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Talking Story:
The Militarization of Guåhan and Flows of Information
in Chamoru Systems of Knowledge

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Abstract

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This dissertation is a local, specific study on the Chamorro language policies of Guam. Scholars have noted since the beginning of the American occupation that the Indigenous Chamorro language of Guam is dying and is in danger of becoming extinct within the next generation. As the hub of American military presence in the Asia Pacific region, the island of Guam is a major site of increasing militarization. This study asked: What does it mean that the Chamorro language of Guam is dying in the wake of increasing militarization in Guam? The objective of this study was to understand the impact of and response to militarization in Guam on Chamoru Systems of Knowledge through language policies. The threefold purpose of this study to accomplish this was:

- 1) to examine historical documents and research for evidence of formal and

informal information policies implemented by the U.S. military on Indigenous people in Guam to understand how their existing IKS was affected; 2) to examine current formal and informal information policies to understand the existing efforts aimed at reversing the impact of historic policies; and 3) to interview individuals to understand the impact of and response to these policies on access to and flow of cultural information.

The overarching question guiding this study was: What is the relationship between militarization in Guam and the flow of information within the Chamoru Indigenous Knowledge System? To address this question, the following research questions were investigated:

RQ1: What formal and informal language policies were historically implemented in Guam under colonial rule?

- a. Who implemented these policies?
- b. How were these policies enforced?
- c. What were the intended outcomes of these policies?

RQ2: What formal and informal language policies currently exist in Guam?

- a. Who implemented these policies?
- b. How were these policies enforced?
- c. What were the intended outcomes of these policies?

RQ3: How has militarization affected these policies in Guam?

RQ4: How have these policies affected the flow of information in the Indigenous Knowledge System in Guam?

RQ5: How have the Indigenous Chamorro people responded to these policies?

This dissertation is a study of language policies as information policies and the myths that shaped the beliefs, attitudes, and practices of the Chamorro people of Guåhan as expressed through stories by the Chamoru Manåmko', or elders. Inafa'maolek, the concept of Chamorro relationality grounded this study and utilized Talking Story, the Pacific Islander method of communicating and sharing information, for data gathering.

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DEDICATION

To my Grandmother, Lucille Crisostomo Gogo, who sparked the questions that would eventually lead to this dissertation. Saina Ma'åse, Mama Ching.

I. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a study of language policies as information policies and the myths that shaped the beliefs, attitudes, and practices of the Chamorro people of Guåhan (Guam)¹ as expressed through stories by the Chamoru Manåmko', or elders. Inafa'maolek, the concept of Chamorro relationality (Cunningham, 1992; Hattori, Camacho, Manibusan, Sablan, & Sasaki, 1998; Perez-Iyechad, 2009; R. A. Underwood, 2014a), grounded this study and informed my decision to describe and use Talking Story, the Pacific Islander method of communicating and sharing information, for data gathering.

As my dissertation process comes to a close, it is fitting that I have returned home to Guåhan to finalize this document as the island is hosting the 2016 Festival of the Pacific Arts (FestPac)². Before I left Guam, my understanding of the world outside of the island came primarily in the form of

¹ Guåhan, meaning "we have," is the Chamoru spelling for Guam. The word Guam is commonly understood to have been a mispronunciation of Guåhan. This study utilizes both words interchangeably.

² FestPac is the largest event in Oceania celebrating Pacific Island arts and culture. Delegates representing the various Pacific Island nations gather to showcase their traditions and to share knowledge and information. FestPac is held once every four years and rotates through Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. The 10th FestPac 2008 was held in American Samoa (Polynesia), 11th FestPac 2012 was held in the Solomon Islands (Melanesia), and the 12th FestPac 2016 is currently being hosted in Guam (Micronesia). The 13th FestPac will be held in Hawaii (Polynesia) in 2020, and the 14th FestPac will be held in Fiji (Melanesia) in 2024.

stories and admonitions by Mañaina³, friends, and the highly-filtered print and televised news. There was a sense that going off island and gaining a Western education was contrary to the Chamoru way of life and that this process⁴ would somehow break the connection between a Chamorrita⁵ and her cultural roots. This sense has historic underpinnings that I was not really cognizant of before I began this dissertation process⁶. Now, in closing, I end where I began with the motivation for undertaking this study in the form of five stories.

Five Stories: Motivation for this Study

The motivation for this study has at its center degrees of awakenings that occurred after a series of pivotal moments in my understanding of what was felt but could not be articulated. That is, at least not without study into a conversation that I, and most Indigenous peoples I think, had not been privy to outside of academia. In my journey to understand and investigate the problem

³ Plural form of *saina* referring to parents but also used to indicate respected elders particularly relatives. Commonly in Chamoru relationality, genealogy extends beyond blood relations, and this term is used contemporarily to refer in general to those considered to be highly-respected elders.

⁴ Indeed, the PhD process itself is antithetical to cultural norms of Chamoru ways of knowing.

⁵ *Chamorrita* is the term for a female Chamorro. A male Chamorro is called a *Chamorrito*. Under the new orthography, there are variations in spelling, and these terms are also spelled *Chamorita* and *Chamoritu*.

⁶ I attribute my critical thinking and academic development to IIRG, the Indigenous Information Research Group, and the many conversations with my IIRG advisor Dr. Cheryl Metoyer and my IIRG colleagues Dr. Marisa Duarte, Dr. Miranda Belarde-Lewis, Ally Krebs, Sandy Littletree, and Juan Carlos Chavez.

as I saw it and the questions I was led to, I had ultimately come around full circle. So, at the close of this dissertation process, I begin at the beginning of my journey. Reflecting back on the awakenings that led me here, are five stories that span much of my life and consciousness.

I Amot: Because You Don't Know Your Language

It is customary in the Chamorro tradition for the elder women to mentor the young girls. My grandmother, Lucille Crisostomo Gogo⁷, was the Maga'håga⁸, eldest and head female, of our family the Makin Gogo clan. She had 15 children, all but two of whom had families of their own⁹. In the 1970s, as was the custom, I along with the other eldest female cousins from each family, would stay with my grandmother at her house in the village of Sinahånña¹⁰. Grandma Gogo taught us our responsibilities, and we, in turn, provided extra help around the house for her. There was always a steady stream of visitors at the Sinahånña house, so Grandma Gogo constantly had

⁷ Lucille Crisostomo Gogo was born on May 8, 1918. She was well known in the village of Sinahånña to some as Mama Ching and to others as Lucia, the one with the house on the hill.

⁸ Under the caste system in Guam, Maga'håga referred to the first-born or eldest female clan leader and was a title that was passed down through matrilineal lineage (Marsh, n.d.). The Maga'håga was also the authority over familial lands.

⁹ John Crisostomo Gogo died as a young child, and Ignacio Gogo had no children.

¹⁰ Sinahånña is noted to have been one of the ancient Chamorro villages in existence prior to the Spanish occupation of Guam.

food cooking all day long just in case. She ran an efficient Sakman¹¹, Chamorro ocean-going canoe, and was the center support for a system that made the family go. Weekday preparations began early at 4AM preparing meals for her sons¹² who were either in the military or else in civilian support positions for the military. After the morning preparations were done, we would all get ready and walk to St. Jude, the Sinahãña Church, for mass and whatever events happened to be going on that day. Everything happened at the Church, and we were there just about everyday.

So, it was a special moment when one morning Grandma Gogo directed me to get ready so that just the two of us could go pick plants to make I Amot, the medicine. My grandmother had but a fifth-grade education,¹³ yet she knew

¹¹ Maritime visitors to Guam were amazed at the speed and maneuverability of the Chamorro canoes. Gliding above the water, they called the canoes Flying Proas. There are two types of Chamorro canoes: the galaide was the smaller vessel used for short trips, and the sakman was the larger vessel used for long, ocean-going trips. The Chamorro seafaring tradition was prohibited during the Spanish occupation of Guam when all canoes were burned or destroyed. Thus, the Chamorro seafaring tradition was lost. Currently, there are various efforts in Guam to revitalize this tradition. Ironically, this process involves reconstructing the seafaring tradition using the knowledge that other islands gained from Guam and still continue to practice today.

¹² After my grandfather Ignacio Gogo died, most of their remaining sons assumed the responsibilities of supporting my grandmother and providing for the house needs. Grandpa Gogo was honored by the U.S. Navy as a police officer for his support of the Naval-administered Government of Guam. Of the five sons who lived to adulthood, three were U.S. military veterans, one had a hearing disability but served in a civilian capacity in support of the military, and one only one son did not work in or for the military.

¹³ When Spain ceded Guam to the United States in 1898, the U.S. Navy assumed control of the island and administered the government of Guam and the public education system. The Navy was highly preoccupied with immediately eradicating the Spanish language from administrative affairs. As part of this campaign, they were also determined to ensure that all young Chamorro

about the local plants and their medicinal properties. This medicinal knowledge was taught to her not in school but by her elders. As we walked along the street, she described in her mix of Chamorro with broken English what type of plants we needed to find. I, being very young and eager to impress my grandmother, immediately ran off and plucked a small plant. Holding it up to her, I asked, "This one, Grandma? This one?" To which she shook her head and replied, "No, not that one." She then explained what she needed and why that plant wasn't the one. So, off I ran and again plucked another plant and held it up, "This one, Grandma? This one?" To which she again replied, "No, adai, not that one." Again, Grandma Gogo patiently attempted to describe what she was looking for. Finally, after this had gone on for long enough, I asked once again, "This one, Grandma? This one?" To which my Grandmother shook her head yet again and replied, exasperated, "Ai, no, adai! Not that one! You see, nai? It's because you don't know your language."¹⁴

learned English in school. Yet, early on, the Navy met with resistance in enforcing compliance with school attendance, English language learning, and English language teaching. Once girls reached a certain age, if the case could be made for why they were needed to help at home, they could be allowed to quit school. This was the case for my grandmother whose family pulled her out of school in the 5th grade.

¹⁴ While this particular story is unique to my experience, it is a typical example that indicates the state of the Chamorro language. From the literate Chamorro-only-speaking generation of my grandmother's era, to the Chamorro and English literate generation of her children in my mother's generation, to the English-speaking grandchildren in my generation, an extreme break in the language can be observed.

On Competitiveness

Growing up, I often observed that the adults spoke in Chamorro whenever they wanted to converse in front of the children but not be understood. Because of this, Chamorro took on the status of a secret language for me.¹⁵ I thought that I, too, would one day know that secret language as an adult when I, in turn, would need to speak but not be understood by the uninvited. Speaking Chamorro would mean I was an adult doing important things. But, this was not to be. I had but one Chamorro language class at Agueda Johnston Middle School. In contrast, I had English classes every year throughout my entire primary and secondary education. Also, at that time, neighboring Japan was booming economically and supplied a steady stream of tourists to the island. Since Japanese tourism was the major industry in Guam, I learned to read, write, and speak in Japanese. Japanese was an important language in the new economy, and it became my second language to English¹⁶. Later, I asked my mother why she never taught me Chamorro. She

¹⁵ This was an unfortunate benefit of the English and Chamorro language policies.

¹⁶ It wasn't until many years later that I would become aware of the arguments against teaching Chamorro language to children that became widely disseminated. One major argument was that teaching children Chamorro at the same time they were trying to learn English would be too confusing and would impede their ability to learn English properly.

was somewhat surprised at the question, but recognizing the implication, she replied, “It was because I wanted you to be competitive.”¹⁷

What You Know

By the time I reached the fifth grade, I realized my mother could no longer help me with my math homework because, as she put it, “I don’t know...they never taught me that kind of math.” My mother was a member of the first graduating class of nurses in 1968 at the University of Guam¹⁸ and was a professional nurse supervisor, so I was rather proud of the fact that my math skills surpassed those of a college graduate.

As usual, as I progressed through my primary education at Tamuning Elementary School, I continued to spend my off time at Grandma Gogo’s house in Sinahãña. There, I would also use my skills to read my Uncle his mail because he had never learned how to read. One day, I excitedly reported to my grandmother all of the new and interesting things I was learning in school. Grandma Gogo was always proud to see her grandchildren excel, and she was usually so eager to know more about what we were learning. So, I was stunned into silence when on this one day she admonished me with, “What [do] you

¹⁷ The prevailing attitude was common at this time: English was the language needed to be successful in Guam.

¹⁸ She was also the first to graduate from college in her family of 15 siblings.

know? What [do] you know if you don't know your language?"¹⁹ This question perplexed me and planted a seed that would require much more growth and maturity than I was ready for at the time to comprehend.

Old Information

By the time I got to John F. Kennedy High School, my peers and I had become extremely highly-competitive and successful students²⁰. We excelled in honors courses in English, math, physics, and chemistry. One day, during Honors Physics with Mr. Kaufman, a Caucasian American stationed in Guam as a member of the U.S. Coast Guard, the class was particularly restless and rowdy. This was the time when most of us were applying to colleges²¹, and we were giddy with anticipation about the exciting future in store for us. But when the class wouldn't settle down, Mr. Kaufman marched up to the center of the classroom, slammed down the thick physics textbook on a lab desk, and said, "You guys think you're all that because you're in honors courses. Well, let me

¹⁹ The pressures and policies surrounding language at this time compelled the Chamorro to take certain actions to ensure the young children were successful in the new society of Guam. In my family, as was common for many other families, my mother insisted that her children were to speak English first, and, in many cases, solely. The Manâmkok' at this time must have understood the deep implications of rapid and severe language loss that they witnessed within their particular households. My grandmother's reaction to knowledge gained from school in the face of the Chamorro language demise was likely very common for the Manâmkok'.

²⁰ The class of 1988 would be the largest graduating class in the history of John F. Kennedy High School in Guam up to that point.

²¹ The University of Guam was listed as non-competitive in the four-year college books at that time, and the notion of competitiveness compelled many of us to apply to colleges off island.

tell you something. You're in for a ru-u-u-de awakening." This caught our attention and quieted the class down. "You'll see. When you get to the states, you'll be nothing but a 'C' student." Some of us shifted uncomfortably at this prospect, and others became defensive and nervously defiant. Mr. Kaufman continued, "The textbooks you guys get? They're 10 years old. These are the textbooks that all the other schools in the states are throwing away. That's right. You're getting old information."²²

Mit²³ for Orange

In the evenings, my grandmother often stood outside watering her plants, silently contemplating or sometimes observing the clouds and predicting storms. On one such evening outside with my grandmother, as she watered her plants, she told me a story of the funniest exchange she had once witnessed. An American²⁴ stopped at a Chamorro vendor who was selling fruit from his family ranch. The American asked the vendor how much the oranges cost.

²² The discourse around old, ancient, and obsolete information also attributed to Indigenous peoples and their knowledges stands in contrast to discourses around old, established information attributed to the heroic giants upon whose shoulders the wise should stand and upon which knowledge is built. On the one hand, relying on vetted and reviewed scholarly information is understood to be "standing on the shoulders of giants" while relying on vetted and practiced Indigenous knowledge for the Chamorro was discursively understood as "going backwards" or existing in the past.

²³ Mit in the Chamorro numbers derived from Spanish means one thousand.

²⁴ Although the Chamorro people of Guam are American citizens, this status was not granted until 1950. Even so, it is still customary today to use the term American to refer to those who are White American.

Upon hearing the reply, he said, “I give you meat for orange,”²⁵ to which the Chamorro vendor, incredulous, waved his hands frantically at the American, refusing the offer. When the American insisted, the Chamorro vendor became even more agitated at such a ridiculous offer. No, never mind, the vendor insisted to the kaduku²⁶ American, just take the oranges and go. “Mit for orange,” my grandmother explained, laughing harder than I’d ever seen her laugh before. I didn’t get it, “meat for orange.” Sounded like a fair trade to me.

Each of these five stories highlighted important concepts for the Chamorro language and Chamoru Indigenous Knowledge System in Guam. *I Amot* demonstrates the impact of language on the ability to transfer knowledge from one generation to the next in an oral tradition. *On Competitiveness* speaks to the mother’s role relative to the Chamorro language, the modernization project in Guam, and the competing ideals of individualism²⁷. *What You Know* is the expression of frustration at this disruption in language and knowledge transfer between the Manåmko’ and the youth. *Old Information* is the process that devalues some knowledge through discourse by categorizing information as “old” and “useless.” *Mit for Orange* illustrates what a disruption in the flow of information through language means in relationships: the old and the young

²⁵ Bartering was a regular occurrence and a normal expectation in Guam during this time.

²⁶ Chamorro word meaning crazy.

²⁷ For the community-oriented Chamorro, individualism was a very foreign and dangerous Western concept. A general mistrust existed of those who embraced the ideals of individualism.

are unable to relate to each other. When even the simplest of interactions such as telling a funny story do not elicit the intended reaction, a communication breakdown has occurred. At the family level, this break in communication between the elder Chamorro and the youth will mean that the stories the elders have to share will end with them. This would be the final and most devastating blow to the intergenerational flow of information linking the ancient with the new. All of these stories revolved around issues of the Chamorro language and led to the motivation for this study.

Statement of the Problem

This study examines a problem that has been the concern of several scholars since the beginning of the American occupation of Guam: The Chamorro language of Guam is dying and, if left unmitigated, is in danger of becoming extinct within the next generation (Mühlhäusler, 1996; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Topping, Ogo, & Dungca, 1975). While Guam lies in proximity to neighboring Chamorro-speaking islands within the Marianas archipelago, Guam is unique in this issue of language demise. The other Mariana homelands of the Chamorro people are distinct from Guam because in those islands the Chamorro language remains intact and in general use amongst young and old alike.

Justification of Research

The intergenerational flow of information between the Chamoru²⁸ elders and youth in Guam was significantly disrupted under historic military policies specific to the island. Those authoritative historic policies prohibiting the Chamorro language have since been either formally revoked or otherwise rescinded. Theoretically, these actions should address the prediction by researchers that the Chamorro language of Guam will go extinct within a generation if the declining trend is left unmitigated. In fact, Chamoru elders in Guam can often be heard speaking the language today and young children are required to learn Chamorro in the public schools. Yet, a major disconnect still exists between the generations where the Chamorro language is concerned, and various reasons have been used to rationalize this condition.

In particular, schools had been previously identified as primary sites of acculturation in the minds of many Chamorro people, scholars, and activists. This resulted in language revitalization policies directed towards schools; however, it had become increasingly apparent that policies mandating language courses in public schools alone were not able to adequately address the issue of language decline. Today, prominent scholars in Guam continue to debate the role of schools in this trend, and though they may not agree on solutions, they

²⁸ Chamoru is a variation on the spelling of Chamorro under the new orthography. Adopting this spelling was particularly contentious for the Chamorro people when it was first introduced. This spelling is used particularly by activist groups in Guam advocating for Chamoru rights.

do appear to agree on one critical issue and the focus of this study: that more research is needed on the role of the military and language policies in Guam.

In order to undertake this type of study, it is important to recognize the complexity of the context behind Indigenous peoples, Indigenous Knowledge Systems²⁹, and their histories. The Indigenous identity by default assumes particular political, economic, and social issues and stances in opposition to discourses rooted by historically colonial underpinnings. The field of Information Science grounded in information theories, flows of information, and knowledge systems can contribute to this discourse through critical research focusing on Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Indigenous languages, and the information policies formed by their broader contextual relationships. To date, however, little to no literature exists at this significant intersection in the field. As an Information Scientist, this dissertation aimed to address the gap in the Information Science literature and discourse through investigating: What does it mean that the Chamorro language of Guam is dying? More specifically, what does it mean that the Chamorro language of Guam is dying in the wake of increasing militarization in Guam?

²⁹ A note on the use of Indigenous Knowledge Systems vs. Indigenous Systems of Knowledge. Throughout this dissertation, I use these terms interchangeably. While some researchers focus on the content gained from the knowledge of Indigenous peoples that can be stored within some type of information system, this definition implies the problematic extraction of knowledge from Indigenous peoples and the placing of that information within a database or other storage system for access by others. In contrast, I define both of these terms with an emphasis on knowledge systems informed by Indigenous epistemologies regardless of content.

This dissertation, then, begins with an overview of the colonial history of Guam and the Chamorro people. In doing so, the reader can gain a perspective on the nature and significance of the broader environment impacting Indigenous Systems of Knowledge and issues affecting flows of information specific to the Chamorro people of Guam.

Historical Context

Guam is known to many by two familiar slogans that are promoted and perpetuated through commercial merchandising on the island: “Guam: Where America’s Day Begins,” and “Guam: Tip of the Spear.” The first slogan, “Guam: Where America’s Day Begins,” indicates Guam’s geographic position relative to the North American continent. As an unincorporated territory of the United States, Guam is considered American soil even though it sits far across the world in a region called Oceania³⁰ and shares no contiguous land borders with the North American continent. The first piece of American-owned soil to see the sun rise daily, former Congressman Dr. Robert Underwood even had a special time zone designated in 2000 just for Guam known as the Chamorro Standard

³⁰ Oceania is an area in the Pacific that encompasses the regions known as Micronesia (small islands), Melanesia (black islands), and Polynesia (many islands). Different definitions of Oceania include other regions such as Australia, Aotearoa (New Zealand), and Papua New Guinea, and more. It should be noted that the designations of Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia were arbitrary and are largely antiquated terms. As Oceanic peoples, Pacific Islander notions of space included the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean as well as the physical land masses of the islands within this space.

Time Zone (United States., 2000; United States. Office of the Federal Register, 2003, p. 49).

The second slogan, “Guam: Tip of the Spear,” refers to Guam’s strategic importance for the American armed forces in the Asia-Pacific region as part of the U.S. Pacific Command (USPACOM). As an American territory, the military bases on Guam serve as the forward-facing stronghold of U.S. military might against threats from Asia in the Pacific and are central to the Department of Defense plans for rebalancing military forces in the Pacific (Pallerin, 2014).

These two slogans aside, most who are familiar with Guam understand its general history in these very broad strokes: The Chamorro were a seafaring people with a historically oral tradition. The Chamorro people have inhabited the island of Guam since approximately 2000 B.C. They flourished for 3500 years prior to first contact with outsiders from Spain in 1521. In 1565, 40 years after first contact, Spain declared Guam a possession. 100 years later, in 1668, Spain formally occupied Guam. After 300 years under Spanish rule, Spain ceded Guam to the United States under the Treaty of Paris in 1898. During WWII, Japan invaded and occupied Guam from 1941-1944. Guam was liberated from Japan by American forces on July 21, 1944³¹. Finally, in 1950,

³¹ While Guam celebrates Liberation Day on July 21st, technically, this day represents the date that American forces landed in Guam to retake the island. Guam was officially liberated from Japan by American forces on August 10, 1944.

the Organic Act of Guam was passed, granting the people of Guam American citizenship.

Such a broad sweep as this, however, obscures the issues of the Chamorro people and their participation and positions in this history. In taking a step back and placing the people in context, we can see the long pattern that has developed over time under colonial occupation impacting knowledge and information flow for the Chamorro people. Early documentation by visitors described the Chamorro as a thriving society structured under a hierarchical clan system that was matrilineal based. The Chamorro people inhabited the chain running north to south now called the Mariana Islands. According to current prevailing theories on the peopling of the Pacific, the Chamorro, were the first peoples to settle in the Pacific Islands of the western Oceania region³². They were noted to be multilingual, speaking the languages of and engaging in regular trade and communication with neighboring Pacific Islands. The Chamorro, as the first to people the Pacific (Gibbons, 2001), were also the first of the Pacific Islanders to have been occupied, and, thus, have the unfortunate distinction of having been occupied for the longest duration amongst all other Pacific Islands in Oceania (Kirch, 2010). Indeed, it is a testament to the resilience of a people that the Chamorro culture survived at all under such a long history of colonization and occupation.

³² The area in the eastern Oceania region of Polynesia were the last of the Pacific Islands to be inhabited.

The Mariana Islands, which Guam belongs to, is an island chain in Micronesia. In 1668, the 15-island archipelago was officially named “La Islas Marianas” after Queen Mariana of Austria³³. It had also been nicknamed Isla de los Ladrones, or Island of Thieves, as a result of a devastatingly violent cultural misunderstanding between the Spanish and Chamorro. This Spanish moniker even persisted later in the documents and discussions within the American occupation of Guam. It was also under this Spanish occupation that the Chamorro people throughout the Mariana Islands were rounded up and concentrated in Guam in order to better control them (Spoehr, 1954). At that time, critical Chamoru seafaring and cultural practices were banned to facilitate Spanish control. Currently, only 4 of the 15 islands are considered officially inhabited.

³³ Queen Mariana, born Maria Anna, was the second wife to her maternal uncle Phillip IV (W. E. Safford, 1902, p. 722). Interested in converting the Chamoru people to Catholicism, she founded a college to educate the Chamoru youth with an endowment that continued until Guam was seized by the United States (W. E. Safford, 1902, p. 722; United States. Adjutant-General’s Office. Military Information Division, 1900, p. 18). In his survey of the island, Wheeler noted that since the overthrow of Spain in Manila in 1898, the allocation of these funds has remained in question, and he recommended an inquiry into this (United States. Adjutant-General’s Office. Military Information Division, 1900, p. 18).

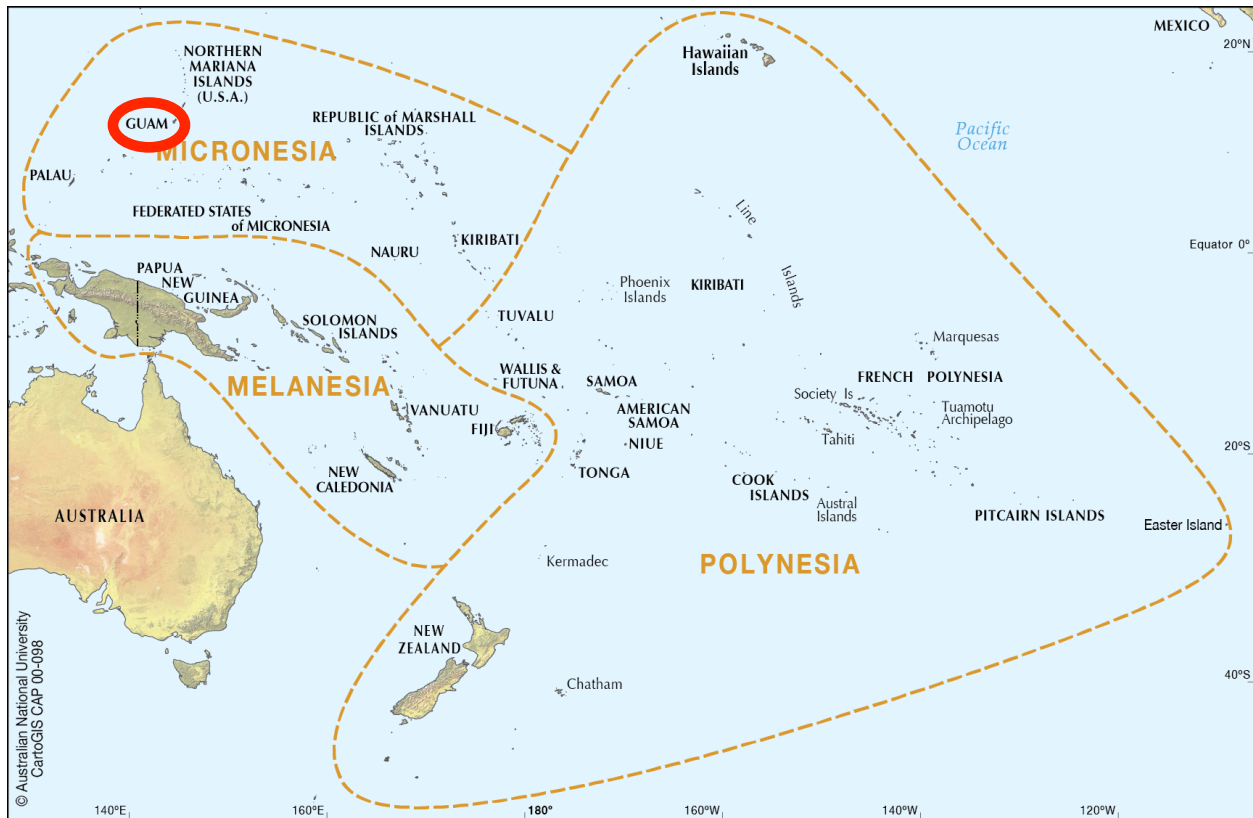


Figure 1. Map of Oceania

Today, for historical and political reasons, the Mariana Islands are separated into two politically distinct regions. Guam, the largest of the Mariana Islands, lies in the south of the archipelago and remains an unincorporated territory of the United States. The remaining islands north of Guam form what is now known as the CNMI, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. The Indigenous Chamorro are native to all of the Mariana Islands, and though the island of Saipan had recently reported for the first time in its history a decline in the number of youth speaking Chamorro, it is only the Chamorro language of Guam that was specifically identified as being in danger of going extinct (Mühlhäusler, 1996; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Topping et al., 1975). This difference may be attributed to what followed after the Treaty of

Paris in 1898. Under the Treaty of Paris, Guam was ceded to the United States while the rest of the Mariana Islands were ceded to Germany. For the most part, Germany did not interfere with the cultural matters of its new Northern Mariana Islands possession; however, the Chamorro in Guam were not so fortunate in their new relationship with the United States.

Following the Treaty of Paris, the duration of Guam history between 1898-1950 has been designated as the Americanization period. When the U.S. Navy first took ownership of Guam, the entire island was declared a military base. Invoking the policy of eminent domain, the military administration seized familial lands that had been passed down through Chamorro families for generations.³⁴ Over time, U.S. military occupation of the land was reduced from 100% to 50%, then 40% of the island. In 1950, the Organic Act of Guam was implemented transferring Naval administration of the island to the Government of Guam.³⁵ Still, today, U.S. military bases occupy approximately 30% of the island's most pristine and prime land use areas, and with the perceived increasing threat coming from hostile nations in Asia, attempts are being made to, once again, further increase the military land occupation of Guam.

³⁴ Much of my grandmother's family land was subject to eminent domain as were the lands of many Chamorro families. Through stories told within my family, scandalous and nefarious methods were used to persuade Chamorro men, the recognized heads of household, to sell or otherwise give up their family lands.

³⁵ While the Government of Guam administers local affairs on the island, Guam is still an unincorporated U.S. territory; therefore, Federal matters regarding Guam are the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of Interior.

Language, as the often-contested site of culture, is critical to understanding the issues of militarization in Guam for the Chamorro people. From the outset of the U.S. Naval Administration in Guam, the Chamorro language was identified as an obstacle to progress via assimilation and had, therefore, become a target. This study provides an overview of the historic impact to the Chamorro people and their traditions through understanding language policies originating from the U.S. military occupation of Guam and examines the response of the Chamorro people in the wake of current increasing militarization in Guam.

Research Objective

This dissertation is a local, specific study on the Chamorro language policies of Guam. The research objective of this study is to understand the impact of and response to militarization in Guam on Chamoru Systems of Knowledge through language policies. The broader objective of this research is to contribute to the small, yet developing body of work on information policies and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in the field of Information Science.

Purpose of the Study

The threefold purpose of this study to accomplish this was: 1) to examine historical documents and research for evidence of formal and informal information policies implemented by the U.S. military on Indigenous people in Guam to understand how their existing IKS was affected; 2) to examine current

formal and informal information policies to understand the existing efforts aimed at reversing the impact of historic policies; and 3) to interview individuals to understand the impact of and response to these policies on access to and flow of cultural information.

Research Questions

The overarching question guiding this study was: What is the relationship between militarization in Guam and the flow of information within the Chamoru Indigenous Knowledge System? To address this question, the following research questions were investigated:

RQ1: What formal and informal language policies were historically implemented in Guam under colonial rule?

- d. Who implemented these policies?
- e. How were these policies enforced?
- f. What were the intended outcomes of these policies?

RQ2: What formal and informal language policies currently exist in Guam?

- d. Who implemented these policies?
- e. How were these policies enforced?
- f. What were the intended outcomes of these policies?

RQ3: How has militarization affected these policies in Guam?

RQ4: How have these policies affected the flow of information in the Indigenous Knowledge System in Guam?

RQ5: How have the Indigenous Chamorro people responded to these policies?

Organization of this Document

Chapter 1: Introduction describes the motivation of this study in five pivotal stories describing the series of awakenings over the time leading up to this dissertation. The motivation, research problem, justification, research questions, and historical context are then outlined.

Chapter 2: Towards an Indigenous Framework conceptualizes the concepts and gaps identified from the literature review through a Pacific Islander perspective specific to Guam and the Chamorro people. Inafa'maolek and Talking Story are described. This chapter explores the intersection of the domains of Indigenous Knowledge Systems, decolonizing methodologies, and flows of information. Starting from a broad discussion of Indigenous Knowledge Systems, the discussion then focuses on Indigenous Systems of Knowledge specific to Pacific Islander epistemologies. Decolonizing methodologies are described and particular methods identified for this study. Finally, language policies are framed as information policies and flows of information are described.

Chapter 3: Data and Findings explains the use of Talking Story with the Manãmkö' in Guam and the collection of historical and other data. This

chapter describes the results of the historical data and the Talking Story with Manâmkö' data gathering process in Guam. Perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes from the data are identified. Finally, Documenting Chamorro traces the development of the English versions of Chamorro dictionaries in Guam. Myths identified from data in Findings and Insights are highlighted in this process.

Chapter 4: Analysis and Discussion culminates the study, describes the significance of this work and future work in information policies and Indigenous Knowledge Systems.

The remaining sections of this document are: Chapter 5: Conclusion, Chapter 6: Appendix, Chapter 7: References, and Chapter 8: Glossary of Terms.

II. TOWARDS AN INDIGENIST FRAMEWORK

The Literature Review

As an information scientist, a major difficulty in undertaking this particular dissertation study was the absence of relevant literature within the field of information science. A review of the literature in the field of Information Science revealed major gaps at the intersection of information policies and flows of information for Indigenous Systems of Knowledge. To date, few researchers have even theorized the concept of information in the field specific to Indigenous Knowledge. This gap was highlighted by the Indigenous Information Research Group led by Dr. Cheryl Metoyer articulating Information as a critical analytic (Belarde-Lewis, Day, Duarte, & Krebs, 2011). As a result of this dearth in the literature, this study drew from three domains to form the basis of this research: Decolonizing Methodologies (Indigenous Studies), Indigenous Knowledge Systems (Information Science), and Critical Language Policies (Sociolinguistics).

Decolonizing Methodologies: Reframing and Revitalizing

Similar to many Indigenous researchers, Linda Tuhiwai Smith's work *Decolonizing Methodologies* was critical to engaging this dissertation work. Smith described 25 research projects for Indigenous researchers, all of them overlapping with one another to some extent, and each positioned somewhere within an Indigenous Research Agenda (see Figure 2) that is centered around

Self-determination (L. T. Smith, 1999, pp. 142–162). Smith described these projects as themes that are vital for Indigenous research. Rather than offer suggestions for how these themes should be utilized, she leaves it to the researcher and the communities to determine how best to approach these collaborative projects from their respective Indigenous perspectives.

