ta'amilomilo means around the world
Whisper to me means *musumusua maia*
Oi aue, means my, oh my

E ua malie o, avane i le malo
E le faia so'u loto
A e tu'u lou finagalo

Go for a ride, *ti'eti'e ta'avale*
Stay at home means *nofo i le fale*
Leai o se tupe means no more money
Much trouble means *fa'alavelave*

Though music occupies a large place in preschools and primary school classes, this appears to be based on the principal, and teachers' initiative. Despite efforts by the government (Ministry of Education Sports & Culture, 2004), there is currently no established music curriculum in primary or secondary schools in Samoa. The notable exception to this is Samoa College (Kiley, 2008:6).

In addition to being a teaching tool, music is also clearly viewed as a form of entertainment in Samoa. One Friday, at the village primary school, both the principal and deputy principal had to leave the school to attend meetings and were expected to be gone for the entire day. The remaining teachers decided to have a recreational day. Nearly all of the boys were taken to the village rugby field with the male teachers while

the female teachers, girls and remaining boys gathered outside in a large group under the shade of a tree for 'assembly practice'. This involved practising singing various songs for more than two hours. Interestingly, on this occasion, more songs were sung in Samoan than in English.

Music is also a form of entertainment for the children when playing amongst themselves. In the primary schools I observed, during spare time in the classroom such as when the teacher was preparing a lesson, or marking some work, the children often gathered on the floor in small circles of up to ten children. These groups were always divided by gender. The game which I observed by far the most frequently was called 'Tip Tap Toe'. The words are sung in English, though discussions over who lost, and who should sit where, were carried out in Samoan.

The song's lyrics do not appear to make a lot of sense; "tip tap toe, going up, going down, going listen to my radio, going tip tap toe, mu fa lu, grab that snake". The children sit in a circle, with their arms stretched out in front of either person next to them, and their palms facing outwards. As the song is sung, one person 'clapped' hands with the child next to them, and then this child repeats the gesture with the person on their other side. This is repeated around the circle until the word 'snake' is reached. The two children who are 'clapping' at this time then turn to face each other and enter into an elaborate and rapid paper-rock-scissors type game which everyone else watches. The game resumes once again when a winner is established, but the loser of this game sits outside the circle. Eventually only two children are left who engage in the paper-rock-scissors game and the winner of this is crowned the 'champion'. Another game begins immediately afterwards with everyone joining in once again.

'Tip tap toe' was by far the most popular song and game I observed amongst the children. In addition to being played in the classroom, it was played during recess time, as well as at home between siblings and other relatives. Numerous attempts were made to teach me the actions, but unfortunately none were particularly successful.

It is clear that music occupies an important role in Samoan culture and education, however there is also considerable evidence demonstrating the cognitive, social and emotional benefits of incorporating music into children's learning. Paquette and Rieg state that "music can transform classrooms into positive learning environments where children thrive academically, socially and emotionally" (2008:227).

An increasing amount of research is being conducted into the cognitive effects music can have on the brain. It has been established that there are a host of positive effects on cognitive processes. Some of these include; verbal memory (Chan, et al., 1998:128), spatial reasoning (Hetland, 2000:4) self-esteem (Costa-Goimi, 2004:149), and overall intelligence (Schellenberg, 2006:460). Furthermore, numerous researchers concur that children learn more easily, and retain information for longer when rhyme and music are used to transmit information (Armstrong, 2003:213; Bergen & Coscia, 2001:19; Jensen, 2001:192; Wolfe, 2010:86).

Music has also been linked to several social benefits amongst children. Anshel and Kipper suggest that participation in group singing contributes to feelings of trust and co-operation, which are essential elements in establishing a sense of community, and belonging (1988:150). Engh also states that the shared practice of singing with others creates social harmony (2013:115). In Apia schools, there is a mixture of Samoan and *afakasi* students. It is plausible to suggest that music assists in breaking down boundaries between these two social identities, and possibly between other social stratifications which may also be present.

Among the most interesting discoveries of music's benefits, is its effectiveness in language teaching. Research suggests that the use of song in language learning can enhance long term recall (Fonseca Mora, 2000:148), and improve verbal memory (Brutten, Angelis, & Perkins, 1985:310). Music has also been attributed with improving listening comprehension, dictation and pronunciation (Cameron, 2001:59) – particularly in second language learners such as many of the children in Samoa.

Singing can also be an effective method in second language acquisition as the unfamiliar sounds of the new language are encased in a rhythmic pattern which is less intimidating than the spoken version (Wong Kwok Shing, 2006:289). For instance, many young children can sing the ABC song with ease, but would struggle to recite it (Wolfe, 2010:165). This is relevant to English learners in Samoa as the English alphabet has twelve more consonants, and a range of unfamiliar speech sounds (Tate, 1990:3).

Another benefit of using music for language instruction is that songs provide an opportunity for language repetition, in a way which is not tedious, such as repeating the chorus of a song. Repetition is recognised as being a crucial tool in language learning, as it allows time for the various components of a language (tense, verbs) to be absorbed (Sevik, 2012:14). Rote learning is an established teaching method in Samoa, and as described in the previous chapter, songs are often repeated several times until the teacher is happy with the pronunciation.

A seemingly obvious, yet very important aspect of music is that it is enjoyable. This factor is of particular relevance when considering children as language learners, as they may lack many of the motivations of an adult learner. Furthermore, positive emotional responses have been strongly correlated with information retention, recall and understanding (Bergen & Coscia, 2001:56; Jensen, 2001:32; Wolfe, 2010:87). In fact, the brain is “biologically programmed to attend first to information that has strong emotional context” (Wolfe, 2010:87).

Recent research has drawn parallels between music and play, and several scholars recognise musical activity as a form of play (Hansen, Bernstorff, & Stuber, 2004:16; Jarvis, 2013:50; Koops & Taggart, 2010:57; Niland, 2009:19). The importance of play in childhood has been widely explored and is considered to be an essential element in numerous aspects of children’s development, including those relating to language learning and acquisition (Smilansky & Shefayta, 1990:43).

Self-initiated, make believe-type play has been well established as an effective means of language development as it is a space in which children can test phrases which they have

overheard, and manipulate scenarios to place themselves in a different role (Aliakbari & Jamalvandi, 2010:17; Smilansky, 1990:20). For example, role playing games where one child assumes the role of a parent, teacher or doctor, allows them to explore their vocabulary in an attempt to find appropriate language for the situation (Hansen, et al., 2004:18).

This is especially pertinent to Samoa as play is not generally encouraged in Samoan culture. As previously discussed, during preschool and primary school, children are not awarded a lot of free time for play as the emphasis is on learning. Play is also not practised widely at home, as school aged children are expected to help their parents with household chores and child minding (Mead, 1928:15; Ochs, 1988:84) Of the play which is engaged in, it is typically toy or game centred rather than imaginative play which is often discouraged (H Odden, 2003:150).

I suggest that music in Samoa acts as a form of play for many children. Musical games such as 'tip tap toe' which are played amongst peers allow individuals to interact with one another at a social level, as they explore their growing vocabularies and awareness of social rules and norms. Other musical interactions such as when toddlers sing with their mothers or siblings are also a means of play as they are socialising the children about the values of Samoan culture and society.

Music's social function

In addition to being a valuable and effective teaching tool, as well as a form of entertainment for children in Samoa, music also has an important social function. During my time in Samoa I came to understand it as the link connecting the different spheres of society, for instance religion, education and family life. Music is also the medium which connects the individual with each of these spheres, as well as with other members of the community. To explore this argument I am going to draw on Pierre Bourdieu's practice

theory⁷, and explore the concepts of habitus, field and capital in relation to music in Samoa.

