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SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LANGUAGE USAGE · RILEY

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87106

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

A Sociolinguistic Study of Language Usage in the Territory of Guam

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LANGUAGE USAGE IN THE TERRITORY OF GUAM

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Curriculum and Instruction
in the Graduate School of
The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico
August, 1974

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LANGUAGE USAGE IN THE TERRITORY OF GUAM

BY
George Alfred Riley

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LANGUAGE USAGE
IN THE TERRITORY OF GUAM

George Alfred Riley, Ph.D.
Department of Secondary Education
The University of New Mexico, 1974

This is the report of a study of the language usage of residents of the Territory of Guam who are bilingual in Chamorro and English. It concerns the configuration of language dominance that is characteristic of this group, assessing the degree of bilingualism and the distribution of bilingualism in formal and informal societal domains. The relationship among ethnocentrism, language loyalty, and actual language usage is explored. The study also describes the attitudes of members of the speech community to language maintenance and shift in general, and towards the appropriateness of the two languages in various situations and domains.

Two hundred and forty bilingual Chamorro/English speakers of the Guamanian speech community, illustrating a range of demographic factors, were interviewed. The survey gathered data on the degree and location of Guamanian bilingualism and the attitudes of the community towards language maintenance and language shift. Further, one hundred and ninety-four bilingual Chamorro/English speakers in the 1973 freshman class at the University of Guam were surveyed to study the relationship of their ethnocentric feelings to their language use and language loyalty.

An analysis of the data suggests that the Guamanian speech community, enormously influenced by the phenomena of modernization and urbanization, is developing a clearly defined diglossia in which Chamorro will be used as the L variety and English as the H. Education has played a major role in moving the community from its traditional Chamorro language dominance towards an English dominance.

Among that segment of the speech community in which one would expect to find strong feelings of ethnocentrism, such feelings are singularly lacking. Moreover, while this segment of the community shows a very low usage rate for Chamorro, they nonetheless indicate extremely high, positive attitudes towards language loyalty and language maintenance.

Finally, the study suggests that the speech community as a whole is developing an extremely strong consensus of opinion towards the language shift that is presently taking place on Guam. The community seems to be developing a civic awareness which allows for a greatly increased use of English informal situations and domains while maintaining their traditional communal awareness which will, in turn, maintain Chamorro in intimate situations and domains.

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CHAPTER ONE
GUAM IN A LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

For the past three hundred years the island of Guam in the Western Pacific Ocean has been under the jurisdiction of three different powers: Spain, Japan, and the United States. Over the centuries there was a steady flow of edicts, decrees, and general orders issued by Spanish kings, Japanese generals, and American governors all stating basically the same idea: Chamorro is to be supplanted by the metropolitan colonial language, and the most efficient way of attaining this goal is through the establishment of schools. As the years passed, the native population dwindled either because of intentional political strategies of genocide or because of sickness and epidemics. In spite of this, Chamorro continued to exist as a vibrant, dynamic, and eminently useful mode of communication. Even today, fully three hundred and fifty-two years after Magellan sighted the island, Chamorro is still the first language of the vast majority of those Americans born in the Territory.

But in these days of modernization, urbanization and especially the emergence of English as a pre-eminent world language, what will be the future status of Chamorro? A sociolinguistic study in any depth of language usage, language dominance, and attitudes towards language maintenance has never been made among the Chamoro-speaking people. The lack of information dealing with dominance configurations

which include degrees of bilingualism and the location of the bilingualism, the relationship existing between ethnocentrism and language usage and language loyalty, and attitudes towards language maintenance and language shift has made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for those in authority to establish a language policy for the Territory based on the actual language situation and on the aspirations and desires of the people.

The importance of obtaining this information cannot be overestimated. In these days of rapid re-ordering of social values, the relative position of competing languages within a bilingual culture is of paramount importance. Several local organizations, such as the "Chamorro Club" at the University of Guam have been established with the goal of deliberately maintaining and re-establishing those aspects of language and culture that are believed to have been lost through acculturation with the predominate western culture. The Territorial Department of Education has established a bilingual program within several local elementary schools to encourage and develop the use of Chamorro and the University of Guam offers a four-semester course in the language. Interest in the language itself is further evidenced by formal academic studies, such as those done by Donald Topping (1963, 1969, 1973) of the University of Hawaii, the publishing of handbooks and dictionaries, such as those of Katherine Aguon (1971) and Francisco Cruz (1967) and the recent codification of the

orthography of Chamorro (1971).

Such recent changes in attitude toward language usage and the overt manifestations of these attitudes as described above are, unfortunately, rather erratic and unorganized. As healthy and as desirous as these manifestations are, they still reflect, from the academic and scientific viewpoints at least, the feelings and attitudes of a very small proportion of the Guamanian speech community. As a result, these individuals and groups often find themselves on the defensive when attempting to justify their positions. They are often forced to rely on their personal intuitions, feelings, and emotions concerning language usage rather than being able to base their arguments on more formal sociolinguistic models.

