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From Chirps and Twirps to SSSSSSS: The Construction of the English Language Ideology on Guam

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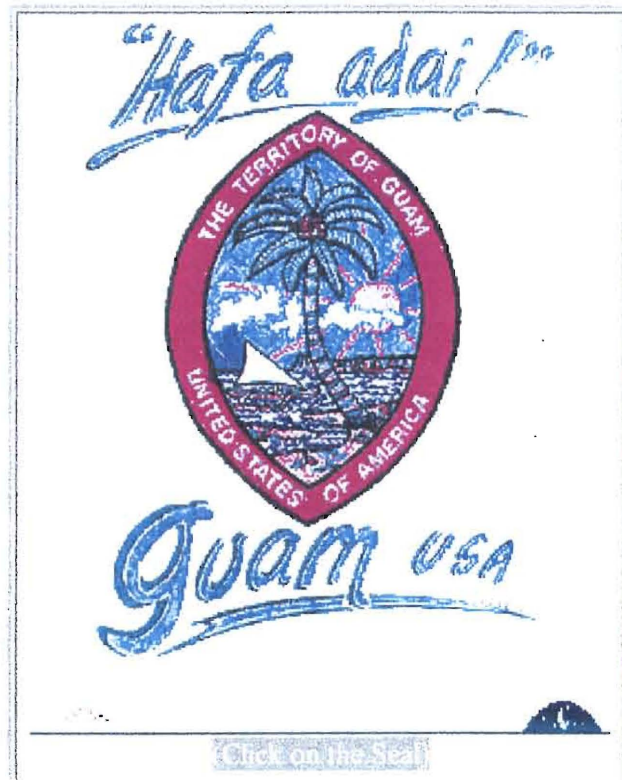


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I. Introduction

Language shift, the displacement of one language with another in different domains of language use, has been shown to occur among descendants of immigrants to the mainland US (Fishman, 1966). Within three generations, immigrants replaced their ethnic mother tongue with English. This has also been the case in Guam, an organized, unincorporated territory of the US.¹ English has displaced the native Chamorro in almost all domains of language use. The comparison between the 1980 and 1990 reported language use of Chamorros on the island shows a steady decrease in the use of Chamorro.² (See Appendix 1.)

As the year 2000 approaches, the number of fluent Chamorro speakers may be smaller than the census leads one to believe. This past November, I surveyed 32 Chamorro 7th and 8th graders from Agueda Johnston Middle School.³ (See Appendix 2.) The students were chosen because they were of Chamorro descent. They were asked to report the language(s) that members of their family spoke in order to understand the distribution of their language use. The results of this cross-generational survey show the extent to which

¹Policy relations between Guam and the US are under the jurisdiction of the Office of Territorial and International Affairs, US Department of the Interior. The economy depends on US federal and military spending and on revenues from tourism. About 60% of the labor force works for the private sector and the rest for the government. Most food and industrial goods are imported, with about 75% from the US. Since Guam is not a state, US citizens taking residency on the island cannot vote for US President nor have voting representation in Congress (CIA Book of World Facts, updated version from World Wide Web).

²It is important to note that "reported" language use may differ from actual language use. It, however, gives at least some indication of linguistic patterns.

³Agueda Johnston Middle School is centrally located. It is generally accepted that language shift on Guam has occurred more rapidly in the north than in the south (Odo, 1972).

language shift has occurred on Guam over the past three generations. These patterns, interestingly, are also found in the immigrant situation in the US (Fishman, 1966). A decrease in the use of Chamorro and a concomitant increase in the use of English is clearly seen. 78% of the children reported that their grandparents spoke only Chamorro to each other and to people their age. Close to 3% of the children reported that they spoke only Chamorro to their parents. Further, 3% of the children also reported that they spoke Chamorro to their friends. Significantly, **no** child in my survey reported that he/she spoke Chamorro to his/her siblings.

Language shift on Guam is, therefore, evident in the patterns of language use and attitude⁴ toward the native Chamorro and English. Where once children used to converse with their parents and grandparents in Chamorro, they now use English to express their hopes, dreams, and fears. I found a vivid example of language shift in the Chamorro 101 language classroom at the University of Guam. When the Professor said things in Chamorro that my fellow Chamorro classmates did not understand, they turned and whispered to each other, in English, "What did she say?" Many of the students brought their children to class when grandma, the official baby-sitter of the island, was sick. "Sh!" the young mothers would say to them, in English: "Sit down and color until mommy is done."

The phenomenon of language shift on Guam is similar to the linguistic patterns of stateside immigrants. What makes the case of Guam particularly intriguing is the fact that the Chamorros of Guam

⁴I will discuss attitude in detail in Section 3.5; see also Appendix 19.

are **not** immigrants.⁵ They did not come to the US, the US went to Guam. The US government took control of Guam in 1900 at the end of the Spanish-American War. It can be safely assumed that, prior to 1900, English was neither spoken nor taught on the island in a productive way. According to the 1908 census (Carano, 1964, p.210), only 186 out of 11,159 inhabitants were American. (See Appendix 3.) Thus, Guamanians were faced with the task of learning a foreign language, to become fluent bilinguals, without, however, having regular interactions with fluent speakers of it. A tremendous amount of energy was used to teach English to a society that was organized and run in Chamorro and Spanish.

There are, of course, unfortunate sociolinguistic consequences of such asymmetric contacts. Hale et al. (1995) e.g., have argued that once a language is no longer being spoken by a generation as its mother tongue, the language is approaching extinction. Congressman Underwood (1989), in a recent article that appeared in "World Englishes," has already described Chamorro as an endangered language. One might ask how a group of people can come to abandon its native tongue and to adopt a foreign language that is completely unrelated to the native tongue and that is spoken by only a minority on the island.

"Americanization" is the most popular response to this question. It is arguably the main reason that the majority of Chamorros on Guam today speak English. However, the concept of "Americanization" does not, *sui generis*, explain the process and the

⁵It has occurred to the author that this may, in fact, be a different stage of the same process of language/culture contact. This hypothesis, however, will not be explored in this article.

mechanisms through which a language, a seemingly neutral aspect of communication, comes to be equated with social values such as beauty, health, good citizenship, success, and modernization. Kulick argues, “to say that urbanization or other ‘causes’ language shift is to leave out the crucial step of understanding *how* that change has come to be interpreted by the people it is supposed to be influencing” (Kulick, 1992, p. 9). This thesis, therefore, examines how this relationship is established by investigating the ideological strategies and rhetorical tools that link socially legitimated and authorized values such as good hygiene and citizenship with the English language to the extent that, within a matter of three generations, a population gives up its mother tongue in favor of an alien tongue.

The case of Guam is interesting because it is sociolinguistically transparent: existing ideologies carried by American English not only ensure the imbalance of social, cultural, economic, and political power structures, but also make using English the logical language to speak, and Americanization the natural goal to achieve.⁶ The 1990 Census, for example, shows that the economic structure of Guam clearly supports monolingual speakers of English. (See Appendix 4.) In this thesis, then, I will demonstrate how linguistic ideologies are introduced, established, practiced and then normalized.

⁶Also intriguing, though not explored in detail in this thesis, is the fact that Guam’s experience of language/culture contact did not begin with the US. According to Day, the first Western contact with Guam was in 1521. Eventually, schools were set up. The language policy of the Spaniards was covert: It was assumed that all educated people would learn Spanish and become literate. During WWII, Guam was bombed two hours after Hawaii was bombed. Guam became the only American land to be taken over by enemy powers. Japan exercised control on Guam from 1941 to 1944. During this timeperiod, the Japanese language policy was overt. The Japanese language was enforced (Rogers, 1995).

The methodological premise of this study is the following: Through the use of several ideological strategies and rhetorical tools in discourse, one language comes to be viewed as more powerful than another. When members of a society adopt beliefs that one language is specifically tied to social values such as power, the effects range from the creation of a diglossic society in which the language that is deemed more powerful is used in formal settings such as government proceedings and the less powerful language is used in more familiar settings such as the home, to a **total loss** of the linguistic functions of the language that is deemed less powerful. Thus, a systematic, socio-historical reconstruction of linguistic ideological strategies will yield the explanation of both the process and the product of language contact.

This paper is organized in the following manner. In the next section, I discuss the theoretical framework I have used to demonstrate how it allows us to interpret the interplay of language, power, and ideology. Since this work borrows mainly from the works of Eagleton (1991) and Tollefson (1991), I will discuss in detail some of the key concepts in their theories to properly situate the discussion of language use in Guam. Following the theoretical framework, I will present the ways in which the English Language Ideology⁷ (hereafter, ELI) developed and has been maintained on Guam for the past 100 years. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of the implications of this study for further sociolinguistic research.

⁷Underwood's 1989 work on English and Chamorro on Guam shows the decline of Chamorro on Guam from the perspective of an English language ideology.

II. Theoretical Framework

Underlying all natural language communication is the notion of relationship: parent-child, doctor-patient, etc. Theories of social design deal with the mechanisms through which relationships are constructed. The three concepts that I will discuss are: discourse, power, and ideology. It is important to keep in mind that each of these has two common themes: language and social context. Language is used to construct meanings and social context is needed to establish those meanings.

Discourse

Discourse refers to a series of practices, i.e. texts, assumptions, speech acts, professional organizations, printing presses, etc. that rely critically on the notion of language, understood as symbols. The effects of these symbols on society cannot be studied in isolation because language is tied to the ways in which its symbols are both used and perceived by the speaker, receiver, and the social group(s) of which both speaker and receiver are a part (cf. Labov, 1972; Hymes, 1971). Gumperz (1982) argues that what social actors say simultaneously produces social groups and distinguishes speakers as part of social groups. Language, therefore, not only identifies who's who in group settings, but also gives birth to social identity.

Discourse implies the use of language to create specific effects in those that receive it. The participators in discourse may or may not be aware of these effects, as has been demonstrated in Bolinger (1980). A speaker's aim may be to produce these effects, or he/she may merely be playing the role that he/she has been assigned in

society, a process that I will explain in the following sections. The speaker, therefore, may be completely oblivious to these effects.

Discourse is concerned with the creation of specific effects in both speaker and receiver. A speaker who chooses to exercise power can use discourse to construct and transmit that power. The next section, therefore, will deal with the concept of power.

Power

Like discourse, power is dependent upon its social context. No one can be powerful alone. Tollefson writes that, "Individuals exercise power as a result of their social relationships within institutional structures that provide meaning to their actions and also constrain them" (1991, p. 9). In the case of English on Guam, for example, as will be discussed in the next section of this paper, power can be understood in terms of the ways in which social groups have been organized within the framework provided for Guam as an organized, unincorporated territory of the US.

Usually, when one thinks of power, one thinks of physical strength. Foucault and Eagleton remind us, however, that "power is not something that is confined to armies and parliaments: it is, rather, a pervasive, intangible network of force which weaves itself into our slightest gestures and most intimate utterances" (Eagleton, 1991, p. 7). Discourse constructs and transmits ideological power. An understanding of the concept of ideology explains the process by which power and discourse become interlaced.

Ideology

A general definition of ideology refers simply to a body of beliefs. Our very existence as human beings that constantly interact with each other on individual and group levels, depends upon our ability to adopt a body of beliefs. Culture shock, a feeling that many of us have experienced, gives us a good example of this. When one suffers from culture shock, one feels disorientated because his/her body of beliefs can not be depended upon to support and create usual assumptions.

Ideology, as a theory of social design, however, refers to much more than a body of beliefs. According to Eagleton, it has a more intricate, obscure make-up because it is language that conveniently disregards the essentially circumstantial, random relations between itself and the universe. Ideology represents itself as possessing some kind of inherent, inevitable tie with the values that it represents (1991, p. 200). Subjects of a society are actively taught to believe that the adoption of ideology can bring about social changes for their benefit. As will be discussed in the next section, members of a society often mistake acquisition of a specific language for economic, social, and political power.

Further, ideology offers a set of explanations for economic, social, political conditions that are based on false assumptions. These false assumptions are made on a level just below consciousness, so that they become normally unconscious assumptions (Eagleton, 1991, p. 89). It is precisely these normally unconscious assumptions that uphold the existing power relationships. When ideas are regarded as common sense and inevitable, the groups that these beliefs benefit

are able to maintain power within their institutional structures because members of society do not question these false assumptions.

In order to be effective, ideology needs to blend with the appetites of its subjects (Eagleton, 1991, pp. 14-15). If it does not, the subjects will never buy into them. This process of entangling with the desires of its subjects, however, is an intricate and complex process. Ideology is transmitted through discourse. Discourse is dependent upon language. Language is constantly evolving. Hence, a dominant ideology is also constantly evolving and it continuously needs to bargain with the secondary ideologies for power. It needs to appeal continuously to the wishes of its subjects. An ideology is successful when subjects believe that the incorporation of other ideologies into the reigning ideology will bring about more power for minority groups, when in actuality the minority groups receive no benefit from their incorporation into the powerful ideologies.

It is important to stress the fact that, just as those involved in discourse are not necessarily aware of the effects that the discourse has, the carriers/creators of ideological power may be completely unaware that they are involved in the process of the transmission of such power. The makers of policy, therefore, are not necessarily conspirators, they may believe that what they promote will benefit minority groups. Thus, the social actors are not necessarily the villains, but rather ones who are also involved in cultural, social, political, and economic structures, that, through the creation and recreation of ideology, maintain imbalanced power structures.

In the following section of this paper I will give examples of strategies that are used to promote ideology. According to Eagleton's framework, a dominant power may legitimate itself by 1) promoting, naturalizing, and universalizing beliefs and values congenial to it, 2) denigrating and excluding rival forms of thought, and 3) obscuring social reality in ways convenient to itself (1991, pp. 5-6). Through the use of these ideological strategies, the English Language Ideology came into existence and has thrived for the past 100 years.

The triumphant manufacture of ideology and its continual duplication is called hegemony (Tollefson, 1991, p. 12). It, therefore, is a multidimensional process that is related to the ways in which powerful groups attain and maintain their dominance over other groups. Hegemony is directly tied to the ability of the class that exercises power to entice others to accept its world view as valid and valuable within their own social context (DeBenedittis, 1993, p. 60).

III. Case Study: Historical Contextualization

Ideology is most effective when it is viewed as the source of history rather than the result of a socio-historical context (Eagleton, 1991, p. 78). If it is seen as history's origin, it is automatically equated with truth and is not suspected to be mere theory.