Bourdieu's practice theory is centred on three primary constructs; habitus, capital and fields. These do not operate as individual entities but are rather intertwined and mutually dependent and it is the culmination of these three factors which determine an individual's place in society. Furthermore, these constructs are not fixed, but are fluid and constantly changing to reflect contemporary society and the individuals place within it.

According to Bourdieu, habitus is a structure which essentially determines the actions of an individual, and a group. Habitus is both structured by past and present experiences, and is simultaneously structuring as it shapes present and future behaviours (Maton, 2012:50). Thus, habitus is fluid, and constantly changing. One's habitus is determined largely by material elements of one's life (neighbourhood, job, family, school), yet the habitus also generates the individual's beliefs, perceptions, feelings and behaviours which are aligned with its own structure. Simply put, our habitus is our "way of being" which is constructed from our histories, and which determines how we act in certain ways but not in others (Maton, 2012:51).

Habitus does not act alone, as individuals cannot live separately from society and its influences. Habitus exists in relation to social spaces which Bourdieu labelled fields (Thomson, 2012:66). A field is a bounded site in which individuals occupy specific places determined by the rules of that particular field. Some examples of fields include the education field, the political field and the arts field. It is the "unconscious relationship" between one's habitus and a field which determines an individual's practice (Bourdieu, 1986:101, cited by Maton, 2012:50). This is a crucial element of Bourdieu's theory; it is the interaction between an individual's habitus and social circumstances which govern their actions and behaviours.

⁷ Bourdieu's practice theory is complex and comprehensive. I am only drawing on a small part of it for this paper.

This unconscious relationship is mediated by an individual's position within the field, and this position is determined by their capital. Bourdieu defines four separate forms of capital; economic (money, assets), cultural (language, aesthetic knowledge), social (family, religion) and symbolic (honour, prestige) (Thomson, 2012:67). As individuals accumulate capital, they are elevated to a higher position within the field. For example, a wealthy person has secured a significant amount of economic capital, which means they occupy a position of power within the economic field (and also likely other fields such as their specific career field). An individual's position in the field is very important, as it is this position, in combination with their habitus which determines their practice (Maton, 2012:50).

Recently, scholars have applied Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital to music (Clayton, 2003:171, Sterne, 2003:390, Prior, 2008:316). Bourdieu himself recognised the impact of a child's early experiences and influences on their habitus, and his theory has subsequently been expanded to include musical experiences and influences (Rimmer, 2006:51). Musical habitus develops when children are exposed to music from a young age, either through musical parents or musical experiences such as learning to play an instrument, or participating in a singing group. This habitus can develop into musical, symbolic or cultural capital depending on the fields the individual occupies (ibid).

It seems fitting to apply the concept of musical habitus to Samoan society as children are exposed to music during many of their early, formative experiences. Through their participation in musical activities; singing lullabies with their mothers, joining their siblings in song based games, listening to the choir during church and singing songs at school, music becomes an established part of their habitus. Furthermore, music plays an integral role in several of the fields which many Samoan children occupy, for instance; education, religion and community.

As music is valued in Samoan culture, a person who is musically gifted in some way perhaps through a distinctive singing voice, or skill with an instrument may use this talent to gain capital in different fields. I recall a girl I met at the village primary school who had

a lovely voice, and who led several songs during assembly practice one day. Considering the way she was treated by her peers and the teachers (for instance, after her last song everyone applauded, and this was the only time they applauded during the two hour practice), it was clear that she possessed symbolic capital within the field of her school. She was also a member of the church choir, a privilege that awarded her further symbolic capital within the social field of her community.

Music is a means of gaining capital both for individuals and for groups; for instance a school or a village. One example of this is at the Independence Day festival, where one or more villages are chosen to compose and perform an original song. This allows the village to demonstrate both their oratorical and musical skills. School groups are also chosen to perform traditional dances and songs. These performances are witnessed by several thousand people who come to participate in the festival as well as those who watch the broadcast. In fact the 50th anniversary celebrations were filmed by an American documentary maker and released as a film titled 'Samoa: The Journey' indicating an international audience also (Juniper Films, 2012).

Those groups deemed to be the most talented or authentic are featured in the newspaper, or other online media sources both in Samoan and internationally, gaining symbolic and cultural capital, and elevating their position within this performance field. Of course, this could also transform into individual capital for the leader of the dance group, or *matais* of the village.

Using Christianity is another example, as this is a theme which features heavily in much of the music I have discussed. Music has played an important part in Christianity, and its worshipping rituals since the New Testament (Hearon, 2013:182) and singing continues to be a significant part of the church service in Samoa, especially within the Congregational Christian Church which is the dominant denomination (Samoa Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Children spend time singing at Sunday school prior to the service, and there is also a church choir who sing several songs during the service which the entire congregation are welcome to join in with.

It is clear that music plays an important role in linking Christianity to the different fields present in Samoan society. This can be seen in several ways. Firstly many of the songs which are taught in Sunday school are also sung at preschool and at home. Meanwhile other church songs are practised in primary and secondary schools. Even those schools which are not directly related to or run by a church still have a heavy emphasis on Christianity. Fa'aulufalega explains "In the Samoan school context, every school recognizes Christianity as part of the school culture; they usually practise hymns and prayers every day with respect to the heavenly father, the God of all gods. The spirituality of the students is part of their everyday lives..." (2008:24).

This repeated exposure contributes to developing a musical habitus in these children, of which Christianity is a part. This enables symbolic and social capital relating to Christianity to be accumulated through the medium of music. For instance, a talented singer can join the choir and be seated at the front of the church awarding them symbolic capital. Alternatively a child who has an enjoyment of music and thus knows all the lyrics to the songs may do well in Sunday school and primary school gaining symbolic and social capital from teachers and children.

Another example of musical habitus, this time at a micro level, is the game previously described - 'tip tap toe'. This game occupies its own field, and has its own symbolic capital associated with it. Children who were especially good at the game were treated to back pats and 'high fives' and the game was often discussed in detail after its completion. On occasions where two children who were considered 'good' players came up against each other, there was a palpable excitement in the air. Winning this game enabled the child to gain both symbolic and social capital within their social field.

Furthermore, singing the same songs in different environments links those situations together through a common experience, and sharing this experience with other people also establishes a connection between individuals. Cross and Woodruff state that music creates an experience of shared identity, and purpose within a community (2008:93). In

this instance, music is connecting the individual with their church, family, school and society. Songs can simultaneously unite and define social groupings (Sloboda, 1985:266).

Music also has an important role within the educational field. It is plausible to suggest that a child who is raised in a musical environment, perhaps in a large family where they are exposed to music on a regular basis, will be more likely to enthusiastically participate in preschool and primary school musical activities as they are familiar with this type of activity. As music plays such a prominent role in early education in Apia, it is further plausible to assume based on the literature above that this musical experience would benefit their language acquisition, and overall learning. It may also increase their enjoyment of school, given their comfort which could contribute to their overall school achievements. Recent research supports this suggestion. Three separate studies have demonstrated a strong correlation between musical enjoyment and educational success (Rosevear, 2010:21; Savage, 2006:173; van Eijck, 2001:1171).

The common theme running through each of the above examples is the relationship between the individual and society, and it is this which determines an increase in capital, and subsequent elevation within the field. One cannot award oneself capital; it must be gained through the perceptions of others in society. For instance, taking the example of the talented female singer who was selected to lead songs at the primary school choir practice, and who was part of the church choir, the capital she had acquired through her singing was achieved through others' recognition of her talent.

