‘UA PALA LE TALA’: THE WORRYING FUTURE OF CCCS MIGRANT CONGREGATIONS DUE TO LANGUAGE EROSION.

A Thesis Presented to the

Faculty of Malua Theological College

Apia, Samoa

In Partial Fulfilment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Bachelor of Theology

by

Sumeo Faita Leota

August 2016

ABSTRACT

The erosion of the Samoan language is a real experience that is happening to Samoan youths born and raised in overseas countries. To highlight this, we look into culture, family, early child education and the Congregational Christian Church Samoa (CCCS) settings in a Sydney Australian parish and its relation to language erosion. The issue this paper addresses is not how to maintain the Samoan native language, rather, to show how language erosion leads to a gradual loss of interest in Samoan customs which in turn, will ultimately lead to the migrant CCCS in Sydney with an uncertain future in terms of membership numbers.

In other words, children who are born overseas who do not understand and speak the Samoan language or culture will grow up with no connection, no interest and no need for the CCCS.

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to the third generation:

Angelie, Berekah, Tumanu, Ethan, Tito, Joshua, P.J, Asera, Mose Jnr, Zion, Oriana, Mystique, Atalina, Esmē, London, Milān, Jarred, Pricilla, Julius and Gabriel. May you all be blessed in continuing nana and papa's belief in the CCCS.

And to the CCCS New South Wales District (*matagaluega*), especially the '*pulega- Sini* Sasa'e'.

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Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Rev. Dr. Peletisala Limā for beginning this journey with me and to Rev. Dr. Tavita Maliko for seeing me finish it. Thank you both for your time, encouragement and support.

I would also like to thank the entire staff of Malua Theological College for the experience and opportunity to write a research paper.

Thank you also to the Liverpool CCCS, for the endless prayers and support and for taking part in this research.

Thank you to the New South Wales '*Matagaluega'*, especially to my '*pulega'*, *Sini Sasa'e* for all the encouragement, support and prayers while on this journey.

Thank you to my '*Missou EFKS'* family and the American District for all the love and support.

A very big thank you to our parents, uncles, aunties, brothers, sisters, friends and families; for the never ending support mentally and financially and especially to my wife Sauimalae Anae Leota, for her support and encouragement, the voice of reason throughout this journey.

List of Abbreviations

Aust. Australia

CCCS Congregational Christian Church Samoa

EFKS Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa

Gen. Generation

LMS London Missionary Society

MTC Malua Theological College

NZ New Zealand

Introduction

A Samoan proverb says *E pala le ma'a ae le pala le tala* (A stone can decompose/erode, but words do not). This proverb is employed in the title of this thesis in its ironic form *ua pala le tala* (words have decomposed/eroded), to underscore the threat posed by the gradual loss of the Samoan language, or what I refer to as language erosion, amongst the younger generation who are the future of the CCCS outside Samoa, like the parish in Liverpool Sydney Australia. *Ua pala le tala* bespeaks the outcome of continuous language erosion or neglect among the younger generation of the CCCS who are the future of the church.

The obvious problem in Samoan families in Diaspora is the growing inability of the younger Samoan generations to speak and understand the native Samoan language. This is a problem that will affect the migrant Congregational Christian Church Samoa in Sydney Australia in terms of its future direction and growth.

The question of 'who will carry on the church?' after migrant parents or the first generation have gone is a concern the migrant CCCS ministry need to ask and seriously continue to ask because progressive language loss is not the only bi-product of migration.[1]

The question posed is a concern I have harboured for many years as a CCCS member. As a theological student, the question has gained more significance due to the ever decreasing numbers in the CCCS both in Samoa and overseas; which was the inspiration and motivation in writing this paper.

Due to the limited resources and limitations of this paper, an in depth look into the effects of language on the church cannot be addressed in its entirety, nor can a definite

[1] Joshua Fishman, "Stabilizing Indigenous Languages, What Do You Lose When You Lose Your Language?," *Indigenous Language Imposium*(1994). Language, culture and identity loss, p.71.

solution be afforded due to the many registers of the Samoan language and the autonomous nature of the CCCS, meaning what may work for one congregation may not necessarily be applicable for another.

The overall purpose of this paper is an effort to raise more awareness on the language issue and the implication this may have in the long run on the life of the CCCS in Diaspora.

God intended for the world to be different in culture and language as can be seen in the Tower of Babel story found in Genesis chapter 11 verses 1 to 9. I focus on verse 4 which says:

> "Then they said, come let us build ourselves a city and a tower with its tops in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves; otherwise we shall be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth."[2]

I have used the above verse in connection with this research to mean the establishing of the CCCS in Diaspora and its future.

Descendants who move away from the mother land cut ties of continuity between the past and present generations. In other words when someone moves away from home, there is no one left to take care of the elderly and the family. Verse 4 is an effort by the people to try and evade this dispersion abroad, because they do not want to lose ties with their inherited identity.[3] If their ties are no longer strong with their past, the future of the race and their unique identity will be under threat and eventually amount to a memory of what once was. So what is the future of the Liverpool CCCS?

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[2] *Holy Bible, New Revised Standard Version Containing the Old and New Testaments*, (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers 1989). p. 7.

[3] *Zondervan Illustrated Bible Backgrounds Commentary, Volume 1 Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*, ed. John H. Walton, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2009). p. 64.

To answer the question, a case study was carried out on the youth in my local parish, Liverpool CCCS in Sydney's metropolitan South West, to establish the erosion of Samoan language from generation to generation, and to draw a connection of language erosion to an uncertain future of the church.

To obtain the necessary information, surveys were handed out to the available youth as well as informal interviews of church members and church minister.

Chapter one primarily gives a brief history of Christianity in Samoa to the establishment of Malua Theological College. This is to highlight the important aspect of the Samoan language in Samoan religion and culture that is said to be intertwined in Samoan society.[4] The establishment of the CCCS is also touched upon for a cultural grounding of the church in Diaspora which migration and the establishment of the migrant church is connected.

Chapter two introduces the case study which deals with the extent of language loss amongst the second and third generation in Liverpool CCCS. Problems that arise with the issues brought upon by language and cultural changes in the lives of the Samoan youths have negative effects that concern both family and church.

Chapter three gives an overall picture of the direction the church is headed from the case study results, together with suggestions on how the CCCS may counter the language issue.

To conclude, comparisons are drawn from New Zealand models as they seem to have addressed the issue, which are critiqued and discussed in relation to their applications to the migrant church in Sydney Australia, with the final prediction for the Liverpool CCCS parish.

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[4] Lalomilo Kamu, *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel* (Apia, Samoa: Method Printing Press, 1996). p. 42.

Chapter 1

London to Sydney via Samoa

Introduction

An unlikely travel route for modern commercial airliners, the title of this chapter concerns the final destination of the CCCS in Sydney Australia. The aim of chapter one highlights the origin of the Samoan church from the arrival of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in Samoa to the establishment of the CCCS, to the migrant CCCS in Sydney.

This chapter serves to draw upon the connection between the Samoan culture and the church, a relationship that is deeply rooted in Samoan society locally and abroad. In doing so is an effort to understand the role Samoan religion has in the life of Samoan migrants, as the church is somewhat influenced by Samoan culture and language.[5]

In light of the Tower of Babel story in Genesis, this chapter highlights the origin of the CCCS from its beginnings from the London Missionary Society. This is to establish the connection to the roots of the CCCS and the direction Liverpool CCCS is headed, which is away from its origin and foundational identity as a Samoan orientated church.