Ideologies, therefore, are first and foremost about origins, prehistoric times when history was actually equal to essence. Discourses on origins, i.e. the origins of humans, of classes, of the nation, of the universe, etc. are particularly loaded with ideological power.

Precisely because ideology presents itself as truth, it is often hard to find examples of it in literature. The data I have chosen is from newspaper and magazines that have been written and printed on Guam in the years 1905, 1924, 1935, 1970, 1941, and 1994-1996. They were chosen because they give, I contend, very clear examples of the ways in which the ELI was introduced into the society of Guam and encouraged over a period of almost 100 years.

The examples are divided into three parts. The first two parts outline what I have defined as the two stages of the ELI. In the first stage, 1898-1960's, the Chamorro language appears to be a threat to English. Not many fluent English speakers were on the island during this time period. The majority of the conversations one heard on the street were in Chamorro.⁸ In the 1970's, Public Laws are created to support Chamorro. For this reason, I have chosen the 1970's as the beginning of Stage II of the ELI. In this stage, then, Chamorro is no longer a threat: It is supported by law and is allowed to exist, but only within the framework of the ELI and its final effect only

⁸The evidence of this claim will be discussed in detail in section 1.4.

encourages English. The third part illustrates the continuation of the ELI in this decade.

Part I: Stage I of the ELI- Its Introduction to Guam

The ELI began as language policy designed by the navy. The 1905 Report of the Naval Station introduces the initial goals of the language policy. They are only to give the natives a practical speaking, reading, and writing knowledge of English (p.13). Any goal other than the attainment of practical knowledge would have been impossible to carry out in light of the 1908 census data showing that only 186 out of 11, 159 people on the island were Americans. (See Appendix 3.) The English language, therefore, was not introduced as something that would eventually replace the native Chamorro; that was not the “stated” intention.

English, however, was given a tremendous amount of support by the those who exercised power on the island, the US Navy. The Chamorro language was banned in government buildings and in the company of American military personnel (Day, 1985, p.174). By the year 1922, the use of Chamorro was forbidden in the schools and Chamorro dictionaries were taken from students and burned (174). Chamorro was obviously a threat to the ELI. Ideological and rhetorical strategies began to be incorporated into the framework of the ELI. Three examples from the Guam Daily Recorder, the only newspaper on the island at that time, provide clear-cut examples of the ways in which the use of English was legitimized.

1.1 English = Beauty

The first example comes from the 1924 edition. The article is entitled, "The English Language." (See Appendix 5.) It begins with the notion that men are different from beasts, and not just beasts, but "dumb" beasts," in that only man can appreciate beauty. "Beauty itself," the article goes, "can not be defined for beauty and its enjoyment depend not only on the object, but also on the person." The author contradicts himself, however, in that he then proceeds to define beauty. "In no other line can greater pleasure be experienced than in reading, in enjoying the thoughts of the minds of the great writers." The author encourages readers to study English. "Learn the English language . . . No language is more widely spoken than English, and no language has finer writings to offer . . . And while doing this, your education will be increased, your business ability will be improved, and you will be a better citizen of the community."

What we have here is a perfect example of ideology as a set of effects within discourse. Keeping this article within the framework of its historical context, it is key to note that Chamorro was not originally a written language. The ideological implications, therefore, are strong. Through an analysis of this text, the reader can see how subtle, logical relationships are constructed and the ELI is promoted as its not-so-self-evident goal.

- 1) Man can appreciate beauty. Not just "beast," but "dumb beast" cannot.
- 2) Beauty is found in the ability to read.
- 3) Chamorro is not a written language.
- 4) The average Chamorro does not read.

5) He is, therefore, a dumb beast.

The promotion of beauty is an example of Eagleton's first strategy. Beauty's dependence on the ability to read the English language is a concept that is congenial to the ELI. The author naturalizes and universalizes this claim by writing that "no language is more widely spoken, and no language has finer writings to offer."

The second strategy of ideology is to denigrate and exclude rival forms of thought. Nothing is mentioned about the beauty that is found in listening to a story that has been passed down through oral tradition from generation to generation. It can be concluded that these forms of thought are excluded because they do not legitimate the ELI.

A third strategy is to obscure social reality in ways convenient for itself. The rhetoric of beauty obscures and camouflages issues of political, economic, and social asymmetrical power structures by making normative claims that a language, a neutral aspect of communication, is synonymous with intelligence, economic power, and good citizenship. The article paints the picture that the knowledge of English is powerful enough to overcome political, social and economic inequalities.

The author's use of the word "man" is also intriguing. Gender ideology is implicit in this article. In the first line, "dumb beast" is compared to man. Again, it is important to note the social context. The Chamorro society was originally a matrilineal society (Rogers, 1995). This ideas will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

This article effectively transmits the ELI because the assumptions on which it is based are introduced to the reader at a level just below active consciousness. When one is not analyzing the text, one can not see that it automatically equates a Chamorro with a dumb beast and a male speaker of English with intelligence, economic power, and good citizenship, three of the key aspects of the ideological system. The article falsely assumes, therefore, that education, business, and good citizenship cannot be separated from English. These assumptions must be made, however, in order for the readers to accept this article as basis for replacing the language one uses to communicate with an alien language.

1.2 English = Hygiene, Honor, and the Real Pleasures of Life

The September issue from that same year contained an article entitled, "English is the Schools of Guam." (See Appendix 6; see also Underwood, 1989.) In this article, ideological strategies are employed, again, at a level just below consciousness, to equate English with a knowledge of hygiene. "English will bring to the people of Guam, through the public schools, a knowledge of sanitation and hygiene which will enable them to live in a correct manner" (p. 8). The ideological implications within this social context are that English can make one clean. Nothing is explicitly said about the cleansing ability of Chamorro. The claim that Chamorro speakers' ability to learn English will promote hygiene, however, infers that Chamorro has been able to do little to promote cleanliness. It can, therefore, also be inferred that Chamorro is dirty and unhealthy. (So, why spend money on soap when you can just learn English?)

The idea that English is cleaner than Chamorro seems absurd. "Clean," however, is used as a loaded metaphor for socially defined values such as "pure," "insider," "privileged," etc. Americans on Guam at that time were the minority, but they enjoyed membership of the group that exercised social, economic, and political power by the use of rhetoric that constructed definitions of socially legitimated values such as "clean," "pure," etc.

English is also equated with "fair play," "honor," and "economic development." "This will result still more in the favorable increase in population. Along with such increase will come further and enforced economic development. With economic development will come more of the real pleasures of life. Through English will come a knowledge of fair play and a keen sense of honor such as the progenitors of Americans had at the time of the origin of the language and such is practiced by the American nations at the present time"(9). Again, it is not explicitly stated that Chamorro is a language that lends itself to foul play, it is merely inferred.

This article also justifies the use of English by virtue of the fact that Guam is an American Territory. "This is American Territory. The melting pot is a long way from the drop, but some of its warmth has reached Guam. The substance should remain the same, and only the good influences should reach Guam. The warmth of the pot is here, the public schools and the study of English. . . It is American to have public schools where only English is taught" (p. 9). In this paragraph, English is directly tied to the concepts of warmth and Americanization. It is assumed at a level just below that of active consciousness that English is in fact a natural and desirable goal

for Chamorros to achieve. The relationships that have been created in this article can be outlined as before:

- 1) English is American
- 2) Americanization is a natural goal to achieve.
- 3) English will give one good hygiene and sanitation.
- 4) Hygiene and sanitation will help one to live in a correct manner.

Further, the article ties the use and acquisition of English with socio-economic progress. It implies:

- 5) English will give one a sense of honor
- 6) English lends itself to economic development.
- 7) Economic development will bring about life's true pleasures.
- 8) English is, therefore, clean, honorable, and the correct language to speak.
- 9) English will allow one to enjoy life's real pleasures.

In contrast to English, the author of the article builds a sociolinguistic context in which:

- 10) Chamorro appears dirty, without honor, and an obstacle to correct and pleasurable living.

Again, Eagleton's three strategies can be seen at work in this article. The promotion of a "correct" way of living that is dependent upon English is an ideological strategy that is congenial to the ELI. The use of English is naturalized because it is "American" and will bring about economic development. The bond that is created between English and hygiene obscures social reality in that the first

westerners to reach the island described Chamorros as a radiantly healthy people (Beardsley, 1964, p. 61). Clearly, health existed at one time on the island as separate from English.

1.3 English = Opportunity

Articles such as the February, 1935 edition of the Guam Recorder entitled "A Word to the Older Boys of Guam," imply a shift in the ELI. As previously indicated, the initial goals of the English language policy were only to give Chamorros a practical speaking, reading, and writing knowledge of English. In this article, however, it is evident that a practical knowledge is no longer satisfactory to the supporters of the ELI. (See Appendix 7.)

The assumptions to be adopted by the reader are given in the first two paragraphs. The first paragraph states that all men under a democracy, though not born with the same tools, are born equal because they are promised equal opportunity. The second paragraph gives the example of Abraham Lincoln. It describes the president as poor and compares his humble log cabin to the thatched huts of the Chamorros. The author then comments that even a poor man such as Lincoln "became a master of the English language." (As if he had a choice- he was born in an English context).

The third paragraph links equality and opportunity to the English language. "The writer has been impressed and disappointed by the knowledge that the English language is seldom spoken outside the school by native born, young or old and this after 35 years of opportunity to acquire that language. He has passed groups of pupils emerging from their school rooms: groups of young men on the

streets or in public places and without single exception, all were conversing in the Chamorro language. The Government has generously provided you with the opportunity of acquiring the official language of Guam. Why not show your appreciation of the opportunity given you by adopting a more general use of the language which opens up to you the best literature of the World and places you on an equality with your American friends ?" The logical architecture underlying the construction of the ELI in this article can be understood in the following manner:

- 1) All men are given equal opportunity.
- 2) The task of learning English is an opportunity.
- 3) Lincoln can identify with Chamorros.
- 4) If Lincoln could take the opportunity to master the English language, so could native Chamorro speakers.
- 5) English can make Chamorros equal with their American friends.
- 6) Chamorros can take advantage of the opportunity given by speaking to each other in English outside of school.
- 7) It is, therefore, logical for Chamorros to speak to each other in English.

It is also intriguing to note that the rhetorical strategies use gender ideology in this article to promote the ELI. First of all, the title, "A Word to the Older Boys of Guam," states that the article is not directed to females. Secondly, the author equates only English speakers with "men." In general, an old boy is a man. The word "man" is obviously a possible choice for the author's title because he

uses it in the first sentence, “the theory is that every man is born equal.” Throughout the article, however, males of Guam are referred to as “older boys,” “young men,” “young native born.” Men of Guam are referred to as “old native born” or “fathers” (of “young men” or “old boys”), but they are never given their own identity as “men.” “As you are reaching manhood, this is the time for you to determine whether you will be a ‘hanger on’ or ‘a live producer’ of that which will enable you to live on a higher plane of life than did your forefathers. It is up to you to make the future of Guam a better place to live in.” English, therefore, becomes a requirement of manhood. The author creates a direct link between the wisdom that the “Older Boys” of Guam seek and English.

Eagleton's strategies are employed in this article. The belief that English can bring about equality is congenial to the ELI. The concept of equality is universalized and, therefore, the use of English is naturalized. The idea that a former president, who was able to master the English language despite his poverty, could identify with Chamorros is also congenial to the ELI. This, however, is based on a false assumption. Lincoln was born in an English context and became a master of the English language. He did not, however, become a bilingual in Chamorro and English. Chamorros, on the other hand, were raised in a Chamorro context and were challenged with mastering English.

Also, rival forms of thought are excluded. The opportunity given to the Americans to learn Chamorro is not seen as an opportunity. Social reality is obscured in that English is painted as that which is keeping Chamorros from being equal instead of the

social, political and economic structures that have been set up by people who speak English.

It is important to note that the article does not explicitly say, "Do not speak Chamorro." Instead, it merely says, "Speak English as much as you can." The effect is at least the same if not worse for the the Chamorro language (Underwood, 1989).

Also interesting is the fact that Chamorros are encouraged to speak without dialect. "Learn not only to speak without dialect, but to think in that language. Much progress toward the broadening of your minds as well as your vocabulary would be accomplished if, when you met in groups, you would cultivate the habit of expressing your thoughts in the English language and enable you to correct your pronunciation to an extent that would enable you to overcome a dialect which is difficult, at times, for your American friends to understand." First of all, encouraging Chamorros to speak without dialect calls into question a "standard" or a "norm," and leaves no room for language variation. This obscures social reality in that it is based on the false assumption that all Americans have the same pronunciation (Wolfram & Fasold et al., 1978). Secondly, the focus of English learning is the comprehensibility of that English to the Americans. This is a perfect illustration of asymmetrical power. English speakers are those who are to understand, but Chamorro speakers are those who are to work, to adopt an unfamiliar language for thought, so that they can be understood.

1.4 English = Language for Home, Thought, and Identity

The final example in Stage I comes from the July, 1941 edition of the Guam Recorder and is entitled, "English in the Homes of Guam." (See Appendix 8.) It shows two major changes in the shape of the ELI. First, the ELI progresses from supporting a mere practical knowledge of English to supporting it as a language that should be used when meeting on the street to a language that should be used in home and thought. Thus, it encourages the use of the English language in homes of non-native speakers among non-native speakers. "But English in church and public school is not sufficient for the thorough grounding which is necessary if that language is to serve as a means of further learning. English must be constantly heard, constantly spoken, especially where children are present . . . The ability to think in English is therefore a prime requirement, and it is this ability that must be fostered in every possible way" (Armknrecht, 1941, pp.165-166). Secondly, Chamorro is presented as having little value for Chamorros. "So long as native thinks in Chamorro, his English will be an unsatisfactory tool" (p.165). The emphasis here is **not** bilingualism in Chamorro and English, but rather monolingualism in English.

