

**THE CHAMORU LANGUAGE IS [NOT] DEAD:  
LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION IN THE ONLINE SPACE**

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We certify that we have read this thesis and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Pacific Islands Studies.

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**ABSTRACT**

This thesis explores Chamorro language revitalization and perpetuation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Chamorro is the native language of Taotao Mariãnas (people of the Mariãna Islands) and is repetitively claimed to be a dying language. The current state of the Chamorro language directly results from American colonization and their manipulative teachings of English as a superior language. Despite an increase in the usage of English, Chamorros remained resilient in their language creating Chamorro language resources for their people. This thesis documents these vital resources focusing on those resources found within the internet, termed the online space. The online space is a part of our daily lives and Chamorros are utilizing it to perpetuate and revitalize their language. Through an ecological analysis of Chamorro found within websites, blogs, Zoom, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube, this thesis documents that Chamorro is primarily utilized to educate language seeking learners in hopes of perpetuating the language. Utilizing YouTube as a case study, the Chamorro language is mainly created and consumed for the purpose of education and music. More importantly, this platform revealed language ideologies of Chamorro pride in identity and language as well as agency to perpetuate and learn the Chamorro language in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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## INTRODUCTION

*Låla'la I fino'-ta<sup>1</sup>*  
-Joe Garrido

I remember my great-grandmother teaching me the parts of the coconut tree in Chamorro<sup>2</sup>. I remember learning i atfabetu yan i familia (the alphabet and the family members) in elementary school. I remember hearing my father speak to my sickly grandmother in Chamorro as her mind could only function in the language of our native tongue following her stroke. I remember hearing for the first time, “The Chamorro language is dying.” I remember reading for the first time, “The Chamorro language is dying.” How, I pondered, can the language be dying if Chamorros are very much alive?

### **Language Endangerment**

Existing today is a wide discussion on the topic of dying languages and the implications for its associated communities. K. David Harrison (2007) argues conceptually, languages do not literally “die” off or “go extinct” as languages are not living organisms. They are instead crowded out by dominant languages. He furthers his argument by stating that we should depend on metaphors to explain this phenomenon, i.e., language death, language shift, and/or threatened languages. Stephen Wurm (1998) utilizes the term language death and quantifies the stages which lead to language death. He explains language endangerment precedes language death and categorizes the process in five steps:

*potentially endangered*, in which a language is socioeconomically disadvantaged, under heavy pressure from a larger language, and beginning to lose child speakers; *endangered*, in which a language has few or no children learning the language and the youngest good speakers are young adults; *seriously endangered*, in which the youngest good speakers of a

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<sup>1</sup> Our language is alive.

<sup>2</sup> I utilize “Chamorro” instead of the approved orthography spelling of “CHamoru” here and throughout this study because when speaking in the English language, I utilize English spelling of Chamorro. I do fluidly utilize both spellings depending upon the context I am speaking. Additionally, when quoting from other scholars, I do not adjust their spellings to coincide with my choice out of respect for their spelling choices.

language are age fifty or older; *moribund*, in which there is only a handful of good speakers left; and *extinct*, in which the language has no speakers at all (Wurm 1998 as cited in Otsuka 2007).

Pinpointing the status of the Chamorro language along Wurm's (1998) steps proves quite difficult as, I argue, the state of the language could possibly fall under multiple categories – potentially endangered, endangered, and seriously endangered. Despite inability to categorize Chamorro language's relationship with language endangerment, the Chamorro language is dying remains a common sentiment said throughout the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Salinas 2018; Zerzan 2016; Hofschneider 2020). According to the U.S. Census 1990 – 2010, it is estimated that the amount of Chamorro speakers declined from 34,598 to 25,827, an almost 10,000 speaker decline. However, Jimmy Teria, school program consultant with the Guam Department of Education's Chamorro Studies and Special Projects Division, claimed that as of 2016, there are roughly only 10,000 speakers left (Eugenio 2016). These statistics are relative solely to Guåhan and fails to account for Chamorros living in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana (CNMI) and in the diaspora. Additionally, these statistics are commonly cited as a means to justify Chamorro as a dying language. Yuko Otsuka (2007) arguably points out that Wurm's (1998) steps are not characterized by the number of speakers within a language speaking community. As a result, the number of speakers is “not necessarily a crucial factor in assessing the vitality of a language” (p. 447).

The factors that do matter in terms of language vitality lies in intergenerational transmission (Fishman 1997) and within the socioeconomic environment (Fishman 1997; Nettle and Romaine 2000). Intergenerational transmission of language refers to the ability of children to learn and speak their native language and recognizes the home as a crucial space for that transmission to occur (Fishman 1997). Socioeconomic environment refers to the socioeconomic

conditions that surround this language being geographical location, status of the language speaking community, language as an identity marker, etc. (Wright 2004).

### **Language Shifts**

Additionally, the status of the Chamorro language today is a direct result of gradual processes identified by linguists as language shifts. Language shifts are distinguished by two major types: forced and voluntary. Forced language shift refers to

a situation in which an external agent imposes a language other than the indigenous one(s), forcing cultural assimilation, for example, by making the dominant language compulsory, which is often accompanied with a ban on the use of indigenous language(s) in public domains (Nettle and Romaine 2000 as cited in Otsuka 2007).

Furthermore, forced language shift can occur through the enslavement of minorities and through the shift in economic power whereas the external agent seizes resources which the community depends on. This language shift is usually framed within the context of colonization with the external agent being a colonial power, an experience too familiar for many within Oceania (Oliveira 2014; de Bruin and Mane 2016; Otsuka 2007; Clark 1994). A few examples of forced language shift in the region include Hawaiian, Māori, and, I argue, the Chamorro language.

Voluntary language shift occurs when “members of a language community come to perceive that they would be better off speaking the dominant language than speaking their own” (Otsuka 2007, 448). In this case, the dominant language is the colonial language which is associated with economic success, modernity, or both. As a result, children choose to speak the dominant language while also being encouraged by their parents to do so (Kulick 1992). The issue with this language shift is that it implies that endangered language speakers make a conscious decision not to speak or transmit their language, placing blame on the language speakers rather than recognizing colonial influence and globalization as significant causes for the decline in language usage. Globalization in this case refers to the interconnectedness furthered by

the spread of Euro-American values (Fishman 2001). In order to survive in this globalized world, Pacific Island nations and their islanders are forced to conform to Western forms of development which imposes English as the dominant language (Otsuka 2007).

Placing these factors as key concerns to Chamorro language endangerment, critical questions regarding Chamorro language arise. How is the Chamorro language perpetuated in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Through what avenues can the Chamorro language be accessed today, both for individuals in the Mariãnas and beyond? Lastly, is the Chamorro language dying?

In search of answers to these critical questions, this thesis contributes to documenting some of the trajectories of the Chamorro language. In Chapter One, I provide Chamorro colonial history through the experience of Guåhan Chamorros. With a focus on American colonization, I argue that Chamorros experienced both forced and voluntary language shifts occurring over an extended period. Once the Navy arrived in 1898, they made various attempts to strip our native tongues from our mouths and manipulate us into believing that English would save us. Chamorros, however, remained stout in their culture, their identity as indigenous peoples, and most importantly, in their language. Following American re-occupation post World War II and the trauma many Chamorros experienced, American hopes of instilling English became more attainable. I argue the shift toward English directly coincides with the Chamorro desire of familial success and the bombardment of various external factors which Chamorros simply could not control. Despite these shifts, I provide examples language revitalization efforts conducted by our brothers and sisters, Na Kanaka Maoli and Māoril, to shed light on the possibilities of language revitalization. Additionally, I explain their recognition of the internet as a fruitful space for language revitalization which lays the foundation for this thesis.

In Chapter two, I document the efforts made to revitalize the Chamorro language. These efforts began early on in Guåhan with Chamorro women paving the way. I document the creation of vital texts such as the Chamorro dictionary and short conversation books. Then, I provide the immersion of Chamorro language into Guåhan's education system, media stations, and newspapers. While these early efforts were significant in physically documenting the Chamorro language, I argue that they were applicable during the time of creation but lack the effervescence to inspire and motivate current learners. Scholars called for the expansion of Chamorro into technology as it is here that many Chamorros' attention lie. As a result, I created a current language ecology of Chamorro in the online space. I document Chamorro within websites, Zoom, Instagram, Facebook, and YouTube. Through this ecology, I articulate that Chamorro is perpetuated in the 21<sup>st</sup> century through the medium that Chamorros know best, technology.

In Chapter three, I explore the social networking site YouTube analyzing Chamorro videos. I argue that the platform design affords for optimal learning for different generations, being young and old, and different types of learners, through audio and visuals. I provide the videos by genre organizing the popular videos by education and music. Additionally, I analyzed the comments in the comment section of Chamorro videos to gain an understanding of Chamorro language ideologies. Too often do individuals recognize the effect of the language shifts mentioned in Chapter one on their ability to or inability to speak the Chamorro language. However, they revealed that they are utilizing YouTube for the purpose of learning their native tongue, hold deep interests in learning the language, and possess deep pride in their Chamorro language and culture.

This thesis tracks the influence of colonization on Chamorro language shift toward English usage. Most importantly, it conveys Chamorro agency to perpetuate and revitalize the

language to combat the prevalence of English. Chamorros in the 21<sup>st</sup> century continue to invade colonial spaces, such as technology, to perpetuate a distinct piece of their identity, their language. In the conclusion, I argue that Chamorro language perpetuation in the online space is indigenous decolonization of this space. While the topic of Chamorro language and its respective revitalization efforts are highly controversial within the Chamorro community, I argue that the Chamorro language is being perpetuated in modern, 21<sup>st</sup> century spaces. I argue that the Chamorro language is alive in many ways, in many forms, on many platforms. The Chamorro language will remain alive as long as Chamorros utilize their language. It will remain alive if they, if we, breathe life into it so that future generations may flourish.

## CHAPTER 1: FROM FIFINO' CHAMORU TO SPEAKING ENGLISH

To understand the state of the Chamorro language, it is necessary to understand the historical background of the Chamorro peoples and their language. Chamorro is spoken throughout the Mariãna Islands by taotao tãno (people of the land) and is one of the many languages found within Oceania, the most linguistically complex region in the world (Lynch 2018). The language and its people remain a novelty as linguists and researchers alike are unable to pinpoint their origins. While the most recent linguistic study recognized Chamorro as developing from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (Blust 2000), there remains various claims that Chamorro is associated with four different language groups:

- 1) CHamoru is part of the Philippine family of languages,
- 2) CHamoru is most closely related to certain languages in Indonesia,
- 3) CHamoru is most closely related to some of the Austronesian languages in Taiwan, and
- 4) CHamoru is not closely related to any other subgroups within the Austronesian language family (Reid n.d.).

Despite these various claims, the inability to pinpoint linguistic origins is directly related to the development of the Chamorro language over an extensive time period.

The Mariãna Islands is comprised of 15 islands, four of which are inhabited. Colonial history, however, has politically divided the inhabited islands separating Guãhan from the CNMI which includes Saipan, Luta (Rota), and Tinian. This thesis will focus specifically on the colonization of the Chamorro people in Guãhan centering on colonial influence within the last 150 years.

### **Colonial History**

The first documented contact between Chamorros and outsiders includes the interaction with Ferdinand Magellan and his crew on March 6, 1521. Magellan's European background influenced his perspective of this interaction resulting in the description of the islands as *Islas de Los Ladrones* (Island of the Thieves). This description tainted the image of the Mariãna Islands

and associated Chamorros with thievery for more than one hundred years. Despite this false representation and interpretation of the island and islanders, Magellan's initial interaction resulted in Guam becoming a rest stop for Spanish voyaging crews. More importantly, it paved the way for the penetration of the Catholic mission and eventual colonization (Rogers 1995). Father Diego Luis de San Vitores introduced Catholicism to Chamorros with the intent of civilizing the natives (Bevacqua n.d. a). Chamorros were viewed as indolent savages, inferior to culturally and spiritually superior Spanish, and San Vitores believed that they needed saving. The Spanish condemned cultural practices they viewed as immoral and began to dictate cultural norms. Chamorros did not willingly accept Catholicism, resulting in forceful and manipulative conversion. Essentially, the Spanish attempted to transform Chamorro society through forced cultural change.

Colonization under the Spanish lasted about five hundred years and it would be assumed that the first language shift would occur during this period. However, I argue that neither language shift type occurred. The Spanish appeared to be more of an asset in terms of Chamorro language documentation and perpetuation despite its prevalence in daily settings. In colonizing Guåhan, the Spanish's main goal was to spread Catholicism and viewed the Chamorro language as a tool toward achieving that success. Many Jesuit priests, as a result, learned Chamorro, incorporating it into almost every aspect of church (Kuper 2014). Anthony Apuron, former archbishop of Guåhan, stated

The fathers, who brought the faith to the Mariånas, had to grapple with the native and had to find ways in which to enter their mindset and culture. That they did by learning and speaking the native language in order to win the people over and in order that they may impart the faith that is Catholic. (Annotation)

In addition to learning the language, the priests also developed written materials in the Chamorro language such as the 1911 *Chamorro Grammar Book* and the *Diccionario Chamorro Castellano*.



Despite the language's prevalence in church, Spanish dominated economic trade and government activities. Subsequently, a multitude of Spanish words were introduced and entrenched in the Chamorro language (Kuper 2014). It is significant to mention that Spanish presence also provided the introduction of Filipino words as well as they carried Filipinos on their way to and from Guåhan. While the Spanish attempted to introduce policies that would cause a forced language shift, Chamorro was too heavily embedded in the Church and in the home, important places of socialization.

Kenneth Kuper (2014) specifies that Chamorros did not simply adopt newly introduced words into their language but that “loanwords layered over indigenous terms, many times in which the indigenous term has been lost or been put out of use” (p. 19). In essence, Spanish negatively affected Chamorro language over time but I reiterate that it does not necessarily fit into the two types of language shifts. Chamorros retained and transmitted their language as the dominant language despite Spanish presence (Carano & Sanchez 1964). Additionally, Kuper (2014) identifies Chamorro famalao'an (women) as key proponents in language resistance and transmission. They were the main form of socialization for their children and perpetuated the language despite having mestiza famagu'on (mixed race children). The Spanish appear to be the only colonizer through which we adopted words meanwhile retaining our distinct language (Topping and Dungca 1973). The following colonizers being the Japanese and the United States attempted to remove the Chamorro language from Chamorro mouths by prohibiting them from speaking it and required Chamorros to speak colonial language during their occupation.

### **American Occupation**

Following the signing of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898, Spain ceded Guåhan to the United States (US) and the US Navy was given the responsibility of Americanizing the

Chamorro natives. However, it was readily apparent that they held self-serving interests in doing so and disguised their actions as grounded in benevolent assimilation (Hattori 2014; Viernes 2015). They arrived on Guåhan's shores with the intentions of transforming the Chamorro people, of manipulating the Chamorro people into what they determined appropriate for their Americanized vision. A key factor in achieving assimilation was the introduction of western education through public schools. Sheryl Day (2017) argues, however, that colonial influence on language began much earlier than western education. She situated language within cultural knowledge systems stating that colonial influence began as early as 1899 when U.S. Navy Captain Richard Leary arrived as the Governor of Guam.

First, he implemented General Order No. 3 prohibiting the selling or transferring of land without government consent (Naval Government of Guam & Leary, 1899a). This policy interrupted Chamorro knowledge systems and the role of famalao'an as they were the avenues through which the exchange of land would occur. Second, Leary implemented General Order No. 4 prohibiting public, religious celebrations, forcing Chamorros into physical spaces such as their homes or churches (Naval Government of Guam & Leary, 1899b). Yet again, famalao'an and knowledge systems were to take the biggest blows as they resonated deeply in and during public and religious spaces.

The Navy, operating under the US, believed that the best way to assimilate Chamorros into the American way of life was to eradicate our language, which Kenneth Gofigan Kuper (2014) termed Fino' CHamoru linguicide. Various general orders were implemented to further this eradication. Starting in January 1900, Governor Leary implemented general orders specifically directed towards the Chamorro language. General Order No. 12 stated

2. Religious instruction in favor of any particular church or creed is prohibited and all religious training heretofore required by the late school customs or rules must be

eliminated from the course of instruction, as the proper place for religious teaching is the home-circle, church, chapel or Sunday school.

3. All children between the ages of eight years and fourteen years must attend school, unless excused therefrom by competent authority for good reasons that interfere with their attendance.
4. Instruction in the English language will be introduced in the public schools as soon as suitable teachers can be provided, and it is expected that the present force of native teachers will cheerfully and harmoniously cooperate with the teachers of English in order that the greatest benefit may be derived by both scholars and preceptors (Naval Government of Guam & Leary, 1900a)

The following day, Leary enforced General Order No. 13 requiring the following:

1. Every adult resident of this Island must learn to write his or her own name [in English] before the first day of July, 1900, unless prevented from doing so by physical disability...
4. All residents are recommended to utilize every available opportunity to learn how to read, write, and speak the English language, thereby improving their own mental condition as well as preparing themselves for assisting their children who are required by law to attend school. (Naval Government of Guam & Leary, 1900b)

Leary created and enforced these policies due to the belief that learning English, the dominant colonial language, would contribute to native development, improving indigenous mental condition. However, this terminology was utilized to sugar coat the American perception of Chamorros as physically, intellectually, and culturally backwards (Hattori 2014; Viernes 2015). Furthermore, these naval policies “infantilized and feminized Chamorros as destitute, ignorant, helpless, and dependent on the navy for their very survival” (Hattori 2004, 193). The US Navy portrayed the Chamorro people as a native population in need of American guidance. They demeaned the Chamorro people and their culture because they did not act in the confines of American expectations.

Although Leary continued to create a multitude of policies directed toward Chamorro culture, Chamorros did not passively accept them. For example, parents did not send their children to school despite naval requirement, religious items remained in the classroom, and families hid their family members assumed to have Hansen’s disease (Day 2017; Hattori 2004;

Viernes 2015). Despite this resistance, subsequent governors followed in Leary's footsteps.

Governor Smith implemented General Order No. 243 which required the speaking of English in all public spaces.

... English is the official language of the Island of Guam. All persons employed in offices will talk nothing but English during hours. Chamorro must not be spoken except for official interpreting... No person will be employed in an Island office who cannot understand English and speak it fluently (Naval Government of Guam & Smith, 1917).

This immediate shift is important to note as the economy in Guåhan would begin its transition from subsistence to capitalist requiring Chamorros to understand and participate in the economy through the speaking of English. Following orders further strangled Chamorro language with General Order No. 368 "prohibiting Chamorro in schools, banning all religious display and instruction in schools, fining parents for children's unexcused absences from school, and jailing parents for unpaid fines" (Day 2017):

15. That all instruction in school shall be in the English language...
18. That for the purpose of normal training of the school teachers of Guam, the Guam Normal School is hereby established. It shall give instruction in at least the following subjects: English... All necessary text books and equipment will be furnished by the Department of Education as in all other public schools.

Naval policies, then, were directed specifically towards education as Chamorro children were perceived as "...the most vital, interesting, and impressionable part" (Albert as cited in Viernes 2015, 89). Children were being socialized in English and expected to understand and perpetuate colonial language in this space. Moreover, the naval government "sought to embed American values, ways of thinking, and modes of behavior into the everyday lives of the populace" (Viernes 2015, 89). However, according to Dr. Robert Underwood (1987b), Chamorros did not willfully accept these orders continuing to utilize Chamorro as their primary language as late as 1939. Essentially, Chamorro language use prior to World War II which would occur the in the

following years was strong, but there arose new obstacles that would have long-lasting effects on the language today.

## **Recovering from World War II**

World War II was a horrendous, traumatizing experience for many Chamorros. My grandmother, Francisca Quintanilla Franquez, was a young teenager when the Japanese arrived and rarely spoke about what occurred during this time, as many Chamorros who survived the war would. We will never truly understand the traumatic experiences Chamorros felt during this period, but we can assume it was horrendous to the point that Chamorros would begin the voluntary shift toward English.

Despite American abandonment during these brutal times, Chamorros believed that the Americans would return to save them which they did on July 21, 1944. This date marked what Chamorros interpret as liberation creating a sense of loyalty and patriotism toward the US (Camacho 2011). However, American return marked the beginning of the destruction of Chamorro language.

Kenneth Gofigan Kuper (2014) argued that American return paved the way for three key developments negatively affecting the state of the Chamorro language. His first point being the transformation from a subsistence economy to a capitalist, wage-based economy. This transformation resulted in a dramatic shift within Chamorro society disrupting the once stout intergenerational transmission of language. Chamorro children were no longer constantly surrounded by Chamorro speaking family members at their home or in the lancho (ranch). They were required to attend school where English was the primary language medium and were praised for their ability to fluently speak the colonial language. Their parents, to survive in this new economy, assumed jobs which took them away from their lancho and homes into jobs that

required them to speak the colonial tongue in order to be qualified. English began seeping into daily life for the young and old.

Kuper's second point focuses on Chamorro migration out of and foreign migration into Guåhan. American occupation paved the way for military migration out of Guåhan into the US with saturations of Chamorros in California, Texas, and Washington (Underwood 1985; Perez 2005). It also allowed for foreign migration into Guåhan. Occurring here is the exit of native, fluent speakers and the influx of foreigners. As a result, English was the common language that could be utilized to communicate altering the linguistic environment on the island. Second, diaspora Chamorros now occupied different lands where English, yet again, permeated all areas of life. Third, diaspora Chamorros were also open to interracial marriages which altered Chamorro as being the only language spoken in the home.

The US was a beacon for new occupational and educational opportunities, Kuper's third point, facilitating easy migration to the US. Each factor Kuper provided is crucial in understanding the negative influence of American occupation on the intergenerational transmission of the Chamorro language and the transformation of the socioeconomic environment surrounding the Chamorro language. Chamorros, in the homeland and in the diaspora, faced different influences directly tied to the usage of the language. Due to the variability in experiences, it remained unknown to what extent American occupation affected Chamorro language. Beginning early 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, arose the common belief that the Chamorro language was dying without clear, factual evidence. Many writers were simply pulling data from the decennial census to estimate the amount of Chamorro speakers on Guåhan, but this argument is flawed for the following reasons. The census only quantitatively collects responses on Chamorro spoken in the home and fails to account for Chamorro spoken in or found in other

spaces. It also does not account for the Chamorro speakers in the CNMI and in the diaspora. Lastly, associating the number of speakers to the status of the language minimizes the atmosphere and ideologies about the language.

