

Language Revitalization Study:

Giha Mås Mo'na (Planning for the Future of Fino' CHamoru in Guåhan)

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Overview of Study

The origin of this study lies in a contract from the Kumisión i Fino' CHamoru yan i Fina'nã'guen i Historia yan i Lina'la' i Taotao Tãno' in September 2020 to conduct a language revitalization study that will address and recommend how to maximize efforts to revitalize and increase the usage of the CHamoru language as needed for the Kumisión. The scope of services as outlined in the contract were to address: a). transmission of language, b). resource development and training, c). archive of CHamoru language, and d). role of language. To accomplish this goal, I have divided this language revitalization study into three distinct sections.

The first section of the study acts as an introduction to the primary issues being discussed throughout the document, and articulates the operational definition of terms to be used. An introduction to the CHamoru language is also included in this section from the linguistic classification of the language, the history of language loss, the history of language policy in Guam, and a discussion of the current state of the language. Additionally, an overview of language endangerment, language vitality factors, and language revitalization is provided to situate Fino' CHamoru in the global conversation on language revitalization.

The second section of the study is “Håfa Guaguaha Pã'go?” This section is dedicated towards identifying and analyzing the major actors in language revitalization today. By this, I refer to a comprehensive examination of what currently exists related to language policies, language revitalization tools, and organizational/institutional support.

The third section of the study is entitled “Para Månu Hit Mo'na?” This section will be a treatment of all recommendations for proper language revitalization. This can serve as the basis for future language revitalization efforts and will also be categorized according to priority and who are the possible actors involved in each recommendation.

Introduction

The CHamoru language, or Fino' CHamoru, is the language of the indigenous CHamoru people of the Mariana Islands. Fino' CHamoru is linguistically an Austronesian language and is not a “dialect” of another language. As the indigenous language of the CHamoru people, the language deserves prominent time and resources aimed at its revitalization. In this introduction, a short history of the language and the current state of the language is explored to provide context to the reader. Furthermore, a discussion on the global problem of language endangerment and language revitalization is included to orient the reader to the basics of these concepts and their application to Fino' CHamoru.

I. Brief History of Fino' CHamoru in Guam

CHamorus have undergone four waves of colonization or occupation. Language is a critical component of a people's culture, epistemology, and sense of self. Thus, every wave of colonization or occupation treated the CHamoru language in a particular way. For the Spanish, Fino' CHamoru was viewed as a method of Catholicization. The Spanish used the language as a tool to convert CHamorus to Christianity. The Spanish priests believed that the native language was a primary method of gaining the trust of and subsequently converting the indigenous population. For example, Pãle' San Vitores learned Fino' CHamoru while on a ship and used it immediately when he arrived in Guam in 1668 for his mission of Catholicization. As Bevacqua notes, “San Vitores, aided by his knowledge of the CHamoru language, would extol the virtues of his God through sermons and songs, and many CHamorus, intrigued by these new visitors, agreed to be converted or have their children baptized.”¹

During this period, many Spanish words were added to the vocabulary of Fino' CHamoru as new objects and ideas were introduced. While this did not eliminate Fino' CHamoru as a primary language of the population, it did result in Spanish loanwords being used in lieu of Austronesian words in contemporary Fino' CHamoru. To put it another way, Spanish colonization's primary effect on the language today was the introduction of new terms which ended up replacing Austronesian CHamoru terms in daily use. The Spanish colonial period **DID NOT** result in the death of the language or make the language a “dialect” of

¹ Michael Lujan Bevacqua, “Transmission of Christianity into CHamoru Culture,” last modified January 28, 2020, <https://www.guampedia.com/transmission-of-christianity-into-chamorro-culture/>

Spanish as some purport in Guam today. To quote linguist Donald Topping, “There was wholesale borrowing of Spanish words and phrases into Chamorro, and there was even some borrowing from the Spanish sound system. But this borrowing was linguistically superficial. The bones of the Chamorro language remained intact; a little Spanish flesh was added through vocabulary borrowing, but Chamorro remained basically Chamorro.”² To be clear, this is from a linguistic perspective, and not on the larger societal, political, spiritual, and cultural effects of the Spanish colonization of the island. That analysis is beyond the scope of this study.

The Spanish would lose the islands as a result of the Spanish-American War in 1898 and a permanent American naval presence in the island would begin a year later in 1899. This initial American occupation of the island from 1899-1941 was characterized by a deliberate attempt at the Anglicization of the CHamorus of Guam. The American navy implemented policies aimed at discouraging the use of Fino’ CHamoru, and these were pushed by the naval governor of the island, the highest-ranking naval officer in the island who had rather complete governance power over the island. A primary example of this is General Order No. 12 ordered by naval governor Richard Leary to provide instruction for the children in English. Per the order, it was expected that “the present force of native teachers will cheerfully and harmoniously cooperate with the teachers of English that the greatest benefits may be derived by both scholars and preceptors.”³ Leary’s subsequent order was General Order No. 13. According to this order, “All residents are recommended to utilize every available opportunity to learn how to read, write and speak the English language, thereby improving their own mental condition as well as preparing themselves for assisting their children who are required by law to attend school.”⁴ These initial policies set the stage for subsequent naval treatment of Fino’ CHamoru. Almost twenty years later, General Order No. 243 took a sterner approach to the suppression of the language. The order stated, “Chamorro must not be spoken except for official interpreting...No person shall be employed in an Island office who cannot understand English and speak it fluently.”⁵

These General Orders were not the only form of language oppression experienced during this time. Speaking Fino’ CHamoru was banned in social domains such as the baseball field (which was growing in popularity) and most importantly, in the school system. One hears

² Donald M. Topping and Bernadita Dungca, *Chamorro Reference Grammar*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1973), 6.

³ Michael Clement, “English and Chamorro Language Policies,” *Guampedia*, accessed November 25, 2013, <http://guampedia.com/us-naval-era-language-policies/>.

⁴ U.S. Navy Department, *General Order No. 13*, by Richard P. Leary, Agana, GU: U.S. Navy Department, 1900.

⁵ R. Smith, “General Order No. 243,” *Guam Newsletter*, July 1917, 6. .

stories of children of the time being punished or reprimanded for speaking the language. One example was the “ticket” system of punishment. Students who spoke Fino’ CHamoru during school were given a special ticket. If another student spoke Fino’ CHamoru, the previous student would pass the ticket on to this other student who spoke the language. At the end of the day, whomever was holding the ticket would face some form of corporal punishment, usually spanking, by their teachers. This would be eventually phased out with monetary fines.⁶ An excerpt from an interview with Estella Meno Gofigan who was born in 1935 and experienced these language policies after World War II helps to illuminate the personal aspect of these language policies and issues. She says,

Anggen kumuentos hao Fino’ CHamoru, toka hao. An guaha salape’-mu, un apâsi. Anggen tâya’, ma na’fañaosao hao blackboard, ma na’famballe hao gi hilo’ i satge. Annai umeskuela yu’ gi 1st grade, ti hu tungo’ nai Fumino’ Ingles. Yanggen malago’ yu’ bai hu kuentos, debi di bai hu Fino’ CHamoru ya todû i tiempo ma saosaolak yu’ sa’ tâya’ salape’-hu. Un biahi ha’, ma chule’ i salape’-hu para i simana ayu singko sentimos para soup, ya ma chule’ todû gi fine’nana biahi na hu kefumino’ CHamoru, pues annai esta ma punish yu’ nu ayu, ma fa’nu’i yu’ ni salape’-hu. Ti hu tungo’ nai kao manmasangâni na ti debi di u famfino’CHamoru i famagu’on nu i maneskuekuela. Ti hu tungo’ nai hâyi sumangâni siha, kao i ma’gas eskuela pat siha manmalago’ na bai in fanmalâte’ ya bai in tingo’ mamfino’ Ingles. Lao makkat ayu, un año hu tungo’ fumino’ Ingles. Put i gaige i Amerikanu gi tano’, debi di ta tungo’ i lengguâhen-ñiha sa’ mañasaga gi tano’, lao an gaige ham gi gima’-mâmi, mamfino’CHamomoru ham todû i tiempo, ti mamfino’ingles ham. Anggen malak eskuela hao, ayu ha’ na mamfino’ingles ham. Ayu i malago-ñiha nai na para bai in tingo’ fino’ ingles.⁷

⁶ Clement, “English and Chamorro Language Policies”

⁷ Personal interview Estella Meno Gofigan conducted in August 2013 as cited in Kuper 2014.

If you spoke CHamoru, shame on you. If you had money, you would pay. If you had none, they would make you wipe the blackboards or sweep the top of the floors. When I was going to school and in the 1st grade, I did not know how to speak English. If I wanted to talk, I could only use CHamoru, and all the time they would whip/spank me because I had no money. One time, I took money to school for one week to buy soup, which cost five cents at the time, and they took all my money the first time I spoke CHamoru. After they were done punishing me like this, they would flaunt and show me my money. I did not know whether they were told that the children at school could not speak CHamoru. I do not know who told them this, was it their boss at the school or were they the ones who wanted us (exclusive) to be smart and for us to learn the English language, but it was hard for me. It took me one year just to start speaking the English language. There at school, they would fence certain areas and there would be signs that said “English speaking area, ENGLISH!” The Americans were staying in our land and we had to learn the English language, but if we were at our home, we were speaking CHamoru all the time. If we were at school that was the only time we spoke English. That was their want and desire, for us to know English.

This would be a story shared by now-elders who were educated during this period. To summarize this period, “The US navy created an environment in which Chamorros were constantly pressured into giving up their language.”⁸ While the Japanese brutally occupied Guam for almost three years, there was not a significant effect on Fino’ CHamoru due to Japanese language policies. Their main preoccupation was on the punishment of English as it reflected the West. However, the CHamoru experience of this gruesome occupation would have great ramifications for language shift.

After World War II and the American re-taking of the island, Fino’ CHamoru began to face its sharpest decline to the present. Despite the many language policies of the first wave of American colonialism, Fino’ CHamoru was still widely spoken at this time. This would serve as a continued nuisance for American naval officials. A primary example is Adelbert Althouse, who was naval governor of the island from 1922-1923. Althouse “favored the continued acculturation of Guam residents to American ways through education.”⁹ During his time as governor, the burning of CHamoru-English dictionaries was ordered due to frustration that “few school children could speak English with any degree of efficiency.”¹⁰ Overall, the American attempt to produce language shift to English was not completely successful before the war. After World War II, this changed substantially. Prior to the war, CHamorus did not identify strongly as Americans and while there was a push for citizenship, this was not necessarily widespread throughout the population. This would have implications for language shift from Fino’ CHamoru to English.

To put it another way, the CHamoru experience during the Japanese occupation provided an impetus for a shift in CHamoru political subjectivity. Many CHamorus, due to a liberation discourse, began to identify as Americans. As Michael Lujan Bevacqua and I note, “From the ashes of war, however, Chamorros emerged fundamentally different, with a profound gratitude to the USA for expelling the Japanese. There was now a strong desire to Americanize and become closer to the USA, which finally pushed the Chamorro language to its current state of endangerment.”¹¹ This was supplemented via a material change in the island after the war from a subsistence economy to the implementation of a cash economy. As Robert

⁸ Kenneth Gofigan Kuper and Michael Bevacqua, “Gefpã’go na Dinagi: Decolonization and the Chamorro Language of Guam,” *Self-determinable Development of Small Islands*, edited by Ishihara, M., Hoshino, H, and Fujita, Yoko, 257 Okinawa: Springer, 2016. pg. 257

⁹ “America on Guam - 1898-1950,” *War in the Pacific*, May 8, 2005, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/wapa/adhi/adhi3a.htm

¹⁰ Clement, “English and Chamorro Language Policies”

¹¹ Kuper & Bevacqua, “Decolonization and the Chamorro Language of Guam,” pg. 257

Underwood argues, “The message of English and its impact of occupational success was given prior to the war but had little chance for application in the subsistence economy. The post-war occupational picture seemed to validate in dollars and cents this component of the ideology.”¹² This all cemented with the conscious choice by many CHamoru parents to not speak to their children in Fino’ CHamoru. To return to Estella Meno Gofigan,

Sa’ i kinemprende-ku na yanggen un tungo’ fino’ ingles, siempre gos malâte’ hao gi eskuela, lao hu sodda’ pã’go na lachi ayu na tiningo’. Lao ayugue, para u na’ malâtetete’ fumino’ingles ha’ todû i tiempo. Annai umeskuela lokkue’ ti hu gefungo’ fino’ ingles, lao annai hu tungo’, sisten pari, fia yu’ humanao kumompetision sa’ malâte’ yu’. Lao ayugue na guaha ha’ gi matto gi hinasso-ku na anggen un tungo’ fumino’ingles, malâtetete’ hao siempre gi hilo’ tâno’. Ayugue na ti hu fa’nã’gue i dos patgon-hu fumino’CHamoru ya manlalâlâlô’ pã’go nu Guãhu.¹³

For many parents raising their children after the war, English became the language of intergenerational transmission at the expense of Fino’ CHamoru. To be clear, Fino’ CHamoru remained the language of communication amongst this demographic but no longer became the language they taught their children. One continues to see this when (grand)parents who speak the language converse with each other in Fino’ CHamoru, yet switch to English when speaking to their (grand)children. This remains the case for a majority of the population in Guam today as will be elucidated further below.