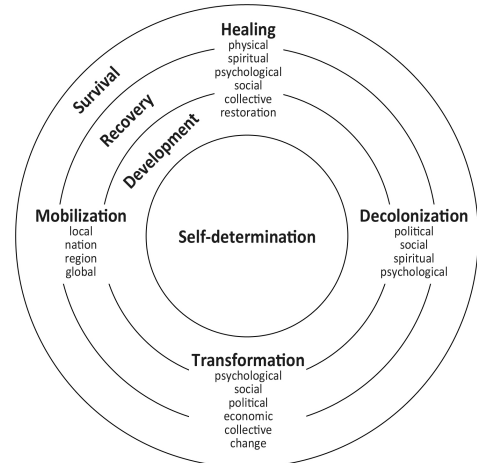


Figure 2. Smith's Indigenous Research Agenda

For the purposes of this study, I emphasize the themes of Revitalizing and Reframing as they were most relevant for my investigation of language policies and flows of information:

Smith's 25 Research Projects				
Claiming	Indigenizing	Writing	Restoring	Protecting
Testimonies	Intervening	Representing	Returning	Creating
Storytelling	Revitalizing	Gendering	Democratizing	Negotiating
Celebrating Survival	Connecting	Envisioning	Networking	Discovering
Remembering	Reading	Reframing	Naming	Sharing

Table 1. Smith's 25 Research Projects

Revitalization programs are critical to restoring language status for Indigenous peoples whose languages have been classified as endangered. Reframing involves reorienting the focus of discourse and rhetoric around Indigenous issues. Smith highlights the problems of framing Indigenous issues in discrete ways, or buckets, that fail to take into account a more holistic and historic

perspective that have significant impact on current issues. The themes of Reframing and Revitalizing will be revisited in more detail in the Language Policies discussion.

Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Pacific Islander Ways of Knowing

In the field of Information Science, the literature on Native Ways of Knowing is a small, but growing body of work that has been useful in providing a foundation for theorizing about Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Holm's Peoplehood model (Holm, Diane Pearson, & Chavis, 2003), for example, was utilized by Miranda Belarde-Lewis (2013) in her study of Zuni-based tribal protections of Zuni knowledge. This model described the four critical elements of land, language, sacred history, and ceremonial cycle.

The relationships and relationality embedded within this model are significant for Indigenous researchers broadly and Native American ways of knowing specifically. The commonality for Indigenous researchers is the notion of relationality as inclusive of yet broader than the relationships between individuals (Wilson, 2008). An indigenous methodology developed from this perspective is one where Indigenous researchers hold themselves accountable to all of their relations (Wilson, 2001).

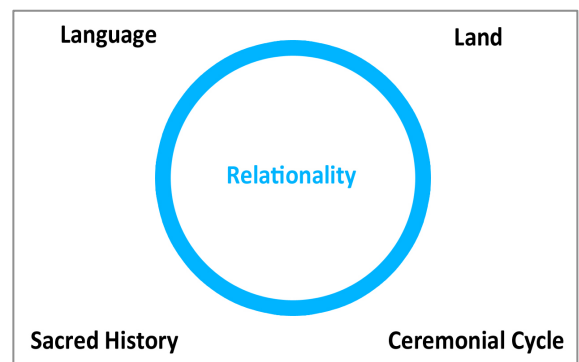


Figure 3. Adapted from Holm, et. al. (2003)

In outlining my methodology for this study, however, I noted a particular omission in Holm's model that persisted as I continued to write. This persistent thought was that for Pacific Islanders with their Oceanian identity, the ocean needed to be explicitly expressed and articulated within their epistemological frameworks. In conversations with Native scholars and colleagues, some alluded to the idea that ocean was implied in the notion of land. Yet, just as Native peoples consider themselves people of the land, Pacific Islanders equally consider themselves people of the sea. Therefore, the explicit expression of this relationship to the sea is critical to understanding the Pacific Islander Systems of Knowledge. In addition, for Pacific Islanders, the cosmos³⁶ are tightly aligned with the seas as can be seen from their seafaring traditions, songs, and myths. The cosmos, too, must be articulated explicitly within the framework for Pacific Islander epistemologies.

In order to understand the concept of information from a Pacific Islander perspective, a Pacific Islander epistemological framework needed to be articulated. Thus, although this important initial body of work on Indigenous Knowledge Systems filled a major gap in literature and research for an Indigenous Information Science perspective, the literature is primarily focused on Native perspectives centered on land. More work was needed to inform a

³⁶ The creation myth for the Chamorro people describes the creation of the cosmos from the bodies of a brother and sister, while people were created from the earth and fire. The ocean, however, seemingly just existed.

broader conversation on Indigenous Knowledge Systems specific to Pacific Islanders and ocean-centric peoples. Such a conversation would include Pacific Islander ways of knowing that positioned the ocean as central.

The Oceania Identity and Theory of Smallness

Much of the rhetoric on Pacific Island spatial understandings were historically characterized through colonial discourses or otherwise non-Pacific Islander perspectives. Tongan anthropologist Epeli Hau'ofa (1994) described how these discourses focused solely on visible landmasses and were used to describe the Pacific Islands as small. These many tiny islands were but dots within the vast expanse of the sea. Smallness was used to describe the land, therefore, the relative power of Pacific Islanders. This perspective of smallness eventually seeped into Pacific Islander notions of space and had even infused the discourses on Pacific Island languages and Systems of Knowledge. Pacific Islanders occupied small spaces, their populations were small, and so their languages were spoken by small numbers of people. Smallness became synonymous with the inconsequence attributed to the Pacific Islanders who inhabited the resource-rich space of Oceania. This discourse of smallness laid the groundwork for what I termed *Aqua Nullius*³⁷, the notion that the ocean was

³⁷ Historically, *Terra Nullius* was the argument used to justify the colonization of Indigenous peoples. This study argues that *Aqua Nullius* is the critical argument used to justify the historic and current colonization of Oceanic peoples and their spaces.

empty and belonged to nobody, therefore, it was free for the taking by whosoever desired it and could claim it first.

The theory of smallness was used as a justification for colonial practices and other policies. The subjugation of Pacific Islanders at the expense of the few was justified in the name of the many. Oceania, with its vast marine resources, was artificially divided up under imperial colonialism, and this division of vast ocean spaces continues to negatively impact the peoples and cultures of Oceania that exist in this space today.

Hau'ofa implored Pacific Islanders to reject the notion of smallness attributed to Pacific Island nations by reframing the colonial discourse through articulating the Oceania identity. He called on all Pacific Islanders to reposition their perspectives and spatial awareness of tiny island masses in a vast sea. He reminded Pacific islanders of their seafaring traditions and the mobility afforded by their agile canoes that expanded their spatial territory. For Hau'ofa (1994), rather than Pacific Islanders existing on tiny islands in a vast sea, Oceanians exist within a sea of islands.

Hau'ofa was well ahead of his time in articulating the Oceania identity. The Oceania identity challenged the Theory of Smallness and reframed the discourse using Pacific Islander epistemologies and the evidence embedded within stories from their oral traditions:

But if we look at the myths, legends and oral traditions, and the cosmologies of the peoples of Oceania, it will become evident that they did not conceive of their world in such microscopic proportions. Their universe comprised not only land surfaces, but the surrounding ocean as far as they could traverse and exploit it, the underworld with its fire-controlling and earth-shaking denizens, and the heavens above with their hierarchies of powerful gods and named stars and constellations that people could count on to guide their ways across the seas. Their world was anything but tiny. They thought big and recounted their deeds in epic proportions. (Hau'ofa, 1994, p. 152)

Hau'ofa's pioneering work is critical for Indigenous Pacific Islander researchers. From this position of challenging the Theory of Smallness by reclaiming the Oceanian identity, I then searched widely for other Pacific Islander theorists whose work, while not specifically in the field of Information Science, could nevertheless inform my work on Indigenous Knowledge Systems of Pacific Islanders.

Relationality, Reciprocity, Genealogy, and Story

For this particular study, my search entailed seeking out Pacific Islander theorists in other fields whose work could be useful in further informing the conversation on Indigenous Knowledge Systems. At the beginning of my process, I came across the work of Aluli-Meyers (1998, 2001, 2003, 2008) who outlined a framework for understanding a Pacific Islander epistemology³⁸. She is not the first Pacific Islander to expound on this topic; however, her

³⁸ I thank Dr. Miranda Belarde-Lewis for our many conversations on the work of Aluli-Meyers and for reminding me about her work later when the timing in my process could appreciate it.

systematic treatment on a Hawaiian epistemology laid the groundwork for how other Pacific Islanders might further articulate their particular epistemologies. Aluli-Meyers wrote extensively on the Hawaiian epistemology that privileged the senses, relationship, cultural knowingness and interpretation, utility, the value of words and language, holism, and spirituality in Pacific Islander ways of knowing.

Of note, Aluli-Meyers articulated the important concepts of relationality and reciprocity that infuse and breathe throughout the Hawaiian epistemology and are relevant for Pacific Islanders in general. Her explanation of “truth” as the Indigenous relationship to land in epistemology distinct from and in contrast to capitalistic economic and material perspectives is particularly important for Pacific Islanders in a colonial context. In discussing the distinct differences in knowledge, knowing, and understanding, she points to Aloha in the Hawaiian epistemology as the Hawaiian intelligence, a critical type of knowing that leads to understanding because of the idea of service to others (*An Introduction to on “Indigenous Epistemology,”* 2010). She also alluded to genealogy in describing the importance of acknowledging families and shared histories. Finally, though not explicit, story is interwoven as an integral part of her narrative on Hawaiian Systems of Knowledge and epistemology.

The literature on story, specifically on Talking Story, revealed the prevalence of using this method in various studies. Educational studies in Hawaii tended to utilize the Talk Story method in their methodologies; however,

these studies generally provided only a cursory description of the method itself. This may be attributed to the ubiquity of Talking Story as a regular mode of social communication in Hawaii. That is, the prevalence of Talking Story may be such that assumptions are generally understood and that detailed explanations would seem extraneous and unnecessary.

Up to this point, my study has revealed the gaps in the literature pertaining to Indigenous Knowledge Systems for Pacific Islanders. The Oceania identity is critical to framing Pacific Islander Systems of Knowledge. Inherent in assuming the Oceania identity is a reframing of the smallness discourse and belittlement rhetoric used to gain control over the material wealth of the people and marine resources of Oceania. This reframing is significant for Native Pacific Islander languages and Systems of Knowledge that were subjugated in order to accomplish the goals of colonialism. Reframing the discourse of smallness in language policies will be addressed in the next section.

Language Policies as Information Policies

Language is fundamental to oral traditions and serves as both the medium and message in Pacific Islander Systems of Knowledge. In this section, I make the case for classifying language policies as information policies by providing an overview of the field towards flows of information, exploring the area of language policy as a domain of inquiry, and then describing language myths and ideology.

Flows of Information

Information Scientists theorize about the nature of knowledge, information, knowledge systems, and flows of information. Foundational theories of communication such as described by Shannon and Weaver (1997; 1949) explained the mechanisms for message delivery and receipt. This functional approach to the mechanical communication of information was groundbreaking and critical to developments in Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). Building upon their initial work, Shannon and Weaver later introduced the notion of noise into their model to address complexities by explaining interference in message delivery and receipt.

However, Shannon and Weaver's model was criticized particularly by social scientists and prominent scientists like Wiener (1950) who argued that such a functional model could not explain or address communication power, sociological, and linguistic factors that influenced information flow. Juxtaposed against these functional approaches are works by the likes of Heidegger (1977), who philosophized that we ought to think our technologies, McLuhan (1964), who expounded on the medium as message, and Castells (2000) who described the rise of the Fourth World under increasing globalization and the Information and Network Society.

Both Metoyer (1991, 1993a, 1993b) and Nahon (2009; 2004, 2008) examined notions of power in networks and flows of information by developing models of information gatekeepers and theories of information gatekeeping.

Their work was critical to providing more nuanced understandings behind the broad notion of noise that Shannon and Weaver introduced. For example, Metoyer recognized the importance of utilizing participant languages for gathering information and also for gaining entry to particular networks whose gatekeepers guarded the flow of information into their specific communities. Nahon extended Metoyer's work and applied gatekeeping and power more broadly to digital information and social networks. These concepts have particular relevance for Native and Pacific Islander communities whose elders have traditionally held the roles as gatekeepers and whose youth are increasingly more oriented towards digital information communication technologies.

Wiener's review of Shannon and Weaver was prescient in surmising that in the future, other fields, particularly the field of linguistics, would be well within the purview of the communications engineer (Claude E. Shannon et al., 1950). Extending from Wiener's prediction, it follows then that a critical area of research for the field, and of particular relevance to this dissertation study, was within the sociolinguistics approach to language policy.

Language Policies: A Domain of Inquiry

Language policy is a "domain of inquiry" (Ricento, 2006, p. 12) that encompasses a wide area of study within and across many disciplines. With a recent resurgence of interest and urgency, law, political science, anthropology, medicine and many other disciplines are engaging in a discussion about the

implications of language policy in their respective fields. In law, for example, language policy often revolves around speech rights. Similarly, in political science, language rights have been most recently framed within the context of multiculturalism and cultural pluralism (Kymlicka, 1995; Kymlicka & Patten, 2003). Anthropology has been more recently trying to define its relationship with linguistics (Duranti, 2003). In medicine, medical practitioners wrestle with procedural practices in handling patients given language barriers (Spolsky, 2004; Woloshin & Bickell, 1995). In linguistics, particularly in sociolinguistics, power and discourse have begun to figure more prominently in discussions, challenging earlier assumptions and directions, for example in the discourse around language documentation vs. language revision (Flores Farfán & Ramallo, 2010).

Hornberger (2006), surveyed the literature on the separate but related domains of language policy and language planning, and proposed an integrated framework for Language Policy and Planning (LPP) goals. This framework, developed in the early 1990s, built upon Haugen's matrix (1983) – selection, implementation, codification, and elaboration – and outlined the multiple dimensions for language planning goals which should be pursued simultaneously in order for LPP to be most effective. The proposed LPP framework consisted of types (status planning, acquisition planning, and corpus planning) and approaches (policy planning and cultivation planning). Although Hornberger's framework proved immensely helpful and in providing an outline for finding balance between a practice-based and theoretical

approach to language policy and planning, she acknowledged in retrospect the existence of a key missing component in the framework: ideology (Hornberger, 2006, p. 33).

Spolsky (2004, p. ix), similar to Hornberger, noted a lack of consensus in scope and terminology about the field and endeavored to provide a broad definition towards developing a general theory of language policy. Spolsky's work incorporated the LPP concepts outlined in Hornberger's framework with four fundamental features: 1) language policy can be divided into three main areas: language practices, language beliefs and ideology, and language planning / management; 2) language policy is concerned with named varieties of language as well as with individual elements related to language at all levels; 3) language policy operates within any size of speech community; and 4) language policy functions within complex ecological relationships which include linguistic and non-linguistic elements (Spolsky, 2004, pp. 39–41). Similar to the manner in which the functional approach to information flow was challenged and extended by a sociological approach to address complexities, Hornberger's approach to policy and planning aimed at preserving and maintaining languages was extended by Spolsky's work in addressing larger complexities impacting language.

But it was Tollefson (2006) whose work is most relevant for this study in his call for a critical approach to language policy. Critical language policy (CLP) is influenced by critical theory in two ways: 1) structural categories, such as

class, race, and gender, are central social factors; and 2) critical examinations of epistemology and methodology are intertwined with ethics and politics in social justice. CLP utilizes the critical theory notions of power, struggle, colonization, hegemony and ideology, and resistance in various approaches to analyzing language policy, such as: the historical-structural approach, in which language policy is inherently political and, therefore, must consider the role of the position the researcher plays in shaping policy; and governmentality, which draws from Foucault and shifts attention from research on capitalism and state domination towards less obvious acts of governance that influence language behavior at the group and individual levels. Tollefson's critical approach to language policy allows for the examination of the importance of economic, political, cultural, and discourse factors, of language rights in education, of language maintenance and revitalization approaches, and of critical research and social justice. Ultimately, Tollefson's critical approach proved to be the most relevant amongst the various language policy theorists for a critical approach to language policy from an Indigenous perspective.

In general, there are numerous topical areas within which language policy can be engaged, including, but not limited to: language shift, language planning, language management, speech rights, correct or good vs. bad language, language purity, and language instruction. Language policy can be formal or informal, explicit or implicit, authoritative or expressed in the values, practices, and beliefs of communities. While many of these language policies are interrelated and overlapping, most will likely think of authoritative

language policies when hearing the term language policy. Authoritative language policies are those policies that are officially sanctioned by an authorized agent, such as government, state agencies, and other institutions. Such policies are, more often than not, explicit. For example, when the state declares a particular language to be its official language, this declaration is made explicit in formal, written legal doctrines rendering the mandate enforceable within the state administrative agencies. The official languages of India – Hindi and English – are expressly declared in the state constitution to be used for all “official purposes of the Union” (Language in India, n.d.). On the other hand, implicit policies are often practiced and simply accepted, such as in the case of the United States which has not declared an official language, but for all intents and purposes uses English as the administrative language of government. This study investigated language policy as information policy to contextualize the nature of language and factors affecting information flow within Indigenous Knowledge Systems.

Inherent to understanding Indigenous Knowledge Systems is the Indigenous identity. Indigeneity is wrapped within the context of resistance to the political ideologies that shaped notions of the so-called Other (Said, 1995) and that also determined and dominated discourses governing relationships to the Other and resources. It should be noted that the notion of Other, as in Said’s Orientalism, are often positioned primarily in discourses on racial discrimination. Though related in some ways, Indigeneity is quite distinct from the discourses on racial discrimination that are prevalent in fields such as

ethnic studies and postcolonialism that do not account for the ongoing colonization of Indigenous peoples (A. Smith, 2010).

Colonization is the physical settlement and occupation of inhabited land by a dominant force; whereas, imperialism denotes the ideology behind the expansion of empire, through which colonization is one method. The process of colonization historically entailed the physical occupation of land and the subjugation and “thingification” (Césaire, 1972) of the people originally of that land. Justification for occupation of land originated from the ideology of the imperialistic force and was articulated through various means, one of which was the concept of *terra nullius*. The notion of *terra nullius* – that the land belonged to no one – ushered in terminology such as *discovery*. Historical accounts tell us that the occupation of land was fraught with violence both against the Indigenous populations and against the colonizers. Physical subjugation of people involved tangible, visible violence where human bodies were killed or maimed. Though intertribal violence along flexible boundaries existed, genocide was the creation of nations.

Schmitt (2007) described the state as having formed from groups of like-minded people who band together in order to protect their way of life, their culture. Friends and enemies are described as the dualistic relationships between cultures. Friends are loosely defined as those who do not threaten a group’s way of life, their cultural survival; while enemies are those that do. What Schmitt makes explicit is that preservation of culture entails a

willingness of group members to fight, but, more critically, to *die* for this cause. The notions of *war* and *violence* are key concepts in Schmitt's discussion. What Schmitt defines as the political is the fact that within the group, diversity is acknowledged, for the group is neither homogenous nor universal in agreement in all respects, but that the larger cause of cultural preservation inherently means that within the internal workings of the state, some members of the group will necessarily have reduced rights, but that this will be acceptable for the sake of the greater good.

Fishman (2006) largely dismisses the conspiratorial nature of *linguistic imperialism* espoused by Phillipson (2006), which implicates ELT teachers and schools in furthering the colonial agenda of creating a monolingual society through national and global English language dissemination and proliferation; however, Fishman does not dismiss the ramifications of the consequences, intended or unintended, which remain.

Pennycook (1998) noted the dearth of writing from the perspective of the colonized, but he insisted that western researchers, like himself, could not possibly claim to be able to speak for the so-called Others. He, instead, chose to focus on the effects of colonialism as a site of cultural production on the colonizers, of which he felt he could legitimately speak for. His justification for this perspective, and he was careful to explain that this was in no way meant to devalue the discourses that are necessary on the colonized who experienced the effects of colonization, was that in order to properly engage in true

decolonization, the colonizers needed to acknowledge and fully understand the ideologies and effects of colonization on themselves since colonization itself shaped colonial, hence, western, culture. Ultimately, what Pennycook espoused was that through a very discernible pattern, colonial practices were developed and refined in colonial situations, and these refined practices and knowledge then travelled back to the colonizers to be implemented, institutionalized, formalized, and integrated into the colonizers' cultures. Thus, the negative effects of colonization on the colonizers created "sick nations" Cesaire (1972) and Memmi (1965). The ramification of this notion is that as attempts are made to decolonize the remaining colonized peoples, the artifacts and effects of colonization will likely remain firmly entrenched long after the colonial forces have gone.

The complexity in language policy issues in India as the colonial British debated English as the medium of instruction stands (Pennycook, 1998) in contrast to the intent and process by which U.S. language policies were applied to Indigenous peoples. On the one hand, in the case of India from the British perspective, it would have been extremely costly and inefficient to educate the entire population in the English language medium – education was viewed simply as the means to instill morality, and this could be done in the vernacular. On the other hand, translators who looked like the people, but, for all intents and purposes, were beholden to English ways of life were viewed as critical to the proper integration of the population. Within this discussion, were others who also clearly believed that civilization – for there was no such thing

as Western civilization, since that would require an acknowledgement that there was such a thing as an Eastern civilization – needed to be brought to the Indians. By default, this civilization, of course, meant British, therefore, European civilization. Thus, English language teaching was debated and considered for its usefulness but was not enforced as a defacto method. This was not the case for Native Americans and other Indigenous peoples colonized by the United States. The United States implemented and enacted harsh authoritarian policies. If interpretation was necessary initially, the ultimate goal was extermination of Indigenous peoples through extermination of their language and culture, genocide, or assimilation.

The agenda of English language teaching included an exotification of the Other, in order to objectify it, and then finally, to place the Other within the context of the distant past (Pennycook, 1998). Similar arguments have been made for the use of technology in language documentation and preservation. For example, if Indigenous knowledge can be captured in databases – what Agrawal (2002) called the *scientisation* of Indigenous knowledge – for use at any time by anyone, then there would be little need for preservation of the Indigenous peoples themselves. This raises questions about the efficacy of language policies promoting language documentation and preservation using modern technologies, but also highlights the potential detriment to the languages and communities concerned.

Framing indigenous people in the distant past, as 'noble but doomed' relics of an earlier age, allows a colonial state to maintain its own legitimacy by preventing the fact of contemporary Indigenous peoples' nationhood to intrude on its own mythology. Native people imperil themselves by accepting formulations of their own identities and rights that prevent them from transcending the past. The state relegates Indigenous peoples' rights to the past, and constrains the development of their societies by allowing only those activities that support its own necessary illusion: that Indigenous peoples today do not present a serious challenge to its legitimacy. Thus the State celebrates paint and feathers and Indian dancing, because these reinforce the image of the doomed nobility... Tribal casinos, Indian tax-immunity, and aboriginal fisheries, on the other hand, are uncomfortable reminders that – despite the doctrine of state sovereignty – Indigenous identities and rights continue to exist. (Alfred, 1999, p. 58)

The critical position of Indigenous language as central to ways of life for Indigenous peoples has only recently been formally recognized as a human right. Access to Indigenous language and heritage information was articulated in a 20-year effort that manifested in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations. General Assembly. & United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights., 2008). Through a shared Indigenous language, the ideals and collective experience within Indigenous epistemologies are communicated and reinforced (Battiste, 2000). If, as McLuhan (1964) once declared, the medium is the message, a critical question arises: what, then, is the message being delivered when the medium of Indigenous languages are removed from the ecological frameworks that rely on them for knowledge transmission? To answer this question, we need to ask two other questions: How are Indigenous languages removed, and why?

For Indigenous cultures grounded in oral traditions, language is central and critical to information flow within Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Researchers in the University of Washington Indigenous Information Research Group (IIRG) investigated various models for understanding information flow in Indigenous Knowledge Systems. IIRG researcher Belarde-Lewis (2013) utilized the Peoplehood model in her work describing the Indigenous protocols and methods for documenting and protecting Zuni knowledge. This model positions land, language, ceremonial cycle, and sacred history as critical elements each no less significant than the others. Acknowledging the significance of these elements in a well-functioning system, this dissertation, however, focused on language as the primary mode of communication and information flow so critical to oral traditions.

Language Death and Extinction Myths and Ideology

Indigenous languages are often spoken of in terms of *language death* and *extinction*; however, the notions embedded within terms such as *suicide* are problematic in that they implicate the victims as solely responsible for language death. Yet, people don't simply discard their languages for no reason (Nettle & Romaine, 2000); generally, they do so out of necessity and for survival. The terms used to describe languages and the meanings embedded within them arise out of language ideologies.

The underlying *truths* about language ideologies are informed by particular *myths* (Watts, 2011). Such myths, whether actually true or not,

formed the basis for justifications made about ideological language policies which were continually perpetuated and persist today, even if the underlying beliefs were forgotten, changed, or had fallen out of favor and use. Of particular note within the context of Indigenous languages are the *myth of the barbarian having no language*, the *myth of homogeneity*, and the *myth of the ancient language* (Watts, 2011). The origin of the *myth of the barbarian having no language* was traced to ancient Greece (Watts, 2011). To be clear, it was obvious that the barbarians, or Indigenous peoples or Others, spoke distinct languages; Watts clarified that the myth was really the *myth of the barbarian having no (proper) language*. In order to arrive at this myth, language was anthropomorphized through the metaphorical conceptualization of the *nation-state as human being*; thus, since language is a primary cognitive faculty of human beings, what followed is the metaphor of *language as human being* (Watts, 2011, p. 13). Therefore, language discourse often includes notions of language death, purity (which results from the notion of clean and unclean bodies), illness, recovery, and so forth.

Linguistic homogeneity was thought to be necessary for the success of the nation-state. The state as a political entity implied a diversity of groups of people existing within geographically-contiguous and flexible boundaries, while the nation-state implied a homogenous identity across often non-contiguous borders. The construction of a homogeneous identity required a linguistic unity and shared national culture and history (Watts, 2011). The *myth of ancient language* derived from the concepts of the German *Kultursprache*, or language

and cultural achievements, and the Austro-Hungarian *historische Sprache*, or historical language, which are print languages (Watts, 2011). Although the origins and myths themselves may disappear or be long forgotten, the ideologies that formed out of these myths are continually perpetuated and have been institutionalized through discourse (Watts, 2011). Written languages were the powerful means that enabled the perpetuation of such a broad discourse across national boundaries.

Watts categorized the commodification of English and the problematic *myth of English as a global language* by stating that although many sources describe and perpetuate the myth of the superiority and, therefore, the desirability of all the world's people to learn English in order to partake of the perceived global market benefits, "the costs of favouring English as the first additional language in most nation-states of Europe exceed the ability to produce enough speakers of English" both culturally and financially (2011, p. 268). Watts took issue with this final myth because no one has clearly defined what a global language means; however, he speculated, one possibility, "that English is rapidly taking over as the language in which the world financial system, world trade, international politics and worldwide scientific collaboration are carried out" (Watts, 2011, p. 283).

Some language metaphors such as *death*, *extinction*, and *murder* can be more useful than others in particular contexts, for example in articulating

colonial relationships to Indigenous language. Language is an activity that is reliant on its speakers rather than as an independent entity:

“A language is not a self-sustaining entity. It can only exist where there is a community to speak and transmit it. A community of people can exist only where there is a viable environment for them to live in, and a means of making a living. Where communication cannot thrive, their languages are in danger. When languages lose their speakers, they die.”

(Nettle & Romaine, 2000, p. 5)

Taken in this sense, language can be viewed as an indicator of the health and vibrancy of communities and the people within them. Indigenous languages do indeed die. They can be killed, they can commit suicide, and they may even suffer accidents. But, turning this dialog inside out, an Indigenous reframing of historical language myths would ask: How can languages thrive?

In keeping with this reframing, this mixed-methods study is guided by an Indigenist framework. Within the context of Indigenous research, Indigenism holds relationality as a central and critical factor in conducting research. Relationality in general is inclusive of, yet broader than, relationships between individual people (Wilson, 2008). Relationality implies a mindful, respectful approach to the entire research process and an understanding and acknowledgement of positionality and responsibility within this process. Inherent to this type of approach to research, Indigenist researchers must be cognizant of and always remain accountable to all of their relations for their intentions in conducting a particular study, the manner in which they conduct

their study, and post-study responsibilities to the communities involved. Gegeo (2001) stated that Indigenous researchers themselves must be responsible for theorizing their Indigenous epistemologies. My approach for this study was guided by my identity as a Chamoru researcher and an Information Scientist.

Inafa'maolek: Expressing Chamoru Relationality

For Indigenous scholars conducting research within their communities, the Indigenous identity comes with some affordances such as in the knowingness of a people and place, but is not without its limitations. Indigenous researchers often find themselves having to balance the requirements of the academy on the one hand with their Indigenous identities and the needs of their communities and the responsibilities that come along with those needs on the other.

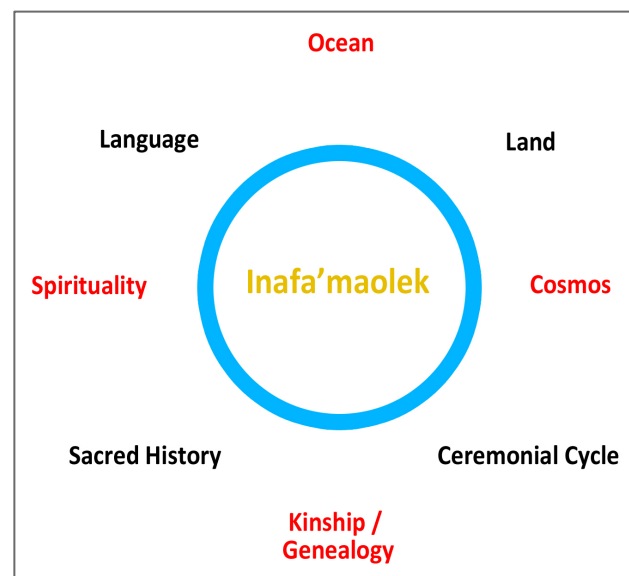


Figure 4. Inafa'maolek in Chamoru Indigenous Research

In 1977, Underwood conducted a community workshop in Rota with parents and senior citizens and defined Inafa'maolek, or interdependence, as the core value in the Chamoru culture along with Family, Respect for Elders,

Nature, and Mamahlo³⁹ (R. A. Underwood, 2014a). As a Chamoru researcher engaging in this type of study, I extended the model by Holm, et al, from a Pacific Islander-oriented research perspective and relied on the concept of Inafa'maolek (Cunningham, 1992) as an expression of relationality to guide and inform my research (See Figure 4). The Chamoru cultural practice of Inafa'maolek asks: "Is this good for everyone?"

Talking Story: An Inafa'Maolek Method

Reflecting on Indigenous research methods, when asked just exactly how one *does* Indigeneity, scholar Vince Diaz (Forthcoming) recommended a fully-immersive approach to the experience by stepping in it, rolling around in it, rubbing it between your fingers, smelling it, and tasting it. Following Diaz's lead, this dissertation is an exercise in Indigenous research that informed and is informed by an Indigenist framework from a Chamoru perspective.

Borrowing the Hawaiian description for the way in which Pacific Islanders interact, this study utilized a decidedly Pacific Islander method for information sharing known as Talking Story. Talking Story, in this context was both an exercise in Indigenous research and a method for data gathering.

³⁹ Mamahlo, or mamåh'lao, is loosely translated as humility in Chamorro but is often used in the context of shaming or being ashamed.

Methodology

To reiterate the research questions described earlier, the overarching question guiding this study was: What is the relationship between militarization in Guam and the flow of information within the Chamoru Indigenous Knowledge System? To address this question, the following research questions were investigated:

RQ1: What formal and informal language policies were historically implemented in Guam under colonial rule?

- a. Who implemented these policies?
- b. How were these policies enforced?
- c. What were the intended outcomes of these policies?

RQ2: What formal and informal language policies currently exist in Guam?

- a. Who implemented these policies?
- b. How were these policies enforced?
- c. What were the intended outcomes of these policies?

RQ3: How has militarization affected these policies in Guam?

RQ4: How have these policies affected the flow of information in the Indigenous Knowledge System in Guam?

RQ5: How have the Indigenous Chamorro people responded to these policies?

In order to investigate these research questions, I conducted a mixed-methods study which included online surveys, the analysis of historical documents, and Talking Story.

Talking Story was the primary method used in this study for gathering oral history data, attitudes, and perspectives from participants. I define Talking Story, the common mode of connecting and communication amongst Pacific Islanders, as a dynamic yet relaxed form of engaging with others in a manner that involves taking time, telling stories, humor, laughing, listening, cleverness, emoting, teasing, sharing, respect, and empathy. The level of intimacy and familiarity in Talking Story stands in distinct contrast from formal interview methods that denote more structured, less-connected, and substantially more distant relationships between parties. Talking Story also encompasses but is distinguished from its cousin, the more formal method of Storytelling.

Oral histories are the lived experiences, individual and collective, that are shared in oral traditions. Various methods are utilized between and amongst people as a means of keeping oral traditions alive and for preserving knowledge. Such methods involve traditionally non-textual formats, for example through spoken means, story, song or chant, music, art, dance and movement, etc. Storytelling is one oral method of communication involving storytellers, generally elders, mentors, and other respected individuals, who teach, guide, inform, and share knowledge with listeners by using the story format. Talking Story, on the other hand, is less formal in structure and format

and much more interactive than Storytelling though these methods overlap in many ways and are inherently related.

In this study, it was important to gather oral histories in a way that was considered Inafa'maolek, the Chamorro understanding of relationality that is critical for gaining trust and entry within the Chamorro community. This was accomplished through the method of Talking Story. Depending on the relationship, Inafa'maolek in Talking Story generally begins with genealogy to establish an initial connection through understanding relative positioning of individuals within families, groups, and histories. This initial connection can be made by individuals who are already familiar with each other through their networks, or it can be self initiated. Self-initiated connections were not ideal for the purposes of this study, however, since establishing trust before getting to any deeper level of connection would have taken too long. Establishing relative positioning through genealogical relationships not only saved time in making deep connections, it was also in keeping with the nature of this study as Indigenous research.

While other studies particularly education research conducted in Hawai'i utilized Talking Story in their research methodologies, I found no explicit or detailed description of Talking Story as a method. As noted earlier, this may have been the result of the ubiquity of Talking Story as a mode of general communication amongst Hawai'ians and Pacific Islanders. In addition, and more specifically for this study, no other studies to date have described Talking

Story as an Inafa'maolek method for Indigenous Chamoru research. Indeed, in many conversations with Mañaina⁴⁰ over the years, I could find no specific terms in Chamoru for Talking Story either. Similar to the Hawaiians, this may be attributed to the fact that Talking Story is so ubiquitous amongst the Chamoru as well. The closest I would get was in Talking Story with Saina Dr. Laura Souder who described late night conversations massaging⁴¹ her grandmother who beckoned her, “maila, ta pula i tiningu,” come, let’s unpack this knowledge⁴².

Inafa'maolek and Talking Story entail amounts of time that cannot, by nature, be explicit as it is in interviews. Each relationship and each instance of Talking Story must develop in the amount of time that is necessary and mutually understood to be appropriate for the given situation. As a result, this form of gathering data is highly time-intensive and can involve long expanses of

⁴⁰ Used from here on in this study as a general term to indicate respected elders whether directly blood-related or not.

⁴¹ The massaging of one’s elders was a common Chamorro practice and mode of sharing and Talking Story. Indeed, I spent many a night listening and learning from my grandmother in this manner as I massaged her while we talked story late into the evening.

⁴² I was fortunate to meet and spend time with Tan Laura Souder who I met originally at FestPac 2016 when she moderated the panel I was on to discuss Chamoru Women in Academia. A few months later, she would spend time Talking Story with my students visiting Guam for my 2016 study abroad program called iSchool Guam: Oral Traditions, Knowledge, & Science.

time, sometimes over a period of years⁴³. Talking Story can be done one-on-one or in groups. This study remained open to both as opportunities arose.

Reframing the Language of Language Revitalization

This study focused on the case of Guam and language policies. Language is positioned as central to the Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) of Pacific Islanders and inherent in their oral traditions. To understand the role of militarization on information flow within the Chamorro IKS, this study sought to analyze the ideologies that informed language policies and their narrative expression through their underlying myths and stories. Using a grounded approach, this research traced the historical underpinnings of language policies, articulated the myths and narratives that were embedded within these ideologies, determined the intended outcomes of the policies, drew connections to militarization and language policies, and described the perspectives and responses to these policies. This study relied on the theme of Reframing as described by Smith (1999) and articulated within the context of Information Science by Indigenous Information researcher Marisa Duarte (2013) to understand the discourse around language policies and the responses to them.