Intrigued, Sheryl Day (2017) explored the extent of American occupation on Chamorro language. She conducted a Chamorro language study in 2008 focusing directly on individuals who identified as Chamorro and were interested in Chamorro language. She utilized an online survey tool which was distributed via social media, academia, listservs, and email. There was a total of 177 participants with half of respondents (50%) living in the diaspora (see figure 1 below). The survey composed of 16 questions comprising of close-ended questions. Out of 177 participants, 32 (18%) stated they were fluent in Chamorro. More specifically, 146 (82%) participants claimed that their parents were fluent in Chamorro, yet only 32 reported being able to speak/understand the language. Day's (2017) research revealed a disproportionate levels of fluency between parents and their children resulting in the recognition of individuals below the age of 54 as the lost generation. Specifically, "this group of Chamoru descended from parents or grandparents who were directly impacted by existing no-Chamorro language policies" (p. 59). Her research revealed the language transmission gap commonly referred to as the decline in Chamorro speakers. Day's (2017) study is an accurate method of analyzing the vitality of Chamorro language versus previous assumptions made through census statistics.

*Figure 1. Table from Sheryl Day's Research on Parent and Child Fluency*

Age Range	Count	P=Fluent	S=Fluent
< 18	5	3	0
18-34	52	35	3
35-44	64	56	7
45-54	35	32	6
55-64	14	13	10
65+	7	7	6
Total	177	146	32

Additional research also revealed conflicting language ideologies. Michael Perez (2005) explored colonialism, Americanization, and indigenous identity through 25 semi-structured interviews with individuals of Chamorro descent. All of his participants either agreed or strongly agreed that it is “too bad that more and more Chamorros cannot speak the Chamorro language these days” (583). Further, one participant, Frank, explicitly stated

...the younger generation...A lot of them don't seem to respect the elders...They feel that well, we don't have to learn the language because what good would it be to us...And it's sad because of lot of the older Chamorros stress that we want to preserve our Chamorro identity. But it seems that the young generations seem to be wanting to move out of it (Perez 2005 583)

On the other hand, Vicente M. Diaz (1994) explained that the lack of interest amongst younger Chamorros is not the sole cause of language decline. He stated that many postwar Chamorro parents did not teach their children the Chamorro language and they hold regrets in failing to do so. However, their motivation in emphasizing English usage over Chamorro lied in the belief that “their children could get further ahead in life than they had been able to” (Diaz 1994 47). English efficiency equated to academic success, development, modernity, economic success, and American assimilation while the Chamorro language would come to be viewed as an impediment (Underwood 1987a; Diaz 1994). The varied ideologies are not provided to place blame on a single generation. Instead, they are provided to enhance the understanding of the complex aftermath and various experiences faced by Chamorros following English-directed policies and World War II. More importantly, they convey the social shift that occurred within the Chamorro community from *fifino* CHamoru to speaking English.

In the case of Guåhan, we can interpret that the Chamorro people experienced both forced and voluntary language shifts. These shifts were gradual occurring within the last 125 years, yet its impacts are lasting. If the social shift in language usage began with the “Lost



Generation,” what are the implications for the following generations of which I am part? How am I and other Chamorros expected to know our language when we learn from external agents outside of the family, outside of the church, and within the diaspora? My perspective stems from a place of frustration, but Kuper (2014) encourages young Chamorros to move away from blame and anger and understand that the socialization of English came from a place of love and place of hope for us and our successful futures.

### **Paving the Revitalized Path**

Cinta M. Kaipat<sup>3</sup>, in an interview with Tãhdong Marianas<sup>4</sup>, exclaimed, “It’s easier to perpetuate what we have now, then to revive something we’ve lost” (Tãhdong Marianas 2021). Cinta calls for agency to perpetuate Chamorro in the 21<sup>st</sup> century because the possibility of an indigenous language becoming “lost” is not a foreign concept.

As seen in the case of Na Kanaka Maoli, a variety of factors engendered the decline in ‘ōlelo Hawai’i speakers and the eventual cessation of ‘ōlelo Hawai’i. Similarly to Chamorros, Kapā’anaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira (2014) expressed that ‘ōlelo Hawai’i decline was a direct result of US colonial occupation. Despite the richness and prevalence of Hawaiian oral and literate culture in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, US presence in Hawai’i resulted in the decimation of the native population through introduced disease, loss of inalienable rights to land, and the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1893. Loss of sovereignty was the catalyst for the language shift from ‘ōlelo Hawai’i to namu haole and subsequent US policies prohibited use of ‘ōlelo Hawai’i further contributing to the transition toward solely speaking namu haole.

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<sup>3</sup> Cinta M. Kaipat is a documentary filmmaker, cultural consultant, and community advocate and hails from the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

<sup>4</sup> Tãhdong Marianas is a group that aims to amplify the voices of Indigenous CHamoru & Refaluwasch musicians and cultural practitioners who call the Marianas home.

In the case of Māori, they recognized a decline in speakers of te reo Māori from 2006 to 2013 (Statistics New Zealand 2007; Statistics New Zealand 2014), similarly to the case of Chamorros. In response, they directed their language revitalization efforts toward education amongst young children piloting Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori language preschool/nursery). They realized that children must be supported in order to perpetuate their language (Nelson 2010) and these te kōhanga reos presented a rich environment for language socialization and transmission. What they did not expect was the influence these te kōhanga reos would have on Māori whānau (family) whereas language transmission amongst young children inspired entire families to learn and utilize Māori in their daily lives (Royal-Tangaere 2018).

Following initial revitalization efforts by both Na Kanaka Maoli and Māori, both Oceanic groups recognized technology as vital resources for language revitalization efforts. Na Kanaka Maoli utilized the internet to disseminate language resources (Hale 1995) and found that this new online network was crucial as Hawaiians continued to migrate out of Hawaii (Aeto 2019). Māori utilized the internet to create a language resource repository, the first indigenous extensive placement of indigenous language resources (Keegan & Cunliffe 2015). Technology and more importantly the internet provided new opportunities for language revitalization efforts and our oceanic brothers and sister recognized early on its possibilities for indigenous peoples.

In the next chapter, this thesis will document the language revitalization efforts conducted in Guåhan. I will document the progression of those efforts and its eventual succession into the internet.

## CHAPTER 2: MĀNU NA GAIGE I LENGUAHI-TA PĀ'GO'? (WHERE IS OUR LANGUAGE TODAY?)

Language revitalization efforts began quite early in Guåhan. Resembling Hawaiian and Māori efforts, Chamorro endeavors targeted various mediums in hopes of combating the alarming decline in Chamorro speakers. This chapter will document Chamorro revitalization focusing on the efforts geared toward education and media.

### **Early Efforts**

Chamorro language revitalization efforts began as early as 1964 with the creation of Kumision I Fino' Chamorro (The Chamorro Language Commission). Their purpose was to “develop Guam’s indigenous language through a comprehensive system that includes attention to the daily operations of the Government of Guam and the government’s support in upholding and encouraging its usage” (Chamorro Language Commission 1990, 2). Essentially, the job of the Kumision was to implement policies and create programs to combat Chamorro speaker decline. A few early efforts include Chamorro translations of the names of government agencies, translation of street names, and the development of a Chamorro orthography.

Following the installation of the Kumision, Katherine Aguon (1971) published *Let's Chat in Chamorro*. Aguon (1971) created her book to provide conversational Chamorro alongside its English and Japanese translations to aid Chamorros and the growing Japanese tourist population. In 1975, Bernadita Camacho-Dungca, a propellant for Chamorro language and culture teaching at the University of Guam, co-authored the highly well-known and utilized Chamorro-English dictionary (Camacho-Dungca, Topping, and Ogo 1975). Currently, this dictionary is the most prominent source utilized by many young Chamorros for the purposes of language translation. Mirroring these published works, the Guam Department of Education designed a bicultural/bilingual program to teach Chamorro in Guam schools. Beginning as a pilot program,

two schools implemented the plan but faced challenges early on. The main challenge being the lack of Chamorro language resources necessary to teach students. Lagrimas Untalan, in response, created illustrated pieces to support the teachings of Chamorro. Additionally, Pilar Lujan, then associate superintendent of Curriculum and Instruction, secured grant funds to expand Chamorro language and culture teaching to several other public and private schools (Lujan n.d.).

In the 1980's, Katherine Aguon, then Director of Guam's Department of Education (DOE), pushed for "a twofold approach to raising consciousness of the Chamorro language and culture" (Simpson 1980, 1). Resulting from this suggestion was a collaborative effort with KUAM radio, *Pacific Daily News* (PDN), and DOE which included the following 15-minute news broadcast anchored by Pilar Lujan (Lujan n.d.) and KISH 102.9's daily Chamorro lessons led by Aguon (Castro-Perez 2009). In 1981, Clotilde Castro Gould, educator and fellow proponent for Chamorro language education, protested against PDN for their English-only newspaper policy. Resulting from this protest was a collaboration between Gould and PDN to create *Juan Malimanga*, a Chamorro-language comic strip based on the folklore of Juan Mala<sup>5</sup>. Furthermore, the Fino' Chamorro column was generated. These two education forms remain in the PDN today, but the Fino' Chamorro column turned into a word of the day style content in replacement of an entire column.

In 1991, Bernadita Camacho Dungca authored the *Inifresi* which became recognized as "an anthem in honor of the cultural beliefs and practices of the indigenous natives of Guam" which "serves as a cultural call to arms...powerfully reminding each individual, regardless of ethnicity, of his or her personal responsibility toward cultural perpetuation (Santos-Bamba & Hattori 2020, 17).

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<sup>5</sup> Juan Mala is a Chamorro folklorist and he is known for his devious, malicious acts which are mainly used for comedic purposes.

## Inifresi [“Offering”]

*Ginen i mas takhelo' gi Hinasso-ku,  
 i mas takhalom gi Kurason-hu,  
 yan i mas figo' na Nina'siña-hu,  
 Hu ufresen maisa yu' para bai hu Prutehi  
 yan hu Difende i Hinengge,  
 i Kottura,  
 i Lengguahi,  
 i Aire,  
 i Hanom yan i tano' Chamoru,  
 ni'Irensiã-ku Direchu ginen as Yu'os Tãta.  
 Este hu Afitma gi hilo' i bipblia  
 yan i banderã- hu,  
 i banderan Guãhan.*

*The Guam Pledge  
 From the highest of my thoughts,  
 from the deepest of my heart,  
 and with the utmost of my strength,  
 I offer myself to protect  
 and to defend the beliefs,  
 the culture,  
 the language,  
 the air,  
 the water, and the land of the Chamorro,  
 which are our inherent God- given rights.  
 This I will affirm by the holy words  
 and our banner,  
 the flag of Guãhan.*

*Inifresi* was implemented into school systems and took on the symbol of pride for many Chamorros. Despite not knowing the translation for the *Inifresi* as a young child, I interpreted it to be a promise to my home, my land, and my people, all highly valued aspects of my livelihood as a Chamorro.

The above efforts focused specifically on incorporating the Chamorro language back into the education system and mass media. These endeavors were very much appropriate for the time period but require an expansion into other realms today. The issue of Chamorro language relevance is at hand today. For example, Juan Malimanga continues to be printed in the PDN today, however, the comedic metaphors usually apply to older generations. With the inability to recognize relevance, younger generations would not find value in the strip as older generations. Madonna Lea Castro-Perez (2009) refers to this occurrence as the generational divide in terms of the usage and promotion of Chamorro language and calls for more efforts that appeal to younger generations. She provided the example of *Malafunkshun*, a hit television show which first aired on a radio station in 1999. The radio show focused on raising awareness of the Chamorro language and culture while also shedding comedic light on relevant politics occurring in Guãhan.

They utilized the Chamorro concept of *chaud* to engage the Chamorro audience becoming so popular that KUAM offered the team a spot on their television channel. They created skits that influenced the younger generation because they were funny, relatable, and relevant to the social environment in Guåhan. Back in 2009, Castro-Perez (2009) called for the creation of more television shows that mirrored *Malafunkshun*. Today, however, not many individuals of the iGeneration<sup>6</sup> watch TV. These individuals spend most of their time on social media networking sites (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, WhatsApp) and digital streaming sites (Netflix, Hulu, YouTube). Nonetheless, Castro-Perez (2009) was essentially pushing for Chamorro language invasion into this new realm of technology to establish relevance and alter the symbol of Chamorro language from archaic to sexy.

Sheryl Day (2017) conducted a survey in 2008 finding similar attitudes by Chamorros from what she terms the Lost Generation<sup>7</sup>. Included in a summary of their beliefs and perceptions of the Chamorro language, she found that Chamorros believed that technology can save the Chamorro language and that it should be used to learn the language. While I do not believe that technology can save the language from extinction, I do believe that it is an alternative outlet that is current and modern, and it should be utilized as a tool to transform the value and accessibility of the language. Day (2017) suggested future research should look toward “the use of technologies towards preservation, maintenance and the reframing...of design, information, and technology” (217). There appears to be minimal research, at best of modern

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<sup>6</sup> The iGeneration represents individuals who grew up with the internet, telephones, and social media sites such as Facebook, Instagram, etc. (Rosen 2010).

<sup>7</sup> Sheryl Day (2017) refers to the lost generation as individuals of Chamoru descent below the age of 54 as of 2017. These individuals descended from parents or grandparents who were directly impacted by the no-Chamorro language policies.

technology to document and perpetuate Chamorro language despite the overwhelming sentiment to take action today. As a result, the following section documents Chamorro in the online space.

### **Online Spaces**

There are a multitude of language sources and outlets to learn and perpetuate the Chamorro language when physically located within the Mariñas. Those spaces, however, are the concern of a different research study. The space of interest for this research study lies in the online realm, what I refer to as the online space.

The World Wide Web (WWW), commonly known as the internet, was created in the late twentieth century. Since its inception, it has rapidly transformed in ways previously unimaginable, providing a space for political, economic, and social advancement. More importantly, the internet enticed peoples around the world to enter a globalized, technological age. Entrance into the online age has altered our social and cultural relations with communications technologies being a prominent driver behind those changes. Communication, in this case, blurred the lines of distance as social interaction was made possible to individuals around the world so long as access was available (Seargeant & Tagg 2014).

Focusing on the social implications of the internet, previous research has found that the internet allowed its users to communicate and allowed access to online information sources (Campbell-Kelly & Aspray 1996). As previously mentioned, rapid development in technology also resulted in the rapid transformation of communication. Philip Seargeant and Caroline Tagg (2014) explain

The move from the idea of Web 1.0 to Web. 2.0 (O'Reilly, 2012 [2005]) and the rise of social media – saw an explosion in online interactivity and user participation. The web was no longer a place where you went predominantly to consume content and information. It became a place where you participated; a dynamic space that was shaped (both intentionally and inadvertently) by your own actions and contributions. And social network sites, purpose-

built to facilitate social interaction, grew to become amongst the most used sites on the web (Pew Internet and American Life Project, 2012) (p. 2).

Due to their communicative abilities and affordances, social networking sites (SNS), commonly referred to as social media, quickly became an integral part of modern, social life (Seargeant & Tagg 2014). Specifically, previous research portrayed that the rapid growth of social media has “provided an expanding range of opportunities for communities to create a digital presence for their languages” (Honeycutt & Cunliffe 2010; Cocq 2015; Cru 2015; Galla 2016 as cited in Lhawa 2019, 564). Social media allowed indigenous peoples to utilize online platforms in various ways to aid their efforts toward language maintenance, perpetuation, and revitalization. Indigenous peoples have a space, an online space, where they can document and promote their endangered languages (Cru 2015) and where they can have a presence that they could not before. Learning language through social media creates an informal environment, which a user is familiar and comfortable accessing, and this environment enhances the language learning experience (Dogoriti, Pange, & Anderson 2014). More importantly, it has become an important tool in the language learning process deserving of scholarly attention.

### **Chamorro Language in the Online Space**

#### *Websites*

An individual’s language learning experience primarily takes place through a search engine. Utilizing Google, the following websites appeared when searching for any variation of “Chamorro language” (CHamoru, Chamorro, chamoru).

*LearningCHamoru.com* is a website created in partnership by the University of Guam and Kumision I Fino’ CHamoru to “facilitate and advance the learning of CHamoru” (CHamoru Language Commission, *LearningCHamoru.com*). Through five distinct modes of learning – online dictionary, general CHamoru lessons, CHamoru grammar, dialogues, and media – users



are provided with a beginner friendly method of learning Chamorro. The site is user-friendly and visually enticing but requires an individual to create an account in order to progress within the site. This may pose as a hindrance for users who visit the website for singular, specific purposes. Nonetheless, committed users will create accounts to further their language journey.

Once an account is created and the user logs in, they are led to a dashboard containing Fino i Ha'ani (word of the day). The word is provided in Chamorro alongside its English translation as well as an audio sample of the word. This feature is highly beneficial as learners are able to see the word, hear the word, and understand the word as it would be used in conversational Chamorro. The next feature to immediately grab my attention is a section titled "10 Tips for Learning CHamoru." This feature informs individuals of ten beneficial tips that new learners should know and contains multimedia videos in tandem with each tip.

Next on the dashboard are five distinct modes of learning. The first mode is the dictionary which leads to an alphabetized page of 14,278 Chamorro words. Second, the lessons icon leads to eleven foundational lessons mainly based on Donald Topping's (1980) *Spoken Chamorro*. Similarly, to Fino' I Ha'ani, audio is provided to hear how the words are spoken. However, these lessons are solely in Chamorro forms of dialogue which I believe can be confusing for new learners. Third, the grammar icon leads to a section that focuses on the historical background of the Chamorro language and the structural aspect of Chamorro grammar. Fourth, the dialogue icon leads to a webpage which differentiates between ten different settings expressing where and how the language should be utilized. Lastly, the media icon leads to five sections expressed by a variety of media types such as videos, audio recordings, and printed writings. As a previous Chamorro language student at the University of Guam, Chamorro

learners and speakers are encouraged to explore and utilize this website in tandem with their language journey.

*The Chamorro Language: Chamorro Dictionary, Lessons, and Online Resources* website is the second most comprehensive site found during my research. Once on the site, users are immediately faced with the most recent posts which are lessons created by Brant Songsong, the site creator. Songsong created this website to develop his personal skills as a web developer finding an apparent need for the language to be on the online space<sup>8</sup>. Initially, the website was solely created for the purpose of a comprehensive Chamorro dictionary which he claims to be the “most extensive Chamorro dictionary on the Internet.” On his site, navigating the dictionary mimics the navigation of a physical dictionary whereas users would click a letter and be led to a list of forty entries in alphabetical order. Selecting a word would lead to its pronunciation, etymology, and additional comments. The words found on this site are sourced from Camacho-Dungca et al.’s (1975) *Chamorro-English Dictionary* and Edward Ritter von Preissig’s (1918) *Dictionary and Grammar of the Chamorro Language of the Island of Guam*.

Beginning 2017, Songsong added a feature titled Language Lessons. These lessons are differentiated into three categories: Beginning Chamorro Grammar, Chamorro Vocabulary, and Chamorro phrases. Each category exhibits lessons written in an article/blog type format with the student learner in mind. In comparing the lesson features of this site and *LearningCHamoru.com*, *The Chamorro Language* website provides lessons applicable to modern day situations and are simplified to the level of a beginning learner. In contrast, the feature that amplifies *LearningCHamoru.com* is the corresponding audio samples. Arguably, *The Chamorro Language*

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<sup>8</sup> Brant Songsong, personal communication, January 2022.

site would be the learner friendly option to begin with subsequently followed by the *LearningCHamoru.com* website.

Lastly, Songsong provides additional online language resources for users to explore. The first category is Applications (Apps) and Software. Offered are different applications created specifically for learning Chamorro such as Learn Chamorro, Speak Chamorro, and Chamorro Dictionary. Upon further exploration, however, these apps no longer exist and there does not exist a Chamorro language application on any app store as of this research. The second category is Language Blogs & Websites which will lead us into the next set of websites currently existing on the world wide web. The last category leads to a Chamorro Wikipedia on the Wikipedia site. While individuals can navigate certain topics in the Chamorro language, this website is premature in its existence.

*Fino' Chamoru* is a blog created by Aaron Matanane and each post focuses on a specific Chamorro word. He provides the word, its definition, and some conversational dialogue examples in both Chamorro and English. Matanane created this blog in 2009 and has reached over 250,000 views since its inception. Navigating this blog, however, is quite complex as there is no clear navigation pane as seen in *The Chamorro Language* site or *LearningCHamoru.com*. There is a navigation pane on the right side of the screen where you must navigate through different tabs to find a specific blog post or word. Additionally, Mantanane created blog posts on a few grammar lessons which can also be found on *The Chamorro Language* site and *LearningCHamoru.com*. Due to the blog type style, *Fino' Chamoru* lacks structure and is visually unappealing which may deter individuals from deeply exploring his site.

Alternatively, a structured blog with simpler navigation is *Chamorro Language & Culture* created in 2007. The purpose of this blog is to “provide Chamorro language and cultural

resources, tips, and information to those who are researching the Marianas.” Its contents are clearly provided on the right-hand side beginning with language lessons eventually leading to general posts about Chamorro culture. The author also noted that the content on this site is primarily based upon the dialect utilized in the Northern Mariãnas. The simplicity in this blog is its strength as users are able to learn and build upon skills through effortless navigation. Similarly to *LearningCHamoru.com*, each blog post provides a form of multimedia from pictures to videos applicable to the post providing a wholesome learning experience.

Another blog with over one million views is *Paleric* created by Father Eric Forbes. Father Forbes was born and raised in Guãhan and went on to pursue a Bachelor of History at San Francisco State University (Guampedia 2019). His research interests remained focused on the Mariãnas eventually creating the blog of interest to this research study. While Father’s blog is predominantly historically based, he does include an array of posts about the language and its connection to Spanish origins. When explaining aspects of history, Father intertwines the language requiring readers to understand their meaning which he swiftly provides. He also expands these connections to other aspects of Chamorro culture such as dances and musical instruments. This blog in particular is extremely successful as there is a visible consistency to Father’s posts. Shown on the right are two navigation panes, one by topic and the other by date. Father Forbes created this blog in 2009 and continues to actively post today with his most recent post as of January 4, 2022.