II. Current State of Language Speakers

The effect of this history is palpable today. According to the 2010 Census, only 16% of the population of Guam reported to have spoken Fino’ CHamoru. As displayed in the table below, out of a population of 159,358 in 2010, only 25,827 reported to have spoken the language. Yet, even this may be overinflated. The absolute number of speakers can be misleading at times and can possibly skew how much time is left to revitalize the language.

¹² Robert Underwood, “American education and the acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam,” (University of Southern California, 1987).

¹³ Gofigan interview as cited in Kuper 2014. Because my understanding was that if you knew the English language, you would definitely be smart at school, but I found that this is not true today. However, that is why (in reference to not teaching my mother), you will be made very, very smart from speaking English all the time. When I was going to school, I really did not know the English language, but when I did, oh man, I continued and went to (English language) competitions because I was smart. But, this is why I originally thought that if you know how to speak English, you would be extremely smart. That is why I did not teach my two children how to speak CHamoru, and now they are really upset with me.

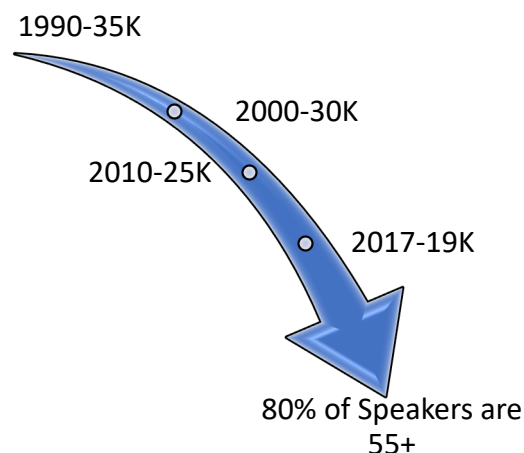
Some may report that they “speak CHamoru” in the home, while only sparsely using the language or simply sprinkling in CHamoru words into their vernacular English. This is a key observation. Census data can be good to see the trend of self-reporting, but it does not necessarily take into account levels of fluency. As expressed by Lenore Grenoble, “It is well known that some groups overreport proficiency while others may underreport depending on attitudes, ideologies, and status of the language.”¹⁴ Furthermore, “Because language is an integral part of identity, people who identify with a particular ethnolinguistic (or heritage) culture may claim knowledge of the language even when they are far from fluent.”¹⁵ Some may argue that the opposite may be the case and that some may under-report because they do not feel they qualify as fluent. However, this is unlikely the case, especially when analyzing the demographics of the remaining speakers of the language. As noted in the history section, language shift to English accelerated in the immediate post-war generation. After the war, there begins a large decline in intergenerational transmission of Fino’ CHamoru with the current circumstance of a majority of speakers being in the senior citizen or manāmko’ age group.

Year	Number of CHamoru Speakers	Guam Population
1990	34,598	133,152
2000	30,708	154,805
2010	25,827	159,358

Current Data on CHamoru Speakers: Table 1 provides information on the number of speakers of CHamoru in a 20-year period (1990– 2010), in comparison to the total population of Guam. (Guam Bureau of Statistics and Plans, as cited in Teria, 2013)

¹⁴ Lenore A. Grenoble, “Language Ecology and Endangerment,” in *Cambridge Handbook*, ed. Peter K. Austin, 28, (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2012), DOI 10.1017/CBO9780511975981.002, pg. 28.

¹⁵ Lenore Grenoble, “Language Ecology and Endangerment” in *Cambridge Handbook*, pg. 29.



Current Data on CHamoru Speakers: *This graphic shows the predicted trend in decline of use of Fino' CHamoru*

This downward trend throughout the last few decades and the average age of remaining speakers reinforces the urgency of CHamoru language revitalization today, even as the island waits for updated statistics from the 2020 Census. ***The overarching point is that the next ten years are pivotal for the survival of the language, and ensuring the language's survival requires island-wide support, resources, and positive language attitudes in the community. The Kumisión i Fino' CHamoru can have a pivotal role in this development.***

III. Language Endangerment as a Global Problem

Some may wonder whether the threat to the CHamoru language is real or tangible. Unfortunately, history shows that the threat is all too real. Language endangerment is not unique to Fino' CHamoru or to the island. It is an urgent and global problem with many historical precedents which Guam can learn from. There are roughly 7,000 languages in the world today. Yet, there is a great imbalance in the strength of these different languages with many of the world's indigenous languages facing endangerment. According to recent statistics,

An estimated 5% of all languages (roughly 350) have over one million speakers each and account for 94% of the global population. This means that the remaining 95% of languages are spoken by just 6% of all people. Approximately half the world's population speaks one of just twenty languages, and just eight languages (Mandarin,

Spanish, English, Bengali, Hindi, Portuguese, Russian and Japanese) are spoken by over 100 million people each.¹⁶

Reinforcing these statistics, David Crystal, in *Language Death*, argues that the world is facing a linguistic crisis of an unprecedented scale, and to my estimation, Fino' CHamoru is a part of this linguistic crisis. Important to note here is that there are endangered languages in nearly every region of the world. Citing an *Ethnologue* table, Crystal writes that as of 1999, there were “51 languages with just a single speaker— 28 in Australia, 8 in the USA, 3 in South America, 3 in Africa, 6 in Asia, 3 in the Pacific Islands.”¹⁷ With the exception of Europe, most regions experience language endangerment.

In examining these frightening statistics, one inquires as to what causes language endangerment. As a global problem, one would argue that there are global causes. This leads to one of the most important points to note: ***Language endangerment and language revitalization are extra-linguistic phenomena and are deeply affected and interwoven with social, cultural, political, economic, and spiritual factors.*** One cannot save a language or plan for language revitalization on a purely linguistic basis and must look at language revitalization holistically for it to be a successful endeavor. Articulating this, renowned scholar of language revitalization, Leanne Hinton, writes:

Language loss is often a product of the history of colonization, which has had a disastrous effect on minorities and Indigenous peoples, who have been forced out of homelands or experienced the destruction of the ecosystems that supported them, who have suffered wars and genocidal acts against them, or who have been taken from their families and cultures to be put into boarding schools¹⁸....Even in what we might call the post-colonial era, world economic growth and globalization continue to drive language speaker declines, due to shrinkage of Indigenous land base, loss of traditional economies, and their replacement by large-scale external economies.¹⁹

Reinforcing this, in a report by UNESCO, they write:

¹⁶ Lenore Grenoble, “Language Ecology and Endangerment” in *Cambridge Handbook*, pg. 28.

¹⁷ David Crystal, *Language Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pg. 15.

¹⁸ Leanne Hinton, “Introduction” in *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*, ed. Leanne Hinton, Leena Huss, and Gerald Roche, xii, (New York: Routledge, 2018), DOI 10.4324/978131556127, pg. xii.

¹⁹ Leanne Hinton, “Introduction” in *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*, pg. xiii.

Language endangerment may be the result of external forces such as military, economic, religious, cultural, or educational subjugation, or it may be caused by internal forces, such as a community's negative attitude towards its own language. Internal pressures often have their source in external ones, and both halt the intergenerational transmission of linguistic and cultural traditions. Many indigenous peoples, associating their disadvantaged social position with their culture, have come to believe that their languages are not worth retaining.²⁰

Language shift and endangerment cannot be separated from the socio-economic-political nexus which the speakers of that language find themselves in. As demonstrated in Guam's case above, the decline of Fino' CHamoru was ultimately accelerated by the social, political, and economic shift in the island after World War II. Thus, the Kumisión can justify their involvement in social, political, and economic concerns of the island as it directly affects language attitudes, domains of use for the language, and ultimately can aid or harm the creation of new Fino' CHamoru speakers. However, and this is an important point, this involvement should not come at the expense of LR projects which should be the primary preoccupation of the Kumisión in this current moment.

IV. Language Vitality Factors and Language Revitalization

Within the literature, there exists a few scales used to “diagnose” a language's vitality. In this section, I provide an overview of these scales and end with the commonalities of the rubric of these scales as it relates to Fino' CHamoru.

1. *Joshua Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)*

Joshua Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) is the foundational model for assessing language vitality today and was articulated in his prominent book on sociolinguistics, *Reversing Language Shift*. According to Fishman, intergenerational transmission is the most important factor for a language's survival. More than the number of speakers, a survey of how many speakers are teaching their children or grandchildren is more telling for examining the future of a language. In the development of the GIDS, Fishman understood that intergenerational transmission was an individual choice made by speakers of the language, but equally as important, that this individual decision is rooted in a societal and institutional

²⁰ UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages, “Language Vitality and Endangerment,” (Paris: UNESCO, 2003), pg. 2, available from <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000183699>.

framework. Fishman labels this as a “domain of use” where the language has its domains amongst the population and certain sectors of society. As Lewis and Simons articulate, “That choice of language becomes sedimented over time as a social norm, so that the use of a particular language in a particular participant-location-topic context comes to be expected. If these norms of use begin to erode, language shift will begin as the language loses domains in which it is found to be useful and in which its use is expected.”²¹

In *Reversing Language Shift*, Fishman provides the following Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale. The higher a language’s rating, the lower the intergenerational transmission. Due to the complicated nature of Fishman’s original scale, I provide a summarized version from Lewis and Simons.

GIDS	(adapted from Fishman 1991)
LEVEL	DESCRIPTION
1	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level
2	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services
3	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders
4	Literacy in the language is transmitted through education
5	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community
6	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language
7	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children
8	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation

Simon and Lewis, pg. 3

As can be seen in the scale provided, stages 1-3 focus on language domains, levels 4-5 focus on literacy, and levels 6-8 focus primarily on intergenerational transmission.

²¹ Paul M. Lewis and Gary F. Simons, "Assessing endangerment: expanding Fishman’s GIDS." *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 55, no. 2 (2010): <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000183699>, pg. 105.

While Fishman's GIDS is an important and groundbreaking tool for language vitality, there are some critiques of the scale. One of the most prominent is that it is not able to describe all the possible statuses of a language, and thus needs to be updated to reflect this.

2. **Krauss' Language Endangerment Scale (1997)**

In his scale, Krauss provides 10 different levels of language endangerment that takes into account age of speakers, distributions of speakers, and levels of usage of the target language. His scale is found below:

a the language is spoken by all generations, including all, or nearly all, children
a- the language is learned by all or most children
b the language is spoken by all adults, parental age and up, but learned by few or no children
b- the language is spoken by adults aged 30 and older, but not by younger parents
c the language is spoken only by adults aged 40 and older
c- all speakers aged 50 and older
-d all speakers aged 60 and older
d all speakers aged 70 and older
d- all speakers aged 70 and older, with fewer than 10 speakers
e extinct, no speakers

One of the most useful aspects of this scale is its explicit emphasis on age of speakers to help determine language vitality.

3. **UNESCO Language Endangerment Framework**

Another commonly used scale to evaluate the vitality of the language comes from a UNESCO panel in 2003. One of the most common factors people emphasize is the number of speakers. For many, the number of speakers is the most important factor attributed to the strength of a language. However, this is not the case. While the number of speakers of the language is important, it must not be considered the most important or the only factor to take into consideration for a language's health. Thus, UNESCO's Ad Hoc Group created a document titled "Language vitality and endangerment" in 2003. In this document, nine factors were used to determine language vitality. These are:

1. *Intergenerational language transmission*

This refers to the extent in which the language is being passed down by speakers to the next generation. For many endangered languages, this becomes a significant problem, especially when paired with colonial language attitudes that paint the indigenous language as antithetical to progress.

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Intergenerational Language Transmission
Safe	5	The language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted
Unsafe	4	Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g. home).
Definitively Endangered	3	Children no longer learn the language as the mother tongue in the home.
Severely Endangered	2	The language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves.
Critically Endangered	1	The younger speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently.
Extinct	0	There are no speakers left.

2. *Absolute number of speakers*

The absolute number of speakers is an important factor to look at when assessing language vitality. However, as mentioned, it must not be treated as the most important factor. These nine factors should be treated as interdependent.

3. *Proportion of speakers within the total population*

In addition to the absolute number of speakers and whether the language is being passed down to the next generation, another important factor is what proportion of the population “group” speakers are. UNESCO writes that “group” can refer to ethnic, religious, regional, or national group. For Guam’s case, we can refer to % in overall population of Guam or % amongst CHamorus.

Degree of	Grade	Proportion of Speakers Within the Total Reference
-----------	-------	---

Endangerment		Population
Safe	5	All speak the language.
Unsafe	4	Nearly all speak the language.
Definitively Endangered	3	A majority speak the language.
Severely Endangered	2	A minority speak the language.
Critically Endangered	1	Very few speak the language.
Extinct	0	None speak the language.

4. *Trends in existing language domains*

This refers to where the language is used and the range of topics in which the language is used. The healthier a language, the more it is used across societal domains and for various topics. It is important for a language's survival that it not be territorialized to particular societal domains.

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Domains and Functions
Universal Use	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions
Multilingual Parity	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
Dwindling Domains	3	The language is in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
Limited or Formal Domains	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions
Highly Limited Domains	1	The language is used only in a very restricted domains and for a very few functions
Extinct	0	The language is not used in any domain and for any function.