Music also has several other social functions in Samoa. In church, music is used to engage the members, and create a sense of community. Music can also heighten individual's feelings of devotion. Psychologist Tina DeNora states that music "...makes available ways of feeling, being, moving and thinking . . . it animates us" (2000:157).

Music may also be a way of churches engaging with the youth in Apia. Churches which have an emphasis on singing, or youth groups associated with churches which are involved in musical activities may attract young members. For instance in the

aforementioned youth concert, the vast majority of songs played and danced to were contemporary Western music, and I am sure that this was an appealing part of the experience to many youths who participated and observed.

Another social function of music is that it acts as a vehicle for cultural transmission. Music continues the oral tradition of Samoan culture, which has been gradually eroded since literacy was introduced, and further diminished by technological advances. Despite this erosion, music can provide an oral link between the past and the present.

This difference in generations was made clear to me during a conversation with a young man, who told me; *"I always marvel at the library of Samoan songs people have in their head, they have so many songs. I don't know them, but like all my old aunties and stuff they can pick out any, anyone singing anything they will know the words to it. It's not like knowing the current pop song or anything, these are songs they learned when they were little and they still know them to this day."*

However, I did learn of one children's dance group who learned and sang the *O le Fanata'Avili Ua Ote'ote Mai* song as part of a performance for Samoa's 50th Independence Celebration. This song describes what is now known as 'Black Saturday'. On this day in December 1929, eleven people, including Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III, were killed during a violent clash between New Zealand police and members of the Mau movement (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012).

Another example of music's role in historical preservation is evident in the immensely popular song '*Tofa Mai Feleni*' (Goodbye my friend). This song details the heroic actions of high chief Seumanatafa Fa'atulia and the villagers of Apia who risked their lives to save American sailors during a fierce cyclone in 1889. Three American ships were caught in the storm and were badly damaged on the reef, leaving the crew to cling to any remnants they could find on the surface. Seeing the danger these men were in, Seumanutafa summoned his men to the shore where they formed a human chain into the water,

rescuing an estimated 400 men. The best surviving account of this remarkable event was written by William Churchill, the American Consul General to Samoa (Huebner, 2013).

“Out into that hell of waters one man inched his way, one hand holding out a hero clutch over that dark turmoil and that the stronger hand, the left behind him in the firm brown clasp of a trusty tribesman...Brave man by brave man this chain linked out from the beach, each bare foot taloning the jagged reef...link by link, these Samoans paid out the line of their generously jeopardised lives, the lifeline for the Trenton, until their leader was barely holding his own, his head awash. Yet his one free hand – with one he held to life, with one he grappled death – his one free hand was ever reaching blindly into the dark and deadly turmoil and what he seized he held, a Trenton man snatched from death and passed him back along the line from one mighty arm to the next and so to shore, so back to life...”

The *Tofa Mai Feleni* song was reportedly composed and sung by a member of Seumanutafa’s house. It is a farewell song to the sailors as they left Samoa after having spent several months recuperating in the homes of villagers in Apia. Below is one verse which carries the essence of the song. Many songs have been composed to this tune in both Western and American Samoa indicating its immense popularity (Desnmore, 1932:415).

<i>“Tofa ma feleni</i>	Goodbye my friend
<i>O le a o’u tea;</i>	I now must lose thee;
<i>‘A e folau le va’a</i>	For the ship is going away
<i>O le ali’i pule Ameleka.</i>	With the Admiral of America
<i>Ne’i galo mai Apia</i>	Never forget Apia
<i>Si o ta ‘ele’ele</i>	Loved place of my abode
<i>‘A e manatua mai pea</i>	Still cherish her in heart
<i>Le ‘aupasese</i>	The men of the sea

The final way music is involved in cultural transmission is its role in Samoan language acquisition. As previously discussed, there is a formal and colloquial version of the everyday Samoan language which is used in differing circumstances. Interestingly, when it

comes to song however, the *tautala lelei* (polite speech) vocabulary is used (Moyle, 1973:61). For instance, in the above song the word *manatua* is pronounced politely as opposed to the informal way which would be *magakua*.

When I asked people why this vocabulary was used in song most were unable to answer me, or told me “it just is”. However, considering that the content of many Samoan songs I heard were based on Christianity, I suggest that music is treated reverentially, and using the polite form of speech is a means of expressing this. Similarly, other songs that are not Christian themed, such as the *Tōfā Mai Feleni* song above, still carry the sanctity of Christian songs as they are speaking of Samoa’s heritage, and their ancestors and thus are also pronounced in this manner. Conversely it may be that this is a tradition which has continued for no particular reason other than that it was done that way in the past, and has simply not been changed.

It also seems plausible that this is a means of children learning to differentiate between the two vocabularies as they acquire the Samoan language. Traditionally, parents do not spend a lot of time actively teaching their children language as the hierarchy of Samoan society dictates that the children make the effort to learn (Ochs, 1991:144). Furthermore, general conversations between adults and with siblings and friends would typically take place using the colloquial form of speech. Thus, I suggest that music is one way the children become familiar with and learn to speak in both speech forms.

Another example of music’s influence on language acquisition occurred when I spoke with a father whose children were *afakasi*, and who were raised during their early speech years speaking and hearing predominantly English. He told me that one of the ways he taught them Samoan was by playing Samoan music whenever they were in the car. After a while they began to develop their favourite songs, and they slowly learned to recognise some of the words and phrases. He told me “...*music is one powerful channel of sinking the language in, if they hear Samoan music long enough, they will of course find their favourites! They then start singing along and voila! They are speaking the language! Even though some will not fully understand, with time and help from us, they will understand.*”

This chapter has explored the social importance of music in Samoa, with particular emphasis on its role in English language acquisition amongst children in school, at church and at home. Using elements of Pierre Bourdieu's practice theory, I have explored how music links the individual to different aspects of society. Finally, I discussed music's function in intergenerational cultural transmission and Samoan language acquisition. The following chapter will consider the social function of English in Samoa, while continuing to draw on Bourdieu's practice theory.

Chapter Six: Language Change and Development in Samoa

Language change is occurring throughout the world as globalisation connects nations faster, and with more ease, than ever before. Samoa is not exempt; English is playing an ever increasing role in society. This chapter takes a somewhat different direction to the previous ones, as I explore and discuss the social function of English in contemporary Samoa. The chapter is divided into four parts; the first outlines language change in the Samoan and English languages, the second explores the social functioning of English in Samoan society, the third section describes language change from a Samoan perspective and the final part considers the future for Samoa. I continue to draw on Pierre Bourdieu's practice theory to assist in my analysis.

Language change in Samoa is not a recent phenomenon, indeed, there is evidence to support linguistic exchanges with Tongans and Fijians in prehistoric times (C. Macpherson, 2010:592). The arrival of British missionaries in the 1800s had a significant impact on the language as they introduced a range of new terms to the Samoan people. According to Reverend George Pratt, by 1876 there were more than 100 foreign words that had made their way into the Samoan vocabulary. These words came from a variety of different languages. Some examples include; the Greek word *qeto* for eagle, *arasi* from Hebrew for cedar, the English word *pepa* for paper, *ario* from Latin for silver, and *fa'aipoipo* from Rarotongan for marrying (Pratt, 1911:103 - 104).