The websites provided above are sites with specific focuses on language. I would like to shift our attention to websites that act as windows to the language. A large argument to the transmission of language was the lack of resources available, but websites available today are

challenging this idea. *The Guam Bus* is an online store created by Michael Bevacqua and his family with the intention to

revitalize the Chamoru language and empower the Chamoru people...through the production of creative and academic works designed to inspire and educate the Chamoru people about their heritage and future possibilities as a people.

Bevacqua and family have created a variety of Chamorro language products including: Kamek Siha (Comic Books), Lepblon Famagu'on (Children's Books), Balahan Chamoru (Flash Cards), Stickers, and Clothing. All items are available to be shipped to the United States and can be picked up locally in the islands. They are also accommodating if individuals live outside of the United States and are seeking access to their resources. Of great popularity are the Lepblon Famagu'on due to the bilingual format and eye-catching illustrations. Similarly, Gerård Aflågue holds online sales presence on his website *Gerård Aflågue Collection* where he sells Chamorro products geared toward the home and language books. Aflågue authored cookbooks which can be found on his site in addition to a wide variety of Chamorro books for children and adults. He expanded his online presence onto Amazon and Ebay widening the accessibility to the Chamorro language.

Lastly, Chamorro books can also be found and purchased on the University of Guam Press Website section Taiguini Books. Taiguini also sells children's books, but their resources are geared mainly toward young and mature adults. Their recent published book *CHamoru Legends: A Gathering of Stories* is a collection of re-imagined classic CHamoru legends, also in a bilingual format, and has gained momentum both locally and internationally.

### *Zoom*

Many individuals seeking fluency in the Chamorro language, while grateful for the available resources found on websites, lack the space to speak and practice the language. Prior to

the COVID-19 pandemic, language speaking spaces were held in physical spaces. For example, Michael Bevacqua held classes at Hava Java Café in Guåhan. Ta Hita Chamorro Language Class was held at the Homeland Cultural Center in Long Beach, California. However, once the pandemic hit, these physical spaces were no longer available for use and many individuals were unavailable to meet for fear of their safety and health. As a result, Chamorros took to the online space as a way of connection through the Chamorro language.

Michael Bevacqua created an online Chamorro language class through the platform Zoom. Zoom is an application that replicates a classroom with the teacher, being the host controlling the available features, and the students. Bevacqua made his class free and accessible to all who could attend the time frame. The class took place from 9:00 – 12:30 PM Chamorro Standard Time featuring different levels of learning between each hour. The first hour is for the puyitos (beginning learners) with little prior experience learning Chamorro. The second hour is for the poya (beginning learners 2) who have taken beginner or introductory Chamorro classes. The last hour and a half is for Tåndan/Punidera (Near-intermediate/intermediate learners) who are focused on working toward fluency. This section of the class centers on generating conversational Chamorro for individuals to become comfortable speaking out loud and with others. What began as an idea by Bevacqua quickly flourished into a fruitful endeavor as students began pouring into his class reaching up to 250 people at one point (Wen 2021). A similar occurrence ensued with the Ta Hita Language Classes sponsored by Kutturán Chamoru Foundation, an organization based in California. Heidi Chargualaf-Quenga, executive director, conveyed that language classes began in 2010 and attendance was quite low with about 10 to 15 students per session. When they transferred their classes into the virtual space, interest to learn the language boomed. An overwhelming response of over 100 students resulted in the removal of

the digital flyer from social media sites as the foundation could only virtually accommodate 100 students, a Zoom requirement. Aubrey Mariano, a young Chamorro woman currently living in Hawai'i participated in the course during the pandemic and expressed her enjoyment in the class, praising the comfortable and welcoming environment. She conveyed the structure of the class began with students singing the Inifresi, Fanoghe CHamoru, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariãnas Anthem. Next, they would go over their homework given at the previous course. Lastly, they would move onto the next lesson at hand. Mariano expressed her choice in continuing with the course lied in the dynamic of the class with many students residing in the diaspora, replicating her situation of being away from home. Nonetheless, she utilized this course as a way to reconnect with herself and her identity as a Chamorro woman<sup>9</sup>.

### *Facebook*

Facebook differs from the platforms mentioned above in that it is a social networking site designed to connect individuals around the world. Mark Zuckerberg created the site in 2004 with its initial use for college students and the site blossomed into a worldwide network connecting over a billion users to date (Brügger 2015). Indigenous peoples today, however, are utilizing Facebook to progress language revitalization efforts.

Joseph Cru (2015) focused on grassroots efforts by Mayan-speaking youth in Yucatán to revitalize their language through Facebook. The area under study was once thriving with Mayan speakers but has shifted to Spanish over time. He also explained that Mayan is available on various other Internet-based media, but Facebook was chosen due to its widespread use and popularity among youth. Cru (2015) conducted social media analysis finding language ideologies expressed through public status updates. He concluded that language revitalization through

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<sup>9</sup> Aubrey Nicole Yanger Mariano, personal communication, January 2022.

Facebook destigmatizes language use, portrays language revival efforts as a grassroots effort, and provides “a peripheral domain for language revitalization” (p. 292). While socialization through the family-home dynamic remains significant, peer social networks and popular culture are becoming significant socialization agents for young individuals in regard to language practices (Friedman 2011). Facebook as a language proponent holds significance, as explained by Lhawa’s (2019) statement of social media opportunities, because it creates opportunities in which the user is actively engaging in the process, being both a consumer and producer. This dual role results in a new form of interaction and communication for its users. As a result, indigenous communities and associated researchers are encouraged to explore social mediums as platforms for language revitalization in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Networks, especially in the case of Chamorros, are critical for cultural connection and identity. These networks are now available on Facebook through features such as friending, public status updates, and photos. Chamorros are capable of supporting their networks by liking a post, providing comments, or through online conversations in the messenger feature. Furthermore, Chamorros are utilizing this platform to promote the Chamorro language.

Joe Garrido, current educator, and Chamorro musician, conveyed in his Facebook post the struggles and challenges of learning the Chamorro language (Garrido 2015). Garrido posted his realization while he was experiencing his personal language journey. As of 2015, he proclaimed he would be fluent in the Chamorro language one day. By summer of 2020, he was holding his own language classes, of which I was a student, and became a Chamorro teacher at a local middle school. Garrido expressed in his language class that he did not acknowledge himself as fluent but recognized the need for more of these spaces for younger



generations to learn and speak Chamorro<sup>10</sup>. Inspired by Kenneth Gofigan Kuper and Michael Bevacqua, he utilized Facebook to spread awareness of Ha'ānen Fino' CHamoru ha (speak Chamorro day) and encouraged his friends on family on Facebook to partake in the activity. However, only Garrido's friends on Facebook can view his posts limiting the breadth of networks the post can reach. Uniquely, Facebook provides a share feature as seen in the lower right-hand corner of Figure 2. Garrido's friends can share his post to their Facebook networks creating a snowball effect for the spread of information.

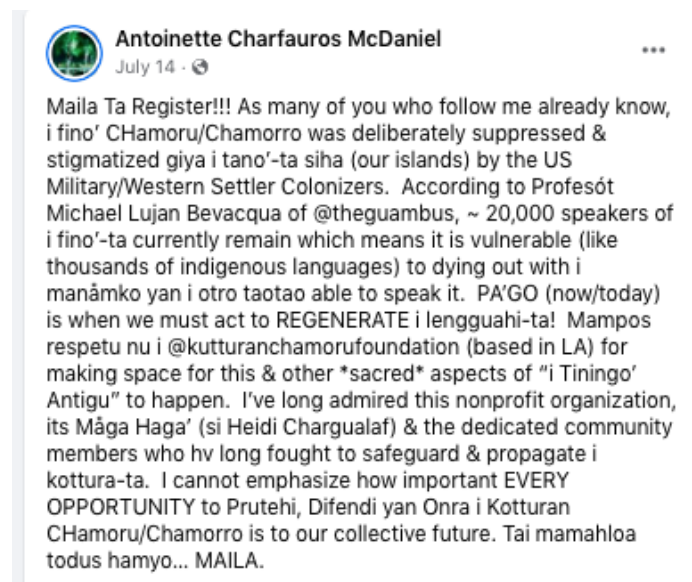
**Figure 2. Facebook Status Screenshot, Joe Garrido, March 17, 2015**



<sup>10</sup> Joe Garrido, personal communication, January 2019.

Additionally, Facebook is being utilized to spread awareness about the language resources available today. Antoinette Charfauros McDaniel, CHamoru scholar and activist currently routed in the diaspora, utilizes her platform to inform her network about the Ta Hita Virtual Language class prior to its start (Charfauros McDaniel 2021). Similarly, Michael Bevacqua regularly updates his network about the language course he holds on zoom through his Facebook page titled The Guam Bus.

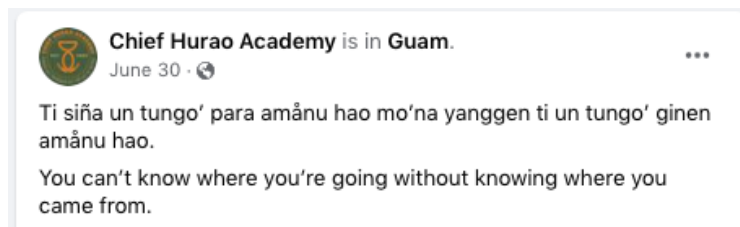
**Figure 3. Facebook Status Screenshot, Antoinette Charfauros McDaniel, July 14, 2021**



The Learn Chamorro Project utilizes their Facebook page to spread awareness about the resources they have created. The Learn Chamorro Project is a non-profit organization “dedicated to developing modern tools and resources such as DVDs, websites, and mobile app games” (Learn Chamorro n.d.). Despite their tools being outdated, such as the Learn Chamorro application mentioned in the *Website* section, they utilize their platform today to share other language efforts and resources currently occurring.

Lastly, Facebook has become a space for language education in an informal space. Chief Hurao Academy, a non-profit organization restoring CHamoru self-identity through language revitalization programs, utilizes their Facebook page to advertise their language revitalization programs such as their summer camp and immersion program. They also regularly post educational posts in the format of phrases as seen in Figure 4 (Chief Hurao Academy 2021). Their posts are written in bi-lingual format incorporating both speakers and non-speakers in this space.

*Figure 4. Facebook Status Screenshot, Chief Hurao Academy, June 30, 2021*



Bevacqua's Facebook page, The Guam Bus, also mirrors this format. He regularly provides bokbulario (vocabulary) and daily phrases in both English and Chamorro (The Guam Bus n.d.). Practicing Chamorro through the form of posting phrases has become popular as Chamorros no longer face the possibility of becoming mamahlao (to have shame, to be shameful). Considering the inability of speaking fluently by many younger generation Chamorros, many would prefer to not speak at all rather than speaking and making mistakes for fear of being mamahlao. Through posting, individuals are able to freely practice written Chamorro without being kasi (made fun of). If they are corrected, they can correct their post without the same level of social repercussions.

### *Instagram*

Instagram (IG) is also a social networking site, but its content differs from Facebook in that it is primarily utilized to share photos and videos. IG pages create visually appealing content which followers can like, share, and comment. Recently, there has been an influx of Chamorro language content IG pages in the bilingual format.

@thechamorrocookingchannel is an IG page created by Jessica and she focuses on “sharing [her] love for CHamoru food through storytelling” (The Chamorro Cooking Channel n.d.). She mainly generates content centering around Chamorro recipes and storytelling but incorporates the aspect of Chamorro language in her page as well. As seen in Figure 5, the bilingual phrases she provides relates to Chamorro food. Additionally, she utilizes the highlight feature, an IG feature that pins stories under a specific topic, to encourage followers to learn Chamorro. The advantage of Chamorro on this page lies in the actuality of people utilizing her phrases. Jessica provides phrases that are applicable to daily life such as rinsing vegetables or cutting fruit. Her page is applicable to the modern world and she hones in on bringing the Chamorro language into the modern cooking space. For example, as

seen in Figure 5, Jessica writes “Palai i Nutella gi hilo i pan” (The Chamorro Cooking Channel, 2021). There is no word in Chamorro for Nutella, a hazelnut spread, but there are ways to incorporate it into the Chamorro language such as spreading it on bread. As new products are created, Chamorros must creatively incorporate them into the language.

*Figure 5. Instagram Story Screenshot, @thechamorrocookingchannel, March 15, 2021*



@chamorrowordswithcaleb is an Instagram page that follows the adventures of Caleb, a young Chamorro boy living in the diaspora. As he experiences his adventures, he learns new Chamorro words and shares them on IG and YouTube. For clarification, adventures are interpreted in two ways. The first is physical adventures such as watching a baseball game or cultural festival. The second is his language learning adventure. The content on Caleb's Instagram is organized in two ways mirroring his adventures. On October 8, 2017, Caleb supported his favorite Guam baseball team, Sindalun Guåhan, in Las Vegas (Chamorro Words with Caleb, 2017). This post portrays a photo of him with the team and an English caption (see figure to the right). Followed by the caption is a Chamorro word with its translation. On this post, the word provided is sindalu meaning soldier or warrior. When Caleb experiences physical adventures such as watching the baseball team, the content on his Instagram page usually follows this form.

The primary content that is posted on his Instagram, however, is videos of Kaleb learning the Chamorro language. On October 24, 2017, this post portrays a video of Caleb learning his colors (Chamorro Words with Caleb, 2017). He is extremely entertaining and talks in the video as if he is talking to you personally, teaching you. As Caleb says the color, it is written on the

**Figure 6. Instagram Post Screenshot, @chamorrowordswithcaleb, October 8, 2017**





screen in both English and Chamorro. Caleb also holds an item in that specific color and repeats for example, orange, kâhet (orange in Chamorro), orange (see figure 7 below). Seeing a young child excited to speak and teach in Chamorro sheds light on where Chamorro stands today. Caleb's Instagram is a prime example of the possibilities of language transmission amongst the younger generation and is an inspiration for Chamorros in the diaspora. Comments made on the post solidify these thoughts. @felicialuvsyah commented "I never had the privilege to learn Chamorro. But hey, this helps and in the mean time I can teach this to my children as well. Thank u." @lovefromguam commented "How cute!!! I am learning so much." Caleb's language learning adventure can be taught to children and adults alike and is an entertaining way to introductory Chamorro.

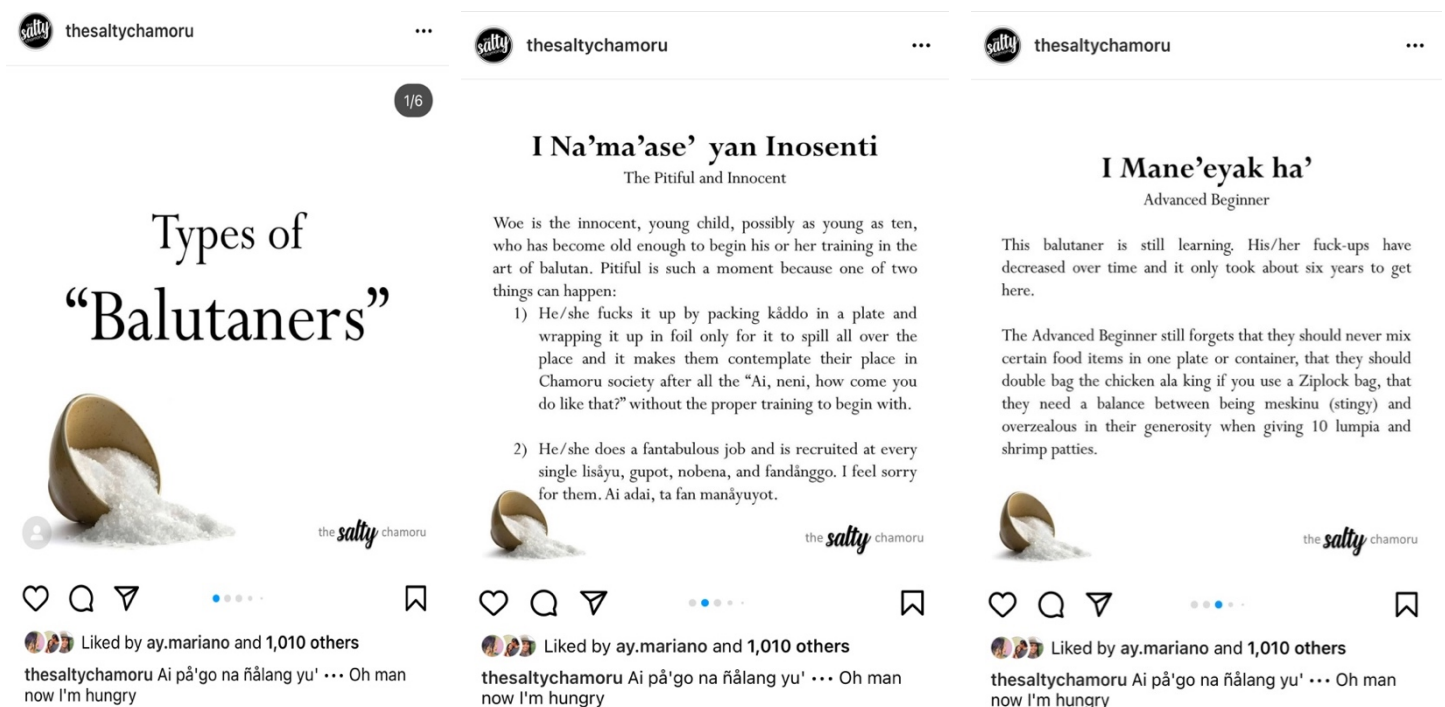
*Figure 7. Instagram Video Screenshot, @chamorrowordswithcaleb, October 24, 2017*



@thesaltychamoru is a humorous IG page and its content focuses on bilingual phrases (The Salty Chamoru n.d.). This page exploded during the pandemic as many Chamorros shared their posts to their stories. IG has a feature which allows a user to share a picture or video created by another user onto their Instagram story. The story can only be seen by the user's network for

24 hours. Similar to the share feature on Facebook, this feature creates a snowball effect of shared information. The IG page quickly grew to 9,670 followers as of January 2022 and their content enticed users to come back for more. @thesaltychamoru gained traction quickly, I argue, because the phrases replicated those that you would hear from an elder or a grandmother. The phrases held a level of sarcasm, humor, and life lesson altogether which is common in Chamorro storytelling. Some phrases also represent those that would be told to an uguaguat (naughty) child which we have all been at one time or another. More recent posts humorously criticize aspects of Chamorro culture and types of Chamorro people. For example, a post (see figure 8 below) on October 22, 2020 talks about the types of balutaners (the person who packs food) (The Salty Chamoru 2020). As you slide through the post, you are explained the types of balutaners commonly seen at a Chamorro party from the child who has no idea what s/he is doing to the experienced balutaner. We recognize ourselves through one of these types contributing to the relatability and desire to return to this IG page.

Figure 8. Instagram Post Screenshot, @thesaltychamoru, October 22, 2020



Next, I would like to explain the possible ways of finding these Instagram pages. To find the three pages mentioned above, I simply entered “Chamorro” into the search bar on the IG application. The application immediately provides pages relevant to that word according to their algorithm. An additional way to find pages with Chamorro content is to utilize the hashtag feature. This feature can be found when a user visits the search bar. Right below are options such as accounts, audio, tags, and places. A hashtag is a “combination of letters, numbers, and/or emoji preceded by the # symbol... used to categorize content and make it more discoverable” (Newberry 2021). Essentially, when a user types “Chamorro” into the tag feature, s/he will be led to the wide breadth of content specifically created by users who utilized #Chamorro in their posts. For this research, I typed “#speakchamorro” into the tag feature and was led to a variety of Instagram content and pages.

@finochamoru is the first page that appeared and is an Instagram page solely created to aid interested individuals learn Chamorro. One post provides bokubalarío on magågu (clothing) (Fino’Chamoru, 2020). The post visually provides the different types of clothing and the English and Chamorro words. @guampdn, Guåhan’s local newspaper now available on Instagram, created a video post geared toward learning the parts of trongkon lina’la (the tree of life also known as the coconut tree) (Pacific Daily News, 2017). While @guampdn does not post Chamorro content regularly, it deserves our attention considering they have a following of over 52,000 people. @tennisacademygu, a small tennis organization in Guåhan, created Chamorro language and culture content during Mes Chamorro (Chamorro month) from simple phrases of the day to local recipes (Tennis Academy of Guam n.d.).

Additionally, I searched for the phrase “learnchamorro” which led me to additional sources that I did not find using the hashtag “speakchamorro.” I first recognized a simple



bokabulario and phrase list on @people\_of\_the\_marianas, an IG page that promotes and supports the community of the Marianas (Håfa Adai yan Tirow n.d.). With over 4000 followers, the content on this page ranges from Chamorro history to music to language. Second, I was drawn to a reel, Instagram's version of a short video, by @bula.lulu where she teaches and practices the word åsi'i (to forgive; pardon; excuse). She captions her video by saying "better to learn late, than to learn never. So if you're in the same boat, let's do this together" (Tiara Lucia n.d.). @bula.lulu expresses to her friends and viewers that she is not a fluent speaker and is starting to learn Chamorro later in her life. However, she encourages others who may fear that it is too late to learn Chamorro to start now. Timing does not determine eligibility to learn anything.

Lastly, I recognized the Instagram name @theguambus. The Guam Bus was mentioned in the Facebook section and it appears that Michael Bevacqua mimics his content on Facebook onto IG as well. He provides a variety of content including the following: 1) Short bi-lingual phrases accompanied by a picture, 2) Basic commands accompanied by audio, 3) vocabulary accompanied by audio, and 4) content related to cultural events on Guåhan (The Guam Bus n.d.).

It's significant to mention that these pages mentioned above appeared when I searched for the hashtag as of January 2022. However, if a user was to search for this hashtag in a few months, a user may not find these pages depending on the new content created during their time period. Nonetheless, these pages convey that the Chamorro language is protruding into various spheres from IG pages created solely for Chamorro language education from news pages to organization pages.