5. *Response to new domains and media*

This factor examines how much the language is being used across new domains throughout time. For example, is the language being used across the internet and in social media such as Twitter or Facebook? "New areas for language use may emerge as community living conditions

change. While some language communities do succeed in expanding their own language into the new domain, most do not. Schools, new work environments, new media, including broadcast media and the Internet, usually serve only to expand the scope and power of the dominant language at the expense of endangered languages.”²² It is also important to note that time duration is a factor here. For example, if the language is being used in a new domain, is it frequent or is it given superficial treatment? This must be taken into account when examining this language vitality factor.

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	New Domains and Media Accepted by the Endangered Language
Dynamic	5	The language is used in all new domains.
Robust/Active	4	The language is used in most new domains.
Receptive	3	The language is used in many domains.
Coping	2	The language is used in some new domains.
Minimal	1	The language is used only in a few new domains.
Inactive	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

6. *Materials for language education and literacy*

This factor looks towards education and inquires on the scale of materials developed for education. Since literacy is tied to social and economic development, the target language should also be included in the determination of literacy.

Grade	Accessibility of Written Materials
5	There is an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; and for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.

²² UNESCO, 2003, pg. 11.

1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography available to the community.

7. Governmental and institutional language policies, including official status and use

How is the language treated within the government? What policies exist for the language? The more positive the language's treatment in government, the healthier it is considered to be.

Degree of Support	Grade	Official Attitudes toward Language
Equal Support	5	All languages are protected.
Differentiated Support	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domains. The use of the language is prestigious.
Passive Assimilation	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
Active Assimilation	2	Government encourages assimilation to the dominant language. There is no protection for minority languages.
Forced Assimilation	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non-dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.
Prohibition	0	Minority languages are prohibited.

8. Community members' attitudes toward their own language

This is an incredibly important factor, especially in the case of Guam and the island's history with attempted linguicide. According to UNESCO,

Members of a speech community are not usually neutral towards their own language. They may see it as essential to their community and identity and promote it; they may use it without promoting it; they may be ashamed of it and, therefore, not promote it; or they may see it as a nuisance and actively avoid using it.

When members' attitudes towards their language are very positive, the language may be seen as a key symbol of group identity. Just as people value family traditions, festivals and community events, members of the community may see their language as a cultural

core value, vital to their community and ethnic identity. If members view their language as hindrance to economic mobility and integration into mainstream society, they may develop negative attitudes toward their language.²³

Grade	Community Attitudes towards language
5	All members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	Most members support language maintenance.
3	Many members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
2	Some members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only a few members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
0	No one cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.

9. Amount and quality of documentation

The extent to which the language has been documented is an important factor in determining where the language community's efforts should be placed. If, for example, there is weak documentation, this should be made a priority. However, if documentation is strong, the community can focus on language revitalization instead.

Documentation	Grade	Language Documentation
Superlative	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts; constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.
Good	4	There are one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and occasionally updated everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings.

²³ UNESCO, 2003. Pg. 14

Fair	3	There may be an adequate grammar or sufficient amount of grammars, dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation.
Fragmentary	2	There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.
Inadequate	1	Only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists, and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely un-annotated.
Undocumented	0	No material exists.

These factors can be broken into triads with the first triad dealing with the number of speakers and transmission of language to new speakers, the second triad dealing with where and how the language is used, and the third triad being about the perceived value of the language. It is important to note that these factors all influence one another. For example, a language acquiring official status could improve the community members' attitudes toward their own language or proportion of speakers within the total population could affect the response to new domains and media. It would be a mistake to examine a language using only one of these factors. This will give a skewed view of the language's vitality and be harmful towards language revitalization efforts, in the case of Guam. This does not mean that one cannot emphasize particular factors to prioritize. This is determined by a language's situation.

This is where the field of language revitalization serves its purpose. According to renowned linguists Leanne Hinton and Ken Hale, "language revitalization refers to the development of programs that result in re-establishing a language which has ceased being the language of communication in the speech community and bringing it back into full use in all walks of life."²⁴ I use language revitalization in this study as opposed to "language maintenance." Language maintenance refers to "a situation or action to maintain the situation in which speakers continue to use their language even though the dominant language of the surrounding society has been making inroads."²⁵ Language maintenance as the main focus of language work in Guam is simply not enough. The language is simply far too vulnerable to

²⁴ Leanne Hinton and Ken Hale, *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, (Bingley, England: Emerald, 2008), 5.

²⁵ Leanne Hinton, *Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*, pg. xxvi.

stop at language maintenance work. The status quo of the language must not be maintained, but rather changed for the better. This is why language revitalization needs to be the focus of Fino' CHamoru work in Guam. As is made evident in the vitality scales outlined above, at its core, language revitalization should have two primary goals: the first is to teach the language to those who do not yet know it and the second is to get speakers to use the language in a broadening amount of domains.

One of the most important aspects of language revitalization is that the revitalization plan needs to be specific to the language situation. There is not a one-size-fits-all model for language revitalization, and the writing of this study is made to help craft the contours of Guam's future language revitalization plans. Relating to the scales in the previous section, Grenoble and Whaley, rightfully point out "the degree of language vitality is the basic indicator used in determining the appropriate type of language revitalization program."²⁶ Thus, throughout this study, the picture of current state of Fino' CHamoru language vitality is painted and recommendations based on the state of the language are presented in the final chapter of the study.

²⁶ Lenore A. Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley, *Saving Languages: An introduction to language revitalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pg. 3.

Håfa Guaguaha
På'go?

A discussion of language revitalization is incomplete without an inventory of existing organizations and bodies that currently contribute to preservation and revitalization. This section will outline and provide brief explanations of key stakeholder organizations, whether institutional, community-based, or social media-focused, and their current role in LR efforts. Included throughout this section is information, knowledge, and critical insight from key members of these organizations, as shared through individual semi-structured interviews. Ultimately, this section will provide information on the successes, shortfalls, and issues faced by key stakeholders, to inform later discussion on potential remedies and overall recommendations.

For the purposes of consistency and alignment with the earlier employed UNESCO Language Endangerment Framework, this section will categorize organizations by their relevance to one of the nine (9) Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality, as earlier categorized by triad. Although many of the below organizations are relevant to multiple factors, they will be categorized within the context of the factor most closely related to their work.

Triad 1 - Number of Speakers & Transmission of Language to New Speakers

Factor 1 - Intergenerational Language Transmission

Factor 2 - Absolute Number of Speakers

Factor 3 - Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

Chief Hurao Academy:

Chief Hurao Academy (CHA), a non-profit 501(c)(3) organization based in Hagåtña, Guam was formed in 2005, originally offering a *Tiempon Somnak* summer camp program for island youth interested in learning the CHamoru language, and in fulfillment of its mission to promote the culture in honor of the past, for present and future generations. After overwhelming community support, with hundreds of children attending the first day of its 2005 summer camp, the organization has since grown to offer *Tiempon Minagof* - an after-school program, *CHo'gue Ha'* - an adult immersion program, *Neni Academy* - an all-day immersion program for children aged three (3) to four (4), and in collaboration with GDOE, the *Faneyåkan Sinipok* CHamoru Immersion Pilot Kindergarten Program at P.C. Lujan Elementary School.²⁷

²⁷ Angelana Sablan, interview by author, Hagåtña, November 25, 2020;

Since its establishment, CHA has received immense interest from the community, sometimes being unable to maintain an adequate capacity to accommodate the community's interests in its various programs. Although growing significantly in its 16 years of service, CHA has been continually challenged by issues related to funding. While tuition paid by participants in its various programs has been the primary, steady, source of funding, tuition-based funding has not yet become sustainable, forcing the organization to pursue other funding sources, to include a three- (3) year ANA grant, a partnership with the federal AmeriCorps program, and more recently, funding provided by the Guam Legislature from the Tourist Attraction Fund (TAF). This lack of a consistent and reliable source of funding has limited CHA's ability to expand its capacity to accommodate more participants. More specifically, CHA has struggled with maintaining wages for its staff of five (5), inclusive of immersion teachers and support staff. Capacity-building has also been hindered by the limited/non-existent pool of fluent CHamoru speakers who can be trained as immersion teachers. CHA has most recently been extremely limited in funding due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the resulting inability to hold in-person classes, thus not receiving tuition payments. The organization is currently exploring an online, self-paced, annual subscription option for language-learners both in and out of Guam. Nevertheless, CHA's funding and capacity-building challenges will only continue to be exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic, with no stable income stream from tuition and the loss of TAF revenues.

Of major success is Chief Hurao Academy's recent collaboration with the Guam Department of Education for the *Faneyåkan Sinipok* CHamoru Immersion Pilot Kindergarten Program. As per a letter of agreement between the two entities, CHA provides the program with CHamoru immersion curriculum, instructors and training in immersion and best practices, while DOE provides the educational facility and the structure necessary for classroom learning. More specifically, CHA has translated DOE curriculum from English to CHamoru and infused cultural aspects for the *Faneyåkan Sinipok*. In exchange for CHA's work related to the immersion program, DOE has provided CHA a physical space at PC Lujan Elementary School.. CHA plans to use the space for its programs, relocating from *I Sengsong CHamoru* (the CHamoru Village) in Hagåtña. Of note is the short-term nature of CHA's agreement with DOE, due to the agreement only being a letter of agreement, rather than the three- (3) year memorandum of understanding originally desired by CHA. Due to advice from GDOE's legal team, a year-to-year letter of agreement was preferred, making the overall partnership potentially unstable in the long term. Beyond its partnership with GDOE, Chief Hurao Academy has partnered with Saint Francis Catholic School, a private, K-5 school.

Under the partnership, CHA CHamoru teachers were hired to teach at the school for several years, before the new school administration ended the partnership.

Overall, Chief Hurao Academy has undertaken a very unique mission in the island's language revitalization space, being the first and only organization to spearhead immersion programs for multiple age levels. The organization's risk-taking has been extremely successful in providing language-learning spaces and materials, and just as importantly, growing interest in the CHamoru language and cultivating a desire to learn it. Nevertheless, CHA continues to be burdened by the same issues affecting both community organizations and government entities: a lack of funding and political willpower/support. According to Angelana Sablan of Chief Hurao Academy, the organization has found particularly challenging and sometimes disheartening the lack of buy-in among local leaders in CHA's groundbreaking and critical mission to cultural and language preservation and revitalization among all generations of CHamoru. When asked what CHA would do if given unlimited resources, Sablan explained that CHA would open a K-12 full CHamoru immersion school for the island, create a training program for immersion teachers, ultimately working to counteract widespread perceptions of CHamoru as being useless, impractical, and inferior to English.

Further highlighted by the experience of Chief Hurao Academy is the need for the institutionalization of partnerships and the formalization of mechanisms of cooperation such as those created between Chief Hurao Academy and GDOE. Such institutionalization would enable easier cooperation between government entities and community organizations, thus promoting efficiency with resource usage, enabling greater overall effectiveness of language revitalization efforts, and insuring the long-term continuance and growth of community-benefitting partnerships. In concert with increased funding and support from critical stakeholders, this institutionalization would further enable CHA to expand its role in language-revitalization efforts, as it would have improved access to resources and greater latitude/ease of access to engage with other important entities, thus being mutually beneficial and contributing to larger language revitalization efforts.

CHamoru Studies Program, University of Guam:

The CHamoru Studies Program, a field of study within the College of Liberal Arts & Social Sciences at the University of Guam offers several undergraduate programs: two (2) major programs, the CHamoru Studies Track and the CHamoru Studies for Education Track; a minor in CHamoru Studies program, and a CHamoru Studies Certificate program. The

CHamoru Studies Program seeks to “revitalize and sustain a CHamoru-literate community through the development of a steady cohort of proficient CHamoru-speaking and -writing graduates.”²⁸ The program, very recently established in 2013, is an interdisciplinary program of study that equips graduates with fluency in “speaking writing, and reading the Chamorro language,” while also being “well-versed in Chamorro history, culture, politics, and systems of knowledge.”²⁹ Aside from in-classroom studies, the program emphasizes community engagement, as seen with its student-led *Inadaggao Lengguåhen CHamoru* (CHamoru Language Forum), a forum featuring senatorial candidates and focusing on issues of culture and language, in which candidates were encouraged to respond *gi Fino’ CHamoru*; the annual Puengen Minagof Noche Buena (Christmas Celebration), in which CHamoru classes share *bilen* scenes, *fina’mames*, *yan kantan CHamoru* with the University and island community; as well as a lecture series conducted entirely in CHamoru, featuring poets, playwrights, musicians, and filmmakers.³⁰

Of particular interest is the recent establishment of the CHamoru Studies for Education track. This track is meant to prepare students who wish to become CHamoru language teachers in GDOE or the island’s private schools by giving them a more comprehensive understanding of CHamoru language, culture, and history so that they may take what they learn into their classrooms. The advent of this new specialized track seeks to address this by allowing students to take both CHamoru Studies and Education classes in order to gain educator skills, training, and certification alongside language fluency. Both the University of Guam and the island’s K-12 schools will benefit from this new program and a hopeful increase in quality and quantity of CHamoru language teachers.