Smith described the process towards Self-determination as waves that were neither discrete nor linear. The processes of Healing, Decolonization,

⁴³ Indeed, this study has been years of Talking Story in the making.

Mobilization, and Transformation move forward and backward through the

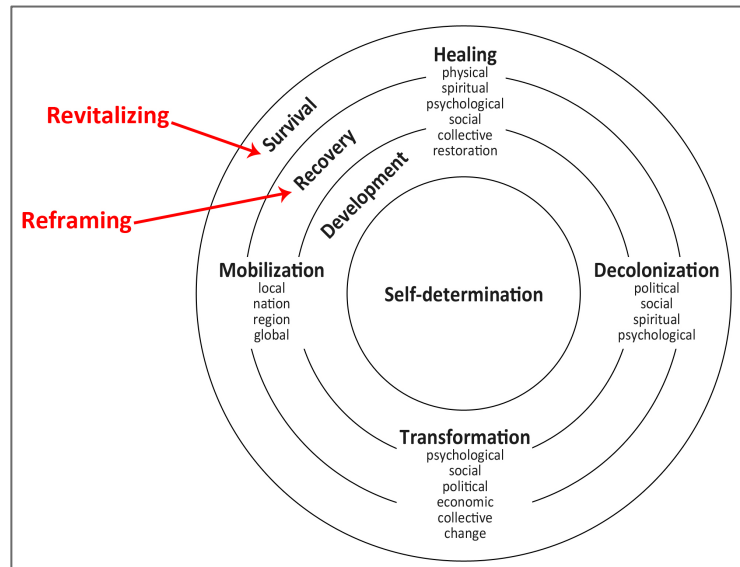


Figure 5. Adapted and Recreated from Smith's Indigenous Research Agenda (1999, p. 17)

stages of Survival, Recovery, and Development always directed toward the goal of Self-determination at the center. My focus on Smith's two projects of Revitalizing and Reframing are positioned generally in the regions of Survival and Recovery respectively.

While I was interested in understanding responses to language policies through revitalization efforts, I was also interested in understanding how these revitalization efforts themselves were acts of reframing the conversation around language policies and revitalization. Ultimately, the Indigenist framework required to inform this particular study involved first expanding the Holm, et. al Peoplehood model in order to encompass a Pacific Islander epistemology, utilizing the Chamorro conception of relationality in Inafa'maolek, and then applying this Chamorro relationality to Smith's Indigenous Research Agenda model towards the goal self-determination.

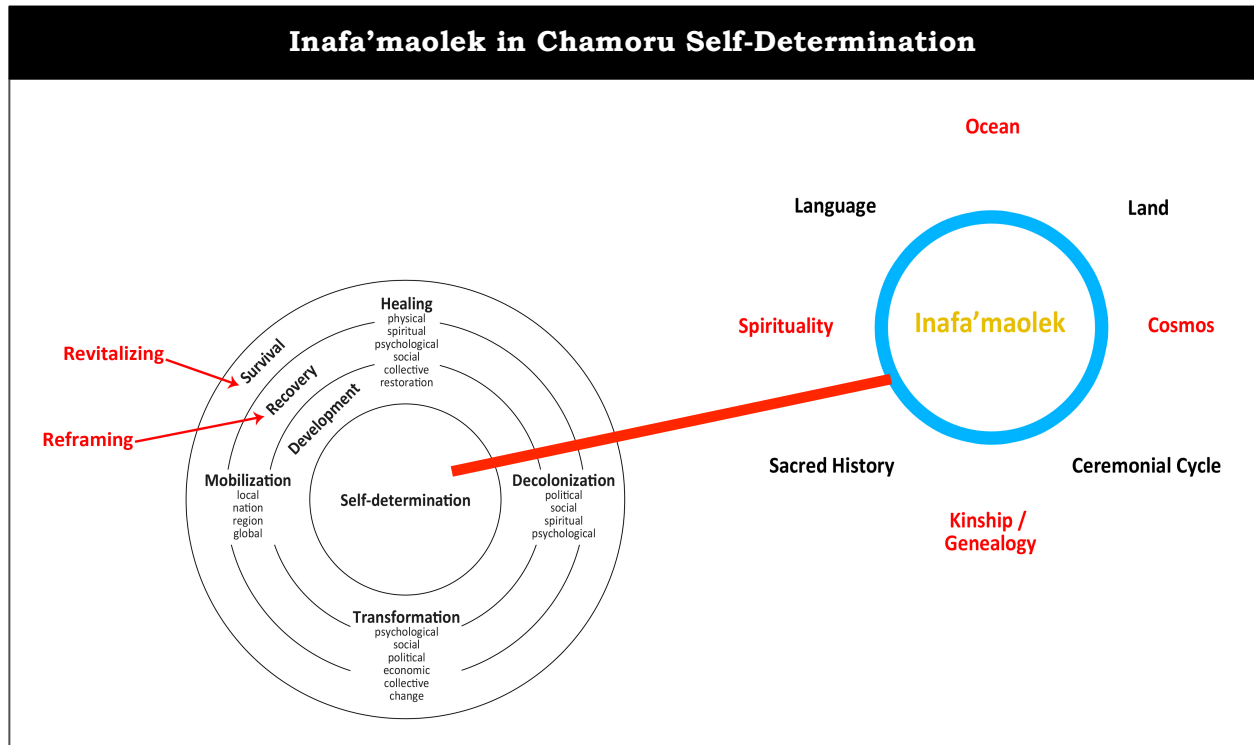


Figure 6. Inafa'maolek in Chamoru Self-Determination

III. DATA AND FINDINGS

Data for this mixed-methods study were collected from the following primary and secondary sources: 1) 2008 online surveys, 2) authoritative language policies – naval executive and general orders, and Government of Guam Chamorro language policies, 3) Chamorro language documentation metadata, 4) informal language policies from self reflections and observation field notes, informal conversations, social media, and various local and online news and information resources, and 5) conversational interviews in the form of Talking Story with Mañaina and Manãmko'. Table 2 outlines these resources:

Data Source	Location
2008 Chamorro Language Survey	Online
2008 Chamorro Language Resources Survey	Online
U.S. Naval Executive and General Orders	UOG MARC
Guam Public Law	UOG MARC
Chamorro Language Documentation Metadata	NA
Field Notes	Online and various locations
Talking Story with Manåmko'	Sinahåña Senior Citizens Center, misc. conversations of opportunity

Table 2. Data Sources and Locations

Data gathering for this study was conducted primarily onsite in Guam. Archival historical data and oral histories were collected and analyzed. Survey data that was previously collected was also analyzed. Historical documents and archival print material relevant to military language and information policies were collected and analyzed. Primary historical documents were located in the Marianas Area Research Center (MARC) at the University of Guam and supplemented with policy documents from the Government of Guam archives and Guampedia⁴⁴ websites. Self-reflections were in the form of personal experiences through stories and reactions. Field notes from various sources such as conversations of opportunity and observations, conference proceedings, news stories, social media, videos, and events were also gathered

⁴⁴ Where language policy documents overlapped and already existed on the Guampedia website, those digital resources were utilized for efficiency and in the interest of time.

and analyzed for this study. Ultimately, these sources provided the context for the more interesting insights gained from Talking Story with the Mañaina and Manâmkô’.

2008 Chamorro Language Survey

In 2008, I conducted an online anonymous survey using the UW Catalyst survey tool. This survey was targeted broadly towards those identifying as Chamorro and interested in the Chamorro language. The survey was distributed through networks in various channels such as social media, academia, listservs, and email. 177 participants responded to the 16-question survey. The survey consisted of 16 closed-ended, open-ended, and mixed questions (See Appendix A). 50% of respondents resided outside of Guam.

By casting a wide net, this survey captured basic demographic information and the opinions of Pacific Islanders identifying as Chamorro. These participants by default needed to be moderately ICT-literate in order to access and complete a survey in this format. One assumption, that elders are less likely to be literate in digital ICTs, was borne out in the demographic data distribution. As such, this study acknowledged the exclusion of critical representation from elders in this survey and attempted to address this gap through other methods.

Age Range	Count
under 18	5
18-34	52
35-44	64
45-54	35
55-64	14
65 and older	7
Total	177

Table 3. Age Demographics

Of 177 participants, 35 reported that they were fluent in Chamorro. 146 participants described their parents as fluent in Chamorro, but of these, only 32 reported being able to speak / understand Chamorro very well themselves. Of these self-identified fluent speakers, only 3 were in the 18-34 range, and none in the under 18 range. One caveat, it is unknown if participants distinguished for themselves between comprehension vs. actual fluency in speaking Chamorro. This question in hindsight should have been two separate questions: 1) How well do you speak Chamorro? 2) How well do you understand Chamorro?

Age Range	Count	P=Fluent	S=Fluent	% P/C	% S/P	Notes
< 18	5	3	0	60%	0%	
18-34	52	35	3	67%	9%	1 parent very little fluency
35-44	64	56	7	88%	13%	1 parent moderate fluency
45-54	35	32	6	91%	19%	
55-64	14	13	10	93%	77%	1 parent fluency N/A
65+	7	7	6	100%	86%	
Total	177	146	32			

Table 4. Lost Generation. Participant fluency compared to parents. P=parent; S=self (participant).

Table 4 highlights differences between participants' assessments of their fluency skills compared to their parents. On the whole, 82% (146 participants) said their parents were fluent, describing proficiency level as "very well," while only 18% (32 participants) identified themselves as fluent. A critical finding of this survey identifies the "Lost Generation" of Chamoru as those below the age of 54. This group of Chamoru descended from parents or grandparents who were directly impacted by existing no-Chamorro language policies.

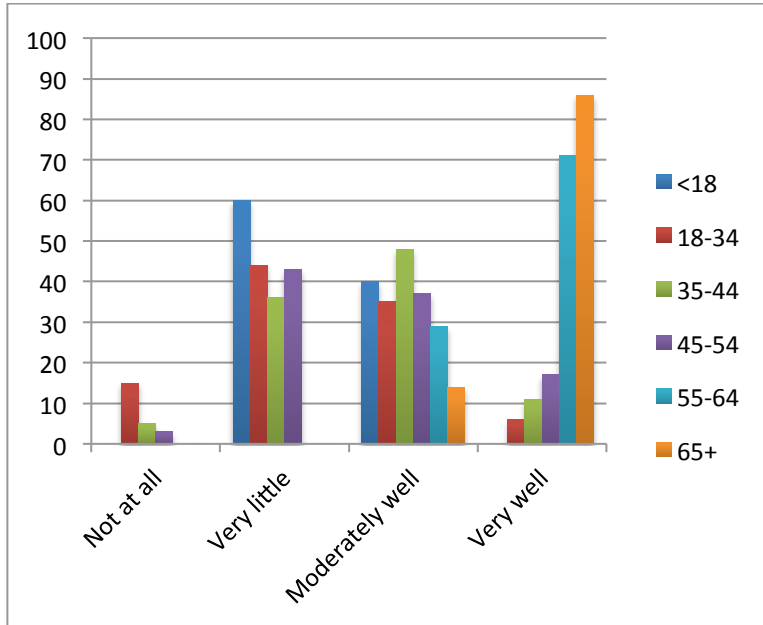


Figure 7. Chamorro fluency of all participants

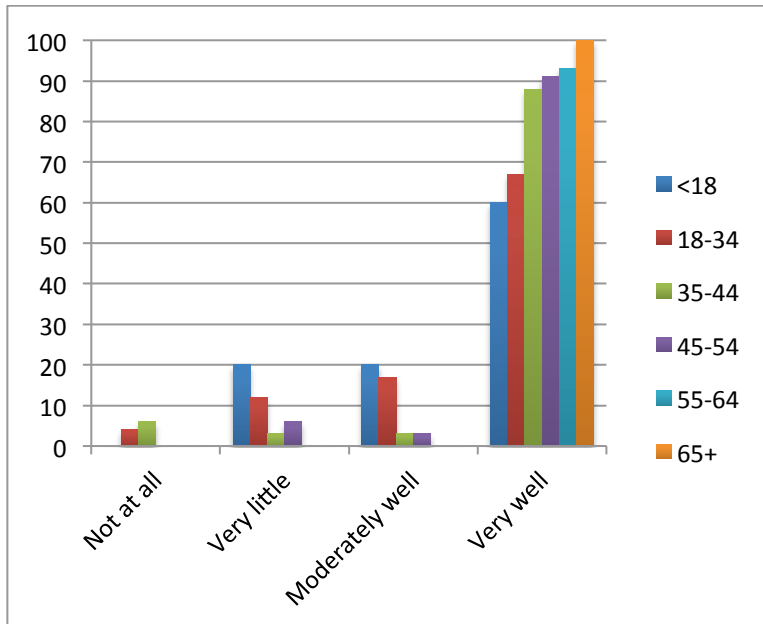


Figure 8. Chamorro fluency of parents of all participants

For participants above 55 years of age, there is some decrease between parent and child fluency, but this difference is not nearly as striking as the decrease between parents and children below 55 years. For participants 65 and above, 100% of their parents were fluent, while 86% with completely fluent parents

were fluent themselves. For 55-64 year olds, 93% of their parents were fluent, and of these, 77% considered themselves fluent in Chamorro. For the next-youngest generation of 45-54 year olds, the numbers take a remarkably negative downturn with 91% of their parents described as fluent and only 19%

Closed Questions	Yes	No	NA	No Reply
Are you a current resident of Guam?	88	89		
Are you of Chamorro descent?	171	5		1
Have you lived / traveled outside of Guam?	172	5		
Do / did you teach your children Chamorro?	44	80	53	
Do you think Chamorro language courses should be required in public schools?	150	27		

Table 5. Closed Questions

identifying themselves as fluent. This downward trend continues with increasingly younger age ranges: 35-44 year olds identified 88% of parents as fluent and only 13% themselves; 18-34 year olds identified 67% of their parents as fluent and only 9% themselves; finally, under 18 year olds identified 60% of their parents as fluent, and 0% considered themselves fluent.

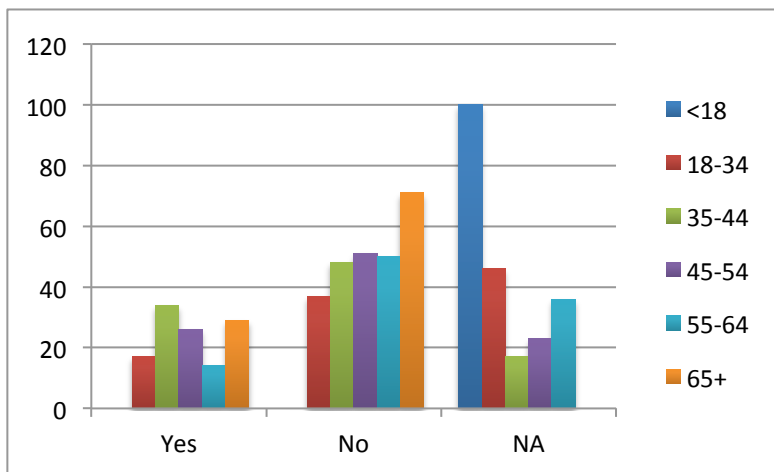


Figure 9. % Participants who taught their children Chamorro

Some considerations to note: approximately 50% of the participants resided outside of Guam at the time of the survey. Of the 177 participants, only 25% (44 participants) said they taught their children

Chamorro, 45% (80 participants) said they did not teach their children Chamorro, and 30% (53 participants) answered that the question was not applicable. Most of these not applicable respondents did not give a reason, however, 5 participants who were in the <18 year old range said it was because they didn't have children, 1 participant in the 18-34 range had an infant, and 1 attempted to teach his/her children, but it was too difficult because English was the language of the home. Table 8 provides a breakdown of these participants by age range. 71% of the 65+ year olds did not teach their children Chamorro. Similarly 48% of 35-44 year olds, 51% of 45-54 year olds, and 50% of 55-64 year olds did not teach their children Chamorro. 100% of <18 year olds responded that this questions was not applicable as did 46% of 18-34 year olds. Many participants said they would like to teach their children Chamorro, but that they could not teach what they themselves did not know.

	Important	Not Important	No Opinion
How would you rate learning / teaching the Chamorro language?	160	4	13

Table 6. Participant rating of learning / teaching Chamorro

Given these numbers, it is noteworthy to find that 90% (160 participants) said they thought learning / teaching the Chamorro language was important. In addition, 85% (150 participants) indicated that they felt the Chamorro language should be required in public schools.

Interestingly, of the 160 participants who felt that learning / teaching the Chamorro language was important, 89% (143 participants) felt that learning the Chamorro language should be required in public schools while 11% (17 participants) did not think it should be required in public schools. This paradox seen in the 17% who said the language was important but that it should not be required in public schools was clarified in some of the open-ended responses if provided:

ID	Age Range	Why learning / teaching the Chamorro language was important	Additional comments RE: Chamorro language
2738989	18-34	"Descendants of the chamorro culture should pass on the language so that it carries through the generations. It is up to us to do so, if we don't care enough about it -- who will?"	
2689717	18-34	"It is evidently clear that my generation of American raised Chamorro's are limited in speaking Chamorro, with a new generation upon us we are at risk of losing more understanding if there is not a focus of preserving the language"	
2688580	18-34	"If the language is not kept going, unfortunately it will die within the next generation or two."	"Keep it ALIVE!!!"
2699594	18-34	"The chamorro language should not be a requirement in public school. If the language is to survive, it must be a heart driven love for the language and it should be from the home."	"...The Chamorro language is a beautiful one but it is diminishing with new generations. I'd say that the language can survive when started at home."
2706848	35-44	"It's important to learn Chamorro as part of one's heritage, but not necessarily in the classroom setting."	
2689458	35-44	"I think its important for someone to speak their own language. if not speak at least understand."	
2681447	35-44	"the new generation are losing the ability to speak/understand chamorro. the elders should make it a priority to teach but we know they are to laxed. they give in to just speaking english."	"we as Chamorros' should take more pride in knowing, learning and speaking our native language. i feel we will lose the primary source of our culture."
2680783	35-44	"The Chamorro language should be offered, not necessarily required. Just as languages Spanish, Chinese and French are taught. Individuals should be given the option for those wanting to learn/explore this language."	"Just that not being taught your traditional laguage, actually takes away from cultural customs and traditions. It would be nice to see all languages being offered just for this reason alone. "

2680405	35-44	"I believe that our children should learn the language, but they should be taught by parents, relatives, and by choice, at school. Making it a requirement in school is difficult because we do not have enough qualified teachers and also time for other subjects."	
2741827	35-44	"As a cultural link, there is no greater connection to our past than our language."	"The spoken language in the home contains the familial DNA, I want my kids to learn my interpretation/ understanding of the language. Not a stranger's. Kanada is not just a valley, Kanada is where our home is. See the distinction?"
2696005	45-54	"Important especially if you are of Chomorro discent."	
2690231	45-54	"I would like to know how to speak Chamorro since I am Guamanian & I would like to then tach my children as well."	
2675540	45-54	"The Chamorro Language is exclusive to our race. The language should be as well preserved as possible. People practicing the language advances preservation. God bless those who can speak it and help those who wish to learn it."	
2750271	45-54	"We are losing the culture and the special thing of our ancestors, which is the language."	"I studied our language while I attended UOG and I thought our language was one of the toughest and diverse languages to learn. Its easier to learn another language like japanese or tagalog. But, I sure hope that you can help us to learn the language in a much simple manner."
2683882	45-54	"Mastering the language offers better understanding of our past and fosters greater intellectual independence from the Federal Government"	"Chamorro is not a written language and consequently should be mostly taught as a spoken language. The best way to teach it and transfer the values of the Ancient with it would be through traditional stories of our People. I would only support a mandatory teaching of Chamorro thru stories told in the classroom once GPSS is able to master a basic quality curriculum with core competencies for our Children."

Table 7. Open-ended responses by participants who felt learning / teaching Chamorro was important, but that it shouldn't be required in public schools

Overall, in Table 10 and in general, participants said that Chamorro is the link and is important to the preservation of the Chamorro culture. They felt

that it is up to the people to take pride in, teach, and learn it. They believed that Chamorro is a spoken language, not written, so it should be taught at home through stories, not necessarily through schools. Some considered Chamorro to be a difficult language to learn compared to other languages, and others felt that it should be offered in schools optionally as other languages are. Some mentioned that there are not enough qualified teachers to teach the Chamorro language in the schools. Some thought that Elders needed to not give in to just speaking English and should do more towards teaching Chamorro to children. Finally, many participants believed that the language was dying or would be dead very soon. In closing, some participants felt that the Chamorro language provides a connection to and an understanding of the past and that this fosters an intellectual independence from the federal government. This point will be revisited in more detail later in the discussion and analysis section of this study.

2008 Chamorro Language Resources Survey

Following this broad, anonymous survey, a smaller online survey was also conducted, again using the UW Catalyst survey. This survey was administered to a small group of participants who represented a broad segment of the Chamorro community: Grandparents, adults who are parents, adults who are not parents, adults who live in Guam, and adults who live outside of Guam and within the Chamorro diaspora. The purpose of this survey was to understand what, if any, self-study interest in the Chamorro language existed,

awareness of existing self-study language learning resources, and to field input on the development of an online self-study language learning resource. There were seven participants in this online survey. While the questions in this survey were directed at language learning resources, the results of the open-ended questions were useful in establishing some initial broad themes in language myths based on perceptions.

The participants answered nine questions for this short, online survey (see Appendix B). As described earlier, this survey was intended to inform the development of online resources for Chamorro language learning. The goal was to create online resources that would be freely accessible by Chamorro and others interested in learning the Chamorro language both in Guam and outside of Guam.⁴⁵ While the development of language tools and language learning resources is outside the scope of this study, some of the closed questions and the open-ended survey responses provided useful insights towards establishing themes around beliefs and attitudes of the Chamorro language.

No.	Question
1	What self-study Chamorro language resources are you currently aware of?
2	Do you own any self-study Chamorro language resources?
3 (yes)	How did you acquire your self-study Chamorro language resources?
3 (no)	Why don't you own any self-study Chamorro language resources?
4	In learning to speak a language, how would you classify your preferred learning style?

⁴⁵ This survey was motivated by the desire to provide accessible resources primarily to those in the Diaspora. The assumption was that resources were readily available for those in Guam, so this type of resource would not have been of interest to those individuals. As it turns out, the data revealed this type of resource was also attractive to Chamorro people in Guam.

5	Do you own an mp3 player (portable, computer, car, mp3-capable cd or dvd player, etc.)?
6	According to the previous survey, most respondents spoke Chamorro in the home or around family and friends. Please list topics you might typically discuss at home or with family and/or friends.
7	Would you be interested in a website where you could access comprehensive self-study Chamorro language resources?
8	How would you want to find a specific resource on such a website?
9	Thank you for taking this survey! Do you have any comments and/or suggestions regarding self-study Chamorro language resources?

Table 8. Chamorro Language Resources Survey

Of the seven participants, only one was somewhat fluent in Chamorro, and two did not have any Chamorro language resources and were not interested in learning Chamorro at all. Six participants were aware that a Chamorro print dictionary existed, and a few were aware of various other resources such as language programs, grammar books, CDs, and audio tapes.

The more interesting insights came from the open-ended questions, however, particularly those commenting or suggesting on Chamorro language resources in general:

P1: We need to start now to preserve our language while there's some motivation that exist in some people to do it. Putting it in a Rosetta Stone format or other, would be great. Also, using books with a lot of pictures would work with both adults and especially with children. Make it more fun to learn.

Conversational Chamorro with two people talking in Chamorro and having a caption in English as to what ever they're talking about; just like when you're watching a foreign movie.

P2: It's nice to see something which utilizes the latest technology, used to preserve something ancient/sacred. I like the pimsler or rosetta stone type format...I would also like to see an online chat room, where we can interact with others who are learning

as well. Some people don't have the luxury of being around chamorro speakers:-)

P3: Nowadays, the hotel/restaurant association of guam offers free Japanese language classes at certain hotels. I would really like to see chamorro language classes held in the same way. The hotel environment draws a nice crowd because of it's comforts, like air condition, fresh coffee, nearby cafes when food isn't catered, clean restroom facilities, projectors and screens for presentations, just an overall nice place for people to socialize.

P5: Nothing too mundane. It has to be captivating.

P7: Online courses should be simple and goal-oriented. People won't spend much time at it so they should go away from a short lesson feeling they gained something. On the other hand, something like an audio Pimsleur course should extend to the most complex aspects of the language.

P1's statement, "We need to start now to preserve our language while there's some motivation that exist in some people to do it," demonstrates an implicit sense of urgency and indicates a belief that not many, only "some," people are motivated to learn the Chamorro language. P1 perceives that attitudes toward the Chamorro language are declining by saying, "...while there's some motivation." P1 believes that important learning factors are that Chamorro lessons should be conversational and that Chamorro lessons should be fun. P1 also makes a comparison to how other languages are used and can be learned in pointing to foreign movies with subtitles.

P2 believes that the Chamorro language is "ancient" and "sacred." In the same sentence, P2 believes that the ancient Chamorro language should be preserved by modern technologies. P2 is expressing a belief that earlier

methods of preserving the “ancient” Chamorro language are old and obsolete technologies compared to the more modern digital Pimsleur and Rosetta Stone technologies. P2 also points to issues of geospatial location, networks, and flow in describing the “luxury of being around Chamorro speakers.” In addition, P2 believes that technology can help address this problem by providing access online to those not otherwise accessible due to location.

P3 expresses a belief that language classes are the most appropriate way to learn the Chamorro language. In making a comparison between Chamorro and Japanese, P3 alludes to the privileging of a language, Japanese, with particularly attractive benefits in the form of hotels with clean restrooms, food options, a comfortable environment, and no fees. P3’s use of “nice people” is also indicative of a social attribution towards those who patronize hotels with their modern comforts and technologies. Finally, Similar to P1 and P2, P3 mentions technology albeit somewhat indirectly in the fact that projectors and screens can be used for presentations, presumably for language presentations. P3 mentions the notion of comfort when referring to the hotels where Japanese language lessons are offered. By default, this indicates an apparent lack of comfort associated with how Chamorro language lessons are currently being presented.

P5 mentions that Chamorro language lessons need to be “captivating” and “nothing too mundane.” By implication, P2 then believes that current methods of learning Chamorro must not be captivating and are quite mundane.

P7 mentions that Chamorro language lessons should be goal-oriented. This presumes that P7 believes that current Chamorro language lessons must not be goal-oriented. P7 also believes that while Chamorro language lessons should be simple, a digital technology-based program like Pimsleur should also cover the complexities of the language.

P1, P2, and P7 indicate the need to preserve the language through technology particularly in programs like Pimsleur or Rosetta Stone, or by fixing it in material form such as print books. This expresses a belief in the power of technology to save a dying language. On this same continuum but beyond preservation, P3 and P7 believe technology can be useful in language learning.

P2 and P3 allude to the importance of talking and socializing with other people. P3, in describing Japanese language classes and hotels, states, the hotel “draws a nice crowd...for people to socialize.” When P2 states, “I would also like to see an online chat room, where we can interact with others who are learning as well. Some people don't have the luxury of being around chamorro speakers:-),” P2 expresses a belief that learning by interacting with Chamorro speakers in person is clearly more advantageous over the use of technology and positions this method as superior; however, technology will suffice when this is not possible.

P1 and P5 express the need for language learning resources to be “fun” and “captivating” and not “too mundane.” This indicates that their perceptions

of the current methods or, at least, their past experiences of Chamorro language learning are that they are not fun and captivating and are mundane.

This small survey highlighted perceptions and beliefs by Chamorro individuals on the Chamorro language. These perceptions and beliefs are summarized below:

Beliefs and Perceptions of the Chamorro Language
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Chamorro language is in decline because of declining motivation to learn it. • Language classes are the most appropriate way to learn Chamorro. • Other languages are privileged over Chamorro through attractive benefits. • Chamorro is ancient and old. • Chamorro should be preserved. • Technology can save the Chamorro language. • Technology should be used to learn the Chamorro language. • Socializing and speaking Chamorro with others is the best way to learn Chamorro. • Speaking in Chamorro with others is a luxury because this is not always available. • Chamorro language resources should be fun and captivating. • Chamorro language resources should be simple and goal-oriented yet cover complexities in the language.

Table 9. Chamorro Language Resources Survey Findings

Some general categories arise out of the comparative statements made by the participants of this survey. For example, Chamorro is old and technology is new. Participants also compared the various aspects of learning the Chamorro language with how other languages are learned. For example, learning Japanese in the hotels means comfort and modern technologies vs. the presumably uncomfortable and low-tech means of learning Chamorro. Further,

the attributions to the location of where Chamorro vs. Japanese are or can be taught position these languages physically and symbolically according to socio-economic status. Finally, the comparison of English subtitles of foreign movies also suggests a difference in the broad international distribution of English language resources as opposed to the local, small-scale of Chamorro language.

Aside from the single participant who indicated no interest in learning the Chamorro language, this survey demonstrates overall positive attitudes towards learning the language. Overall, these participants had the desire to learn Chamorro, but the ability to do so has been difficult for them. Finally, it should be noted that these participants fit within the “Lost Generation” category identified in the previous 2008 Chamorro Language Survey.

U.S. Naval Executive and General Orders

Executive and General Orders from the beginning of the U.S. Naval Administration of the Government of Guam were collected for this study. This process involved traveling to Guam and visiting the Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC) located at the University of Guam (UOG). There were a number of constraints that determined this collection process: 1) the high cost of traveling to Guam limited the number of trips I could take; 2) the amount of

time I could spend in Guam was limited; 3) the hours of operation that the MARC was open to the public for research⁴⁶; and 4) the MARC system itself.

My time constraints coupled with the MARC hours of operation limitations meant that any time to peruse the documents on site and make notes there was severely limited. As a result, I scanned all of the documents and then worked with them once I returned to Seattle⁴⁷. I also was able to download and use some of the entries on the Guampedia website. The Guampedia records were not as complete, but they did save me a significant amount time in having to manually clean and format the records. In the end, however, a manual chronological analysis of these documents proved to be more useful than determining frequency of search terms.

As previously noted, after Spain ceded Guam to the United States under the Treaty of Paris signed on December 10, 1898, the U.S. Navy served as the government administration of Guam. The Navy administered the government of Guam for the duration of 1898-1950. During this time, the Navy also administered the public schools, though this public schooling was at times

⁴⁶ I thank Monique Storie, Lou Nededog, and Perry Pangelinan for providing access to the UOG Micronesian Area Research Center facility, granting me access to the UOG wi-fi, helping me locate source materials, letting me use the MARC when it was closed to the general public, and for allowing me to leave my box of documents aside for a month when I had to return to Seattle.

⁴⁷ There were some scheduling and technological challenges here since MARC had only one copy machine. I would often have to pause my scan jobs while other users utilized the machine, and the machine often failed to scan properly resulting in repeated batch scanning.

sporadically available. One explicit concept that was repeated in early naval administration communications was the interdependent relationship that the military had with the Chamorro people in Guam. As a result of this understanding, policies were implemented to directly impact this relationship.

In August 1899, U.S. Navy Captain Richard Leary arrived as the new Governor of Guam. There were short-lived administrators prior, but it was under Leary's administration that U.S. policies directed at the Chamorro people and their language were first instituted. After his first two general orders aimed at curtailing alcohol distribution in or out of the island, Leary's next order of business prohibited the Chamorro people and any others who claimed ownership of land in Guam from selling or transferring any portion of their land without the consent of the government. This was presumably for the protection of the Chamorro who might be taken advantage of by scheming land grabbers:

GOVERNMENT HOUSE

Agana, Guam, August 21st, 1899

General Order No. 3:

For the protection of Government interests and as a safeguard for the residents of Guam against the machinations, devices and schemes of speculators and adventurers, it is hereby ordered that all persons who claim ownership of land in this island or its dependencies are prohibited from selling or transferring any portion of such property without first obtaining the consent of the Government. Violation of this order may be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both.

(Naval Government of Guam & Leary, 1899a)

As a matrilineal society, however, land was traditionally passed down in Chamoru society through women, a role described earlier in this study as belonging to the Maga'håga (Cunningham, 1992). This military land policy created a major disruption in the role that Chamoru women played and the interconnectedness of women essentially as the culturally-acknowledged gatekeepers of family, language, history, and genealogy and kinship through land. This cultural disruption impacted Chamoru autonomy by requiring consent from the Naval government in matters concerning land. A second significant impact on Chamoru autonomy as a result of this policy occurred because at this time in American history, women were prohibited from participating in legal and business transactions. Leary's policy on land had dire consequences for the Chamoru and their Systems of Knowledge. In the Chamoru way, transactions regarding the transfer of material property, under the guise of protection (i.e., paternalism), was disastrous. Through this policy, land became the domain of the military administration. Consequently, masculine American military-might severely reduced the power and autonomy of women in Chamoru society. It should also be noted here that under the U.S. military administration in Guam, Chamoru families were dispossessed of their family lands through eminent domain and other means.

Four days after initiating this fateful policy, Leary banned public religious celebrations. This was intended to contain the essentially ubiquitous Catholic faith observed by the Chamorro during this time:

GOVERNMENT HOUSE

Agana, Island of Guam, August 25th, 1899

General Order No. 4:

Public Celebrations of feast days of the Patron Saints of villages, etc. will not be permitted, The church and its members may celebrate their religious feast days within the walls of the church, chapel or private residence, in accordance with regulations for the maintenance of the public peace, and unless, otherwise ordered, the only public holidays recognized will be Sundays, and the holidays authorized by the United States Statute Laws, and by the proclamations of his Excellency, the President of the United States.

(Naval Government of Guam & Leary, 1899b)

Considering that religious observance and practices were also the domain of Chamoru women, this was a critical blow to the autonomy of Chamoru women and, thereby, to Chamoru Systems of Knowledge. As discussed earlier, sacred history and ceremonial cycle are integral to Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Also, recall that in Talking Story with the Mañaina and Manãmkok, it was the women who held the important and highly-

respected role as techa, and praying the Nobena was and continues to be a service that is in high demand by Chamoru families⁴⁸.

So, again, a major disruption was created in how knowledge flowed as a result of the military administration and its policies. Religion for the Chamoru was a powerful social connector, and the administration sought to reduce this power and confine it within the walls of home and the Catholic Church. Consequently, women's power and their roles were limited to those spaces⁴⁹.

Considering his earlier orders prohibiting public practice of Christian ceremonies, it was ironic that Leary would then rationalize his subsequent executive orders aimed at controlling social behaviors in the name of Christianity. Leary justified policies by declaring the Chamorro people and their customs uncivilized and indecent, therefore, against the principles of Christianity – the very strategy of colonialism used to justify the oppression of Indigenous peoples worldwide (Naval Government of Guam & Leary, 1899c). On

⁴⁸ In my own family, my grandmother's cousin, Lou English, was the techa. Her days were filled with traveling from village to village and praying the Nobena in family houses and the Churches. She did this so often, that she earned the reputation for being able to pray the fastest Nobena, and my Mother's siblings would often giggle in embarrassment at not being able to keep up with her in the call-and-response format of the Nobena and Rosary.

⁴⁹ Recently, the Chamoru in Guam protested against the Church policy forbidding religious ceremonies in the Chamorro language. The Church later clarified that, owing to the length of time required to conduct these ceremonies, it was the long version of the Chamorro rosary, not specifically the Chamorro language itself that was being discouraged. Still, the commentary on time and Chamorro social practices and the perception by the Chamorro people of their language being under attack demonstrates the strong connection that the Chamorro associate between their language and their practices, whether religious or secular.

the one hand, Leary sought to limit the influence of the Catholic Church on the Chamorro people by restricting and confining religious practices to the home and Church. On the other hand, recognizing the power that the Church and religion held in the minds of the Chamorro people, Leary, without acknowledging the blatant contradiction, leveraged this affinity by declaring practices of the Chamorro as uncivilized and against Christian religion and values. Although the specific details of Leary's executive orders impacting other social practices are beyond the scope of this study, these policies further demonstrated the manner in which military policies proved disruptive to Chamoru relationality and traditional practices.