### *YouTube*

Lastly, YouTube is also a social networking site and the content created on this platform is solely videos. Below the video, users can find the number of viewers that have watched the

video, the number of likes and dislikes, and the share button. Additionally, viewers can find the description box which content creators utilize to add any additional information followed by a comment section. The amount of Chamorro related content available on YouTube is immense. As a result, this thesis will only be recognizing a sliver of what the platform and its users have to offer.

KUAM News frequently posts on the platform holding over 30000 subscribers and continues to incorporate Chamorro related content today. KUAM began as a radio station in Guam in 1952 and continued well into the early 2000s. Uniquely, in April 1989, KUAM changed its name to 610 Estacion Minagof, the first and only all-Chamorro radio station. Today, KUAM can be found on all mainstream social networking sites with YouTube and Instagram being the most successful. Specifically found on YouTube is a playlist titled Learn Chamoru! comprised of eleven videos with each video focusing on a different aspect of the Chamorro language. Led by Michael Lujan Bevacqua, he provides short lessons, examples, and tips to learning the Chamorro language (Kuam News 2019). The videos have collectively reached just under 40000 views. KUAM also regularly posts videos of news updates solely in the Chamorro language with the most recent video being January 24, 2022. This feature is specific to KUAM and is not found on any other news site. Lastly, KUAM created its own segment titled KUAM's Culture Club. Each video under the culture club title features a Chamorro individual and their efforts in the Guåhan community.

The strength of this platform lies in the visual and audio aspect of the videos. Many individuals are able to hear the language as it would be spoken and are being taught language structure, grammar, and sound in real time. Activist Edward Leon Guerrero through his YouTube channel, PulanSpeaks, created a "Quick Guide to Pronouncing The Chamorro Alphabet" and he

teaches viewers how to pronounce the letters in the Chamorro alphabet in a brief 13-minute video (Pulan Speaks 2017). Another video created on the channel palecap explains “Chamorro as spoken in Luta” (Palecap 2014). Luta (Rota) is an island found in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariãnas Islands (CNMI) and the Chamorros in Luta recognize themselves to hold a different dialect of Chamorro. While pale (father) does a good job at explaining what I, as a Chamorro from Guåhan, would understand as the Luta dialect, there is an apparent disconnect from pale’s understandings and Luta Chamorro understandings in terms of language pronunciation. In the comment section, individuals express their disappointment and disagreements with pale’s explanation. Teresa Sakisat brings up the implementation of the Chamorro Language Rules, presumably the orthography, and its effect on the language. She continues on to say “We speak far better Chamoru than any Mariana Islands combine[d].” While the argument can be made that Chamorros in the CNMI speak more Chamorro due to difference in colonial influence and missionization, I do not believe that arguing one island can speak better than another does anything to bring the Chamorro language forward as a whole. Collective efforts such as these videos create a form of camaraderie whereas we can learn how each other speak and utilize that to speak amongst each other.

Nihi Kids is a YouTube channel geared toward creating Chamorro content directed toward children<sup>11</sup>. Beginning in 2018, they launched their first season of Chamorro children’s videos. There was a total of six full episodes focusing on Chamorro values and different aspects of Chamorro culture in addition to a multitude of short films and songs. The content that popularized Nihi Kids, however, was their “Kids Talk” series. In 2019, a general trend amongst

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<sup>11</sup> Nihi Kids. Home [YouTube channel]. Accessed March 10, 2022, from <https://www.youtube.com/c/NihiKids>

children's videos were children talking to influential/interesting people or children trying different foods. Nihi jumped on this trend incorporating a cultural twist. For example, the "Kids Talk" series include young Chamorro children talking to James Bamba, a local weaver, to Tan Lula, a war survivor, and Mama Chai, a suruhana (traditional healer). The series is mainly in English but features a young child holding a conversation in Chamorro every so often. More recently, they have been creating content about Chamorro history.

A copious section on YouTube is Chamorro music. Prior to Chamorro music being uploaded to YouTube, there were only two available options to listen to it. The first being physically located in the islands as there exists a Chamorro radio station, 102.9 KISH. The second being ownership of physical CDs and CD players. Today, however, individuals can simply pull up Chamorro music wherever they are so long as they have internet access. Dandan Mariãnas, for example, is a YouTube channel described as a "project to preserve and promote Chamorro music thru out the entire Mariãna Islands" (Dandan Marianas n.d.). They regularly post Chamorro musicians singing classic and modern Chamorro music reaching over 5 million views to date. Some of their artists include Gus Matagolai Kaipat, JJ Concepcion, Nadine Concepcion Reyes, and Ben Nangauta. Their artists range from young teenagers to manamko' (elderly) and they are located both in diaspora and in the islands. Dandan Mariãnas brings Chamorros together through music blurring the lines of distance through YouTube.

Another prominent artist who recently entered the Chamorro music scene in late 2019 is Joe Garrido. He created a Chamorro album titled *Lâla'la' I Fino'-ta* (Our language is living; Our language is alive) to speak against the common misconceptions of where the language stands today. His album cover (see figure 9 below) is a chalk board with the title in the center surrounded by common phrases said about the language which are crossed out. These common

phrases are “the Chamorro language is dead,” “Chamorro is a language for the elders only,” and “better to speak English than Chamorro.” His entire album breathes life into the language and is an inspiration for younger generations of Chamorros who may believe the crossed out phrases. His album has collectively reached over 790,000 views and he encourages Chamorros to translate his lyrics, understand its meanings, and utilize the language in their lives.

*Figure 9. Album Cover Created by Joe Garrido*



Chamorros are utilizing YouTube to protrude into a variety of realms such as Chamorro history, Chamorro cooking, Chamorro education, and Chamorro music. The variety of Chamorro language resources in the online space, portrayed in this chapter, reveal the diverse, grassroots efforts to perpetuate and revitalize the Chamorro language. From the world wide web to social networking sites, language resources are available with a single search at the palm of one’s hand.

Vicente M. Diaz (1994) stated, “a generation of children who did not speak their native tongues does not necessarily mean that their own children won’t know how” (47). Individuals have the opportunity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century to seek the Chamorro language on every platform available. They have the opportunity to learn their native tongue and breathe life into their language even if their language was not breathed into them prior to the fact. Individuals can bring the language forward whether that is through the consumption or production of Chamorro in the online space.

### **CHAPTER 3: FINO' CHAMORU GI IYA YOUTUBE** **(CHAMORRO LANGUAGE IN YOUTUBE)**

Chamorro is slowly penetrating all forms of the online space from websites to social networking sites. Provided in the last chapter was a brief ecology of the language resources that can be found. However, this thesis will move deeper by analyzing YouTube videos in specific relation to the Chamorro language. The SNS YouTube was chosen due to its dynamic characteristics of incorporating audio, video, content visuals, and much more. Uniquely, YouTube also provides a comment section which allows for the analysis of language ideologies directed toward the Chamorro language.

#### **Chamorro Education**

##### **Learn CHamoru!**

KUAM news published a playlist of eleven YouTube videos geared directly toward learning Chamorro (Kuam News 2019a). In the description box (located below the video), it is explained that the videos were produced by the University of Guam, the Commission on CHamoru Language, and UmeyakCHamoru.com. The three groups collaborated with KUAM to produce these videos on March 12, 2019, kicking off Mes CHamoru (Chamorro month). Each video conveys a different foundational aspect of the Chamorro language and is presented by Dr. Michael Lujan Bevacqua. The eleven videos are as follows: 1) Overview and Introduction, 2) Stative Sentences, 3) Intransitive Sentences, 4) Transitive Sentences, 5) Existential Sentences, 6) Chamorro conversation, 7) Introduction and Overview of Chamorro Pronouns, 8) Yu'-type Pronouns, 9) Hu-type pronouns, 10) Possessive Pronouns, and 11) Emphatic Pronouns. For the purpose of length, I will focus specifically on videos 1, 6, and 12, refer to transcripts in Appendix A.

All videos are structured similarly, beginning with an introduction from Dr. Bevacqua followed by the lesson at hand. These videos are geared specifically toward young and mature adults and focuses on the grammatical structure of Chamorro. If a learner were to stumble upon these videos, they would be extremely beneficial as Dr. Bevacqua provides overviews, introductions, and in-depth presentations of foundational aspects of the Chamorro language. For example, in Video 1: Overview and Introduction, Dr. Bevacqua explained an overview and introduction to Chamorro sentences (Kuam News 2019b). This video sets the premise for videos 2-5, explicating how sentences are used as well as providing examples.

*Bonita hao. Gef pã'go hao. You are beautiful. Mutong yu'. I stink. These are stative sentences...Hu li'e' i taotaomo'na. (I saw the people of before/ancestors). Ha pacha yu' i taotao'mona. The taotaomo'na touched me because I guess I didn't ask for permission in the jungle.*

Dr. Bevacqua simplifies learning Chamorro which for many may seem like a daunting task. However, he provides applicable sentences that would be utilized in daily speech which makes the language more appealing to learners seeking language-learning resources. Of additional interest to this specific video is the comment section. As explained by Kati Dlaske (2016), the comment section of a YouTube video provides language ideologies (Blommaert 1999) and sheds light on the values and meanings that users attach to that video.

As conveyed by comments written by a flying white orb, Catherine Self, and Lashawn Baker, each user holds a different reasoning for yearning to learn the language (see figure 10 below). However, each one is taking it upon themselves to learn. As written by a flying white orb, "it is now my duty." As written by Catherine Self, "I think the language is very beautiful so I'm trying to learn it now." Each individual is exploring Chamorro language resources, but it truly begins with the agency to learn the language. The comment by Dre sheds light on the value of Chamorro language resources on YouTube. Learning the language in the online space is his



“only resort.” Despite his comment sounding somber, these resources symbolize his last possible option or link to the language he desperately wants to learn. The comments by Catherine Self, Lashawn Baker, and Lan Solo also highlight that these videos can be consumed by learners at different language levels. For example, Catherine Self and Lashawn Baker are assumed to be non-speakers, while Lan Solo only lacks the ability to write Chamorro. Lastly, the comment by EJ\_Pacific Paladin calls attention to the controversy between the Chamorro orthography utilized in Guåhan versus the orthography utilized in the CNMI. Nonetheless, he admires the action that Guåhan Chamorros are taking in order to perpetuate the language and culture.

**Figure 10. User Comments, YouTube Video, Learn CHamoru! – CHamoru Sentences Lesson 1, March 12, 2019**

User	Comment
a flying white orb	My great grammy was born in Agana Guam in 1922 and was the most purest soul i ever knew. It is now my duty to learn her native language thank u for these vids man
Catherine Self	My mother lived on Rota island for five years and I think the language is very beautiful so I'm trying to learn it now
Lashawn Baker	I'm just here to learn Chamorro because My family is Chamorro but I speak English I just want to learn Chamorro
Lan Solo	I can speak Chamorro but I don't know how to write/type/text. Si Yu'us ma'ase for this video
Dre	my parents only understand, but can't speak. my grandparents say it's difficult to teach and it'll take a long time so this is my only resort
EJ_Pacific Paladin	I, like many NMI Chamorros, strongly disagree with Guamanian orthography. That said, at least Guamanians are doing something about the language and culture (even if the NMI Chamorros see it as incorrect).

Video 6 differentiates from the other videos in the series because it follows what would be a conversation between two Chamorro speakers. In this video, Dr. Bevacqua holds a conversation with Dr. Gerhard Schwab, Social Work professor at the University of Guam (Kuam News 2019c). The conversation is titled *På'go Hu Gosa* (Now I Enjoy It) and alludes to Dr. Schwab explaining how he currently enjoys speaking Chamorro. Within the conversation, refer

to appendix A, Dr. Bevacqua inquired about Dr. Schwab's background revealing that he attempted to learn the language a long time ago. Dr. Schwab is interpreted to be a non-Chamorro Chamorro speaker. Through their conversation, Dr. Schwab credited his conversational and learned abilities to UmeyakCHamoru.com suggesting that it is a valuable resource for individuals seeking to learn the language. Aside from the conversation itself, this video is significant symbol for Chamorro language learners. As mentioned earlier, Dr. Schwab is a non-Chamorro speaking Chamorro. Through this video, he symbolizes the possibilities for non-speaking Chamorros and non-Chamorros in terms of learning and speaking the Chamorro language. Simply put, you do not have to be Chamorro to learn the Chamorro language. Second, all individuals learning a language start somewhere. Dr. Schwab was mamahlao (ashamed, embarrassed) to speak which hindered his progression, but he continually attempted to learn. Exemplified by Dr. Schwab, learning the Chamorro language is a process, but it is not impossible. Lastly, this video is substantive because it leads learners to additional resources such as the UmeyakChamoru (LearnChamoru) website.

This specific video is also structured differently from the other videos in that English translations are provided on the screen as the Chamorro conversation takes place. Learners are able to hear the conversation as two speakers would naturally speak it and can understand what the speakers are saying in real time. Without these translations, I would argue that beginners would feel incompetent and would refrain from attempting to make the translations themselves.

In the comment section (see figure 11 below), two users provided their thought. Kristen Nichole expressed her attempts to learn Chamorro as well. She explained that, collectively, the playlist of videos "really help" her journey. Sagittarius one expresses the hope for Chamorros to perpetuate the language. It can be assumed that Sagittarius one is a Chamorro considering the

usage of “our Language and Culture”. In a sense, these videos are a place of hope that the language can continue to be alive through.

**Figure 11. User Comments, YouTube Video, Learn CHamoru! – CH Conversation, March 12, 2019**

User	Comment
Kristen Nichole	Im really trying to learn how to speak Chamoru and these videos really help, si yu'os ma'ase'!
Sagittarius one	I hope Chamorro's (Chamoru's) throughout the Mariana Islands and around the World will continue their best to keep our Language and Culture alive. God Bless All the Mariana Islands!!!!

Video 12 is the last video in the series and is a specific lesson on Chamorro Emphatic Pronouns (Kuam News 2019d). Emphatic pronouns are the only pronouns in the Chamorro language that express a complete thought and they can be understood in two ways. Most individuals interpret emphatic pronouns to mean “I am” such as Guåhu Si Heather (I am Heather). However, emphatic pronouns translate to “I am the one that did this.” Following this premise, Guåhu Si Heather would translate to I am the one who is Heather. Dr. Bevacqua provided the example of Hu Guaiya Hao to mean I am the one who loves you. Poetically, it means much more than the English phrase I love you. He also emphasized that context plays a large role in the Chamorro language. What you say is just as important as how it is said, so a language learner must be aware of both aspects when learning and speaking to others.

A significant aspect of this series is utilization of proper pronouns during the usage of specific types of sentences. Similarly, to videos 9-11, the seven emphatic pronouns appear on the screen as Dr. Bevacqua explains them along with their English translation. The listing and explanation of these pronouns are foundational to understanding and fluently speaking the Chamorro language. In providing them succinctly and well organized, learners are capable of grasping sentence structure quicker.

Albert C. was the only commenter on this video, and he expressed his delight in the entire series (see figure 12 below). He called for the production of more educational videos conveying that they are vital for “homesick Chamorros.” It can be interpreted that “homesick Chamorros” refers to Chamorros located in the diaspora and that individuals away from the Mariana Islands find deeper meaning in this genre of videos due to their distance.

*Figure 12. User Comments, YouTube Video, Learn CHamoru! - CH Pronouns Emphatic, March 12, 2019*

User	Comment
Albert C.	This is great! More like these please! Very educational and worth watching for any homesick Chamorros.

### **PulanSpeaks**

PulanSpeaks is a YouTube channel led by activist Edward Leon Guerrero. Edward utilizes the alias PulanSpeaks on his channel and will be referred to as Pulan. His channel description is as follows: Amazing content all in one fantastic channel! Join Pulan and friends to learn exciting regional subjects – from the Chamorro language to Micronesian history, and current issues! Since he’s created his channel in early 2017, he has gained almost 400,000 views over his collective content. Pulan’s early content was comprised of teaching the Chamorro language similar to the *LearnChamoru!* playlist above. However, Pulan goes more in depth by explaining additional aspects of the Chamorro language such as vowel harmony, modifying nouns, and intensifiers. Additionally, his content includes interviews with established and up and coming scholars, current Chamorro events occurring in Guåhan and Micronesian history.

This research will look specifically at PulanSpeak’s video *Quick Guide to Pronouncing The Chamorro Alphabet* | *PulanSpeaks Chamorro* (Pulan Speaks 2017). Pulan’s video on the Chamorro alphabet is the most comprehensive found on YouTube and, I argue, the best

YouTube video resource on the platform today explaining the Chamorro alphabet, refer to Appendix B.

Pulan begins his video by giving credit to Donald Topping and Bernadita Dungca. These individuals are the authors of two Chamorro language books which were the first comprehensive written resources of their time. These books continued to be utilized today and remain a vital resource for Chamorro language learners. He then provides a brief explanation of the transition of Chamorro from an oral language to a written language resulting in the alphabet we employ today. In explaining this transition, Pulan teaches new learners the differentiation between the Chamorro alphabet and the English alphabet. Additionally, he explains that our alphabet is very much rooted in the sound of our letters. He specifically describes eight letters, he argues, that are crucial to understand being *Ii*, *Ee*, *Åå*, *CHch*, *Ññ*, *NGng*, *Yy*, and *‘*. He comprehensively explains the letter, provides its Chamorro pronunciation, and provides an English word that the sound of the letter can be found in. For example, *Yy* in Chamorro is pronounced like the “ds” in floods. In this case, there is no English equivalent to aid in the explanation and pronunciation of the Chamorro *Yy*, so Pulan’s explanation is exceptionally helpful.

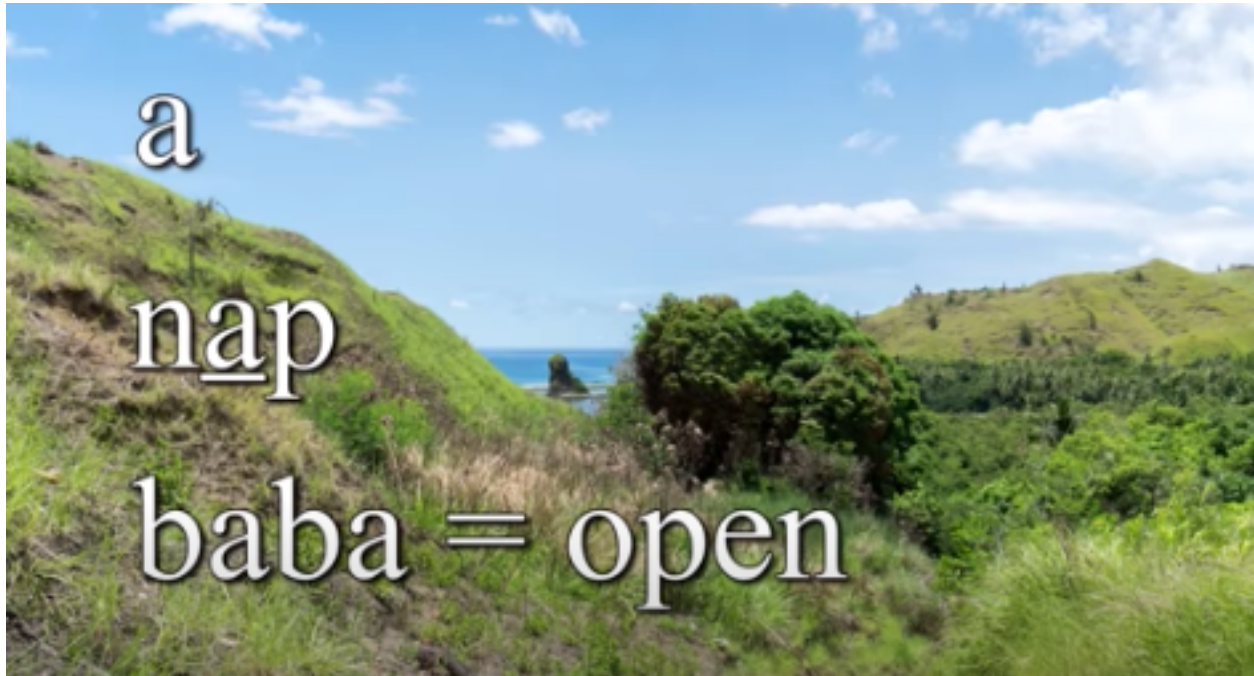
Pulan furthers by briefly touching on two Chamorro diphthongs: *ao* and *ai*. Additionally, he provides English equivalents such as *ao* resembling “ow” in cow and *ai* resembling eye in eyeball. He then provides a short overview of the eight letters and the diphthongs informing his audience that they can stick around for the rest of the video if they would like to explore the entire the alphabet with him.

Similarly, to his explanation of the eight crucial Chamorro letters, he first provides the Chamorro letter. Next, he presents the English equivalent that the pronunciation can be found in.

Lastly, he provides a Chamorro word that the letter would be found in. He goes through all 24 letters found within the Chamorro alphabet.

Not only is Pulan's video strong and comprehensive, but it is consumable by all levels of language learners. He is remarkably easy to understand and the contents of the video itself are attractive. During the introduction, he includes pictures through the edit of a pop up which constantly grabs the audience's attention. As he is speaking about the eight Chamorro letters and diphthongs, he provides how they look and sound on the screen beside his physical body. Essentially, he makes the learning process much easier as the information is accessible both verbally and literally. The screen then switches to a landscape photo of Guåhan when he describes the Chamorro alphabet. As he verbally explains the letter, its pronunciation in an English word, and the Chamorro word, he provides it written on the screen (see figure 13 below).

*Figure 13. YouTube Video Screenshot, Pulan Speaks, August 21, 2017*



There are a variety of components within Pulan's video and this variety propels his video forward in terms of learning and pronouncing the Chamorro alphabet. It is a key resource for individuals seeking to learn the language.

### **Nihi Kids**

Nihi Kids is a YouTube channel geared toward creating Chamorro language resources for the next generation. Nihi! is a project of the non-profit organization Duk Duk Goose, Inc., which pledges to:

- 1) Preserve and protect our unique culture, stories, identity, and resources, 2) Instill a confidence and pride in our unique identity and our island community, 3) Inspire a deep love for our water, land, and people, and 4) Promote sustainable and healthy ways of living.