²⁸ “CHamoru Studies Program,” University of Guam, <https://catalog.uog.edu/current/programs/college-of-liberal-arts-and-social-sciences/chamoru-studies.php#vreview>

²⁹ “Guam University To Launch Chamorro Studies Program,” *Pacific Islands Report*, October 23, 2013, <http://www.pireport.org/articles/2013/10/23/guam-university-launch-chamorro-studies-program>

³⁰ “Unibetsidat Guahan’s Inadaggao Lengguahen Chamoru,” *Pacific Daily News*, October 10, 2016, <https://www.guampdn.com/picture-gallery/news/2016/10/10/unibetsidat-guahans-inadaggao-lengguahen-chamoru/91844722/>; “Puengen Minagof Noche Buena at UOG,” *Pacific Daily News*, December 1, 2018, <https://www.guampdn.com/picture-gallery/news/2018/12/01/puengen-minagof-noche-buena-uog/2168685002/>; Tamar Celis, “Students in UOG’s CHamoru Studies Program to give lecture series in CHamoru language, March 18, 2019, <https://www.guampdn.com/story/life/2019/03/18/chamoru-studies-program-students-give-talks-chamoru/3199629002/>

Triad 2 - Where and How the Language is Used

Factor 4 - Trends in Existing Language Domains

Factor 5 - Response to New Domains and Media

Factor 6 - Materials for Language Education and Literacy

University of Guam Press:

The University of Guam Press is a sub-entity of the Richard Flores Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center, and “extends the MARC’s mission of collecting, preserving and providing access to reliable and accurate information about the people and cultures of the Western Pacific, thereby advancing scholarship and learning in and about the region.” UOG Press works toward this major undertaking by publishing “an array of academic and literary books and journals with a specific focus on the unique history, environment, peoples, cultures, and languages of the islands that make up the Western Pacific region,” all while seeking “to increase the availability of exceptional scholarly and literary texts that can be used as learning resources about Guam and Micronesia.”³¹

Within UOG Press are two main publishing components, MARC Publications and Taiguini Books, with the former focused on historical works and contemporary issues relating to the Western Pacific islands and communities, and the latter publishing “cultural and indigenous literature for adults and children, with the goal of capturing and preserving the eloquence and depth of the dynamic Micronesian storytelling tradition in written form.”³² In regard to language revitalization, Taiguini Books has published several books, for children and adults alike, that are mostly/entirely in *Fino’ CHamoru*, and based in indigenous knowledge and values. In 2016, in collaboration with *I Kumitehan Fina’che’cho’ Lepblon Famagu’on gi i Fino’ Natibu Siha*, a Committee of Guam’s Festival of the Pacific Arts (FestPac), Taiguini Books published four entirely-in-CHamoru children’s books. Since then, Taiguini Books’ publication record has grown to include many works such as:

Book Title (brief description)

13 Months in Malesso’ (CHamoru moon phases and seasons)

Taimanu na Ini (CHamoru poetry collection from Master Storyteller Peter Onedera)

³¹ “University of Guam Press,” University of Guam, <https://www.uog.edu/uogpress/index.php>

³² “Taiguini Books,” University of Guam, <https://www.uog.edu/uogpress/publications/taiguini-books/>

CHepchop Unai (English & CHamoru children's language-learning book)

Guaiyayon na Trongkon Mansanita (children's story book)

I Malingu Na Pâtgon (children's story book)

Ma Guaiya Yu', Si Nâna yan si Tâta (children's picture book)

Si Pedro yan I Hilét Oru na Ko'ko' (children's story book)³³

In partnership with CHamoru language teachers from the Guam Department of Education, UOG Press created “curriculum guides, activities, and presentations to help teachers use CHamoru publications published by Taiguini Books in their courses.”³⁴ The curriculum, for all grades K-12, is available online and without charge and served to highlight “how the books can help to achieve grade-level appropriate curriculums standards and be used to teach a variety of concepts, vocabulary, cultural values and much more.”³⁵

Most recently, UOG Press and GDOE are collaborating on developing three (3) new social studies textbooks for Guam's elementary school students. The place-based, community-created textbook will serve as official curriculum in Guam's public schools, and will be composed of literary and artistic works solicited from the community, while incorporating cultural knowledge, indigenous values, and *Fino' CHamoru*.³⁶

Aside from publications, UOG Press has engaged in direct community work through projects such as the *Mañe'lon i Mantitige'* (siblings who write together) Writers Fellowship, a program funded partly by a grant from the Guam Economic Development Authority which seeks to “foster a community of local writers interested in publishing” by providing various support to writers throughout their writing process. Other community projects by UOG Press include online peer review writing workshops, presentations by published authors, and an intensive writing and revision retreat.³⁷

In combining its community work with its primary goal of publishing Guam- and region-specific works, UOG Press is an invaluable resource to the academic and education

³³ University of Guam, “Taiguini Books”

³⁴ “K-12 Curriculum Resources for Taiguini Books,” University of Guam, <https://www.uog.edu/uogpress/k-12-curriculum-taiguini.php>

³⁵ University of Guam, “Curriculum Resources for Taiguini Books”

³⁶ “University of Guam Press Seeks Project Manager for Social Studies Textbook Development Project,” University of Guam, accessed January 15, 2021, https://www.uog.edu/_resources/files/news-and-announcements/2018-2019/Textbook_PC_Job_Announcement.pdf

³⁷ “Mañe'lon i Mantitige' Writers Fellowship,” University of Guam, <https://www.uog.edu/uogpress/manelon-i-mantitige-writers-fellowship>

community, as well as the greater community. UOG Press has proven adept at organizing and synergizing community resources in advancement of indigenous-, culture-, and language-infused materials. In regard to its role in language revitalization, its use of existing and creation of new language spaces has been successful and appears to be continually growing throughout the island. As with many of the organizations discussed in this inventory, UOG Press would only benefit from greater resource sharing and collaboration among all stakeholders - governmental, institutional, educational, and community-based alike, likely enabling the greater integration of language-learning materials into both new and existing spaces.

Triad 3 - Perceived Value of the Language

Factor 7 - Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use

Factor 8 - Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language

Factor 9 - Amount and Quality of Documentation

Kumisión I Fino' CHamoru:

First established in 1992 with Public Law 21-121 as the “Institute of the CHamoru Language”, and then reestablished in 2017 under a name representative of its expanded purview, *I Kumisión I Fino' CHamoru Yan I Fina'nâ'guen I Historia Yan I Lina'la' I Taotao Tâno'* serves as the primary government entity for matters related to the preservation and revitalization of *fino' CHamoru*.³⁸

Following its original establishment under the Department of CHamoru affairs, *I Kumisión* was tasked with “the primary duty of describing and prescribing the Chamorro language in its written form” and preparing an updated Chamorro-English dictionary.³⁹ However, due to limited resources, controversies surrounding the creation and implementation of a standardized orthography, and legal challenges to the commission’s authority, the body

³⁸ Rlene Santos Steffy, “Restablishment of I Kumision I Fino' CHamoru,” *The Guam Daily Post*, April 2, 2017, https://www.postguam.com/reestablishment-of-i-kumision-i-fino-chamoru/article_57a577c6-c84b-11e6-a472-d70220d930b2.html

³⁹ Gina E. Taitano, “Kumision I Fino' Chamorro/Chamorro Language Commission,” last modified October 11, 2019, <https://www.guampedia.com/kumision-i-fino-chamorrochamorro-language-commission/>

was ultimately dissolved in 1999 and its functions absorbed by the Department of Chamorro Affairs.⁴⁰

As earlier stated, *I Kumisión* was separated from the Department of Chamorro Affairs and exists today as an independent commission composed of nine 9 members (detailed below), all who must be, as set forth by Public Law 33-236, “fluent and proficient in the CHamoru language, and active in its cultivation and preservation.”

- a) the President of the Department of CHamoru Affairs
- b) two (2) members from the University of Guam
- c) two (2) members from the Guam Department of Education CHamoru Studies and Special Projects Division
- d) two (2) members appointed by the Legislative chairperson with oversight over culture/cultural affairs
- e) two (2) members appointed by the Governor of Guam

As set forth by the same public law, the purpose and duties of *I Kumisión* are,

- (a) continually study and update the orthographic rules of the CHamoru language; and to provide notification to public and private institutions of updates to the CHamoru orthography;
- (b) consult with government leaders and others in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands who are interested in the standardization of the CHamoru language orthography and seek to recognize and establish agreement relevant to the orthography, as well as existing regional differences;
- (c) advise public and private institutions, broadcast and written media, to include magazines and individuals, on issues related to the alignment of both spoken and written media, publications, signage and manuscripts with the grammatical and orthographic rules established by the Commission;
- (d) provide requisite updates to the CHamoru-English Dictionary;

⁴⁰ Gina E. Taitano, “Kumision I Fino’ Chamorro/Chamorro Language Commission,” last modified October 11, 2019, <https://www.guampedia.com/kumision-i-fino-chamorrochamorro-language-commission/>

- (e) establish a CHamoru translation service for public and private entities and individuals, broadcast and written media, with an appropriate fee structure for such services;
- (f) develop standardized, culturally relevant curricula for mandated courses in Guam's schools and institutions of higher learning related to Guam's history, language, and culture;
- (g) conduct research, publish, and produce multi-media and print materials relating to the CHamoru language, history and culture;
- (h) coordinate with the Department of Education, charter schools and other educational institutions, including private schools and businesses, on Guam to ensure the appropriate use of the adopted standardized CHamoru orthography and grammar;
- (i) provide training to promote increased understanding of the CHamoru heritage;
- (j) function as a clearinghouse to provide advice for accurate representations and interpretations of CHamoru language, history and culture;
- (k) work with I Sagan Plånu Siha yan Emfotmasion (the Bureau of Statistics and Plans) to plan and conduct a survey, which may seek to determine the existing number of CHamoru speakers, and/or the existing number of children learning CHamoru and the occurrence of intergenerational transmission, which may be used to direct CHamoru revitalization programs efforts;
- (l) serve as the Kumisión I Nâ'an Lugåt (Guam Place Name Commission) to develop, implement, and advise interested parties on a coherent, culturally sound and historically accurate set of criteria for selecting place names, and coordinate with the Guam Land Use Commission, the CHamoru Land Trust Commission, the Department of Education, the University of Guam, the Guam Community College, the village Mayors, Dipåtamenton I Kaohao Guinahan CHamoru, and with other civil and religious organizations interested in providing appropriate place names for Guam and consistency in signage. The Guam Land Use Commission, the CHamoru Land Trust Commission, the Department of

Education, the University of Guam, the Guam Community College, the village Mayors, and Dipåtamenton I Kaohao Guinahan CHamoru shall seek advice from Kumisión I Nâ'an Lugåt (Guam Place Name Commission) and shall keep records thereof;

(m) study ancient CHamoru terminology and pronunciation of place names, and restore aforementioned pronunciation with the current CHamoru orthography; and

(n) perform general reviews and evaluations as imposed by the government of Guam.⁴¹

I Kumisión currently has a full complement of nine (9) commission members, one (1) administrator, as detailed below,

Hope Alvarez Cristobal - *Géhelô'* (Chairwoman); *Kumitén Historia* (Committee on History)

Dr. Laura Marie Torres Souder - *Bisa Géhelô'* (Vice Chairwoman); *Kumitén Historia* (Committee on History)

Rosa Salas Palomo – *Sikritâria* (Secretary); *Kumitén Fino' CHamoru* (Committee on CHamoru Language)

Teresita Concepcion Flores - *Kumitén Kottura* (Committee on Culture)

Påle' Felixberto C. Leon Guerrero, OFM Cap. - *Kumitén CHamoru* (Committee on Culture)

Rufina Fejeran Mendiola - *Kumitén Fino' CHamoru* (Committee on CHamoru Language)

Melvin Won Pat-Borja - *Kumitén Kottura* (Committee on Culture)

Jimmy Santos Teria - *Kumitén Fino' CHamoru* (Committee on CHamoru Language)

Dr. Robert Anacletus Underwood - *Kumitén Historia* (Committee on History)

⁴¹ An act to add a new Chapter 88 to Title 5, Guam Code Annotated, relative to re-establishing and funding I Kumision I Fino' CHamoru (The CHamoru Language Commission) as I Kumision I Fino' CHamoru Yan I Fina'nâ'guen I Historia Yan I Lina'la' I Taotao Tâno' (The Commission on CHamoru Language and The Teaching of the History and Culture of the Indigenous People of Guam, Guam Public Law 33-236, accessed November 15, 2020, http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public_Laws_33rd/P.L.%20No.%2033-236.pdf

Anna Marie Blas Arceo - Administrator, *I Kumisión I Fino' CHamoru*

Although only very recently gaining autonomy as an independent Commission and reestablishing its members, *I Kumisión* has been active in language revitalization efforts, with recent work focusing on expanding the previously instituted orthography, exploring a CHamoru pictiory for children, and advocating for the preservation of cultural sites, among other things. Recent successes under the commission's new leadership include several publications such as the *Ineyak Fino' CHamoru Para Famagu'on* (a CHamoru pictiory for children) and a revised orthography, Guam's attendance at the Pacific Islands Bilingual Bicultural Association (PIBBA) conference, the creation of a master plan, several partnerships with other agencies and organizations to include the Guam Department of Education (GDOE) and UmeyakCHamoru.com, and the deployment of a robust official *Kumisión* website.⁴² Though previously delayed by the COVID-19 pandemic, the commission recently relocated from Hagåtña to a space at GDOE's Tiyan headquarters to establish the *I Liheng Finamta' CHamoru* (the Language Revitalization Center). The center serves "as a hub for educators and the community and aims to expand the footprint of CHamoru revitalization efforts while leveraging resources and opportunities to bridge the spoken CHamoru language gap and mitigate the threat of its extinction."⁴³