Starting in January 1900, only four months into his term, Leary issued the general orders directly impacting the Chamorro language. The Navy had assumed control of the public education system in Guam and formally implemented the first official language policy of the Naval administration in Guam:

GOVERNMENT HOUSE

Agana, Island of Guam, January 22, 1900

General Order No. 12:

1. The system of Public Education in this island is hereby placed under the supervision and exclusive control of the Government, and all necessary expenses for the maintenance of the public school will be defrayed by the Government.
2. Religious instruction in favor of any particular church or creed is prohibited and all religious training heretofore required by

- the late school customs or rules must be eliminated from the course of instruction, as the proper place for religious teaching is the home-circle, church, chapel or Sunday school.
3. All children between the ages of eight years and fourteen years must attend school, unless excused therefrom by competent authority for good reasons that interfere with their attendance.
 4. Instruction in the English language will be introduced in the public schools as soon as suitable teachers can be provided, and it is expected that the present force of native teachers will cheerfully and harmoniously cooperate with the teachers of English in order that the greatest benefit may be derived by both scholars and preceptors

(Naval Government of Guam & Leary, 1900a)

The next day, Leary implemented another formal language policy officially requiring adults to learn how to write their name in English and avail themselves of opportunities to learn English:

GOVERNMENT HOUSE

Agana, Island of Guam, January 23, 1900

General Order No. 13:

1. Every adult resident of this Island must learn to write his or her own name before the first day of July, 1900, unless prevented from doing so by physical disability.
2. The signature must be plain and legible, suitable for use when required in legal documents or commercial transactions, and must be without ornamentation, scroll or other rubrical decoration.
3. Any citizen may procure from the Government a suitable sample of his or her written name for use as a copy to be imitated in practice and instruction.
4. All residents are recommended to utilize every available opportunity to learn how to read, write, and speak the English

language, thereby improving their own mental condition as well as preparing themselves for assisting their children who are required by law to attend school.

(Naval Government of Guam & Leary, 1900b)

Leary's use of terminology in paragraph 4 is indicative of a general perception at least from Naval leadership that by learning English, the Chamorro will have an improved mental condition. In other words, the current condition of just knowing Chamorro implies a lower mental condition. By itself, this sentiment may have been attributed to a single instance of racism, but further supporting this general negative perception of the Chamorro people is an article in *American Anthropologist* from around the same time:

...the aborigines of Guam have been described as very indolent and of the lowest order of civilization, ignorant even of the art of making fire. Surely the people who constructed such marvelous "flying pr[oa]s," who dwelt in commodious and well-built houses, and who carried on the art of agriculture to the extent indicated by the narratives of the early expeditions of the Dutch, cannot be classified as abject savages, even though their bodies were covered by very scant clothing.

(W. E. Safford, 1902, p. 721)

By the time that U.S. Army Brigadier General Joseph Wheeler was instructed to make his way from Manila to Guam in January 1900, Leary's legacy of language policies was already fully established. Wheeler's task was to visit Guam on his way back to the United States and report on the conditions of the island. He arrived on Guam in February and presented his orders to

Leary. During his survey of the island, Wheeler mentioned the negative descriptions of Chamorro people that had been made by earlier writers under the Spanish occupation of Guam:

“The indigenous race called Chamorros very much resemble the Tagals and Visayos, but some writers contend that they are perhaps more indolent—a fault compensated for by good qualities, of which sobriety and unselfishness may claim notice.”

(United States. Adjutant-General’s Office. Military Information
Division, 1900, p. 20)

Wheeler’s personal observations, racist in their descriptions of a people as specimens, nevertheless, demonstrated, clearly according to his sensibilities, a positive regard for the Chamorro people of Guam:

“The people are very cordial and friendly. At every town we entered we were met by the leading men of the place, at two places with United States flags flying. White flags were upon many of the houses, bells were rung, and other efforts were made by the natives to manifest regard for the Americans. I saw a few people who I was informed were pure Chamorros, and they impressed me very favorably. Their features were regular, their forms erect, and they were in all respects fine physical specimens.”

(United States. Adjutant-General’s Office. Military Information
Division, 1900, p. 16)

Wheeler also noted that the Chamorro people high hopes for their new relationship with the U.S. Naval-administered government:

“The people seemed very desirous of establishing the kindest relations with the Americans, and their conduct impressed me with the idea that they hoped for and expected great advantages to come to the island from American rule.”

(United States. Adjutant-General’s Office. Military Information
Division, 1900, p. 16)

On a visit to the ancient village of Humåtak⁵⁰, he noted the positive regard the Chamorro people held for the new U.S. Naval-administered government on the island:

“The people met me at some distance from the town. As I approached they fired guns, rang bells, and made all possible display of welcome and good feeling toward our Government.”

(United States. Adjutant-General’s Office. Military Information
Division, 1900, p. 27)

He continued, remarking on their appearance and disposition:

“They insisted upon our partaking of an entertainment which they had prepared, and in many ways exhibited a desire to receive us with cordiality. The school children, with their bright, intelligent faces, the girls with neat dresses and the boys with equally neat clothing, were brought out in a body and presented to us.

Here, as in other towns, everything had a clean and cheerful appearance.”

(United States. Adjutant-General’s Office. Military Information

⁵⁰ Chamorro for Umatac.

Division, 1900, p. 27)

This repeated reference to cleanliness in contrast to dirtiness and backwardness would be something that Chamoru women scholars such as Anne Perez Hattori (1999) and Tina DeLisle (2008) would write about extensively as the colonial strategy of severing the Chamoru from their language and customs. On a visit to another ancient village known as Hågat⁵¹, Wheeler again noted the regard with which he as the representative of Americans was met and the cleanliness he observed. In other words, he was surprised that the Chamorro people were seemingly not the barbarians he no doubt anticipated from natives:

“When I approached the town every possible expression of welcome to Americans was manifested...The streets, houses, and people all presented a very clean appearance.”

(United States. Adjutant-General’s Office. Military Information

Division, 1900, p. 28)

According to Wheeler, the Chamorro people had positive expectations for their relationship with the new U.S. Naval-administered government in Guam. His repeated comments regarding cleanliness in appearance and cheerful nature of the Chamorro suggest at least one motivating impetus for

⁵¹ Chamorro for Agat.

assimilating the Chamorro. Wheeler generally agreed with Leary's early naval policies instituted in Guam:

“The orders and proclamations show for themselves and need no comment from me.”

(United States. Adjutant-General's Office. Military Information
Division, 1900, p. 36)

Wheeler did, however, acknowledge and note the frustration of the Chamorro towards Leary's policies on religion:

“The orders with regard to religion are evidently considered as a hardship and are distasteful to the majority of the people.”

(United States. Adjutant-General's Office. Military Information
Division, 1900, p. 36)

Less than two weeks after his policy requiring all adults to learn how to write their names, Leary also mandated a policy requiring that people register their land and pay taxes in order to claim ownership of their land. Again, Leary instituted yet another act that discredited and disabused the Chamorro people of their socio-cultural knowledge and practices regarding land tenure in Guam (Naval Government of Guam & Leary, 1900c).

It falls outside the scope of this analysis to consider the details of the land tax payment and registration policies, but I note that within six months of his administration in Guam, Leary seemed to be rushing the process regarding

learning to write signatures for use in legal and commercial transactions, land registration to declare ownership, and tax payments to acknowledge ownership. All while turning Chamorro practices regarding land and the relationship of women in this capacity upside down and relegating women's roles away from the public domain and confined within the walls of home and church.

Leary's next orders of business sought to control a myriad of Chamorro social practices from how they should manage their dead (1900d) to the practice of what he considered peonage (1900e). Given Leary's trajectory, it is evident that the targets of these policies were the cultural practices of the Chamorro. The Chamoru practice a custom called Chenchule', or reciprocity. This custom is at the heart of Inafa'maolek, the interconnectedness and interdependency central to Chamorro ways of being and knowing. Framing Chenchule' as a form of peonage is a gross misunderstanding of and yet another disruption to Chamoru Systems of Knowledge.

Not surprisingly, after Leary's original mandates prohibiting public celebrations of religion and religious instruction and displays in schools, compliance by the Chamorro was an issue for the administration. The expectation that a policy would have the desired impact within five months was unrealistic to say the least of deeply-ingrained customs and traditions. This natural lag may also have been the reason that the Chamorro language even under the strict prohibition policies survived to the extent that it did prior to the reversal of these policies:

GOVERNMENT HOUSE

Agana, Island of Guam, May 14, 1900

General Order No. 19:

1. It has been reported that the requirements of General Order No. 12, dated January 22, 1900, concerning religious instruction, are not being complied with in some of the public schools.
2. The Gobernadorcillos in the Island will immediately remove all crucifixes and saint pictures from the public school rooms in their respective towns or districts and they will direct the school teachers to discontinue instruction in the church catechism and to comply strictly with the requirements of General Order No. 12.
3. Town Officials will see that children of the required age are sent to school and will hold the parents or guardians responsible for the same, reporting delinquents to the Government.
4. Parents, guardians and preceptors can effectively benefit themselves and the community by teaching truth, honesty and morality, and they are hereby advised to check the pernicious habit of GAMBLING that prevails extensively among young children and to discourage the habit among adults who will be held responsible for violation of the law which prohibits GAMBLING.

(Naval Government of Guam & Leary, 1900f)

Leary's final order (1900g) in office was directed at further discouraging other practices so firmly embedded within Chamoru cultural traditions in Guam. It is therefore not surprising that the naval administration encountered difficulties in compliance in 1900. While beyond the scope of this study, it is interesting to note that the ban on gambling was only on Sundays, indicating a

religious motivation. If so, the conditional use of religion by Leary when it suited U.S. military administrative needs was again apparent.

The military administration's policies served as a multi-pronged approach to: 1) disrupt the deep connection between the Chamorro people and the Catholic Church, thereby, loosening the grip of the long Spanish influence in Guam, 2) prohibit Chamorro practices and supplant them with American-oriented ideals and interests, and 3) eliminate the Chamorro language from public use in order to eliminate the means of Chamorro-specific knowledge transfer. The goal of these policies was aimed at establishing a support system to address the needs of the swelling ranks of military personnel in Guam (Perez Hattori, 2009).

Following Leary's reign, several other naval governors succeeded his administration, but it was Leary's policies that set the tone for the U.S. military-Chamorro relationship in Guam. Seaton Schroeder's term was a gentler administration. He reversed or eased some of his predecessor's policies, for example, in allowing public religious celebrations with a permit and easing the hardships created by taxation requirements (Naval Government of Guam & Schroeder, 1900a, 1900b). Schroeder did, however, mandate policies toward the Chamorro practice of midwifery similar to his predecessor (Naval Government of Guam & Schroeder, 1900c).

A series of orders executed in 1904-1905 that defined the age of school children lowered the school requirement age of males to 13 and females to 12

years. This may be related to other orders that confirmed informal testimonials that it was not uncommon for Chamorro females to be married by the time they were 14 years of age, sometimes much younger. By 1905, schools were in session all year, and monetary fines were imposed on parents for unexcused attendance of their children.

Executive General Order No. 243

July 1, 1917

It is hereby ordered and decreed that:

English is the official language of the Island of Guam.

All persons employed in offices will talk nothing but English during office hours. Chamorro must not be spoken except for official interpreting.

All foremen and others employed in a supervisory capacity, all artisans and apprentices, and all other persons whose pay exceeds sixty-four (64c) per diem will talk nothing but English during working hours. Chamorro must not be spoken except for official interpreting.

No person will be employed in an Island office who cannot understand English and speak it fluently.

No foreman or other supervisor, no artisan, no apprentice, nor any person whose pay would exceed sixty-four cents (64c) per diem will be employed unless they understand English and can make themselves understood in English.

(Naval Government of Guam & Smith, 1917)

Within 17 years, the Navy position on language policies escalated from the introduction of English in public schools to a more directed attack on the

Chamorro language itself. In 1900, the Navy proclaimed that native teachers should “cheerfully and harmoniously comply” with the English only policies. By 1917, the Navy declared English as the official language of Guam and banned the Chamorro language from public use. In addition, the Navy introduced very real material incentives, creating a language hierarchy by identifying those who could be employed and also designating those who could be paid higher wages.

In 1922, orders reiterated that public schools were to continue under the Naval administration prohibiting Chamorro in schools, banning all religious display and instruction in schools, fining parents for children’s unexcused absences from school, and jailing parents for unpaid fines:

NAVAL GOVERNMENT OF GUAM

Government House

Guam

September 27, 1922

General Order No. 368:

It is hereby ordered and decreed: -

1. That the system of public education in this island is and shall continue under the supervision and exclusive control of the Government, and all necessary expenses for the maintenance of the public schools will be defrayed by the Government.
2. That religious instruction in favor of any particular church or creed is prohibited in the schools. No religious pictures of any kind shall be publicly displayed in the schools.

...

15. That all instruction in school shall be in the English language.

...

17. That the Head of the Department of Education may with the approval of the Governor suspend any teacher on the island pay roll for a period not to exceed two (2) days without pay for disobedience or failure to carry out orders.

18. That for the purpose of normal training of the school teachers of Guam, the Guam Normal School is hereby established. It shall give instruction in at least the following subjects: English, Pedagogy, Physiology and Hygiene, and History...Attendance upon it shall be required of all teachers, both Naval Government and Federal Employees. All necessary text books and equipment will be furnished by the Department of Education as in all other public schools.

A. ALTHOUSE

Governor of Guam

(Naval Government of Guam & Althouse, 1922)

The implication with the reiteration and insistence by Althouse 22 years after the previous general order that prohibited religious instruction in the public schools is that there must have been a lack of compliance that compelled the Navy administration to take more stringent measures. Indeed, it was in 1922 that Chamorro dictionaries were reported to have been rounded up and burned (Thompson, 1947, p. 218). In addition, the formation of a Normal School implies that anything outside of this curriculum must, therefore, be abnormal. Thus, local teachers, for example, attempting to bridge the gap for students with Chamorro language and their course instruction

would have been in direct violation of the law in Guam. Finally, under Althouse (1923), a year later, Executive General Order No. 368 was revised to state that text books were to be made available by the Department of Education and to compel parents to purchase these texts or suffer financial penalties.

Language and relevant policies imposed under the U.S. Naval administration in Guam are summarized here:

Date	Policy
8/21/1899	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land sale or transfer is prohibited without government consent.
8/25/1899	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public practice of religion is banned.
9/15/1899	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Out-of-wedlock cohabitation is banned. • License to avoid penalties is required by 11/3/1898.
1/22/1900	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public education is placed under exclusive control of the Government, and all public school expenses will be defrayed by the Government • Religious instruction and displays prohibited in schools and restricted to the home and church • Public education is compulsory for children ages 8-14 • English will be taught in schools, and all native teachers are expected to cooperate with the English teachers
1/23/1900	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adults compelled to learn how to write their names within 5 months • Adults are given guidelines for their signatures: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Must be clear and legible for signing legal documents and conducting commercial transactions ○ Government will provide copies for adults to emulate and practice • Adults should learn to read, write, and speak English to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Improve their mental condition ○ Be able to assist their children now compelled to attend school
1904-1905	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School age limit for boys lowered to 13 • School age limit for girls lowered to 12 • School sessions extended to all year • Monetary fines imposed on parents for children unexcused absences
7/1/1917	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English is declared as the official language of Guam • Only English is to be used in offices by employees • Chamorro is not to be used except in official interpreting

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foremen, supervisors, artisans, and apprentices earning more than 64 cents per diem are to speak nothing but English during office hours. Chamorro must not be spoken except for official interpreting • No one can be employed in an island office without understanding and speaking English fluently • Foremen, supervisors, artisans, and apprentices earning more than 64 cents per diem will not be employed unless they can make themselves understood in English
9/27/1922	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public education and maintenance continue under the Government • Religious instruction and displays prohibited in schools • All instruction in school shall be in English • Teachers will be suspended without pay for disobeying these orders • A Normal School is established and will instruct amongst other topics English
1923	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents compelled to buy textbooks or suffer financial penalties

Table 10. Language Policies in Naval Executive and General Orders

As the above table demonstrates, by 1923, the implementation of formal and official Naval policies affecting the Chamorro language in Guam appear to have concluded in 1923. I reiterate for the reader that in 1922, likely due to lack of compliance, Althouse felt compelled to again impose an English-only policy in schools. Given the burning of Chamorro language dictionaries at this time, and the reiteration of these policies, it is clear that all explicit policies relating to the Chamorro language had been articulated and imposed at this time and that the Naval administrative effort turned to focusing on enforcement of these policies.

Guam Public Law

Formal and authoritative Chamorro Language Policies articulated by Guam Public Law were collected and analyzed. Resources included digital and

print archives from the Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam. These documents were useful for understanding relatively current language policies compared to the historical language policies of the Naval Executive and General Orders.

On August 1, 1950, administrative powers governing Guam transferred from the Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of the Interior. A civil government was established with executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The Department of Interior retains ultimate jurisdiction of matters concerning Guam that are not covered by any other federal agencies.

Five major authoritative language policies were recently implemented or are in effect: 1) at the level of government, the Department of Chamorro Affairs (DCA) was created as the authority designated to manage Guam's Chamorro language policy; 2) an official mandate has been in effect requiring minimum education in Chamorro language to all students in public schools; 3) the DCA has commissioned and published the Official Chamorro Language Dictionary complete with a new orthography; and 4) the Hurão Academy Chamorro language immersion school was created; and 5) a standard was created by the DCA to certify qualified Chamorro language teachers.

Early on, my initial impressions of these policies were from a critical position. I felt that while on the surface, these policies seemed positive, a closer look at the policies and potential unintended consequences should be anticipated. First, the Department of Chamorro Affairs was set up as a

corporation with the ability to make grants to projects that can demonstrate the potential to generate a profit. This was problematic since the DCA is essentially promoting the commodification of the Chamorro language and resources which can create problems of access and practice. Second, the public mandate requiring Chamorro language in public schools could not be fully implemented because of the lack of qualified teachers. Third, the dictionary was produced in limited quantity with no plans for future printing and distribution, thereby, limiting access to the new standard and further exacerbating the issue of lack of qualified teachers. Fourth, the immersion program is a private, nonprofit which limits access to only those who can pay for the ability to learn the Chamorro language, which is another commodification of the language and creates a hierarchy of cultural haves and have nots. This perpetuated the existing hierarchy of keeping those in already privileged positions in place. Finally, the new standard for certification eliminated or placed undue pressure on the existing group of teachers and Chamorro speakers who could conceivably teach the language without the certification.

Chamorro Language Documentation

In this section, I outline the history of Chamorro language documentation through the development of Chamorro language dictionaries. Through the process of documentation and reframing, the complexities of what it means that an Indigenous language is dying can be more clearly understood.

What follows is an exploration of the documentation of the Chamorro language primarily through the development of Chamorro language dictionaries that were written in English⁵²⁵³.

In 1903, after a short duration in Guam serving from 1899-1900 as an aide to then governor Leary, Lieutenant William Safford compiled a Chamorro Language of Guam that he published as a five-part series in the *American Anthropologist* journal. Fluent in Spanish and German, Safford readily admitted that his compilation, created in part from secondary dictionary resources, is not a complete grammar of Guam. Of note, Safford commented on the resource he relied on by Fray Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen that, “In the dictionary referred to there is no Chamorro-Spanish vocabulary nor any remarks whatever on the grammar of the Chamorro language” (William Edwin Safford, 1903, p. 289). In addition, Safford pointed out the discrepancies that arose out of the inconsistencies given the lack of a Chamorro orthography.

On November 14, 1916, Edward R. von Preissig, PhD and Chief Pay Clerk for the United States Navy stationed in Guam, submitted his completed manuscript for the *Dictionary and Grammar of the Chamorro Language of the Island of Guam*. Though not a trained linguist, Von Preissig built his dictionary

⁵² While Chamorro dictionaries existed in other languages, this study focuses specifically on only English versions many of which relied upon the non-English Chamorro dictionaries.

⁵³ In addition, while other efforts at Chamorro language documentation exist, particularly purely linguistics efforts, these lie outside the scope of this study.

on previous Chamorro “dictionaries” that he studied and interviews with local Chamorro informants. Von Preissig declared his manuscript to be the most comprehensive Chamorro dictionary in English to date at that time. He sent his initial correspondence along with his manuscript to the Department of Education and the Governor of Guam, both Navy-administered entities then, for approval by the Secretary of the Navy (Bureau of Naval Intelligence):

UNITED STATES NAVAL STATION, GUAM,

OFFICE OF THE SUPPLY OFFICER AND PAY OFFICER OF THE STATION,

November 14, 1916.

From: Chief Pay Clerk E. R. von Preissig, United States Navy.

To: The Secretary of the Navy (Bureau of Naval Intelligence), via
The Department of Education and the Governor of Guam.

Subject: Forwards MS. Of Chamorro Dictionary.

(1) Having completed the preparation of a Dictionary of the Chamorro Language, I forward herewith the manuscript, and request that this work be approved and printed as a Navy Department publication, for the use of the department of education and other branches of the Government of Guam, and for sale to the general public.

EDWARD R. VON PREISSIG.

(von Preissig & United States. Navy, 1918, p. v)

Von Preissig’s manuscript received its first endorsement by the naval-administered Department of Education two days later:

NAVAL GOVERNMENT OF GUAM, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,

November 16, 1916.

From: Head of Department.

To: Governor of Guam.

- (1) Forwarded, recommending approval.
- (2) It is believed that this dictionary would be of great value to the department of education of the island.

M. G. COOK.

(von Preissig & United States. Navy, 1918, p. v)

Two days after the first endorsement from the Department of Education, von Preissig's manuscript received its second endorsement from the Governor of Guam:

NAVAL GOVERNMENT OF GUAM, GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

Guam, November 18, 1916.

From: Governor of Guam.

To: The Secretary of the Navy, via Office of the Naval Intelligence.

Subject: Forwarding MS. Of Chamorro Dictionary and recommending printing.

- (1) Forwarded, approved.
- (2) This is a highly creditable piece of work, which has been accomplished at the cost of much labor. Nothing exists on the same scale. It is bound to be of great value to all the inhabitants of Guam.

- (3) Mr. von Preissig expects no rewards or compensation of any sort. He has pursued this labor as a matter of personal interest and offers his work freely to the Government.
- (4) I recommend that the dictionary be accepted and a letter of thanks be sent to Mr. von Preissig; and that the work be printed and issued, as requested.
- (5) I also recommend that this correspondence, together with the department's final action, be printed with the work, to serve as a preface.

ROY C. SMITH.

(von Preissig & United States. Navy, 1918, pp. v-vi)

Five months after this glowing endorsement by the Governor of Guam, the following verdict was received, and in July, von Preissig, no longer stationed in Guam, received a promotion for his effort:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, April 6, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. VON PREISSIG: The department has received through the commandant of the naval station at Guam the manuscript of your Grammar and Dictionary of the Chamorro Language. The energy and zeal displayed by you in the preparation of a work of such magnitude is fully appreciated, as is also your generous offer to place the results of your labor at the disposal of the department without remuneration.

While the department recognizes the great benefit that would accrue to the department of education and the inhabitants of the Island of Guam through their possession of a textbook of this character, there are not at this time funds available for its publication.

I have placed this matter in the hands of the Director of Naval Intelligence, who will safeguard your manuscript and submit requisition for the publication of the work when funds for the purpose shall be available.

Very respectfully,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS, *Secretary of the Navy.*

Chief Pay Clerk EDWARD R. VON PREISSIG, U.S. Navy, *Naval Hospital, Mare Island, Cal.*

[Note.—Chief Pay Clerk von Preissig was promoted to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy, July 1, 1917.]

(von Preissig & United States. Navy, 1918, p. vi)

Thus, Von Preissig was acknowledged with a promotion and commended for his contribution with honors. The dictionary was recognized as a valuable document for the Chamorro people, but, ultimately, it was not sufficient to warrant financing for its publication and broad distribution. In contrast, in 1922, just five years after von Preissig was commended for his documentation of the Chamorro language, Chamorro dictionaries were rounded up in Guam and burned (Thompson, 1947, p. 218).

For all intents and purposes, when the Navy assumed command as the government administration of Guam, its agenda did not include support for the Chamorro people through the maintenance of their native language. In 1918, Von Preissig's manuscript was published by the Government Printing Office. Von Preissig's dictionary was a product of the Navy and the first English documentation of the Chamorro language of its kind. Then, ironically, its printing and distribution were prohibited for the Chamorro people.

In 1950, the transfer of power from the Navy to the local Government of Guam was made official through the Organic Act of Guam. By this time, the Manâmkok' interviewed for this study would all have been approximately between ages 17-19. At this age, they were poised to be the next leaders and workers in the new Guam economy, and it would be their children who would be educated in a fully-established and regular public school system.

In 1967, the *Chamorro-English, English-Chamorro Dictionary* was published by F. "Val" C. In his preface, the author claimed to have created the only recent dictionary in Guam providing Chamorro-English definitions:

This is the only recent publication in Guam of the Chamorro-English dictionary, and it justifies the need to preserve the language for posterity in the libraries, and tourist bureaus of the world. As the English language is spoken daily by many Guamanians and other islanders of the Marianas, the use of the Chamorro will continue to decline. Consequently, this culture will forever be lost, if publication of this book is not done by the untiring efforts and sacrifice of this author.

(Val C, 1967, p. 5)

Here, the author justified the need for documenting the Chamorro language: namely, that there was no recent documentation in the island at the time of his publication. Interesting to note is Val C's self-ascribed heroism in the preface. The author genuinely believed that he was saving the culture with his document of the Chamorro language. Putting aside the fact that this book itself was in no way suitably comprehensive enough, a pattern emerged

between Val C's book and von Preissig's book. While perhaps more subtle, 50 years prior, von Preissig similarly championed himself as a heroic savior for the Chamorro:

That the present work is the first lexicographic record in English language of the Chamorro idiom of the Mariana Islands, and especially of the island of Guam, is submitted as its principal "raison d'être," as well as the author's justification for undertaking a task rendered especially difficult through the paucity of materials on which to base outlines, which difficulties were further amplified by the character of the sources at his disposal.

(von Preissig & United States. Navy, 1918, p. 1)

Thus, both authors believed their own mythology of lexicographer as self-sacrificing, uncompensated, tireless heroes for the Chamorro culture. Yet, at least in von Preissig's case, the production of such documents was not a limiting factor. Instead, it was the distribution of the document that was prohibited. More precisely and paradoxically, it was the distribution of the document to the Chamorro people – the very people that these self-ascribed lexicographical heroes believed themselves to be saving – that was denied. In informal conversations with Chamorro people in the age demographic of those who would have been witness to this document, only one person was vaguely knowledgeable about the existence of a Navy-produced Chamorro dictionary. He attested that it was never distributed in Guam. Similarly, Val C intended that his document be distributed "through libraries and tourist bureaus of the world." These channels were not explicitly available to the Chamorro people of

Guam. Both Val C and von Preissig lamented the decline of the Chamorro language. Yet, they did not acknowledge their complicity and participation in the institutional mechanisms that created the conditions for this decline.

It was the Navy-administered government of Guam that ultimately determined that the distribution of the dictionary was not in the best interest of the people. Thus, the mythology of heroes and the role of print publications in saving peoples are formed; lexicographers are the self-sacrificing, tireless heroes with altruistic motives for saving an entire people through producing a single document. The Navy administrators acknowledged the value of this document as a contribution for posterity's sake. But what is unspoken is the fact that the Chamorro were not considered part of the national identity to whom this posterity applied.

The dictionary represented both a literal and symbolic power for the Navy in several ways: 1) the Chamorro language as the content of the document held the power to sustain the preexisting Chamorro identity that was distinct from a larger American identity thereby impeding assimilation; 2) the flow of this information now that it was documented, could be controlled with the Navy acting as gatekeeper; and 3) by default, in acknowledging 1 and 2, what resulted was the emergence and identification of (the enemy as) the knowledge system of the Chamorro, a system that is governed and mediated through the use of the Chamorro language.

In 1969, Donald M. Topping with assistance from Pedro M. Ogo, a native Chamorro speaker and principal at the time for Rota Elementary and High School, published a document titled *Spoken Chamorro*. Soon after this publication, the Marianas Orthography Committee published their Chamorro orthography in 1971. As a result, Topping republished *Spoken Chamorro* with no changes to content but with revisions to reflect the Chamorro orthography adopted in 1971. A linguist at University of Hawaii and having taught for four years at the College of Guam, Topping took an interest in the Chamorro language when he visited Guam from Hawaii. He offered his publication with the following wish:

It is hoped that this book will serve in some small way to keep Chamorro a viable language in the land in which it was born. If it helps even one person to learn about and appreciate the Chamorro culture through its language, it will have served its purpose well.

D. M. Topping

Honolulu, March 1980

(Topping & Ogo, 1980, p. vi)

Topping's comment on the viability of the Chamorro language echoed the lamentations of the previous lexicographers that the Chamorro language was in decline. He further stated:

That the language is in a state of rapid change is suggested by frequent complaints of the younger speakers that they cannot understand many expressions used by the older speakers. While it is natural for languages to change, the rate of change that

Chamorro is experiencing is somewhat abnormal and has no doubt been hastened by the political events of the past thirty years (Topping & Ogo, 1980, p. 1).

In this explanation of rapid change in the Chamorro language, Topping's statement about the "political events of the past thirty years" is a first glimpse by the lexicographers that alluded to the impact of militarization of Guam on the Chamorro language.

In 1973, four years after the initial 1969 *Spoken Grammar* was published, Topping published the *Chamorro Reference Grammar* with assistance from Bernadita C. Dungca who was a Chamorro and bilingual education instructor at the University of Guam.

The influence of English on everyday written Chamorro has not been very great. This is probably due to the fact that most people who can write English seldom have the need to write anything in Chamorro. The influence of English writing did play some part in the official Chamorro Orthography which was adopted in Saipan in January, 1971 (Topping & Dungca, 1973, p. 9).

Here, the implication was the notion that educated people had no need to write in the vernacular of the Chamorro people.

In addition, observations regarding the size and scope of these documents, suggest troubling perceptions of the Chamorro language. Val C's comment, "The Chamorro dialect has limited words," (1967, p. 5) was indicative of the mindset regarding the utility of Chamorro. Indeed, Val C's section for the Chamorro-English definitions spanned only 80 pages of his very small

document. As the self-proclaimed “sole recent dictionary” of the Chamorro language at that time, Val C’s claims were fixed in ink for broad distribution to tourists and recent residents. He thereby commanded uncontested power as the official voice to the public for pronouncements regarding the Chamorro language.

In von Preissig’s document, the section for Chamorro-English definitions spanned 107 pages, while the English-Chamorro translations spanned 96 pages. While English speakers may intuitively recognize that 96 pages clearly cannot encompass the broad scope of the English language, the same conclusion is not drawn for the Chamorro language by the authors. Von Preissig appeared to even congratulate himself on his lengthier treatment for the Chamorro language in comparison to the three previous dictionaries that served as his source material:

As stated in the bibliography following, only three dictionaries are available at the present time, of which the Japanese-Chamorro Dictionary consists about 60 very small pages, with a vocabulary comprising 30 pages, presenting the Chamorro equivalents in phonetic spelling; the German-Chamorro Dictionary, with a vocabulary of 86 pages, also adheres to the phonetic spelling and only the Spanish-Chamorro Dictionary, published in Manila in 1865, maintains the spelling of the Chamorro words in accordance with the representation used by the Chamorros of the present day, a usage which has been transmitted to them through their mothers from generation to generation. The fact that there has been great need for a printed record of the Chamorro language is brought into bold view by the evident losses sustained by the spoken language since the comparatively recent date of the publication of the last mentioned dictionary. These losses have forced themselves upon

the author's knowledge during his preliminary investigations among the natives, when it was his ever-recurring experience to be compelled to abandon word after word contained in the work of the Spanish author, for the reason that they were no longer remembered by any of the living Chamorros, and although all these words represented, upon the most causal etymological investigation, the true genius of the old language, they have been lost to it forever, having apparently died with the last generation.

(von Preissig & United States. Navy, 1918, p. 1)

In 1971, the Marianas Orthography was established in an attempt to unify the writing system for Chamorro.

In 1975, Topping published the *Chamorro-English Dictionary*. This document along with his *Spoken Chamorro* and *Chamorro Reference Grammar* served as the official Chamorro dictionary until just recently. Topping did proclaim that his document, with 215 pages of Chamorro words, was more complete than previous dictionaries:

The present work might be considered an intermediate step along the way towards a full dictionary of Chamorro. It goes beyond the previous dictionaries of Callistus, Von Preissig, Vera, Arnold, Donlon, and "Val" in the following ways: (1) a larger number of entries; (2) fuller English glosses; and (3) the inclusion of sample sentences to illustrate usage.

(Topping et al., 1975, p. vii)

But he was notably more humble about his contribution and did something none of the other lexicographers did in explicitly encouraging the Chamorro people themselves to create the ultimate Chamorro dictionary:

Although this work bears the word *dictionary* in the title, it is not, in the compilers' opinions, truly a dictionary of Chamorro. To qualify as a genuine dictionary, all the definitions would be in Chamorro, etymologies would be given, and more Chamorro entries included. Such a dictionary will have to be produced by the Chamorro people themselves if a genuine Chamorro dictionary worthy of that title is ever compiled.

...

Speaking for the other two compilers and myself, this dictionary is far from exhaustive. There are probably several thousand Chamorro words that we simply did not think of. We hope that the Chamorro people will take upon themselves the task of expanding this work into a full-fledged dictionary that will serve either to help keep the language alive or as a fitting tribute to its demise.

(Topping et al., 1975, pp. vii–viii)

In 1983, the Chamorro Language Commission of Guam established new rules for the official Chamorro orthography to replace the 1971 rules. Heated debates ensued in the years that followed, with varying levels of compliance and adherence to the orthography even within the government administration that created the commission and mandated the development of the orthography. Ultimately, however, Underwood, a strong advocate for the new orthography, pointed out that the new rules neither change the language nor dictate its use and that uniformity in written Chamorro is critical for the language to survive: “If Chamorro is to be preserved, it must be seen in print and it must be written in a uniform fashion” (R. A. Underwood, 2014b).

Finally, in 2009, almost 40 years later, a dedicated working group in Guam took up the mantle heeding Topping's suggestion and published *The Official Chamorro-English Dictionary*. Dr. Katherine Aguon, a longtime advocate of the Chamorro language, served as lead editor on the project with the support of Sylvia Flores and the Department of Chamorro Affairs. This volume was a triumphant 384 pages containing 9097 Chamorro entries (Aguon & Dept. of Chamorro Affairs, 2009, p. vii). This document was built upon the draft created by a working group in Guam from 1978-1982 (Aguon & Dept. of Chamorro Affairs, 2009, p. iv). In addition to being comprehensive, in its production, *The Official Chamorro-English Dictionary, Ufisiât Na Dikسیونârión Chamorro-Engles* represented Indigeneity in action in its decolonization of language policies that had been historically perpetuated on the Chamorro through the process of language documentation. Rather than a document for posterity's sake aimed at an ambiguous population, this document was directed at the Chamorro people themselves: "Dedicated to the People of Guam and the Mariana Islands" (Aguon & Dept. of Chamorro Affairs, 2009, p. iii)

To date, all of the previous dictionaries lamented the decline of the Chamorro language evidenced by the rapid linguistic changes in words taken from other documents. In fact, in conversations over the years, I have begun to hear a comment that piqued my curiosity: "That's not my Chamorro." To the credit of the working group in Guam, they offered no commentary acknowledging any decline of the Chamorro language. Instead, the group

focused on an Inafa'maolek expression of gratitude for those on whom they relied for source material and support.