The erosion of the Samoan language will be the defining element in the separation process of the youth from Samoan traditions, and so the future of the church when left to the younger generations will be in question.

[5] Manfred Ernst, *Globalisation and the Re-Shaping of Christianity in the Pacific Islands* (Suva, Fiji: The Pacific Theological College 2006). p. 547.

1.1 Christianity in Samoa

The arrival of the London Missionary Society (LMS) to Samoa in 1830[6] was the beginning of the Christianity in Samoa. *Malietoa Vai'inupo*, a high chief at the time accepted Williams and his missionaries whom Williams later baptised and given the Christian name *Malietoa Tavita*.[7]

The effectiveness of using the high chief *Malietoa* to push their agenda proved vital, for the Samoan culture dictates everyone in the village listens to the high chief.[8]

This was no coincidence thanks to prior knowledge from *Faueā,* a Samoan hitching a ride back to Samoa.[9]

Declaring Christianity to be the new religion for Samoa, *Malietoa* called it '*lotu Ta'iti'* for teachers who accompanied Williams were from the islands of Tahiti and Rarotonga.[10]

The Samoan branch of the LMS was the first mission church in the world in which locally raised funds supported foreign missionaries[11] today known as the '*alofa*' (a financial love donation for the minister).[12]

The Samoan society and Christianity share a bond that is said to be divinely inspired as is reflected in the Samoan motto *'Fa'avae I le Atua Samoa'* and demonstrates the religious impact of the church on the Samoan culture.[13]

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[6] Malama Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa* (University of the South Pacific, 1987). p. 547.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ioane Lafoa'i, "Fa'amatai in Australia: Is It Fair Dinkum? E Maota Tau'ave Samoa," in *Changes in the Matai System: O Suiga I Le Fa'amati*, ed. Asofou So'o (Apia, Samoa: National University of Samoa, 2007). p. 14.

[9] Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*. p. 56.

[10] Ernst, *Globalisation and the Re-Shaping of Christianity in the Pacific Islands*. p. 547.

[11] Manfred Ernst, *Winds of Change, Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the South Pacific* (Suva, Fiji: Pacific Conference of Churches, 1994). p. 167.

[12] Ibid.

1.2 Malua Theological College (MTC)

The establishment of the Malua Theological College seminary in 1842[14] saw the emergence of the 'Samoan teacher'[15], local male youths trained by European missionaries to become pastors in villages.

The LMS had initially set up mission stations[16], but proved inadequate because villages were autonomous[17], instead the LMS approach was to have pastors for each village. This was due to the growing demand from villages to have a missionary for each village. The idea being, if the people will not come to them at their mission stations[18], which meant crossing over village boarders, then the mission will come to them.

These young men were taught the scriptures in the English language and they became figures of education and given a high status in Samoan villages[19]. The Samoan teacher taught scripture, church music and also secular fundamentals in arithmetic.[20]
The LMS handed control of MTC over to the Samoan people in 1967.[21]

Today, MTC is still under the control of the Samoan people, as it is the headquarters of the CCCS and has advanced both academically and theologically.

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[13]Manfred Ernst, *winds of change*, p. 167.

[14] Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*. p. 59.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Pacific History Class notes, C.H 301A, Malua Theological College, term 2, 2015. 'Mission Stations' refer to mission outposts set up by the LMS in order for missionaries to teach the local people. The problem was these stations were designed to cater to 3 or 4 villages in a district, posing boundary challenges for the people.

[17] Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*. p. 59.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] "Maluatheological College 2016 Handbook," ed. MaluaTheologiacal College (Apia, Samoa2016). p. 6.

1.3 The Congregational Christian Church Samoa

The CCCS is one of the major denominations in Samoa breaking away from the LMS in May 1961 and changing its name to the Congregational Christian Church Samoa in 1962.[22]

Today, numbers of the congregations are on the decline due to many reasons, one being the financial burden '*alofa'* plays in the family budget which is often done competitively.[23] Never the less, the CCCS still lead in terms of membership with other religions slowly rising in popularity.[24]

The early missionaries from the LMS saw the importance of spreading the Gospel in the Samoan language which eventuated in the translation of the New Testament in 1848 and the Old Testament in 1855 which were printed in England.[25]

Reverend George Pratt arrived in Samoa in 1845 and worked on the first Samoan dictionary and grammar. This assisted the missionaries in learning the Samoan language for communicating to the Samoan people, and it also helped the Samoan people to read and to write in their own Samoan language.[26]

The LMS has helped the Samoans with learning their own language, and so now it is up to the Samoans in Diaspora to continue both the maintenance of the Samoan language and also the Christianisation of our younger generations in balance.

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[22] Ernst, *Globalisation and the Re-Shaping of Christianity in the Pacific Islands*. p. 548.

[23] *Winds of Change, Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the South Pacific*. p. 168.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*. p. 59.

[26] Ibid. p. 59.

1.4 Migration

People migrate for all different reasons with migration to New Zealand, Australia and the United States the most common destinations among Samoan people.[27]

Better education, health care, employment and opportunities to chase dreams in foreign countries far outweighed what was offered locally in Samoa.[28]

The mass migration to Australia by Samoan people was made possible due to the Trans- Tasman agreement[29] which allowed unrestricted travel for New Zealand citizens to enter into Australia and vice versa. This in effect started what is now called 'chain migration' where members of a family who are fortunate enough to migrate, start to bring over the rest of the family, a trend that continues today, with no end in sight.[30]

Migration is to highlight the Samoan migrants taking with them a piece of home, not only to remind them of the mother land, but also to strengthen their ties with the mother land. If religion is a part of Samoan society, then religion is what Samoan migrants take with them.

1.5 The Migrant CCCS in Sydney

Church and religion for Samoan migrants becomes important because it provides them with comfort and assurance in a new environment; it becomes a home away from home.[31] In Va'a's book 'Sa'ili Matagi', the church becomes a village for the migrants in

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[27] Leulu Felise Va'a, *Sa'ili Matagi: Samoan Migrants in Australia* (National University of Samoa: USP Cataloguing-in-publication data, 2001). p. 46.

[28] Ibid.

[29] The Trans- Tasman agreement is the legislation passed by both governments in 1975 to allow free travel to citizens in both countries, with no restriction on the length of stay.

[30] Va'a, *Sa'ili Matagi: Samoan Migrants in Australia*. p. 68.

[31] Lafoa'i, "Fa'amatai in Australia: Is It Fair Dinkum? E Maota Tau'ave Samoa."p. 14.

Sydney not only to guide them spiritually, but also as a social worker, able to lend a hand in any secular or social matter.[32]

The history of the CCCS in Sydney according Va'a, was by the efforts of Rev. Tepa Faleto'ese.

The first unofficial service was held on the second week of July 1980 at the Uniting church in the suburb of Strathfield with an official service the following week on the 27th of July 1980, in the church of St Andrews at Balmain with fifteen people in attendance.[33]

Today, there are over twenty CCCS parishes divided into four sub districts scattered across the Sydney metropolitan landscape. Liverpool CCCS belongs to the recently new sub district '*Sini Sasa'e'* - East Sydney along with the Campbelltown and Camden Parishes.

1.6 Liverpool CCCS

The Liverpool CCCS was originally established in 1999 under the guidance of Rev. Samasoni Aiono along with six families from in and around the area.

In 2005, there were three families, and by the end of 2006 there was only one family. A decision by the minister to hold the Sunday church services at his residence did not last long and Rev. Aiono soon parted ways and headed for Melbourne.