Nihi! exudes this pledge while specifically focusing on the aspect of the Chamorro language. On the Nihi Kids description page, they claim Nihi!

Amplifies indigenous voices, knowledge, issues and stories in Guåhan (Guam), the Marianas and across Micronesia – to affirm identity; to inspire a deep love for our land, ocean and communities; and to equip the next generation of protectors.

Additionally, they

Advocate for Language & Culture, Character development (respect, kindness, honesty, work ethic, sharing and other culturally based values and traits), Environmental Stewardship, Health and Learning.

This YouTube channel clearly conveys that its efforts are to produce videos for the purpose of perpetuating Chamorro culture through language. Their content, as a result, has gained popularity achieving over 160,000 views.

As mentioned in chapter 2, their content has varied since the channel's inception in 2013. Considering the variety of content and topics, this research will analyze two videos: *Nihi! KIDS TALK to a Suruhåna (Traditional Chamorro Healer)* and *FANGGAIRESPETU!*.

*Nihi! KIDS TALK to a Suruhãna (Traditional Chamorro Healer)*

*Nihi! KIDS TALK to a Suruhãna* (NKTS) is a video from the popular KIDS TALK series. Videos within his series follow a specific framework. Children speak to an individual in Chamorro society about a specific topic with children leading the conversation with their questions. The different conversations are layered together to form one cohesive video.

In the NKTS video, Chamorro children Hezzy, Sumãhi, Akli'e and Inina talk to suruhãna<sup>12</sup> Mama Chai (Nihi Kids 2019). Mama Chai explains what it means to be a suruhãna and answer the children's questions in relation to her cultural identity as a suruhãna. The video has reached over 12,000 views and 460 likes. The high number of views may be related to the bilingual organization of the video. For example, Hezzy and Inina speak to Mama Chai in English while Sumãhi and Akli'e speak to her in Chamorro. This video differs from *Learn CHamoru* and *PulanSpeaks* and stands out amongst the videos in the KIDS TALK series because young children are speaking Chamorro. The visibility of young children speaking Chamorro shed light on the continual intergenerational transmission of the language. Children are learning the language today and they are capable of speaking it with fluent elders.

Additionally, the juxtaposition between the children speaking English and Chamorro reveals various ideas. Obviously, seeing and hearing young children speak the Chamorro language is such an inspiration. They are living examples of the language being alive. They are living examples of the possibilities of the language moving forward with the next generations. I also argue that juxtaposing the Chamorro speaking children with the English-speaking children allow both adults and children watching the video to realize that it is okay if Chamorro is not their first or primary language. The reality is that we utilize English in many spheres, and we

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<sup>12</sup> A suruhanã is a female Chamorro healer and is sought out to help individuals with ailments or difficulties in life.



should not expect children to carry the burden of the language dying on their shoulders. It is acceptable if a child speaks English, and it is acceptable if they speak Chamorro. The juxtaposition is simply to show that there are children who are capable of conversing with elders in the Chamorro language.

Additionally, this video is significant because the audience can learn and understand a vital aspect of Chamorro culture, the *suruhåna*. Prior to the introduction of western medicine, Chamorro people relied on *suruhåna/u(s)* to heal their ailments through massage or herbal medicine. Today, many Chamorro seek *suruhåna/u* when they encounter ailments that western medicine cannot aid or if they prefer natural remedies. Mama Chai is a significant figure in Chamorro society and it is valuable that young children and individuals in the diaspora learn about her and how she aids the community. Despite the prevalence of western medicine and the belief in its superiority, Mama Chai continues her efforts as a *suruhåna* because it's embedded in her soul to help her community. She conveys that traditional medicine is just as important today as it was in the past altering the archaic symbolism attached to the *suruhåna/u*.

In regard to the organization of the video, when Mama Chai speaks Chamorro to the children or vice versa, provided on the bottom of the video are English translations. Viewers can hear Chamorro as well as interpret its English meanings so as the video can be easily consumed without fluently understanding the language.

This video contains rich commentary in terms of language ideologies toward Chamorro (see figure 14 below). The comment by dabu speaks to the unique experience growing up as a mestizo Chamorro (mixed race Chamorro). Dabu lacked the opportunity to grow up with a Chamorro-speaking family and it is unknown whether dabu resides in the islands or in the diaspora. Additionally, dabu lacked the interest to learn the language and the culture. The value

of language and culture was not present in dabu's life, but that is changing. Dabu is searching specifically for videos to help his/herself learn more about his/her Chamorro heritage and language. Essentially, Dabu's feelings toward his/her identity as a Chamorro individual has shifted. S/he yearns to learn about the Chamorro language and culture which is made possible through these YouTube videos.

**Figure 14. User Comments, YouTube Video, FANGGAIRESPETU! - Nihi! Respetu Episode S1, November 9, 2018**

User	Comment
dabu	I envy these kids. I'm Chamorro but grew up in a white household so I don't know much of the language. I hadn't been too interested in my culture until recently, and I find these videos to learn more about my heritage.
Camarin Nicole	These kids speak CHamoru so well! I love it. I'm so glad everyone is trying to keep our culture and language alive.
straightup671	[crying face; blushing face] The manamko always hold a special place in my heart. Living treasures. BIBA CHAMORRO! KEEP THE CULTURE AND LANGUAGE ALIVE!
Velma Sablan	I just LOVED this! The love-light in Mama Chai's eyes shines through to the children. My mom made sure we understood and could speak CHamoru, but we can't read or write it very well. She made me miss my mom.
Desmond San Nicolas	Hearing an older woman speak Chamorro brings tears to my eyes. I miss my grandmother so much.
xoxosis	Watching this video and seeing how much loving and caring embrace the suruhãna has towards the kids. Makes me remember my great grandma Rita Cruz. She was went through the war in guam at the age of 15 and had an very amazing career as a RN and past away at the age of 89. Everyday she would tell me stories as a child about her life back then. The way the surahãna is comforting the kids is always how my great grandma would treat us to. If your chamoru I just want to say HU GUIYA HÃO MÃS! [Heart emoji x5] BIBA GUHÃN BULA GUINAIYA PROTEHI I KUTTURÃ. [Heart emoji x11; Guam flag emoji x11]
TheForeignersNetwork	I'm not Chamorro and I have no connection to the island of Guam or the Marianas, but this is a beautiful video. Ancestral knowledge is completely priceless, especially in cultures where that knowledge is constantly under threat due to colonial influences. My godmother is Haitian and this video reminds me of how she teaches her children about Haitian traditional medicine and religion.

Dabu's feelings and experience engendered a conversation thread with users replying in support and similitude (see figure 15 below). Nihi kids replied expressing their happiness in dabu utilizing their videos as a resource to learn the Chamorro language and culture. They also explain to dabu that they are still learning as well. In saying they are still learning, they convey to dabu that they are in their own language learning journey, similar yet different to dabu. Kawaii Princess, Yislana Black, and Planetrhine reply conveying their similar experiences growing up in households that were mixed race. Yislana Black, however, encourages dabu expressing that learning is still possible through the University of Guam. Planetrhine additionally expresses her joy in finding various videos that aid in learning the Chamorro language. Her comment communicates the rich and newfound niche of Chamorro language and culture videos now available on YouTube. Xoxosis's comment is a heartfelt response explaining to dabu "it's not our fault that we don't know how to speak chamoru." She provides a summarized explanation of the series of events which has led to the reasonings behind many Chamorros not being able to speak Chamorro. Her comment is significant in that it removes the blame and burden from the individual and situates it in a much deeper, complex issue. Her comment directly correlates to the purpose and background of this research.

***Figure 15. User Comments, YouTube Video, FANGGAIRESPETU! - Nihi! Respetu Episode S1, November 9, 2018***

User	Comment
Nihi kdis	na =to cause to become or to make magof=happy na'magof este (this makes us happy. We're also still learning and producing these videos teaches us so much. We're so happy that these videos are helping you to learn about your heritage, too. That means so much to us.
Kawaii Princess	I am right there with you!
Yislana Black	Me too! You can still learn Chamorro at the university of guam!
Planetrhine	I'm mixed chamoru and also grew up this way. Love finding videos like this that help us learn our language ☺

xoxosis	Great job it's not our fault that we don't know how to speak chamoru. Things that happened along the way in Guam with the Japanese then the Americans taking us that caused it. Majority of all chamorus grandparents can speak fluently. Unfortunately their parents were really forced not to practice their culture. Hence why many of our parents 40/50s didn't think to teach us. Because their parents didn't really do it. They were taught it wasn't valuable or needed ☹️. Mostly why many youth in Guam don't know how to speak it, however greatly enough many chamorus feel the same. They wished they could speak it. We are really getting strong many aspect of keeping our culture thriving. I'm trying to learn how to speak it. I can only understand. I'm only 22 so I'm in the gen where my parents didn't teach me sadly, but my grandparents tried as much as they can. I'm kindve sad my mom didn't teach us because she's fluent. But it's understandable. But I love that chamorus are really coming out and nourishing the youth with great videos like this. Biba guhån!
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Returning to comments provided in figure 14, Comments by Camarin Nicole and straightup671 express the pride and joy in the Chamorro language. They view these videos as resources to perpetuate the language and culture. Camarin Nicole states “I’m so glad everyone is trying to keep our culture and language alive.” Straightup671 utilizes emojis to express his/her emotions stating “BIBA CHAMORRO! KEEP THE CULTURE AND LANGUAGE ALIVE.” These two commenters apply similar language about keeping the language alive. The language “keep our culture and language alive” speaks to the belief that the two are not dead. They are not dying. They are very much alive, and these videos are significant in perpetuating and revitalizing the language in the modern world. Straightup671 capitalizes his comment representing emphasis and can be interpreted as yelling. S/he also utilizes the Chamorro term “Biba.” There is no direct English translation for this word; however, biba can be interpreted as the English hooray and an expression of pridefulness. Xoxosis also expresses “BIBA GU[A]HÅN BULA GUINAIYA PROTEHI I KUTTUR[A].” Her comment speaks to having pride for Guåhan specifically and she expresses an immense amount of love which we can assume is for her culture and language.

She ends by saying protect the culture. In the case of this YouTube video, Chamorros are protecting their culture and language by sharing it on this platform. They are protecting it by allowing it to be carried on into the next generation. They are protecting it by perpetuating it.

Comments by Velma Sablan, Desmond San Nicolas, and xoxosis brought up a unique theme regarding Chamorro women. Each individual claimed that seeing Mama Chai interact with the children reminded them of a significant Chamorro woman in their lives. For Velma, Mama Chai reminded her of mother stating “My mom made sure we understood and could speak CHamoru, but we can’t read or write it very well. She made me miss my mom. For Desmond, Mama Chai reminded him of his grandmother. He stated, “Hearing an older woman speak Chamorro brings tears to my eyes. I miss my grandmother so much.” Lastly, for xoxosis, Mama Chai reminded her of her great grandmother Rita Cruz. She conveyed, “Everday she would tell me stories as a child about her life back [in Guam]. The way the surahãna is comforting the kids is always how my great grandma would treat us too.” Through these commenters, their expressions reveal a unique occurrence. When Chamorro individuals see elder Chamorro woman, they are immediately met with and reminded of the presence of Chamorro women in their lives. In no other video mentioned in this case study does this occur with men. Essentially, Chamorro women remain to hold a significant place and role in their children and grandchildren’s lives. Despite the globalized forces, Chamorro children remain strongly attached to their mother figures.

The last comment by TheForeignersNetwork was included in this analysis due to its recognition of the vital nature of ancestral knowledge. TheForeignersNetwork has no ties to Chamorros or Chamorro land but expresses the beauty in this video. The individual writes, “Ancestral knowledge is completely priceless, especially in cultures where that knowledge is

constantly under threat to colonial influences.” TheForeignersNetwork brings up a valid point in that our language and our culture are constantly under threat, and yet we remain resilient finding alternative ways to perpetuate our language and culture. We recognize the importance of who we are as Chamorro individuals and how our culture and language are very much intertwined to this specific identity. We are not willing to wait until our language faces similar situations to that of Hawaiian and Māori where their language stopped being spoken completely. Chamorros are taking initiatives now, so that our language regains its strength and continues on with the next generation.

### *Fanggairespetu*

*Fanggairespetu* is a skit type video that teaches children about the Chamorro value of respetu (respect). Respetu encompasses many aspects in Chamorro and this video attempts to convey a variety of those aspects through the main skit, songs, and through mini skits woven throughout the video. First, I will describe the organization of the content and then explain each section of that content. Next, I will provide descriptions of the additives included during the skits. Lastly, I will provide a brief analysis of the video in its entirety.

*Fanggairespetu* is an entertaining, interactive video geared toward teaching young children about the Chamorro value of respect (Nihi Kids 2018). Gairespetu translates to being respectful. Fanggairespetu is the pluralized version of being respectful. The video begins with a brief skit about respect in sign language. There is no audio, and the subtitles are automatically provided in Chamorro as the young girl and elder woman exhibit the sign language. Once this scene ends, the video transitions to the main skit of the video.

The main skit is composed of four characters: Auntie Kisha, Aaron, Lukie, and Kaekae. In Scene 1, Auntie Kisha teaches Lukie how to be respectful and teaches him the ways that he

can encourage his friends to be respectful. During this scene, both Auntie Kisha and Lukie intertwine speaking English and Chamorro. For example, Auntie Kisha stated, “I was just dropping those groceries para sena la’mona.” They also follow up their Chamorro phrases with its English translation. As conveyed by Auntie Kisha, “Ya hãgu. Hãfa bidada-mu? What are you doing?” The scene is split by a song sung by Auntie Kisha and Lukie about respect through the practice of *ãmening* and helping the family. The song conveys that respect has been engrained into Chamorro culture since long ago and it is a tradition that we continue to this day. The scene ends by Lukie’s friend, Kaekae, showing respect to Auntie Kisha.

In Scene 2, Auntie Kisha picks up her cousin Aaron from the airport and they are driving home. Aaron has been away from the island for a long time and Auntie Kisha reminds him of the ways that he should be respectful. These ways are then formulated into a song with a hip-hop twist. The song focuses on showing *respetu* by removing shoes when entering an individual’s home, not letting people work alone, and caring for our island by picking up trash and recycling. Additionally, the song incorporates *ãmening* elders as a sign of respect, building off the last song sung with Lukie.

Scene 3 differs from the main skit in that it is a separate skit titled *Respect is Important*. It is a monologue spoken by a young boy about the importance of *respetu* and the importance of showing *respetu* to oneself. He states, “I show *respetu* for myself by taking care of my things. I am learning how to be organized and to keep my things clean. I show *respetu* for myself by taking care of my body.” While it is common knowledge to show *respetu* to others, it is just as vital to show *respetu* to yourself.

Scene 4 returns to the main skit where Auntie Kisha and Aaron are picking *gollai* (vegetables) for dinner. While they are picking *gollai*, someone throws trash out of their car right

in front of them. Auntie Kisha explains this act as *tairespetu* (showing disrespect) and *taimamahlaho* (without shame; negative connotation) which are major faux pas in Chamorro culture. She then conveys that instead of throwing their trash out their window and littering, they could have recycled their waste. More importantly, she metaphorically conveys that taking care of the land and the ocean is similar to taking care of your *nāna* (mother). The two should be treated the same level of *respetu*.

Scene 5 is a song expressed through an animated motion picture sung by a young girl. The girl sings, “My *nāna* is a *maga’håga* of the *tåno* and the *tåsi*...*Si nāna-hu un maga’håga gi i tano’ yan i tasi.*” This song exudes the strength of mothers and their power over the land and the ocean. Their significance in our lives as well as the significance of land and ocean are vital aspects of our Chamorro identities. As a result, we should care for the two and show utmost *respetu*.

Scene 6 follows Kisha and Aaron after they’ve picked up the littered trash. Before they head home, Aaron spots *mangga* (mango) and attempts to pick it. Auntie Kisha, however, stops him as the mangos are located on Tan Maria’s land. She reminds him that picking fruit from another’s land without permission is *tairespetu*. This scene ends with a song about showing respect by not taking what doesn’t belong to you. Essentially, if you take without asking from another individual, it is stealing, trees and fruits included.

Scene 7 is also a mini skit separate from the main skit titled *Respetu skit Gi Fino CHamoru*. This skit follows Inina and Matua as they show respect to their family who has arrived at their house. Matua teaches his younger sister, Inina, how to be respectful through their actions.



Scene 7 follows Auntie Kisha provided tips on how to be respectful when having or attending a gupot (party). She explains the following: 1) Use real dishes, 2) Set up recycling containers and teach people how to use them, and 3) Take reusable bags to the grocery store. This scene teaches children about the value of reducing their waste, reusing necessary goods, and recycling materials.

The very last scene is composed of Auntie Kisha, Lukie, and Aaron sitting outside after the party is over. Aaron asks if he followed Auntie Kisha's advice on being respectful and she agrees. The scene ends with the same song sung by Lukie and Auntie Kisha in scene 1 about respetu.

The additives within the video remain uniform throughout. As seen in figure 16 below, Chamorro subtitles are provided on the bottom of the screen when Chamorro is spoken by the characters throughout each scene. Due to respetu being the focus of the video, a graphic of the Chamorro word and its English translation pop up on the screen each time respetu is mentioned in both negative and positive connotations.

**Figure 16. YouTube Video Screenshot, FANGGAIRESPETU! – Nihi! Respetu Episode S1, November 9, 2018**



Overall, this video is a modern and entertaining way to teach young children about the Chamorro value *respetu*. Additionally, it incorporates language phrasing that is easily understandable and consumable by all audiences. The video is brightly colored resulting in eye catching scenes and the pop ups add to the ways in which to gain young children's attention. The weakness in this video, however, lies in the multitudes of scenes. As conveyed in Appendix C and in the introduction of this video above, the video is separated into the main skit, two smaller skits, and an introduction skit. There is so much going on and I don't believe that they necessarily coincide to create a cohesive story. All scenes exhibit the core value of *respetu*, but the variety of scenes can confuse young children as the flow of the main skit becomes disrupted. Additionally, providing the Chamorro subtitles is helpful for individuals who have background in the Chamorro language as they can view the conversation in its written form. However, new learners would not understand the English translation which is not always provided in the conversations themselves. The direction of this video in terms of explaining the Chamorro value of respect and incorporating the language is commendable. However, future videos should be succinct and focus on one skit at a time. The smaller skits could be made in to YouTube shorts, a new feature of YouTube.

Additionally, Nihi! should provide English subtitles in tandem with the Chamorro subtitles. For better visual consumption, they should keep the Chamorro subtitles on the screen of the video, an edit they create themselves. When they post their video, they can generate their own English subtitles into the YouTube studio to match the Chamorro subtitles that arise during the video. Individuals can view the English subtitles when they click the subtitle option on the bottom right of the video. Lastly, their songs are wonderfully written and pleasurable to listen to.

They are catchy and make you want to sing along. This aspect should definitely be incorporated in future videos.

## **Chamorro Music**

### **Joe Garrido**

Joe Garrido, commonly referred to as Joemoru, is a budding and talented Chamorro musician. He utilized SNSs to spread his album *Låla'la' I Fino'-ta* and currently situates his music on Apple Music, Spotify, and YouTube. This section will focus specifically on his efforts found on YouTube. Prior to diving into his music, I would like to analyze his album cover, refer to Appendix D. Joe, in an YouTube interview conducted by PulanSpeaks (Pulan Speaks 2019), began the discussion about his album through his album cover.

First off, his album title “*Låla'la' I Fino'-ta*” literally translates to our language is living or our language is alive. The title in itself is a direct response to the prevailing discussion of Chamorro as a dying language. Visually, the title is written on a chalkboard, surrounded by six lighter-colored phrases that are crossed out on the board. The first phrase is “The Chamorro language is dead,” and this commonly argued phrase is the reasoning behind my thesis. Hearing this phrase repetitively makes you wonder if it is or if it will be. The second phrase is “You can’t get a job speaking Chamorro” and this phrase equates with the next phrase “Better to speak English than Chamorro.” These phrases are situated in the colonial brainwashing done to Chamorros. Chamorros were manipulated to believe that their language was not equivalent to success or advancement and as a result, they were brainwashed into believing that English would garner their path toward success. The next phrase is “Chamorro is a language for the elderly only.” By Joe creating this album, he is attempting to attract younger Chamorros into recognizing that the language is for all Chamorros, young and old. Just because the elderly are

assumed to be the only ones that commonly use the language does not mean that they should be the only ones to utilize it. The next phrase is “Stupid Chamorros” and Joe explained the inclusion of this phrase stemmed from his personal experience as a young child. His 3<sup>rd</sup> grade teacher had angrily conveyed in his class that Chamorros were stupid. The last phrase is “The culture and language are already dying.” This phrase culminates the idea that if the culture and language are dying already, there is nothing more that can be done. However, Joe Garrido articulates through his album that there is more that can be done. His contribution is through the perpetuation of Chamorro music.

Joe’s album is composed of ten tracks completely in Chamorro and speak directly toward Chamorro language and culture. This thesis will attend to the three songs that focus specifically on Chamorro language: *Kântan CHamoru*, *Lengguâhi*, and *Na’lâ’la’*. Accompanying the songs are the translations provided by Joe Garrido, creatively organized and designed by Artemia Perez, refer to Appendix D.

### *Kântan CHamoru*

*Kântan CHamoru* (Chamorro songs; to sing Chamorro) is an upbeat song that many Chamorros enjoy chachaing<sup>13</sup> to. The song has reached over 77,000 views and over 260 likes on YouTube alone (Danielfdb7988 2019a). At first, the song can be interpreted as lively and entertaining. The first verse, however, is actually a call for agency. Joe Garrido calls to his brothers and sisters in the Mariânas to appeal to all Chamorros in the islands. His language encourages a comradeship amongst Chamorros who have been separated due to colonial history. He then moves into calling for the protection of the language, culture, and customs. Additionally, many Chamorro equate Chamorro language with Chamorro identity. However, I argue that the

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<sup>13</sup> The Chacha is a popular Chamorro dance usually done at fiestas, parties, and weddings.

language is simply one piece of an ever complex and dynamic puzzle. As expressed by Joe, perpetuating the language is just as significant as perpetuating the culture and the customs that signify who we are Chamorros. He encourages Chamorros to stand up for their language and for themselves. Be banidosu (proud; prideful) of your Chamorro identity (however one interprets that identity), of the Chamorro language, and of Chamorro land. Again, he ties in another aspect crucial to Chamorro identity, being the land itself.