The author points out what he sees as negative aspects of Chamorro. The author begins with the argument that the Chamorro language was "doubtless as rough and uncouth as himself" (p. 139). He then continues with five reasons that Chamorro is of little value for Guam. His first reason is that, "In spite of much borrowing from the Spanish, Chamorro remains a language poor in vocabulary" (p. 140). In addition to having little vocabulary, Chamorro has no literature. "Chamorro has no literature. . . A language without

considerable development of literature can obviously do little for the advancement of the people who use it" (p. 140). Thirdly, Chamorro is reported as having no song. "Perhaps there were songs in the old days, but they have been forgotten for Spanish or English ones." (p. 140). Fourth, the author explains that "there is no political necessity for its retention." (p. 165). Fifth, and perhaps most intriguing is the author's belief that "Culture is impossible in Chamorro, and the Spanish culture never reached the island in sufficient quantities." (p. 166). The premise of this article, therefore, is that native culture is no culture. In short, the author writes that "a native who speaks only Chamorro is strictly limited in his advancement" (p.166). Again, the structural design of the ELI can be understood in the following manner:

- 1) Chamorro has no vocabulary, no literature, no song.
- 2) English has all three.
- 3) English is not only helpful, but necessary.
- 4) Chamorro is of little value.
- 5) English, therefore, should be used at school, on the street, at home and in thought.

In this progression of the ELI, therefore, we see that it is not enough to promote a practical knowledge of English. Ideological strategies are used to portray Chamorro as not only unnecessary, but also as **harmful** when used in day-to-day interactions. The belief that Chamorro has no literature, no vocabulary, and no song is congenial to the ELI. As in the first article, the importance of oral tradition is excluded. Social reality is obscured in that culture is not

only not impossible in Chamorro, but it has been able to survive many centuries of invasion by other cultures.

The author writes that there is little danger of losing Chamorro, that it is not probable that it will disappear with the coming generations. "But this clinging to the old language will be bought with a price, for while it is perfectly possible to speak both English and Chamorro correctly and effectively, it is a tremendous handicap for children not to hear English spoken in the home" (p. 165). Chamorro is labeled as a handicap and English is labeled as an advantage. In Part II, attitudes from the 1970's such as "I want them [the children] to get used to communicating in English so they will not be educationally handicapped," will be directly related to the effects created by statements such as these (Odo, 1987, p. 145).

This article also comments on the relationship between language and identity. "Undoubtedly, the most potent reason for using Chamorro in Guam today is that it is the native language and that it is love as such by the Chamorro people. . . But there are other general considerations which leads a population to cling to a separate language. One of these is to increase the solidarity, the feeling of national unity. . . With or without the Chamorro language the Chamorro people are a closely-knit group. . . Whether they speak Chamorro or change to a more utilitarian English, they will still be a closely-knit and unified people. There is no political necessity, therefore, for the retention of the Chamorro language" (Armknrecht, 1941, p. 141). The author of this article proposes a complete separation between the Chamorro language and Chamorro identity. The framework of the ELI can be outlined in this manner:

- 1) Chamorro is used to show solidarity among Chamorros.
- 2) Chamorro is not necessary for Chamorros to feel national unity.
- 3) There is no political need, therefore, for Chamorro.
- 4) There is no need to link Chamorro with Chamorro identity.

The argument that Chamorro is not necessary to express solidarity among Chamorros is congenial to the ELI. Ideas that support Chamorro as a means of expressing solidarity because it is unique, in form and content, are excluded. Social reality is obscured in that political needs for Chamorro are not allowed to exist because they do not coincide with the political needs that are assigned to them within the framework of the US Government.

To summarize Part I, I have shown what ideological strategies and rhetorical tools were employed to promote the ELI. A bond between English and social values such as “hygiene” and “beauty” link English to social power. Bonds between English and social values such as good citizenship and intelligence link English to political power. Bonds between English and values such as opportunity and good jobs link English with economic power. Thus, in Stage I of the ELI, it is evident that it a “practical knowledge” is not enough for the Americanization of Chamorros. The hegemony on the island proved to be dependent upon the native’s ability to think in English and adopt the American way of life.

* * *

In 1950, Chamorros were granted American citizenship and control of their own governmental affairs. Day (1985) points out that one would think that the all-Chamorro government would re-write the laws and allow Chamorro to be the official language. Section 3000 of the Government Code of Guam, however, actually made English the official language and ordered government employees to speak only English to each other in places of work, this included the public schools (Day, 1985, p. 174).

When placed in the context of the ideology, this decision to keep English as the official language and forbid the speaking of any other language in the courts and schools shows a progression of the ELI. First, English became the ticket to success, a socially constructed value, in Guam. Later, it became the language of Guam. One of the characteristics of ideology, as described in the theoretical framework, is its ability to "mesh with the wants and desires of its subjects" (Eagleton, 1991, p. 14-15). Section 3000 of the Government Code of Guam is proof that the ELI had been adopted by many of the prominent Chamorro leaders and that the importance of the English language "meshed with the wants and desires" of the Chamorros who exercised power at that time. This decision proved to be a victory for the ELI that would carry it to what I have defined as Stage II of ideology.

The ELI was successful in the creation of an apparent link between English and success in all areas of life. Evidence of this is clearly seen in the way with which the educational "problems" were handled. "Needs assessment studies conducted on Guam provide confirmative evidence for language deficiencies and lower academic

achievement chiefly among children whose home language is Chamorro." (Kallingal, 1972, p. 83) A strategy of the ELI was to link the low test scores to the "slowness" of the Chamorros and to negative effects of bilingualism. The bilingual or Chamorro-monolingual child was viewed by the school system as the "problem." Programs such as remedial classes, special grouping for instruction, special aids, and aides were implemented in the schools. (p. 83) These programs centered on fixing the child. This "deficit hypothesis" has been explored by Kachru (1991) and centers on the belief that it is, in fact, the curriculum that needs to be fixed, and not the child.

Part II: Stage II of the ELI- The Incorporation of Chamorro

In 1953, UNESCO recommended the use of the vernacular in the schools. It was not until the 1970s, however, that efforts toward bilingual education were realized on Guam. A series of pro-Chamorro laws were written during this time. The amendment to the Government Code of Guam, P.L. 12-3, includes Chamorro as one of the two official languages (Day, 1985, p. 176). The 1970-1971 school year introduced an Experimental Bilingual Program called "Kolehion Mandikike' " that became Public Law 14-53, better known as the Chamorro Language Mandate, in 1977.

I characterize Stage II of the ELI by the incorporation of Chamorro into its framework. This may appear to be a victory for Chamorro, but wait. Statistics from the 1980 and 1990 Census show, however, that the language policies created during this time period

have not been able to produce an increase in the reported use of Chamorro (See Appendix 1). In fact, a decrease is reported by each age group. In this section, then, I will 1) discuss beliefs that needed to be dispelled in order for bilingualism to be adopted as a valid component of the educational system, 2) outline the bilingual program, and 3) discuss the program in relation to the ELI.

2.1 Challenging Previous Beliefs

In this section, I focus on two specific characteristics of ideology that have already been discussed in the theoretical framework. The first is ideology's link to subordinate ideologies. If ideology is defined as part truth, it can only exist in relation to other part truths. Ideology, therefore, is constantly in a state of motion because it continually has to bargain with subordinate ideologies for power. The second characteristic is ideology's ability to fuse with the will of its subjects. Again, if ideology was not in some way attractive to those that it wanted to control, no one would ever buy into it in the first place.

Essential to the adoption of bilingualism in the schools was the challenging of beliefs that dealt with the relationship between bilingualism and slow learners. The UNESCO 1953 Recommendation states that the direct correlation between low test scores and bilingual children, was **not** due to the fact that they were bilingual, but rather to the fact that the native language had been neglected in the schools. It was recommended that:

- 1) A monolingual curriculum places a bilingual child at a disadvantage.

- 2) Disregarding the vernacular in lessons and on school grounds have negative effects on academic accomplishments of bilinguals.
- 3) The neglect of the vernacular affects the psychological growth of the child.
- 4) Use of the vernacular helps bilinguals to succeed.

These recommendations partially uncovered some false assumptions that I analyzed in Stage I:

- 1) The bilingual child had just as much opportunity as the monolingual Abraham Lincoln. (See section 1.3)
- 2) The promotion of English and negative attitudes toward Chamorro was helpful to Chamorros and probably would not result in language loss. (See section 1.4)
- 3) Socio-psychological well-being was dependent upon English (See section 1.1, 1.2)
- 4) English in the school, on the street, and at home is the key to success. (See section 1.4.)

The unveiling of these myths led to the adoption of a bilingual-bicultural education program on Guam. Its framework will be discussed in the following section.

2.2 Bilingualism in the Schools

Public Law 14-53, created in 1977, mandates that Chamorro be taught twenty minutes each day to grades one through six in all public schools. A brief description of the Kolehion Mandikike' Guam Bilingual-Bicultural Project gives insight into the framework and goals for Guam's bilingual education. "The goals of the Kolehion

Mandikike' Project were to facilitate the development of cognitive skills in the area of language arts and to further the development of personal motivation of each student by providing a bilingual-bicultural instruction program which would:

1. facilitate the educational development of children who came from homes where English was not the exclusive or predominant mode of expression
2. facilitate the mastery of English by children as well as developing literacy skills in the Chamorro Language.
3. preserve the pride that Chamorro children have in themselves by esteeming their indigenous culture and language.
4. solicit, synthesize and perpetuate for future generations the positive and creative aspects of Chamorro culture (Klein, 1975, pp. 70-71).

Approximately one hour of Chamorro instruction in the pilot program and twenty minutes when the pilot program became law was required daily. This hour was based on Oral Language Development, phonics, reading, grammar, social studies, science and culture. The amount of time that the children spent learning in Chamorro was limited "due to the paucity of materials in Chamorro and the wide variety of English materials" (pp. 70-71).

Teacher-training included classes at the University of Guam. Classes were offered each summer and paid in-service programs were offered during the school year. Chamorro classes, however, had to be taken as electives because the University of Guam did not have an approved program in Bilingual Education (p. 72).

2.3 Bilingual Education: Chamorro Victory or Progression of the ELI?

For many, Chamorro had won the battle. How could the ELI could survive when Chamorro had gained official status and had even become law in the schools? Language policy had finally been created in order to ensure the equality of the two languages.

The Census data, however, shows that the battle was, in fact, not won. The ELI was still strong. When the bond between bilingualism and low scores on intelligence tests had been revealed as mere false assumption, the ELI was faced with the new challenge of redefining itself, of restructuring, so that the asymmetrical power structures on the island were not altered. The ideological strategies employed by the ELI incorporated bilingualism within its framework by creating a language policy and a bilingual program that would fuse with the wants of those in Guam that accepted Chamorro as valid and as valuable, but that continued to control the definition of valid and valuable.

Just as in Stage I, valid and valuable was still completely dependent upon English. Keeping in mind Tollefson's (1991, p. 203) argument that "... language policy is inseparable from the relationships of power that divide societies," it is helpful to analyze the goals of the bilingual program in the same way that the articles from Stage I were analyzed. As stated in section 2.2, the goals of the bilingual program were to:

1. facilitate the educational development of children who came from homes where English was not the exclusive or predominant mode of expression

2. facilitate the mastery of English by children as well as developing literacy skills in the Chamorro Language.
3. preserve the pride that Chamorro children have in themselves by esteeming their indigenous culture and language.
4. solicit, synthesize and perpetuate for future generations the positive and creative aspects of Chamorro culture (Klein, 1975, pp. 70-71).

The first goal regards Chamorro as valuable because it can facilitate the educational development of children who do not use English exclusively in their homes. Because of the fact that Chamorro is used in the schools only a maximum of one hour daily, educational development is directly connected to English. Chamorro is defined as valuable for education in that it aides the children in the learning of English. The second goal reinforces this belief by explicitly stating that Chamorro is used to facilitate the mastery of English. Secondary to the mastery of English is the developing of literacy skills in Chamorro.

These two points can be outlined like this:

1. Chamorro assists Chamorro-speaking children in their educational development.
2. Their educational development depends on English because it is the language used in class all but twenty minutes of each day.
3. Chamorro, therefore, can assist in learning English.
4. English, and not Chamorro, is equated with educational success.

In this way, English incorporates Chamorro, but is still seen as the sole link to success.

It is also intriguing to note that teachers only received elective credit for the classes that they took in Chamorro education. The University of Guam could not grant credit if it did not have an approved program in Bilingual Education. Students and teachers, however, can rarely afford to take classes that fulfill only elective requirements. The result: there was no economic backing to support the teaching of Chamorro.

Eagleton's three strategies of ideology are found here. The view that educational development depends upon the mastery of English is congenial to the ELI. The fact that Chamorro has little literature was used to exclude rival forms of thought about the value of orality and oral traditions and, also, to limit the number of daily hours in Chamorro to a minimum. As mentioned in Stage I, Chamorro was not originally a written language. Methods of teaching related to an oral communication could have been employed in the schools, but these ideas were excluded and denigrated. Also, it is highly possible that the classes organized to teach the reading and writing of Chamorro were dominated by English, and that the time spent in Chamorro was less than one hour per day.

The first review of the program was made in 1975, five years after it began. (See Broadbent 1971-1975; see also Appendix 9.) The first point explains that most who are in the program learn to read and write Chamorro. The second point states that the children learn English and other subjects as well as monolinguals and, in some cases, more quickly. The third point states that Chamorro children in

bilingual programs are more aware of their culture and tradition. Point four states that they are more animated than students in traditional classrooms.

The last three points of the report, when analyzed, call into question the effectiveness of the program in relation to the ELI. Point five states, “Children exposed to bilingual observation from the outset of their academic careers appear to derive 'value added' and 'long range' effects with regards to Chamorro language proficiency. However, Chamorro speaking children who enter the curriculum in later primary years also tend to benefit” (Klein, 1975, pp. 75-76). The focus of this point is that children who begin the program at an early age will retain more Chamorro than those who begin at older ages. This review focuses on exposure to Chamorro at an early age, rather than on the overall effects of the bilingual program. Appendix 1, however, reveals that increased proficiency in Chamorro is not a ‘long range effect’ of the program. The graph shows that the number of Chamorros who speak Chamorro in each age category has declined over the past decade.

Point six states that Chamorro children in the program “feel good about themselves and are motivated. But, so are other Chamorro children in Guamanian schools.” Chamorro, therefore, is not necessary for children to feel good about themselves. Point seven states that “children who are not Chamorro-English bilinguals might do better in alternate language activities.” Chamorro, therefore, is not helpful to all students. The implications of this report are similar to those of the articles from Stage I, Chamorro is not necessary for all students, yet English is. From the 1975

evaluation of the bilingual program, the belief that English remains the most necessary tool for educational success is reinforced.

To summarize Stage II, the key is to note that the bilingual policy is based on the false assumption that the loss of Chamorro is a linguistic question and not a socio-political and economic question. By assuming that Chamorro is only a linguistic question, the assumption can be made that Chamorro will be promoted through language policy in the schools. The fundamental question is whether or not the bilingual program will be able to overcome the ideologies from Stage I. Again, Census data reveals that the ELI has proven so powerful that it can incorporate positive attitudes toward Chamorro without being threatened.