I Mañaina yan Manåmko' (Chamoru Elders)

While the online surveys conducted earlier were useful for understanding perceptions of the Chamorro language, that format largely missed the critical population of the Manåmko', or elders, so important in the Chamorro culture and knowledge system. I needed another method to engage with the elders to understand their insights and stories. Conventional interviewing methods would have been inappropriate with the Manåmko' and would have created a distance that would have negatively affected the quality of our conversations. Challenged by this dilemma, I proposed to describe and use the method of Talking Story.

Initial participants came from my immediate social network as the point of entry to other networks, and additional participants came from these initial conversations. While this study focused primarily on participants who identified themselves as Chamorro and had a desire to maintain the Chamorro culture and an interest in learning or preserving the Chamorro language, it was also important to include stories from those Chamorro who didn't have this same desire or interest. Talking Story with participants sought to gather data from personal histories, experience with and perceptions of language policies. Early on, it was not clear how much of a relationship participants might have directly with the military. However, as a result of my historical research and

interviews, I anticipated that either a direct or indirect relationship would be revealed.

I chose to use an iterative approach in gathering and understanding the data. Reflection and constant comparison were used to generate themes from emergent patterns in the data. Data from the preexisting online surveys were analyzed and used for establishing these patterns and themes. Initially, the final number of participants for Talking Story was to be determined when a level of saturation had been reached with the themes and no new or additional themes were emerging. Faced with the limitations noted earlier in traveling to Guam and conducting research onsite, I was concerned that the number of Manåmko' would have resulted in very disparate information. What resulted, however, was that in the number of Manåmko' with whom I Talked Story, I began to find very similar recurrent themes. For example, all learned to speak the language fluently as a matter of course because it was the only way to communicate with their elders; all had experienced the language prohibition policies in school and public spaces; all felt that it was important for young Chamorro to learn the language and that it was the connection to their heritage and ancestors; and almost all felt that school was the place to learn the language even though this contradicted their experiences with speaking Chamorro in school and language learning in general.

In October 2015, I visited the Sinajana Senior Citizens Recreational Center. Located in the central part of Guam, Sinahånña (Sinajana)⁵⁴ is one of the ancient villages that existed before the arrival of the Spanish missionaries (Castro, 2014). I chose Sinahånña for three reasons: first, it is the village where my grandmother, Lucille Crisostomo Gogo, had lived; second, it is home to one of the largest and most active Chamorro senior communities that gather daily at the Senior Citizens Recreational Center to eat and socialize; and third, in light of the first two reasons, I expected to gain entry into this tight-knit network of people that might otherwise have been unavailable.

One concern in selecting a senior citizens recreation center is that these centers have been stereotypically known as gatherings primarily for bingo games. It was true, that at the Sinahånña Senior Citizens Recreational Center (Center), bingo started in the morning and carried on throughout most of the day; however, I found that this did not inhibit my ability to Talk Story with the Manåmko’.

Initially, I had planned to use a paper survey to administer to all of the seniors at the Center, and then identify and select 5-8 Manåmko’ to interview based on the responses. After visiting the Center a few times to get a feel for the dynamics of the people, place, and activities, I decided against the paper survey

⁵⁴ This dissertation uses the spellings for village names and Chamorro words specified under the new Chamorro orthography.

for the following reasons: 1) I concluded that the seniors would probably have found this format culturally off-putting and difficult in general; 2) I observed that even if the seniors were receptive to this format, many would likely have needed a lot of assistance reading and writing on the form; 3) as a result of 1 and 2, the responses would likely not be very forthcoming and useful; 4) the PA system was loud and perpetually going with bingo games all day which would have disrupted the ability of the Manåmko' to focus on the forms; and 5) there wasn't a specific time when a majority of the Manåmko' were present and available.

Instead of the paper survey, I relied on the knowledge and assistance of Kenneth San Augustin, the longtime Center manager. Ken has close relationships with the seniors, in-depth knowledge of their backgrounds and histories, and a good sense of their ability and willingness to be interviewed. Actually, Ken, playing the role of Manåmko' Gatekeeper⁵⁵, interviewed me in the very beginning about who I was, what my intentions were, and why I was interested in the people at his Center. I explained that I wanted to talk with the eldest Manåmko' about their experiences and thoughts on the Chamorro language.

In the end, Ken's relationships with and knowledge of the elders saved time that might have otherwise been spent interviewing seniors who fell outside

⁵⁵ Information gatekeeper used here as defined by Metoyer (1993a, 1993b).

the scope of this study. For example, there were some seniors who were not Chamorro and did not speak the language; others who were physically or mentally not able to be interviewed; and those who would not have wanted to be interviewed.

At the Center, I met and talked story with five Mañaina and Manåmko': Jesusa Arceo, Julia Villagomez, Amanda Santos, Pedro Cruz, and Juan Baza. In addition, Ken had some interesting insights that were useful for this study. Outside of the Center, I talked story on several occasions with Francisco Lintiaco. Finally, I had many opportunities over the years during the course of this dissertation study to Talk Story with many individuals, some of whom have since passed away, whose thoughts and opinions helped to inform this study.

I met with the Manåmko' at the Sinahånña Center daily, and we talked story for long hours each day during my visits. I also conducted formal interviews with the Manåmko' to provide material documents in the form of video and video transcriptions. I was initially concerned that using the video format would have been too off-putting and formal for the Manåmko' by making them self-conscious about being recorded. However, after Talking Story with them for a while, they were all quite amenable to my request to use the

video format for our “formal” interview⁵⁶. Reflecting back on this process, the video format was extremely useful in my final writing and analysis⁵⁷.

A note on protocol: it is customary in the Chamorro culture to refer to acknowledged non-blood relations in familial terms. Chamoru Mañaina and Manåmko’ are often referred to as “nana” or “tata” – grandmother / mother or grandfather / father – by younger Chamorro, and also “tan” or “tun” – auntie or uncle⁵⁸ whether they are blood relations or not. In keeping with the Chamoru custom, these terms are used in reference to the Manåmko’ and Mañaina that I talked story with for this study.

Jesusa Arceo

I visited the Sinahånña Senior Citizens Center on 10/6/15, and spoke with the manager, Ken San Agustin. Ken gave me permission to come and talk with the elders and introduced me to the people who were there that day. That’s when I met Suzy Arceo, the eldest member of the Center. Tan Suzy

⁵⁶ This attitude might be attributed to the fact that many Mañaina and Manåmko’ are now increasingly being interviewed by researchers and young scholars seeking to document their stories as contributions critical to Guam’s history and the youth. Previously, many elders refused to discuss their past and particularly experiences relating to the atrocities of war.

⁵⁷ While I initially thought video recording would be best for my study, I resisted the idea after concluding that video would make the Manåmko’ self-conscious. In the end, this turned out not to be the case, and the Manåmko’ felt somewhat of a duty to “help” me accomplish my goals. I have Raya Fidel, my dissertation committee co-chair, to thank for insisting that I pursue the video recording format.

⁵⁸ The Spanish influence on the Chamorro language can be seen in the use of these words.

asked me who my family was. I explained my family lineage on my mother's side, and she placed me instantly. She knew exactly who I was even though I'm certain that we had never met. She remembered my grandmother, who was her senior, and the house on the hill. "Oh, si Lucia. Yeah, I know your grandmother" she recalled even though my grandmother was laid to rest 20 years ago.

Tan Suzy and I continued to Talk Story, and by the end of my visit, I explained what I was doing for my study. Although our time Talking Story was the main mode of our communication and sharing, she agreed to let me formally conduct a recorded video interview. So, I returned the next day with my recording equipment, and we did the interview in Ken's office where it was quieter. Following the recorded interview, I visited Tan Suzy daily at the Center, and we continued to Talk Story for hours for the rest of my time in Guam during that trip.

Tan Suzy, 84, was born at the close of 1931 as the siren that blared loudly began to fade signaling the end of the year. Though, as she tells it, her father mistakenly reported her birth year as 1932. Her mother chided him about this point later, but the year had already been officially recorded. Tan Suzy, a Manñengon⁵⁹ survivor, is proud of her career as a songwriter and

⁵⁹ Manñengon is a concentration camp that was created by the Japanese during the WWII Japanese occupation of Guam. Many Chamorro who survived the camp vividly remember the atrocities of this experience. Recent efforts are currently being undertaken in order to

performing artist and continues to sing and produce CDs today. She is especially proud of the fact that she, a Chamorro from Guam, sang for Senator Dianne Feinstein in California. She has 11 children, 39 grandchildren, and 26 great grandchildren.

Tan Suzy is also highly unusual in that at one time, she worked for many years in California wiring computers. As a result, she was well ahead of her time and fairly comfortable compared to her peers with the concepts of information and communication technologies (ICTs). Given her background in computers, she was well prepared for the free computer course she took offered through the University of Guam several years ago on using ICTs. The course was provided to senior citizens free of charge, but most did not complete it because they couldn't grasp the concepts.

The oldest of the Manåmko' at the Center and in Sinahånña, Tan Suzy is well-loved and highly-respected. Reading, speaking, and writing Chamorro were expressly forbidden in school when she was a student, yet she speaks Chamorro fluently. Reflecting on the Chamorro language policies at school and the condition of the Chamorro language today, she shakes her head:

“Hu-u adai, those days. So bad. Yeah. That's why they give up the Chamorro...”

document these stories particularly as the number of remaining living Manåmko' and their memories are rapidly decreasing.

Tan Suzy is proud of the fact that she has recorded songs in the Chamorro, Filipino, and English languages. At the start of our recorded interview, she opened by singing *We Fly Like a Bird*, a song often heard in the Catholic Church. Tan Suzy, like most Manåmko', has strong ties to the Church in Guam. She is a techa, one who prays the Nobena (Novena) for the people, a role she has had since she was a young woman. Her mother taught her to pray the Nobena, and though Tan Suzy grew up speaking Chamorro, it's to the exercise of praying the Nobena that she attributes her ability to read the Chamorro language, "Well, what...how did I learn the Chamorro...is from saying Nobena." She added, "Many, many, many, many years. And that's why I know how to pronounce the Chamorro." This last sentence referring to how she learned to read by pronouncing the Chamorro words syllable by syllable and matching that with the Chamorro text in the Nobena prayer books until she finally understood how the syllables were spelled. So, in a reverse manner, Tan Suzy pronounced the syllables of the words she knew by heart and then read the words to figure out how they were spelled. This was in contrast to the conventional reading of syllables to sound out words and then determining what they spelled.

Tan Suzy confirmed that she didn't learn to read Chamorro in school,

"Yes! Yes, I don't really get Chamorro lesson...from that Nobena, I learn from the Nobena...I say Nobena a long time, even back in the States."

Clearly proud of her accomplishment, she adds,

“Well, I really and I did it my own. I don’t go to school.”

When she later moved to the States with her husband and kids, Tan Suzy was sought out often in California to pray the Nobena for the many Chamorro families living there. When she moved back to Guam to attend to family land matters, her daughter remained in California and was called on to carry on the tradition of praying the Nobena.

Tan Suzy learned to speak Chamorro as a matter of course growing up in Guam because her parents spoke only Chamorro. Her son is a prominent Chamorro musician and speaks fluent Chamorro. Most of her grandchildren live in the states, but the youngest of her three grandsons in Guam takes Chamorro courses in school as mandated by law for Guam public schools. She was not aware that her grandson had mandatory Chamorro lessons:

ME: But I hear that the, uh, schools are making it, it’s mandatory that they learn Chamorro in school.

AS: Here?

ME: So, your grandsons, they have to learn it in school or no?

AS: They never mention it...lani (we laugh together)

We continue on this thread:

ME: ...So, the grands, the grands are learning Chamorro, but they don’t speak to you...

AS: Nooo...(mock despairing look)

ME: ...in Chamorro. And, do you try to speak to them in Chamorro?

AS: Yes! Of course!

ME: And then what happens when you do that?

AS: (emulating them) 'Grandma, what are you saying?' (we laugh) You have to listen, because this is our language, and it's very important. What if you're married and you have kids, you know. You have to speak Chamorro.

When asked if she ever speaks with her grandson in Chamorro, she laments, "I try to. But everytime he says, 'Grandma, what you say?'" insisting he doesn't know what she was saying to him. So, she resorts to English instead. I also asked if her grandchildren ever ask her to speak to them in Chamorro:

ME: Do any of your grandchildren, do they ever ask you to speak Chamorro to them, or do they want to learn how?

AS: Well, I try to teach them, they'll, they think it's very hard. (laughing and shaking her head with a resigned tone of voice. Emulates them squinting their eyes and shaking their heads with pursed lips as if avoiding taking something distasteful by mouth.) What can I do?

I asked Tan Suzy what she thought of the way that young Chamorro speakers were using the language today, and, not surprisingly, she did not have thoughts on this because most young Chamorro including her grandchildren don't ever speak to her in Chamorro.

Regardless, Tan Suzy believes that the Chamorro language is important to learn and maintain and said this for the young Chamorro:

“Gof impotante na untugno i todo i man ma amkotta sa enague man ma fan aguen mame sa debide hu matungo ni yu i siblings nai...u man ha-a man aguagua (laughs) ‘Grandma, I don’t know what you’re talking about.’ They give up.”

In sum, Tan Suzy, fluent in Chamorro, learned to speak as a matter of course from her parents when she was a child growing up. However, Chamorro was forbidden in school, and speaking Chamorro was punishable. She attributed this condition and hostile environment towards the Chamorro language as the reason for the language demise. In addition to not learning how to speak Chamorro in school, she also never learned to formally read or write in Chamorro. She taught herself to read Chamorro by praying the Nobena. She was somewhat aware of the new Chamorro orthography and felt that she could easily adjust to read and understand texts using this version. Her children were also not taught Chamorro in school and are not fluent speakers.

One of her sons, however, learned to speak fluent Chamorro through music. He was a singer in bands with other musicians who were fluent speakers, so he learned through them as part of their music. Her oldest grandson is a fluent speaker. She indicated that her daughter taught him to speak the language, but that she, herself, is not fluent. Tan Suzy’s school-age grandchildren who currently live in Guam must take the required Chamorro

lessons in school; however, they, too, are not fluent even after several years of formal Chamorro language lessons. So, when they speak to her in English, she responds in kind. Tan Suzy does not hear young Chamorro speaking the language, at least not to her, but she feels strongly that knowing the Chamorro language is very important.

Peter Rosario Cruz

Peter Cruz is a retired U.S. military veteran. Because he wore a hearing aid, we couldn't Talk Story much leading up to our formal interview. The PA system at the Center was much too loud, and that made it difficult to hear each other and Talk Story in any meaningful way. He graciously agreed to let me interview him twice so that we could talk at length in the office, but once there, the camera and office made for a formal setting that in this case was unavoidable.

Tun Pedro, born on November 9, 1931, is retired from the Air Force and is a Vietnam veteran. He has 4 children and 11 grandchildren, and his grandchildren range in age from 8-16. Like Tan Suzy, he is a Manñengon survivor. Tun Pedro recalled the Manñengon World War II concentration set up during the Japanese occupation of Guam. His memories of the war and Japanese occupation are quite vivid. He spoke of how he and his family survived during the war. He was 11 years old when the Japanese military invaded Guam.

Similar to Tan Suzy, Tun Pedro learned Chamorro as a matter of course growing up and speaking to his parents and elders, particularly his mother, who only spoke to him in Chamorro:

“Oh, my parents, you know they s...I don’t even know how to speak English (laughs) myself...You know? Th-, only Chamorro until, I, you know, start going to school.”

He was 6 years old when he started going to school. This means he must have attended school for a few years prior to the Japanese invasion.

Tun Pedro described the bombing and what the island and his home shelter looked like during that time. The trees all lost their leaves, and everything was barren afterwards. “We didn’t know about war,” he says, laughing and reflecting on the flimsy bamboo-thatched roof they hid under for shelter against the bombs. He told of a close call as a teen with the Japanese soldiers. He shook his head at the thought of how he would have died if he had followed the orders the soldiers had given him directing him to go to a particular place. Since he chose not to obey those orders, he later heard that those who followed orders and went to that location had all been beheaded. When the Japanese forces came around looking for young men to recruit for labor, something they did on a regular basis, his mother would make him lie in bed and tell the soldiers that her son was too sickly and weak to be of any use. He attributes his survival through the occupation to his mother’s cleverness.

When the American forces retook Guam from the Japanese, Tun Pedro's mother was serving as a nurse. Later, an elderly woman too old to continue running the small store she owned in Sinahãña, gave her business to Tun Pedro's mother. As the only boy in his family, Tun Pedro was the delivery boy for the store. When I asked if he liked school, Tun Pedro said when he was just a young boy, he was expected to be a man and do all the things the girls couldn't do and still had to go to school because it was required.

When the Japanese occupied Guam, Tun Pedro witnessed the Saipanese interpreters drag his father out from their house and beat him, accusing him of being a spy. They were looking for Tweed, the American that the Chamorro people had risked their lives to hide from the Japanese in Guam. Tun Pedro's father never recovered from this beating, and shortly thereafter died from his wounds⁶⁰. Though never subjected to witnessing himself, he tells of some of the atrocities of some Chamorro having their throats slit or heads cut off after digging their own graves. As atrocious as the Japanese soldiers were, Tun Pedro says they were never told not to speak Chamorro in school; however, they were compelled to learn how to speak, read, and write in Japanese.

Unable to speak English at the time, Tun Pedro's first encounter was with the American soldiers when they overtook the Japanese forces in Guam.

⁶⁰ Many of the Chamorro Manãmko from Guam harbor negative feelings towards the Chamorro people of Saipan today because of similar incidents of betrayal during WWII by their Saipanese brethren that sometimes led to entire families of Chamorro in Guam being tortured or killed.

The American soldiers were big and strong and offered him C-rations and candy. Tun Pedro clearly admired the Americans. Tun Pedro remembers the “no-Chamorro” language policies when he was a young boy in school. He heard stories of punishment, but he didn’t recall any personal negative incidents. Under the American school system in Guam, he recalled hearing that others were punished for speaking Chamorro in school. So, he was careful to avoid doing the same. There was only one exception, and he was admonished:

“No, n-, no like say, when I first started, ah, you know, pri-, prima, when the only time I speak Chamorro, this teacher says, ‘speak English’ (wagging finger).”

Later, as a young man, Tun Pedro joined the Air Force to “see the other side of the world.” Ironically, he chose the Air Force to avoid being drafted into the Army, and he joined the military because he wanted to get out of his remaining year in high school. Tun Pedro relished in stories of how he survived three near-death incidents, such as the time he fell into freezing water when a hole opened up in an icy pond he was transporting people on. Today, his health suffers from exposure to Agent Orange during his military service, and he tells me of how he nearly died when he fell unconscious at his job in Guam Memorial Hospital.

During his military service and time in Vietnam, Tun Pedro served with other Chamorro soldiers. They spoke Chamorro to each other for a number of reasons as he explains it. Chamorro was expedient. He could tell someone to hand him a wrench faster using Chamorro than English. They also spoke

Chamorro when they didn't want others around them to understand what they were saying. It depended on the time and place:

ME: What about at work?

PC: At work? Ah, well, I mean, if it's, ah, if you're working with this Chamorro guys, I so-, sometimes speak Chamorro, but if there's an American guys, you know, English...person on the side, I speak English.

ME: For, to be polite.

PC: Mm, ha.

Finally, they spoke Chamorro to each other because they were simply more comfortable using Chamorro since it was their native tongue. He did, however, recall an incident when a senior officer reprimanded him for speaking Chamorro:

PC: ...Because when I was in the service, they, ah, some military, ah, heard us talking in Chamorro, then, he report us in the, to the off-, officer in charge of the place, then he call me, and he says, 'Why, ah, can you, how, how come you're speaking Chamorro?' I said, 'What? It's my language, and I'm talking to another Chamorro.' He says, 'Why?' I says, 'If it's continue that, I'm gonna see the police man here. How come you're...' (laughs) s'he's thought...

ME: This is here in Guam?

PC: Yeah, in Guam when I was stationed in Andersen!

ME: Mm.

PC: But this, this, this officers he knows that he's goofing up, well, ai goofing, if he's kinda make a mistake. Because you cannot stop a pers-, person from speaking another language.

Ah, recently, ah, what's happen here in Andersen, too...ah, a lady was scold from, ah, speaking, ah, their own language, you know, too and they don't, they don't wanna, you know, them to speak, ah, their own...

ME: Military person?

PC: Yeah, military person.

This incident he spoke of took place just a few years ago on the military base in Guam where a soldier was told not to speak her language, and that incident made the headlines in Guam news.

Though Tun Pedro is fluent in speaking Chamorro, he is largely unable to read in Chamorro:

ME: ...Uncle Pete, do you read Chamorro?

PC: Oh, no, some of the, the syllable, I just (motioning as if writing), sometime I don't quite, ah, you know, understand it.

ME: ...So when you were in school they did not, they didn't teach reading Chamorro?

PC: No. Before the war, you know, just the neighbors, the old lady that knows how to...read Chamorro, and, so 'is held a class, on a dil, dilapidated building, you know, and, ah, few people, you know, few kids, and they telling us, you know to, ah, 'a, i, o...o' (laughs, motions as if writing).

Though his grandchildren are learning Chamorro in school and will sometimes ask him what some words mean, similar to Tan Suzy, he and his grandchildren don't actually speak in Chamorro to each other at length. When he spoke to his children in Chamorro, they responded to him in English, so he

resorted to primarily speaking English to them. Of his children's ability to speak Chamorro, he says they understand but don't respond in Chamorro:

"Ah, part of it. They understand part of it."

When asked about the fluency of his school-age grandchildren who are taking mandatory Chamorro lessons, he says:

"Grandkids, they're still young yet."

Continuing on, to the question of whether or not his grandchildren reply to him in Chamorro when he speaks to them in Chamorro, he replied:

"No, I don't think so (laughs). Sometime they, kind of hard for them to, ah, you know...to answer back, ah, Chamorro, but, ah...I give them time, they'll know, especially if they stay in Guam (laughs)."

Still, Tun Pedro believes that learning Chamorro is important:

ME: ...Uncle Pete, do you think that learning Chamorro is important?

PC: Oh, yes! They need the culture that, ah, we have to keep up the, with the Chamorro la-, ah, la-, that's the only way.

ME: To keep up the culture?

PC: Ha-ah. That's the only way. And some of these people, they leave the island to go for 3 years old, and when they come back, they don't know how to speak Chamorro. Ah, which, they adult already (laughing). It's embarrassing.

I asked Tun Pedro his thoughts on why so many people don't speak Chamorro today, and he replied:

“It’s all depend on the parents...They...speak English, you know...and sometime they start speaking English, I don’t know...why, what’s the reason for, but, you know, ah, if you’re at home, and children to learn how to speak Chamorro...jus’ talk to them in Chamorro (matter-of-factly).”

In clarifying priorities, however, English he felt was the language necessary for survival:

“But, ah, if you know, the most important here is to know the English language, too, in order to survive, ah, when they grow up, you know (laughs).”

Tun Pedro has not seen young people in Guam speaking Chamorro to each other, but he notes that in the island of Luta⁶¹, “deep Chamorro” is spoken. I asked how he thought the youth and others, especially those who did not have access to classes, could learn Chamorro, and he said:

“Well, it’s, ah, you know, well while in Guam...you know, ah, you, you can speak both of them in, to, ah, you know, among Chamorro, ah, but if you in the states, sometime you meet Chamorro people, you know, and, then, you know, it’s...talk to them, like, especially when somebody around that you don’t wanna s-, let them hear what you’re talking about, ah, (laughs)...Speak in different language, you know.”

Here, Tun Pedro also alludes to the secret language status of Chamorro. Tun Pedro also further explains the Chamorro language as a resistance effort against: 1) the increasingly non-Chamorro in Guam ascending to positions of

⁶¹ Chamorro for Rota.

power; and 2) the growing number of immigrants relying on resources in Guam that could otherwise go to needy Chamorro.

Tun Pedro, fluent in Chamorro, learned from speaking to his parents, the elders, and everyone around him as a young boy. However, he felt that school is the best place for children to learn Chamorro, and classes should be available for those who want to learn Chamorro. His children did not have this opportunity since Chamorro was not taught in the schools at that time, and he felt that his grandchildren's lack of fluency, even though they are taking classes, was attributed to their young age. Yet, his grandchildren are now older than he was when he first started going to school, and he was fluent in Chamorro before doing so. While Tun Pedro learned Chamorro from his parents and the elders around him, he believed that for the "Lost Generation," private lessons or classes are the ideal way to learn the language. He also felt that people in Guam should just speak the language with other Chamorro if they want to learn. For Tun Pedro, speaking Chamorro was expedient and efficient around other Chamorro speakers. He believed that Chamorro is important for continuing the culture, and he also sees the benefit in having a secret language that excludes others in a private conversation. However, Tun Pedro also emphasized that English was the language necessary for survival.

Julia Manley Villagomez

Interviewed on 10/9/15. Ken San Augustin suggested that I interview Julia Villagomez because she was a longtime teacher in Guam and would know

a lot about Chamorro in the public schools. She is a retired educator and respected elder. The interview was mostly captured, though the camera had lost power towards the tail end of our conversation.

Born December 9, 1937, Tan Julia is sharp-witted and quick-tongued. She spoke with a booming voice and had a direct and piercing gaze. I felt compelled to speak just as quickly and forcefully for fear of boring her. She declared right away that she is not fluent in Chamorro. She could understand Chamorro, but not speak it. Her grandfather, she proudly explained, was an Englishman who arrived in Guam in 1901. Because she and the rest of her family had to communicate with and read the English newspapers to him, she did not grow up in a Chamorro-speaking household. She was a public school teacher, but didn't teach Chamorro. She is also a techa and, like Tan Suzy, attributed her ability to read in Chamorro to this role. She admitted to being somewhat embarrassed to say that she didn't know the Chamorro alphabet, but was proud to have taught herself to read Chamorro by sounding out letters syllable by syllable, reading what she was saying out loud:

JV: When I g-, when I was growing up, my grandfather is an Englishman. He came here during the Spanish-American war. Actually, he came here in 1901. Okay? He doesn't know how to speak Chamorro.

ME: Mm. Mmhm.

JV: And, so, ah, when were growing up, we had to speak English because, you know, we have to, ah, talk to him, and he can't, so. I never grew up in a Chamorro-speaking family.

ME: Ok.

JV: It was always, my, my. My grandfather died of...maybe a few words that he knows. Ah, when I was in the third grade, we used to, my sister and I will, will alternate, ah, reading the newspaper to him, but as far as...I knew the Chamorro, and I'm, I'm...probably embarrassed to say this, but (laughs) I am a schoolteacher...

ME: Mmhm.

JV: ...but I don't teach Chamorro. The teachers come into the classroom. And I'll be honest with you, I don't even know our alphabet (laughs). But, I'm a techa (points).

ME: Ooh, ok.

JV: And I learned by doing syllable.

ME: Ok, interesting. So, do you read the Chamorro then?

JV: Yes, I read the Nobenas (nodding)...And even like the newspaper, like the...God, who's the one that writes...si Peter. I can read.

Her children could also understand Chamorro and also can't speak it. Although they can understand her, Tan Julia herself proclaimed earlier and multiple times that she can't speak Chamorro very well.

ME: Mm. So you can read, but, ah, not necessarily understand everything that you're reading?

JV: Yes, I, I, I do.

ME: Ok.

JV: I do understand.

ME: But speaking is, ah...

JV: Eh speaking it in, in, ah, fluent...

ME: Mm.

JV: No. I don't.

ME: Ok. But you could listen to anybody out here, and...

JV: And I could tell you what they are saying.

ME: ...know exactly what they're talking about.

JV: And that's the same way my children are. They understand what I'm saying in Chamorro, but they cannot reply back in English, ai, Chamorro.

One of Tan Julia's sons stationed at Fort Bragg in North Carolina learned to speak Chamorro fluently because her brother-in-law, with whom he stayed, only wanted him to speak in Chamorro. She insisted that her brother was better in Chamorro than she, and said that she and her brother mostly spoke to each other in Chamorro. Confused about how she characterized her abilities, I tried to clarify her level. She confirmed that they could speak to each other in Chamorro well enough to carry on a conversation, but that she wasn't fluent. Tan Julia believed that she could read well enough, and was also aware that there is a new orthography, but she didn't think she could write it:

ME: Ok. So, your Chamorro is, is good enough to carry on a conversation.

JV: My, yes. Yes, yes.

ME: Ah ha.

JV: Fluently, I can't...Yeah. I understand the Chamorro and, ah...except that, like I said, I don't know the glotta, what it means, you know...like in the English, accent and all that (making writing motions in the air with hand). I know those...but I don't know how the glotta (making more writing motions), or r, is it *á* or *ā* or...You know. But I do, do the, the sy-, the, like I said, I learn by reading in syllable.

ME: Mmhm.

JV: And I'm articulated at that now...I don't need to do it in syllable, unless it's something, you know...and I can, I can...I have a picture of what I'm reading...Ah, like, like, if I say the Nobena the first day, I knew what was going on, and it carries on to, I can tell you that...But, to really write it...(shakes her head). May-, and, maybe I can write it in syllable, too...But, then, like I said, the glotta, where to put it, and that mark (making a mark like a tilde with her hand), the n on top (we laugh). I don't know.

Tan Julia is proud to have taught in the public school system for a total of 46 years. She retired after 33 years and then taught in a contractor role. She doesn't hear many young people in Guam speaking to each other in Chamorro, and when she does, it's just pidgin Chamorro. She trained two young alter servers to pray the rosary in Chamorro:

ME: ...do you ever hear young people speaking Chamorro here in Guam?

JV: (Thinks for a moment) Yes, but not many. And mu-, much of the Chamorro is pidgin Chamorro.

ME: Mm. Ok. Which is a lot...right, right. Do you consider that speaking Chamorro when it's pidgin?

JV: Aaaah...yes. Even if it's pidgin.

ME: Mmhm.

JV: I trained two, young alter servant to say the rosary in Chamorro...So, they're doing it very fluently.

Tan Julia is aware of the Chamorro Bible, but she points out that the Chamorro Bible is the Baptist version, not the Catholic version. Presumably, this was important because it would explain why she didn't have a copy or why she did not read it.

As a young girl, the punishment for speaking Chamorro in school was a monetary fine. She didn't recall how much anymore, but she remembered clearly that there was a penalty, and in her case, it was monetary. She didn't recall receiving any physical punishment when she was caught speaking Chamorro. There were no Chamorro classes in school, but she remembered Mrs. Salas very well, the local Chamorro who taught high school classes:

JV: Yes, we were penalized every time we, we speak, they hear us speaking Chamorro. Even in high school, when I was up in high school.

ME: Can you tell me of any incidences and what, what happened if you were speaking Chamorro.

JV: We get to...pay...I remember, I'm, I'm, I'm...I'm not so sure at the, at the charges. But we were, you, we were caught.

ME: A monetary fine.

JV: Yeah.

ME: Ok. Any physical punishment?

JV: No (shaking her head). Not that I remember, no.

ME: ...Did you ever have to, yourself, pay?

JV: Yes, I jus-, I remember, ah, Mrs. Salas (sits forward laughing). I don-, I re-, we were penalized, but I don't remember how much, or whether I paid.

She said it wasn't until the 1950s when the "no-Chamorro" policy was implemented. She also reiterated that although there were teachers who were Chamorro, there were no Chamorro language classes:

ME: Interesting. So, the Chamorro teacher was penalizing the Chamorro students?

JV: No, we don't have Chamorro teachers. Chamorro teachers was never...she was a Chamorro teaching in high, high school at the time. She was a local teacher.

ME: Mrs. Salas.

JV: Yeah, but she is not a Chamorro...we...w never went to a Chamorro class, let's put it that way. I graduated in 1956. We were never in a Chamorro classroom. We never had any Chamorro teachers, and we never, um, sp-, speak the Chamorro language, to be honest with you. The only time we speak is in, in elementary school.

According to Tan Julia, the kids in the playground spoke pidgin Chamorro, and they didn't look down on her for not speaking fluent Chamorro:

JV: But, ah, you know in the playground and all that or even in the classroom, we were never...It's after the, ah, 1950s or something, later 50s when they said, made the policy that you can't speak in Chamorro. But, growing up, and I learned to...speak...pidgin Engli-, Chamorro, going out and playing in the, in the neighborhood, and at the school.

ME: Mmhm. Did you find that, uh, amongst the Chamorro people, that speaking pidgin Chamorro was, ah, was a, ah, was an issue with them? With fluent Chamorro?

JV: I don't think so...I don't think so. It's just a matter of getting into a conversation...You know, there's...I...I've never...experienced them fighting over it, if you're, that's what you're, or being ridiculed about it, I don't, it's just, you know. I think it's, it's, it, because they hear a lot of it, that it didn't bother...That's my only reason.

Moving on, she had very strong opinions about the potential for success with the current Chamorro language revitalization efforts:

ME: ...are you aware of the...different...ways that young people today are trying to revitalize the language and get in touch with the Chamorro culture?

JV: Yes (looks sideways with her eyes and shakes her head).

ME: ...Do you have any thoughts on that?

JV: Ah, it's not gonna work.

ME: ...Why not?

JV: My opinion.

ME: Why not?

JV: You know, we, you have Chamorro classroom?

ME: Yeah.

JV: Teachers in the classroom. They come from elementary from K to 3rd, 20 minutes, 4th-5th is 30.

ME: Mmhm.

JV: Okay? My opinion is that, and I'm, I'm not going to say...this is my opinion, no matter *how* much DOE is going to spend on Chamorro language, it's never going to work out unless the family (pointing repeatedly to the ground). If they don't...I got reprimanded. I was, ah, learning how to be a techa, and, and like I said it was, ah, pidgin, I, I have to do it. And, ah, I said, 'Why?' Or, to sing. Why can't I sing? 'Because, to revive the language.' And I said, 'you know...You're full of shit.' And I told them, I said, 'You know what?' I said, 'You bring your grandchildren here, and you speak English to them. So, you're expecting me to revive that language when you should revive it with your children.' That's my opinion.

ME: Ok.

JV: If the chil-, and I've seen a lot of family now. Families my, I have a, a good friend in Santa Rita, and her children goes to Chamorro class after school, or whatever the, whatever, and...even the mother, they speak fluent Chamorro, because the mother is there and the children (pointing to the ground). But if, the only time that I'm, and I'm saying maybe...75, 80 percent of the children in school now, are taking Chamorro, right?

ME: Yeah. Yeah.

JV: And I would say, that out of that, maybe 20 percent really will do it at home. Because the only time that they hear Chamorro is in the classroom. There's never, no. You know. They go out and play? It's the same thing, it's English.

ME: Yeah. Right.

JV: So, that's. Unless they do something they do something where the family...

In short, family involvement, according to Tan Julia, is the critical missing piece in the Chamorro language revitalization effort. Without it, she believes no program can be successful because the reinforcement in

using the language essentially ends when the children are away from the Chamorro language class. For her, the lack of family involvement with their children in Chamorro language efforts only further emphasizes the belief that, for many, English is simply more important to learn:

JV: ...in fact, a lot of parents will not allow their children to be a part of the Chamorro.

ME: You know why?

JV: Because they, they think it's a waste of time. Because they don't, they think English is more important. Which is, you know, because of school and that, but, you know, you have your identity, and that's my, my children found out when they went to college, is their identity because they don't know their language. You know, and they says, 'Mom, I don't know the language. We, we can't...' And, and, and that's, you know, that's was my mistake because I said, 'Ok, the environment is going to teach them.' (laughs) But it didn't...You know. Because they go out, and the same thing again, they speak English.