Samoan language change was not limited to introduced terms, but also occurred within the language. In 1877, William Churchward recorded in his diary that the *tautala lelei* (polite speech) was a very recent occurrence. He wrote "Of late years an odious practice of using the letter T as K has sprung up, but this is not used by any high-class men." (Churchward, 1971:402). It is not clear where this practice originated from, or the intended purpose for its use, but it is interesting to note the further shift which has occurred over the decades where this form of speech is now an accepted and often used vocabulary.

The missionaries alone are not responsible for introducing changes to the Samoan language. The German and New Zealand occupations also had a lasting effect on the language, as did the subsequent settlers who arrived from Britain, America, France and Australia. Macpherson points out that these individuals caused significant language change as they commodified items which previously had no value, such as land and labour (2010:594). Some Samoan words were given additional meanings, and some English words were assimilated; acre (*eka*) and foot (*futu*). The new settlers also introduced new forms of technology, completely unfamiliar to Samoans, as well as a range of new plants and trees all of which required names (Macpherson, 2010:595). A similar language shift occurred with the introduction of new illnesses and treatments which arrived with the European settlers.

Throughout the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century travellers from various parts of Europe, Asia and other Polynesian and Melanesian islands passed through Samoa, with some settling there (C. Macpherson, 2010:597). Labourers also arrived from China and the Solomon Islands (Va'ai, 2011:44). With the arrival of these individuals came new foods, concepts and beliefs, many of which required new words. Nowadays, there is a plethora of foreigners present in Samoa from all around the globe in the form of volunteers (the most prevalent being AUSAID⁸ and Peacecorp members), tourists and expats. These individuals, like the settlers before them, introduce new material and abstract concepts to Samoans, all of which require language to be assimilated into society.

Thus, language change has been gradually occurring in Samoa for some time. However, the recent advances in technology of the last few decades have rapidly increased the speed at which this is happening. Radio first arrived in Samoa in the 1960s, followed by video in the 1970s, computers and fax machines in the 1980s, internet and mobile technologies became available in the 1990s, and during the last decade wireless networking and more advanced mobile phones have become widely accessible (Va'a, Va'a

⁸ AUSAID stands for the Australian Agency for International Development

T, Fuata'i, Mow, & Amosa, 2012:128). Even remote villages now have access to television, on which they can watch New Zealand's One News program, soap operas and a range of television films. Approximately ninety percent of the population have mobile phones (Samoa Observer, 2013).

With this influx of technology, one language in particular has been penetrating Samoan society at an increasing rate - English. Samoa is not alone in this respect. English is an official language in all South Pacific Island countries as well as more than sixty other countries around the world (Graddol, 2000:27). In fact, English is currently the most widely known language in the world with nearly two billion speakers, and is thus sometimes referred to as the global lingua franca (Crystal, 2003:4; Saraceni, 2008:25).

There are many reasons as to why English has become a global language. Most obviously, it was the colonising language for many countries during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries (Mufwene, 2002). Subsequently this led to English being the standard educational language for many of these countries, and this influence has spread to universities as well (McKenzie, 2010:9). The English language is also present in many forms of entertainment; television, cinema, and American music have been particularly popular (Crystal, 2003:100). English is also the medium of science and technology throughout the world (Saraceni, 2008:21).

Perhaps most importantly however, is English's relationship with globalisation. Globalisation is an oft used term, but is not widely defined. For the purposes of this chapter I will use a recent definition provided by Jensen, Arnett & McKenzie; "the flow across cultures of ideas, goods, people at unprecedented speed, scope and quantity" (2011:285). English is the language of the global economy, modern technology, and the internet. In many ways English is the universal symbol of globalisation. As Selma Sonntag describes, English is "part of the cause, the process, and the product of globalisation" (2003:xii).

English is an interesting language. Because it has become so widespread throughout the world, it has been adapted and assimilated by other languages to the point where

different cultures have a different view of what constitutes 'English' (Honna, 2012:249). In fact it is referred to as "World Englishes" to reflect the differences which have arisen through this hybridisation. For instance, some forms include: Chicano English (Garcia, 1975:185), Pidgin English (Siegel, 2008:56), Caribbean English (Allsopp, 2010:xiii), Newfoundland English (S. Clarke, 2010:1) and Cockney English (Lillo, 2000:145). Indeed, English has become a language in which non-native English speakers could well surpass the number of native English speakers by the end of this decade (Yu, 2005:92).

Even 'Western English' has undergone, and is continuing to undergo, many changes. Shakespearean English for example would be almost incomprehensible in a conversation today. Even the English of our great – grandparents who would have used such words as "hither", "tis" and "balderdash" would likely confuse many members of the younger generation today. Additionally, new words are constantly being invented in response to cultural and societal trends. Some recent examples are "metrosexual" and "selfie".

Similar language changes are also occurring within in Samoa. For instance the common greeting "*mālō*" is a relatively recent development. "*Mālō*" has several meanings, as is common of Samoan words, including 'congratulations' and 'well done' (G. Hunkin, 2009:11). According to Duranti, "*mālō*" only became a form of greeting around the 1960s (evidence of this is that there is no mention of this word as a greeting in early ethnographic works), and was initially shunned by many adults who considered it to be slang (2001:197). Nowadays, "*mālō*" or the more respectful form "*mālō soifua*" is used commonly as a greeting.

The above examples represent a crucial point to understand when considering language change; neither language nor culture is monolithic, instead they are constantly undergoing changes relative to the changing world within which they exist. As new technologies, materials or concepts are introduced a word is required to incorporate them into frequent use, and it is in this way that languages reflect the culture and society in which they are used. This phenomenon occurs worldwide, but perhaps is most apparent in a developing

nation such as Samoa where numerous changes are occurring at a rapid rate, and traditional practices are competing with modern alternatives.

The social purpose of English in Samoa

In Samoa, the English language embodies many of the perceived Western ideals: education, wealth and prosperity. Continuing from the previous chapter's discussion of Bourdieu's practice theory I will explore the social function English has in Samoan society. Specifically, I discuss the role English has as a means of gaining symbolic and economic capital in Samoa, both for individuals and family.

Bourdieu suggests that language is the most easily altered part of our habitus and that learning to speak a language different from the speaker's native tongue, is a means of a 'practical transformation' allowing the individual to alter their habitus to better assimilate within another field (Hardy, 2012:143). I believe this is true in Samoa. Learning English is viewed as a means of gaining access to greater opportunities both in Samoa and overseas, for adults and their children.

By learning to speak English, Samoans are creating what Bourdieu calls 'linguistic capital' (Bourdieu, 1977:651). This linguistic capital, when utilised in an appropriate field (one which recognises its value) which Bourdieu calls a 'linguistic market' enables the individual to negotiate the power relations within that field, and ideally use this capital to place themselves in a position of power.

He states: "a language is worth what those who speak it are worth, i.e. the powers and authority in the economic and cultural power relations where the dominant language is the language of the dominant class" (Bourdieu, 1977:652). In other words, a language is only useful if others recognise it as being so. English is useful in Samoa as Samoan society places value on English due to its status as a global language and the perceived benefits associated with fluency. This value is incorporated into the individual's habitus, and this becomes a motivation for learning and speaking English.

One of the perceived benefits of English fluency is that, metaphorically speaking, it 'opens doors' for Samoans as they are able to connect and engage with people and countries on a global scale. This has obvious economic benefits, principally for the tourism industry in Samoa which is the largest source of revenue for the country. There are also other economic benefits however, as English comprehension greatly increases career prospects both in Samoa and overseas. As a relatively small island, jobs are limited and people are increasingly looking abroad for opportunities.