In 2007, the Reverend Elder of New South Wales appointed Rev. Malua Keilani to revive the Liverpool parish in which he and his wife Heather successfully managed to

[32] Va'a, *Sa'ili Matagi: Samoan Migrants in Australia*. p. 106.

[33] Ibid. p. 110.

do. By the end of 2007, the church grew to six families, and by 2009, grew to fourteen families.[34]

I joined the Liverpool CCCS in 2011, not because I chose to, but because my wife's mother chose to because reverend Malua Keilani was our church minister at the Ashbury CCCS in the late 80s.

Malua Keilani has since been relieved from his ministerial duties due to unfortunate circumstances in 2013, and in 2014, the parish elected Fa'atamalii Tanielu and wife Tagilima to be the new church minister.

There are three generations of Samoans in the parish and the youth make up more than half the church population.

1.7 The Parish Generations

"Faith communities are perhaps the only places where families, singles, couples, children, teens and grandparents come together" that is all generations interacting on a regular basis.[35]

People are categorised by their generation according to their birth year, age or in the instance of migration, the first ones to migrate. In today's world there are as many as six generations living simultaneously, all with different characteristics.[36]

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[34] Information obtained from conversations with the sole original member of the congregation from 1999. Sasalu Matavao is a deacon for the parish and has been a faithful member from 1999 to date.

[35] Holly Catterton and Christine Lawton, *Intergenerational Christian Formation, Bringing the Whole Church Together in Ministry, Community and Worship* (Downer Groves, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2012). p. 30.

[36] Ibid. p. 145.

A breakdown of these generations according to Allen and Ross is as follows:

Table 1: Generation Birth Years

'G.I'	1901 to 1924
'Silent'	1925 to 1942
'Boomers'	1943 to 1960
'X'	1961 to 1981
'Y'	1982 to 2003
'Unnamed'	2004 to present

This table was put together from information found in the book of Catterton and Lawton .[37]

In the Liverpool CCCS, there are no 'G.I' or 'Silent' generation, but consist of 'Boomers', 'X', 'Y' and the 'unnamed' generation. The 'Boomers' in the congregation are the migrant parents. The 'Xers' are children born in New Zealand or Australia, and the 'Y' and 'unnamed' generations are children born in Australia. Using this information, the generations of the parish in relation to the migration status of parents being the 'first' to migrate with the corresponding age generation are;

Table 1.2:

Generation Relation to place of birth

'Boomers'	First generation (born in Samoa)
'X'	Second generation (born in N.Z/ Aust.)
'Y'	Third generation (born in Aust.)
'Unnamed'	Third and fourth generation (born in Aust.)

[37]Catterton and Lawton, *International Christian Formation*, p. 146.

The above table shows that the first generation, the 'Boomers' are the migrant parents of the church. The second generation 'X' are the children of the 'Boomers' born in New Zealand or Australia and the 'Y' and 'Unnamed' generations are the third and fourth generations born in Australia, children of both 'Boomer' and 'X' generations.

1.8 Parish population

There are fourteen families in the Liverpool parish, ten *matafales*, registered regular families, and four *matafale fesoasoani*, unregistered members but attend regularly.

The parish population is dominantly made up of the younger generations 'X', 'Y', and 'Unnamed'; a feature in most migrant CCCS parishes.

The table below illustrates the Liverpool population breakdown.

Table 1.3:

Generation	Place of birth	Ages	% of total population
First generation	Samoa	41-65 years	28.7%
Second generation	N. Z/ Aust.	20-40 years	21. 2%
Third generation	Aust.	1-19 years	50%

According to Table 1.3, the first generation migrant parents born in Samoa are between the ages of 41 to 65 years and make up 28% of the church population. The second generation born in either New Zealand or Australia between ages 20 to 40 years make up 21% of the population and the third generation born in Australia between the ages of 1 to 19 make up half or 50% of the church population.

When put into context, the second and third generations make up 71.2% of the church population, meaning the Liverpool parish will be dominated by the younger generations, but will they be obliged to continue the church?

The younger generations are the key to continuing the church traditions in Diaspora, but the question in their ability to speak and communicate in the Samoan language in which the CCCS conduct its worship services will be a debilitating factor to the continuation of the church.

Language and culture are inseparable as one defines the other, and are connected in more than just the surface value of both.[38] Therefore when speaking of the Samoan language, the Samoan culture is inexplicitly bound together. Yes they are two and separate entities in the literal sense, but for the use in this research, the two have been in-exchangeably used to define one and the other.

To highlight this, the next chapter will look at the issue more closely with the introduction of a case study on the Liverpool CCCS youth.

[38] Fishman, "Stabilizing Indigenous Languages, What Do You Lose When You Lose Your Language?".p.72.

Chapter 2

Case Study

Introduction

The purpose of the case study is to show that the Samoan language is gradually eroding, and more importantly to make a connection to the future of the church. The second and third generation children will be left to carry on the church tradition, the question is will they?

This chapter looks at the youth in understanding and communicating in the Samoan language at home, in the church; and their perceptions of the church and what the Samoan language, culture and identity mean to them.

To achieve this, a survey was carried out amongst the youth and young adults to identify problems. By examining the extent of the language erosion allows a connection to be made to whether this contributes to the future of the church. The Samoan identity of the children born and raised in overseas countries is on the outside only. This means they are only Samoan in appearances, on the outside only and not on the inside. A thought provided by Paul the Apostle in his second letter to the Corinthians chapter 3: 3, as letters written not in ink, but with the spirit of God, not on stone tablets but on tablets of human hearts. This means that identity should be from within as well as on the outside. Written in the heart, not on the appearance, which is what young Samoans are doing to show their Samoan identity. They have traditional Samoan tattoos all over their bodies, but inside, there is nothing Samoan about them, with their thinking, actions and language.

2.1 Language in the home

The family home is considered to be the first place of learning and for the Samoan language to be learnt and passed on, there needs to be enough of the language-use around the children for it to become recognised and learned by the children. Children imitate what they hear and see around them and when they are able to speak, they use the method of learning by heart, memorising things they hear and see repeatedly.[39]

2.1.2 Early Language Learning

The Samoan language is not absent from the homes of Samoans in Sydney, but is under competition from the English language. Migrant parents teach their children native language from an early age with the basic assumption that this helps in identifying the child's needs.[40] Beginning with '*ai'* eat, '*inu'* drink and '*moe'* sleep' used repeatedly by parents are easily picked up by the children.[41] A point supported by mothers in the parish, who added, '*aua'* don't, '*sasa'* smack and '*donal'* McDonald's.

Other parents in the parish began their children's learning with the Samoan alphabet or the '*pi-tautau'*, which is the A, E, I, O,U.

They were referring to their second generation children who are parents themselves now. The alphabet guide or the '*pi-tautau'* literally 'hanging alphabet' was a feature in Samoan households as from my younger years, every Samoan house had one pinned up somewhere.

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[39] C.T.R Hewer, *Understanding Islam, the First Ten Steps* (London: SCM Press, 2006). p. 119.

[40] Lowell D. Holmes and Ellen Rhoads Holmes, *Samoan Village, Then and Now*, 2 ed. (Orlando, Florida: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1992). p.85.

[1] Ibid.

Today it is missing from the scene for reasons no one seems to know or care for, with the only person sure of having one is the church minister.