Part III: And the ELI Continues- The ELI in the 90's

In Stage I, I explored the manner in which attitudes have been constructed that link English to socially legitimated and authorized values such as beauty, knowledge, hygiene, modernization and success. In Stage II, I explored the process by which English is promoted through the advocacy of Chamorro. The purpose of this section is to show the ways in which similar rhetorical, ideological strategies are used in this decade to continue to strengthen the ELI. These examples were chosen because they are a continuation of the same values that were introduced and carried out in Stages I and II.

Many of the examples come from the magazine "Latte," a relatively new magazine written and printed on Guam. I chose articles from Latte because one of its goals is to promote the

Chamorro language and culture. The majority of the articles are in English. The effects of the discourse of the examples I give promote the ELI. This illustrates the pervasiveness of the ELI in that it is able to permeate even articles in a magazine that actively supports the use of the Chamorro language.

As I analyze this data, it is important that readers keep in mind the discussion found on ideology in the Theoretical Framework. It states that the carriers/creators of ideological power through discourse may be completely unaware that they are involved in the process of the transmission of such power. Thus, the social actors are not necessarily the villains, but rather ones who are **also** involved in cultural, social, political, and economic structures, that, through the creation and recreation of ideology, maintain imbalanced power structures.

3.1 Beauty and Hygiene in the 1990's

In sections 1.1 and 1.2, a strategy of the ELI was to equate English with social values such as 'beauty' and 'hygiene.' English was portrayed as the means through which Chamorros could become cleaner, better citizens. In the following example, like strategies are used to create similar effects.

The January 1996 edition of Latte contains an article entitled "Don't be **doffe**’ ." (See Appendix 10.) This two-page article is written in English and explains ways to prevent tooth decay. It states that "everyone should have healthy and beautiful teeth, and gums- and they should last a lifetime" (Cruz, 1996, p. 25). The only Chamorro word and the only word in bold faced print used in this

article is the word “**doffe**’,” meaning "toothless." This article is not explicitly stating that Chamorros have poor dental hygiene, but it is intriguing to note that the title focuses on "not being" what has been described by a Chamorro term. The English word "toothless" was available to the author as a choice for the title. The switch to Chamorro for doffe', serves the required ideological function of equating Chamorro with a lack of hygiene: a simple choice of words for a catchy title actually involves ideological, rhetorical strategies that are employed by the ELI to equate English with beauty and hygiene and to promote the use of English over Chamorro.

3.2 Modernization in the 1990's

In section 1.4 of Part I, I analyze the article “English in the Homes of Guam.” It states that, “In spite of the relative vocabular poverty of the Chamorro tongue . . . we may expect that Chamorro will be spoken in Guam for generations not yet born. But this clinging to the old language will be bought with a price . . . English must be constantly heard, constantly spoken, especially where children are present. . . ” (Armknacht, 1941, pp. 165-166; Appendix 8). The notion that Chamorro is “old” and that English is “modern” was used in Stage I as incentive for teaching children English. Similar ideological and rhetorical strategies are reproductions of discourse found in articles such as “English in the Homes of Guam” have also been used in the 90’s to equate Chamorro with “old” and English with “modern.”

Empirical evidence supports the claim that Chamorro is equated with a general notion of "old," whereas English represents

"new." The following example comes from a Latte magazine published in December, 1995. (See Appendix 11.) It is found in the December 1995 edition. It is an ad for the Town House department store that contains pictures of three generations of a family. Beside each picture is a bubble containing comments from the people in each picture. The picture on the top shows an elderly couple. The words in their bubble are written in Chamorro. The next two pictures are of the second and third generations. Their excerpts are in English. This article, when read carefully, equates English with youth and modernization and it equates Chamorro with old age.

Another example that equates Chamorro with age is the use of the word "manamko'." The June 1995 edition of Latte contains an article entitled "Manamko' in **Motion**." (See Appendix 12). "Manamko' " is the only Chamorro word used in this article. Its meaning is similar to the English word "elderly," but it implies a great deal of respect. In fact, it is common to hear the word "Manamko' " in English discourse. For example, a twelve-page article in the April 1995 edition of Latte includes "manamko' " as its only Chamorro word. Another example is found in an article in the October 1995 edition contains an English article about Chamorro spirits. In this article, a sentence is found that says "And that's because it could be their uncle, or great-aunt or great-grandfather and Chamorros were brought up to 'respetu si manamko' " (" . . . respect their elders;" Miguet, 1995, p. 74). These examples equate Chamorro with a language of the past and stigmatize it as "old."

The June, 1995 edition of Latte contains an excerpt entitled, "The **reign** of La Raina." (See Appendix 13.) It introduces the 1995

queen of the senior citizens. A similar excerpt from the May, 1995 edition entitled “Here **she** is,” introduces Miss Guam Universe 1995. (See Appendix 14.) “Taking on the **world**,” an excerpt from the September, 1995 edition reports the winner of the Miss Guam World Pageant. (See Appendix 15.) “I’m too sexy for . . .,” introduces the winner of the 1994 Miss Gay Guam title. (See Appendix 16.) The first article is the only article that contains any Chamorro. The title Ms. Guam of the senior citizens is called “La Raina,” which is Chamorro for “queen,” while the younger beauty queens are described with the English word “queen.” The effects of these examples of discourse, again, equate Chamorro with the past and English with the present.

3.3 Separation of Chamorro Language and Identity

In addition to equating Chamorro with “old” and English with “modern,” “English in the Homes of Guam” from Section 1.4 also comments on the relationship between language and identity. It examines the process by which the ELI separates Chamorro language and identity.

Language is commonly used as a marker for identity. Arguably, then, it is beneficial for the ELI if the speaking of Chamorro is seen as completely separate from Chamorro identity. Any way that the ELI can convince people that speaking Chamorro to each other is not desirable or necessary will provide strength and momentum for English.

The following example was discovered on the top of a yogurt cup that I purchased in October, 1996. (See Appendix

17.) The top of the cup has a cow with a bow in its hair. The cow, an animal not native to Guam, is the symbol of the Foremost Foods, Inc., the island's dairy company. The marketing strategy of Foremost has been to give this cow the name "Chamoorita" and the identity of a "Chamorita," a Chamorro woman. The words under the picture say "Chamorita says: 'Buy foremost products.' " What is intriguing about this example is that what Chamorita says is in English. This example of discourse depicts the complete separation between Chamorro identity and the Chamorro language that had been suggested in 1940's articles such as "English in the Homes of Guam."

The effects of this discourse simultaneously serves as a mirror of ideas about Chamoritas and shapes them. Some Chamoritas speak Chamorro. An interview in Latte's premiere issue, however, shows how the discourse in the previous paragraph serves as a mirror of beliefs about other Chamoritas. One comments on her language use. "I know it looks really bad that I haven't learned the language. . . . I'm interested in learning the language, and I always say when I have time . . . but there will be a day when I (will learn). Right now I would be content at understanding and not having to speak it. . . . I guess I've just been intimidated by it because you always get criticized if you're not pronouncing it right. . . . Not too many people my age speak the language . . . even the ones that I know that were raised here" (Calvo, 1995a, p. 52). It is also intriguing to note that this Chamorita comments that, for the

time being, it would suffice to be able to understand Chamorro. Studies by Hale et al. (1995) show that once a language is no longer productively spoken by a generation, it is on its way to extinction. Only understanding Chamorro would in no way interfere with the ELI because it would not help to promote Chamorro for future generations.

Recently, I interviewed Congressman Underwood in his Washington DC office (personal communication, March 20, 1996). I asked him whether or not he thought that one has to speak Chamorro to be Chamorro. His reply was, "I am supposed to say 'yes,' but my answer is 'no.' " Chamorro language and identity have been separated to the extent that even the Congressman, former head of bilingual education and one of Guam's strongest advocates for the promotion of Chamorro language and culture, recognizes that a separation between language and identity has occurred on Guam.

3.4 Effects of Promoting Chamorro and English in the 1990's.

In Stage II, I discussed that the main function of the Chamorro-English bilingualism in the 1970's and 1980's was to promote the English language because the definition of education was never altered. It depended heavily on the mastery of the English language. In this decade, several English-Only policies have been created. This is consistent with the English-Only policies in 1906 of Stage I of the ELI and in 1950 of Stage II. In this decade, however, the English-Only policies have been challenged and then withdrawn. They have

been changed to English and Chamorro Only policies or, perhaps, "Chamorro-also" policies- as if Chamorro is an afterthought. Again, this seems to be a victory for Chamorro, the effect, however, does more to promote English.

The language policy of each place of business is determined by the administrators of that place of business. In 1994 two co-workers were reprimanded in the Mangilao Health Center for speaking Tagalog. The administrator of the Center ruled that only English was to be spoken "as a common courtesy" (Han, 1994, p. 3). Senator Angel Santos, however, protested and the ruling was soon changed to an English and Chamorro Only policy.

Today one can see these signs posted on practically each bulletin board in the Center. (See Appendix 18.) At first glance this seems to support the use of Chamorro, but, given the fact that only a minority of this generation speaks Chamorro, the effect of this sign does more to promote English than Chamorro. It is also intriguing to note that this sign is written in English and that the word English appears first. Even the subtle organization of the words supports the use of English over Chamorro. In this case of language contestation, therefore, the ELI has been successful in "blending" with the desires of those who support Chamorro, without causing any harm to the widespread use of English and without advancing Chamorro.

3.5 Attitudes Toward Language Use in the '90's

The Preliminary Advance Tabulation Frequency of Language Usage, Guam: 1995 was distributed by the Micronesian Language Institute. Forty-six adults were surveyed. The responses to the questions, "Please list the signs of language loss or decline that you see" and "Why do you think the Chamorro Language on Guam has declined?" shed light on existing attitudes toward language use in the 90's. They can be categorized into five categories:

1) Lack of interest in speaking Chamorro

- "The lack of interest; people thinking that it is silly to speak the language."
- "The kids do not show interest in learning to speak the Chamorro language."

2) Americanization or Westernization

- "I think that it has declined because people are just too Americanized to speak the language. Parents just don't help their children learn the language."
- "Too much English, Not enough teaching from home, school, etc. . . we're too much into the American way."
- "Times have changed; we have changed with it. We are almost completely westernized. Our island has to adopt to the times and to the people."

3) Education

- "Because it has not been practiced through the years as often as it should. Another factor would be that most of our students are college bound and parents feel that English being a university language should be enhanced and Chamorro should be spoken by their own accord."

4) Lack of support by parents or grandparents

- “The teenagers hardly speak the Chamorro language, parents think that they don’t speak or understand Chamorro, so therefore they don’t encourage it.”
- “Because the older generation does not practice the language with the younger generation.”
- “Parents use English as a matter of convenience. Their children know English and even when they are spoken to in Chamorro, parents accept responses in English. Children tend to have a high level of receptive knowledge of Chamorro. Also, Guam has an attitude of taking the existence of Chamorro for granted. Since Chamorro people continues to exist, have the language. We know this is a false assumption . Guam needs to take an pro-active part encouraging Chamorro language use, & actually use it, too.”
- “Parents do not practice speaking Chamorro at home, thus making the young ones speak English only; this is true especially in the central and northern side of Guam. Some in the southern side of Guam can speak Chamorro, but not too many.”
- "Majority of the new generation don't understand the Chamorro language, Youngsters speak more English than they speak Chamorro. Parents speak English to their children.
- "Parents and their children are conversing in English at home rather than in Chamorro, and the Grandparents are forced to speak in English in order for their grandchildren to understand them.

5) Modernization

- "Parents are not talking to their children in Chamorro, Children are not comprehending the language. Everything in the island is pretty much modernized."

- "English is being spoken in most of the classes at schools. Everything on Guam is modernized. No one under age 35 speaks the language fluently."

6) Neglect of Use as an Official Language

- "Although Chamorro is an official language the language is not being used officially in business agency or in public."
- "Students, especially Chamorro can't speak the language, also not just a majority, but all major public signs are written in English" (1996, pp. 57-58).

Each of these attitudes can be seen as directly related to socially legitimated and authorized values that were introduced and supported by the ELI over the past century.

In summary, despite bilingual education and official status of Chamorro, the ELI has thrived in the 90's. More people speak English on Guam than ever before, and less people speak Chamorro. The policies created to support Chamorro and the forces behind them have not been strong enough to combat the social, political, and economic forces that support the ELI. The principles upon which the ELI was introduced to Guam are still being promoted today.

IV. Conclusion

In this paper, I have provided evidence that language shift has occurred on Guam over the past three generations, that the native Chamorro has been displaced by English in almost all domains of language use. I argue that attributing this shift to “Americanization” omits the role of ideology in this process. I have defined discourse as the site where ideology does a dance on Guam and have named this dance the English Language Ideology. By tracing the ELI from the 1900’s to the 1990’s, I found that language shift has taken place because socially legitimated and authorized values such as success, modernization, health, beauty, and good citizenship have been portrayed as a direct result of the speaking of English. ‘90 Census data reveals that this portrayal has had a profound effect on the patterns of language use and attitudes.

Through this discussion of the ways in which the ELI was introduced, established, practiced, and then normalized, I have shown specific ways in which “Americanization” has been achieved on Guam and existing ideologies carried by American English not only ensure the imbalance of social, cultural, economic, and political power, but also make English the **logical** language to speak. This discussion includes examples of specific ways in which ideological and rhetorical strategies have been employed by the ELI to promote inherent, inevitable bonds between itself and the universe that are based on false assumptions. Through a systematic, socio-historical reconstruction of linguistic ideological strategies, I have explored both the process and product of language contact.

By showing how the relationship between English and social values such as health, beauty, modernization, good citizenship, and success has been constructed, I have revealed that this relationship is not random. Success in Guam is dependent upon the hegemonic social, political, cultural, and economic structures that control Guam, rather than on the language that Guamanians speak. The learning of English, therefore, has not been able to ensure socio-, political, cultural, and economic equality.

By tracing the ELI, I have revealed the ways in which ideology is inherent in the discourse of culture contact among cultures that are backed by unequal economic and political forces. I have also revealed the importance of social context for the interpretation of language that is used in culture-contact discourse. I have demonstrated how the success of the ELI has had a profound effect on the hegemonic systems of Guam.