According to Dr. Laura Souder, priority for *I Kumisión* is gaining a deeper understanding of the current state of CHamoru language revitalization efforts, including the role of all stakeholders, to include organizations active in these efforts and groups learning/interested in learning the language, along with the needs of these respective groups and organizations. Alongside this critical need is a desire for increased cooperation and synergy of efforts among all groups, government institutions and community organizations alike. As explained by Souder, the current system resembles a patchwork of various independent entities, all operating without knowledge or coordination of one another's actions. Although these various groups are united by a common goal, there exists no free flow of information or collaboration that would maximize efforts. Souder proposes a full integration of resources among key stakeholders, primarily the educational institutions of GDOE, the University of Guam (UOG), the Guam Community College (GCC), and *I Kumisión*. For example, teaching standards/curriculum at UOG and GCC should reflect the standards of GDOE, thereby

⁴² "CHamoru: Say it right, write it right," *Pacific Island Times*, May 9, 2019, <https://www.pacificislandtimes.com/post-pi90w/2019/05/09/chamoru-say-it-right-write-it-right>

⁴³ Jerick Sablan, "Language means CHamorus are still here," *Pacific Daily News*, March 16, 2020, <https://www.guampdn.com/story/news/local/2020/03/15/guam-indigenous-language-chamoru-commission-chamorro-language-teaching-history-culture/4958798002/>

creating a pipeline of instructors that would find easy employment at GDOE and apply their teachings in the classroom to best meet both language-learning goals and GDOE standards. In addition, Souder finds political restrictions and limited financial resources/public willpower and support to be further hindrances to the greater goals of *I Kumisión*. In regard to the former, there currently exists limited knowledge and understanding of language and resource needs among lawmakers and government officials that make decisions that affect the Commission's operations and scope of authority. *I Kumisión* has taken proactive steps to keep decision-makers informed of the body's needs and accomplishments, but have remained limited in their authority beyond the Commission. Regarding the former, although *I Kumisión* exists as the lead "nation-building" agency in Guam, its scope of authority limits it from operating in such capacity and in fulfillment of such goals. Although *I Kumisión* is tasked with the major pillars of language, culture, and history, its limited authority over the operations of key government actors/agencies, even with matters critical to its mission, prevents it from acting in this capacity.

Despite the many challenges and reorganizations of *I Kumisión* since its first establishment, it exists today as a robust institution with the foresight and determination necessary to fulfill its multifaceted mission. Nevertheless, *I Kumisión* continues to be hindered by a lack of funding resources, public support, political willpower, and institutional decision-making authority. As language revitalization efforts continue, *I Kumisión*, while making small but meaningful advancements in its work, holds great potential for capacity-building, institutional strengthening, and expansion of efforts if provided the necessary resources and supported by political/public willpower.

Department of CHamoru Affairs:

Established in 1999 by Public Law 25-69, the Department of CHamoru Affairs (DCA) is tasked with assisting in the "implementation of an integrated program for the preservation, development and promotion of the Chamorro Heritage of Guam, for the public benefit and to provide specific services to the Chamorro people," and serving as a "catalyst in the preservation, development and promotion of language, arts, humanities, historic and cultural preservation, research, restoration, presentation, museum activities and support programs significant to Guam's history and culture, and to enhance the future of the Chamorro people of Guam."⁴⁴ In accordance with this broad mandate, the Department consists of three core divisions: 1) *Dibision Fino' Yan Kotturan Chamorro* (Division of Language & Culture), 2) *Dibision*

⁴⁴ An act to create the 'Dipattamenton I Kaohao Guinahan Chamorro,' or 'Department of Chamorro Affairs,' Guam Public Law 25-69, 1-2, http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public_Laws_25th/P.L.%2025-69.pdf

Faninadahen Kosas Guåhan yan Sãgan Rikuetdo (Guam Museum and Archives Division), 3) *Dibision i Sengsong CHamoru* (CHamoru Village Division), and 4) Research, Publication & Training.⁴⁵ Most relevant to language revitalization are the CHamoru Language & Culture Division and the Research, Publication & Training Division, which both work to fulfill several of DCA's mandates, to include,

5 GCA, Ch. 87, Section 87104 (w) Historic Language Preservation To formulate and develop standards and procedural requirements with regard to the development, promotion, and preservation of the Chamorro language and culture with all relevant institutions and programs

5 GCA, Ch. 87, Section 87104 (x) Elementary/Intermediate Education To establish a joint appointment program with Guam colleges and universities in the teaching of the Chamorro language, culture and history; and further to establish reciprocal relationships with other institutions.

5 GCA, Ch. 87, Section 87126 (h) Heritage Curriculum To develop articulated curriculum and course text for mandated courses in Guam's schools and institutions of higher learning related to Guam's history, language, and culture; to conduct research, publish and produce multi-media and print materials relating to the Guam heritage; and provide training to promote increased understanding of Chamorro Heritage.⁴⁶

The Research, Publication & Training Division (RPT) has most notably been responsible for the creation, publication, and printing of the Hale'-ta (our roots) book collection, which is "intended to document the Chamorro point of view in Guam's political, social, economic and cultural histories."⁴⁷ Originally initiated by the Political Status Education Coordinating Commission (PSECC), with duties later transferred to RPT, the collection consists of several comprehensive works with a focus on CHamoru-identity, perspective, and nation-building that are in use within Guam's public school system and the greater community. Publications under PSECC and RPT include,

⁴⁵ "About Us," Department of CHamoru Affairs, <http://dca.guam.gov/about-us/>

⁴⁶ "About Us," Department of CHamoru Affairs, <http://dca.guam.gov/about-us/>

⁴⁷ Dipåtamento I Kaohao Guinahan Chamorro, *A Report To Our Citizens*, Hagåtña, GU: Department of CHamoru Affairs, 2016, 2, https://www.opaguam.org/sites/default/files/dca_ccr16.pdf

Hestorian Taotao Tāno’: History of the Chamorro People (Elementary), *Inafa’maolek: Chamorro Tradition and Values* (Elementary), *I Manfāyi: Volume 1: Who’s Who in Chamorro History* (Middle), *Governing Guam: Before and After the Wars, I Ma Gubetna-ña Guam* (Middle), *Hinasso: Tinige’ Put Chamorro, Insights: The Chamorro Identity* (High School), *Kinalamten Pulitkat: Siñenten I Chamorro: Issues in Guam’s Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective* (High School).⁴⁸

Although primarily written in English, the Hale’-ta collection has played a crucial role in the teaching of the CHamoru story from the indigenous perspective, to Guam’s young generations. As a strong indigenous identity is integral to a people’s desire to learn and speak their language, the Hale’-ta collection can continue to serve as a nation-building instrument and can also be adapted to further integrate *Fino’ CHamoru* into new and existing education and community domains.

DCA’s two (2) other divisions, the Guam Museum and Archives Division and CHamoru Village Division, while not primarily focused on language revitalization, are critical to the agency’s overall mission, with the former managing the Guam Museum and CHamoru Educational Facility, which serves as a cultural repository and heritage education center that seeks to “accommodate the public’s need for cultural enlightenment” and “acquire, preserve, retain, and provide the accessibility for research and presentation” of CHamoru cultural heritage, and the latter serving as a culture-centered small business hub that further promotes “local produce, products and the culture of Guam,” and hosts “annual seminars, workshop and fairs for all public and private institutions and organization.”⁴⁹ While these two entities, the Guam Museum and CHamoru village, are essential components of DCA’s cultural mandates, both are considered to be tourist- and revenue- focused and managed with those priorities taking precedence over cultural and language related priorities. As explained by DCA President Melvin Won Pat-Borja, both entities have traditionally and primarily focused on the business bottom-line, prioritizing daily management and operations, and therefore leaving few opportunities for fulfillment of the agency’s more cultural- and language-based mandates. To remedy this non-prioritization of its cultural heritage mission, the Government of Guam is currently working to reorganize its main CHamoru-focused entities: the Department of CHamoru Affairs, *I Kumisión I Fino’ CHamoru*, and the Commission on Decolonization.

⁴⁸ I Mina’trentai Singko Na Liheslaturan Guåhan, *Resolution.No. 407-35*, Hagåtña, GU: 35th Guam Legislature, 2020, 2, [http://www.guamlegislature.com/COR_Res_35th/Res.%20No.%20407-35%20\(LS\).pdf](http://www.guamlegislature.com/COR_Res_35th/Res.%20No.%20407-35%20(LS).pdf)

⁴⁸ Department of CHamoru Affairs, “About Us”

⁴⁹ Department of CHamoru Affairs, “About Us”

Alongside this reorganization is the separation of the daily management and business-focused operations of the Guam Museum and CHamoru Village from DCA. With this separation, Won Pat-Borja envisions DCA to be more greatly, if not entirely, focused on cultural and language programming and events such as “educational offerings at the CHamoru village...teaching people how to weave, doing language classes, teaching sustainability.”⁵⁰

As specifically related to language, revitalization efforts would benefit from this reorganization due to an improved collaborative and integrated working dynamic between DCA and the other CHamoru-focused entities. Although these agencies’ respective roles and functions within the community are closely related, there does not exist a robust working relationship between them. Instead, as Won Pat-Borja shares, the current dynamic among the agencies is one of “separate lanes” and agencies only operating within those narrow lanes. Greater synergy among these agencies, combined with DCA’s soon-to-be more focused role, will be ultimately beneficial to language revitalization efforts. At the minimum, the agencies will be better equipped to coordinate their programming and content creation so that they work in concert with one another. In regard to this indigenous-centric, CHamoru-targeted programming, Won Pat-Borja explains, “it’s our prerogative to create programming that defends their [the CHamoru people] interests, that asserts their perspective, and now more so than ever, the functions of these types of native driven organizations are critical, because we’re constantly being threatened with displacement.”⁵¹ Upon completion of this reorganization, President Won Pat-Borja predicts a diverse and dynamic suite of CHamoru-centered organizations that place the CHamoru identity at the center of their work, using materials in a strategic manner for actual cultural immersion, language learning, and nation-building.

As it currently exists, the Department of CHamoru Affairs has the relevant and necessary policy mandates to serve as a strong agent of language revitalization. Lacking, however, is a clear, targeted focus, an established strategic plan, and the resources and willpower necessary to ensure the fulfillment of those mandates. Like the challenges faced by *I Kumisión I Fino’ CHamoru*, DCA suffers from a non-prioritization of its mandates and mission by lawmakers, purse string holders, and the greater community. While DCA is likely to be better empowered by the ongoing reorganization, and be able to increase its focus on language with existing resources, a situation most ideal for language revitalization would include greater collaboration between all cultural agencies so that resources can be better dispersed in ways that allow each respective agency to successfully work in tandem to achieve the larger goal of

⁵⁰ Melvin Won Pat-Borja, interview by author, Hagåtña, December 17, 2020.

⁵¹ Melvin Won Pat-Borja, interview by author, Hagåtña, December 17, 2020.

language revitalization. The CHamoru-focused agencies must communicate and work with one another to ensure that their shared mandates do not result in doubled efforts because of the limited pool of resources that they all draw from.

CHamoru Studies and Special Projects Division, Guam Department of Education:

Prior to the establishment of the first official CHamoru language or culture program in Guam's public school system, the 12th Guam Legislature in 1973 passed Bill 269, later Public Law 12-31, which authorized the Guam Board of Education "to initiate and develop a bilingual bicultural education program emphasizing the language and culture of the Chamorro people."⁵² Chief among the legislature's intent with this authorization was a desire to "impart to students a knowledge of the history and culture associated with their respective dominant language" and to have students "learn and preserve that which is unique, beautiful and viable within the Chamorro culture."⁵³ That same year, the Guam Department of Education (GDOE) implemented a federally-funded Chamorro Language and Culture Program in six elementary schools, expanding to sixteen schools and 4,000 students only a year later. To measure the potential need for the programs expansion, two surveys in 1974 and 1975 found strong interest in learning the language among students and overwhelmingly positive feedback from school teachers. During this time, the use of *Fino' CHamoru* in the classroom was found to positively influence students' attitudes toward learning in general, thus improving performance in areas beyond CHamoru studies.⁵⁴ In 1977, Public Law 14-53 codified the Chamorro Language and Culture Program and expanded legislative provisions to support the Chamorro Language and Culture Program by exempting Chamorro classes from English-only requirements, initiating the development of program-specific curriculum, mandating CHamoru language and culture courses for elementary students, making the classes elective for junior and senior high school students, and enabling the hiring of personnel for the program. Alongside this expansion was a guarantee from the federal government of an additional four (4) years of 100% federal funding for the CHamoru studies program. Since its

⁵² An Act to add Subchapter B to Chapter VI of Title XII of the Government Code of Guam relating to Chamorro language and cultural education, Guam Public Law 12-31, 3, http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public_Laws_12th/PL12-031.pdf

⁵³ "Public Law 12-31," 2.