An example of a career which benefits from the English language is writing. Many, if not most Pacific authors write in English. Two of the most well-known Samoan authors, Albert Wendt and Sia Figiel are examples of this. Both writers have published a large volume of novels and poems, almost all of which have been published in English. Though they are written in English, the themes are distinctly Samoan. For instance, in Wendt's book "*Sons for the Return Home*" the main character comes to realise the perceived importance of English: "Good English was proof that one was educated, sophisticated, civilised, totally removed from an 'uneducated villager from the back' " (Wendt, 1973:195). Meanwhile in Sia Figiel's book "*Where we Once Belonged*" the main character struggles with her fascination for Western culture introduced through a *Palagi* school teacher, and the restrictive, patriarchal nature of Samoan society (1996).

For writers, English allows their work to be seen on a much larger scale than if they were to publish only in their native language. This allows the author to gain symbolic capital as they are awarded recognition amongst readers and other authors, as well as economic capital from book sales. Furthermore, for many Pacific nations, reading is not a traditionally familiar or popular pastime, though this is gradually changing. Novels are a much more established part of Western cultures. This is not to suggest that reading does not occur, but simply that it is not as prevalent in society as it is somewhere like New Zealand or Australia where Wendt's and Figiel's books are popular (NZ Book Council 2013). Thus, by publishing in English these authors are accessing a different, larger field.

Although Bourdieu's argument is based on adults who make an active choice to learn a new language, I believe this theory can still be applied to children learning English in Samoa. Though the choice is not necessarily theirs, a choice has been made by their parents to provide a different, better life for their children than what they experienced. One mother told me: *"Every Samoan parent's dream is for their children to be successful, to become a doctor or lawyer, to at least achieve beyond the parent's potential...The optimum is to be successful in the Western world, yet not to lose being Samoan."*

The latter part of the above statement highlights a dichotomy which exists in Samoan society; a desire for a *Palagi* lifestyle which is associated with wealth, prestige and freedom, yet wanting to retain their Samoan identity. Bourdieu acknowledges that changes in habitus, though desired, are not necessarily positive experiences for the individuals concerned. Often these changes lead to internal conflict as they experience instability within their field (Hardy, 2012:137). Presumably this conflict is intensified if the changes in habitus were not a choice made by the individual but ones that were transposed onto them by others, as in the case of many children in Samoa.

Sadly, Samoa has a history of disproportionately high suicide rates, especially amongst young adults (Booth, 1999; Jackson, 2007:319). Although the reasons behind such tragedies are complex, there is evidence to suggest that adolescents feel a great deal of pressure to try to reconcile what is expected of them with their own desires (C Macpherson & Macpherson, 1987). One young man stated: "For them, for their generation it was just their traditional life. For us, it's the traditional life and the European influence. It is not our choice that we are living in this society as we are now. It's more pressure on us because we cannot neglect our traditional life." (Bourke, 2001:214).

As already discussed, many parents believe English to be the key to their children's success, and strongly encourage them to do well in school. Yet, there also remains a desire for them to retain their Samoan identity. The ideal is to adopt Western or *Palagi* concepts and practices without becoming a *Palagi*. Tcherzekoff explains: "To say of someone's action or personality that they are *faaPapalagi* (European-like) or worse yet,

fiaPapalagi (deliberately wanting to mimic the Europeans) was, and still is, a grave insult, a cause for resentment and conflict” (2005:264). Of course, such teasing and insults may stem from jealousy as well as a concern for their identity.

It is likely that this shift in habitus began during the first contact with the Western world in the form of the missionaries’ arrival. They introduced a unique form of knowledge which was encapsulated in the English language, though as they made such efforts as translating the Bible into Samoan, this shift remained gradual. Over the subsequent decades as contact with travellers and settlers increased, greater English exposure occurred, as did significant changes in Samoan society as outlined at the beginning of this chapter.

Successive generations have gradually altered their habitus to reflect the changes in society, and to incorporate more English as this was becoming more beneficial to them. Increased exposure to Western practices through technology served to further this process. This is particularly evident in Apia, where they are exposed to a high volume of tourists, volunteers, and Apia is also where many ex pats reside.

To Bourdieu, language is more than just a means of communication; it is also a powerful social tool. He describes it as an “instrument of power and action” that can enable individuals to manipulate their social positions (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992:111). This, I believe, is at the core of the English language shift in Samoa. English is viewed as a means of change; it is seen as a way of enhancing one’s life, and perhaps more importantly enhancing their children’s lives, and giving them opportunities which they themselves did not have.

Bourdieu recognised that education is one of the ways parents advance their social position, as well as that of their children (Thomson, 2012:74). Education is a means of creating symbolic capital, as well as potentially contributing to cultural and economic capital. This can certainly be seen in Samoa – parents will travel considerable distances and pay relatively large amounts of money to send their children to a ‘good school’. Many parents who do not live in Apia will send their children to school in Apia as they believe the quality of education is better than what is available in their village. For some, this

involves a long journey in the morning and again in the afternoon, while others are sent to live with relatives in Apia. This is also witnessed in those parents who send their children overseas to boarding schools in New Zealand and Australia.

Furthermore, Bourdieu argued that those individuals who benefited most from the French school system were those who already possessed economic and social capital (Thomson, 2012:75). I believe this can be applied to Samoan society also. Certainly, the private schools where English is the main language of instruction are considerably more expensive than the state run village schools. This is not to say that the quality of teaching is lesser in the village schools, or that the children who attend receive a sub-standard education, but rather to point out that perceived differences do exist – especially in terms of the quality of English language instruction. Parents who sent their children to private schools were typically business owners, pastors and politicians and thus as Bourdieu states already had a degree of economic and symbolic capital.

Bourdieu acknowledged that as with education, capital was not only an individual gain, though much of his theory does refer to it as an individual accomplishment. This is not surprising as he drew from his experiences in French society, which, as in many other Western societies, has a more individualistic mind-set than Samoa. Samoa, based around *fa'a Samoa* is a communal society with a hierarchical structure (A. Duranti, 1981:24; Ochs, 1988:23). This creates a flow-on effect of capital which occurs between children and parents as well as other family members.

An example of this is a child who excels in school, and wins a scholarship overseas to study. This action not only gains themselves considerable symbolic capital within the educational field, but their parents who are largely given credit for their children's achievements, and to a lesser extent other relatives who are awarded some measure of symbolic capital by association. This gain in capital also extends to the social field. I experienced this countless times when people proudly told me "my son/niece/cousin is studying in New Zealand".

This flow-on effect can also be seen with economic capital. Individual wealth is not a common concept in Samoa, but instead is shared throughout family members. This is evidenced by Samoans living overseas in New Zealand and Australia who commonly send money back to Samoa to their parents and other family members. This also occurs within Samoa, especially from individuals who live in Apia and send money to their family in other villages. According to a recent survey more than half of Samoan homes have at least one remitter overseas who sends money regularly (IMF, 2005). Using the example from above, if a child is sent overseas to be educated and they find a well-paying job as a result of this education, they are likely to gain economic capital which is subsequently dispersed amongst other family members.

Bourdieu states that the language a person uses in a given situation is a result of their linguistic habitus (structured and structuring dispositions to speak competently) which allows the individual to speak in a culturally appropriate manner, both grammatically and socially speaking (1991:51). Furthermore, their language options are also dictated by their position within the field that relates to the conversational situation. He states: "...linguistic exchanges are also relations of symbolic power in which power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualised" (Bourdieu, 1991:38). In other words, conversations between people are constructed from, and simultaneously constrained by, the individual's habitus and social positions, and the conversational partners' awareness and understanding of this position.