Because Tan Julia was an educator, I wanted to find out what her thoughts were on how needs of the "Lost Generation" should be addressed and how the Chamorro language was being taught. Again, she had some strong opinions particularly where parent involvement is concerned:

ME: ...so...granted that the family is the foundation, but, you know, there was a, there was a time there clearly when parents were not teaching their children Chamorro and they are no longer school age. What kind of advice do you give to families that are in this situation where the parents can't speak Chamorro. Maybe the children are learning it in

school, but they're still outside in the playground speaking English. What advice do you give them?

JV: (Breathes through mouth) Really, you got me into that. I don't really...I don't know how you...the part of is that...maybe the p-, you c-, you know, maybe the parents can be involve in it and learn themselves, but it's hard because you have family to take care of...

ME: Mmhm.

JV: But also, the parents could say, 'Hey, what did you learn in Chamorro today?'...And then you know, you kind of, ah, teach, buddy team, you know?

ME: Right. Be interested and engaged.

Aside from family involvement, Tan Julia also expressed strong opinions on how Chamorro language is taught in general. Homework, for Tan Julia, is just useless busy work that some parents used as indicators of how much their children were learning in school and some teachers used as indicators of how much they were teaching. Instead, Tan Julia viewed conversational Chamorro as more important but pointed out that this method was severely lacking in the public schools:

JV: That to me is not learning. That's my impression.

ME: ...Can you tell me...do you know the way...that Chamorro teachers are teaching the language?

JV: Yes.

ME: What do, what do you think about what you know?

JV: There's one. Of all the Chamorro teachers, I think there's only one that, ah, that really does...They present...and, they

present...(makes circular motion with hand)...and then they come back and present...there's not much of a...there's not much of a, a, what do you call it, ah...God, what is the word. You know when you present a...conversational. Is one. That is, I think, is very important.

ME: Mmhm. Yeah. Mmhm.

JV: You know, ok, 'Hayi este si tata? Hayi este si tata? Kao guaha tata-mu?' You know, and it's a conversation. Or, a class, 'Hafa este? Basu.' You know, that, and then you converse.

ME: (I laugh) I would have said, 'papet.' (We laugh together)

JV: Ah, there's, it lacks, it lacks the conversational.

ME: Right.

JV: It's always, ah, just, 'Lapes' (holding hand up as if pencil in hand). 'Hafa este? Lapes. Hafa na usa setbe lapas? Pon fohnge.'

ME: Mmhm. Very rote.

JV: Because I taught LOTE⁶², and that's the same thing is, ah, 'What is this, cla-? What is this? That is a class.' You know?

ME: Mmhm.

JV: And you have this conversational question-answer. So that is one that I see that is lacking.

We touched only briefly on the topic of Chamorro language certification for teachers. Here, Tan Julia indicated that the best teachers who were qualified during her time as a teacher actually didn't have a

⁶² Languages Other Than English.

college degree. Once they did get a degree, they moved on to becoming full-time teachers rather than remaining just as Chamorro teachers:

JV: Yeah. But, s-, a lot of them, when I wen-, in my time, a lot of them are not college graduate.

ME: ...the ones who could do it.

JV: Who could do it. Yeah...But I remembered, ah, there wa-, like I said, there was one teacher, and I, I, I was teaching 5th grade, yeah, because they took away the 6th to..., and this, this teacher really will go into the detail, she will present, and she will go into the detail, the history, and, and, ah, and the conversational and, you know...And then...she's, she got her degree, she, she got her...she turn around and became a full time teacher, not a Chamorro teacher...Yeah, that was a loss...

Even so, over and above college pedigrees for Chamorro language teachers, Tan Julia again reemphasized the importance of family in the learning process for Chamorro classes to be successful:

JV: But, ah, that's one thing, and like I said, no matter...that's only my opinion... no matter how...much they spend on the Chamorro, they have to s-...they have to encourage more of the participant of the home, that the home...

ME: Mmhm. You gotta close the loop.

JV: Yea-, they, you have to close the loop.

Tan Julia has 4 children and 6 grandchildren and tries to speak to her grandchildren in Chamorro. But, as she pointed out, with the revitalization efforts, her children insist that she speak to their children, her grandchildren, in Chamorro. Yet, they then turn right around and speak in English to their

children. This, according to Tan Julia defeats the whole purpose of the effort to revitalize the Chamorro language:

“You know, like, when at home, when they come on Sunday because we always have, and we all speak, now we speak Chamorro. My youngest daughter say speak Chamorro to my grand daughter. I say, ‘Yeah, I speak Chamorro at home, and then, she goes to your house, and you speak English.’ It’s defeating the purpose, right?”

Tan Julia does feel, however, that the Chamorro language is important:

“Because that’s your identity. That’s your identity, your culture, your identity. That makes you...what you are. Your, your language, your, you know...culture.”

I asked why culture was important, she replied:

“Because it’s, it’s...it’s who you are. That to me is, it’s who you are...Your, you know we’re a-, we’re...we’re....we come from a different...ethnic group, but it’s who you are that makes you a Chamorro...You know, you, you, especially if you learn, you know your language, you, you practice, i-, the culture in it, you know. And, a lot of, like, we are more also very close to the religion, to the church, no matter what.”

Tan Julia continued on the thread of the connection of culture and religion for the Chamorro:

JV: A lot of them stray, but majority are still...And it’s still, too, very, I think it’s important, it’s active, it’s, it’s, it’s not dying. I think.

ME: The tie with the, the church...

JV: The church and the...religion.

Pressing even further, I asked about this relationship of Chamorro language and identity:

ME: ...And do you think that, by not knowing the Chamorro language, a Chamorro, a young Chamorro person does not have an identity?

JV: Uuum...no...you still have, but, ah...I think be-, i knowing to s-, i-, i-, I'm a Chamorro, and knowing to say the language, even makes me... prouder to be of Chamorro. Whereas, um, you know, like Rosanna said, 'I can't even co-, converse over there when they ask me, and.' When she was in college because she didn't the language, you know, she, she didn't know the language.

ME: Mmhm.

JV: And, and, ah, the thing that pull her was a lot of...her classmate from Guam were the ones that knows, you know, the Chamorro, so, you kn-. But, ah, I think it is. It, it's very important. I don't know about them now, but...but with me it's important. To me, it's important.

ME: Mmhm.

JV: Because as I grew older...I'm, to be honest with you, I kind of feel embarrassed that I don't even know how to, to read in Chamorro... much more write in Chamorro. But now that, ah...that, ah, I kn-, I, I learn how to read in Chamorro, I can go to any village and say, 'Hey, I can say the rosary in Chamorro.' But, before I don't. You know what I mean?

ME: Mmhm. Yeah.

JV: So, that, that, that's the way I, I see it. You feel more stronger toward it.

Tan Julia, though able to carry on conversations in Chamorro, insists that she is not fluent. She did not learn Chamorro in school and

taught herself to read Chamorro by praying the Nobena. She classifies her Chamorro as pidgin and describes what she hears the young people speaking today as Pidgin Chamorro. She has one son that is fluent as a result of spending time with her brother-in-law at Fort Bragg. Her other children want to learn Chamorro and ask Tan Julia to speak to their children, her grandchildren, in Chamorro. However, Tan Julia feels this defeats the purpose if her children speak only English to their children at home. This is the main problem according to Tan Julia that needs to be addressed in the schools. Though Chamorro is mandated to be taught in the schools, without parental involvement and Chamorro use in the home outside of school, she sees little chance for success. In addition, the Chamorro language needs to maintain its close ties with the Catholic religion. The two have always been traditionally interrelated.

Another major issue for Chamorro is the need for the language to be taught conversationally rather than by rote as it is currently taught. Tan Julia doesn't necessarily regard Chamorro language certification as critical. Although she does allude to the fact that after Chamorro teachers earn a college degree, they are inclined to move into full teaching positions rather than remain as Chamorro teachers. The Chamorro language for Tan Julia is critical to the Chamorro identity.

Juan Untalan Baza

Ken told me that Juan Baza, born July 14, 1932, was a retired professor and would be a good interviewee. Unfortunately, Tun Juan had an accident at a local hardware store where some lumber fell and struck him on the head. This incident caused some brain injury and memory loss. Tun Juan was at times frustrated at not being able to remember certain details such as his children's birthdates, and it was difficult for him to recall events chronologically. Still, Talking Story with Tun Juan was helpful in providing insightful context.

Tun Juan describes his ethnicity as a mix of Chamorro, Spanish, and Dutch. He is fluent in Chamorro, his first language, and learned to speak the language from his mother and grandmother:

“Since a little boy (gesturing with hand low then up indicating growing tall). I learned from my grandmother, grandfather, uncles and aunts, my mother and father...I think I would consider it my first language, but then I started going to school, you know, grade 1 all the way to grade, um, 6 or 5, when the war started...But after the war, you know, we started school again.”

In school, Tun Juan, like the other Manåmko', was required to learn English, and Chamorro was forbidden in school. Tun Juan held a generally positive view of this experience with the English-only, no-Chamorro policies:

“Um, n-not negative. I think it's, I'm, it's glad that I was taught that, um, early, you know...”

Tun Juan can also read in Chamorro. Although he wasn't certain, he attributed this to his mother and grandmother:

“I, I think my mother taught me a bit, Chamorro, and my grandmother, before I went to school.”

In high school, Tun Juan attended Father Duenas in Guam, and later majored in classical languages, studying Latin and Greek. He thought this was where he also furthered his skills in reading Chamorro:

“I think when I was going to Father Duenas that's when I kind of, ah, in-, increased my ambition to learn more Chamorro.”

Tun Juan wanted to be a priest as a young man, but while in seminary school, his father fell ill. He prayed for God to save his father, and when his father died, Juan took this as a sign that God didn't want him to be a priest. So, he left seminary school and went to work with radar equipment. A few years after working with radar, similar to Tun Pedro, Tun Juan was going to be drafted, so he preemptively joined the Air Force:

“I was going to be drafted, and my friend in the, at the radar factory, told me, ‘Join the Air Force, and with your experience here with the, ah, equipment that we're manufacturing...’”

At one time, Tun Juan was married to a French woman, and this is how he became fluent in the French language. His four children can speak English and French. Although they can speak some Chamorro, his children are not fluent. I asked Tun Juan if he spoke to his children in Chamorro:

“No...Well, (clears throat) that’s, because they didn’t...know Chamorro, and, it’s all English and some French because, you know, my wife is French.”

They lived in Canada where he taught English and French:

“Because I learned French hearing my wife, is French Canadian. And her parents spoke French. So, that’s one of the reasons I took French. I had taken Latin and Greek and Spanish, I figured French would be easy. And it was. I ended up teaching it.”

Today, Tun Juan speaks Chamorro regularly to anyone who speaks the language. For himself, learning Chamorro was important because his grandmother spoke Chamorro and Spanish, so Chamorro was how he communicated with her:

“Well, it was, because my grandmother spoke more Spanish and Chamorro...”

When asked if he thought young people should learn Chamorro and why, he said:

“I think it’s good that they, you know, that they, ah, take Chamorro in school...Well, for one thing, this is the, an inheritance...We, we inherited this from our ancestors, and it should be kept alive.”

Since Tun Juan is a retired professor and multilingual, I was particularly interested in knowing how he thought the Chamorro language should be learned and taught. Schools and books were Tun Juan’s top choices for how young people today should learn the Chamorro language:

JB: Um, well, this, like learning English, start with the grammatical aspects of it, and then the, ah, dictionary, I think there are books out there in Chamorro.

ME: Yeah, so basically...the Chamorro language should be learned in school...

JB: In school, yes.

ME: ... and the...other resources like books and things like that.

JB: Yes. There, there are statesiders who have an attraction to Chamorro...and, and...pick it up.

At this point, it was lunch time, so Tun Juan and I finished Talking Story. Tun Juan, multilingual and fluent in Chamorro, has four children, all of whom are multilingual but not fluent in Chamorro. He did not speak Chamorro to them because he says they didn't know Chamorro; however, they did know French and English. He learned to speak Chamorro from his mother and aunt and others around him growing up as a child before entering school. He also believes he may have learned to read Chamorro as well from them. It was not taught in school. Though there were no-Chamorro policies, he did not have a negative view of the English-only policies and felt fortunate to have learned English early. He will speak to young people and others who know how to speak Chamorro and believes the best way to learn Chamorro is in school through books and using the traditional methods applied in learning English.

Amanda Cruz Leon Guerrero Santos

On the second day that I visited the Sinahãña Senior Citizens Center, Ken told me that Amanda Santos, mother to the late Senator and activist Angel Santos, was present. He suggested that I should interview her because she was a long time Chamorro language teacher and newly enrolled at the Center.

Born June 7, 1940, Tan Amanda had 9 children and 9 grandchildren. Currently, a commissioner on the Chamorro Land Trust Commission board, she is the mother of the late Senator Angel Leon Guerrero Santos. She taught the Chamorro language in public schools for over 20 years. She just recently started coming to the Center now that most of her grandchildren are out of the house. Her husband enrolled her at the Center so she could get out of the house, but she says, “So, I enjoy, ah, coming to the Center just to relax. It’s not that I like to gamble.”

Like the rest of the Manãmko’ interviewed, Tan Amanda learned Chamorro from her parents. They did not speak any English and only spoke to her in Chamorro as she was growing up:

“All, all the years, after I was...I started growing up...my parents spoke to me in Chamorro...My parents don’t speak English. Yeah...So, I have to learn Chamorro.”

Although, presently, she knew how to read Chamorro, it wasn’t until she applied for a job to teach Chamorro in public schools that she learned to do so.

While working as a teacher at the elementary school level, she was recruited by Clotilde Gould to teach art and Chamorro at Untalan Middle School:

“No, hey, agon, they didn’t teach me Chamorro when I was growing up, you know? English. At school.”

Though aware but not very familiar with the new Chamorro language orthography, Tan Amanda can read and write though she didn’t gain these skills in school since that wasn’t taught:

AS: Yeah, yeah. I read Chamorro...And I write (laughs), and I translate.

ME: ...And, you know the new orthography that we have now? The new writing system?

AS: Ah, not really, no, not all the orthography that I (shaking her head)...’cause I, I’m just new in Chamorro. The orthography was not introduced yet. I learned Chamorro the hard way (laughs). By syllable (gestures with hand as if writing), when you read.

ME: And, ah, how did you learn to read?

AS: Chamorro?

ME: Yeah.

AS: I read it by syllable (gestures with had as if writing). Yeah. And I think we had, ah, some couple workshops, and then I started learning how to (gesturing as if writing). The alphabet, the ah-beh-che-de?...I learned that, then I started (gesturing as if writing) learning how to read and write by alphabet

ME: This is when you were younger, and still in school, the...

AS: No, when I'm teaching. Then I start learning (laughs)...Yeah, but I learned Chamorro the hard way. When I started taking, ah, like, workshops. When I decide to teach Chamorro...I started taking workshops. It was late. But I learn it the hard way (laughs).

As a recruited Chamorro language teacher, after taking the workshops, Tan Amanda was required to take a Chamorro language proficiency test:

“Yeah. I, have forgot what's the name of that test. Ah, with, they turn on the, you know the, what do you call that, tape recorder?...And they ask us questions in Chamorro (gestures as if writing)...And we have to write it down (gestures as if writing), we need to be quick (pointing to her temple)...To respond (laughs). So, I forgot what's the name of that test. I forgot. But, ah, Mrs. Rosa...Palomo's the one that gave me the test at UOG...And, ah, I didn't know that...I have the qualification to teach Chamorro. And, ah, the certification office was telling me one time, said, 'Mrs. Santos, we're trying to contact you...because you qualified to teach, to be a Chamorro teacher, with a increment.' Because I got only 19 dollars an hour at that time...because they thought I don't pass that, that test that was given to us, and I did pass. Comprehension test. Just to listen...to the tape recorder, and then respond in Chamorro (laughs)...in, in verbal (laughs).”

When Tan Amanda started teaching Chamorro courses, she did not have a syllabus. Her Chamorro classes were one hour in length, 5 days per week, for the entire school year. She describes her teaching method as beginning with the alphabet and going from there:

“No, I started out with the alphabet, then sometimes I show the picture, and then, and use it in a sentence, words, put words together, and I use it in a sentence. Like, 'tobi, fatachong.' Verbs, first, nai. I drill the students. And then, like, ah, show a picture of

a boy, 'lahi.' And show a boy walking. 'I lahi mamomokat. I palao'an malalagu.' Verbs, nai. As simple as that."

Her students particularly enjoyed learning how to cook and acting in a play using the Chamorro language. At the end of the year, Tan Amanda says, her students were able to carry on a conversation in Chamorro. Though Tan Amanda taught other subjects including art, she did not teach those subjects in Chamorro. Thus, Chamorro language was taught only in the Chamorro class.

As we continued to Talk Story, our conversation turned towards issues with the Chamorro Land Trust and the need for young Chamorro to become activists and take part in asserting their rights. Though we ran out of time and could not get to discussing her interactions with her children and grandchildren with Chamorro, what she shared was useful in providing more context for this study.

Francisco Perez Limtiaco

Tun Kiko was born on December 17, 1933. He, like the other Manåmko' of his generation, was fluent in Chamorro because that was the only language his parents spoke. As the second oldest male in his family, he was responsible for the care and discipline of his younger siblings. He viewed his role as disciplinarian, not so much as teacher. He was drafted into the Army and spent two years in Korea, but quickly learned that the military was not for him. After

his military service, he worked a number of odd jobs and finally entered into finance, the career from which he retired.

Like other Chamorro males during his time, Tun Kiko was drafted into the Army. He tried everything to avoid serving in the military. He asked his doctor to diagnose him with anxiety, but after being assessed by several military doctors, they simply pointed and told him to get his uniform. He spent 16 months in Korea and was the only Chamorro among the officers with whom he was stationed. While he disliked military service, he did well enough in supply training to become a supply sergeant and was subsequently promoted to corporal.

As a child during the Japanese occupation of Guam, Tun Kiko recalled going to Japanese school where he had to learn to speak, read, and write in Japanese. He was never told not to speak Chamorro while in Japanese school. At eight years old, he had a close call and almost had his head chopped off. He was up in the trees watching the military dogfights in the air, and would clap his hands and cheer loudly whenever an American plane shot down a Japanese plane. The Kagun, the name for the Japanese military then, called him down from the tree. They forced him to kneel down and bow his head, and he felt the sword blade touch the back of his neck. He told of the beheadings he and others were forced to witness as a way to instill fear and obedience. He remembered the three men who were beheaded in front of him at Ta'i, the location of the current Father Duenas Memorial High School. "They treat us

like animal. They take our foo-, they take our everything.” Later, at Manñengon, he recalled the Japanese must have known that they were in a losing situation. Everyone at Manñengon was marched out to a field. While they feared they were going to be slaughtered, they were saved just in the nick of time.

He is a father to six children all of whom are college-educated professionals. Of his children, his oldest, a speech pathologist, had expressed interest several years ago in learning Chamorro. She lived in California and asked him to speak to her only in Chamorro whenever they spoke on the phone. For Tun Kiko, speaking Chamorro to his children when they were young was not a priority. English was the language they needed to learn to be successful. From his perspective, it was their mother’s role to teach them Chamorro since his role was more as the provider and disciplinarian. He also felt that it was the role of their mother to be responsible for raising their daughters. So, on the phone, he repeatedly reverted back to English since the children were raised speaking that language. None of his children are fluent in Chamorro.

While he spoke fluent Chamorro, Tun Kiko could not read or write in Chamorro, and he was not motivated to do so. Although he did not teach his children to speak Chamorro, he did believe that knowing the Chamorro language was important.

“I really believe on the Chamorro culture.”

Kenneth San Agustin

Though not close to being a Manåmko', Kenneth Gumataotao San Agustin, the manager of the Center, provided some interesting insight into his experience when he learned Chamorro as a young man. Ken was in high school when he learned to speak Chamorro, placing him in the demographic of the Lost Generation. He readily admitted that he was solely motivated to learn to speak Chamorro because of a girl that he admired. She was Saipanese⁶³ in the Chamorro club at George Washington High School where they were both students. So, to get to know her, he joined the club and promptly learned to speak the language. He had some interesting comments regarding how he learned Chamorro:

“What they need to do is they need to, um, turn it into conversational Chamorro. And I'll tell you, that's how I learned Chamorro...It was, it was in high school...and there was this girl that I liked...in high school, and she's from Saipan...and she was in the Chamorro Club, so I joined that club, just so I could meet her.”

Within one year, he was speaking Chamorro fluently to the surprise of his parents who had not taught him the language:

“It was actually...in a matter of a year. I came home and I started speaking it to my Mom and Dad, and they were freaking out. (we all laugh) Conversational, that's the best way.”

⁶³ Chamorro from the island of Saipan just north of Guam in the CNMI.

Unfortunately for Ken, he never did get a date with the girl of his dreams:

“I never dated her, not even once, (we all laugh), but I learned how to speak Chamorro.”

Still, Ken, like Tan Julia, insisted that the conversational format leads to fluency. So, in Ken’s case, he was motivated in high school by a particular goal: to get to know a girl. Properly motivated, and without formal language lessons, he became fluent within a year.

These seven conversations from Talking Story were explicitly intended for this study. However, many other moments of Talking Story occurred and informed this work. These many conversations were useful and informative for the broader context of this study and insights from them are discussed throughout this examination.

Table 11 is a list of the findings from Talking Story with Mañaina yan Manâmkô’:

Talking Story with Mañaina yan Manâmkô’

- Chamorro should be learned
- Chamorro should be taught
- Schools are how Chamorro was lost
- Schools are where Chamorro should be learned
- Chamorro should be learned through books
- The hard way to learn Chamorro is through writing, reading, and from books
- The easy way to learn Chamorro is to effortlessly pick it up through the environment by speaking in the language with others
- It is the mother’s role to teach children the Chamorro language
- It’s the school’s role to teach children the Chamorro language

- Conversational Chamorro is the best way to learn to speak Chamorro
- Praying the Nobena and rosary are responsible for learning to read the Chamorro language
- Chamorro language and religion are tied together
- Families are important in learning Chamorro successfully
- The Chamorro language is important in continuing the Chamorro culture
- The Chamorro language is the inheritance of the Chamorro people
- The Chamorro language is the identity of the Chamorro people
- Chamorro is a secret language
- Young people do not speak the Chamorro language
- Young people speak Pidgin Chamorro
- Conversational Chamorro does not equal fluency in Chamorro
- English is more important than Chamorro
- Chamorro is more efficient
- English is the language of survival

Table 11. Mañaina yan Manámko' Perceptions on the Chamoru Language

In summary, through Talking Story with the Mañaina and other participants, all of them felt that perpetuating Chamorro through speaking and learning the language was indeed important. The Chamorro language was described as an inheritance and as the means of connecting to the ancient Chamorro heritage or as a secret language or as the expedient means of expression amongst other Chamorro speakers. In addition, the Mañaina all felt to some degree, that schools played a major part in the demise of the Chamorro language. All felt that schools should play a part in Chamorro language education. Some who were educators felt that learning Chamorro through books and formal instruction was the “hard way,” while others felt that books were the best way to learn Chamorro. This idea of learning through books and schools, however, stood in contrast to the idea of some that the best way to learn Chamorro was through conversational means and with practical, real life

scenarios. Interestingly, all of the male Mañaina served in the military and all of them expressed that it was the role of their wives and mothers in general to teach children Chamorro. In fact, all of them learned Chamorro from their mothers. Chamorro was spoken by the Mañaina when they were children as a matter of practicality and utility and for survival purposes. When Chamorro was banned from the public use and not taught in schools, it was the religious connection particularly through the Rosary and Nobena that was the means by which the Mañaina who could read Chamorro learned to do so. Finally, all of the Mañaina expressed with some disappointment that although young children benefit from the Chamorro language policies mandated through the government, they are not having conversations with the younger generations using the Chamorro language.

IV. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Returning now to the overarching question guiding this study, the findings from the previous chapter on the research questions that were investigated can now be analyzed and discussed towards the broader question of this study. Taking each research question in turn, this section analyzes the findings and discusses the broader question: What is the relationship between militarization in Guam and the flow of information within the Chamoru Indigenous Knowledge System?

Chamorro Disrupted: Language, Invasions, and Occupations

RQ1: What formal and informal language policies were historically implemented in Guam under colonial rule?

- a. Who implemented these policies?
- b. How were these policies enforced?
- c. What were the intended outcomes of these policies?

The goal of RQ1 was to understand what formal and informal language policies were historically implemented in Guam under colonial rule, who implemented them, how were they enforced, and what the intended outcomes were. As noted earlier in this dissertation, although Spain ruled Guam for 300 years, the Chamorro language remained relatively intact. Changes to the language were noted, but it Chamorro was still very much in regular use. Not discounting the atrocities inflicted on the Indigenous Chamorro by the Spanish, there was, in essence, an evolution of the Chamorro language under the Spanish occupation. This is evidenced by the fact that the Chamorro language structure accommodated concepts and terms that were introduced by the Spanish, a practice jokingly referred to as “Chamorrization.” Thus, as explained earlier, this study focused on the historical documents on language policies beginning with the U.S. occupation of Guam.

When Spain ceded Guam to the United States in 1898, Spanish had become the language of the administration and Chamorro was the vernacular. After 300 years as a Spanish possession, Guam was ceded to the United

States, and a strikingly different scenario for the Chamorro language emerged. After a period of 50 years as a U.S. possession, the Naval-administered government transferred power to the Interior Department and the 1950 Organic Act of Guam was enacted, and an alarmingly steep drop in Chamorro language proficiency had occurred.

Findings from the historical documents revealed that within only a few months, the U.S. Naval-administered government imposed English-only language policies aimed at curtailing the use of the Chamorro language in public spaces and in the public schools that were also Navy-administered. Various methods were used to enforce these policies including physical, financial, and social penalties. Of course, a transition period was clearly necessary to achieve an English-only environment, and the grace period was exceedingly short. Enforcement measures escalated quickly from gentle recommendations to more physical and violent extremes. These actions demonstrated an urgency that belied the stated intentions for these policies.

To reiterate, from the Naval documents, those policies included: 1) declared the public school system under the control of the administration; 2) prohibited religious expression and practice in the schools; 3) made school mandatory for children of particular ages; 4) made school all year long; 5) decreed that only English could be taught in school; 6) demanded compliance by all teachers with the English-only policy; 7) declared English the official language of Guam; 8) banned Chamorro language from school; 9) fined parents

for absenteeism of children; 10) mandated that parents purchase textbooks; 11) created a Normal School to teach English and other subjects with all instruction in English; 12) compelled all adults to learn how to sign their names for commercial and official transactions within six months; 13) strongly suggested that all adults avail themselves of English in order to assist their children and improve their own mental conditions; 14) banned Chamorro from workplaces; 15) declared salary positions where only English speakers could be hired; and 16) set higher wages and office positions only available to English speakers (Naval Government of Guam & Althouse, 1922, 1923, Naval Government of Guam & Leary, 1899a, 1899b, 1899c, 1900a, 1900b, 1900c, 1900d, 1900e, 1900f, 1900g, Naval Government of Guam & Schroeder, 1900a, 1900b, 1900c; Naval Government of Guam & Smith, 1917)

When Leary “recommended” that all Guam residents should learn English “thereby improving their own mental condition as well as preparing themselves for assisting their children who are required by law to attend school,” this begged the following questions: 1) What is meant by an “improved mental condition?” 2) To what end is this “improved mental condition” aimed? and 3) Why is this condition important? The goal of assimilation would be clear if the Chamorro people were U.S. citizens and if they immigrants, but what does this assimilation mean when Guam remains a U.S. unincorporated territory across the globe with a vast span of ocean between North America and Guam? What does the condition of assimilation mean when the Indigenous

Chamorro language is prohibited, when religious practices are banned from the public, and familial lands are seized through eminent domain?

Safford's and Wheeler's comments refuting earlier observations of "indolence" and other notions of the potential backwardness of the Chamorro people provide some insight into the answers to these questions. Safford pointed out that the development of highly-sophisticated canoes and Chamorro seafaring demonstrated a highly intelligent people. Wheeler reported on the cleanliness and cheerful disposition of the Chamorro people and their clear willingness to please, or at least engage in a friendly relationship with, the Americans. These early narratives, coupled with the fact that the entire island of Guam at that time had been declared a military base, can only point to one primary objective: that assimilation of the Chamorro was necessary towards service to the needs of the military presence in Guam.

Citizenship and the Elusion of Sovereignty

RQ2: What formal and informal language policies currently exist in Guam?

- a. Who implemented these policies?
- b. How were these policies enforced?
- c. What were the intended outcomes of these policies?

The goal of RQ2 was to examine current formal and informal language policies in Guam. The Government of Guam Chamorro mandates for language

policies were clearly intended to rectify the negative impact that previous military administrative prohibition policies had on Chamorro language use and proficiency. Yet, the severe negative impact of the historic language policies of the 51 years under the Naval administration have not been matched by a similarly positive upturn in Chamorro language use and proficiency since the 1950 transfer of power. This contrast is obvious from Talking Story with the Mañaina who reported that their parents were fluent and so they spoke with them in Chamorro; however, their grandchildren do not speak in Chamorro to them even though they are the beneficiaries of the Chamorro language requirement mandated for public schools.

On the other end of the spectrum from the Chamorro language mandate for public schools is the Chamorro language teaching certification. On the one hand, this type of certification may serve to elevate the status of the Chamorro language in the eyes at least of the Chamorro people themselves. After all, the potential to be gainfully employed can be positive motivating factor for learning to speak Chamorro. In addition, a teaching certification allows for benchmarking and standards development that are ultimately quantifiable and measurable. Still, this motivation exists outside the space of practical language utility. In other words, how useful can the Chamorro language be if it is only to gain employment for teaching the language? On the other hand, this type of certification can also serve to impede the Chamorro language efforts particularly if proficient conversational speakers who could otherwise teach the

language are not motivated or otherwise not inclined to take or pass a teaching certification required to be employed as a Chamorro language teacher.

The formation by the Government of Guam of the Department of Chamorro Affairs (DCA) and its predecessors is also clearly a necessity. This entity is charged with implementing and supporting Chamorro language efforts and programs. While the mission of the DCA is aimed at positively impacting the Chamorro language, it is not without its problems and criticisms. Of particular note, the DCA was established as a corporation. As such, this type of entity comes with its own set of requirements, namely engaging in commercial transactions towards generating a profit. This goal may be problematic for Chamorro language efforts particularly if such efforts must demonstrate some type of financial incentive. Tying Chamorro language efforts to financial incentives comes dangerously close to justifying language commodification, and this would ultimately be detrimental to Chamorro language efforts. The language immersion program Huråo, for example, relies on a funding appropriation that is tied to tourist attraction via the Guam Visitors Bureau.

Next to the military, tourism is the second major industry in Guam. These industries and Guam's political status as an unincorporated U.S. territory and its strategic location in the Pacific are a powerful combination impeding the Chamorro language efforts. In addition, as the gateway in the Pacific to the U.S., the Compact of Free Association established under Reagan allows for the free movement and immigration of neighboring Pacific Islanders

into Guam. Neighboring Pacific Islands are increasingly entering Guam as a stopping point or as a means to gain U.S. citizenship. This immigration and immigration from other parts of the globe, the ever-increasing military population, tourism, and outmigration of Chamorro mean that the Chamorro are fast becoming minorities in their homeland. The implications for the Chamorro as minorities in Guam will have dire consequences for the precarious status of Chamorro language efforts currently underway. This was indicated by some of this study's survey participants who did not feel that Chamorro language should be required in schools. With an increasing non-Chamorro population in Guam, this sentiment may soon become the majority.

In 1946, Guam was placed on the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories. This list enumerated nations yet to be granted some form of sovereignty in the effort to eradicate colonialism. Today, Guam remains as one of the final 17 nations on this list. Further complicating matters for the Chamorro is the fact that residents of Guam are U.S. citizens; however, they are unable to vote in U.S. presidential elections and, therefore, for their ultimate leader who may have a peacetime or warring agenda. Because of its strategic location and military importance, it is highly unlikely that Guam will be granted sovereignty anytime soon. Without the ability to achieve self-determination and with an increasing military and non-Chamorro population, the Chamorro will continue to be at a disadvantage in promoting a Chamorro language agenda in Guam.

Outlook on Increasing Militarization in Guåhan

RQ3: How has militarization affected these policies in Guam?

The goal of RQ3 was to understand the role that militarization played in the historic and current language policies in Guam. During the Americanization period from 1898-1950, the U.S. Navy took ownership of Guam, and the entire island was declared a military base. Invoking the policy of eminent domain, the military administration seized familial lands that had been passed down through Chamorro families for generations.⁶⁴ Eventually, the military occupation of land was reduced to 50%, then 40% of the island. Today, military bases occupy almost one third of the island's prime land areas, and with perceived increasing threats coming from Asia, the military is, once again, attempting to increase its land occupation of Guam.

The Military Pacific Rebalance and U.S. Pivot to Asia

This scenario poses difficulty for the Chamorro people who must contend with the following: historic loss of land for military purposes; increasing pressure by the military to acquire more land in the name of American national

⁶⁴ Much of my grandmother's family land was subject to eminent domain as were the lands of many Chamorro families. Through stories told within my family, scandalous and nefarious methods were used to persuade Chamorro men, the recognized heads of household, to sell or otherwise give up their family lands.

security; the environmental, social, and economic issues that derive from militarization; and the critical position Guam plays in globalization in the Asia-Pacific region all while trying to manage the demise of their Indigenous language and cultural practices resulting from historic naval administration policies. The U.S. Department of Interior still maintains federal jurisdiction over Guam, as an American territory, limiting the scope of autonomy by the Chamorro in their quest for self-determination.

Other nations within the Asia-Pacific region have also incurred U.S. military presence in their lands; however, as sovereign entities, these nations have the autonomy to exert control over these conditions. In the last two decades, sovereign nations in the Asia-Pacific region such as Japan and the Philippines have responded to public outcry from their citizenry over the negative impact of U.S. military bases on their lands and in their communities.

In 2006, after a contentious history with the military in Okinawa⁶⁵, the United States and Japan agreed to relocate the U.S. base located in Futenma to Guam. At that time, the anticipated population increase of 8000 marines and their dependents would have meant a total influx of approximately 24,000 people to the island by 2014. At the height of the expansion, with contractors and developers, the population influx was expected to soar by 50% (“Guam

⁶⁵ The long battle between the U.S. military and Okinawa finally erupted over several highly publicized events, particularly environmental pollution and the rapes of young schoolgirls.

Buildup EIS - guambuildupeis.us,” n.d.; United States. Congress. House. Committee on Natural Resources. Subcommittee on Insular Affairs, n.d.). These numbers are currently being negotiated and have been slightly adjusted recently due to public response in Guam and elsewhere to the EIS which notably failed to consider the social impact of the pending buildup; however, as a strategic location for the U.S. military presence in the region, it is not a matter of if, but, rather, when the final buildup will ultimately occur in Guam.

Acknowledging the historic relationships between Naval and Marine forces and the people of Guam and the renewed focus on the island as a strategic Asia-facing military command, 2007 was declared the Year of the Pacific (Department Of State. The Office of Electronic Information, 2007). The current Asia-Pacific rebalancing, an effort aimed at mitigating Asian threats in the Pacific region, is considered central to the U.S. strategy of establishing a major U.S. military presence and developing economic and political interests (United States Department of Defense (defense.gov), 2015a, 2015b, 2015c). In this rebalancing effort, Guam is the U.S. strategic hub in the Pacific (Pallerin, 2014). Although the numbers have fluctuated over the years since the buildup in Guam was first announced, it is striking to observe that of the 60% of the U.S Navy and 60% of U.S. combat forces that will be concentrated in the region, in Marines presence alone, 5000 marines will be sent to Guam while only 2500 will be sent to Australia and 3500 to Japan (Pallerin, 2014). Guam, alone, but a tiny fraction of the geographic land area by comparison, will serve as the operating base of approximately the same number of total marines that

will be sent to Australia and Japan combined. The consequences for the Chamorro people of Guam cannot be overstated under these conditions of increasing militarization.