It is important to recognize that Joe is not creating distinctions amongst Chamorros in the Mariånas and in the diaspora. He is simply calling out to Chamorros relative to where he is which is in the Mariånas. Joe continues by expressing the beauty and richness of our history which tends to be consumed by colonialism and missionization. Lastly, he recognizes the problems created by colonialism and reminds the Chamorro people that they are strong. He reminds the Chamorro people that their strength lies in the ancestors that have come before them. The chorus and the second verse take on a humorous tone about singing and dancing to Chamorro songs and getting drunk in hopes of not falling over. This humor is relational to how Chamorros party relaying that they love to sing, dance, and drink beer.

Kantån CHamoru is a powerful song because Joe is targeting various aspects of Chamorro language and culture in three verses. He calls for action amongst Chamorros to perpetuate their language and culture, appeals to the average Chamorro, and includes slight humor.

### *Lengguåhi*

Lengguåhi (language) is a slow tempo song and encourages Chamorros to reflect upon where they stand and how they want to envision the future of their language. As of today, the song has over 20,000 views and 59 likes on YouTube (Danielfdb7988 2019b). The first verse

encourages Chamorros to question and analyze what they are doing with their language. Joe blatantly says, “Usa I lengguâhen-miyu” (Use your language!). He calls for the reframing of current and common thoughts that the Chamorro language is not important and to refrain from thinking “from another place.” I argue that thinking from another place is a toned-down way of saying thinking through the colonial lens. As Chamorros of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we cannot rely on the thoughts of outsiders who influence us on the belief that our language is inferior. By doing something, such as listening to Chamorro music, singing Chamorro music, or dancing to Chamorro music, we are challenging these thoughts that our language is not enough. Joe calls for Chamorros to bring life to their language and refrains from saying exactly how that can be done. Essentially, bringing life to the language can be done in a variety of ways. However, the key premise in bringing life to it is to use it. We must use our language in order to breathe life and luster into it. Lastly, he says “fanâ’gue todû I famagu’on-miyu” (and teach your children). The language must be passed on to future generations for it to be carried into the future generations. We must speak to them, sing to them, and inspire them to be proud bi-lingual, Chamorro speakers. We must breathe life into them through their language, through the language of their ancestors.

The chorus is short and simple. He explains that Chamorros are Chamorros by blood. They are the natives in their home. They are Chamorro by ethnicity and that Chamorros form one Mariânas. In four phrases, he destroys many internalized thoughts by Chamorros. By stating that Chamorros are in fact Chamorros by the blood that runs through their veins, he reminds Chamorros, speaking or non-speaking, of what it means to be Chamorro. Individuals tend to equate their language speaking abilities with their identity. As a result, if they do not speak their language fluently or at all, they believe themselves to be less Chamorro navigating through what

they believe to be a lost identity. However, Joe simplifies this idea to remind Chamorros that their blood is Chamorro and this blood connects them to their land. Their land is the Mariånas. Whether they've been raised in the islands, set foot on the land for a certain time period, or long for the land they've never seen, their blood links them to the land, the land of all Chamorros. He ends the chorus by saying "manhita Mariånas" (one Mariånas). Again, Joe attempts to reconnect us Chamorros. Arguably, there is too much focus on the differentiation of Chamorros between the CNMI, Guåhan, and the diaspora. These distinctions are rooted in the arbitrary boundaries created through colonial powers. We cannot side with colonial manipulations of superiority and inferiority. Alternatively, we must, as Joe calls for, remember that we are one Mariånas, connected by blood, by identity, and by the oceanic currents that bridge our distance.

The second verse resonates with myself as an aspiring Chamorro learner. Joe provides his personal experiences of learning Chamorro. He explained that the desire to learn Chamorro has always been rooted inside of him since he was a child. When he entered college, he did not know the language. Similarly, I entered the University of Guam required to take Chamorro classes according to the general education requirements. During this experience, I recognized that I was behind in comparison to my classmates. Many were taught Chamorro and spoken to by their family members and I, in contrast, had Chamorro spoken to me in the educational settings. I felt discouraged and incompetent. I believed that my inability to speak the language at a level that I believed I should be speaking at equated to lowering of my identity as a Chamorro woman. I interpreted this experience differently than how I should have. Being incompetent and feeling inferior should fuel the motivation to learn more and continue studying the language which Joe explains he continued to do. By exploring his personal journey with the Chamorro language, he found purpose in his life. He was inspired to become a Chamorro teacher for children of Guåhan.

As of today, Chamorro remains required in primary and secondary education. Speaking to one of the crossed-out phrases on Joe's album, achieving a job in direct correlation with the Chamorro language is possible.

Lengguåhi is a soul-touching song because Joe literally tells us to stop consuming the negative thoughts. We must stop believing the untrue thoughts constantly said by both Chamorros and non-Chamorros. We must stop believing the crossed-out phrases on his album. We need to envision a positive future for the language. More so, we need to be proactive agents in bringing the language forward into the future. We, the Chamorro people, must do what we possibly can in all outlets to breathe life into the language. On a much deeper level, I do not believe it is enough to simply teach children Chamorro. I believe that we must teach them the value of the language. By teaching them the value of their language, they will remain stout when they are told that their language is inferior, when they are told that their language will not do anything for their success, and when they are told that their language is dying. By knowing the value of their language, they will be living examples that challenge these false notions of Chamorro as a dying language.

### *Na'lå'la*

Na'lå'la (to be alive) is the last song in Joe's album and is the culmination of what he wants to say in regard to the Chamorro language and culture. As of today, this song has over 13,000 views and 40 likes on YouTube (Danielfdb7988 2019c). Joe begins the first verse by saying "Na'lå'la' I fino'-ta, na'lå'la' i kotturå-ta" (make life to our language, make life to our culture). He encourages the understanding that both language and culture are important to who we are as Chamorros. Knowing the language does not constitute a rooted Chamorro identity, but we should strive to breathe life into both. He continues by stating that our customs must be



remembered, must be practiced, and are just as important as the language and the culture. He centers these three core aspects of Chamorro identity to *i hale'-ta* (our roots). When individuals perceive their roots, they automatically tie their roots to the physical land they inhabit. I encourage Chamorros to move beyond this thought because of the mobile nature of many Chamorros today. To be routed elsewhere does not disrupt the roots of Chamorro identity. Chamorro roots may be found in the land, but it is also found rooted within.

Joe furthers by stating that making life to the language, the culture, and the customs must be done *kada diha* (everyday). It requires a constant, conscious effort to practice these aspects of Chamorro identity. The next phrase Joe conveys is *protehi i taotao-ta* (protect our people). This phrase is quite vague, and there is not a clear understanding to what he referring to when he says to protect our people. Protection can occur in many ways through physical protection, mental protection, or emotional protection. Next, Joe reminds us of the importance of two significant generations. He first reminds us to *mantieni finanguen mañaina'-ta, gagao siha ni tenemtom-ñiha* (maintain the teachings of our elderly; seek their wisdom). It is easy to get caught up in the swing of daily life and of your personal goals and aspirations. However, we must slow down and remember that our elders have lived long before we have. They hold an immense amount of knowledge and wisdom that will only benefit our futures and our minds. Essentially, our elders are our connections to their elders and their elders before them. They are our linkage to the past and they will guide us in our ever-changing future. Second, Joe follows up with a reminder to help our children. Our children are the future. They hold the future of Chamorro language, Chamorro culture, and Chamorro customs. This is not to place the fate of Chamorro identity in their hands, but to remind individuals that their children are the essence of the Chamorro future if they allow them to be. If parents and grandparents teach their children and grandchildren the

language, the culture, and the customs, we certainly do not know the potential of the Chamorro identity in the future. Most importantly, if Chamorro children are taught the value of who they are as Chamorro, the possibilities are truly unknown.

Following, Joe calls for respect to be given to surroundings and surroundings can be interpreted in various ways. Surroundings can refer to the land itself, it can refer to the community, and/or it can refer to the people that surround an individual. Nonetheless, the core premise of this phrase is to show respect and to give respect. *Respetu* (respect) is a foundational value for Chamorros and should be shown in all aspects of an individual's life. Lastly, Joe calls for the visitation of the islands, *bisita isla-ta siha, Mariãnas*. His usage of the possessive pronoun “-ta” (our) is significant because he is calling for the visitation of *our* islands. His language speaks to the inclusivity of all Chamorros. His language is encouraging conveying to Chamorros, in the Mariãnas and in the diaspora, that the islands belong to us all.

During the chorus, Joe speaks upon the importance of our lives and our lands. Not only do Chamorros hold a deep connection to their physical land, but they are facing many hardships considering the selling of many native lands. I argue that Joe's repetitive reminder about the importance of land speaks to both current issues. He finalizes the chorus with “*todus hit ni mannatibu*” (let's become one, we, the natives). Similarly to *lengguãhi*, he calls for oneness amongst Chamorros. The idea of oneness is much more than the idea of homogeneity. For too long, Chamorros have been divided due to their colonial history. They've continued to live within these divisions both physically and mentally, but as emphasized by Joe, we can no longer continue in this way. We must come together as one. CNMI Chamorros, Guãhan Chamorros, and diaspora Chamorros, we must come together and work together to ensure the perpetuation of our language, our culture, and our customs.

The second verse begins with “susteni i guinahâ-ta” (sustain our resources). The Mariânas is composed of many small islands situated in the middle of the Pacific. As a result, our islands and its resources are not infinite. With the growing population within the islands, the sustenance of our resources is immensely important. He then continues by stating “mungnga maleffa put historiâ-ta” (don’t forget about history). As we move forward into the future, we cannot forget our history. It’s extremely vital to recognize our history as one stemming before written history. Our history is found in our oral traditions, in our language, and in our music. Our history, alongside the wisdom of our elders, will aid us into the future. Next, Joe asks, but more so calls, Chamorros “nihi ta kontra, maseha hâyi malago’ para u destrosa todû i tano” (Let’s go against ANYONE who want to destroy our land). Many Chamorros have been taken advantage of in terms of their land being taken away from them. Many Chamorro lands have been destroyed for the purpose of tourism and the military and we cannot allow this destruction to continue. He ends this verse with “nihi ta na’ danña’ i kannai-ta siha, manchamoru” (Let’s join hands, Chamorros!). Again, Joe calls for comradeship amongst Chamorros. By coming together and working together, we can perpetuate a multitude of aspects of Chamorro identity.

Joe Garrido’s album rocked the world of modern Chamorro music and was an inspiration for the future of Chamorro music. As mentioned in chapter 1, there existed a Chamorro radio station. However, the music played on this station stems from the music produced in the mid to late 20<sup>th</sup> century. As a result, I never found value or related to the music played unless they were Chamorro classics like JD Crutch or Flora Baza Quan. Joe possessed a new, refreshing voice and he brought effervescence back into the world of Chamorro music. His music reignited love for Chamorro music amongst younger generations of Chamorros. His music transformed the symbolism of Chamorro music as archaic and for the elders to modern and for all Chamorros.

This research looked specifically at Joe's efforts on YouTube, and it does not take into account the audiences Joe has reached on other SNSs his music can be found on. Additionally, the comment section on Joe's music videos is turned off. Due to this choice of setting, we are unable to analyze the language ideologies of his audience.

### **Dandan Mariñas**

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Dandan Mariñas is a YouTube channel that features various Chamorro artists singing primarily Chamorro music. As of this thesis, they have over 10,000 subscribers. Despite this number being quite low on the spectrum, their channel has amassed over 5 million views which is considerably high for the niche of Chamorro music. Considering the breadth and depth of their artists, this thesis will look specifically at their most popular YouTube video featuring Chamorro singer JJ Concepcion.

Chamorro singer and songwriter JJ Concepcion hails from Kagman, Saipan situated in the CNMI. He sang Taotao Guafi, an unreleased, original song on Dandan Mariñas' YouTube channel. This song was the very first song they posted five years ago and is the most popular song viewed on their channel accumulating 1,065,200 views and 2,800 likes (Dandan Marianas 2016). He is backed up by Nadine Concepcion-Reyes and Jye Paet.

Taotao Guafi is a song about the job of firemen and translates literally to people of fire/fire people. The lyrics, as provided in Appendix E, express the life of firemen. JJ is a fireman himself, so this song can be interpreted as a tribute to his work and fellow firemen. The song begins by mentioning interactions with the family. Firemen give love to their children and spouse as they are unaware when or if they will return. After arriving at work, they prepare themselves for their shift by cleaning and preparing their gear. Once their bell rings, they rush to the fire despite the possibility of getting sick. He ends the chorus by conveying, "Siempre ha

mangaige siha taotao guafi para hamyo” (They will be there, the firemen, for you all). Whether there is a fire or an individual needs assistance, on the land or in the ocean, the firemen will be there to help. The song ends by repeating the first verse about leaving the family and giving them love.

In addition to conveying the life of fireman, JJ’s song reveals the sacrifices that firemen make each and every day. They leave their families days at a time with no guarantee that they will return or when exactly they will return. They must be ready at all times in case of an emergency. Their jobs are dangerous as they can become sick from battling fires, but they continue to work hard to provide safety for the community. While we are sleeping, they are working. They live lives of public service, sacrificing their time and lives for the greater good of the community. Also, the repetition of the first and last verse sheds light on the importance of family. Despite their unpredictable job, firemen do their best to ensure their family is loved and taken care of while they are gone.

The highlight of this video in relation to this research, however, was the comment section (see figure 17 below). Comments by various users revealed a collective language ideology. Comments from all these particular users express listening to JJ’s song from a different location. Gus Duenas, Guzman 13, and Doreen are listening to Taotao Guafi from the Mariánas, specifically listening from Guåhan. While Doreen generally locates herself in Guåhan, Gus and Guzman 13 specify their locations through their villages being Hågat (Agat) and Ma’ina respectively. Nos Ludwig, Nick Toves, Rico J. Raphael, and FaT TrAK are listening to Taotao Guafi from the diaspora. Nos Ludwig fails to mention where exactly she is listening from, but we can imply her location to be in the diaspora as she comments “reminds me of the 670”. Nick comments listening from “575” which is the area code of New Mexico state. FaT TrAK

comments listening from Denver state. Lastly, Rico is listening internationally from Egypt. Despite physical location, being in the Mariñas or in the diaspora, YouTube allows individuals to connect to the Chamorro language through music sung by JJ. Distance is no longer a limiting factor in building connection to or reconnecting to the Chamorro language or one’s roots.

*Figure 17. User Comments, YouTube Video, Taotao Guafi - JJ Concepcion, April 28, 2016*

User	Comment
Nos Ludwig	Wow reminds me of back home 670
Gus Duenas	Bonito na kanta gi ya Hagat. Memorias todo
Nick Toves	I love listening to this song uncle JJ from 575 to 670 and 671 Much love
Guzman 13	Bonitu na Kanta. Si Yu’os ma’ase JJ and Nadine [Rockstar hand emoji] Big fan, Taotao Guahan yu’ gi sengsong Ma’ina.
Rico J. Raphael	Love it my Chelu, jamming here in Egypt
FaT TrAK	Che’Lu!! AMAZING music [music notes emoji] listening from Denver [shaka emoji; guam flag emoji]
Doreen	Absolutely love your voice [blushing emoji x3] Currently on repeat in Guam 671 [smiley face emoji x3]

The music itself brought up nostalgia for users Nos and Gus. Nos admits that listening to JJ’s music reminds her of her home in the CNMI. Gus comments that it brings up “memorias todo” (many memories). Music can transport people to places or specific moments in time. It has the ability to elicit emotion felt months or years ago when the song was first heard. Most especially, for individuals in the diaspora, Chamorro music can transport them back home to the islands, a place that not many Chamorros have the opportunity to visit considering the financial stress it costs to visit. Additionally, these two comments juxtapose English usage with Chamorro usage. The comment section facilitates a multi-lingual conversation whereas both languages can be used to communicate opinions or emotions. By utilizing Chamorro in the comment section, we are opening a new space for Chamorro to be used. This is not to say that Chamorro never

could be used on YouTube in the comment section, but that Chamorros are comfortable using the language in an English-dominant space altogether.

### **Baba B**

Baba B is a Christian, husband, singer, and songwriter according to his YouTube description. He is not an indigenous CHamoru but has frequented the Mariãna Islands often. As mentioned in the description box of his cover of KC De Leon Guerrero's (KC DLG) *Ai Neni Gai Asi Nu Guãhu*, he writes the following

For many year[s] the marianas islands has been a home away from home for me. They have shown me nothing but love over the years. I am grateful for the times I've spent there and always look forward on going back. Here's a Chamorro song with credit to kc dlG.

In this YouTube video, Baba B creates his own rendition to the popular KC DLG song *Ai Neni* (Baba B 2019). This rendition includes a slower tempo and layers of harmony taking similar to a lullaby.

Since the lyrics of this song are not the main concern to this thesis, I will briefly summarize what the song conveys and provide the lyrics in its entirety in Appendix E. *Gai Asi Nu Guãhu* is a song about heartbreak. KC DLG wrote this song to explain how a man feels when his lover has left him. In this context, the woman has not passed away, but she has packed her things and left him. Now, the man is heartbroken filled with sadness and wonder. He is pleading to God to give him mercy. The man is questioning why and attempting to understand what he has done to cause his lover to leave him. Despite feelings of sadness, the man claims that he will always love the woman that left him. He hopes that God will bring her back to him one day.

I recall when Baba B's cover was released two years ago. It became popular quickly, being played on the radio and being shared over social media. Prior to this research, I was unaware that it was a cover of KC DLG's song, but many individuals enjoyed listening to it. As a

result, it has over 880,000 views as of this research. Baba B's rendition was released around the same time that Joe Garrido's album was released. Their music speaks to the demand for modern Chamorro music. As mentioned in Chapter 2, much Chamorro music was created and is listened to by older generations. KC DLG's original song is not a song that I would listen to on a regular basis. This music produced by Baba B renews the song, providing a fresh, modern twist. Prior to this research, I was unaware this song was about a heartbroken man, but Baba B's tone and harmony makes listeners want to listen despite not knowing the meaning or English translation.

Of main concern to this thesis is the comment section (see figure 18 below). Below are a few comments that have been chosen for analysis. Starting with the first two comments from Bruce Lujan and Joel Resurrecion, they both commended Baba B for singing a Chamorro song as a Non-Chamorro. Bruce's comment focuses on feeling humble that a "Non chamoru" would want to sing a Chamorro song. This perspective points to the idea that Chamorro music is usually sung and published within the Chamorro community. Essentially, Chamorro music is its own small niche. Baba B entering that niche reframes Chamorro music as something much larger, worthy of being listened to in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Joel specifically states, "You are not even born on Guam and doesn't speak the language but yet you sing the words beautifully." He then thanks Baba B for representing the 671 and "the rest of our island neighbors" being Guåhan and the CNMI respectively. Joel's comment can be interpreted as the initial shock he felt when hearing a Non-Chamorro sing a Chamorro song and sing it quite well to add. I also argue that Joel's comment sheds light on the possibilities for Non-Chamorros and non-speaking Chamorros to contribute to this ever-growing Chamorro language presence on YouTube. Baba B is not an indigenous Chamorro, but he has learned this song. He has learned Chamorro language in order to not only just sing this song beautifully, but to give credit to the Chamorro speaking



community. If Baba B, a non-Chamorro whose primary language is not Chamorro, can produce a song and do it justice, what possibilities are there for Chamorros seeking to speak the language? What possibilities are there for non-Chamorros who would like to contribute to the endeavor of perpetuating Chamorro language?

Comments from Jr T and Tisu Pangelinan specifically commend Baba B for his rendition. Jr T expresses his respect and love and conveys that he is listening in from Washington State. To contextualize this comment, Jr T is a Chamorro, through the association of the Guåhan and CNMI flag, giving Baba B, a non-Chamorro, respect and love for singing a Chamorro song while listening from the diaspora. YouTube is truly bridging the gap between islanders and blurring the lines of distance creating a community filled with love and respect. Tisu Pangelinan passionately comments “I can feel your heart and respect for our island through your voice.” Moreover, music has the ability to connect people. Through Baba B’s voice, we are not focused on his ethnicity, whether he is utilizing correct orthography, or where he is from. We are focused on how he conveys Chamorro music and how this music affects us in our life at the very moment of listening to it.

The last comment by Ida Perez is a request for anyone in the comment section to provide the Chamorro lyrics and its English translation. She also recognizes another cover of this song by difunto (individual who has passed on) Jeffrey Reyes which can be found on Dandan Mariãnas YouTube channel. Baba B replied in response providing the lyrics in both Chamorro and English. Similar comments have been found on JJ Concepcion’s *Taotao Guåfi* and other various YouTube videos where artists sing solely in Chamorro. Comments requesting lyrics sheds light on the demand to know and understand what Chamorro singers are saying. Whether the individual is Chamorro or not, individuals yearn to comprehend these songs. The motivation in

understanding or how they will move forward after knowing the lyrics is unknown, but it poses interesting inferences toward language perpetuation. In order to perpetuate the language, individuals must know the language. They must breathe the language. That process begins by asking questions and learning the language which can be done through music lyrics.

*Figure 18. User Comments, YouTube Video, Gai asi nu guahu (cover), December 5, 2019*

User	Comment
bruce lujan	To have a Non chamoru want to sing a song in our language is very humbling...One Love Baba B [cherry hand emoji]
Joel Resurrecion	Beatiful...Respect to you... You are not even born on Guam and doesn't speak the language but yet you sing the words beautifully. Thanks for representing 671 and the rest of our island neighbors...
Jr T	Always respect and love coming from the west pacific islands [cnmi flag] 670+1 [guam flag] keep the songs coming love from Was t.
Tisu Pangelinan	Thank you for this cover brother...I can feel your heart and respect for our island through your voice..God bless you
Ida Perez	Does anybody know the words to this song and the translation to English, I love this song! I also love hos Jeffrey Reyes sings it also.