⁵⁴ An Act to amend Section 11200 of the Government Code and to add Sections 11682, 11683, 11684, and 11865 to said Code, to require the teaching of Chamorro language and culture in the public schools of Guam and for other purposes, Guam Public Law 14-53, 2-3, http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public_Laws_14th/PL14-053.pdf

first establishment, the program and CHamoru studies courses have seen several strengthening measures, as laid out by language scholars Masumi Kai and Michael Bevacqua;

in 1984, Guam Board Policy No. 346 stipulated for instructional time for Chamorro in elementary school be 100 minutes per week (20 minutes daily) for the primary level (K-3), and 150 minutes per week (30 minutes daily) for the intermediate level (4-5). Guam Public Law 21-34 established mandatory courses in the Chamorro language in the public schools in 1991. As, in 2011, Public Law 31-45 expanded the Chamorro language and culture curriculum and required a mandatory course for K-5th, 6th, and 7th grades, along with 8th grade and two years in high school.⁵⁵

Today, these requirements remain, with CHamoru courses mandated in Grades K-8 and for two (2) years in high school, one being a CHamoru language course and the other a Guam History course.

As it exists today, the CHamoru Studies and Special Projects Division (CSSPD) is the primary institutional entity for matters related to CHamoru language and cultural studies within the Guam Department of Education and includes both the “Chamoru Language and Culture Program (CLCP) K-5 and the Chamoru Mandate Program Secondary (CHAMPS); both programs are locally funded.”⁵⁶ The division is responsible for developing curriculum for each K-12 grade level. This curriculum is known as the CHamoru Language and Culture Content Standards & Performance Indicators and includes “teacher resource materials, students activity books and grade level readers, instructional posters and other visual aids, the Fino’ CHamoru Column, and other materials all based on the developed curriculum.”⁵⁷ Of further responsibility of this division is the training of staff in instructional methods as necessary to meet curriculum standards. The division utilizes the following instructional methods: “Total Physical Approach TPR, Natural Approach, Language Experience Approach, Whole Language, Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP), Functional-Notional Approach, and other second language methods. Beyond the classroom, the division is also actively involved in the community, as it is responsible for writing daily Fino’ CHamoru lessons

⁵⁵ Masumi Kai and Michael Lujan Bevacqua, “Acquisition and maintenance of the indigenous Chamorro language in the youngest generation in Guam,” in *Indigenous Language Acquisition, Maintenance and Loss and Current Language Policies*, ed. Toru Okamura and Masumi Kai, 124-155, 128, (IGI Global, 2021), DOI 10/4018/978-1-7998-2959-1.ch006

⁵⁶ “Chamorro Studies,” Guam Department of Education, <https://www.gdoe.net/District/Department/7-Chamorro-Studies>

⁵⁷ “Chamorro Studies,” Guam Department of Education, <https://www.gdoe.net/District/Department/7-Chamorro-Studies>

and activities published every day except Sunday in the *Pacific Daily News*, along with the coordination of GovGuam agencies to facilitate the island-wide *Silibrasion Mes CHamoru* (CHamoru Month Celebration) which provides students, teachers, and parents with opportunities to engage in “poster theme competition, culinary exhibitions, weaving competition, CHamoru Language competition and other activities.”⁵⁸

Like many other Fino’ CHamoru resources, the CSSPD is hindered by a lack of resources and the non-prioritization of the program by the government and the public overall. In regard to resources, this lack is especially apparent in the limited manpower of the division, which is itself caused by funding shortages. Although the division is tasked with fulfilling the education board and Guam Public Law mandate by ensuring CHamoru courses at all 41 of Guam’s public schools, the division is not given adequate appropriations to hire enough CHamoru teachers, and just as important, CHamoru language specialists to create curriculum, instructional plans, and to mentor, train, and assist teachers. According to the administrator of CSSPD, Rufina Mendiola, although the program would ideally have eleven (11) CHamoru language specialists, for approximately the past seven (7) years, the division has only had five (5) to serve the approximately 33,000 students at Guam’s 41 schools. The issue of manpower is further compounded by a limited number of CHamoru speakers who are able to fill the roles of teachers and language specialists, as many within the school system have retired or are planning to retire. Although there exist mandates that all CHamoru teachers be certified teachers, many instructors struggle with being able to pay for their certification. In an interview with Mendiola, she stressed the importance of these language specialists as the supports they provide to teachers are crucial to the fulfillment of language-learning and fluency, which she sees as the ultimate goal of the CHamoru Studies and Special Projects Division.

Manpower issues aside, the division’s objectives and accomplishment of the legislative/board mandate are further hindered by the non-prioritization of the program, both within GDOE and among the community, to include government and the greater public. Within GDOE, CHamoru teachers have long struggled to be given adequate instructional contact hours with students. Although the aforementioned mandates have been helpful in alleviating this, recent problems include the non-provision of classroom spaces for CHamoru teachers and their classes, with many being forced to hold class in school courtyards or under trees. This issue primarily lies with school principals who prioritize other programs such as GATE or ESL over the CHamoru studies program. In one instance shared by Mendiola, a

⁵⁸ “Chamorro Studies,” Guam Department of Education, <https://www.gdoe.net/District/Department/7-Chamorro-Studies>

CHamoru class was left without a teacher because the CHamoru teacher was substituting another non-CHamoru class. Nevertheless, as Mendiola explains, it has been difficult to find support for increased space at all levels of DOE and government, to include the superintendent, the Board of Education, and the legislative and executive branches. In seeking assistance for this matter, often cited is an inability to provide funding due to the prioritization of other programs and courses over their CHamoru counterparts.

Among individual school principals, more specifically, Mendiola shared concerns related to the lack of supervision of CHamoru teachers and school principals not ensuring teachers' adherence to standards and mandates. Although the mandate requires teachers to instruct students in *Fino' CHamoru* as much as possible, there have been issues with teachers disagreeing with curriculum and instructional practices and implementing their own techniques such as instruction in English or minimum use of the CHamoru language. Though, it is in my opinion important to note that with language revitalization it is imperative that GDOE's CSSPD monitor how English is used in the classroom. With middle and high school classes, some level of English use will be useful when teaching language until students have an appropriate CHamoru language foundation to inform their learning experience.

According to Mendiola, principals are often unfamiliar with or disregarding of the various mandates and limited in their ability to assist teachers due to things such as non-fluency or limited time in the classroom. To alleviate this, Mendiola proposes sending CHamoru language specialists to ensure teachers' compliance with mandates and use of proper instructional techniques, which is currently impossible due to limited manpower circumstances. Mendiola further advocates for the division to retake control of CHamoru teachers' salary expenditures, giving the division more authority over teachers' performance evaluations and associated pay increments to ensure quality education for students.

In light of these many challenges, the division has nevertheless achieved many successes, with the most recent and perhaps most significant being the opening of the Faneyåkan Sinipok CHamoru Immersion Pilot Kindergarten Program at P.C. Lujan elementary school. Approved by the Guam Education Board in 2016, and in partnership with Chief Hurao Academy who assisted in creating the curriculum for the program, training teachers, and providing preschool and after school care, the program welcomed its first cohort of students in SY2019-2020.⁵⁹ The

⁵⁹ Jerick Sablan, "CHamoru immersion program launches with hopes of revitalizing the language," *Pacific Daily News*, August 14, 2019, <https://www.guampdn.com/story/news/2019/08/13/chamoru-immersion-program-launches/1993872001/>

program, intended to fully immerse students in *Fino' CHamoru*, will use the language to teach all content areas to include math, social studies, science, and language arts.⁶⁰

Micronesia Area Research Center (MARC), University of Guam:

With the signing of Public Law 9-106 in 1967, the Richard F. Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center (MARC) was formally created at the former College of Guam, now the University of Guam.⁶¹ Centered as a research and archive library, MARC is “considered by many to be a world-class facility for social sciences and humanities research about Guam and Micronesia, and to an extent, other Pacific islands.” Situated at MARC are several research centers, known as Centers of Excellence: the Micronesian Language Institute and the CHamoru Language and Culture Center.⁶² The Micronesian Language Institute (MLI) is tasked with conducting “research, service, and teaching activities that enlarge our understanding of the indigenous Micronesian languages of Micronesia” and promoting “appreciation, documentation, instruction, the creation of new materials and further development of Micronesian language resources.”⁶³ This mission has been fulfilled primarily through various federal grant-funded projects focused on such things as educational effectiveness, literacy, course offerings, and various academic research, to include language research with CHamoru elders.⁶⁴

With its comprehensive and ever-growing collection that is grounded in indigenous cultural and linguistic heritage, MARC is well equipped to serve as a documentation and archive resource for language revitalization efforts. As later discussed in this inventory, MARC will be home to a collection of native-CHamoru speakers documented speech as part of the *Goggue Yan CHachalāni Mo'na I Fino'-ta* project currently underway at the University of Guam's College of Liberal Arts & Social Sciences. MARC's academically expansive and community involved nature also enables it to serve as a proactive agent of perpetuating and sharing the CHamoru language throughout the island and region.

⁶⁰ “CHamoru immersion program registration now open,” Pacific News Center, July 17, 2020, <https://www.pnccguam.com/guam-doe-chamoru-immersion-program-registration/>

⁶¹ An Act to authorize the establishment of the Micronesian Area Research Center at the College of Guam and the acquisition of property therefor, Guam Public Law 9-106, 1-2, http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public_Laws_9th/PL09-106.pdf

⁶² Bruce L. Campbell, “Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC),” last modified October 10, 2019, <https://www.guampedia.com/contemporary-guam-micronesian-area-research-center-marc/>

⁶³ The Micronesian Language Institute,” Micronesia Area Research Center, University of Guam, <https://www.uog.edu/marc/micronesian-language-institute>

⁶⁴ Ibid. (MARC, MLI)

Para Mānu Hit Mo'na?

In this section, suggestions are made for the successful revitalization of Fino' CHamoru. Together, these suggestions can act as a blueprint for a comprehensive language revitalization plan and the Kumisión can choose which of these efforts they want to galvanize around. It is important to note that the recommendations included here are numerous, but not all are of equal urgency. Recommendations are made via a tiered system as to priorities, but it will be at the discretion of the Kumisión to ultimately choose their prioritized projects, campaigns, or efforts. Lastly, as will be seen, many of the recommendations are connected to one another displaying the potential for certain actions to have positive effects on other related LR issues. I first make overarching suggestions and then, as was the format in the previous section, I organize recommendations as they correspond to core factors of language vitality such as those found in the nine factors of language vitality outlined by UNESCO in the introduction to this study. It is important to note that each of the projects have ramifications for other factors of language vitality. However, recommendations and suggestions are placed under the most-fitting language vitality factor.

Overarching Recommendations:

a. Revitalization of the language is paramount over all

While there are clear gaps in quantitative or qualitative data on the details of the state of the language, its endangerment is made evident via the Census data and a historical analysis. The time for revitalization was 30 years ago, and the second best time is now. Thus, one of the core recommendations is for the Kumisión to primarily become a language revitalization agency, which focuses most of its time, resources, and efforts purely on the creation or facilitation of language revitalization projects. For example, while the concentration on orthography is within the Kumisión's government mandate and is in itself an important aspect of language, the current moment of endangerment is not the best time for such a large concentration on orthography. With most CHamoru speakers being over the age of 50 and with intergenerational transmission remaining a core problem to the language's vitality, remedying this gap in learning and transmission should be one of the top priorities. Whether we spell the word as "CHamoru" or "Chamorro" is important, but loses importance if nobody speaks the language in 30 years. The current linguascope of Fino' CHamoru shows an ecology of low numbers of speakers with some motivation from non-speakers to learn.

Thus, the Kumisión's work should be in line with this current linguascope and have an active role in its changing. From the available literature, the core of language revitalization is

in securing “intergenerational transfer via the intimate domain of child rearing, reinforced by the professional domain of education, processes of language elaboration, and domains of exclusive or semi-exclusive usage.”⁶⁵ The state of the language helps to dictate the priorities one should have in language revitalization planning. All projects should be directed towards the trenches of the struggle to revitalize Fino’ CHamoru. The problem then arises that transforming into a language revitalization agency may require temporarily switching focus from many of the Kumisión’s mandates. For example, the Kumisión mandates which are most relevant to revitalization are (g) conduct research, publish and produce multi-media and print materials relating to the CHamoru language, history, and culture and (i) provide training to promote increased understanding of the CHamoru heritage. The prior mandates focus on orthography and orthography consultation. While this role for the Kumisión can be fulfilled, there is no chance for the Kumisión to carry out these mandates effectively in the future if the language falls asleep.

Thus, at this point, I urge that the Kumisión concentrate on projects that focus on the building of infrastructure for the production of new speakers, supporting second language learners, or the expansion of domains where Fino’ CHamoru can be found and used.

Suggestion: Priority Strategy Meeting/Retreat

In line with the recommendation above, it is suggested that the Kumisión have a priority strategy meeting or retreat to map out the Kumisión’s priority of projects and resources, particularly aimed at revitalization, during the next critical ten years. They should map out benchmarks of language vitality and correspond these benchmarks with comparable projects or programs that correspond with that level of language vitality. **The scales found in the introduction of this study can be used as a potential blueprint for the thematic mapping of projects based on language vitality factors. The Kumisión should first and foremost, consider itself a government agency dedicated to language revitalization, and not as an enforcement or policing agency for language use.**

⁶⁵ Joseph Lo Bianco, “Reinvigorating Language Policy and Planning for Intergenerational Language Revitalization,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*, ed. Leanne Hinton, Leena Huss, and Gerald Roche, 46, (New York: Routledge, 2018), DOI 10.4324/9781315561271

b. Closer Coordination and Cooperation Amongst LR Actors and Stakeholders

To successfully revitalize the language, multiple stakeholders need to be actively engaged. The Kumisión should be the agency in charge of overseeing the larger picture and helping to put the pieces of the language revitalization puzzle together. This does not equate to the Kumisión having to perform all the work. However, there is no other agency that is more fitting to oversee the connections between language revitalization actors and stakeholders than the Kumisión. Some of the core agencies the Kumisión should actively engage with are the University of Guam, the Guam Community College, the Guam Department of Education, and the Department of CHamoru Affairs. As the Kumisión has representation from many of the key stakeholders (with the exception of the Guam Community College), board meetings or strategy retreats can be the platform for articulating cross-collaborative projects and the potential role of various stakeholders who sit on the Board in a larger language revitalization strategy.