With the alphabet, names and essential Samoan words, the children's learning of the Samoan language is further boosted in Sunday school, beginning from the '*vasega amata'* beginner's class, and '*vasega laiti'* class for the little ones. A traditional annual event on the CCCS calendar is the 'white Sunday'[42] where children are taught Samoan sentences and biblical passages from the Samoan bible to learn and act out in plays and recitations or '*tauloto'* learning by heart. As one parent said "it makes them feel proud when they hear their son speaking in Samoan".[43]

Things change as the children enter the education system of the host country. No matter how well the child may seem to be progressing with the Samoan language, once they encounter the English language in school, a battle arises between the home language and school language.

2.1.3 School Language

Lilly Wong Filmore highlights a problem that has long been recognised, but has not gained enough attention from researchers, the phenomenon of "*subtractive bilingualism*" used by Wallace Lambert who referred to French-Canadian and Canadian immigrant children whose acquisition of English in school resulted in the erosion or loss of their primary languages instead of bilingualism.[44]

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[42] White Sunday is an annual event held on the second week of October where children are the focus.

[43] Comment made by second generation father, in regards to his 6 year old son's performance in the 2015 white Sunday pageant where he recited Psalm 23: 1-5.

[44] Lily Wong Fillmore, "When Learning a Second Language Means Losing the First," *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* 6(1991). p. 323.

Filmore claims that subtractive bilingualism is familiar in the United States with immigrant children and adults who have lost their native languages in the process of becoming linguistically assimilated into the English-speaking world.[45] This means that even though migrant children may have only learnt native language in the home and is the only one spoken in the home; once they go to school, they tend not to maintain their native language to which Filmore adds, is the story of past immigrant groups and the story of the present ones. The difference is it appears to be taking place much more rapidly today.[46]

As education is very important, we have to ask if the subtractive bilingualism phenomenon is affecting Samoan households in Sydney.

To test this phenomenon I have selected a family from the parish who are able to provide the first, second and third generation.

Table 2.1: 'Family from parish'

Generation	Place of birth	Educated at	Language ability
First gen.	Samoa	Samoa	Samoan only
Second gen.	New Zealand	New Zealand	Well in both Samoan/Eng.
Third gen.	Australia	Australia	Good Eng. Not in Samoan

The first generation parents from the table above migrated from Samoa to New Zealand in the early 80's then to Australia in the late 80's. They were educated in Samoa and speak in the Samoan language all the time in the home.

[45]Fillmore, *When Learning a New Language Means Losing the First*, p.324.

[46] Fillmore, "When Learning a Second Language Means Losing the First." p.324.

The second generation are the children of the first generation born in New Zealand or Australia who are bilingual, were educated in the English schools and converse in both Samoan and English. They prefer to use English over the Samoan language, but are comfortable with communicating in both languages.

The third generation are the children of the second generation Samoans who were born in Australia. This generation understand some Samoan words but speak little of the language, because their parents (second generation) converse more in the English language.

From the table we see subtractive bilingualism in the second generation with attending school. This led to a mixture of both the Samoan and English language. The knock-on effect of this is seen in the third generation, with limited understanding in the Samoan language.

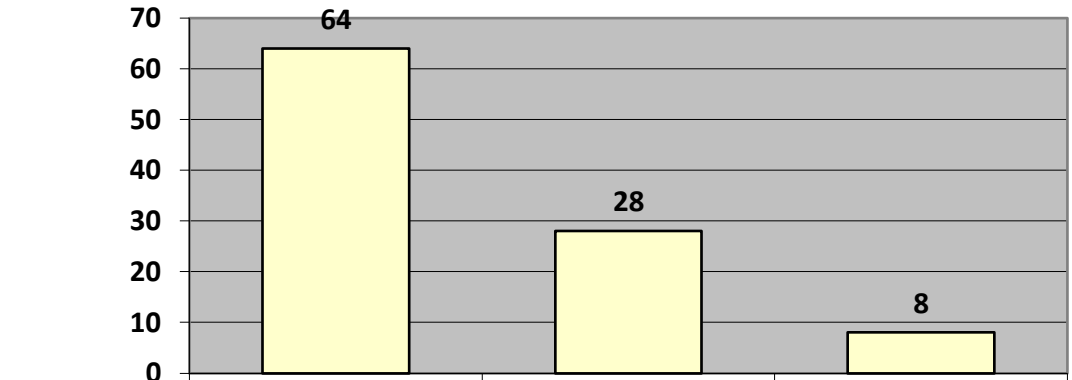
This is the case for many children in the parish, born and raised in overseas countries as noted in a casual conversation with the minister of the Liverpool parish Rev. Fa'atamalii Tanielu who said "language is a problem because the youth, when approached, either run away or pretend to understand what he is saying to them". He also added that it is not their fault, they are raised in a different context with more families speaking English than Samoan at home.[47]

This corresponds with responses of the language spoken at home question in the survey.

[47] Conversation took place at Glenfield Cricket ground on Monday the 14th December 2015 while in preparation for the Autalavou Pulega Games, an annual event held on the 26th & 27th of December in which various church parishes compete in cricket, volleyball and touch rugby, with the intention being for the youth to interact with other church youth groups and for fellowship.

The survey asked ‘what language is spoken in the home?’

Table 2.2:



The table shows the use of both the Samoan and English language at home is at 64%, suggesting more homes are bi-lingual.

This means that of the surveys returned, 64% of homes in the parish speak English and Samoan, 28% speak only Samoan, and 8% use only the English language at home.

Va’a, highlights the awkward situation faced by Samoan teenage migrants living in Sydney, Australia. He believes language is becoming a barrier between the migrant Samoan parents and their children. According to a survey by Va’a, the majority of parents (72%), speak only Samoan at home[48], a far smaller number, (27%) are bilingual. In the children’s case, only 20% spoke Samoan at home.

[48] According to Va’a, the reasons the parents give for speaking Samoan only at home is out of habit and in order to improve their Children’s ability to speak Samoan. Va'a, F. L. (2001). *Saili Matagi: Samoan Migrants in Australia* Fiji Institute of Pacific Studies: University of the South Pacific Pp. 190-191.

Based on such statistics Va'a argues that:

The evidence suggests speaking Samoan could become a major difficulty for second-generation Samoans in the years to come, if not sooner, especially if they lose contact with Samoan-speaking relatives and the home country.[49]

Va'a conducted his study in 1992/ 1993. Twenty three years later in 2016, what Va'a alluded to has become reality for many Samoans born and raised in Australia. A look at Va'as survey and the Liverpool survey is as follows:

Table 2.3:

Va'as survey- 1992-1993	Liverpool youth survey- 2015-2016
72% of homes speak in only the Samoan language	28% of homes speak in only the Samoan language
27% of homes use half Samoan and half English	64% of homes use half Samoan and half English

The table indicates a drop from 72% of homes in 1992-1993 of using only the Samoan language to 28% in 2015-2016, and increasing from 27% with using both Samoan and English in 1992-1993 to 64% in 2015-2016. If present patterns continue the less used language may be lost.

Keeyeon Kim, a Korean-Australian minister, describes the language dilemma for migrants in Australia as 'lost in translation'. Language can define who we are but it can also become a barrier as to who we are not.

[49] Va'a, *Sa'ili Matagi*, p. 141.

In this sense, language acts as an identity indicator for many, a view shared by Kim: "If we acknowledge that language is all about culture, it is not very difficult to imagine the suffocating hearts of the migrants who cannot join the mainstream culture completely."[50]

Kim's view for new migrant's ability to engage, participate and communicate effectively in the English language requires a fluent level of understanding and command of the language.