To solve this problem and provide this vital information, this present sociolinguistic survey involving a large number of the bilingual members of the Guamanian speech community representing all possible demographic factors was carried out. The survey gathered data on the degree and location of Guamanian bilingualism, the relationship of ethnocentric feelings towards language usage and language loyalty, and attitudes towards language maintenance and language shift. Analysis of the data establish language differences between intimate and formal situations and in five societal domains. Finally, an attempt is made to characterize the over-all language dominance patterns of speech community. With the information that this study

provides, governmental authorities, those involved in public education, and those involved in communication media will have some understanding of the linguistic situation as it actually exists on Guam today, and be in a better position to establish sound language policies.

Historical Background

Guam, the largest and southernmost island of the Mariana Archipelago in the Western Pacific Ocean, was discovered by Magellan in 1521 and claimed by him for the Spanish Crown. For over a century Spain did not exploit its new possession, but when the colonization of The Philippines and Mexico began, Guam took on new significance for Spain since it was ideally located to serve as a stopping-off place for the galleons which sailed semi-annually between Manila and Acapulco. In time, too, the island served the Captain-Generalcy of Manila as a penal colony (Carano, 1964).

The native Chamorros, whom the Spanish found inhabiting the island, were of Malayo-Polynesian stock. Beyond this fact, little is known about them. There are no records indicating when the island was first inhabited, but Spoehr (1957) has found archeological evidence on Saipan indicating that the Chamorros may have been in the Marianas for as long as 3,500 years.

The language, too, has been difficult to trace. The first known grammar of Chamorro was written by Father Sanvitores in 1668. However, it fails to give us a clear

picture of what the language was like or how it was used as that time. Various recent scholars (Dyen, 1962; Topping, 1973) tend to relate Chamorro to either the Maanyan ~~of~~ or to Borneo of the Philippine type languages, especially Tagalog and Ilokano.

What is of interest about Chamorro is the fact that the language still exists as a strong, flourishing, and dynamic venacular. By all the rules, Chamorro should have long ago become extinct since, during three centuries of foreign rule, there have been concerted efforts to eradicate not only the language but also the speakers themselves.

Throughout the late eighteenth century, the Spanish-Government tried systematically to eradicate Chamorro and establish Spanish as the high variety. Prior to 1767 catechism classes and certain church services were conducted in Chamorro, but in that year a royal decree (Records, Item 1, Quaderno 18, A-5) was issued ordering that religious instruction be given in Spanish: "Rl Cedula de 21 de Septiembre de 1767 sobre quelos Doctrineros regulares instruyan a los Indios en la Doctrina Christiana en el Idioma Castellana."* (A royal decree of the twenty-first of September 1767 in relation to the fact that the catechists instruct the natives in Christian doctrine in the Spanish language.)

---

*The Spanish decrees have been cited in the exact form in which they are found in the Records of the Spanish Government.

At about this same time the Government began to establish schools with the primary goal of teaching Spanish. Further, the "gobernadorcillos," or native commissioners, of Umatac-Merizo and Agat-Sumay were required to know Spanish. An order (Records, Item 1, Quaderno 21, 5) of 1773 or 1774 reads: "Orden del Supor Govno de Filipas sobre que estable Pueblos de estas Islas Escuelas dela lengua Castellana sin permitir qe (indecipherable) tengan conocimto enellas. Tambien qe los Ofzes delos Puelos se (indecipherable) on preferencia delos que saben el Idioma Castellano." (An order of the Governor of the Phillipines in relation to the fact that schools teaching Spanish be established in these islands without allowing that (indecipherable) they have knowledge about them. Also that the officials of the villages (indecipherable) preference to those who know Spanish.)

There were further decrees and orders later in the century concerning the establishment of schools whose primary aim was the teaching and propagation of Spanish. One decree (Records, Item 1, Quaderno 22, 7) states: "Testemonio de Rl Cedula de 21 Julio de 1787 dirigida al actual Senor Govor consus titulos de propreatrio para que se extablezcan Maestros de Escuela en Idioma Castellano y modo que se propague generalmente." (Testimony of a royal decree of July 21, 1787 directed to the governor in his official capacity that he establish Spanish-speaking schools.)

A final order (Records, Item 1, Tomo 3°, 5) commanded

much the same thing: "Id de 6 de Marzo de 1793 que inserta un Decreto proveido el mismo dia, dictando las Providencias convenientes, para que se radique entre los Naturales la Lengua Castellana." (An item of March 6, 1793 which shows a decree, promulgated the same day, ordering the local governors to teach Spanish among the native population.)