However, one of the primary issues is the fragility of partnerships. Interviewees expressed concern because partnerships they have established are due to a close, personal relationship with someone in a stakeholder position. The concern was if that person was to ever leave their post, the partnership could be severely weakened or eliminated. While working relationships will always remain a factor in the success of partnerships, the survival of that partnership should not be completely dependent on the person in a position. There needs to be the institutionalization of partnerships so that its permanence is more secure. Failure to do this could leave the vehicle of institutionalized revitalization goals vulnerable to the whims of individuals as opposed to the carrying out of duties by specific agencies.

c. Language Survey

From communication with the Kumisión, a language survey was originally planned to occur in early 2020, but was delayed due to the complications of COVID-19. This shows the Kumisión clearly understands the importance of a language survey which comprehensively provides statistics on number of speakers, age of speakers, distribution of speakers amongst the villages of the island, and community language attitudes. Ideally, this language revitalization study would have been created and advised by the results of a completed language survey as a basis. However, a language survey is still necessary to provide quantitative data to supplement qualitative data from the interviews with LR stakeholders provided in this study. Having a

quantitatively-focused study measuring the state of Fino' CHamoru can be useful in providing justification for more resources or for further action.

d. *Being a supporter of all things language revitalization*

In a mixed methods study called the Global Survey of Revitalization Efforts, 245 language revitalization efforts were collected which yielded 40,000 bits of data. The results of the study show “unequivocally that support for revitalization, both in the way of funding and in the way of moral, social, political and institutional support, constitutes the greatest asset to the efforts as well as their greatest need.”⁶⁶ Learning from this data, the Kumisión should provide various forms and varying degrees of support for language revitalization projects, programs, or initiatives outside of the ones under its purview. This support can range from funding to personnel support, board consultation, or collaboration. The Kumisión should be open to meeting with those who are planning language revitalization initiatives or creating language revitalization resources, and support when able.

Suggestion #1: Language Revitalization Grants

Depending on what is legally allowed and what is financially feasible, the Kumisión could consider awarding grants for language revitalization initiatives or resources similar to CAHA. Unlike CAHA, these grants would be specifically for the revitalization of the language and not towards purely cultural or only marginally language-focused projects. As a funded government body, if there are funds available, this could have multiple benefits. First, it means that the body of available language revitalization programs or resources would expand. Second, as the grantor, the Kumisión could use what is produced by the grantee in the overall language revitalization strategy. Lastly, as the awarder of the grant, the Kumisión will build a network of highly motivated individuals who care about Fino' CHamoru and its vitality.

e. *The Training of Staff in Core LR Methods and Program Management*

Throughout this section, recommendations are made for the running of programs such as the Master-Apprentice program. To do this effectively, it is highly recommended that the Kumisión provide training opportunities for Kumisión employees to learn the basics of various

⁶⁶ Gabriela Pérez Báez, Rachel Vogel, and Uia Patolo, *Global Survey of Revitalization Efforts: A mixed methods approach to understanding language revitalization practices*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2019), 448.

language revitalization methods or programs. There are resources available online, but it is recommended that the Kumisión seek out experts such as Leanne Hinton or organizations such as the Indigenous Language Institute to fully help develop their staff to become efficient language revitalization program managers. “Language revitalization is largely focused on language teaching. This makes it clear that expertise in language learning pedagogy, teacher training, technology, and materials development specifically for the revitalization of endangered languages.”⁶⁷ Even though they do not have to be trained as teachers, Kumisión employees being trained in the areas of language learning pedagogy, training program participants, and material development can substantially enhance the work of the Kumisión. Each employee of the Kumisión can contribute so much to language revitalization and the Kumisión should help provide necessary training.

Recommendations for Intergenerational Language Transmission

a. The Creation of a Master-Apprentice Program

One very feasible project the Kumisión could oversee is the creation of a master-apprentice program. The Master-Apprentice Program is a methodology of language revitalization first started in California by the organization “Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival.” An indigenous Karuk speaker named Julian Lang initially conceived the idea and linguists such as Leanne Hinton, Nancy Richardson, and Mary Bates Abbott from the University of California at Berkeley helped to develop the program. At its core, the Master-Apprentice language revitalization model aims at pairing two individuals, one a native speaker of the target language, and the other being a motivated person who desires to learn said target language. Each week they are required to meet for a certain period of hours and carry out certain cultural activities. These activities can range based on the expertise of the master. They can undertake weaving, singing, storytelling, fishing, gardening or any other hands-on activity. The most important aspect of these contact hours is that all exchanges be conducted in the target language and no English be used at all.

It is a learner-driven language learning methodology by which the master and the apprentice create one-to-one immersion environments by spending at least 10 hours a week together, with 20 hours being the preferred amount of contact per week. The basic pedagogical approach is to learn through action and to use the target language in different, everyday

⁶⁷ Pérez Báez, Vogel, and Patolo, “Global Survey of Revitalization Efforts,” 481.

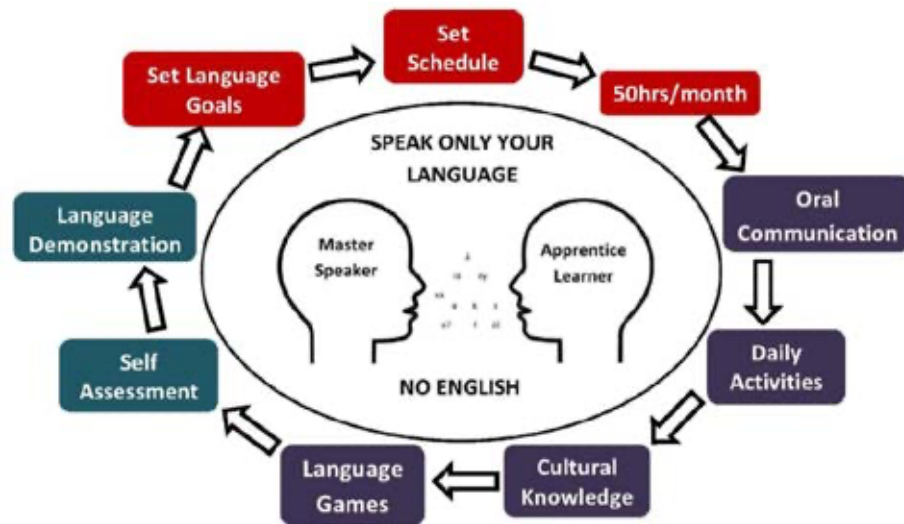
situations. Both Master and Apprentice are supposed to be trained and prepared on how to effectively communicate even when the fluency of the young apprentice may be lacking, through the use of pre-prepared phrases and hand gestures. The program can be flexible in terms of its duration (it can happen over 1 – 3 years) and it can be flexible in terms of how many apprentices are involved per master. In the creation of the program, Hinton and others identified tips for a successful program including leaving English behind, making yourself understood with nonverbal communication, teaching in full sentences, aiming for real communication in your language, focusing on listening and speaking, and using audiotaping and videotaping.

In 2015, Michael Lujan Bevacqua and I piloted a similar program we titled the “Elizabeth Flores Lujan Master-Apprentice Program.” We initially started with four pairs, but ended the year-long program with two master-apprentice pairs. Although the initial master-apprentice participants dropped by half during the program, the two remaining pairs showed positive results to this pilot master-apprentice language revitalization methodology. Both apprentices showed significant improvement in comprehension and good improvement in response/speaking. From not knowing 90% of what was being said and not being able to respond to most of the questions during the pre-test, these two apprentices were then able to almost fully comprehend the post-test speech AND speak in full sentences in some situations. This shows the power of this program.

Some Basics of the Master-Apprentice Program:

Strategy	Language goals and a schedule (minimum of 50 hours per month)
Goal	Oral Communication
Activities	Everyday activities
Assessment	Language demonstration

Master-Apprentice Program



Source: Page 4 of B.C.'s Master-Apprentice Language Program Handbook

It is highly recommended that the Kumisión oversee a master-apprentice program. The Kumisión should: a). have someone serve as the project director, b). provide all necessary resources needed for master-apprentice paired learning such as orientations, trainings, dictionaries, c). generous stipends for the masters (who may spend up to 20 hours a week with apprentices). As a government body which receives funding, the Kumisión is in a good position to be able to oversee and substantially support a program such as this. While the quantity of people the program can accept is rather few, the quality of language learning via highly motivated learners being put into one-on-one immersion situations.

b. Family Training Program

One program the Kumisión can help run is a family training program for motivated families who want to raise their children in Fino' CHamoru. This program can meet the needs of both intergenerational language transmission and resources for second-language learners. Based on availability of time and resources, the number of families accepted into the program will vary. At its core, a family training program serves as a how-to and a support system for creating a home immersion environment. Family training programs help parents ensure that the target language becomes the language they pass down to their children. Ideally, in conjunction with Hurao, language nests (for children 0-5) should be developed, this may be too large of a project for the Kumisión to undertake. The family training program can be a

way to train parents to create mini-language nests in the home (does not even have to be the whole house, but various rooms in which ONLY Fino' CHamoru is spoken and nothing else). As outlined in a guide for home language nests,

The reasons why language nests work has several factors. An aspect we'd like to note is that when we create a language nest, we create a physical location where we have to speak the language. This requirement supplements our internal motivations with an external expectation. This added level of participation and commitment is more stable than just an internal desire to speak a language. Internal motivations and desires can waver from time to time when it has to compete with a major dominant language. In contrast, a language nest requires that we use language regardless of how we feel.⁶⁸

Home language nests can be a way for highly motivated families to be consistent with their home immersion environments, even when this motivation wavers occasionally.

First, it is recommended that the Kumisión create or oversee the creation of a multimedia family resource kit that can be handed out to families chosen for the program. This can include flashcards for posting around the house, ideas for games and activities for children that can be done in the home, helpful daily household phrases for parents, audio for language in the home, and music to play in the house. Second, the Kumisión should appoint an employee to oversee this and help guide families in this creation of home immersion environments.

Both programs will also work to elevate the status of Fino' CHamoru in our community. As it currently stands, Guam's official languages are CHamoru and English. However, within a majority of our social domains, CHamoru is rarely spoken. Instead, you only see the language in translations of Government of Guam agencies signs and not necessarily as the main language of communication. Producing more speakers and expanding the domains in which language is used whether it be in daily activities, the workplace, or the classroom will greatly more forward language revitalization efforts.

⁶⁸ Leanne Hinton, Leena Huss, and Gerald Roche, *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*. (New York: Routledge, 2018), 160, DOI 10.4324/9781315561271

Recommendations for Improving Number of Speakers/Development of Resources

a. Self-Directed Learning Resources and Support for 2nd Language Learners

As a part of completing this study, second language learners of the language were asked for their insight into how they could best be supported. Participants consisted of CHamorus who both live in Guam and those who live in the diaspora. While this distinction may not ultimately matter for the purposes of the Kumisión's work, it should be noted that the Kumisión's core mission should be assisting language revitalization in Guam first and foremost, although for many initiatives and programs, there may not be a qualitative difference. Three main areas were identified as a gap in resources available for someone wanting to learn the language: 1). Audio clips, 2). Support network for language learners and 3). The development of a centralized resource hub.

Suggestion #1: Diversified Audio Clips

To begin, it should be noted that participants acknowledged Learning CHamoru.com as a key resource in their learning and as one of the few places where they can get audio clips of the language. However, they felt there was a dearth of readily available audio clips for 1). hearing the language being spoken in a natural environment between speakers and 2). The pronunciation of various vocabulary words in various linguistic environments. Regarding the first, it was reported that having more clips of fluent, native speakers speaking to each other would be helpful in challenging the learner as well as in getting more acquainted with the sounds and tone of the language. The cultural vignettes to be released by the Kumisión as well as the Kumisión's partnership with Learning CHamoru for the development of further content can help to fill this need. The Kumisión, in its role with the NSF grant to talk to 1st speakers of Fino' CHamoru will greatly help in this regard. This shows that the Kumisión is already in sync with the community especially with this particular stakeholder group's needs. It is recommended that these efforts to produce readily-available audio clips of native speakers conversing in a natural setting continue. This serves multiple purposes including the creation of new resources for language revitalization, the preservation of language, and the perpetuation of stories and history. Considering the current state of the language, it is advisable that the Kumisión conduct as many interviews as possible with fluent speakers in Fino' CHamoru and with the consent of the interviewees, make this available for public listening.

The second desire discussed was the increase audio clips which accompany dictionary items. Pronunciation of words via the reading of the International Phonetic Alphabet found in dictionaries is quite difficult for some. Thus, the presence of accompanying audio pronunciation clips are very useful for learners. While some of this already exists, participants expressed the difficulty of saying the word correctly when found in changed linguistic environments including vowel harmony and/or change of stressed syllable. This can be remedied via the supplementing of any existing audio clips to include changed pronunciation. If this becomes too daunting of a task, an audio lesson on vowel harmony and change of stressed syllable as a result of factors a or b could be created to assist in this regard without having to create an exorbitant amount of new clips.