In conclusion, one can find similarities between an ecological disaster on Guam and the ELI. It was not until my lay-over in Hawaii on my return flight home when I saw the banyan trees of Hawaii filled with thousands of birds and was overcome by their chirps and twirps that I realized that I had hardly seen or heard any birds during my semester on Guam. I was not made aware of sounds that were missing until I heard them in another place. The fact that there were hardly any birds on Guam did not seem logical or illogical, I simply did not think about it. A brief description of the endangerment of the Guam Rail and the search for the cause summarizes my discussion of the ELI:

In the 1960's, game wardens noticed that the bird population was declining. The 1970's showed a clear acceleration of the loss. By 1980, Guam's birds seemed to have disappeared. Experts assumed it was an epidemic. After this possibility was ruled out, the brown tree snake was suggested as a possible culprit. But, a snake had never before been credited with such massive ecological damage. Finally, however, the brown tree snake was recognized as the reason that the bird population had decreased-- the chirps and tweets of the birds on the island have been changed to the sss's of the snake. These snakes had previously been viewed as normal, harmless, and possibly even helpful. The snake, nocturnal in nature, was not noticed because it ate bird eggs at night. The snake was not native to Guam. It was thought to have arrived in the early 1900's in a box on a ship. A stable population grew on the island and fed on the Guam Rail as it moved from the south to the north (Jaffe, 1994).

This summarizes the ELI in that English, like the brown tree snake, was not native to Guam, was viewed as an asset to the island, and yet has endangered something native to Guam. Activities for the younger generation on Guam are conducted in English to the extent that only when one goes to a rosary or to McDonald's in the morning when Manamko's, just as they do in Tennessee, socialize as they drink their morning coffee, does one hear the Chamorro sounds that are missed in everyday conversation of the younger generation. Only then, does one realize that English on Guam is not logical.

V. Implications for Future Research

Four paradigms of sociolinguistic research are the Labovian correlational approach (1972), Hymes' ethnographic approach (1974), Hallidayan systemic functional approach (1978), and the Fishmanian sociological approach to language (1966, 1971). In Labov's framework, he provides for the analysis of language variation. His studies show that most variation is not random, it is structured within its social context. Hymes' framework provides for the description of language use within the totality of the social context. He examines, for example, language as it is used in relationships such as that of the parent/child or student/teacher. In Halliday's framework, the functions of language determine the form that is to be used. Finally, Fishman's framework provides for an analysis of language use in its different socio-cultural domains. The framework allows one to see changing patterns of language use over time.

Each of the previous paradigms identify language shift, but they do not address the **mechanisms** and the **process** through which language shift occurs. They do not explore **how** the majority of a population gives up its language for use of an alien, minority language. They do not discuss, for example, the ways in which a language is bonded to social values such as "modernization" and "hygiene." By identifying language shift as a site where power roles have been played out, one is able to see the importance of focusing on the process and mechanisms through which people begin to view one language as a more effective way of attaining certain socially defined values. By including the dimensions of power and ideology into

sociolinguistic research we can develop a restrictive theory of language contact and language use which is able to honor the data such as presented in this study

Sociolinguistic research that pinpoints discourse as a site where power dances, that reveals the mechanisms used to camouflage social, economic, and political struggle as mere linguistic struggle, on a much larger level, therefore, also involves social, political, and economic critique. Simpson argues that “Analysis for the sake of analysis is not sufficient; instead the analyst makes a committed effort to engage with the discourse with a view to changing it. In other words, by highlighting insidious discursive practices in language, these practices themselves can be challenged” (1993, p. 6). An analysis of discourse, therefore, challenges asymmetrical political, social, and economic power structures. Aspects of language use such as language ‘choice,’ become less questions of choice, than of economic, political, and social coercion (Wolfson & Mannes, 1985).

One might ask what this means for language policy and planning. Haugen (1985) describes language policies as covert or overt. Overt policies include, for example, official recognition of the fact that English and Chamorro are the native languages of Guam. Covert policies, on the other hand, support the use of English over Chamorro. Whether covert or overt, asymmetrical power relationships are inherent in language policy and planning. The framework for the analysis of discourse provided in this thesis makes explicit the covert and overt agendas of language planning

and policy. Further, this framework shows that language policy and planning, by their very nature, cannot be separated from the imbalanced structures of power within society, so they therefore, actually aid in reinforcing the existing imbalanced power structures that they claim to be dismantling. Phillipson, for example, describes language planning and policy as significant to the process of linguistic imperialism, a “neocolonialist structure of dependence on foreign expertise” (1992, p. 4).

One might also ask what this means for language teaching. Tollefson argues that “language education professionals must reject the notion that learning a language is an ideologically neutral act intended simply to develop an employment skill. That some people must learn English to get a job is a *result* of unequal relationships of power - not a *solution* to them.” (1991, p. 210) Day (1981) argues that language teaching must begin to examine the cultural, social, economic and political aspects of language learning. Ideology, therefore, must be made explicit to those within the social context. Tollefson significantly argues that “No one investigates, for example, the relationship between Philippine language education policy and the condition of children in Tondo, who are chronically malnourished.” (1991, p. 205) It is essential to remember that economic, social, political, and linguistic aspects of power cannot be neatly separated. Cross-disciplinary analysis of discourse, power, and ideology, therefore, must be encouraged.

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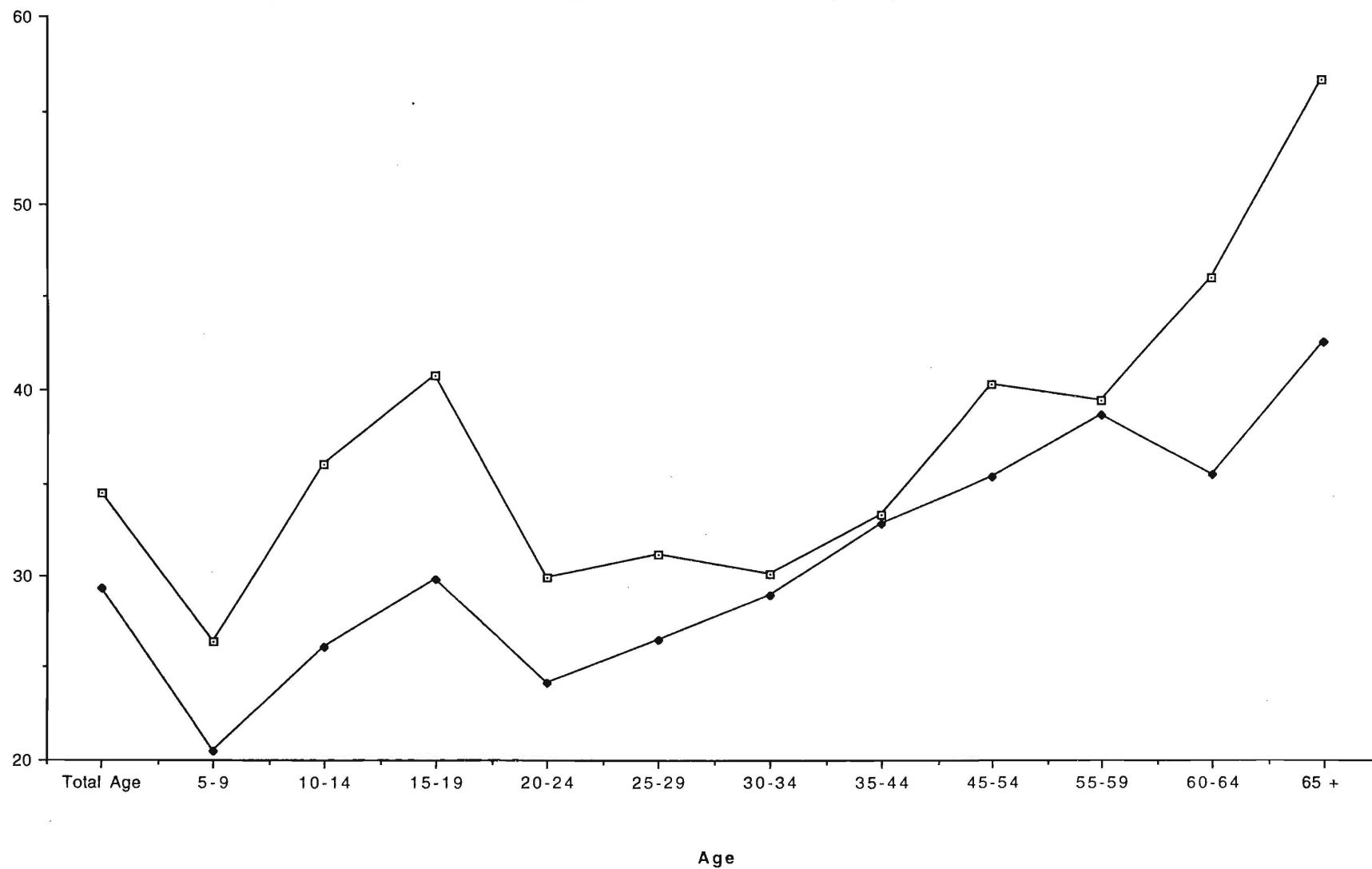
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Appendices

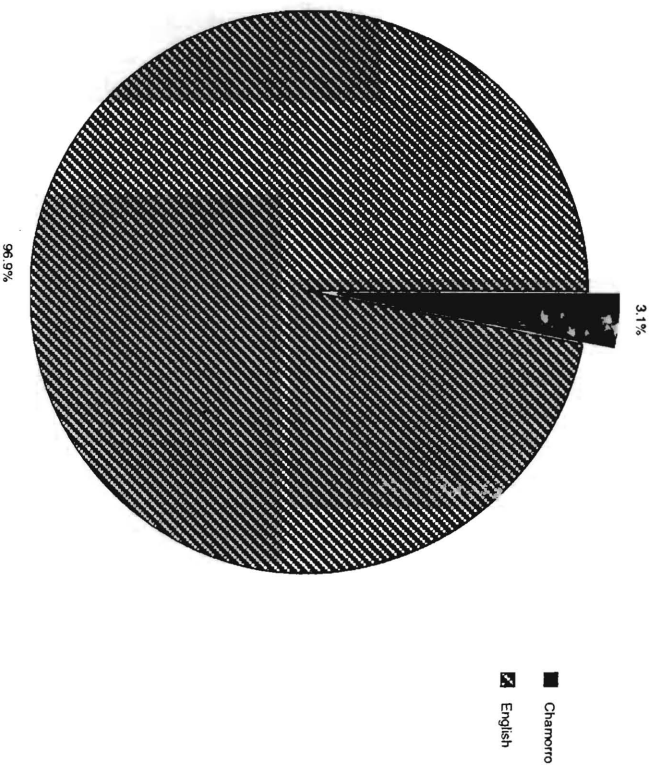
Appendix 1:
Chamorro Spoken at Home by Age

Chamorro Speaker %

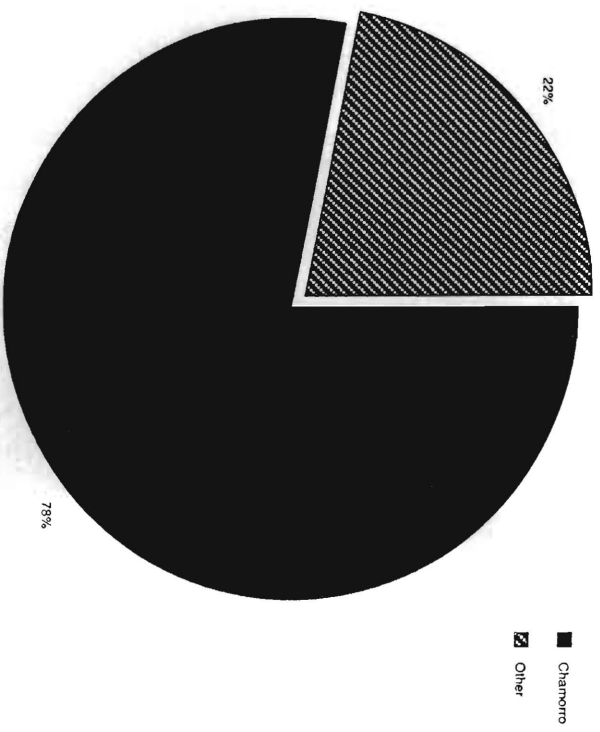
1980
1990



Appendix 2:
Language Among Siblings



Language Among Grandparents



Appendix 2

Questionnaire

Grade:

Age:

Sex : M F

Nationality of Mother:

Nationality of Father:

Place that you have lived most of your life:

Amount of time that you have lived on Guam:

Are you fluent in English?

Are you fluent in Chamorro?

Are you fluent in Tagalog?

Are you fluent in any other language?

Approximate age of grandparents:

Approximate age of parents:

Language(s) your grandparents speak to each other and/or friends that are their age:

Language(s) your grandparents speak to your parents:

Language(s) your parents speak to your grandparents:

Language(s) your parents speak to each other:

Language(s) your parents speak to you:

Language(s) you speak to your brothers and sisters:

Language(s) you speak to your friends:

Do you have any questions for me?