The inability to do so provokes a sense of doubt as to one's identity, feelings of shame and isolation for the migrant, from those who are more astute and confident in the ways of the Australian culture.

It is this shame feeling that drives the youth to actively continue to communicate the school language at home. This serves to prove they are well adapted to the host country.

2.1.4 Bringing Home the School Language

The homes in the survey using both the Samoan language and the English language have children either attending high school or older children who have completed their school, with no younger siblings in school.

In families with older children in high school and with younger siblings at home or in primary school, the erosion process takes hold much faster than families whose eldest children are just beginning at the primary school level with no older siblings in high school.

[50] K. Kim, K. "Lost in Translation". Theology. Sydney, Uniting Theological College. B.D. (2006)

Older siblings bring home the school language and use it to communicate with the younger siblings as expressed by Fillmore;

> "The children speak little or no English when they enter school, but they soon learn enough to get by. In that world, they quickly discover that the key to acceptance is English, and they learn it so they can take part in the social life of the classroom. And they take home what they have learned in school. All too often, English becomes their language of choice long before they know it well enough to express themselves fully in that language, and they use it both in school and at home".[51]

According to table 2.2, patterns of gradual language loss in the home depend on the influence of the school language that is brought home by the children. It is not a bad thing to learn English for it is necessary to move ahead educationally and socially. This is not uncommon as is the situation faced by migrants in many Western countries. Fillmore says that "in the United States with a diverse population, children from linguistic minority families must learn the language of society in order to take full advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the society."[52]

If the survey indications are correct this means by the time the fourth and fifth generation come into the picture, the situation may change dramatically with results pointing to no more Samoan language used in the Samoan homes.

The preference in using both the Samoan and English languages is a window which shows that at some point in time, one language will be subordinate as Filmore suggests is 'subtractive bilingualism'.

Suggestions from the information so far indicate majority or 64% of parish households are losing the ability to sustain the Samoan language at home which equates to culture loss as noted by Fishman who says:

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[51] Fillmore, "When Learning a Second Language Means Losing the First." p. 334.

[52] Ibid. p. 323.

> "The most important relationship between language and culture that gets to the heart of what is lost when you lose a language is that most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in the language. Take it away from the culture, and you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers. The culture could not be expressed and handed on in any other way. What would be left? When you are talking about the language, most of what you are talking about is the culture. That is, you are losing all those things that essentially are the way of life, the way of thought, the way of valuing, and the human reality that you are talking about."[53]

If the Samoan language fades then according to Fishman; Samoan culture does too. This is evident from the youth questioning the relevancy of the Samoan culture in their Australian existence which often explodes in a culture clash. This is noted by Kamu as he mentions that language deterioration equates to signs of culture destruction.[54]

2.1.4 Identity and culture clash

Samoan culture is evident in migrant churches as it served as a substitute for the village. This however is not perceived by the younger generations, as they understand the church to be a place for spiritual expression, not a place to feel connected to the mother land.

Culture is not defined by a specific word, but with many aspects that form a specific culture for a specific people, making it their culture. Church was the migrant's culture, a mirror of what the church means to Samoan migrants in New Zealand.[55]

Culture is created, purposeful, collective, transmitted by the people themselves from one generation to another. Culture is what holds a community together, and provides an organisational structure, direction and identity.[56]

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[53] Fishman, "Stabilizing Indigenous Languages, What Do You Lose When You Lose Your Language?".p. 72.

[54] Kamu, *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel*. p. 56.

[55] Lafoa'i, "Fa'amatai in Australia: Is It Fair Dinkum? E Maota Tau'ave Samoa." p. 13.

So what defines Samoan culture? What holds the Samoan community together, what gives it direction and identity? The one obvious answer is Christianity, or the church. As noted earlier, the Samoan society is governed by Christian values, and these values are what make Samoans unique in their culture, an element grafted into Samoan organisational structures by missionaries.[57]

Language is an important part of a culture, and is a vital aspect of Samoan culture recognised by early missionaries. The missionaries saw the Samoan language as the best avenue for spreading the Gospel and to understanding the Samoan people.[58]

Clashes occur between the migrant Samoan culture and younger generations brought up outside the traditional church culture.

This is noted by a few comments from the survey in the 'please leave a comment section'. One particular respondent wrote "church should be a place to worship God, not for people to worship one another". She refers to the '*alofa*'[59] and '*taulaga*'[60] practices which are often done in a competitive manner.[61]

Language and cultural barriers begin to form between parents and children because the understanding of the children differs from the parents; a typical example is the '*alofa'*. Parents see church donations as duty, where as the younger generations see it not as duty, but a financial burden as comments made in the survey hinted at the financial burden the CCCS put on their families.

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[56] Kamu, *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel*. p. 35.

[57] Ibid. p. 42.

[58] Ibid. p. 56.

[59] '*Taulaga'* is the monetary funds collected twice annually for the CCCS as a whole, with all monies being directed to the head office in Samoa. the numbers vary every year, but the collective amount from parishes both in Samoan and across the world add up to millions of dollars annually.

[60] '*Alofa'* is money collected from the parish for the minister to pay for his expenditures. The amount depends on the size of the congregations. In 2010 at the annual district meeting of South Sydney, the highest grossing minister received $95,000AUD in '*alofas'* in a single year.

[61] Ernst, *Winds of Change, Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the South Pacific*. p. 141.

As one youth expressed "some weeks my mum demands that I help out with the *alofa* because she doesn't have enough, and when I complain or say I can't afford to, she gets angry", a scenario that is echoed across the working youth in the church. In other words, parents place cultural duty to the church first, as where the children place family progress first, trying to balance the two. The balancing carries on to the identity of the younger generation, who identify with not only the Samoan culture but the Australian way as well.

Identity is not a simple synonym for expressing ones inner self, ones personality or soul; it has multiple meanings and aspects. Identity is fluid, it is not a static perception or something set in stone for all time, it shifts and changes and is always evolving. Identity means to identify with and implies a sense of belonging somewhere, to something.[62]

More often than not people tend to prioritise their identity and in doing so show a great deal of their cultural orientation. An example of this is given by Johnson who asked a group of mixed people the question 'who are you'. The typical Caucasian answer went like so: 'I am Joe (individual self), a professor, a husband and father, an American.' In contrast, the typical Pacific Islander response was: 'I am a Samoan, a member of my family, a husband, a father.' The example shows a typical Pacific Islander response of placing their cultural identity marker first followed by everything else that would describe them, where as Caucasians place the individual self first. This is a physical identity description, which describes the appearance of one's self to others.

One can have many identities or multiple identities in multicultural societies and are prone to a phenomenon called an 'identity crises', a situation of identity confusion.

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[62] Lydia F. Johnson, *Drinking from the Same Well, Cross-Cultural Concerns in Pastoral Care and Counseling* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2011). p. 39.

The Australian Samoan youth carry two identities, the one they live as an Australian and the one inherited from Samoan parents.