Example: Potta, i petta, i pettâ-ña or Familia/familiâ-ku

Suggestion #2: Support network for language learners/Language Learning Journey Kit

One of the most important points made in these sessions was how isolated and emotionally charged learning Fino' CHamoru can be. Many reported getting ridiculed by elders for mispronunciation, feeling lost in finding people to converse with, and in getting started in their language learning journey. Thus, participants expressed the need for a support network for second language learners. The Kumisión can be pivotal in either taking a direct role in this support network or in assisting the efforts of the creation of this support network. For participants, this support network would a). create spaces amongst second language learners for the practice of the language in a social environment (and not in a classroom environment), b). have a therapeutic aspect where participants in the network can help one another push through the emotional and intellectual difficulties of indigenous language learning including lack of family support, the feeling of reaching a plateau in their learning, lack of inspiration to continue, and other challenges inherent in language learning (particularly one's indigenous language).

While I do not see the Kumisión overseeing this support network, I envision one pivotal way the Kumisión can significantly contribute to this endeavor: the development or assisting in the development of a second language learner kit. This kit should be made available free of charge to all via the Kumisión's website. The kit can serve essentially serve as a comprehensive orientation towards learning CHamoru as a second language as an adult. Ideally, the components of this kit can include a list of resources to begin learning the language. Beyond this, one of the more useful parts of this language learner kit can be meeting with someone to

discuss the challenges, joys, and emotional aspects of second language learning and how to get through this. The Kumisión could also hold similar “How To Begin Learning Fino’ CHamoru” workshops and trainings free to the public. This could also take the form of a recorded presentation available on the website. However, even if this is chosen, live presentations (when it is safe) should still be considered.

One foreseeable challenge is that few of the Kumisión members are second language learners, and thus may have difficulty in fully understanding the experiences of these second language learners, particularly when it comes to the emotional aspect. This can be assuaged via the Kumisión working with fluent or close to fluent second language learners who can assist the Kumisión in conversing with emerging learners. This seemingly minor thing can make all the difference to someone who is just starting their language learning journey. With an eye towards revitalization, the Kumisión can be the facilitator (and does NOT have to be the main actors) for initiatives of this kind.

Suggestion #3: The development of a centralized resource hub

As the official government agency for Fino’ CHamoru, it is recommended that the Kumisión create a centralized resource hub on their website. Many learners noted that looking for audio, text, or videos which either help teach Fino’ CHamoru or feature Fino’ CHamoru as the spoken language. The Kumisión should either create or help in the creation of this centralized resource hub that can be divided into the following categories:

1. History of Fino’ CHamoru and use (articles on the language)
2. Learning Fino’ CHamoru (this can include any resource that helps second language learners learn how to acquire a second language)
3. Audio Clips of Fino’ CHamoru
4. Fino’ CHamoru videos

This text will require a comprehensive examination of existing texts, audio clips, or videos, and will likely take a substantial amount of time to complete. However, the end result of having a hub for resources aimed towards 1). Showing the breadth of various media in the language and 2). Assisting second language learners in their request for a place to visit for access to multimedia Fino’ CHamoru resources. The creation of this resource hub also aligns with Kumisión’s mandate (j) to “function as a clearinghouse to provide advice for accurate representations and interpretations of CHamoru language, history, and culture” and its goal

to act as the Trademark Commission. Many second language speakers struggle with finding the appropriate language learning resources so this hub will allow them centralized access to resources vetted by the Kumisión and its partners. The creation of the Kumisión's cultural resource book which is funded in part by Humanities Guåhan is such a resource since its intent is it to introduce commonly misappropriated CHamoru words and phrases to second language speakers so that they will use them in their appropriate context. However, I do want to reinforce my earlier point that the Kumisión should not be overly concerned with policing and should rather focus on language revitalization.

Recommendations for Community Language Attitudes

a. Galvanizing around the 2020 Census Results

One of the first things the Kumisión i Fino' CHamoru can do is use the results of the 2020 Census to advance language revitalization. Conducted every ten years, the U.S. Census provides statistical information on a multitude of demographic topics, including the use of Fino' CHamoru. As identified in the beginning of the study, the 2010 Census showed only roughly 16% of Guam's population reporting to have spoken the language. The 2020 Census results will provide the most up-to-date statistic of CHamoru language speakers in Guam available, until an independent language survey is conducted. To be clear, the U.S. Census number will not be a perfect number. One may argue that a low number of CHamoru speakers as reported by the 2020 Census can be the result of overall low Census participation by the community, due to COVID-19 concerns. There is an element of truth to this. However, this should not be used to dismiss the urgency of the reported number presented. If the percentage of CHamoru speakers has increased since 2010, this indicates that the work of the past ten years in LR is working. If the percentage has decreased, this indicates the continued urgency of LR work. Overall, whether the 2020 Census reveals an increase or decrease in CHamoru language speakers, it is recommended that the Kumisión use this data point for justifying the work of the Kumisión and to justify funding LR bodies, programs, and projects. Deriving from this overall recommendation are two primary suggestions:

Suggestion #1: Language Revitalization Public Relations Campaign

While most in Guam understand that the language faces problems, it is not clear whether the majority of the population 1). Necessarily care or 2). Understand the true extent of the language's endangerment. This needs to be remedied as soon as possible. Language

revitalization is difficult without the support of the language's community. Language revitalization is inherently affected by language attitudes, and the Kumisión could benefit via attempts at shaping language attitudes in Guam. Thus, **it is recommended that the Kumisión create a public relations campaign surrounding the dire state of the language.** This campaign could be pivotal in the potential galvanizing of community members and government support for the critical 10 years ahead. While the public relations campaign should not overshadow the LR infrastructure and resources directly related to language learning, it can serve as a way to make infrastructure and resources more effective via a more galvanized language community. Below are tasks the Kumisión could perform related to a PR campaign for the language.

The Kumisión could develop language vitality informational sessions. The Kumisión could host free public presentations/meetings that cover the following: current language statistics, language endangerment as a global problem, why the language is important, what one can do to revitalize the language in their daily lives, how to begin learning the language, and a list of resources to help the motivated learner or speaker. This presentation should emphasize the narrow timeframe Guam has to truly revitalize the language and make it clear to the public that each of them has a role to play in this revitalization. Language revitalization is an everyday action which every person can contribute to. The Kumisión, via this presentation, can demonstrate the ways in which the public could get involved.

For this task, the first step is to draft a basic presentation that addresses the topics outlined above. These sessions should not take the form of 100% impromptu speech, but should primarily composed of developed talking points and arguments that the Kumisión deems effective. The development of these talking points can be done via conducting a few focus groups to see how they respond to the draft presentations. These should include visual components, motivational elements, and activities. Once a few of these are completed, the presentation can then be polished and presented to the public. The crafting of different presentations for different demographic groups (teachers, aspiring second language learners, grandparents who speak CHamoru) could be developed at a later period. After each presentation, feedback forms should be provided and filled out by attendees in order to create a feedback loop of improvement.

The Kumisión should also create short PSA-like videos to advertise on Youtube, social media, and local television channels. Here are three sample PSA-like videos:

- 1). A video that condenses language statistics to clearly demonstrate the urgency of saving the language. This serves as the baseline PSA video of the Kumisión with a link to the website to find more information on how to be a part of the language revitalization movement.
- 2). Presenting various futures of the language from five speakers to 60,000 speakers and demonstrating that what we do today helps crafts the language's future
- 3). The development of various "Ti Atrassao" videos. In these video series, it can be short clips of second-language learners talking about their worst mistakes learning CHamoru and how that did not impede them from continuing in their language journey. This should be accompanied with the messaging that it is never too late to learn the language. This helps to dispel the myth that adults are ill-equipped to learn languages.

Collectively, the language informational sessions and the cadre of videos can help cement the important of the Kumisión's work in the eyes of the language community.

Suggestion #2: CHamoru Language Conference

On a larger scale, the Kumisión, along with other relevant actors such as the CHamoru Studies Program at the University of Guam, Guam Community College, the Office of the Governor of Guam, and the Department of CHamoru Affairs should collaborate to hold a "The Future of Fino' CHamoru" Conference with the first being held in 2021 or 2022 depending on COVID-19. Using the 2020 Census Results as the basis for holding the conference, this event could feature panels, presentations, and workshops to address the following: language policy, language revitalization practices, language planning, and resource development. This conference should also have invited guests such as Leanne Hinton (a renowned linguist known for her work on language revitalization and particularly the Master-Apprentice program) or others from strong language revitalization communities such as Wales, Hawai'i, Australia, or the United States. If financially possible, this conference should be free and if not, should have reduced registration prices for particular demographics such as DOE teachers and college students.

In planning the conference, the Kumisión and other actors should have a Fino' CHamoru stakeholder meeting either before or after the Future of Fino' CHamoru conference. This closed meeting should include the Kumisión and representatives from other relevant LR actors not represented on the board such as GDOE CHamoru teachers, University of Guam and Guam Community College faculty not already sitting on the board, Hurao Academy,

committed language advocates with a proven record of LR work, the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Guam, the Guam senator with oversight of the Kumisión, Mayors' Council representative, and other actors the Kumisión deems important to include in this stakeholder meeting. This meeting should be the first of a series of meetings aimed at better integration of tasks and mapping out where different LR actors are in a LR masterplan or strategy.

b. Stepping away from orthography enforcement

Since the Kumisión's revival in 2017, its primary focus has been on the orthography of the language. As mentioned previously, this can be important, but should not be prioritized at this current state of the language. One core recommendation for the Kumisión is to temporarily step away from orthography enforcement. The Kumisión, at this point, should be a language revitalization agency, and not an enforcement agency. While there are commissions that do engage in enforcement of language rules or orthography, the vitality of the CHamoru language requires the fostering of positive language attitudes. If the Kumisión is primarily perceived as an enforcement agency for the language, it may hurt the chances of successful revitalization. As Grenoble argues, "Local attitudes toward the local language are critical in language maintenance and revitalization.... If most members have a negative attitude, it is difficult to imagine a successful revitalization program getting underway."⁶⁹ To be clear, this does not mean that the Kumisión needs to step away from orthography. The Kumisión has already produced tools and conducted trainings on the orthography. The larger point here is post-orthography: Will the Kumisión reprimand those who do not follow the orthography or not? It is recommended that it does not, yet focuses on successful language revitalization programs, trainings, and community attitude development.

c. The Role of Tourism, Immigration, and the Workplace

In the scope of work for this contract, the Kumisión wanted to know what role tourism, the workplace, and immigration can have in language revitalization. There are key things that could be done to promote the use of Fino' CHamoru in these spaces, yet it must be pointed out that these will likely not be spaces for language transmission, but at best would be spaces for making the language present and possibly raising its prestige. The thing about Fino' CHamoru is that it is an official language of the island, is mandated in the school system, and there is Fino' CHamoru signage present. For many indigenous and minority languages, this

⁶⁹ Grenoble, *Saving Languages*, 12.

would be a goal of their language revitalization programs. This helps to show that, at least on a governmental level, there is status for the language. However, the language's official status and mandated teaching in the public school system has not, to date, produced a plethora of new, fluent speakers. This is the current paradox of the language: it has official recognition and has symbolic presence in sectors of Guam society, yet still suffers immensely from lack of intergenerational transmission and the production of new speakers. This is why the Kumisión needs to be more selective in choosing its future programs and priorities.

Incorporating Fino' CHamoru into tourism, immigration, and the workplace are goals that could be done in the future and the Kumisión can make small steps or activities that help to do this, but it should not be the top priority as it will be unlikely to produce new, fluent speakers. However, one thing the Kumisión could do is to include investigating the use of the language in tourism and the workplace in either the scope of work for the language survey or in a separate contract dedicated to quantitatively and qualitatively analyzing the presence of the language in the workplace or in the tourism industry.

Final Thoughts

The recommendations above constitute only some of the possible actions or programs that the Kumisión could oversee or direct over the next few years. It should serve as a starting point, and not an end result. The overarching theme found in these suggestions is that revitalization is the paramount priority regarding Fino' CHamoru in Guam. The actions of the next ten years will significantly impact the future of the language. One can think of our language as having two futures: Future #1 is the continuous decline of the language resulting in one only finding the language in archives and Future #2 is the revitalization of the language resulting in finding our language roll off the tongues of our children once again. The Kumisión will play a key role in which of these two futures Guam sees. There is so much work to be done. To serve as a guiding compass, the Kumisión should for the next few years, engage in projects that 1). Help increase the number of people who speak and use Fino' CHamoru, and 2). Create more spaces and provide more opportunities for the use of Fino' CHamoru. At each step, the Kumisión should ask itself of its projects or programs: 1). Does this help teach or support the teaching of the language to those who do not know it? or 2). Does it get learners and those who already know the language to use the language in a broadening set of situations? This is key to successful language revitalization. Language revitalization is an intergenerational and multifaceted process. The Kumisión should ultimately serve as the creator, facilitator, or supporter of this process. Gof takhilo' i checho'cho'-ña i Kumisión.

Na'lå'la' i Fino'-ta!

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