Results (numbers have been rounded off):

	Chamorro	English	Both	Other	NA
Language(s) grandparents speak to each other and/or to people their age	72%	9%	13%	0%	6%
Language(s) grandparents speak to parents	63%	19%	13%	0%	6%
Language(s) parents speak to grandparents	63%	19%	13%	0%	6%
Language(s) parents speak to each other	38%	31%	28%	3%	-
Language(s) parents speak to you	9%	47%	44%	-	-
Language(s) you speak to parents	3%	69%	28%	-	-
Language(s) you speak to siblings	0%	91%	6%	-	3%
Language(s) you speak to friends	3%	78%	16%	-	3%

Appendix 3

POPULATION OF GUAM, 1908

GUAMANIANs	11,159
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NAVAL STATION PERSONNEL

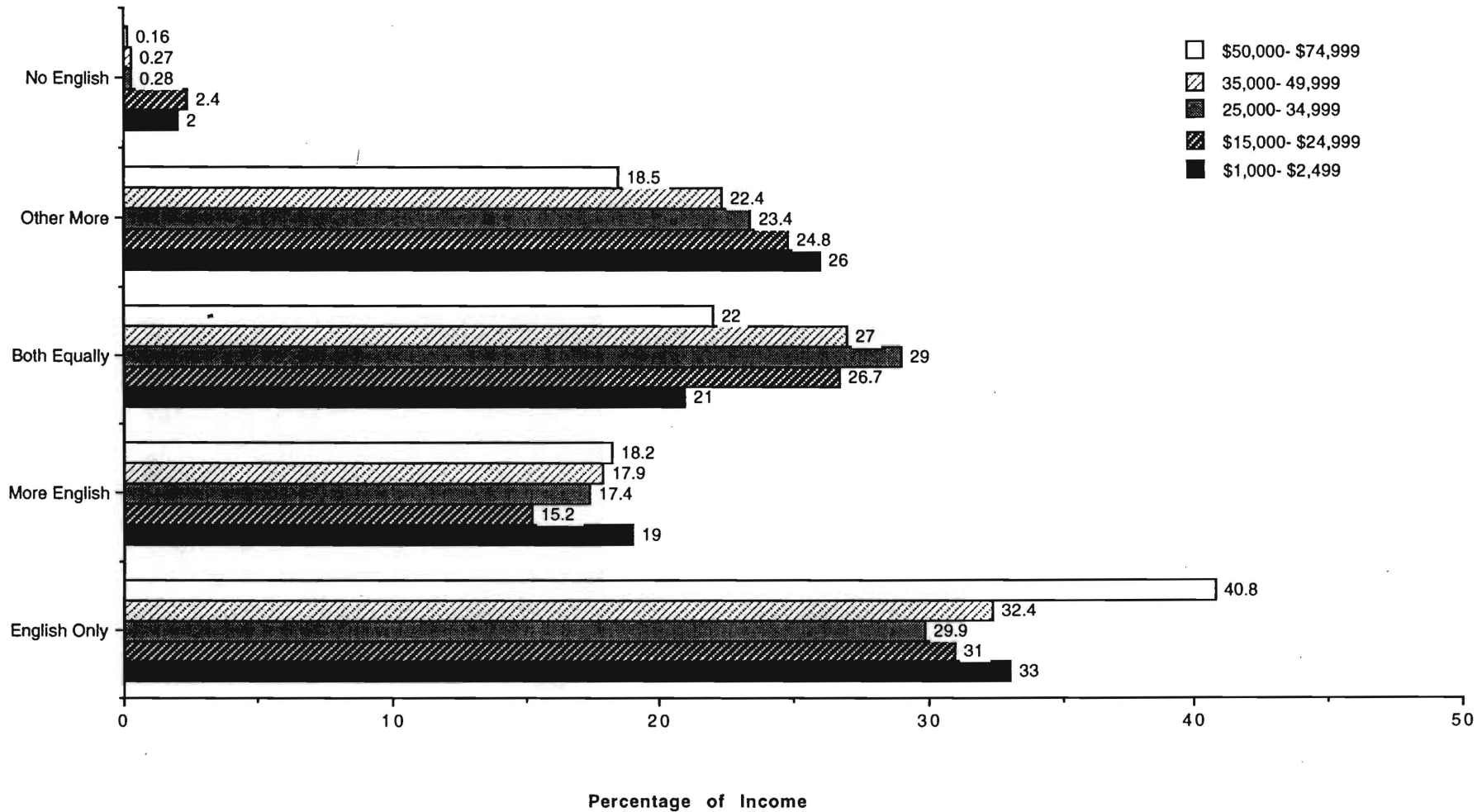
Officers and families	23
Naval employees and families	26
Navy enlisted men	33
Marines	90

OTHER OFF-ISLANDERS

Americans	14
Chinese	6
Englishmen	14
Germans	11
Greeks	1
Hawaiians	1
Hollanders	1
Irishmen	1
Japanese	101
Puerto Ricans	1
Spaniards	8

TOTAL	11,490
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Appendix 4: Language Spoken at Home and Frequency of English Use by Income: 1990



EDITORIAL

WIPE OUT THE PEST

No more serious calamity has ever threatened the Island of Guam than the arrival of the "Aspidiotus Destructor", or coconut scale. After ravaging the neighboring islands of Rota and Saipan, and destroying practically all coconut trees, the dread pest has reached Guam and is rapidly attacking not only the coconut, but also the Breadfruit, Papaya, and many other plants. The discovery of the scale, and its most serious ravages, have been on the North end of the island, with the South practically untouched. However, its spread is rapid, and all trees are threatened.

No one but can realize and fear the danger to the prosperity of Guam, attendant upon the spread of the scale. If the coconut is destroyed, as it has been on our neighbor islands, the copra industry will be at an end, and much of the food of the island lost. The extermination of the pest is absolutely necessary, not only for the sake of prosperity, but in order to prevent poverty and hunger. The danger must not be underestimated. The ravages of the scale, if unchecked, will destroy entirely our most valuable product. — The Coconut.

Energetic steps toward eradicating the scale have been taken by Governor H. B. Price, his associates, and by the energetic citizens of Guam. A sum of money for use in the fight has been sent out by the United States, infected areas have been partially cleared, much spraying has been done, and an educative programme is being carried on. Details of the campaign are given in the News columns. But constant, continuous vigilance is necessary, and any slackening of effort may permit the pest to gain such a hold as to render its extermination impossible. Every one must do his share in reporting infected trees, clearing bad areas, etc., for only by concerted action can the calamity be averted.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

A great philosopher once wrote that one of the principle differences between man and

the dumb beasts of the field, is that man can appreciate beauty. Man can get a keen enjoyment from beautiful things, a Sunset, a delicate wild flower, a Greek carving, or the lines of a race horse. The feeling can seldom be analysed, it must just be enjoyed, for on analysis a photograph of John Smith is more real, truer to life, than a marvellous painting, but the happiness of seeing a Raphael Madonna cannot be compared with the calm feeling of looking at a photograph.

Beauty itself cannot be defined, for beauty and its enjoyment depend not only on the object, but also on the person. Frequently the sense of beauty must be developed, and this is especially true in the appreciation of the beauty of literature. In no other line can a greater pleasure be experienced than in reading, in enjoying the thoughts of the minds of great writers. Also in no other line is there greater need of developing the sense of beauty, for while we may look at a painting without being able to paint, while we may be enraptured by melody without being a musician, we cannot enjoy literature without being able to read.

The answer is "Learn the English language," learn the vocabulary, learn the grammar, and use the knowledge in reading what great English writers have given us. One of the purposes of The Guam Recorder is to teach English by presenting items of interest in plain writing, so that the reader can obtain the ground work of the language, and can then advance. No language is more widely spoken than English, and no language has finer writings to offer. English is not easy to learn, the road is hard, but it is worth while learning.

Read The Guam Recorder every issue, and read other things also, study the language, find the meaning of unknown words in the dictionary, learn to read and speak, and then go further and enjoy the real beauties of the language. And while doing this, your education will be increased, your business ability will be improved, and you will be a better citizen of the community.

Appendix 6

Guam Recorder

English in the Schools of Guam

SEPTEMBER 1924

8-9

It is only through practice that fluency in a new language is attained. The mere learning of rules of grammar is not sufficient. Vocabulary, pronunciation, and inflection come largely through imitation repeated until fixed habits with reference to them have been formed.

The new course of study for Guam schools was written with this phase of classroom work given first emphasis. Three-fourths of all English work in our schools and not a word other than English is used in the schools. This is known as the direct method of teaching English. It has been employed in Guam during the last year and found satisfactory. The difficulties arising in the teaching of a foreign language to children, who in the first grade, do not understand a word spoken by teachers, are innumerable and little appreciated by most people who see our school-house, teachers, and pupils every day in Guam.

There is a special educational technique for teaching a new language which is far different in methods from that employed in teaching subject matter to pupils in their own language. In the special classes of foreign children in the large cities of America and in the schools of the Philippines and Porto Rico, this special educational technique has been amply demonstrated. Hundreds of thousands of children under the Stars and Stripes are taught the English language so effectively that they successfully carry on their entire school work in it after a remarkably short period of special teaching.

One of the best forces to cause children to speak English spontaneously is organized athletics wherein games are played under the close supervision of their teachers. The games that require no special numbers on teams and in which a whole class may take part, such as volley ball, newcomb, and indoor baseball played outside under the rules of rounders, would be of greatest value to the children of Guam. It should be mentioned in this connection that athletics serve as the best medium for inculcating a sense of fair play, close kin to honesty and truthfulness. The children of Guam are as alert and keen for play as any children though they have in the past not been given the opportunity that we hope to give them shortly. The fact that the element of play in school is a part of the direct method of teaching cannot be denied.

In view of the fact that English is learned by pupils through repeated imitation it is essential that teachers, first of all, should know the correct pronunciation. American teachers are employed in our schools in such a number as revenue will permit. There are fifteen American teachers. They are in so far as possible assigned to work in lower grades and in schools where they may reach the greatest number of children. The American teachers and qualified Chamorro teachers handle all phonetic and language work. This

requires that a modified form of departmental teaching be employed to permit such teachers to reach the greatest number of pupils.

There is a law in Guam which requires that English be spoken in all institutions of the Government by government employees during the hours of work each day. This assures cooperation of all offices with the Department of Education and is conducive to an interest in the study of the language.

To some people there naturally comes the question of the value of the knowledge of English to Chamorros. A few even doubt the wisdom of attempting such work.

This is American territory. The melting pot is a long way from the drop but some of its warmth has reached Guam. The substance should remain the same and only the good influences should reach Guam. The warmth of the pot is here, the public schools and the study of English. These are here as they have followed the flag elsewhere. It is American to have public schools where only English is taught. Americans have an obligation and such they have never shirked.

Ability to speak English helps Chamorros to learn of the big world outside. By it they are given access to the world's greatest literature. English is the commercial language of the world. The few who may visit other lands will be fortified in their knowledge of English. They will have the power to converse with foreign people and learn much, will be of further help to the people of Guam. English will bring to the people of Guam, through the public schools, a knowledge of sanitation and hygiene, which will enable them to live in a correct manner. This will result still more in the favorable increase in population. Along with such increase will come further and enforced economic development. With economic development will come more of the real pleasures of life. Through English will come a knowledge of fair play and a keen sense of honor such as the progenitors of Americans had at the time of the origin of the language and such is practiced by the American nations at the present time. With a knowledge of English under American tutorship will come a natural love for labor and industry by those who even come to think themselves educated. A knowledge of theoretical as well as practical agriculture is opened to all and through English under the present order of things, if continued, Guam should become one of the garden spots of the world.

FEBRUARY 1935

The Guam Recorder

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A Word to the Older Boys of Guam

by Daniel C. Dagget

In America, as in all Democratic countries, the theory is that every man is born equal. It is true that God has not provided all of us with the same efficient tools to work with but opportunity is given to all, no matter how humble his origin, and it is up to each of us to make the most of it. It is hoped that your schooling has impressed you with the fact that without AMBITION and INDUSTRY you will not be able to accomplish anything which will insure your future success in life.

It was men like Abraham Lincoln who contributed most in making the United States of America the powerful nation that it is today. Lincoln was born in a log cabin- the equivalent of the thatched hut still too common in Guam. He did not rise to his glorious position among the people of his Country by idleness during working hours. His days were devoted to industry and after the sun had set he could be seen lying on the floor in front of a fireplace and by its light pouring over books which he was too poor to buy but had to borrow. Lincoln became a master of the English language, as evidenced by his famous Gettysburg speech, which will live forever.

The writer has been impressed and disappointed by the knowledge that the English language is seldom spoken outside the school room by native born, young or old and this after thirty-five years of opportunity to acquire that language. He has passed groups of teachers and pupils, emerging from their school rooms: groups of young men on the streets or in public places and, without a single exception, all were conversing in the Chamorro language. The Government has generously provided you with the opportunity of acquiring the official language of Guam. Why not show your appreciation of the opportunity given you by adopting a more general use of the language which opens up to you the best literature of the world and places you on an equality with your American friends. Learn not only to speak without dialect, but to think in that language. Much faster progress towards the broadening of your minds as well as your vocabulary would be accomplished if, when you meet in groups, you would cultivate the habit of expressing your thoughts in the English language and enable you to correct your pronunciation to an extent that would enable you to overcome a dialect which is difficult, at times, for your American friends to understand.

At your age, lifetime habits of either indolence or industry are formed. Begin, while you are young, to think of the future before you and plan accordingly. There are plenty of opportunities on the Island for every inhabitant to become prosperous, happy and contented. Agriculture, of course, is the widest field for your activities. This is a broad field indeed and

embraces not only the planting of crops but extends into the raising of livestock, the growing of fruits and the making of copra, or all combined.

It is surprising to an outsider to see the amount of tillable land that has gone to waste on the Island and which, by a little industry could be turned into profitable ranches. At one time this Island supported a population of over fifty thousand people and it could do so today. At one time much coffee, of superior quality, was raised, not only sufficient to supply the home demand but there was a surplus for export. Double the amount of copra could be made from the trees now standing and it is thought that there will be a gradual increase in the market price of this product. Fishing should be encouraged for both land and sea will give a greater profit than the canned products now imported and the money will be kept at home.

The Government is always ready to lend a hand to those whose visions are backed by industry. Seek the advice of many of your native citizens who, by industry and good judgment have been successful.

As you are reaching manhood this is the time for you to determine whether you will be a "hanger on" or "a live producer" of that which will enable you to live on a higher plane of life than did your forefathers. It is up to you to make the future Guam a better place to live in. Many of you and your fathers are striving hard to do this and have accomplished much but there is more to do, do put your shoulders to the wheel and be ready to do your part in making good.

English in the Homes of Guam

By Lt. Comdr. R. F. Armknecht, (CEC), U.S.N.

A language is more than a means of communication. Every language partakes somewhat of the character of the country of its origin. Philologists have pointed out, for instance, that in southern Europe, where the climate is mild and living easy, the languages are liquid, musical, smoothly flowing. In the harsh climates of northern Europe, however, where life is a constant struggle against nature, language tends to be guttural, sometimes as rough as Boreas himself. But no matter what the language or where its origin, it is loved by those who speak it. In this, at least, the Chamorro tongue is no exception.

Chamorro is, to the casual ear, a strange mixture of sounds. It sounds, in fact, pretty much what it is; for the harsh, clipped, syllables of the ancient language have been mixed with the Spanish idiom to produce a hybrid tongue. Just why the original language should have had so much harshness seems difficult to explain until we realize that, even in these tropic isles, life among the ancients was anything but easy. There is, of course, no history of those centuries before the coming of the Spaniards, but by tradition and by the evidence of weapons exhumed from the old burials, peace was the exception rather than the rule, and if the populations were as numerous as is generally believed, economic existence must often have been a bitter struggle. The man whose hand propelled the taotaomona stone toward its point of impact on the skull of his enemy was no gentle soul. His language was doubtless as rough and uncouth as himself.