**CHAPTER 4: HINASSO-KU I FINO'-TA**  
**(MY THOUGHTS ON OUR LANGUAGE)**

*Language revitalization is not about bringing a language back, but bringing it forward*  
 - Hornberger & King (1997)

Too often is the phrase “The Chamorro language is dying” reverberated amongst the Chamorro community. The phrase is repeated amongst different generations and amongst Chamorros in the Mariånas and in the diaspora. The question remains. Is the Chamorro language dying?

I would like us to return to the initial thoughts mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. In agreeance with Harrison (2007), the Chamorro language literally cannot necessarily die out. However, Chamorros do not perceive language in the linguist, literal sense. Language is not a detached entity and cannot be simplified to a linguistic concept. The Chamorro language is a property of perpetual light<sup>14</sup>. It is an act of love for the Chamorro culture, for identity, and for a future unknown. When Chamorros refer to the language dying, this process is analogous as to losing a loved one, a family member. The process is just as heart wrenching and just as constricting. Viewing the language as dying is a cultural conception separate from western ideologies.

The second question at hand remains, is the Chamorro language endangered? On the spectrum provided by Wurm (1998), Chamorro could fall under various categories depending upon the argument made to support it. This thesis, however, does not situate or validate the status of the Chamorro language within this spectrum. Arguments attempting to situate the Chamorro language under the endangered umbrella focus excessively on endangerment rather than

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<sup>14</sup> Reference of language as a property of perpetual light stems from Julian Aguon’s (2021) understanding of the properties of perpetual light. Also the title of his book, *The Properties of Perpetual Light* is a collection of short stories revolving around Aguon’s perception of these properties.

suggestions to combat said endangerment. Sheryl Day (2017), recognizing this gap, suggested our focus lean toward the use of technologies towards preservation, maintenance, and the reframing of information flows with respect to language. This thesis explores the usage of 21<sup>st</sup> century technologies through websites and social networking sites as a space, an online space, to perpetuate the Chamorro language.

In the process of exploring Chamorro in the online space, profound findings provide new conceptions about the future of the Chamorro language. More specifically, Chapters 2 and 3 convey prominent language ideologies about Chamorro. Language ideologies has been defined as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979, 193). Additionally, emphasis has been placed on the “self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group” (Heath 1977, 53). By examining language ideologies, we can understand Chamorro beliefs toward language in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and formulate better paths toward language perpetuation and revitalization.

As expressed in Chapter 2, Chamorro is found on a variety of mediums from websites to blogs to Instagram and YouTube. The variety of mediums conveys the initiative and aspiration of many Chamorros to situate Chamorro in a modern, developing space. While it is obvious that the online space is globalized and dominated by the English language, Chamorros believe that our language is deserving of this space. By situating the Chamorro language in the online space, Chamorros decolonize these spaces cultivating room for Chamorros and for indigenous peoples as a whole. Through their efforts, they exude the belief that our languages, which have long been oppressed and dominated, belong and will be perpetuated alongside the new mediums that arise.

We are carving Chamorro spaces, and will continue to carve Chamorro spaces, in English domains to perpetuate and revitalize the Chamorro language.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the variety of spaces through which Chamorro can be found was beyond the extent of this thesis. The spaces that this thesis did focus on, however, were education and music. Specifically, the space cultivated for Chamorro children deserves attention considering Fishman's (1997) argument of intergenerational transmission as a key factor for language vitality. While intergenerational transmission is necessary for youth, it may no longer be sufficient as the only form of survival in this digital age (Keegan & Cunliffe 2015). Young people must have the availability to speak the language, but they also require the opportunities to do so which is made possible through the online space. Additionally, they must desire to use their language in their daily lives which is much more likely when they recognize, visualize, and experience their language in modern ways. The reality remains that children are exposed to the online space at very young ages and if their indigenous language "does not have a presence in the domain of technology, this can only reinforce the minority position of that language and push it further to the margin of everyday life" (Keegan & Cunliffe 2015 176). By cultivating the online space as a place of Chamorro education, Chamorro children may be more motivated to utilize their language as it is placing a perceived, tradition aspect of their lives in the modern world. Additionally, Chamorro education can be found for all ages and for all levels of language learners. The availability of Chamorro for different peoples reveals a well-rounded effort to not only attract language learners but to encourage everyone to utilize the language as best that they can.

The space cultivated for Chamorro music is unique in that it encompasses music created in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This thesis focused on music produced in the 21<sup>st</sup>

century and acknowledges the significance of music in Chamorro language revitalization. More importantly, it affirms that music is a notable aspect of Chamorro language and should be explored further in terms its connection with Chamorro culture and identity.

Additionally, Chapter 3 revealed language ideologies users held toward Chamorro. Many individuals expressed pride in their Chamorro identities and in the perpetuation of their language. Many individuals expressed their interests in learning the language irrespective of their language level. Many individuals repetitively and specifically called for the perpetuation and revitalization of the Chamorro language. The Chamorro people are active agents in generating discussion about their language and its futurity. They yearn for their language to not only be utilized in the online space, but they envision a place for it in the generations to come. They envision a future for the Chamorro language. There is a future for the Chamorro language.

Chapter 3 also revealed that the online space blurred the lines of distance recontextualizing the socioeconomic environment once necessary to nurture speakers. Being physically located in the Mariãnas islands is no longer the sole option to learning and nurturing language skills. As more Chamorros venture to the diaspora, they may find comfort knowing they can attain language resources in any space they inhabit. Furthermore, the online space acts as an online network, an expansion of the social network one holds within the islands. The online space provides valuable opportunities to build new networks and expand existing ones. The online space allows for the cultivation of a transnational identity while remaining rooted to the homeland which was not available prior to the development of technology contributing to this struggle in terms of Chamorro identity. These networks are a key source of connection not only to identity, but to language, to culture, and to so much more.

Interestingly, the online space cultivated for and by Chamorros is dominated by Chamorro men. From Michael Lujan Bevacqua and Gerård Aflågue to Joe Garrido and JJ Concepcion, Chamorro men appeared to make the most strides in the online space. Considering early efforts to perpetuate Chamorro were initiated by women, this shift poses new questions about gender and language transmission that future scholars may endeavor into. Also, Chamorro language efforts within the online space are dominated by individuals who recognize themselves as activists. These individuals seek social and political change and create spaces to nurture the language in hopes of generating ideologies in relation with their forms of activism. Kenneth Kuper (2014) directly argued usage of the Chamorro language as a decolonial practice to liberate Chamorro from the confines of colonialism. I overwhelmingly agree with Kuper in that speaking the language and breathing the language alters the ways that individuals conceptualize and interpret the world. By understanding and utilizing our language, we refrain from generating our thoughts through a colonial lens. By speaking our language and passing it on, we are constructing a different future where people may say “How alive the Chamorro language is today.”

### *Conclusion*

The Chamorro language has violently been attacked within the last 120 years resulting in forced and voluntary language shifts in order for Chamorro peoples to survive in an ever-changing, globalized world. The language was targeted by colonizers in hopes of Americanizing us. However, the Chamorro remained resilient. Chamorros remain resilient. They have made every possible conscious effort to bring the Chamorro language forward. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, these efforts are situated in the online space and continue to be made today. Is the Chamorro language dying? This thesis does not answer that question. This thesis talks back to that question.

Individuals that focus on this question are too focused on the statistics that tell us our language is dying when instead, attention and efforts should be focused on breathing life to our language. It's easy to accept fallacious beliefs when colonial breath is constantly breathed down our throats, but we've never been ones to take the easy way out. Our ancestors have faced hundreds of years of colonial slaughter. Our elders have faced wars brought about by colonial impositions. Yet, we, the Chamorro people have remained resilient. We do not take the easy way out. We fight and we will continue to fight. We are resilient and so is our language. The future of our language is dependent upon the resilience of our people. To keep it alive. To breathe life into it. Every day. Every year. So the future generations can hear the beauty in their breath, in their identities as Chamorro peoples.

### **Importance of Perpetuating Language**

The Chamorro language remains highly contested terrain and an ever-complex conversation. Too often, however, is the conversation surrounding our language focused on this controversial notion about orthography and the spelling of the word Chamorro/CHamoru. Instead, as encouraged by Anne Perez Hattori (2021), we should focus our efforts toward creating resources that encourage our people to speak the language rather than chastise them for their inabilities. As expressed through the Chamorro language revitalization efforts within the online space, this work is being done to support and inspire Chamorros near and far.

Additionally, the dire need to perpetuate Pacific languages lies behind more than just documenting indigenous efforts and language in the online space. The purpose behind language perpetuation lies within the conceptual framings and perspectives of indigenous peoples. When languages disappear, what results is “an erosion or extinction of ideas, of ways of knowing, and ways of talking about the world and human experience” (Harrison, 2007, p. 7). We, as Pacific



peoples in our sea of islands, view and conceptualize the world in ways that Western people are only beginning to comprehend. If our languages die, what is left? What is lost? “What is ‘dead’ or ‘lost’ is not the language, but the people who one spoke it” (Trask 1999 81).

It is significant to recognize that this thesis does not argue that technology and the internet are the sole solutions to reverse language loss or revitalize languages. The Internet cannot bring languages back from the dead, only people can do that themselves. This thesis simply highlights one avenue that can assist Chamorros, and other indigenous peoples, with language revitalization efforts.

Essentially, indigenous peoples are the solution to perpetuating and revitalizing their languages. It is their responsibility to be proactive and utilize their language now. They must invade every and any opportunity that they can. As seen in the case of Chamorros, they continue to create new pathways for language perpetuation and revitalization. Through these pathways can we understand indigenous language ideologies and cultivate ideas on the modern ways to bring our language forward.

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## Appendix A

### **Video 1: Learn Chamoru! - CHamoru Sentences Lesson 1**

Buenas Yan Hafa Adai, I na'an-hu si Michael Lujan Bevacqua

And today we are going to learn an overview of the sentence types

In the Chamorro language and so there are a lot different types of sentences

That you can use in the chamorro language

The four most basic one you can use though are

Stative, transitive, intransitive and existential

Different people will have different names for these types

But your sentences break down in these four ways

Your stative sentences are usually your

Easier sentences to make because they don't involve a verb

It's just a statement. Bonitu hao. Gef pa'go hao. You are beautiful.

Mutong yu. I stink. These are stative sentences.

Your next type are you transitive sentences. These are your sentences which

Involve transitive verbs. They have a subject, a verb, and an object such as

Hu guaiya hao. Hu li'e' i taotao mo'na. Ha pacha yu i taotaomo'na.

The taotaomo'na touched be because I guess I didn't ask for permission in the jungle.

These are sentences that indicate a transmission of action.

You have your intransitive sentences after that. These sentences don't normally

Require an object which makes them different. These are your verbs where the action

Is self-contained so these are sentences such as I laughed, I cried, I burped.

Sentences like that - tumanges yu. Chumalek yu. Tumong hamyo.

Your final type of sentences are your existential sentences.

These deal with locating things in the world and many Chamorros have felt the

Sting of existential sentences. Mungge si Jose? Somebody asking where is Jose.

Gaige. Taigue. Guaha. Taya. These are the verbs that you use for existential sentences.

To ask where something is to say where something is or to indicate if somebody has

Something. Guaha karetahu. I have a car. Lao taya salapeku. But i dont have any money.

These are your four basic types of sentences that you can make in the Chamorro language.

And in this video series there'll be a video which will highlight different features of this sentence type. Si Yu'os Ma'ase.



**Video 6: Learn Chamoru! - CH Conversation**

*Now I Enjoy It (På'go hu gosa) - Dr. MLB & Dr. Gerhard Schwab*

M: Ahoy Gerhard, Hafa Adai, Hafa Adai.

G: Hafa Adai

M: Guaha bei faisen hao

Ngai'an nai tutuhon i chechomu gi UOG?

G: Bente dos anos tatdes hu tutuhon

M: Bente dos anos, magahet?

Kao yamu i checho-mu?

G: Hunggan, gof yahu, gof yahu.

M: Sa hafa? Hafa na yamu.

G: Sen maolek i estudiante siha ya Manmaolek lokkue i mangachong-hu Gi UOG.

M: Taimanu umeyak i fino CHamoru?

G: Man apman i tiempo, hu chagi umeyak

I fino chamoru, lao ti sina yu, ti sina yu.

Lao pago, hu sen gosa umeyak

I fino chamorro.

M: Sa hafa ti sina hao antes, lao pago

Un gogosa?

G: Antes, sen mamahlao yu. Ya taya Umeyakchamoru website.

Lao pago, kada diha humanao yu gi

Website. Ya kada diha, manaitai yu,

Manekungok yu, yan \_\_\_\_\_ yu i fino

Chamorro. Magahet, pago hu sen gosa

I fino chamorro.

M: siempre bei check out eyu na website.

Ya hamyo lokkue, puede un gegesa i

Website, UmeyakChamoru.com

SYM Gerhard. Adios esta ki manali'e

Hit ta'lo.

G: Adios

Hello, Hello.

Hello

I have a question for you

When did you start working at UOG?

22 years ago.

22 years, really?

Do you like your work?

Yes, I like it, I like it.

Why? What do you like about it?

I have very good students and

I have very good colleagues as well at UOG.

How did you learn CHamoru?

Long time ago, I tried to learn

Chamorro, but I could not, I could not.

But now, I really enjoy learning

Chamorro.

Why couldn't you learn it before and now

You're enjoying it?

Before, I was very embarrassed. And There was no LearnCHamoru website.

But now, every day I go to the website.

And every day, I read

I listen, and I write in Chamorro.

Truly, now i enjoy

The language.

I will definitely check out the website.

And you too, you will enjoy the

website LearnChamoru.com

Thank you Gerhard. Goodbye, Until we see you all again.

Goodbye.

## Video 12: Learn Chamoru! - CH Pronouns Emphatic

Hafa Adai. I naanhu si MLB. In this video, we're going to learn about emphatic pronouns (EP). EPs are in some ways the simplest pronouns to use, but also one of the more complicated ones to use. I say they are the simplest because they are the only one you can use on their own. If you say something like guahu, it translates not just to me but it translates to i am the one. Hagu - you. They are a little more complicated because some of them require some grammatical shifting around in order for them to properly conjugated. Your EPs are

Guahu

Hâgu

Guiya

Hita

Hami

Hamyo

Siha

You can use these on their own as i mentioned. If somebody asked Hâyi chumule i salappe? Who took the money. You can own up to it and say guahu. Or you can blame your cousin and say guiya. He or she did it. So the only pronoun that is itself a complete thought, its own idea. All other pronouns require more words to make sense.

[1:27 list of emphatic pronouns in english and chamorro]

You can also use it, the point about the EP is that they indicate emphasis. When you use them in a transitive, stative, or intransitive, you're not just simply saying, I did this. You are saying I am the one that did this. For example, if you say hu guaiya hao, it means i love you. If you say guahu gumaiya hao, it means I am the one that loves you. If you say un chule i salappe. You took the money. If you say Hagu chumule salappe. It means you are the one who took the money. Be careful when using these types of pronouns especially in transitive and intransitive sentences. You may end up coming off as rude or disrespectful. The word guahu is used a lot nowadays for people to introduce themselves. For example, many people will say guahu si chris, guahu si jose, guahu si maria. To indicate i am maria, i am the one who is maria. That is part of the exciting universe that awaits you in the chamorro language.

## Appendix B

### **PulanSpeaks - Pronouncing the alphabet**

Buenas yan Håfa ådai. Guahu si Pulan. And this is Pulan Speaks. And today we are going to fly through the chamorro alphabet. And just to give credit where credit is due. The majority of my work is based upon the authors Donald Topping and Bernadita Dungca.

Specifically, the two books of Spoken Chamorro and Chamorro Reference Grammar. So I owe them a lot because without these two books. I wouldn't even be making these videos right now. Anyways let's get right into the lesson.

Now just to make things clear. Originally chamorro was not a written language. It was not until the 17th century. When the Spanish missionaries came. Where the chamorro language became written. Based upon the Latin alphabet and over the centuries, the chamorro writing system has evolved to what it is today. Although, not without it's share of controversy which is a video for another time.

So for those wondering why the chamorro language uses almost the same alphabet as english, that was a super quick explanation. Now that we got that out of the way, let's get right into the lesson.

Out of all the alphabet in the chamorro language, there are seven. Seven alphabets that I believe are crucial to know and let me tell you why. The pronunciation for the majority of the chamorro letters are equivalent to the pronunciation in english. For example when you see the chamorro letters "A", "B", "D", in a word, you can pronounce these letters just like how you would in english. And you would get more or less the same equivalent pronunciation as in chamorro. While this is true for the majority of the chamorro alphabet.

There are seven exceptions to this which I am going to go through. Number one. "I". I know it looks exactly like the letter "i". But the pronunciation isn't. You pronounce "i" like "ee" in the english word "see".

The second letter is "e". Yes I know. It is an "e", but the pronunciation is like "a" in the english word "ate".

At number three. "Å". Whenever you see the letter "a" with a little circle on top. Which is a lonat by the way. You pronounce the letter "å" like the "a" in "father". Now some people unfortunately confuse the letter "å" with another similar looking letter "a".

So remember the lonat is the key distinguishing feature between the "å" and the "a" sound. Unfortunately. For many chamorro texts. Especially older texts. They did not use the lonat to distinguish the "å" and the "a". Instead. They simply used the generic letter "a" to represent both sounds. So you would have to rely on prior knowledge and context to find out whether the "a" makes the "å" sound or the "a" sound.

So thank God for usage of the lonat.

At number four is "Ch". While it appears to be two letters. It is in fact only one. In english, we would pronounce this letter as "ch" like in "chicks". However this is not english. In chamorro it is pronounced more like "ts". Like in the beginning of the word "tsar" or at the end of the word "flirts". So focus on the "ts" sound at the beginning of the word "tsar" and at the end of the word "flirts".

The fifth alphabet involves an "n" with a squiggly line on top of it. So imagine yourself like a cat. What sounds do cats make. "Ñ". Here is an english equivalent. In the word canyon. Focus on the "ny" part in "canyon". Because that is your sound.

At number six. Now out of all the chamorro letters. This one is in fact probably the most difficult to master. And this is not an exaggeration. In fact, I still struggle with this sound to this day. Now listen to how I pronounce it. "Ng". "ng". Here it is in a chamorro word. "månge' ". You're probably thinking to yourself. I can't for the life of me pronounce this letter. But believe me. You can. And it's not just cause I believe in you. But it is because you have been pronouncing this chamorro sound for your entire life without even realizing it. Don't believe me. Well. Try saying this word "singing". Ah did you hear it. The "ng" part in singing. Here's the trick. Try saying the word "singing" without the letter "s" in the beginning. So you would get "inging". Now. Simply drop the "i" and put it at the back of the word. So you would get the sound "ngingi". "Ngingi". Now finally. Simply drop one of the "ngi". And you would get "ngi". Now when you feel comfortable with this. You can start adding vowels such as. "a" or "â". And you would get sounds such as "ngâ" and "nga",

The last sound is "y". As you can probably tell by now smart people. The letter "y" is not pronounced like a "y" in english. Instead. Chamorros pronounce "y" like an inbetween sound of "z" and "d". And here is an english equivalent. "Floods". The "ds" part of "floods". Focus on that. I know only said there was seven. But there actually is an eighth one. And this chamorro letter has no english equivalent. Well sort of.

And the eighth chamorro alphabet is represented by this symbol. It is called a glota. Now what exactly is a glota. What exactly does it do. Well that's a good question. A glota is a split second stop. Think of the split second pause in the english word. "Uh-oh". Did you hear that. That sudden pause in "uh-oh" is similar to how you would use the glota in chamorro. And the glota completely changes words. For example. The word "chocho" without the glota means to "eat". However if you add the glotas to "chocho". You would get "cho'cho". Did you hear it. Did you hear the split second stops. "cho'cho' ". By the way means to "work". So the pronunciation of the glota can mean the difference between saying I want to eat versus I want to work. So knowing your glotas and recognizing it is very important.

Now that we got that out of the way. There are two more chamorro sounds that I want us to be familiar with and they are diphthongs. And yes I know they are not alphabet but trust me you will thank me later. If you don't know already. A diphthong is the combination of two adjacent vowels and it's respective sound. So in english it would be like how the letters "o" and "i" combine together. Form the sound "oi" in the word "coin". And in chamorro the two most common diphthongs you need to know are "ao". and "ai". As you can probably guess already "ao" is pronounced like "ow" in "cow". While "ai" is pronounced like "ai" in "eyeball".

So in review written chamorro is identical to the english alphabet because they are both based on the latin alphabet. Also for most of the chamorro alphabets. They can be pronounced approximately, to the english equivalent. Except for eight letters. Which are "i". "E". "â". "Ch". "ñ". "Ng". "y". And finally " ' ". And last but not least we have two of the most common chamorro diphthongs which are "ao" and "ai".

I am now going to unfortunately going to end the video here. However, if you want to hear the rest of the chamorro alphabet and its pronunciation and english equivalent word the video continues on.

Starting with the very first chamorro alphabet and ending with the last. Si' Yu'us Ma'åse for watching. This is Pulan Speaks and Pulan has spoken.

"a" like in "nap" used in a chamorro word. "baba".

"Å" as in father. A chamorro word using "å" would be "båba". Remember try not to confuse this letter "å" with "a".

"B". Similar to "bat". Used in a chamorro word. "bunita".

"ch" like in "tsar". A chamorro word using "ch" would be "che'lu".

"D". As in "dad". Used in a chamorro word "dångkolo".

By now you probably have gotten the format already. So for the rest of the alphabet. I'm just going to say the letter. And the relevant english equivalent and chamorro word.

"E". "ate". "este".

"F". "fish". "faisen".

"G". "go". "ga'o".

"H". "hand". "Håtsa".

"I". "see". "li'e' ".

" ' ". "uh-oh". "cho'cho' ".

"K". "skin". "kåreta".

"L". "land". "lassas".

"M". "moon". "mumu".

"N". "nanny". "tåno' ".

"Ñ". "Canyon". "Agaña".

"Ng". "singing". "ngånga' ".

"O". "bold". "po'lo".

"P". "spin". "platu".

"R". "rest". "relos".

"S". "sand". "sångan".

"T". "to". "tungo' ".

"U". "flute". "uchan".

"Y". "floods". "Yu'us".