The consequence of such parental demands as in the '*alofa'* example, often leads to teenage rebellion and resentment against the *fa'aSamoa* and their parents which in turn will drive the youth to stay away from the church.[63]

Language is an important indicator of identity as it points to the cultural dimensions of one's self, as Simanu states *'E tatau ona fa'atauaina e tagata Samoa 'uma, ae maise a tatou fanau po'o tupulaga talavou, la tatou gagana ma a tatou aganu'u, auā 'o o tatou fa'ailoga va'aia (identity) ia...',* 'The Samoan people especially the youth have to place importance on the Samoan language (*gagana*) and culture (*aganu'u*) because this is our identity (*fa'ailoga va'aia*)' .[64]

When the youth were asked the question: 'Is the Samoan language important to you?' Ninety six percent of respondents indicated that the Samoan language is important to their identity and culture. The missing four percent think it is not relevant for them in regards to their identity.

In saying so, the overwhelming response from the youth of Liverpool pointed towards the importance of their Samoan identity, even though the Samoan language is noticeably absent from their identity.

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[63] David Pitt and Cluny Macpherson, *Emerging Pluralism, the Samoan Community in New Zealand* (Auckland, New Zealand Longman Paul Limited, 1974). p. 56.

[64] Aumua Mata'itusi Simanu, *'O Si Manu a Ali'i', a Text for the Advanced Study of the Samoan Language and Culture* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press/ Pasifika Press, 2002). p. 41.

2.2 Samoan Language

Kamu says language is a living expression of culture[65], and if so, what does the second and third generation use as an expression of culture if they do not speak the Samoan language?

The Samoan language is a stratified language, and has three main types in use. According to Aumua Mata'itusi Simanu there are three main registers of the Samoan language, the '*common'* spoken form which is used among friends, family and everyday life, the '*respect'* language and the '*ceremonial speech*/ *oratory'* uses.[66]

As noted, limitations of this paper restrict a thorough look into the Samoan language, so the common language is mostly discussed and it is the common language the younger generation find easier to understand.

2.2.1 Service/ Worship Language

As mentioned above, the Samoan language has three main uses, and a problem for many second and third generations is that the language used in sermons by ministers are of the chiefly '*matai'* sense which is only understood by the parents and older people. With Samoan oratory proverbs used to explain biblical themes and passages, it's no wonder the youth, second and third generation feel left out and neglected.

When asked what part of the church worship service they find most difficult to understand, the majority answered 'the sermon' above 'hymns', 'prayers' and 'church notices', as is shown below:

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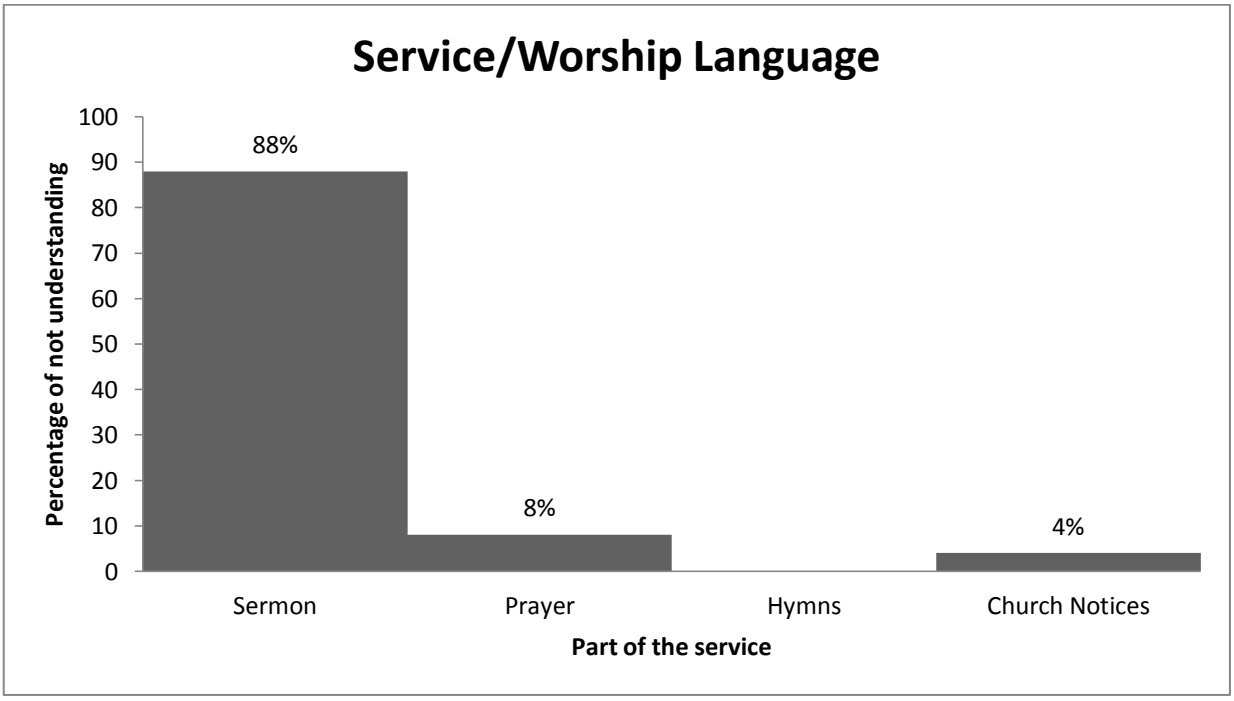
[65] Kamu, *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel*. p. 55.

[66] Simanu, *'O Si Manu a Ali'i', a Text for the Advanced Study of the Samoan Language and Culture*. p. 14.

Table 2. 4



According to the table above, 88% of the respondents felt that the sermon part of the service is the most difficult to understand. Of the 88%, all of them or 100% said it is due to the complicated language used in sermons that confuses them, that is the use of 'BIG' Samoan words, understood by only parents.

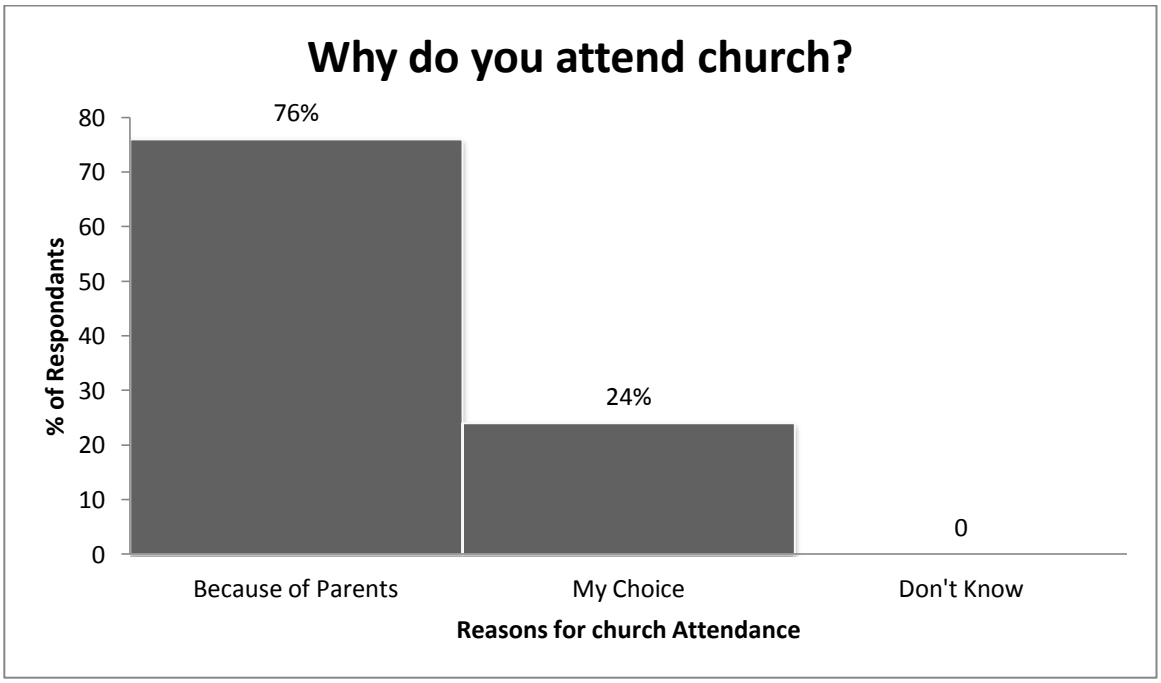
The 8% that do not understand prayer and the 4% with church notices all prescribed the same reasons as those who answered sermon. What does this say about the youth's active role in the service by listening and making their trip to church worthwhile? The results tell of a neglected people, whose lack in understanding of the basic Samoan language, is further hindered by the use of 'BIG' Samoan words. This demonstrates a segregated community within the Liverpool CCCS and dare I say, within most migrant CCCS parishes, a gap in generations so to speak.