In Samoan society an example of this is the way a pastor is interacted with. As pastors hold a significant amount of symbolic capital in society they are treated with respect, and this is conveyed in part through language. Another Samoan person talking to them will likely be aware of their status and adjust their language accordingly. To some, this would mean using the *tautala lelei* (polite speech), while others would speak with the informal vocabulary but be respectful through their choice of words. The level of respectfulness would be increased if the speaker is younger than the pastor, as age is a marker of respect

in Samoan society. The pastor would expect to be addressed respectfully, and I suspect also in the Samoan language to further denote reverence.

However, if the same pastor entered a conversation with a foreigner, a *Palagi* such as myself, the conversation and the rules dictating it would be very different. Presuming the foreigner is not aware of the pastor's status, or if they are, do not understand its significance within Samoan society, the conversational rules outlined above do not apply. This, according to Bourdieu is an example of the importance of linguistic habitus, as it predisposes individuals to the complex web of social meanings that bind interactions (Bourdieu, 1991:51).

Another element of Bourdieu's theory that is relevant to this discussion is that our actions and behaviours determine future events (Bourdieu, 1991:61). Social structures are reproduced through our language and actions. In other words, how we communicate with others based on existing dispositions and structures, either reaffirms, or alters future dispositions and structures. We create our futures through our present behaviour.

In Samoan society this is present in two scenarios. There are those individuals who grew up traditionally, perhaps with little English exposure who now, as parents, want a different future for their children, and they see English as the means of doing this. Conversely, there are people who grew up with a lot of English exposure, who were perhaps sent overseas for their education, who hold the same belief in English's importance.

Is language change a concern in Samoa?

Language change is to some extent inevitable, as the world is constantly in a state of flux. As Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure stated: "Time changes all things: there is no reason why language should escape this universal law" (Aitchison, 2001:4). However, for some cultures language change can also equate to language loss. This has been the case for several countries including Belarus where Russian is becoming the dominant language (Ioffe, 2003:1267), Belgium which incorporated French to become a bilingual nation (Vogl & Huning, 2010:229), Ireland where English has largely replaced Irish (C. H. Williams,

1991:21), and the Philippines where many local dialects are being mixed with the Kinaraya language (Gonzalez, 1998:487).

The extent and severity of language change in Samoa, as elsewhere in the world, is a matter of perspective. Broadly speaking, there were two schools of thought amongst Samoans I spoke to regarding the state of their language. Some felt that the Samoan language is in dire straits, that it is rapidly being lost and that not enough is being done in an attempt to preserve it. Others however, felt that Samoan and English are coexisting in relative harmony within society, that the language is not under serious threat, and some stated that English is in many ways more important than Samoan given its global status.

Before continuing, it needs to be noted that speaking English is not necessarily a matter of choice for all Samoans. In some professions, especially in Apia, it can be a requirement. The tourist industry is a good example of this. English competency is important as the vast majority of tourists have little to no knowledge of Samoan, and, as previously mentioned, tourism makes up a significant portion of Samoa's employment and revenue. English is also a requirement for other professions such as teaching, healthcare and government related positions.

Among those who are worried about the state of the Samoan language is the editor of the Samoa Observer newspaper, Mata'afa Keni Lesa. In an editorial from June 2013 he stated: "In Samoa today, there is a generation of young people being brought up on these shores, where the culture and language is so strong, who cannot string together a sentence in Samoan. Visit the bus terminal at Savalalo and you'll find that the most used language for daily dialogue among students is English... The truth of the matter is easy enough to see. Our language is dying a slow death and it is our collective responsibility – whether you are a Samoan in Samoa or living abroad – to change the destructive path we are heading down." (*Samoa Observer*, 2013).

Many people I spoke to echoed this concern to varying degrees, and there is some evidence to suggest that Samoan language use is waning. According to the 2013 census there has been a decline in Samoan proficiency amongst primary school leavers over the

last few years, though English proficiency has remained stable (Ministry of Education Sports & Culture, 2013). One man told me: *“Most of us don’t know the fa’aloalo and lauga now, we have to learn it with the books, but before it was passed down. Now it’s a disaster. Traditional matais just grew up learning it, they experienced it but now we have to learn from the books and it’s a real disaster. Cause I’m a matai and it would be a disaster if they chose me to get up and do a speech.”*

Yet, there were others who were more optimistic. I was told: *“There’s always that fear the language is changing, that it’s not as good as what it could be or what it was, but from my perspective you know change is inevitable, and people who adapt better to change survive better”*. This need for adaptability was a commonly expressed sentiment. People told me that Samoa must move forward rather than backwards, and they seemed to accept that increased English was an inevitable consequence of this progression.

For instance, one man who was a father of three children told me: *“...any indigenous language is bound to lose some of its original content as new ones emerge, as new and different situations arise. As English is in most parts of the world it’s the universal language, so naturally we all need to speak English as well. I think the key is us, parents. The older and not so old generation to instil in our kids by using and speaking the language, as long as the language is spoken, even if the kids can’t speak or reply back in English, I think as long as they hear it, they will in time understand and speak it.”*

Samoan author *Letuimanu’asina* Emma Kruse Va’ai is among those who do not feel the language is under threat, in her book titled *‘Producing the text of culture: the appropriation of English in contemporary Samoa’* she argues that Samoa is a hybridised society where English and Samoan co-exist in relative harmony (2011). She credits the influence of other cultures with strengthening the Samoan language and culture as it has vigorously adapted and hybridised rather than been overrun (Va'ai, 2011:42). One example she cites is the aforementioned fa’afafine language, which she credits as being a distinct and vibrant language community in Samoa. Va’ai notes how this vocabulary in particular uses English words to create an assumed identity of their choice. This can be

seen in the names they adopt, for instance: Sabrina, Tanya, Candida and Blondie (Va'ai, 2011:54).

However, despite the light hearted nature of the fafa language, one individual did express his concerns to me that it was contributing to language loss. He stated: *"It's just used for fun. But it makes me worried because people might refer to it as another formal language and it steals away the young ones that are growing up, they need to grow up and learn the proper language. But it's worrying now cause for instance if you grow up in a family that's full of fa'afafine and people that chat the language automatically you're going to grow up learning it. So it might steal you away from learning the proper ones, the proper Samoan language, the real Samoan language."* This sentiment was echoed by another *fa'afafine* who was a teacher at a local high school. He told me that if he heard the children speaking it at school he would punish them, because it was slang, not the proper Samoan language.

This debate is not new, in fact concerns for the state of the Samoan language were initially voiced by missionaries in the late 1800s (Violette, 1870), and again in the early 1900s (F. Keesing, 1934:444). More recently it has been played out publicly amongst politicians in Samoa. The Head of State, His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese specifically drew attention to the issue of language loss during his 51st Independence Speech in 2013. He stated:

"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. If we lose the uniqueness of our Samoan language we will lose the driving force behind why our Independence leaders fought so hard for our Independence. If we lose our language, we lose the meaning of why we are here today. It is my parting wish that you return home to your families, churches and villages with a simple yet special message: the Samoan language is God's gift to us and the best way of saying "Thank You", is to make the Samoan language our gift to our children."