## Appendix C

Introduction [in sign language]

Måtto hao ginen tãddong na kostumbre ni sumen bunito na respetu na guinaya, guinaya, guinaya.  
X2

Cast:

Lukie (L)

Kaykay (KK)

Auntie Kisha (K)

Aaron (A)

*Scene 1: In front of family home*

K: Hãfa adai, Lukie!

L: Hi auntie Kisha, ñora.

K: Bless you.

L: Here i'll take those in and put them away.

K: Si yu'os ma'ãse! Ai na patgon, gof respetao gui. He's so respectful. He always offers to help when someone is working and he never forgets to åmen.

L: Hãfa bidada-mu auntie kisha?

K: I was just dropping those groceries para sena la'mona and now im going to pick someone up from the airport. Ya hãgu. Hãfa bidada-mu? What are you doing?

L: I'm waiting for my friend to come over and play. Grandma said komu gai respetu gui, [pop up gairespetu:respectful] she can eat with us tonight. Lao ilek-ña na komu tairespetu gui', she has to eat outside

Both: with the chickens.

K: Does nãna still say that? She used to tell me the same thing when i was your age. That if my friends were tairespetu or disrespectful, they'd have to eat outside with the chickens.

L: Did any of i mangga'chong-mu siha ever have to eat with the chickens?

K: åhe, manggairespetu todú i mangg'achong-hu siha. I always make sure my friends are respectful.

L: Sa hãfa, what do they have to do to be respectful?

K: Well to be respectful means na un hahasso i minaolek otro. You think of the good of all before the good of yourself. Yan ekungok [ekungok:listen] or listen to your elders and make sure you take off your shoes before you enter someone's guma.

L: Ouu, mungnga ma oppe tatte, your elders and your teachers.

K: hunggan. Yan munga maleffa to help set up and clean yan munga mata'chong until everyone is done work.

L: Yan amen your elders and nginge' our manamko.

SONG

Åmen your nãna, help your manggãfa'

Famaisen i saina, be kind and considerate

We come from a long long tradition

A sacred tradition

Of love and respect

You come from a long long tradition  
 A sacred tradition  
 Of love and respect

*Back to Skit*

KK: Hi Lukie

L: Hi KK

[KK amens auntie Kisha]

K: Okay, sigi ya hugânda, famagu'on. I can already tell that this one won't have to eat with the chickens.

KK: Chickens?

L: Nevermind, bai hu sangâni hao gi despues.

[KK and Lukie amen auntie kisha goodbye]

K: Bless you.

L: See you at family dinner tonight auntie kisha.

K: Adios, famagu'on. Have fun!

*Scene 1 Ends*

*Scene 2: In the car with Kisha and Aaron*

K: Minagof finatto-mu tâtte, prim! I'm so glad you finally decided to move home. I can't wait for family dinner tonight. Everyone's going to be surprised, they're going to cry so hard.

A: Cry? That's funny.

K: Oh man, umo'ositan ha' yu'. I'm just joking.

A: I forgot how much our family likes to joke around. It's been so long. I wonder what else I've forgotten.

K: Well munga maleffa to take off your shoes no matter whose house you're at. It's tairespetu [tairespetu:disrespectful] if you don't do that.

A: Kisha, are we even on the right side of the road right now?

K: Mungnga ma chathinasso about my driving Aaron. Besides we have to get you caught up on what it means to be respectful here. Otherwise, everyone is really going to tease you.

A: Okay, hu huhungok hao. I'm listening.

*Song*

Take off your shoes when you're in someone's home.

When people are working, don't let work alone.

Pick up your trash and recycle.

Care for our island, be responsible.

Don't forget to âmen, Fannginge' your elders.

Work hard, be kind, and help others.

Don't forget to âmen, Fannginge' your elders.

Work hard, be kind, and help others.

Prutehi i islâ-ta; i tano' yan i tasi.

Famaisen i saina. Sângan, Si Yu'os Ma'âse.

Prutehi i islâ-ta; i tano' yan i tasi.

Famaisen i saina. Sângan, Si Yu'os Ma'âse.

When you go to a party, Bring something to share.

Protect our island. Land, ocean, and air.  
 When you go to a party, Bring something to share.  
 Protect our island. Land, ocean, and air.  
 When others are talking, Don't interrupt  
 And after a get together, Help clean up.  
 When others are talking, Don't interrupt  
 And after a get together, Help clean up.  
 Take off your shoes when you're in someone's home.  
 When people are working, Don't let work alone.  
 Pick up your trash and recycle.  
 Care for our island, Be responsible.  
*Song ends, Scene 2 Ends.*

### Scene 3: Respect is Important Skit

Respetu is a beautiful part of our culture.  
 Respetu is important.  
 It is important to respect our island, our culture, and our traditions.  
 It is important to respect others, especially my elders.  
 And it is important to respect myself.  
 I show respetu for myself by making the right decisions.  
 I try to be honest, hard working, and kind.  
 Doing the right thing makes me feel good.  
 And when i mess up, I show respetu for myself by learning from my mistakes.  
 I show respetu for myself by taking care of my things.  
 I am learning how to be organized and to keep my things clean.  
 I show respetu for myself by taking care of my body.  
 I eat fresh fruits and vegetables whenever i can.  
 I get enough exercise and play outside in the bright sunshine.  
 I show respetu for myself by believing the best about me.  
 I am smart, I am strong.  
 I work hard. I am kind. I am patient. I am respectful.

### Scene 4: *Kisha and Aaron picking vegetables for dinner.*

A: So we've already asked permission. We picked two lemmai. What else do we need?  
 K: Well I still need two lemmai to make my lemmai yan puntan kalamasa yan lechen niyok.  
 A: Atan! Ayu guatto! Dos mās lemmai!  
 [Someone dumps trash on the road in front of them]  
 A: Woah, what was that?  
 K: Hey, tairespetu! Don't let me tell your nāna because she'll saolak i daggān-mu.  
 A: Calm down, Kisha. Oh my gugat. It's gof paosadang yan paotake'. What's in there?  
 [They look in the trash bags.]  
 K: Cans and bottles. I can recycle these to make a few dollars.  
 A: Well you better wear gloves because that is kilakas. Is there? Is there a diaper in there?  
 K: Can you imagine if everyone just threw their trash out the window?  
 A: Taimāmahlao.



K: Taimãmahlao is right. We show respect for i tano' yan i tasi. In order for us to show respect for i tano' yan i tasi, we must properly dispose of our trash and recycle. All of the trash that we use goes into the landfill or into the ocean and turns into poison for us. Aaron, we need to pick up this trash.

A: For reals Kisha? But I did not make this mess.

K: But the jungle is like our nãna. We love and respect the jungle like we love and respect our nãna.

*Scene 4 Ends*

*Song 3 [Different from storyline]*

My nãna is a maga'håga, a maga'håga, a maga'håga.

My nãna is a maga'håga of the tãno and the tãsi.

Si nãna-hu un maga'håga, un maga'håga, un maga'håga.

Si nãna-hu un maga'håga gi i tano' yan i tasi.

Si nãna-hu un maga'håga, un maga'håga, un maga'håga.

Fanã'i yu i guinifi.

*Scene 5: Kisha and Aaron in front of trees after picking up trash*

K: Okay, Nahong esta! Nihi! I can taste the lemmai yan puntan kalamasa yan lechen niyok already. By the way, you're going to have to hide in the back until everyone gets to nana's house.

A: Nangga! Atan i mangga siha! I haven't had mangos in forever. Bai hu tife' unu. I'm going to go pick one.

K: No Aaron. Mungnga ma cho'gue ennao! You can't do that. Those trees are in Tan Maria's land. Ti iyo-ta. They're not ours.

A: But she's not even here. I'm only going to take one or two or three or four.

K: It doesn't matter. Those are Tan Marias. And it would be tairespetu to go onto her land without asking permission or if we take something that doesn't belong to us.

A: Hunggan, hu tungo' na dinanche hao. Those mangos look gof mångge, lao malago' yu gumairespetu. I won't take any.

K: and look, if anyone were to take lemmai from our nana's trongko. Pues hãfa para ta kãnno' lamo'na. What would we be eating tonight? Exactly.

*Scene 5 Ends*

*Song 4*

I won't take what doesn't belong to me

If it's not my land, then it's not my tree.

1 mango, 2 mango, 2 mango 3.

Alageta, lemmai, calamansi.

When I see it, ma'goddai is what i'm feeling.

But if it's someone else's land, well that's called stealing.

1 mango, 2 mango, 3 mango 4.

Now that I've had one, I want more.

But if it's not my tree, I'll fight the feeling.

If it's someone else's land, well, that's called stealing.

I wanna be respectful, gairespetu x2

I won't take what doesn't belong to me  
 If it's not my land, then it's not my tree.  
*Song 4 ends*

*Scene 6: Respetu skit gi fino chamoru*

Inina & Matua

M: Inina, manggaige i mangga'chong Nâna yan Tâta para u fambisita. Ya hasso na un nisisita na para ta fanggairespetu. Esta?

I: Esta Matua. Bai hu gairespetu.

M: maila', nisisita para ta fanggairespetu ya ta fannginge' as tiha Erisa yan tihu Gary.

[kids amen yan nginge' elders]

I & M's Nâna: Matua yan Inina, put fabot fañule' i hanom yan i inafuyot gi hilo' lamasa.

I & M: Hunggan, Nâna!

M: Inina, yanggen guaha bisitâ-ta, ta nâ'i siha hânôm yan nengkanno', saikâsu na manmâ'u yan manñalang siha.

I: Esta, Matua. Lâo gof ñalang yu'.

[Inina grabs a sandwich and bites it.]

M: Inina! Kâo un kâkanno' i inafuyot?

I: Ti hu kânno' i inafuyot

M: Atmiti Inina, sa' esta magacha' hâo.

I: Esta, despensa yu'!

M: Mâolek ha', lâo otru biâhi setbe i bisitâ-ta fine'na. Atan! Guaha Plâton inafuyot para hita.

I: Matua, hâfa mâs hu nisisita?

M: Ta nisista ñumangon, put not ta estotba siha.

I: Esta, bai hu ñangon.

M: Esta, Inina! Mâolek i bidâda-mu.

[Children bring the food to their parents and uncle and auntie.]

Dad?: Ah, famagu'on, Si Yu'os Ma'âse', na un lakngos i nengkanno'. Si Yu'os Ma'âse' lokkue' na manggairespetu hamyo!

*Scene 6 ends*

*Scene 7: Kisha giving tips*

Everything that you throw away ends up in a landfill or in our ocean. Fanggairespetu [popup].

Have respect for i tano yan i tasi. In order for us to show respect for i tano yan i tasi, we must minimize our trash and recycle. Here are a few tips.

1. Use real dishes.
  1. If you can't use real dishes, try to use disposable products that are biodegradable and environmentally friendly. Avoid styrofoam and plastics.
2. Set up recycling containers especially before a big party or get together. And instruct people how to use them.
  1. Aaron: Kisha, which one does this go in?
    1. That goes into the cans or aluminum bin Aaron.
- b. Separate your recyclables into separate categories. Plastic, paper/cardboard, cans, glass, and compost or food waste.
- c. Aaron: What about his one?
  1. That goes into the plastics bin Aaron.

When you go to the grocery store, take your reusable bags with you.  
If you need assistance with recycling, call our friend Peggy Denney at iRecycle Guam at 483-9415.

*Scene 6 ends*

*Scene 7: Aaron, Kisha, and Lukie sitting outside after the party*

Aaron: Hey do you think I did okay Kisha? I think I did everything you told me about respetu.

K: You did great Aaron. And Lukie, your friend didn't have to eat with the chickens. She amened everyone, didn't talk too much, and she got up to help without anyone asking her to.

A: She was also very respectful to the elders. I like her.

L: I think nāna liked her too. She even invited her to come back on saturday for family dinner.

K: What?! She wouldn't even let me bring my boyfriend to family dinner. Ti fair.

A: Guaha nobiu-mu? You have a boyfriend Kisha?

L: Had a boyfriend. She broke up with him sa' tairespetu gui.

K: I guess there are no secrets in this family huh. Well dinanche gui'. Tairespetu i lahi.

A: Respect is a very important part of our culture.

L: we come from a long long tradition of love and respect.

Song

Åmen your nāna, help your manggāfa'

Famaisen i saina, be kind and considerate

We come from a long long tradition

A sacred tradition

Of love and respect

You come from a long long tradition

A sacred tradition

Of love and respect

Aaron: Until next time fama' guon. Respect yourselves, respect others.

K: Respect your elders and our island home.

L: Ya hahasso. Dream big, work hard, and gairespetu.

All: Adios.

Appendix D





# KĀNTAN CHAMORU

## TRANSLATION

### Verse 1:

Mañe'lu-hu guenao huyong giya islas  
 Mariãnas  
 Nihi ta prutehi i lengguãhi, kuttura, yan  
 lokkue' kustumbre-ta  
 Fanohge! Fanbanidosu! Put I tano'-ta  
 Sa' gof bunitu yan riku todú i historiã-ta  
 Hunggan magãhet, guaha giya hita  
 problemã-ta  
 Lao manmetgot taotao-ta nina'í hit nu as  
 mañaina-ta

### Chorus:

Nihi ta kãnta kãnta kãnta I kantan  
 CHamoru  
 Ya ta fan Magof ta'lo ta fangimen  
 Adahi en fanmamo'ddong  
 Nihi Ta baila baila baila I bailan CHamoru  
 Ya ta fan Magof ta'lo ta fangimen  
 Adahi en fanmamoddo'ng

### Verse 2:

Manmakombida yu' I mangga'chong-hu gi  
 gipot CHamoru  
 Hekkua' Ti hu tungo' hafa na okasiõn guihi  
 na tiempo  
 Manmasangãni hu', che'lu-hu, chule' gitalã-  
 mu ya ta fangãnta, ya fanbaila, ta  
 fanbulãchu

### Verse 1:

My brothers and sisters out there in  
 Mariãnas  
 Let's protect the language, culture, and our  
 customs as well.  
 Stand up! Be proud! Of our land!  
 Because we have a really beautiful and rich  
 history  
 Yes, it is true, that we had our differences  
 But our people are strong and our  
 strength was given to us from our  
 ancestors

### Chorus:

Let's sing sing sing Chamorro songs  
 And we'll be happy, we'll drink again, but  
 be sure to not fall down  
 Let's dance dance dance the Chamorro  
 dance  
 And we'll be happy, we'll drink again, but  
 be sure to not fall down

### Verse 2:

I was invited by friends to a Chamorro  
 party  
 I don't really know what kind of party it  
 was during that time  
 They told me, "Brother, bring your guitar.  
 We're gonna sing, we're gonna dance,  
 we're gonna get drunk."

BACK UP VOCALS: **KAYLEE VILLASOTO**  
 LEAD GUITAR: **KIKO YAMASHITA**  
 KEYBOARD: **DANTE TRINIDAD**



# LENGGUÅHI

## Verse 1:

Hafa lai manChamoru  
 Usa I lengguåhen-miyu  
 Guaha ni masåsånggan na Ti impotante  
 Mungnga chathinasso usa I lengguåhi  
 Kulan taotao sanhiyong hinasson-miyu  
 Sa mamfifino' englis todú i tiempo  
 Nihi ta na'lå'la' i fino'-ta mañe'lu-hu  
 Fanå'gue todú i famagu'on-miyu

## Chorus:

CHamoru hagå'-ta, mannatibu gi tano'-ta  
 CHamoru raså'-ta, manhita Mariånas

## Verse 2:

Disde annai dikike' yu' na patgon  
 Malago' yu' umeyak fino' CHamoru  
 Gi annai humålom yu' gi Eskuelan kulehu  
 Ti hu tungo' CHamoru guihi na tiempo  
 Pues duru yu' manestutudia CHamoru  
 Pues hu so'dda i che'cho'-hu para I lina'lå-  
 hu  
 På'go na tiempo, mañe'lu-hu  
 Maestron CHamoru para I famagu'on

## Chorus 2:

CHamoru hagå'-hu, natibu gi tano'-hu  
 CHamoru raså'-hu, Mariånas gi korason-hu

## TRANSLATION

### Verse 1:

What's going on Chamorros?  
 Use your language!  
 There are some that say this language is  
 important  
 Stop those wild thoughts and use the  
 language  
 It's like your thinking is of people from  
 another place  
 'Cause all you speak is English  
 Let's bring life to our language  
 And teach your children

### Chorus:

Chamorro by blood  
 We are natives in our home  
 Chamorro by ethnicity  
 One Mariånas

### Verse 2:

Since I was a small little kid  
 I've always wanted to learn the Chamorro  
 language  
 When I entered college  
 I still didn't know the language during that  
 time  
 Then I kept studying the Chamorro language  
 Then I found what I was going to do (for a  
 living) for my life  
 At this moment, brothers and sisters, I'm a  
 Chamorro teacher for the kids

BACK UP VOCALS: **KAYLEE VILLASOTO**

LEAD GUITAR: **RICHARD CASTRO**

BASS: **KIKO YAMASHITA**

KEYBOARD: **DANTE TRINIDAD**



# NA'LA'LA'

## Verse 1:

Na'lå'la' I fino'-ta, na'lå'la' I Kotturå-ta  
 Yan i kostumbre-ta, ginen i hale'-ta, Kada  
 diha,  
 Protehi I taotao-ta  
 Mantieni finånguen mañaina'-ta  
 Gagao siha ni tinemtom-niha  
 Ayuda i famagu'on-ta  
 Fanggai respetu ni uriyå-ta  
 Bisita islå-ta siha, Mariånas

## Chorus:

Gof impotånte i lina'lå-ta  
 Yan kontodu I tano'-ta siha  
 Ya ta fanmagof  
 Hita ni manchamoru  
 Ya ta fanunu  
 Todus hit ni mannatibu

## Verse 2:

Susteni i guinahå-ta, mungnga maleffa put  
 historiå-ta,  
 Taotao-hu, mañe'lu-hu, hu gagagao hamyo  
 Nihi ta kontra, Maseha håyi malago'  
 Para u destrosa todú i tano'  
 Nihi ta na'dañå' I kannai-ta siha,  
 manchamoru

## TRANSLATION

### Verse 1:

Make life to our language, make life to  
 our culture  
 And our customs from our roots.  
 Everyday!  
 Protect our people, maintain the  
 teachings of our elderly  
 Seek their wisdom  
 Help our children  
 Have respect for our surroundings  
 Visit our islands in the Mariånas

### Chorus:

Our lives (on the islands) are very  
 important  
 And as well as our lands  
 We'll be happy, we, the Chamorros  
 Let's become one, we, the natives

### Verse 2:

Sustain our resources, don't forget  
 about history  
 My people, my brothers and sister, I'm  
 asking you  
 Let's go against ANYONE who wants to  
 destroy our land  
 Let's join hands, Chamorros!

BACK UP VOCALS: ANGELO MOLINOS  
 LEAD GUITAR / BASS: KIKO YAMASHITA

**Appendix E**

Taftaf oggan mandimingu i familia-na  
 Ha toktok todo i famagu'on-na  
 Ha chiku i asagua-na  
Sa apman pon dingui i gima

Early in the morning, they leave their family  
 They hug their children  
 They kiss their wives  
 Because it will be long before they return

Annai matto guatto gi che'cho-na  
 Yan ha arekla todo i sagan-na  
 Yan ha na'gasgas yan na'listo  
Todo i kosas-na

When he arrives at work  
 And he prepares what he will say  
 And he cleans and gets ready  
 For everything

Chorus-  
 Pues ma dililing i kampana  
 Un ratutu annai na'listo siha  
 Maninalulula guatto  
Para manayuda i publiko  
 Achukka guafi pat guaha malangu  
 Pat accidente yan guaha chinuda  
 Siempre ha mangaige  
 Siha taotao guafi  
Para hamyo

Chorus  
 Then the bell rings  
 And we must all get ready  
 We rush to the place  
 Where we can help the public  
 Although the fire can make us sick  
 There was an accident and we can put it out  
 They will be there  
 The firemen  
 For you all

A las tres gi chatanmak ha  
 Mamaigo todo i taotao siha  
 Lao taotao guafi fanhongge  
Namanlisto yanggin guaha masusedi

At 3 in the morning  
 When everyone is sleeping  
 They are ready if something happens

Chorus-

Chorus

Maseha manu guaha masusedi  
 Halom tano pat huyong gi tasi  
 Siempre ha mangaige  
Siha taotao guafi para hamyo

If anything happens  
 Inside the land or out on this ocean  
 We will be there  
 The firemen for you all

Achukka guafi pat guaha malangu  
 Pat accidente yan guaha chinuda  
 Siempre ha mangaige  
Siha taotao guafi para hamyo  
 Siempre ha mangaige  
Hami taotao guafi para hamyo

Although the fire can make us sick  
 There was an accident and we can put it out  
 They will be there  
 The firemen For you all  
 We will be there  
 The firemen For you all

Taftaf oggan na'dingu i familian-na  
 Ha toktok todo i famagu'on- na  
 Ha chiku i asagua-na  
 Sa apman pon dingui i gima

Early in the morning, they leave their family  
 They hug their children  
 They kiss their wives  
 Because it will be long before they return



**Appendix F**

(Ai neni) Gai'asi Nu Guahu by KC DLG

Verse 1

Anai manmatta yu gi ega'an  
ti hu soodda hao gif ion-hu.  
Nisikera un kata para bai hu tungu  
hafa na rason na un dingy yu.

Verse 2

Hu espipiha hafa kirida i rason-mu.  
Kao ti hu na magof i korason-mu?  
Ya esti ha bai hu sangan, na i guinaya-ku,  
nu hagu, ni ngaian hu falingu.

Chorus

Ai neni, kao ti un tungo hafa hu susesedi?  
Kada diha yan puengi.  
Disti ki un apatta hao gif ion-hu.

Verse 3

Ai yu'us tata, gai'asi nu guahu  
Na fatto fan magi i guinaya-ku.  
Sa guiya ha yu'us i lina'la-hu.  
Gai'asi nu guahu.

Verse 4

Ai ti hu hulat neni esti kumumprendi.  
Ai hafa yup ago para bai chogue

I bidamu nu guahu mampos na'piniti.  
Gai'asi, gai'asi nu guahu.

Chorus x2