A simple solution to this problem is to have at least some sort of English reflection for the youth to understand as practiced in the Mt Druitt parish in Sydney's western suburbs, with Rev. Elder Simeona Taefu stating "I always say a few words in English for the sake of the youth"[67]

2.2.2 Why even bother?

With not understanding the sermons and other parts of the service, the question is why do they even bother turning up to church? This is a question I have often heard from young people in the church. To answer this question the survey asked 'why do you attend church?

The response is tabled below:



The results from the survey as tabled above reflect much about Samoan obedience and respect for parents as dictated by Samoan culture and the fifth commandment.

The 76% of respondents that attend church because of their parents vary in ages, and of the 76%, 57% are over the age of 21 while 19% are still under legal guardian of

[67] This conversation took place at the Mt Druitt parish in January 2016.

their parents. Of the 57% over 21 years of age, 28% of them drive their own vehicle, 87% live with their parents and 100% say it is their duty to do what their parents want.

Of the 24% who say it is their own choice they attend church, 100% of these have parents who attend the church, are married, have children and do not live with their parents.

The high percentage of youth attending church because of their parents should be an alarm bell for the congregation and calls for a need to pay more attention to this group of people, because this will most likely lead to them leaving the church when parents are no longer around. Because they attend out of habit with no sense of belonging there, the future of these souls may be lost.[68] Are these people just waiting for the time when they have enough courage to move out of home so they don't have to follow their parents to church?

The fifth commandment of the Ten Commandments given to Moses may explain why Samoan children follow and obey their parents. It is true that this loyalty is also in the Samoan cultural protocol, but the bible has influenced and strengthened this belief in maintaining the children and parents relationship.

Verse 12 of Exodus chapter 20 has the fifth commandment; "Honour your father and mother, so your days may be long in the land that the Lord your God is giving you."[69]

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[68] John Bellamy Peter Kaldor, Ruth Powell, Merilyn Correy, Keith Castle, *Winds of Change: The Experience of Church in a Changing Australia* (Sydney, Australia: Lancer, 1994). p. 294.

[69] *Holy Bible, New Revised Standard Version Containing the Old and New Testaments*. p. 51.

Chapter 3

What Does All this Mean?

3.1 The results

Putting everything together from the data collected, the results point to a language erosion process happening and this phenomenon will see the Samoan language in the younger generations disappear in the space of a few generations.

The other important finding is that from a cultural perspective, language does not fade on its own. Culture and identity are also affected with language loss in one way or another.

The population of Liverpool parish is predominantly of the second and third generations which are an indication of strength and resilience on their part to follow through with the parent's church, but the question still remains of will they continue to do so?

Unfortunately, the results of this question are not very encouraging for Liverpool CCCS who at the moment seem healthy, but like a terminally ill patient, it is biding its time with first generation parents still having control of the younger generations in terms of Samoan cultural protocols.

So what can be done to keep the interests of the younger generations in the CCCS alive well after their parents have passed on?

3.2 The 'Boomerang Effect'

The boomerang is a hunting weapon used by the Indigenous Australians to hunt. Nowadays it is more of an iconic symbol for the Australian tourist market. It is a flat wooden object used as a throwing stick, ranging in sizes and is thrown vertically or horizontally. The objective of the boomerang is to come back to the one throwing it.[70]

I have called this part 'the boomerang effect' because it best describes the situation of the older second and third generations who are now parents themselves. The most interesting factor about this effect is that although second and third generations face language difficulties, they are the ones pushing their children to Sunday school and the church environment for the simple fact of trying to teach their children the values of the Samoan culture and to also learn the Samoan language.

A view shared by 'Alex' in a conversation stated 'I do not understand the Samoan language much, and being in my mid 30s, it is embarrassing'. He also went on to say 'I have 3 kids, and they know nothing about our Samoan heritage, culture and language. I can't give them that kind of knowledge because I myself have missed it from my parents. The only way to even things up and stay true to my Samoan roots, is to bring my kids to the place I know for sure will help them out'; referring to the church. Alex is not alone, and is the surprising turn of events that is generally happening to most second and third generation parents.

Called the boomerang effect, because second and third generation young parents grow up following parents to church. After which they leave the church scene for many reasons, one being lack of understanding, then sometime later will return to the church, a scenario that may hold a glimmer of hope for Liverpool CCCS.

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[70] "Birmingham to Burlington," in *The Encyclopedia Americana International Edition* (New York, New York: Americana Corporation, 1973). p. 256.

3.3 Why New Zealand models of sustaining language will not work in Sydney

New Zealand CCCS have many pre-schools on church grounds that aide in the revival of the Samoan language. These help further the younger generations in not only the language but in cultural and customary aspects also.

In Sydney however, the CCCS do not own property as do their sister church in N. Z so openly enjoy. Although there are a few parishes with their own property, I have yet to see a pre-school on any CCCS property in Sydney. This may be due to government's mandates and restrictions.

Sydney is very vast, the location of family homes in relation to the church site is often a fair distance. We live in Campbelltown, 30 minutes away from the parish on the free way. We live relatively close compared to others with the furthest being an hour each way.

I have mentioned the distance because there is importance in the *a'oga faife'au* or pastor school for maintaining Samoan language and culture. As the pastor schools were important in Samoa, they are valuable centres for the youth, unfortunately for the Liverpool parish; no one has the time or the comfort of living in close proximity to the church or the minister's house.

3.4 Worth a try

One good way to keep the youth interested in church is to have the church place importance on youth language and culture classes. An idea put forward by Brian T. Alofaituli in his thesis 'Language development curriculum within the Samoan Congregational Churches in Diaspora, where he set out to make the church a place for those wanting to develop and practice Samoan language and culture.[71]

[71] Brian T. Alofaituli, "Language Development Curriculum within the Samoan Congregationl Churches in Diaspora," Pacific Island Studies (Manoa, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i, 2011).

Conclusion

In conclusion, although the findings show relatively simple aspects of language loss and the implication it has for the migrant church, the important factor is that it is a call for concern.

The erosion of the Samoan language cannot be studied fully in this paper as it would need to span a few generations over several years. The fact is there is a process happening, whether this affects the church in the future is a fifty/fifty chance.

The main argument for the youth not going to continue the church tradition is the Samoan culture and the burden parents put on the younger generations.