Conversely, the Prime Minister Tuilaepa Aiono Sailele Malielegaoi made the controversial comment that the Samoan language would only get you “duck eggs”. This comment was made only a few months after the above independence speech when questioned as to why the Miss Samoa pageant was conducted in English, rather than Samoan. He is quoted in the Samoan Observer as saying: “The main purpose of the pageant is to find not only the most beautiful woman to represent Samoa but also smart and be able to speak English...if she wins she will compete with other women from Papua New Guinea, American Samoa and Niue who are also fluent in English and the winner from there will be promoting the island countries to attract more tourists...The language that they will be using to promote the Pacific is English (Tupufia, 2013b)”.

The future

These language concerns are not exclusive to Samoa. Many of the Pacific nations are experiencing similar problems, as indeed many countries throughout the world are (McCarthy, 2005:13; Spickard, Rondilla, & Hippolite D., 2002:91). Such concerns are also of relevance to New Zealand as the host of the largest Pacific diaspora in the world. Historically, migrant languages do not survive well and as language is closely linked with cultural identity, loss of language can pose a threat to the general well-being and productivity of individuals (G. A. Hunkin, 2012:208).

There are however some encouraging signs, particularly from Pacific nations. Vanuatu is perhaps the best example of this. Since the 1980s, the Vanuatu National Museum has worked with a network of local ‘fieldworkers’ – individuals chosen by their communities to preserve and record their language and culture (Tryphon, 2006:109). These fieldworkers are given linguistic and ethnographic training, allowing them to both compile dictionaries, and compose their own ethnographies. They are not paid for this work; rather it is completed out of pride in their identity, and concerns at the loss of language as educational languages English and French become more prevalent (ibid).

There are also encouraging signs from Samoa. The government passed the Language Commission Bill on the 24th January 2014, declaring Samoan as the official language (Mu,

2014). The purpose of the bill is “to ensure that the Samoan Language is accorded due respect as an Official Language of Samoa.” (Ivara,2013). Possible future changes include establishing a bilingual curriculum in all state run schools, and making Samoan language studies compulsory from Year 1 to Year 13 (Radio New Zealand, 2011).

Another encouraging sign is that Samoan studies is a subject in schools. This means that even those children who don't experience all elements of Samoan culture first hand as previous generations have, are not entirely missing out. Admittedly the experience will not be the same, but it is a positive sign that attempts are being made to retain these forms of language and knowledge.

This subject could be expanded to include *fagogo* in the classroom, both as a means of retaining the language and perhaps introducing new terms and phrases that the children weren't familiar with. Although traditionally *fagogo* were recited by grandparents, as a form of bed time story, they could still be a valuable form of pedagogy for Samoan children if used in the classroom. This would also be a means of retaining traditional knowledge in an oral format.

The language hybridisation discussed, is, I believe another positive sign. Rather than simply code switching the foreign word into conversation, the Samoan language has absorbed these words and essentially made them Samoan. This means that they are able to speak in Samoan when they wish rather than necessarily reverting to English. This is important as Aitchison points out that over time code switching and the direct borrowing of words can render the original language unidentifiable as a separate language. She refers to this as gradual “language suicide” (2001:236).

Despite such efforts, there is still much that can be done in both Samoa and New Zealand. One Samoan scholar I spoke with stressed the importance of prescriptive work: “*When you look at the number of dictionaries that come out you know for English, that's where you want to be heading, and that always helps because you can see how certain words have been incorporated and have now become standardised and that's the normal process of a language and how it becomes retained.*”

I also suggest that efforts are made to ensure the quality of English language instruction is improved. This is not intended as a criticism of the teachers or schools in Samoa, but during my observations I frequently witnessed mispronounced or grammatically incorrect sentences and phrases being taught. I was told that this is often a reason why children are sent overseas to school, to ensure their language instruction is of a high quality as this cannot always be assured within Samoa.

New Zealand is undertaking some efforts to promote Samoan, and other Pacific Island language preservation. For instance, there is an annual language week to celebrate and promote the use of the Samoan language. 2013's theme was; '*Fafaga fanau I upu ma tala. Tautala I lau gagana*' (Feed the children with words and stories. Speak your language') to emphasise the importance of parents and other family members speaking their native tongue to their children and grandchildren (M. Clarke, 2013). Samoan scholars recognise this to be an important factor in the preservation and growth of the Samoan language in New Zealand (G. A. Hunkin, 2012:212; Spolsky, 1988).

Samoan scholars in New Zealand have called for a bilingual curriculum to be implemented in primary schools, particularly in areas where there is a high Samoan population (G. A. Hunkin, 2012:211; McCaffrey & Mc-Fall-McCaffrey, 2010:90). Research has found bilingualism to have numerous and significant benefits, especially for children who are exposed to bilingualism and multilingualism from a relatively young age. These include social, cognitive and educational benefits (Bankston & Zhou, 1995:14; Bialystok, 2007:13; Farrell, 2010:341). However, as New Zealand is widely considered to be a multi-cultural country, it is acknowledged that this could cause offence to other cultures whose languages were not represented. I suggest that offering Samoan as a language option might be potentially viable in some schools, especially in high schools where language subjects are commonly taken.

I also suggest that music could be utilised in early childhood centres and primary schools in New Zealand. Firstly as a way to include Samoan and other Pacific pupils who may be familiar with music at home and in the church, or who may have migrated to New Zealand

partway through their education. Secondly, this could be an effective means of teaching Pacific languages to children from all ethnic and cultural backgrounds. As music is such an integral part of Pacific cultures this seems an appropriate way to transmit their language, and through this, their culture.

In my opinion language change is inevitable, and is not necessarily a negative occurrence. Rather, it is a sign of adaptation and growth, showing that as society and cultures change so too does the medium which is so necessary for humans to survive – language. Furthermore, I do not believe it is plausible to suggest that English be discouraged in Samoan society. As, demonstrated above, it is an established and important element of Samoan society. Instead, a balance must be found which honours the respective value of each language.

Ultimately, it is not up to me, or other anthropologists to determine whether language change in Samoa is good or bad, progressive or destructive. For every person arguing that teaching English is linguistic imperialism, another argument championing linguistic empowerment can be put forward. Instead it is up to Samoans to decide, and to choose the future paths they wish to take. Meleisea raises an excellent point: “...our culture should be based on what the Samoan people enjoy and consider important; we will only waste our resources trying to persuade people to revive skills and customs that died of irrelevance.” (1980:27).

This chapter has explored how English is contributing to language change in Samoa. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu’s practice theory I discussed the social function of English in contemporary Samoan society, and argued that English is a means of gaining both symbolic and economic capital. I also proposed that due to the hierarchical and communal nature of Samoan culture, capital is not solely an individual’s gain but is also spread across certain family members. Finally, I explored the opposing views of language change from within Samoa and discussed what this means for the future.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion and Reflections

Writing this thesis has been a hugely rewarding personal journey. I feel as if I have come full circle from my initial undergraduate papers where I read the infamous '*Argonauts of the Western Pacific*' and dreamed of one day conducting my own fieldwork in a faraway land.

In this thesis I have explored the role and function of English in Samoan society, in the context of the capital city Apia. Initially I discussed the areas where English is spoken and used. From my observations I concluded that English is primarily seen as an educational language, necessary for children to learn at school, but not required for use at home or in social situations. There are exceptions to this however, as many jobs require people to speak English, and social groups often consist of a mixture of Samoans and *Palagi* volunteers or ex pats, so there is a lot of English spoken during these interactions. Also, English is still part of everyday life in many forms such as television, radio, newspapers, cinema and books.