In the middle of the following century an interesting system of teaching Spanish was initiated. A Spanish grammar was translated into Chamorro with the goal of teaching the children Spanish. In the foreward (Ibanez del Carmen, 1865) the following statement is made: "Gramatica Chamorra, que traducida literalmente de la que escribio D. Luis Mata y Araujo, dedica a las Escuelas de Marianas, con el fin que los ninos aprendan el Castellano." (A Chamorro grammar, which has been literally translated from that written by Don Luis Mata y Araujo, and dedicated to the schools of the Marianas, with the goal that the children learn Spanish.) A footnote adds: "Esta no es una gramatica chamorra, sino espanola." (This is not a Chamorro grammar; rather a Spanish one.)

To the end of their three-hundred year domination of Guam, Spanish officials remained convinced that their efforts in replacing Chamorro by Spanish had been eminently successful. As late as one year before Spain's political tenure in Guam was to end, del Campo Echeverria (1897, pg. 104) was able to write: "...la major parte de los naturales hablan en castellano, mezclando de ves en cuando algunas

frases de su primitive lengua." (The majority of the natives speak Spanish mixing with it, from time to time, some words from their primitive language.) And, further, "...el castellano (ha sustuido) a su lenguaje primitivo." (Spanish has supplanted their primitive language.)

It is not too surprising that del Campo Echeverria was able to make these statements. It seems that the Spanish were indeed rather successful in teaching the inhabitants of Guam Spanish. Cox (1904) pointed out that "...the majority of the people can read and write a little Spanish and fully 90% can write their signatures," and Bordallo (1965) notes in his memoir that "most of the people spoke Spanish." To account for del Campo Echeverria's final statement, however, we must look at the census of 1787 (Archivo Historico Nacional, n.d.) given in Table 1.

Table 1. Census of Population: Guam, 1787.

"Indios Naturales"	1,341
Spanish Military	156
Spanish Civilians and Mestizos	908
Filipinos	643
	3,048

Citing Fritz, Underwood (1973) estimates that the native population of Guam in 1521 was somewhere in the neighborhood of 30,000. Following a major epidemic in

1688 and the rebellion which finally ended in 1698, during which a large but unknown number of the male Chamorro population was killed, the population of the Chamorros dwindled rapidly. The nadir of the population seems to be reflected in the census of 1787 taken during the governorship of Lieutenant Colonel Don Jose Arlegui y Leon.

What is of great interest in this census, however, is the fact that none of the "indios naturales", as the Chamorros were termed in this census, lived in the city of Agana or the Barrio Santa Cruz. Only Spanish officials, Spanish citizens and mestizos, and the Filipinos were domiciled in the capital. The Chamorros lived in one of the eleven pueblos or villas around the island or on Rota, a small island to the north of Guam. The major linguistic contacts then that the Chamorros had with the Spanish were either in the schools where Spanish was the medium of instruction, or when visiting Agana on official business with the government where the use of Spanish was required. Which language the Chamorros used in other domains, and there is no doubt that they used Chamorro, apparently did not interest either the Spanish or del Campo Echeverria. He evidently assumed that the Chamorros used Spanish at all times and thus was able to write as he did.

In 1898, at the Treaty of Paris which ended the Spanish-American War, Spain ceded Guam (together with other of her dominions) to the United States. The first governor, Richard P. Leary, in the earliest days of his

administration established English as the high variety. The records do not indicate whether or not Leary intended English to be regarded as the official language of the Territory or as the prestige variety. His first set of General Orders (Leary, 1905) is directed at the establishment of schools where instruction would be in English. General Order #12, dated 22 January 1900 states: "Instruction in the English language will be introduced in the public schools as soon as suitable teachers can be found." The very next day, 23 January 1900, he issued General Order #13 which suggested: "All residents are recommended to utilize every available opportunity to know how to read, write, and speak the English language."

The schools that Leary and his successors attempted to establish were apparently not only too few in number but also not too successful. Cox (1904) points out the pitiful condition of the few American schools then existing, laying the blame on the lack of funds to maintain them. In proportion to the Guamanians, the number of Americans on Guam was very small as Table 2 (Carano, 1964) indicates.

Table 2. Census of Population: Guam, 1908.

Guamanians	11,159
Naval Station Personnel	172
American Civilians	14
Other Civilians	145
	11,490

Reid (1941) states that by 1920 only 47.6% of the native population were able to speak English and as late as 1930 this figure had risen to only 69.1%. This alone would seem to indicate that Chamorro was still being widely used by the Guamanians and by some in all societal domains. The first high school was not established until 1936 with the first class graduating in 1940.