It must be remembered also that the early Chamorro probably borrowed generously from other eastern tongues, Tagalog and other Filipino languages and probably also from the Chinese. In Chinese, where one syllable must mean six or seven different things, depending upon voice inflection, a wide range of sounds, many of them strange to the occidental ear, must be produced. It is possible also that the conventional manner of speaking Chamorro, i.e., with a rising inflection at the end of each sentence, is employed because it fits the voice producing mechanism in the

Chamorro throat. A little listening will convince any careful observer that the average timbre of the Chamorro voice is different from the average timbre of the American or European voice, just as each of these in turn differs from, for example, the timbre of the average Japanese voice.

The fact remains, however, that the Chamorros are perfectly capable of speaking English with a "standard" American accent. It must be recognized that there are in the United States several distinctly different, yet generally approved local manners of speaking. The genial commanding officer of the naval hospital, for instance, with his North Carolina drawl, speaks English quite as correctly as his head of the x-ray department, whose accent is that of an educated Bostonian. Both of their accents, as well as that of the dental officer, who has a distinct Oklahoma twang, may be regarded as "standard" American, although each is distinctly different from either of the others.

Various natives of Guam, particularly those who have received a part of their education in the United States, speak "standard" American English. The fact that they are able to do so is proof that any Chamorro, by diligent application, can closely approach this standard. It is no easy task, for the tendency to apply the soft Spanish slurs to the consonants and to pronounce the vowels in the Spanish manner is difficult to eradicate. But the total eradication of Spanish characteristics from English as spoken in Guam is by no means necessary. The English speaking natives of Guam today speak an English of greater vocal purity than the average English as spoken in the Philippines. Filipino English, in fact, is probably standardizing itself as another "standard" English, valid in those islands, although differing in many ways from mainland English. In Guam, however, the eventual "standard" English will probably be very much closer to the average mainland pronunciation. This is true because of the great number of Americans present on the island in relation to the whole population, and the fact that American movies are setting a mainland

literature, although nothing to compare with the magnificence of English in this respect.

In spite of the relative vocabular poverty of the Chamorro tongue, in spite of the fact that it has no place in the administrative affairs of the island, in spite of the fact that there is no political necessity for its retention, we may expect that Chamorro will be spoken in Guam for generations not yet born. But this clinging to the old language will be bought at a price, for while it is perfectly possible to speak both English and Chamorro correctly and effectively, it is a tremendous handicap for children not to hear English spoken in the home and to wait to make their first acquaintance with it upon entrance to public school.

The reaction to English instruction in the schools varies widely throughout the island. Children attending city schools hear a great deal more English outside of school. But all too often children from the ranches attend school from the first to the sixth grade without hearing any language but Chamorro in their homes. After leaving school and returning to the ranch they drop English entirely. Many of these children have fine intelligences, but their exposure to instruction in English is too brief to give them any command of the language and they forget all too quickly once school is over. This sort of tragedy happens all over the world. In the United States many fine minds are wasted because they are not able to afford higher education. But in Guam, where the need for trained men and women is so very great, and where opportunities for such persons are so widespread, it seems particularly unfortunate. It is more than a personal tragedy, it is something that affects the whole development of the island by the Chamorro people.

It is not enough merely to attend school where English is taught. To benefit from the great store of knowledge available in English books, there must be sufficient command of the language to read readily and understandingly. It is impossible to employ English as an efficient tool for

learning until English has become a language of thought rather than a language of translation. So long as native thinks in Chamorro, his English will be an unsatisfactory tool, whether for reading or for writing. The ability to think in English is therefore a prime requirement, and it is this ability that must be fostered in every possible way.

The schools of Guam are doing their best to inculcate sound English. In this they are somewhat handicapped by the inability of some of the teachers to speak English up to mainland standards. An example of this was the singing of "America" at the Decoration Day exercises. Certain individuals in the group of teachers may have pronounced the word "liberty" in the American fashion, but the accumulated effect was "leeber-ty," giving the Spanish values to the vowels. But as I have pointed out before, this is no major handicap. English spoken with Spanish vowel sounds is understandable English, useful English, and the eventual English of Guam is likely to retain at least a part of this local idiom. On the whole it may be said that the present school system is performing its functions with considerable efficiency, an efficiency that will grow more rapidly as more and more English is spoken in the homes.

The other general public activity for Guam outside of school is the church. At present the majority of the sermons are in Chamorro; but we may look for a gradual trend toward English as the older members of the congregation die out. Much of the catechism school instruction is already done in English, and thus assists in training the youth of the island in that language. The small Protestant community is a leader in this respect, since it conducts all its Agana services in English, although Chamorro is still necessary for services in some of the outlying districts.

But English in church and public school is not sufficient for the thorough grounding which is necessary if that language is to serve as a means of further learning. English must be constantly heard, constantly spoken, especially where child-

standard of pronunciation which tends more and more to be followed.

The influence of sound motion pictures in standardizing English pronunciation is bound to be considerable. It is felt not only in Guam, but wherever pictures of English or American manufacture are shown. But in Guam, where there are so many Americans present, it is daily contact with the latter which will be of the greatest assistance in bringing Guam English to a satisfactory norm.

There can be no doubt but that the use of English in Guam increases daily. One hears occasional English conversations on the street, something unheard of a few years ago. There is a constant infiltration of English words into the Chamorro vocabulary, and the Chamorro is quite likely to say "O.K." for *mauleg* (good) or for *esta* (ready). But the steady growth in the use of English does not mean that Chamorro is likely to be abandoned in the next generation or so. It must be remembered that Chamorro survived two hundred fifty years of contact with Spanish, merely adapting Spanish words to fill out its deficiencies. But there was no universal public schooling in the Spanish days, nor was there any sharing of administrative powers, nor the training of Chamorros for good positions in the government service as there are today. But it is interesting and valuable to try to predict the future

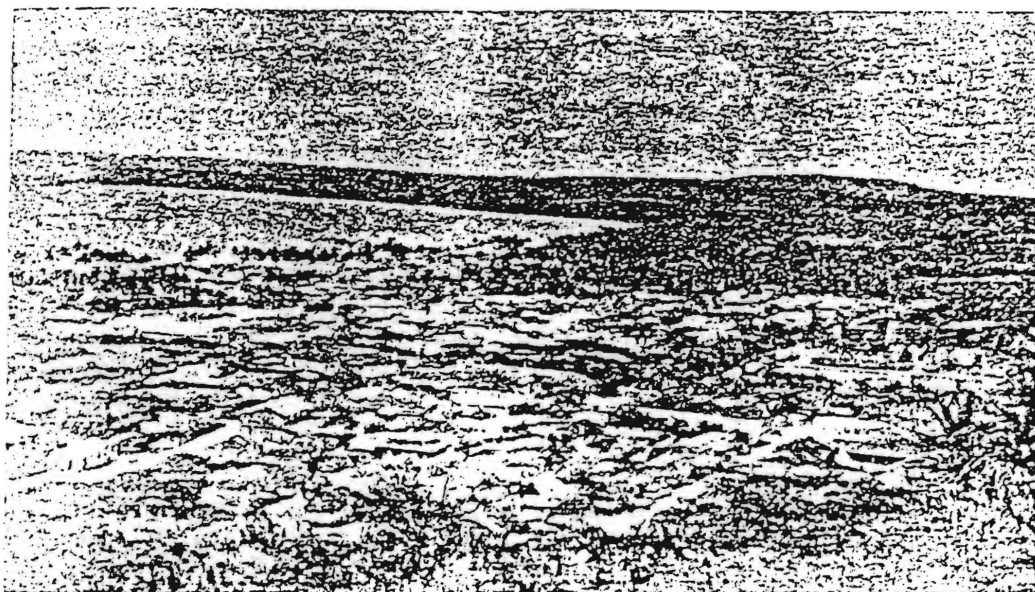
balance of power between the two languages, for to do this our first consideration must be the relative resources of the languages.

In spite of much borrowing from the Spanish Chamorro remains a language poor in vocabulary. The total number of words used in Chamorro, as spoken in Guam probably does not exceed one thousand. Compare this with the half-million words listed in the Unabridged English Dictionary and we obtain some idea of the relative values of the languages as vehicles for writing or speech.

Besides its vocabulary deficiencies, Chamorro has no literature. Literature is stored wisdom, and the tool required to unlock the greatest store of wisdom in any language is English. A language without a considerable development of literature can obviously do little for the advancement of the people who use it, since without written records the growth of knowledge is severely limited.

Another curious lack in Guam's native tongue is the dearth of songs. Perhaps there were songs in the old days, but they have been forgotten for Spanish or English ones. If there were such songs they would constitute another reason for continuing the use of Chamorro. Since Chamorro has no song, no literature, and an impoverished vocabulary, we must look elsewhere for reasons for retaining it.

Undoubtedly the most potent reason for using



Chamorro in Guam today is that it is the native language and is loved as such by the Chamorro people. It is true also that many of the elders do not understand English, and in their presence Chamorro is spoken of necessity. But there are other general considerations which lead a population to cling to a separate language. One of these is to increase the solidarity, the feeling of national unity. An example of this is the adoption by Eire under the De Valera regime of the ancient language of Ireland. De Valera's idea in substituting the ancient Gaelic or Erse for the English spoken by the great majority of the people was to promote in them a feeling of solidarity against the English. Erse was used to counteract absorption of the Irish by the English and to perpetuate those differences dear to the Irish heart. The fact that Erse was highly inconvenient and was understood by less than half of the Irish did not prevent De Valera from adopting it. But even though Erse is moderately well off as to vocabulary and has a considerable body of literature, both ancient and modern, it is still obvious that the attempts in Ireland to supplant English with the ancient tongue are political rather than practical, and are contrary to the persistent trend toward communication in world-wide languages.

With or without the Chamorro language the Chamorro people are a closely-knit group. The

fact that they have lived together on this island for so many centuries and are so closely knitted in their family relationships gives them a solidarity above that of many races. Whether they speak Chamorro or change to the more utilitarian English, they will still be a closely-knit and unified people. There is no political necessity, therefore, for retention of the Chamorro language.

But languages do persist. Chamorro is not likely to disappear from Guam at any time in the near future. There are too many examples to the contrary in other parts of the world. In Spain, for instance, while the language we call Spanish is universally used for official communication, there are at least four other languages in general use in various sections of the country. One of these is Basque, which is not even a romance language in its origin. In the Basque country Basque is spoken at home, but Spanish is used for official functions. Another example is the persistence of the Welsh language in Wales. All Welshmen speak English, but many of them are also fluent in the original Cymraeg, this in spite of hundreds of years of direct association with England. One reason for this survival of Welsh language is its richness in song. The Welsh love to sing, and many of their favorite songs are in the old language. Welsh also has a respectable

(Continued on page 165)



ren are present. For these children will live in a Guam where English is ever more necessary, not only for business and for governmental functions, but also for culture. Culture is impossible in Chamorro, and the Spanish culture never reached the island in sufficient quantities, but already much of the richness of centuries of English literature and learning is available in our libraries, public and private, on the island. Technical books are more difficult to find than those on general cultural subjects, but the number of correspondence courses being pursued is indicative of the interest in this type of learning. More technical books must be acquired, and this will doubtless be done as the need becomes more pressing. But whatever the type of knowledge, we may be certain that a ready command of English will be essential, and this command of the language will be acquired with less difficulty by those who hear English spoken in their homes.

It is hardly to be expected that English will soon be adopted as the home language in more than a small percentage of Chamorro homes. But if even a few (and these are bound to be from that part of the population best equipped to profit by higher education) are able to make this change they will be a nucleus from which future leaders of the island may be drawn. The other homes will, of course, continue to produce a share of such leadership, but it seems obvious that the greater relative proportion will come from the English-speaking homes.

It is certain that even now a native who speaks only Chamorro is strictly limited in his advancement. There is no hard and fast rule in this respect, but a workman who understands only Chamorro is practically limited to laborer ratings, so far as public employment is concerned.

The economic advantages of English are unmistakable; the cultural advantages are plain; but habit and tradition are difficult to overcome. The Chamorro tongue will not be easily displaced in the homes of Guam, but those homes where it is less frequently used will find themselves in the front ranks of the Guam of the future. This is not fantasy but certainty; and it presents a problem which each family must solve for itself, for the benefit of its members and for the future of our island.

Appendix 9

The following generalizations found in the Final Report (Broadbent, July, 1975)

- 1) Most children who are exposed to the bilingual program learn to read and write in Chamorro. Those who do not participate do not learn these skills. This conclusion was reached from several years of testing using Chamorro language instruments. In the last years of the project, the difficulty encountered by the control groups on such test instruments indicated a foregone conclusion and precluded their use for reasons that are obvious.
- 2) Children exposed to the bilingual program learn to read and write in English as well as children in monolingual programs. In some cases, they learn at a more rapid rate. A similar pattern exists with regard to general achievement.
- 3) In the view of most parents, many teachers and the overwhelming majority of administrators, Chamorro children in the bilingual program develop a greater sense of cultural awareness and appreciation for their tradition than they would otherwise. This conclusion was derived from interviews with administrators, teachers and representative members of the community.
- 4) Children in the bilingual program seem to be more animated than those in regular classrooms. The level of intellectual curiosity also appears to be greater than most traditional classrooms. This conclusion is deemed from systematic observations previously reported.