Language Policies Under Increasing Militarization

Upon U.S. arrival to Guam in 1898, the Chamorro people were noted to be bilingual, fluent in their native Chamorro language as well as Spanish; thus, to expedite the language shift from Spanish to English, an intervention of explicit and authoritative language policies were implemented and enforced by the U.S. administration in Guam, and Spanish was eliminated from administrative affairs in Guam and from practice amongst the Chamorro people (Palomo, 1987). As a result, the survival of the Chamorro language during this transition may be attributed to the fact that the United States was more preoccupied with replacing Spanish, as the language of administration in Guam, with English; Spanish was seen as a direct and immediate threat to the American rule in Guam, while Chamorro was not. In essence, the Chamorro language as the vernacular was protected while the Navy administration sought to supplant Spanish with English.

Not long after, however, the United States turned its attention to the assimilation and modernization of the Chamorro people. Some researchers, like Underwood (1987), cautioned against notions of an explicit intention to kill the Chamorro language, suggesting instead that the demise of the language was an

unintended consequence of the modernization project and the complicity⁶⁶ of the Chamorro people themselves; however, this perspective offered little consolation for the Chamorro people who were subject to authoritative language policies expressly banning and punishing the public use of Chamorro in schools and at work by the military-administered government.

Many Chamorro people who were children at the time relate stories that speak to the harsh physical punishment meted out for infractions of the no-Chamorro policy in schools, and this was confirmed from Talking Story with the Manåmko'. Tan Suzy described the times, "Hu-u adai, those days. So bad. Yeah. That's why they give up the Chamorro..." Milder punishments noted from various conversations and sources included writing mantras or reminders a prescribed number of times in a form similar to, "I will not speak in Chamorro" or "I will only speak English." Tan Julia remembered, "We get to...pay...I remember...you, we were caught." Disciplining methods within workspaces was noted in billboards and signs. For example, at the Guam Memorial Hospital during the late 1960s to 1970s, a sign declared that English was the official language, and Chamorro was not to be spoken in the workplace. Regardless of the actual punishment, the negative connotations associated with speaking

⁶⁶ Bordieu (1991) and Fanon (2008) described how complicity was often attributed to colonized peoples in facilitating their own demise.

Chamorro in public had a severe and disciplining⁶⁷ effect on the Chamorro people. Given this, it is difficult to mistake compliance for complicity.

Under the Pacific Rebalance military buildup, Guam will incur an increase in military personnel equal to the total that will be sent to Australia and Japan combined. Attempts are being made to mitigate the predicted impact of this increase on the island's environment and infrastructure. What is less prominent in the conversation has been the impact to the Chamorro people themselves as the Indigenous people to the island. Without this conversation, it would be difficult to fully understand the anticipated impact.

It can be anticipated that existing military base housing in Guam will not be adequate to support this population increase and will result in an overflow of military residents in civilian housing and schools. An overflow into public schools in particular will increase pressure on the public education system to meet the needs of military constituents, and, in an already-strained economy, this will continue to place Indigenous Chamorro interests at a disadvantage as they struggle to maintain their declining language. As the 2008 survey findings earlier in this study indicated, there are differing opinions as to what the focus of public schools should be and, therefore, where financial resources should be

⁶⁷ While there were physical punishments meted out to discipline the Chamorro for speaking the language in non-sanctioned spaces, disciplining is used here in the manner described by Foucault (1977) wherein direct and physical punishments are no longer necessary tools to achieve intended outcomes in an institutionalized society.

directed. As expressed by all of the Mañaina and participants in Talking Story as well as almost all participants in the 2008 surveys, Chamorro is critical to connecting to the Indigenous Chamorro heritage and should be maintained. In fact, many survey participants appeared to plead and expressed strong dismay at the perceived decline of the Chamorro language. Still, there were sentiments by a few participants that indicated learning Chamorro is a nice thing to do, but that it shouldn't be required in schools.

Almost as if in response, the presence of the newly-opened Department of Defense Education Activity (DoDEA Pacific) in Guam, is highly symbolic of the relationship that the military has created on the island: that is, so long as the Chamorro maintain active military relationships through enlistment, they can receive the most attractive benefits. Only children of parents in the military may attend DoDEA tuition-free and receive the dynamic education promised by this school system ("About Our School," n.d.). In Guam, the native language of the locale, in this case, the Chamorro language, is noticeably absent in this DoDEA school's list of foreign language curriculum available. This is not the case for DoDEA schools elsewhere.

The Håfa Adai Pledge

On a community level, a large increase in the non-Chamorro-speaking population will likely result in a demand for services and lucrative jobs in English, further devaluing the incentive to learn and engage in the practice of speaking Chamorro. A disturbing parallel to events in Hawaii can be seen in

the Guam Visitors Bureau (GVB) effort to promote the Chamorro spirit through the “Håfa Adai Pledge.” GVB’s focus is on increasing tourism and promoting tourism-related programs. The Håfa Adai Pledge invites Guam businesses to join the program and promises to “‘make a difference’ in the survival of the Chamorro language, culture and traditions in some way or another” (Guam Visitors Bureau, n.d.).

GVB suggests that businesses may choose to express the spirit of Håfa Adai through using Chamorro greetings when answering phones or greeting customers, displaying Chamorro signs, incorporating Chamorro artwork and Indigenous imagery into their establishments, and have staff wear island wear on “Håfa Adai Fridays.” What is problematic about GVB’s program is the likely propensity for businesses to engage in cheap, cultural commodification by demonstrating, at best, a shallow effort at creating goodwill by signing up for the pledge while committing to no more than requiring employees to greet customers with a smile and a “Håfa Adai” without acknowledging the issues faced by Chamorro people in preserving and perpetuating their language and traditions. Given the history of Chamorro language policies in workspaces, a more meaningful rhetorical statement in support of the Chamorro people would be to place “Chamorro Only” signs and require employees to speak only Chamorro for a designated period of time at work or not to speak at all during that timeframe. Positive incentives could be offered for employees who comply, and businesses could use creative solutions for implementing this type of program.

Guam, Island of Warriors: Chamorros and the Military

Returning to the earlier discussion on familiar slogans, in the wake of the largest military buildup on American soil in recent history, the case can be made for yet another slogan: “Guam: America’s Best Kept Secret.” As the non-Chamorro population in Guam continues to increase, the movement into leadership positions and other positions of power that can dictate information policies will propel a more general Guamanian identity. The erasure of the Chamorro identity through its subsumption under the broader Guamanian national identity presents a complex and difficult situation for the Chamoru efforts at maintaining autonomy in the preservation and maintenance of the Chamoru Systems of Knowledge.

Further complicating the issue of U.S. military presence in Guam is the extent to which this presence extends into the social fabric of Chamorros and Guamanians in general. While variations exist in the numbers, the military recruitment and service of Guamanians and Chamorros per capita is two to three times that of other U.S. states. In a public television special on this topic, PBS’s *America By the Numbers*, hosted by Maria Hinojosa, dubbed Guam “The Island of Warriors” (“Island of Warriors,” 2014). Guam’s history of imperial and military occupation has had a significantly negative impact on the Chamorro people, their lives, and their cultural traditions. With the current U.S. rebalancing effort underway, the increasing militarization of Guam is projected to be a long-term condition, and the impact to the island, the Chamorro people,

and their cultural traditions will be even more significant than in previous military occupations of the island.

All three male Manåmko' interviewed in Talking Story served in the U.S. military at the time that the draft was mandatory. Two "avoided" the draft by enlisting in the Air Force. One attempted to disqualify himself by having a doctor certify him as prone to anxiety. This strategy did not work. All three of them expressed a high disregard for their public school education, and the two that didn't finish high school opted to enlist in the military to avoid school. One later earned his GED, and as he tells it, he did this in order to try to get out of the military. All three went to war and are veterans. All three wanted to get out of the military as soon as they could and actively searched for ways to do so while enlisted. This perspective on military service by the Mañaina is insightful considering the extremely high military participation rates amongst the Chamorro in Guam today. Indeed, service in and to the military is the major industry in Guam.

It should be noted here that there is a common perception in Guam and by observers in general that the identities of Chamorros in the military and Chamorro activists contradict and stand in opposition to each other; however, many Chamorro who are active in the military are also Chamorro language advocates and proponents of Chamoru self-determination. In addition, there

are many Chamorro activists who are also military veterans⁶⁸. This identity is one that is becoming increasingly common in Guam and would be an interesting area for future study.

Information Preservation: Disruptions in Chamoru Systems of Knowledge

RQ4: How have these policies affected the flow of information in the Indigenous Knowledge System in Guam?

The goal of RQ4 was to understand how language policies in Guam affected the flow of information in Chamorro Systems of Knowledge. Underwood (1989) and Palomo (1987) both identified a need to examine the role of the military in language policies. Although Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars and researchers alike acknowledged the need to preserve and revitalize the Chamorro language of Guam, the motivation and justification for doing so had yet to be clearly articulated. Understanding this underlying foundation is necessary for designing and developing appropriate language revitalization and maintenance strategies. Betances (1987, p. 54) recommended developing a robust language policy, and Underwood (1989) recommended forming a new language ideology, recognizing the limited power of schools in reversing the declining trend in Chamorro language acquisition. Following

⁶⁸ In fact, Chamorro veterans enjoy an elevated status of respect within the community. It is significant to note that Chamorro veterans are often the leaders of Chamoru activist movements in Guam.

Underwood's lead, this study posited that articulating the formulation of a new language ideology and policy required an understanding and decolonization of the colonial and military legacy which drove and is still embedded within current Chamorro language ideology and policy. To do so, a historical view with respect to Chamoru Systems of Knowledge was necessary.

Chamorrization: Chamorro Language Adaptation

Not much is known about the education system under the Spanish occupation of Guam. Queen Mariana's endowment indicated that some kind of education was available and funded, and documents suggest that some of the Chamorro were groomed for administrative positions. We do know that it was under the Spanish administration that the critical seafaring tradition of the Chamorro was prohibited. This limited Chamorro mobility in the ocean spaces that they frequently traversed and the confinement of the population to a few of the Mariana Islands facilitated the ability of the Spanish administration to maintain control over the Chamorro people. It is also under Spanish rule that Christianity was introduced and observance of this religion was enforced often violently. In fact, it was under the Spanish reduction policy that the Chamorro male population had dwindled leading to the racially-diverse intermixing amongst Chamorro today. For better or for worse, Christianity had become integral to Chamorro customs and practices.

Much of the Chamorro knowledge system had been supplanted by Spanish customs under Spanish rule. The Chamorro, for example, followed a

lunar calendar, and this calendar informed critical aspects of the Chamorro Knowledge System where navigation and fishing were concerned (Cunningham, 1992). The Chamorro also had well-established systems of classification as was evident in various measurement and numbering systems. Still, while the atrocities under the Spanish occupation cannot be discounted, it is noteworthy that over that 300-year duration, the Chamorro language itself, however much infused with Spanish loan words, was still a distinctly unique language that persisted and thrived.

Rather than being extinguished, which does not appear to be the ultimate goal of Spanish colonization, the Chamorro people, as reflected through changes in the language, adapted to different religious practices and methods of understanding measurement and classification. These adaptations, however, were uniquely Chamorro. For example, the characteristic singing style of the Chamorro, sometimes described by foreign and religious scholars as wailing (Spoehr, 1954, pp. 360–362), was present in the Christian songs that the people adopted. Language scholars described “Chamorrization” as the way in which Spanish loan words were made to conform to the Chamorro linguistic rules. With regard to ocean navigation practices, it is clear that the Chamorro people as expressed through their native tongue adapted to Spanish practices and ideas as a means of cultural survival. It is also acknowledged, particularly through the efforts by San Vitores, that Spanish missionaries sought to communicate Christian ideas to the Chamorro using the Chamorro language (Sanchez, 1987, p. 36). As a result, the Spanish are credited for their

meticulous documentation of the Chamorro language even if only for the sake of converting the Chamorros to Christianity.

From Coercion to Compliance

Under the U.S. Naval administration language policies, however, the Chamorro language began to severely decline. First, the public prohibition of the language was physically enforced on the initial population of Chamorro, and then eventually complied with by the succeeding generations. Evidence from the Talking Story data in this study confirms the Chamorro language status during this period. At this time, it would have been the parents of the Mañaina and Manãmko' in this study that would have been children in the public schools. It was their parents that initially suffered the direct effects of these policies. That generation of Chamorros likely incurred extremely harsh penalties during Leary's term to enforce compliance with the English-only policies. Listening to my own grandmother's stories when she was still alive, I know this to be true of at least her experience as part of that generation. As the Mañaina and Manãmko' revealed, they didn't learn to speak English themselves until they went to school at around the age of 6⁶⁹. They spoke only Chamorro until then because their parents and elders only spoke Chamorro.

⁶⁹ The one elder who reported not being fluent in Chamorro also indicated that her grandfather was an Englishman. Otherwise, it appears that all other Chamorro elders in this study were fluent in Chamorro and spoke only Chamorro until they entered school because that was the only language their parents spoke.

By all accounts, it was the women who were largely responsible for maintaining the Chamorro language amongst the children, a fact that was acknowledged in Talking Story with the males in the Mañaina.

From Compliance to Complicity

Life and school in Guam were disrupted during World War II when the Japanese invaded Guam in 1941. During this time, the Mañaina and Manâmkô', who would all have been around 10 years old by then, attended Japanese-administered schools where they were compelled to learn Japanese. None of the Mañaina reported being prohibited from speaking Chamorro; however, given the atrocities they observed or experienced in this brutal occupation, they were only too happy to welcome the recapture of Guam in 1944 by the Americans whom they viewed as their liberators and heroes.

Clearly, this experience of yet another occupation made an impression on the Chamorro who were old enough to remember the Japanese invasion. Their parents and grandparents would have had the unfortunate experience of having lived through all of the occupations: Spanish, American, Japanese, then back to American. Yet, during the first three occupations lasting approximately 345 years, the Chamorro language still persisted as the vernacular tongue of the people. Around the period following the American recapture of Guam in 1944, however, the impact of English-only policies appears to have taken hold.

By the time the U.S. Naval administration that began in 1898 officially transferred administrative powers to the Government of Guam in 1950, they would have spent the first half of their administration exercising policies aimed at eradicating the Chamorro language and practices. Evidence from the Talking Story data confirms the naval policies indicating that the Chamorro were not fully complying with the school attendance policies. Yet, Talking Story with the Mañaina also revealed that when they had children, they did not teach their children Chamorro, and this meant that the succeeding generation was unable to do so either whether they wanted to or not.

The extreme break between this generation of fluent Mañaina and Manâmkô' is striking when we consider their children, the Lost Generation identified in this study, and their grandchildren who are the children of the Lost Generation and are the current generation in public schools. The Mañaina and Manâmkô' who, save for one, were all fluent in Chamorro, reported not teaching their children Chamorro. In turn, this Lost Generation could not teach their children Chamorro. This last generation, the grandchildren of the Mañaina and Manâmkô' are the beneficiaries of current mandatory Government of Guam policies aimed at reversing the rapid downward trend in Chamorro language use through language lessons in the public schools. Yet, as the Mañaina and Manâmkô' in this study report and the albeit low numbers of <18 year olds from the survey concur, these grandchildren for the most part are not fluent and do not speak to their Mañaina in Chamorro.

The Talking Story data indicates that this generation of Manåmko' felt that Chamorro should be taught in public schools even though they themselves never were taught Chamorro in public schools. The results of this transfer of responsibility along with the acquiescence to the expedience and priority of speaking English in the homes are powerful factors feeding the rapid decline of the daily use Chamorro. In the meantime, community efforts run parallel to the public school mandates, but they are not without their share of issues and difficulties. Justifying financial support and rationalizing the relevance of the Chamorro language in the highly militarized and rapidly-increasing militarized locale of Guam is a local and public national struggle for the Chamorro.

As the Talking Story Mañaina and participants from both of the 2008 online surveys emphasized, there is a sense of pride, a connection to history, culture, and ancestors that are inherent in maintaining the Chamorro language. Yet, there is a larger issue that the Chamorro people can leverage in their efforts which were at one time isolated and insular: the growing global recognition of and alliance with Indigenous peoples worldwide is a boon for the Chamorro language efforts.

Dismantling Chamoru Systems of Knowledge

I have explained that Chamoru Systems of Knowledge were initially disrupted by the Spanish colonial administration that prohibited ocean navigation practices. This, in turn, combined with the supplanting of Christianity on Chamorro spiritual and religious practices impacted not just

the mobility and spatial autonomy of the Chamorro people but also Chamorro understandings and relationships to the cosmos. Still, the Chamorro language survived this 300-year Spanish reign on the island because the goal of the Spanish administration was not the destruction of the Chamorro people but rather their compliance.

Similarly, the Chamorro language survived a short-lived yet no-less atrocious Japanese occupation. Once again, the occupying power demanded compliance. The Chamorro people were forced to learn Japanese, but the Japanese did not appear interested in annihilating the Chamorro language.

From the analysis of the Naval documents, under the U.S. military administration, however, the Navy government acknowledged the presence and intent of a warm U.S.-Chamorro relationship. Indeed, from the Talking Story data, the Mañaina in this study viewed the U.S. military as heroes and saviors. Unfortunately, the goal of the U.S. military administration was assimilation.

As such, familial lands were seized, Chamorro religious, social, and cultural practices were restricted or otherwise prohibited, and language was targeted. Women's roles once prominent as authority figures in the matrilineal Chamorro society and within Chamoru Systems of Knowledge were completely disrupted, segregated, and relegated to less-influential, less-visible, less-powerful roles. The Chamorro language, as the medium and message of information flow within Chamoru Systems of Knowledge and connection amongst the people was viewed as an explicit threat to this goal of assimilation.

Revisiting Figure 6, the Inafa'maolek in Chamorro Self-Determination process, duplicated here from earlier in this study, we can now get a clearer view of the role that U.S. militarization has played and continues to play in Guam for the Chamorro. By systematically prohibiting access to the critical

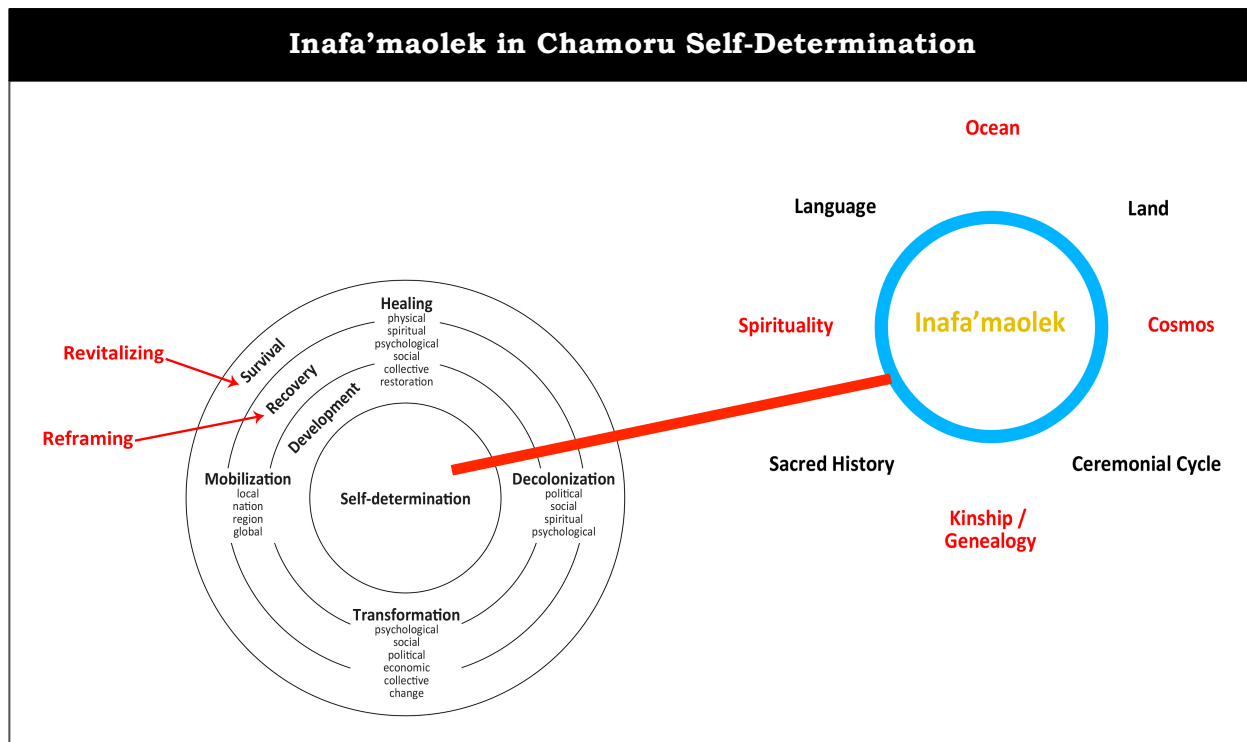


Figure 10. Inafa'maolek in Chamoru Self-Determination

elements within the Chamoru Knowledge System, the process of achieving Chamoru self-determination is impeded.

Chamoru Self-Determination: Inafa'maolek Responses to Militarization

RQ5: How have the Indigenous Chamorro people responded to these policies?

The goal of RQ5 was to understand the response by the Indigenous Chamorro to the historic and current language policies. These policies included formal and authoritative U.S. Naval Administration and Government of Guam policies, and informal policies at the community, family, and individual levels.

The U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Guamanian Identity

In 1946, a year after the United Nations (U.N.) was formed, Guam was placed on the U.N. List of Non-Self Governing Territories ideally with the ultimate goal of achieving sovereignty (United Nations, n.d.). In 1960, the U.N. adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People (“The United Nations and Decolonization,” n.d.). Currently in the Third International Decade for the Eradication of Decolonization (2011-2020), because of the island’s history and strategic military value, Guam remains on the list of non-self-governing territories as one of the final 17 nations yet to be decolonized.

In 2007, the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (U.N. DRIP) was adopted and articulated a fundamental set of human rights to language and cultural heritage. It is fundamentally understood that language is central to Indigenous culture and Systems of Knowledge. For oral traditions such as Chamorro, language is the critical medium and message of information communication. Preventing access, then, is a human rights violation against Indigenous peoples:

Article 13

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.

(United Nations. General Assembly. & United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights., 2008, p. 7)

Given the history of U.S. occupation policies in Guam and the current status of increasing militarization on the island, it is telling that in the 2007 vote to approve the U.N. DRIP, the United States under the Bush administration was one of the four countries that refused to approve the ratification. The other holdout countries were Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. They along with the United States have sizable Indigenous populations with whom relationships have been historically violent and contentious. Articles 26-31 of the U.N. DRIP specifically address militarization on Indigenous lands and related land activities within these territories (United Nations. General Assembly. & United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights., 2008).

In 2010, under the Obama administration, the U.S. officially reversed its position and, at least, professed support for the tenets of the U.N. DRIP. With the current Pacific Rebalancing effort and increasing militarization in Guam, however, the outlook on Guam's quest for independence in light of this situation is looking less promising as this third international decade draws to a close.

Under the 1950 Organic Act of Guam, the island's constitution, U.S. citizenship was granted to Guamanians⁷⁰, the people of Guam. The intent to assimilate the people of Guam was clearly aimed at the Chamorro people as the native inhabitants of Guam; however, at this time, defining Chamorro proved to be a complicated undertaking. The Chamorro themselves as a result of colonial history and the ills wrought upon the native population were, at this time, now heavily admixed with a diversity of ethnicities. In addition, many residents in Guam were either those who had arrived as imported labor under both the Spanish and U.S. administrations or else remnants of these new colonizing entities. The national identity of Guamanian resolved questions of Chamorro identity essentially through conflation and essentially by disregarding it.

The Guamanian identity was defined according to: 1) residency on the island prior to the establishment of the Organic Act and the dates of the Treaty of Paris cession and the official proclamation of Guam as a U.S. territory by the U.S. administration, and 2) having made no application for or possessing any foreign citizenship. In effect, the native identity of Chamorro and the rights that would have otherwise been afforded to them as Indigenous peoples and native inhabitants were instead superseded by the broader Guamanian identity. Indeed, this definition of Guamanian identity is divorced from explicit

⁷⁰ Guamanians was originally a distinction used to mean Chamorros from Guam as distinct from Saipanese, the Chamorros from Saipan. This terminology resulted from the historical tension that developed between Guamanian and CNMI Chamorros during WWII. The Guamanians felt they were betrayed by their Saipanese brethren who acted as informants to the Japanese.

Chamorro traditions and continues to plague the Chamorro today in their continuing quest for self-determination⁷¹.

In a historic 2016 District Court of Guam case, Chamorro attorney Julian Aguon represented the Guam Election Commission (GEC) against a claim of plebiscite discrimination. The discrimination lawsuit was lodged by Arnold Davis, an American transplant residing in Guam, who believed that his rights as an American and a Guamanian resident were violated when he was not allowed to register to vote as a native on the question of whether or not to request that Congress consider independence for Guam. The verdict in the case was still pending at the time this dissertation was written, but I highlight the critical point in this issue: that the question of independence results from colonization, and this issue involves the peoples whose rights were violated as a result of colonization, namely, the native Chamorro people of Guam. What this case demonstrates is that the Guamanian national identity poses a problem for the Chamorro not just in their quest for self-determination, but, in general, for their rights as Indigenous peoples. This directly impacts the ability of the Chamorro to succeed in their efforts to revitalize and maintain their identity through preserving their language.

⁷¹ Similarly in Hawaii, the term Native Hawaiians has been used to combat the conflation that has been perpetuated between the national identity of Hawaiians vs. the Indigenous identity of the Kanaka Maoli.

Fino Håya: An Inafa'maolek Approach to Chamoru Self-Determination

Authoritative language policies in the form of the Naval government Executive and General Orders were “the weapons employed to attain their goals” (Palomo, 1987, p. 24). The public library established in Guam contained donated books from individuals as well as from the Aguilan Free Library which were solely in English or Spanish (Palomo, 1987, p. 25). In contrast, Underwood (1987) views the English ideology that emerged as a reflection of the current trends and ignorance by educators and a conflation between this ideology and practice by the Chamorro people.

Palomo argued that explicit, authoritative language policies directly impacted the vitality of the Chamorro language in Guam; whereas, Underwood acknowledged that ideological arguments directly influencing the devaluation of the Chamorro language by its speakers and educators relative to English were valid to some extent, but he insisted that it would be a mistake to justify public education as the major causal factor in the acculturation and language choice preference given to English. Rather, for Underwood, it was the perceived relative utility of English laid out by the emerging English language ideology at that time that led to the ensuing language choice (R. A. Underwood, 1987).

From Underwood’s perspective, the status planning approach to language planning of modernization through English language education in American schooling had some minor, but unintended consequences in the perceived devaluation of the Chamorro language. In his opinion, the preference of

practice of selecting English over Chamorro was not the result of a negative ideology towards Chamorro created by authoritative language policies and schools as primary agents of cultural change; rather, it was a positive ideology held in the minds of the people that English was a means for economic and social gain that drove the change in values and beliefs, yet attitudes towards the Chamorro language remained high. Although Underwood argues against the culpability of American schooling in Guam as the major agent of language attitude formation, he does, as Palomo argues in her research, point to militarization in Guam as a more likely cause that needed further investigation.

The Chamoru response to militarization has been a multifaceted one. To declare this response as unified would be highly misleading. But, just what has the response been? The Mañaina and survey participants in this study expressed the importance of the Chamorro language to the ownership and perpetuation of their culture. Motivating the Chamorro people to maintain their language meant establishing this sense of pride and an understanding of the connection to ancestors and ancestral knowledge.

This study aimed to highlight the perceptions via the myths that informed Chamorro language ideology. Many of these myths manifested in practice though the original myths may have been long forgotten. As seen from the open-ended responses in the 2008 online surveys as well as the Talking Story interviews with the Mañaina, the descriptions by the Manãmko' of their personal experiences and perceptions demonstrate the persistence of the

historic Naval language policies that no longer exist and have theoretically been reversed. Their beliefs and attitudes about the how the Chamorro language should be taught and learned was unsurprisingly varied. Regardless of the informal policies via their particular practices with perpetuating the Chamorro language within their families, all of the Mañaina interviewed agreed that the Chamorro language was important and should continue to be spoken.

Cultural Currency: Information Policy, Language Purification, and Decolonization

From a systems perspective, the Chamorro language is an Information Communication technology for Chamoru Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Speaking it is both the medium and the message for the Indigenous Chamoru. For many Manâmkô' as confirmed in Talking Story and informal conversations, the condition of the language as it exists today made Chamorro a secret language, a code that could be used when speakers wanted to communicate information amongst themselves without non-Chamorro speakers being able to interpret and decode their messages.

For the Manâmkô' in Talking Story, Chamorro was the language of survival in their youth. They spoke it as a matter of course to their parents who only spoke Chamorro to them. It was an everyday language, but speaking Chamorro was restricted to the home and private situations. Chamorro in their childhood was not to be spoken in school, and the institutional disciplining resulted in a generation of parents who protected their children from the repercussions and negativity they experienced or witnessed by speaking to

them in English and encouraging them to learn English at the exclusion of Chamorro. Currently, Chamorro is mandated to be taught in public schools, and the Mañaina from Talking Story agreed that this was the acceptable venue for where the language should be taught even though they themselves were fluent yet never learned Chamorro in school.

As determined from the 2008 online surveys and Talking Story interviews, save for brief moments and translation questions, the Mañaina do not regularly speak Chamorro with their grandchildren. They said that it was more expedient to speak to their grandchildren in English, and reported that their grandchildren spoke to them in English, so they responded in kind. Their own children, the parents to these grandchildren, had expressed interest in learning Chamorro, but there was a disconnect between their parents, the Manãmkö', and their children in how best to accomplish this. As indicated by some of the Mañaina in Talking Story, learning Chamorro the hard way meant learning the language in a formal setting through reading, writing, rote memorization and recitation, books, tests, homework, and qualifications for teachers. Yet, it was conversational Chamorro that resulted in their fluency, not the school language courses.

As a brief aside, Chamorro males were “butchered by the wholesale” and Chamorro females married the subsequent importation of non-Chamorro males in an active effort to “reduce” the Chamorro (William Edwin Safford, 1903, pp. 292–293). But it was noted that all of these descendants called themselves

Chamorro, and it was through the mothers that the children learned to speak (William Edwin Safford, 1903, p. 293). Though not explicitly stated, based on the surrounding context related to the Chamorro language, it can be presumed that Safford meant the children learned to speak from their mothers and that the language they learned to speak in was Chamorro. Interestingly, Safford noted, “The various races have amalgamated pretty thoroughly, and even the descendants of Englishmen and Scotchmen call themselves Chamorros” (William Edwin Safford, 1903, p. 293). Thus, regardless of genealogical makeup, those who descended from Chamorro mothers and spoke Chamorro called themselves Chamorro. It is this concept that more accurately defines Chamorro.

According to the Mañaina from the Talking Story interviews and observations in the historical language documentation notes, mothers then were perceived to be the critical factor for language, and the Chamorro mothers felt that their job was to nurture their children and help them to be participants in modern Guam. Yet, the predicament was that the Lost Generation, those children who were protected by the Manâmkô’ from the shame and fear of a backward, less competitive future, are the connecting link within the families between grandparents and grandchildren; however, this Lost Generation is unable to bridge the language connection because they did not learn it themselves.

At present, however, increasing militarization in Guam seems to have ignited a resurgence in Indigenous Chamorro interests. There are numerous Chamoru programs attempting to generate and increase interest amongst the Chamorro youth in learning to speak the language. Programs aimed at the arts seem to attract the youth. Dance and chant groups such as I Fanlalai'an are particularly popular amongst Chamorro in the Diaspora who visit Guam or learn the dances and chants from those that did. Chamorro can be heard via some public media as well. Chamorro news and talk radio continue to be popular amongst the Manãmko', and attempts at creating Chamorro media programming aimed at the youth have met with some success. Immersion programs such as Chamorro daycare programs and language programs like Hurão are also important in the effort to increase exposure and participation with the Chamorro language.

Articulating a larger understanding of the ecosystem within which a knowledge system operates for the Chamorro would further help to integrate these various programs. If we were to ask of the discrete individual programs: is this Inafa'maolek? The answer, of course, would be yes. But, from a systems perspective, for these individual programs to be Inafa'maolek, the connection would need to be made with families and elders. As some indicated, what is needed is a conversational approach. Based on the historical evidence and on my conversations with the Mañaina, this type of approach needs to be prioritized. Doing so would build a critical connection between generations for information flow using the Chamorro language as a medium.

Chamorro Lexicons

One attempt of note at decolonizing the Chamorro language was the development of a Chamorro lexicon. The goal behind this lexicon is to replace all Spanish loan words with the Chamorro words that were originally replaced. This Chamorro lexicon project can be viewed as language purification; however, reframed from an Indigenous, decolonizing perspective, this effort takes on new meaning.

When the French made a similar attempt, it was in response to keeping their language pure. In other words, the French believed that other languages dirtied their language. For the scholars working on the Chamorro lexicon, however, this effort is a way of decolonizing the language and asserting agency in their expression. The Chamorro had words to describe ideas and objects, but they were replaced by Spanish “loan words.” The notion that the Chamorro needed to borrow from another language hides the colonial agenda of usurping a people and their knowledge by replacing their words. You can Talk Story, but you will Talk Story in words whose context we understand. This notion feeds the larger agenda of assimilation into a national identity. Yet the fear of cultural and linguistic plurality is itself an oxymoron. We can see this contradiction in the fact that genetic diversity fends off disease by preventing monolithic death. The ideology behind democracy recognizes the critical importance of plural voices.

As an expression of decolonization, the Chamorro lexicon is an effort that should be applauded, but it is not without its complications. Through various informal conversations with several Chamorro people in Guam, I learned that not all Chamorro people appreciate such efforts. In fact, they feel somewhat alienated by them. My mother, for example, put it succinctly when I asked for her thoughts on this and other Chamorro language efforts. Her mother, my grandmother, spoke a version of Chamorro that was difficult for her to understand because it was the ancient version that used words she didn't recognize. My mother's Chamorro, on the other hand, was highly Spanish-infused. Referring to both her mother's Chamorro and the current efforts, she lamented, "That's not *my* Chamorro."

Still, these various efforts seem to be making an impression amongst at least some Chamorro. As the data shows from the online surveys, at least those Chamorro in the Diaspora associated a higher social currency with the ability to speak the Chamorro language. The attention that this perspective appears to be stimulating in Guam makes me somewhat hopeful about the prospects of countering the language demise.

Finally, in addition to the pure Chamorro language lexicon, several other formal and informal efforts to develop Chamorro language lexicons are currently underway and will be interesting areas for research as they progress: a Chamorro legal lexicon for use in court and legal proceedings, a Chamorro medical lexicon, and a Chamorro navigation lexicon.

Aqua Nullius: Reframing the Language of Language Policies

Earlier in this study, I described Smith's model of an Indigenous Research Agenda that had at its center the goal of Self-determination. In this section, I address the broad question of this study: What is the relationship between militarization in Guam and the flow of information within the Chamoru Indigenous Knowledge System?

The official military documents made that under American colonial rule, the U.S. Navy, as the official administering agent of U.S. federal policies in Guam, was responsible for implementing the harshest authoritative language policies through a series of formal executive orders. The intended outcome was to eliminate the use of the Chamorro language. This was accomplished through systematically disrupting Chamoru Systems of Knowledge and by cultivating the myth of Chamorro as a useless language. It is clear that labeling Chamorro as a useless language was intended to move Guam towards the goal of assimilation into American identity and the objectives inherent in this identity.