I also explored the role music has in both Samoan and English language transmission and acquisition in Apia. Music is utilised across each of the educational environments children are immersed in: Sunday school, preschool and primary schools. However, music is not confined to these areas; it is an active and important part of everyday life. Children are sung lullabies by siblings and mothers, buses blast reggae and pop songs and choirs are a vibrant part of Sunday church service. I argued that music is the medium which connects these educational environments with church and family life, creating a common thread of consistency for the children, which enhances their English language acquisition.

The latter part of this research focused on English at a societal level in Apia. Drawing from Bourdieu's practice theory I explored how English is utilised in Samoan society to accumulate economic and symbolic capital for individuals. I also discussed how there is a 'flow-on effect' due to the communal nature of Samoan culture, which means the parents and other family members are also awarded capital through their child's achievements. Finally, I considered the impact language change is having on the indigenous Samoan

language, and outlined the two opposing schools of thought from within Samoa regarding these changes.

Limitations of this research

As I have discussed my role as a *Palagi* carrying out cross cultural research in detail in my methodology chapter, I will not dwell on it here. Suffice to say that my position as an ‘outsider’ may have been a limitation in some areas. However I am also confident that this status worked to my advantage in many other ways. For instance, where I may have been denied access in one situation, I was welcomed in another.

I am aware that the location of this research could also be considered a limitation. Although the decision to conduct this fieldwork in Moata’a and Apia was intentional, I recognise that this does not necessarily give an accurate perspective of greater Samoan society. In fact, in many ways the lifestyle in Apia is atypical when compared to other areas in Samoa. This means that caution must be exercised when attempting to generalise the findings in this research across the wider Samoan society. However, given the large population of Apia I believe these findings are still representative of contemporary Samoa.

It would be interesting to conduct a comparative study, where the function of English was explored in two different environments, one urban such as Apia and one more rural, perhaps on Savaii where village life remains more traditional. It would also be useful to explore the function and use of English from differing perspectives, how it is used, and perceived by children, adolescents, adults and the elderly generation.

This would be especially interesting to do with children, as they are among the first to experience language change, and in some cases are the catalyst for it. Even more importantly perhaps they do not have the awareness of cultural and societal values that can sometimes constrain adults.

Historically, children have been discriminated against in anthropology, and thus there is a significant lack of research concerning children. This is eloquently summed up in a quote from anthropologist Jill Korbin: “Even though the anthropological emphasis has been “to

grasp the native's point of view," there's been a bias against children, who are seen as less well informed about their own cultures" (Ruark, 2000). By excluding a significant portion of the population we are severely limiting our understanding of culture. Also, it goes against ethnographic principles to be so selective in what we see and who we talk to.

The limited timeframe of this research which was constrained both by finances and the timeline set by my university, was also a limitation of this research. It would be preferable to spend at least several months in a community, establishing relationships and observing everyday life. While I concede more time would be preferable, I also strongly believe that it is important to encourage and support even short fieldwork trips such as this as the traditional year-long trips are becoming increasingly rarer in contemporary anthropology. In addition to being a fundamental method to the discipline of anthropology, the experience of conducting research is so valuable for a budding anthropologist such as myself.

Suggestions for future research

I began this research with a few questions, and I conclude it with many more. Some of these are: what does the future hold for the Samoan language, not only in Apia but in villages on the south coast of Upolu, and in Savaii? What is the future of English in Samoa, and in the rest of the world? Will it continue to grow as a global language? How will the increasing use of technology influence language change? Each of these questions in turn leads to further questions, so there is no doubt much research to be done in the future.

It would be beneficial to conduct more research in Samoa, and in other Pacific Islands as many of them are experiencing a similar language change situation. These countries are optimal places for anthropologists and linguists to deepen their understanding of the processes responsible for language change, and, the effects these changes have on the indigenous cultures. Samoa is especially interesting, as the language has absorbed and hybridised English words, rather than code switching them when necessary. Though I am sure this occurrence is not exclusive to Samoa, there seems to be little recent research concerning this trend.

To the best of my knowledge, there exists little anthropological research concerning the relationship between language and music in the Pacific Islands. This is regrettable given the significant role music has in many Pacific cultures (Diettrich, Moulin, & Webb, 2011). This area of research is of particular relevance if English continues to be a growing influence in these societies, and the indigenous languages suffer as a result of this language shift. Music could be an essential part of the preservation of these languages and cultures.

It would also be interesting to explore the influences of technology, namely personal communicative devices such as mobile phones and computers, on language change in Samoa. As many popular social media websites such as Facebook, Twitter and Tumblr operate in English, this may influence the amount of English language Samoan individuals use when communicating through these mediums.

Finally, this thesis is not intended as a criticism, or judgement of Samoan society or of the use of English in society. Rather I hope that it brings attention to the current situation and opens a channel for further discussions to continue. I will finish with the words of Papaali Dr Semisi Ma'ia'i: "Like a living thing, a language needs foods for thought; it must ingest, digest, absorb, metabolise, etc., nutrients in its diet in order to grow, in order to function or live" (2010:iii).

Glossary

<i>'Afa'kasi</i>	The Samoan word for half-caste or those of part Samoan and part other heritage, e.g. European/Samoan or Chinese/Samoan
<i>A'u</i>	We
<i>Fa'aaloalo</i>	Respect
<i>Fa'alupega</i>	Traditional honorifics and salutations
<i>Fa'a Samoa</i>	The Samoan Way. Refers to the cultural, social and political practices in Samoa
<i>Fafa</i>	Abbreviated term for Fa'afaafine
<i>Fa'afafine</i>	A recognised third gender in Samoan society where men dress and act effeminately
<i>Fagogo</i>	Traditional fairy tales normally told by grandparents to small children before bed
<i>Fale</i>	Traditional Samoan house. It is an open circle or rectangle shape with no walls or windows
<i>Gagana fa'aloalo</i>	Respectful language. Traditionally used by <i>matai</i> for ceremonial purposes
<i>Gagana fa'amatai</i>	Chiefly language (another term for <i>gagana fa'aloalo</i>)
<i>Lauga</i>	Ceremonial speech
<i>Lavalava</i>	A traditional garment worn by Polynesian people. It is a single rectangle of cloth tied normally tied at the waist. They are worn by both men and women
<i>Malo</i>	A form of greeting which also translates to “congratulations” and “well done”
<i>Malo soifua</i>	A respectful form of saying hello
<i>Matai</i>	Chief. There are two types of <i>matai</i> in Samoa – <i>Ali'i</i> and <i>Tulafale</i>
<i>Palagi</i>	Abbreviated form of <i>papalagi</i> – literally “sky breakers”. Refers to Anglo – Saxon individuals.

<i>Puletasi</i>	A traditional garment worn by girls and women. It is a two piece dress comprised of a <i>lavalava</i> and long top. It is commonly worn to cultural events, church and formal occasions, though it is also the uniform for some businesses and schools
<i>Ia</i>	Again/ repeat
<i>Tama</i>	Boy
<i>Teine</i>	Girl
<i>Tautala leaga</i>	Literally “good speech”. The informal version of the everyday Samoan vocabulary using the letters ‘k’ and ‘g’. For example, <i>Kalofai</i> (I’m so sorry)
<i>Tautala lelei</i>	Literally “good speech”. The polite or formal version of the everyday Samoan vocabulary using the letters ‘t’ and ‘n’. For example, <i>Talofai</i> (I’m so sorry)
<i>To’onaai</i>	Traditional Sunday meal typically eaten around midday, after the church service
<i>Tulou</i>	Excuse me. Often used when walking past a person who is sitting down
<i>Umu</i>	Traditional method of cooking in Samoa which is carried out every Sunday in preparation for <i>to’onaai</i>
<i>Va</i>	Sacred space

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