- 5) Children exposed to bilingual observation from the outset of their academic careers appear to derive "value added" and "long range" effects with regards to Chamorro language proficiency. However, Chamorro speaking children who enter the curriculum in later primary years also tend to benefit.
- 6) Children in bilingual education, through grade four at least, feel good about themselves, are reasonably motivated and demonstrate efficaciousness. However, so are other Chamorro children in Guamanian schools at this age.
- 7) Bilingual education is uniquely suited to the needs of some students, particularly the majority of Chamorro youngsters in Guam who are truly bilingual. However, this is not true for everyone. Many children who are not Chamorro- English bilinguals might do better assigned to alternate language arts activities." (Klein: 75-76)

Don't be **doffe'**

By Mike Cruz

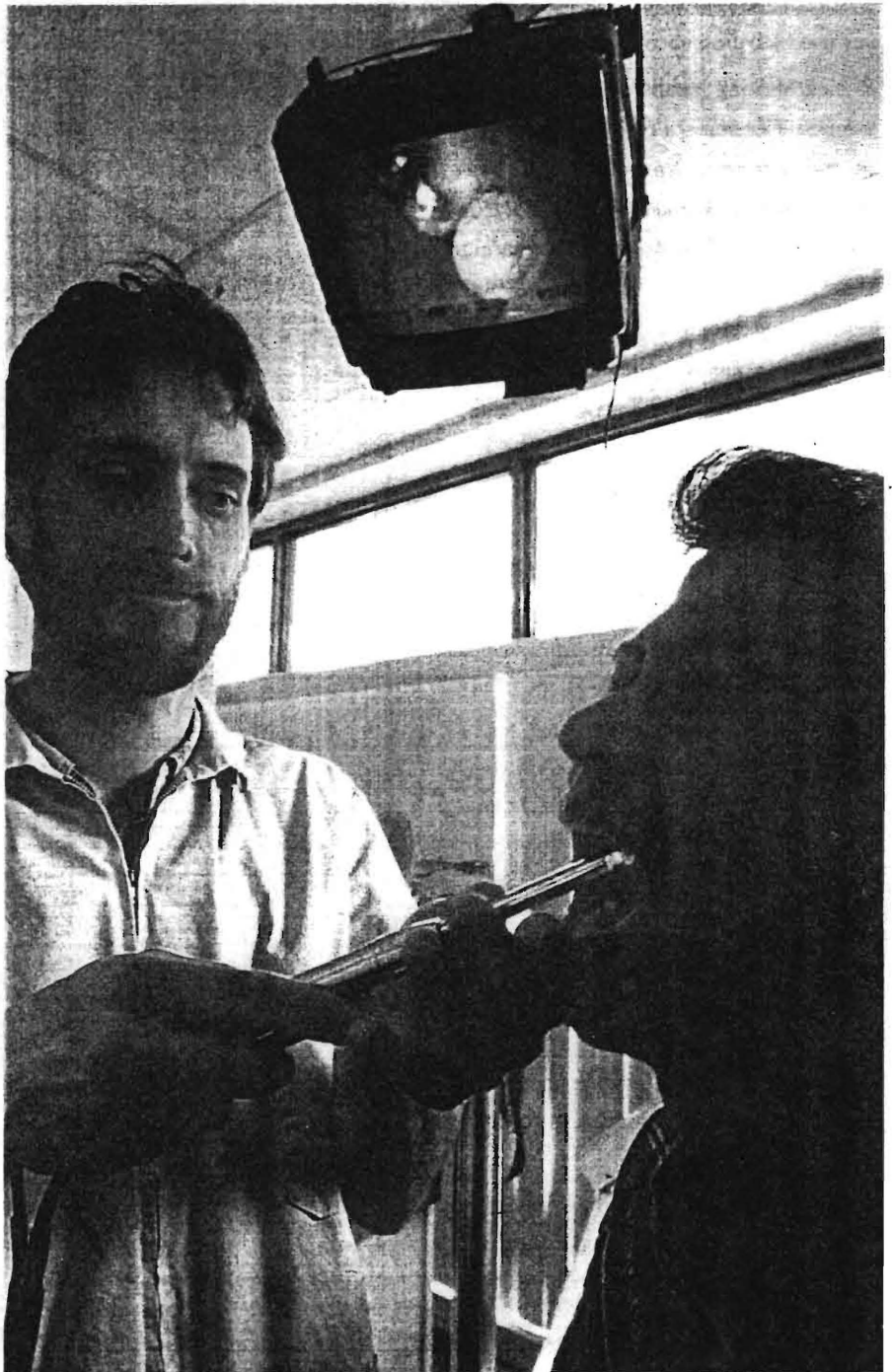
If you can't decide on a New Year's resolution, you may want to start with what's right under your nose. Why not begin taking better care of your teeth this year, especially now that the holidays are behind you?

Local dentist John Sule says many dental problems, such as tooth decay are preventable. He says people need to understand the root cause of tooth decay — not sugary foods but how sugar is processed in the mouth.

Sule says the mouth naturally contains different bacteria. One type, Strep Mutans, is the main villain in tooth decay. This bacterium digests sugars from the foods you eat and in the process creates an acidic waste product. This acid then eats away at the enamel on teeth. If allowed to continue, you get tooth decay.

The traditional method for fighting off decay is to brush your teeth daily. Sounds simple, but people usually don't brush frequently enough. Sule says it's important to brush at least twice a day, preferably three times, using toothpaste containing fluoride; flossing and rinsing with an anti-cavity dental rinse will increase your chances of reducing tooth decay.

Fluoride makes its way into little cracks and crevices in the enamel of teeth, Sule says. The fluoride, in conjunction with calcium, strengthens teeth, making them more resistant to bacterial penetration.



Patients can expect to get more than that irritating bright light in their eyes, as the monitor allows them to see things from another perspective at Gentle Care dental clinic in Tamuning.

In addition to having dental procedures explained to them, clients are afforded a more interesting way of becoming involved — they can watch what's happening in their mouths.

Flossing helps remove plaque between teeth. Sule says plaque contains large concentrations of bacteria and serves as a food source for bacteria.

An anti-cavity dental rinse such as ACT contains fluoride to help strengthen teeth enamel. Sule says this type of rinse also helps reduce decay-producing bacteria in the mouth.

Sule, who says he's certified in Guam, Hawaii, California and Alaska, owns Gentle Care dental clinic. The clinic not only boasts the latest in dental technology but also strives to involve clients in every step of their dental care.

In addition to having dental procedures explained to them, clients are afforded a more interesting way of becoming involved — they can watch what's happening in their mouths. Through the use of intra-oral cameras, clients can actually watch dental work as it's being done. But if clients prefer, they can watch a dental education tape, a cable channel or their favorite video.

Sule says people should visit their dentists about every three months, especially after getting a thorough cleaning — what he calls maintenance work — to decrease their risk of tooth decay. He adds that everyone should have healthy and beautiful teeth, and gums — and they should last a lifetime.

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Manamko' in **motion**

By Melissa A. Calvo

For many people reaching 60 years or older, exercise is often misunderstood. It's considered unpleasant work or something that occurs when you're watering the plants, sweeping the floor, feeding the chickens, or walking outside to pick up the newspaper.

But there are a growing number of older adults who are realizing that these light activities may not be enough to improve their health or make the aging process more comfortable.

Julienne Duenas, a physical therapist at FHP, suggests a few exercises that are

safe for elderly people who do not have major health complications.

"Walking is good because it's a weight-bearing exercise that helps to make our bones more dense," she says, explaining that this can help prevent osteoporosis, a common disorder among the elderly that is characterized by fragile bones.

She advises seniors to walk at least three times a week and to start slow, warming up for five minutes before a rigorous workout.

Also, use comfortable shoes that are a

half size larger than your foot, Duenas says. "Your foot expands ... (so) you need ample room. It can get sore and if you're older, you can get an infection."

Slow, stationary stretching is another good activity for seniors because as you get older, you lose flexibility, she says. Move all joints to their full motion and to the point of slight discomfort, but not so it's painful.

Don't bounce when you stretch, she adds. "If you're older, you tend to overstretch and (may) actually tear muscle."

Other less stressful cardiovascular



It's electric! These senior citizens prefer to dance their way to fitness.



Photo by Franklin J. Perez

Here **she** is

Alia Tui Stevens, left, is the latest young woman to join Guam's version of royalty — on April 9 she was crowned Miss Guam Universe 1995. Also joining her in her royal court was first runner-up Marie Penrose and second runner-up Jennifer Chennaux. Among the trophies Stevens will get to throw in her treasure chest is a round-trip ticket to South Africa, where she will represent the island in the international competition.

LATTE MAGAZINE 13 MAY 1995

The **reign** of La Raina



Guam's senior citizen centers celebrated their annual royal celebration at the Palace Hotel ballroom May 5. This year's reigning queen is Rosario C. Cruz of Inarajan. Cruz is the latest recipient of the honor. The event is sponsored by the GovGuam Association of Retired Persons and Servicio Para i Manamko'. The coronation of a Rai and Raina has been an ongoing event since 1982.

This year's celebration was minus the Rai because contenders for that seat were not able to raise enough money to qualify.

Appendix 13

Welcome to Guam!

New Kmart managers were offered a taste of Guam when various unplanned events threatened to delay the May 11 grand opening of their Tamuning store. "Nothing happened the way it should have," jokes Dennis Ferree, general manager of the new store. Ferree — who has worked in 10 different Kmart stores during his 13-year career with the Kmart Corp. — says the retailer faced leaking pipes and other unexpected mishaps while preparing for the store opening. The store's new employees quickly adapted and were able to meet their deadline.

LATTE MAGAZINE 13 JUNE 1995

Taking on the world

Jolyn Munoz was chosen to be this year's Guam representative at the 1995 Miss World Beauty Pageant scheduled for Nov. 18 at Sun City, South Africa.

Munoz also won honors in Best Evening Gown, Best Swimsuit and Best Native Costume.

Other winners of the pageant were: First runner-up Charlyne Oliver; Second runner-up Ivey Marie A. Japitana; Third runner-up and Miss Photogenic Nicolamarie Blas; and Miss Congeniality Tamara Maria Chargualaf.

The Miss Guam World Pageant was held July 26 at the SandCastle.



For the pageant, Jolyn won the title of Miss Guam.

Choir **recordings** coming to a store near you

The island's newest recording artists just might be a few of the people in your neighborhood.

The Archdiocese of Guam is sponsoring and producing a two-volume compact disc and cassette tape, which will feature 22 musical selections recorded by choirs from the island's Catholic church parishes and the Department of Correction's Freedom Bound Chorale.

The project should be finished this month, and ready for distribution next month, says Flo Shimizu, public rela-

tions coordinator for Catholic Educational Radio. The musical collection will highlight Christian music sung in various languages including English, Chamoru, Filipino and Korean.

The compact discs and cassettes should be available in all major and smaller retail shops around island beginning next month.

"It's been really rewarding," Shimizu says. "It's a lot of hard work. ... Some recordings lasted as long as three hours and some seven hours."

The choirs were comprised of people of all ages, from children to senior citizens, Shimizu says.

And besides the 22 songs available to the public, the choirs recorded another 22 songs, which will be played throughout the year on the radio station, which can be found at 90.9 on your FM dial.

And this is just the beginning, Sanchez says. She foresees a songfest in the near future, as well as another recording project for the Christmas season.

I'm too sexy

TEXT BY THERESE ANN P. DIAZ
PHOTOGRAPHY
BY MANNY CRISOSTOMO

TRANSGENDERED

One who switches gender roles, whether just once, or many times or will. Inclusive term for transsexuals and transvestites.

TRANSVESTITE

One who regularly cross dresses for pleasure in the appearance and sensation. The pleasure may not be directly erotic. It may be empowering, rebellious, or something else. May feel comfortable in a focused transgender role while cross dressed. May occasionally experience gender dysphoria.

TRANSSEXUAL

One who switches physical sexes (usually just once, but there are exceptions.) Primary sex change is accomplished by surgery.



Left to right;
Roxie,
Marissa,
Patricia,
Anna,
Charlene,
Joanne,
Monique,
Regine,
Irmani

for...

MISS GAY GUAM 1994

Guam's transgendered community mostly comprises a tightly knit coterie that revels in flaunting their femininity at the annual Miss Gay Guam, Supermodel of the World, Pageant. The August pageant, which is sponsored by The Underground Network, is a fund-raising event that will benefit Grace House (through the Coral Life Foundation), a residential home for homeless HIV-positive and AIDS patients. The contestants — all transsexual — are as varied personality, psychic and physicality, but all are proud to be who they are.

ANNA, 21

What has winning the 1994 title of Miss Gay Guam done for you?

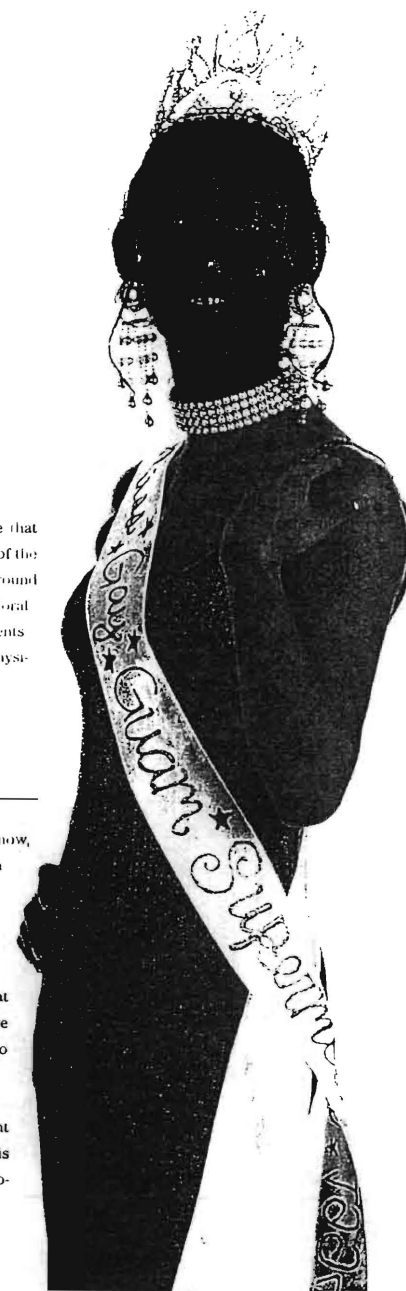
It helped me evaluate myself more, to know myself more better. ... As you know, I'm a drag queen and by that competition, I gained a lot of courage and enough confidence (to say to the world), 'Here I am, you can't put me down, I have the title.' I've shown in every aspect, in everything you do in your life, you make it the best. Do it to your very best.

What would you like to tell the next winner?

I just wish her not to be scared of all the criticisms because I do believe that everyone is born a critic. And just have confidence and faith in herself because I do believe that each individual ... is created equal and everyone is special. I do believe that we're special.

What are your plans for the future?

Probably go back to school and pursue a college degree in psychology. I want to help people ... there are a lot of people who are undergoing an identity crisis right now. Especially in the year 2000, a lot of things will be changing ... and people are changing.





Official Languages Spoken Only

Appendix 18

ENGLISH & CHAMORRO

Reference: Director's Memorandum
dated 7 December 1994.
(1 GCA CH 7 S706)

(Thank You for your courtesy.)