Language, Resistance, and Self-Determination

Also evident in the Naval documents data was the resistance (in the form of informal policies) by the Chamoru exhibited by their continued practice of speaking the language in forbidden public spaces of school and work. By default, schoolteachers and employers became the punishers and enforcing agents of official language policies. But as was previously discussed, some

schoolteachers were also enablers of resistance to these policies. Hence, the stringent response in burning dictionaries. The myth of the useless language was generated and enforced by the colonizing force of the U.S. naval administration as the expression of U.S. federal government policy. This myth did not have the immediate intended impact on the Chamorro at the receiving end of these policy enforcements. However, a seed was planted that would eventually germinate in successive generations. The eventual compliance with these language policies has been perceived by some as complicity. Though this may have been the case for some Chamorro, this study focused on reframing of this perspective as a means to revitalization and ultimately towards achieving the goal of self-determination.

Concurrent with the transfer of power under the 1950 Organic Act of Guam, the Chamorro people, then synonymous with Guamanians, gained more autonomy in directing local activities in Guam (Executive Order No. 10077: Transfer of the administration of the Island of Guam from the Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of the Interior, 1949). The U.N. mandated that colonized territories should progress towards the status of self-determination (United Nations, 1960). Government of Guam policies were eventually aimed at reversing the detrimental impact of the U.S. Naval administration policies on the Chamorro language. These legislative policies privileged and mandated Chamorro language courses in the public schools. However, successful implementation and establishing benchmarks for qualified teachers were impeded for various social and economic reasons.

Chamorro: "The Useless Language"

The intended outcome of these authoritative policies was to address the declining use of the language in order to mitigate the extinction of the Chamorro language in Guam. The myth that Chamorro was a useless language had eventually manifested in the belief that children would just learn to speak the language. In the Talking Story interviews, Tan Julia said, "...that's was my mistake because I said, 'Ok, the environment is going to teach them.' But it didn't." Also from the Talking Story interviews, Tun Pedro resigned to speaking English to his children and grandchildren, "Even at home, right now with, I got a son, I talk in, in English. All the time..." because, "Well, they're talking to me back in English. And some of, some of them they don't understand quite Chamorro." He explained, "...they ought to have a...special class...a big school, you know..." and continued, "Or else...if they have a private...school for Chamorro language...I'm waiting to...send my kids to learn. Maybe 3 hours a day, or what, you know. To be good." The accountability that parents and grandparents should have in teaching Chamorro to the youth was transferred to public schools and justified by Government of Guam authoritative policies.

Schools were viewed as powerful positive agents for the Chamorro language. If schools were the sites of acculturation and agents of language decline under the previous military administration, then, logically, they must also be the sites that can mitigate the impact of those prohibition policies. Unfortunately, as this study demonstrates, this has not been the case.

Students were compelled to take the Chamorro language as a subject in school, and, in school, the incentive and motivating factor is based on grades. If even teachers and the Mañaina believed that learning Chamorro the hard way meant learning to read and write the language through rote methods and learning through books and schools, it's no surprise that the youth are not motivated to learn it. In Talking Story, Tan Amanda, a long-time Chamorro teacher said, "I learned Chamorro the hard way. By syllable, when you read." She explained that she had to learn to read Chamorro later in life, "Yeah, but I learned Chamorro the hard way. When I started taking, ah, like, workshops. When I decide to teach Chamorro." For Tan Amanda, even with a career goal of teaching Chamorro, learning Chamorro was extremely difficult. For new learners, without any kind of connection to practical utility, rather than a closed loop of learning, teaching, and applying, the flow of information via the medium of the Chamorro language becomes an open-ended trajectory. Relying on schools by themselves without any broader connection and relation to the community and utility cannot be Inafa'maolek.

As an instance of Indigenous research, this study described and utilized a Pacific Islander method called Talking Story to connect and to gather data. I discussed that, by definition, Talking Story implies ubiquity in Chamorro ways of knowing and doing. Talking Story, then, would be an appropriate mode for utilizing and revitalizing the medium of the Chamorro language. Talking Story is Inafa'maolek.

The critical myth underlying perceptions and policies behind the Chamorro language has consistently been the myth of the useless language, and the discourse of smallness, dirtiness, and backwardness was used to reinforce it. Safford wrote, “The islanders were described by the early Spaniards as lazy and improvident, living only for pleasure...” (William Edwin Safford, 1912, p. 5) Chamorro women were seen as important to teaching the Chamorro language. Yet, “In the racialized and gendered discourses of science and tropical medicine, Chamorro women, like Puerto Rican women, were seen as backward and uncivilized” (DeLisle, 2008, p. 88). In an informal conversation, a participant said, “They told us only the dirty people spoke that language, so, you know, we became ashamed to speak it.” Others, Chamorro language advocates included, consistently reinforced the notion of smallness, particularly through advocating for English as the language for survival:

Keep in mind that while English becomes important to transfer information, helps modernization, and connects you to the world of ideas and information, that English cannot become your umbilical cord to the cultures of the indigenous people of the Marianas, those who trace their historical and cultural personalities to the Pacific Islands since before the Spaniards. English cannot accomplish both functions, neither can Carolinian nor Chamorro. Let us be frank and correct. The oral languages of the region have a limited function as it relates to information necessary for modern development of the region. Could it have happened differently? Perhaps. I don't know. But what must happen, if the indigenous languages are to survive, is a balance between the efforts to transfer information via English and to transfer culture via Chamorro and Carolinian. Both must be done. It will be costly, yes; but not as costly as destroying a way of life of the people of the Marianas. (Betances, 1987, p. 45)

As previously noted, the myth and misnomer of the useless language was perpetuated by the U.S. military. In the case of the first sub-question, the myth translated to the following: Chamorro is a useless language because it detracts from the U.S. military's goal of Chamorro assimilation into an American identity and the objectives inherent in this identity. The implied agenda was aimed at cultivating the broader national Guamanian identity. This Guamanian identity was conflated with the Chamorro identity by the use of these two terms (Guamanian and Chamorro) interchangeably both in official authoritarian contexts as well as informal contexts. One outcome of this myth is the notion of Guamanians as Americans. The 1950 transfer of authority from the U.S. military administration to the Government of Guam further perpetuated the impact of this myth. Yet, the opportunity to reframe the myth and revitalize the language is possible.

Reframing the "Useless Language"

The concept of Terra Nullius provided the historic foundation for justifying and articulating U.S. colonial doctrines aimed at Native Americans. I posit that a similar concept of Aqua Nullius was aimed at Pacific Islanders. In several presentations, I described the network cables crisscrossing the Pacific Ocean (Day, 2012, 2016). The similarities between the submarine data cables ("Submarine Cable Map," 2016) and navigation patterns by Pacific Islander seafarers in the Pacific Ocean are striking.

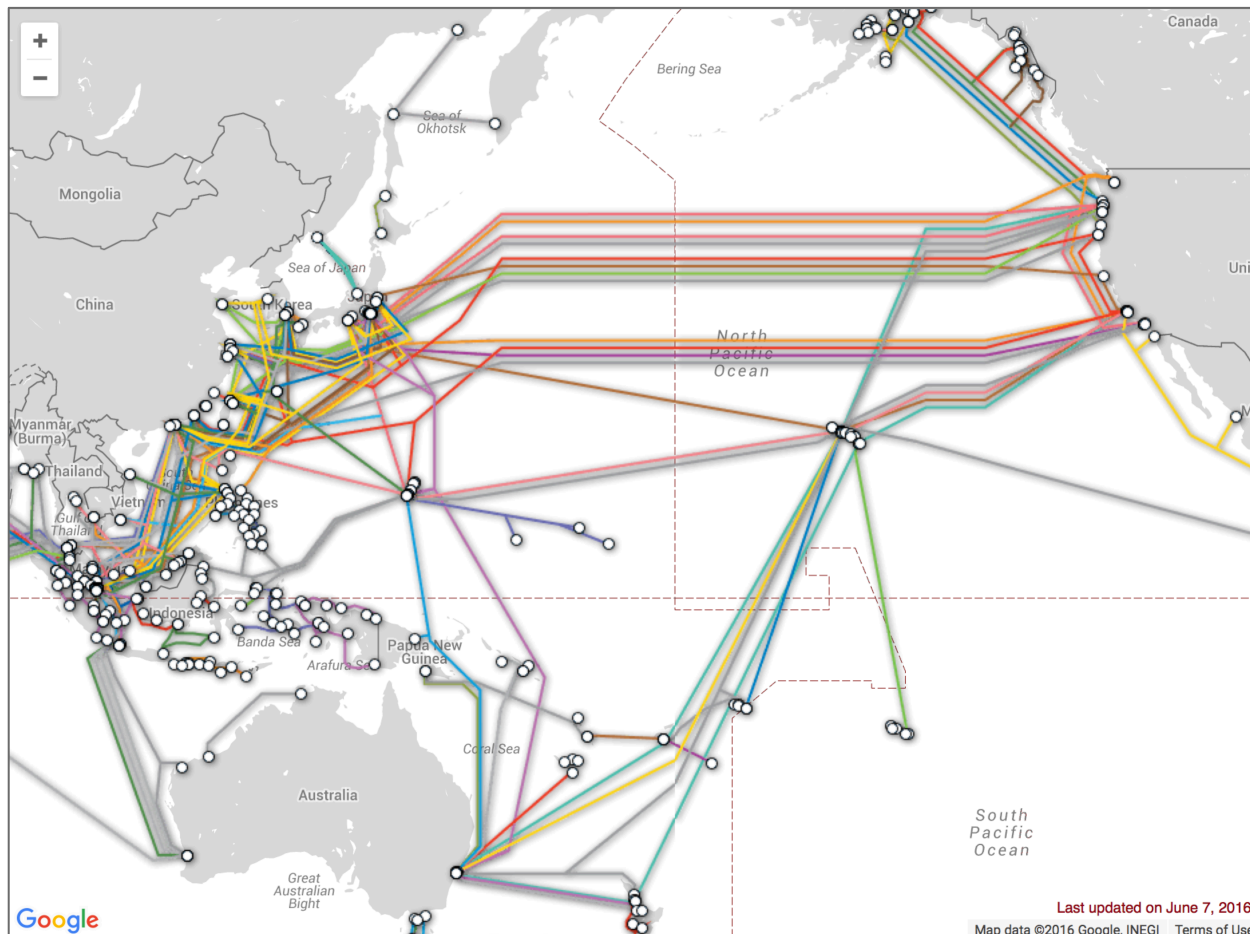


Figure 11. Submarine Cable Map 2016 (“Submarine Cable Map,” 2016)

From the very beginning of U.S. ownership of Guam, the island had been identified as a critical and strategic point. In 1905, Safford declared Guam’s Apra Harbor to be the “finest harbor in the world” (1905, p. 229). He continued:

The advantage of Guam as a station for repairs and supplies is evident, forming, as it does, a stopping place for vessels between Hawaii and the Philippines. Its strategic importance has been greatly enhanced since it has been made the landing place of the trans-Pacific cable, and the completion of the Panama Canal will make it still more valuable to our government.

(William Edwin Safford, 1905, p. 229)

In my earlier dissertation proposal, I described the technological dependence created by global undersea cables. This dependence meant that enemy States would be less inclined to destroy these communication pathways by cutting the cables in an attempt to disrupt enemy communications. Why would enemy States destroy such a valuable resource that they might eventually acquire as spoils of war? Instead, alternative strategies to disrupting communications were needed.

The ironic solution during both World Wars relied on the native languages of the now infamous Native American Codetalkers who maintained their native tongues despite the harsh prohibition colonial policies aimed at eliminating native languages (Adare & Jones, 2002). The Codetalkers and their Native American languages suddenly were seen as useful by the colonial occupiers and were credited as critical turning points in the wars (Comanche Language and Cultural Preservation Committee, n.d.).

Relative to RQ4: How have these policies affected the flow of information in the Indigenous Knowledge System in Guam, the perspective on the myth of the “useless Indigenous language” and the discourses built around reinforcing this myth were, in an instant, transformed simply by contextualizing the myth according to the agents and spaces involved. Thus, from an Indigenous standpoint, it becomes important to reframe myths applied to Indigenous Ways of Knowing. The myth of Terra Nullius no longer applied when contextualized by the Native Americans who inhabited those spaces. Similarly, the myth of

Aqua Nullius no longer applies if we consider the native Pacific Islander peoples who inhabit those ocean spaces.

Combating this myth of Aqua Nullius entails heeding the call discussed earlier by Epeli Hau'ofa for Pacific Islanders to remember their Pacific pasts and to recall and reframe their existence and perspectives on the Ocean spaces as home that also encompassed the island masses. The very fact that Indigenous languages were targeted for annihilation suggests that the information needed for this critical reframing exists and has always been present in language as the medium of information flow within Indigenous Systems of Knowledge. That is the message.

Reframing Oceania: Challenging the Theory of Smallness

In reframing Oceania from the perspective of Chamoru, the notion of relationality is evident in the phrasing of the Chamorro language when we ask, “Who’s your name” rather than “What’s your name?” This simple act of being asked to identify oneself in relation to their familial name implies a whole host of information including positionality, kinship and genealogy, history, land, intention, and trustworthiness. Access is granted or denied probably more so for researchers identifying as Chamorro rather than outsiders.

It is typical in Guam to be asked upon being introduced to a Manãmko’, “Who’s your family?” Similarly, the Chamorro language reflects the importance of positionality through kinship and genealogy by asking, Hayi naanmu, or

“Who’s your name,” rather than “What’s your name?” An entire history and context can be understood through identifying the who-ness of a person. This is particularly apparent in how Chamorro people in Guam identify family land. The Manåmko’, without paper documents for land title and geographic boundaries, already knew the location and extent of a family’s land. Today, most people would likely not be able to denote the boundaries of their land without a map or legal documentation.

Oral traditions involved the understanding and passing on of this type of information regarding material resources such as land ownership. In Tahiti, part of the islands occupied and known as French Polynesia, I had the opportunity to meet and learn about the oral traditions from local Tahitians. The Tahitian oral traditions used song to pass on this information, and all Tahitian children learned to sing the boundaries of their family lands.

Land in Guam, then, traditionally passed down orally (i.e. a matter related to language proficiency) and through maternal lineage was the domain of women. In addition, as our Mañaina confirmed, the Chamorro language was also perceived as the domain of women. The Chamorro language was maintained and passed down through mothers and wives, but, as we saw, it was also withheld as a means of survival through compliance with militaristic policies. The domain of language can also be observed through its survival when Chamorro women intermarried with non-Chamorro men, a necessity created through the conditions brought about under colonialism. Non-

Chamorro husbands learned the Chamorro language in order to integrate into Chamorro society and gain social standing.

Colonial military powers adhered to a masculine perspective, however, so it was not surprising then that Chamorro men were seen as the physical power and immediate threat to colonial objectives. Land provided autonomy for the Chamorro in the form of food and shelter, and land was passed down through women. The challenge for the U.S. military administration was: How to motivate Chamorro to give up their old ways and work to support military motivations on the island? As shown earlier, autonomy through mobility in oceanic navigation was first limited by the Spanish, but the language survived. The process for the U.S. military administration of systematically dismantling the Chamoru Systems of Knowledge as it existed during their reign began with policies affecting language practices, then policies impacting religious practices, land practices, and education practices. As this study reveals, all of these elements involved reducing women's roles and power in the Chamoru culture.

Thus, while survey participants and even the Mañaina discount the practical utility of the Chamorro language today, I make the case for a direct connection of language to autonomy and self-determination. The relationship of language and land with the roles of Chamoru women was in direct conflict with the masculine authority of U.S. military rule. With increasing militarization in

Guam, this condition, originating in a seemingly unrelated myth, is further perpetuated.

Challenging the theory of smallness is analogous to challenging the myths that have been perpetuated through stories the Chamorros told themselves in order to survive. So, here, I return the stories at the beginning of this dissertation that were the motivation for my study.

When Grandma Gogo could not explain in English the information she needed to share about the plants she needed for I Amot, the distinct break between grandmother and grandchild demonstrated the clear existence of a Lost Generation and the rapid decline of the Chamorro language within but a generation. It also demonstrated the notion of conflating obsolete knowledge and valuable knowledge as expressed through “standing on the shoulders of giants.” I recall that whenever Grandma Gogo would be out on a long day attending to Church functions, her daughters, my aunts who were all so modern and educated, took it upon themselves to clean out her packed refrigerator. They giggled and went on about the jars of Grandma Gogo’s medicinal “concoctions” in the refrigerator. Oddly, they acknowledged that whenever they had a “bug,” Grandma Gogo’s remedies really did the trick. It is ironic that medicinal knowledge of Indigenous women such as Grandma Gogo are mere folk remedies and concoctions, but in the studied labs of scientists mining Indigenous knowledge for nuggets of information, they suddenly become credible with medicinal healing properties of scientific “discovery.” I

understand now, when Grandma Gogo was irritated and asked me what I knew if I didn't know my own language. For her, I understood the Western-educated ways privileged by science, but not those privileged by Chamoru Ways of Knowing.

I understand my mother's well-intentioned sacrifice in protecting her children by insisting that we learn English first. This, she reasoned, was to ensure that we would be competitive. I know now, however, that in order to be competitive as an Indigenous Chamorro in Guam, that the stakes for the Chamorro language are more than simply something that is "nice to know." Yes, the language does provide a connection to ancestors as acknowledged by the Manåmko', but in a way that is profoundly more utilitarian than they perceived. The Chamorro language is tied to the Chamorro identity as Indigenous to Guam that is distinct from simply a Guamanian identity which any Guam resident regardless of kinship or genealogical descent can acquire. It's this distinction that can be leveraged by future language policies in challenging the myth of the useless Chamorro language in Guam.

The fact that I couldn't understand just what was so funny to my Grandmother between the Chamorro vendor and the American (pp.11-12 of this dissertation) becomes much more meaningful when considering methods to teach and learn Chamorro. As several of my Talking Story and 2008 online language survey participants mentioned, conversational methods are needed to properly learn and teach Chamorro. Talking Story was the critical method for

this study exactly because it is the ubiquitous means of communication amongst Pacific Islanders. Grades and school can never be the full motivating drivers behind perpetuating the Chamorro language. This is apparent in the current assessments from the various data sources in this study – Naval documents, the 2008 online surveys, metadata from language documentation documents, and field notes, but particularly by the Talking Story participants of their proficiency and use of the language taught in schools under mandatory policies. Talking Story, however, can only be as effective as the meaning understood in the language.

Chamoru activists are participating in challenging myths in various ways. For example, it is commonly understood that the prime lands in Guam are controlled by the U.S. military. These bases control the island's water supplies, are beautifully manicured spaces with high-tech hospitals, stores with quality products, reasonable prices, and the best schools. All of these benefits exist behind a fence. The only way to access these lands and benefits is through service in the military. The increasing military presence in Guam is drawing more protests and activism, and, as a result, access to bases is being limited more and more. The reasons given vary, for example, lack of personnel leading to reduced hours of support at the gates for access; however, the notices of land clearing and development behind the fence speak to other motivations.

One method of challenging and reframing these access limitations and destructive land practices is in leveraging Chamorro understandings of land, language, and seasons in Chamoru traditional practices. Important medicinal plants grow in these prime lands that exist behind the fence, and traditional Chamoru healers contend that they must be able to harvest and cultivate these plants. One proposal offered by the military administration was to allow healers to enter at a specified date to harvest the plants and grow them elsewhere before the lands were cleared. The response has been that these plants thrive where they are precisely because those locations provide the optimal conditions needed. To grow them elsewhere disregards this knowledge and disrupts the traditional collection cycles.

It has also recently come to light that given the island's heavy reliance on imports, Guam has only a 9-day supply of food at any given time. Those Chamorro whose families who at one time were independent of imports and lived off the abundance of their lands are now at the mercy of a system that could be disrupted by any number of disasters natural or manmade. The Chamorro Land Trust has yet to distribute the majority of land designated for native Chamorros. The stated reason is the backlog of applicants; however, instances of commercial interests that are prohibited for these lands as well as the ability for Chamorro who are not from Guam to get access to lands ahead of local Chamorros indicates there are other reasons.

It is the beyond the scope of this study to delve into reliance on imports, but it is mentioned here to demonstrate that autonomy for the Chamorro is directly related to land ownership. The problem is that acquiring lands through the Trust relies on proving Chamorro descent, and proving Chamorro descent has been a contentious issue. Here, the Chamorro people can benefit from arguments based on components that are critical to Chamoru Indigenous Systems of Knowledge including language coupled with the rights articulated by the U.N. DRIP.

Concluding from the data collection methods and analysis of this dissertation, I close this section by emphasizing that the Chamoru can benefit by leveraging their Chamoru language and Systems of Knowledge informed by Indigenism as defined earlier in this study. Assuming the Chamoru identity at the local level on the one hand is critical to distinguishing between Indigenous rights for the people of Guam as opposed to the national identity of Guamanians. The issue for the Chamoru is that this local identity is often depicted as small and, therefore, insignificant compared to the needs of the greater good of Americans and American interests. Thus, the needs of the Chamorro as the few can be justifiably sacrificed for the needs of the many. Keep in mind that all Chamorro are Guamanians, and all Guamanians are Americans, but not all Guamanians are Chamorro. To counter this notion of smallness, the Chamorro can leverage their alliances with Indigenous peoples worldwide who also face similar conflicts in their homelands and ocean spaces. The Oceanian identity affords the ability to reframe and reclaim ocean spaces

and, therefore, autonomy, as Indigenous territory in alignment with other Oceanic peoples of the Pacific.

Significance of Research

Through colonization, the flow of information for Indigenous peoples was violently disrupted when each of these elements necessary to their IKS was stripped away, disconnected, and forbidden: children were removed from parents, language was forbidden in public spaces, land was seized through eminent domain, ocean spaces and resources were limited and divided up artificially, sacred histories were denied, and spiritual practices were banned. Assuming the Indigenous identity, by default, assumes a critical perspective on the politics and policies that impact their ways of life and their knowledge systems. It follows, then, that in Information Science, where language has historically been a given, that is, where English is the de facto language of science, Information Policies must also be considered and from a critical perspective.

As described earlier, this study is framed by an Indigenous research agenda that is centered on Self-determination as the ultimate goal of decolonizing methodologies. The notion of self-determination can occur at multiple levels – the individual, family, group, and nation – and can be applied within a variety of contexts at these levels. Indigenous self-determination,

however, similar to assuming the Indigenous identity, is inherently juxtaposed against that which is not Indigenous and which poses a threat to Indigenous self-determination. In this context, the processes of colonialism continue to pose significant threats to Indigenous peoples in their quest for self-determination, and this is manifested at all levels.

This study provides an important contribution to the field of Information Science on Indigenous Systems of Knowledge and the processes, or flows, of information that comprise self-determination. In particular, this dissertation is the first study in the field of Information Science to investigate and articulate the critical nature of Chamoru Systems of Knowledge centered on Inafa'maolek, the Chamoru notion of relationality, as the means of self-determination and the interconnectedness of people, ocean, land, cosmos, ceremony, sacred history, spirituality, and language. Finally, a significant contribution of this study was defining a unique and critical intersection of three domains: Decolonizing Methodologies (Indigenous Studies), Indigenous Systems of Knowledge (Information Science), and Critical Language Policy (Sociolinguistics) towards the developing literature on Information Policy.

Future Research

As an Information Scientist, exciting possibilities exist for future research at the intersection of Indigenous information, people, and technology. For Indigenous peoples such as the Chamorro, claims to land and resource rights in Guam are directly tied to their Chamorro identities. The identity of the

Chamorro people is not and cannot be measured through blood quantum policies. Instead, kinship and genealogy expressed through relations from the Chamorro perspective should be the determining factors. The Chamorro identity, related and overlapping, though distinct from the national Guamanian identity, is distinguished through the practice of Chamoru culture, values, and expression through language. There is a need for more research that probes these relationships and clarifies the role of language revitalization in all of these areas.

The blood quantum issue utilized by many Native American peoples towards determining land claims and rights has Chamorro people lining up passionately on all sides of this debate. Some Chamorro take a protectionist stance against preventing outsiders and businesses from acquiring land. Non-Chamorro Guamanians leverage claims of racism by the Chamorro majority in limiting their ability to acquire land as residents of the island. Further complicating the matter are the competing interests of the increasing needs of the military for more land on the island, leveraging fear-based discourses and the super identity of Americans superimposed on the Guamanian identity that has been imposed onto the Chamorro identity. Business and corporate interests are also competing for land in Guam. The Chamorro Land Trust has yet to process the outstanding backlog of thousands of Chamorro applicants for land reserved for the Chamorro people. Currently, the Government of Guam administration is under fire for proposing to allow this land to be leased by businesses and developers. Research that considers the proper balance in

achieving fair and equitable decisions concerning land ownership vs. protection is a critical need at this time.

The national Guamanian identity, at one time synonymous with the Indigenous Chamorro identity, now challenges the rights and agency of Indigenous Chamorro in Guam. While language alone does not equate to membership by individuals within a culture, Indigenous language in a broader System of Knowledge of a people does.

It is inspiring to witness the various Indigenist efforts being undertaken by Pacific peoples and the Chamoru in particular. The new Chamorro orthography and Chamorro Language Dictionary are critical first steps at privileging the importance of language first and foremost in a healthy, well-functioning Indigenous ecosystem of knowledge. Various Chamoru lexicons are under development as well, including a Chamoru navigation lexicon, a legal language lexicon, and the earlier-mentioned pure Chamoru language lexicon. There is a great need for culturally-appropriate research methods to be employed in the development of these lexicons. Finally, in Tahiti, I spoke with Tahitian language scholars who are addressing rapid technological and conceptual changes through the formation of a Tahitian language committee. In conversation with various Chamoru language scholars, it is encouraging to see the similar direction they are taking to address growing the Chamoru language in the face of rapid advancements.

Finally, Indigenous peoples throughout the world are struggling with the pressures of maintaining their Indigenous Systems of Knowledge, languages, cultures, and identities in the face of militarization and globalization. This study can provide a basis for future similar research in Indigenous communities utilizing Indigenous methodologies and systems approaches to knowledge and information flows. In addition, a wide area for research exists in the space of Indigenous methodologies, information policies, and the use of technologies towards preservation, maintenance, and, in general, the reframing of previously generally accepted notions of design, information, and technology.

V. CONCLUSION

This research brings attention to the complex historical and socio-political situation that the Indigenous Chamorro people of Guam must contend with in their effort to revitalize the Chamorro language and perpetuate their Indigenous heritage all while serving as the “tip of the spear” for the U.S. military forces in the Asia-Pacific region. The field of Information Science is also now beginning to recognize and acknowledge the value and importance of Indigenous Knowledge Systems to the social fabric and well being of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous Knowledge Systems are the interconnected relationships among people, language, land, ocean, sacred history, and spirituality.

Information policies in the form of language policies, in particular, are critical to the integrity and vitality of Indigenous Knowledge Systems and

Indigenous peoples. Every domain in Information Science, from design to ICTs, is impacted by language and should consider language policies. As Wikipedia expands globally, for example, they are challenged with how to overcome what they perceive to be the “language barrier” so that everyone can access all information. An imperialist implication is readily apparent in this myth that ultimately shapes the perspective in approach: information is simply there to be had, barriers are the things which must be knocked down, broken, or otherwise violently removed in order to afford access to that information for the good of all. A critical perspective would ask: who is doing the breaking, what is the information, who is the “all” that gets to access the information, and why?

The significance of this research is in what I hope can be a valuable contribution to the people of Guam and the efforts to maintain the Chamorro language and traditions. To date, a Chamoru Indigenous Knowledge System had yet to be articulated in the Information Science literature. Doing so demonstrates how information flows and relationality works in Chamoru Systems of Knowledge. Articulating these concepts generates concrete language useful for the Chamoru people in identifying factors that are important to understanding the health and also threats to Chamoru Ways of Knowing. In highlighting Talking Story, this study privileges a ubiquitous Pacific Islander method of communication. Utilizing the Indigenous Chamoru concept of relationality in Inafa'maolek was critical to understanding information flow within the Chamorro IKS and is centered in this study. Analyzing myths and Talking Story were methodologically important conducting this study. The

ideas of story and what gets communicated through story, whether explicit or not, are central themes of this study.

Heidegger implored us to think our technologies, to understand their essence (1977). Design implications of systems and policies can be improved by understanding the nature of Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Finally, reframing the Chamorro perspective and response is itself an act of decolonization that challenges the myths imposed through colonial discourse leading to self-determination.

The Indigenous Chamorro people of the Mariana Islands have inhabited the region for thousands of years. As the tip of the spear for the U.S. military forces in the Pacific, Guam and its people bear a significant burden for the United States as Americans without full rights that accompany American citizenship. This condition has severely impacted ways of life for the Chamorro, including their language, the full spectrum of Indigenous Systems of Knowledge, and the pursuit of Chamorro self-determination. If we *are* our relations, and the military, as embedded and integrated on the island of Guam and within the Chamorro existence as it is, then understanding the military's historic and present role in this relationship is critical.

The ever-increasing military presence in Guam and the similarly ever-increasing Chamorro participation in the military endeavors in Guam only further entrenches and complicates any potential avenues for understanding the Chamorro identity isolated from the effects of militarization. Whereas the

U.S. Navy at one point acknowledged its role in nurturing a mutually-beneficial relationship with the Chamorro people of Guam, the burdens of this relationship have become disturbingly unbalanced to the detriment of the Chamorro people. Further complicating the matter is the precarious balance of power within a local government and economy faced with increasing migration of non-Chamorros into Guam and out-migration of Indigenous Chamorro.

As I conclude this study, I ask again: What does it mean that the Chamorro language is dying? In particular, what does it mean that the Chamorro people, who still exist, and who understand that they have a unique identity, are losing their language? By examining the Chamorro language in the context of Indigenous Knowledge Systems and information flow, this study articulated a vital connection between language and the material implications of language loss.

It is intended that this study contribute to understanding the power dynamics, role, and impact of information policies, particularly language policies, in the field of Information Science with respect to Indigenous Knowledge Systems. For me, this study represents the culmination of my education and identity as a Chamorro and an Information Scientist. It is my way of giving back something, hopefully meaningful and useful, to my respective communities.

VI. APPENDIX

Appendix A: Chamorro Language Survey

Question 1. Are you a current resident of Guam?

- Yes
- No

Question 2. Are you of Chamorro descent?

- Yes
- No

Question 3. What was your first language?

Question 4. What language(s) do you speak / understand?

Question 5. Have you lived / traveled outside of Guam?

- Yes
- No

Question 6. How old are you?

- Under 18
- 18-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-64
- 65 or older

Question 7. How well do you speak / understand Chamorro?

- Not at all
- Very little
- Moderately well
- Very well

Question 8. How well do / did your parents speak Chamorro?

- Not at all
- Very little
- Moderately well
- Very well

Question 9. Do / did you teach your children Chamorro?

- Yes
- No

Not applicable

Question 10. If you answered 'yes' or 'no' to the previous question, why or why not?

Question 11. Where do you speak Chamorro? (select all that apply)

- Never
- At home
- At school
- At work
- Around friends
- Everywhere
- Other:

Question 12. Do you think Chamorro language courses should be required in public schools?

- Yes
- No

Question 13. How would you rate learning / teaching the Chamorro language?

- Important
- Unimportant
- No opinion

Question 14. Please explain your answer to the previous question.

Question 15. What Chamorro language resources are you interested in? (select all that apply)

- None
- Formal classroom courses
- Self-study courses
- Private lessons
- Books / literature
- Art / music
- Movies / theatre / television / live performance
- Other:

Question 16. Do you have any additional comments regarding the Chamorro language?

Appendix B: Chamorro Language Resources Survey

Question 1. What self-study Chamorro language resources are you currently aware of?

Question 2. Do you own any self-study Chamorro language resources?

Question 3 (Yes). How did you acquire your self-study Chamorro language resources?

Question 3 (No). Why don't you own any self-study Chamorro language resources?

Question 4. In learning to speak a language, how would you classify your preferred learning style?

Question 5. Do you own an mp3 player (portable, computer, car, mp3-capable cd or dvd player, etc.)?

Question 6. According to the previous survey, most respondents spoke Chamorro in the home or around family and friends. Please list topics you might typically discuss at home or with family and/or friends.

Question 7. Would you be interested in a website where you could access comprehensive self-study Chamorro language resources?

Question 8. How would you want to find a specific resource on such a website?

Question 9. Thank you for taking this survey! Do you have any comments and/or suggestions regarding self-study Chamorro language resources?

Appendix C: Manåmko' Interview Guide

1. What year were you born?
2. Are you Chamorro?
3. Do you speak fluent Chamorro? If so, how did you learn to speak Chamorro?
4. Can you read Chamorro? Why or why not?
5. Do you have children? If so, did you teach them Chamorro? Why or why not?
6. If you have children, how well do they speak Chamorro?
 - No Chamorro at all
 - Understand Chamorro, but can't speak Chamorro
 - Speak a little Chamorro
 - Fluent Chamorro
7. Do you speak Chamorro to young people? Do they speak Chamorro back to you?
8. Do you think learning Chamorro is important? Why or why not?
9. Why don't many people speak Chamorro in Guam anymore?
10. How should people learn Chamorro?
11. May I speak with you more again later?

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VIII. SELECT GLOSSARY

Åmot Chamorro word for medicine.

Aqua Nullius Similar to the concept of land in Terra Nullius, the notion that ocean spaces belonged to (or were used by) no one and could, therefore, be claimed.

Chamorita also Chamorrita. A Chamorro female.

Chamorro The Indigenous people of the Mariana Islands. Also the name of the Indigenous language spoken by the native people of the Mariana Islands.

Chamoru See Chamorro. Alternative spelling under the new orthography.

Chenchule' Chamorro reciprocity.

CNMI Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. The politically-distinct islands of the Marianas lying to the north of Guam.

Decolonization The process towards achieving self-determination.

Fino Håya Chamorro for the language of the people. The Chamorro language.

Galaide Chamorro canoe used primarily for short sailing trips.

Guåhan Chamorro for we have. Original name for Guam, the largest and southernmost of the Mariana Islands.

Guam See Guåhan.

Guamanian The national identity of Guam residents.

Håfa Adai Chamorro greeting.

Inafa'maolek Chamorro concept of relationality.

Indigenous Knowledge System Used in this study to mean the processes of information exchange and knowledge perpetuation operating under Indigenous principles and frameworks specific to particular Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous System of Knowledge See Indigenous Knowledge System.

Maga'håga Chamorro for eldest female in a clan.

Mamáh'lao / Mamahlo To have a sense of shame.

Mañaina Parents. Plural form of saina. Also used generally to denote respected elders.

Manámko' Elderly people. Often used to mean elders.

Manñengon Site of the internment camp for Chamorros under the Japanese occupation of Guam during WWII.

MARC Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam.

Mariana Islands Archipelago in Oceania and homelands of the Chamorro.

Melanesia Black + islands. Region in Oceania.

Micronesia Small + islands. Region in Oceania.

Mit Spanish-derived word in Chamorro for 1000.

Nobena Spanish-derived word in Chamorro for Novena, nine days of prayer.

Oceania Region in the Pacific encompassing the islands of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia, often including Australia, New Zealand, and Papua New Guinea.

Polynesia Many + islands. Region in Oceania consisting of Hawaii, Samoa, and New Zealand.

Rosary A set of prayers within the Catholic faith traditionally observed with a beaded necklace.

Saina Parent or parents.

Saipan Second-largest of the Mariana Islands immediately north of Guam.

Saipanese People of Saipan. Often used to distinguish between Chamorro people of Guam vs. Saipan.

Sakman Chamorro ocean-going canoe used primarily for long voyages.

Self-determination Autonomy.

Sinahánña Ancient Chamorro village in central Guam.

Talking Story Mode of communication ubiquitous amongst Pacific Islanders.