The most interesting fact I have noted from this study, is the fact there is no congregation in Australia entirely made up of second and third generation Australian Samoans. In all congregations, the first generation migrant parent are still there, so will the story be of a happy ending or a sad one for Liverpool CCCS as they are made up of 64% of the younger generation? Only time will tell.

The language is eroding but does not necessarily mean the church does too, if the Liverpool CCCS focus on the youth.

The traditions of the CCCS are over 150 years old; the migrant church has the ability to continue with these traditions only if the younger generation are willing to. Migrant first generation parents will not be around to keep up the pressure to maintain the CCCS in Diaspora, so the onus is on everyone not only in the parent CCCS in Samoa, but globally to come up with solutions to better cater to and maintain the spirit of the CCCS in Diaspora. As for the CCCS Liverpool, well hopefully there is enough of the boomerang effect in the second and third generations to keep it alive and well.

Paul the Apostle in the letter first to the Corinthians chapter 14: 9-12 talks of people talking in tongues. Here Paul is speaking about murmurs and sounds that the people make when they are in worship, and I have looked at this passage from the standpoint of the younger generations as being at the same point. The youth see their parents and congregations as being filled with noises they do not fully understand and comprehend. When participating in the worship services on Sundays, all they hear are noises of the Samoan language. As Paul puts it in verse 11 of this chapter "if then I do not know the meaning of the sound, I will be a foreigner to the speaker and the speaker a foreigner to me."[72]

This serves to say that the youth are being more and more alienated from the services of the CCCS because of the language difficulties they are facing in the Sydney Australia landscape. It is not of their own fault they are having difficulties, but rather a combination of factors that are attributed to the migrant parents in the host nation that have excelled the processes of assimilation and conformity to the new land they call home.

To finish, in verse 12 of the passage, Paul urges the people to strive for spiritual gifts to build up the church, meaning that in order for the church to grow and be foundationally strong, there needs to be an effort from all parts of the church community to try and encourage, motivate and maintain the gifts from God. The Samoan language is a gift from God to the Samoan people, and if the Samoan church is to be strong and maintained in the foreign lands, there needs to be more of an effort on not only the church minister's part, but the important role the parents and families play in the lives of the younger Australian Samoan generations.

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[72] *Holy Bible, New Revised Standard Version Containing the Old and New Testaments*. p. 134.

Appendix A

Questionnaire/ Survey- Case study- E.F.K.S Liverpool

Focus – Connection between the Samoan Language and Australian-Samoans of the E.F.K.S in Sydney Australia. Will the language lead to diminishing numbers in the E.F.K.S?

Details:

Place of Birth:..... Age group: (circle) 13-19..... 20-40..... 40-60 Gender: Male/ Female

Are you: (circle) 1st/ 2nd/ 3rd/4th /5th - generation Australian Samoan?

Are you: Married/Single Number of Children? .....

Questions: (Please circle and comment where needed)

- Do you speak Samoan? Fluently/Average/Poor/Not at all
- Do you understand the Samoan language? Very well/Average/Poor/Not at all
- Is the Samoan language important to you? Yes-why/No-why not/Don't know
  .....
  .....
  .....
- Is the Samoan language relevant to you and your family? Yes/ No
- Do you understand the Church service in Samoan? Always /sometimes /not at all
- If there are parts of the Samoan service you do not understand, what are they?
  Please comment: The sermon in Samoan .....
  The hymns in Samoan .....
  The prayers in Samoan.....
  The Church notices in Samoan.....
  All of the above
  Anything else?
  .....

- Do you think the E.F.K.S should maintain the Samoan language and culture in Australia? Yes- why? No-Why not?.....
  .....
  .....
  .....
- In your opinion, how can the E.F.K.S better cater to those who do not use the Samoan language?.....
- Does your immediate family communicate in the Samoan language?
  All the time/ sometimes/ hardly ever/ not at all.
- Is the Samoan language relevant for your spirituality? If Yes- Why and How? / No-why not?
  .....
  .....
  .....
- Would you prefer the church service to be all in English? If Yes -Why/No -why not?/Other (like half and half)
  .....
  .....
  .....
- In your view, what changes would you like to make to your E.F.K.S in terms of the church service?
  .....
  .....
  .....
- Why do you attend the E.F.K.S church?
  .....
  .....
  .....
- How long have you been E.F.K.S? .....
- Will you remain/continue worshiping at the E.F.K.S in the near future?
  If Yes –why/No-why not

.....

.....

.....

- Would you change denomination because of language? Yes/ No
- Do you encourage using the Samoan language at home? Yes/ No
- Are you concerned about a generation of non-Samoan speaking Samoans? Yes/ No

- How would you promote more use of the Samoan language?

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.....

.....

.....

Comments: (Please feel free to comment on ways to improve the research, or simply add to the discussion)

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Thank you for your time and support

Sumeo Leota

Appendix B

Questions

- Is the Samoan language important to you and your family?
- Would you prefer the church service to be in English?
- Do you understand the church services in the Samoan language?
- Do you understand the Samoan culture?
- Is the culture in your EFKS too much? Not enough or Fair?
- Is culture important to you and your family?
- Do you support maintaining the Samoan language and culture?
- How do you maintain the Samoan language and culture in your family?
- Do you encourage your children to learn the Samoan language and culture?
- Does the EFKS meet your spiritual needs? Why/ why not?
- Do you see yourself in the EFKS when you have your own family?
- In your view, what changes would you like to make to your EFKS in terms of the service?
- Why do you attend the EFKS church?
- What in your opinion should the EFKS in Sydney change for its survival?

Interview questions:

- E tatau ona iai se suiga I le faaogaina o le gagana Samoa I le tapuaiga?
- O a ni faiga I sou manatu e ao ona fai e faamalieina ai le ola tapua'I o tupulaga?
- E te auai I le manatu e taua le gagana ma le aganuu faasamoa mo le lotu?
- O se faafitauli le gagana Samoa mo le tupulaga?
- O e popole I le tulaga ua iai le tupulaga ma le gagana Samoa?
- E te auai I le faamalosia o le gagana Samoa mo tupulaga?
- E taua le aganuu Samoa mo le lotu?

Glossary

Ai	Eat
Aganu'u	Culture/ custom
Alofa	Love donation for the church minister/pastor
A'oga amata	Pre-school
Aua	Don't
Fa'aSamoa	Samoan way
Fa'ailoga va'aia	Identity
Gagana	Language
Inu	Drink
Matai	Chief
Matafales	Registered church family
Matafale fesoasoani	Helping unregistered church family
Moe	Sleep
Pi-tautau	Hanging alphabet
Sasa	Smack
Sini Sasa'e	East Sydney District
Taulaga	Offering/ Tithing
Tauloto	Off by heart/ memorise/learn

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Interviews

All interviews were conducted in the form of casual conversations, not formal interviews

Casual conversation with Church minister of Liverpool CCCS, Rev. Fa'atamali'i Tanielu on the 14th of December 2015.

Conversation with Sasalu Matavao, a decon for at Liverpool CCCS, conversations throughout the period 24th December and 30th December 2015.

Alex Wright, Father and church member of the Liverpool CCCS on the 24th December 2015.

Conversation with Reverend Elder of Mt Druit CCCS at the Mt Druit Parish on the 24th Janurary 2016.

Conversations with second generation mothers of the Liverpool Parish:

Fia'alii Tuilelagi Tanumoa Anae Chan Sau, Mauupu Fiu Anae, Elisapeta Anae, Fale Alesana, from the periods 18th December 2015 to 26th January 2016.