Whether this system would have improved or not is moot, for on 8 December 1941 the Imperial Japanese Army occupied Guam and remained in control until 21 July 1944 when the Armed Forces of the United States recaptured the island. One of the first acts of the Japanese Government was to establish Japanese as the high variety. Schools were immediately set up for the purpose of teaching that language. Concerning these schools, Smith (1970, pg. 57) writes: "The main class was in Japanese language...Some Japanese history and culture was taught...Mathematics including the use of the abacus was taught." Not only were children involved in learning the new language, but almost the entire adult population was compelled to attend school. Smith (1970, pg. 48) notes: "Adult classes...were held for all people who worked during regular school hours. This included people from the ages of about thirteen to sixty."

Although the number of the Japanese military and civilians in the Marianas Area was very great--the U. S. Navy War Crimes Program Report (1945) gives a total Japanese population in these islands of 125,819--the effects of

their schools were minimal for two very important reasons. The first was the relatively short tenure of the Japanese on Guam. Regardless of how efficiently the schools were run, they were in operation for only a little over two years which is scarcely a sufficient length of time to alter language usage habits radically and permanently. The second, as Smith (1970) notes, is that the Japanese misjudged the Guamanians, considering them to be oriental in outlook instead of western. As a result, the Japanese tended to treat the Guamanians as they had treated the peoples of their earlier conquests in Formosa and Manchuria. But the Guamanians had been for too long a time under both Spanish and American jurisdictions and had, by 1941, adopted a fully western outlook. The "Japanization" of the Guamanians was therefore a failure.

With the re-establishment of American military government in 1945, English was once again decreed to be the high variety and, in fact, is considered the official language of the Territory today (Government Code, 1970). Section 3,000 of the Code states: "English is the official language of Guam and all persons employed by the government of Guam shall speak only English during working hours. Other languages must not be spoken except for official translating." It is interesting to note that until about two years ago signs quoting this section of the Code were hung in public and governmental offices to remind everyone what was to be considered linguistically correct.

That the "Americanization" of Guam has not slowed down in recent times is evidenced by the facts that English is the sole medium of instruction in the public and private schools in the Territory, that almost all radio and television programming is conducted in English, and that such newspapers and magazines that are published on the island are written in English.

Yet, Chamorro is still used by the Guamanians in many societal domains. To account for this extraordinary survival after over three centuries of linguistic domination by Spanish, English, and Japanese is indeed difficult.

Some indication relative to the survival of Chamorro has been given above in discussing the effects of the schools established by the colonial powers. The basic reason why Spanish failed to supersede Chamorro may be that Spain never colonized the island in the usual sense. Even though some schools were established, the island was not "Hispanicised." As was indicated earlier, Guam served the Spanish colonial government as a small outpost of empire; the actual number of Spanish soldiers billeted on Guam was never large and, in all probability, there was little interaction between the colonists and the native Chamorros. Further, the missionaries probably continued to give religious instruction in Chamorro in spite of decrees to the contrary. And it was precisely in this domain where the greatest Spanish influence has been felt by the Chamorro community, but the influence was made

through the use of Chamorro, not Spanish.

Like the Spanish, the American naval government tended to remain somewhat aloof from the daily life of the islanders, excepting in the fields of public health and education, and concentrated its efforts in establishing and maintaining a strategic naval station for the United States government. As a result, Chamorro continued to be used in the day-to-day existence of the Guamanians and English was used only on more formal occasions, such as those involving school and the government.

The Japanese influence was minimal. As was mentioned above, this is probably due to the facts that the tenure of the Japanese on Guam was of so short a duration and that the Japanese made a serious sociological error in predicting the general outlook of the local population. Had their occupation lasted longer, there is no doubt that their influence would have been much greater.

This is not to say that these languages have not influenced Chamorro. They all have, in a greater or lesser degree, but the greatest influence by far has been that exerted by Spanish. Great quantities of Spanish lexical items have been borrowed by Chamorro, either in direct borrowings where the words have remained unchanged or in what Topping (1973) calls "Chamorrocized Spanish," that is, where Spanish words have been forced to fall into the Chamorro phonological system. For example, Chamorro phonology does not permit /r/ in either syllable or word-final position.

Thus, such borrowed items as "senor" and "por favor" become "senot" and pot fabot" respectively.

The influence of English has been similar to that of Spanish. Many words have been borrowed without change while other lexical items, which Topping (1963) here calls "loanblends" have been forced into the Chamorrow phonological and syntactial systems. For example, Chamorro syntax calls for the reduplication of the stressed syllable of a base word and the insertion of the verbalizing infix "-um-" to form what might be called the present continuous aspect. Thus, "saga" (live) is reduplicated to "sasaga" and the infix "-um-" inserted to form "sumasaga." In like manner the English "futbol" is reduplicated to "fufutbol" and the infix "-um-" inserted to form "fumufutbol", giving "fumufutbol yo'" (I am playing football.)

Japanese exerted the least amount of influence on Chamorro, the influence being restricted to a few lexical items used in the northern Marianas (Topping, 1973) which had been under a Japanese Mandate since the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

Traditionally, Chamorro was an unwritten language and the various colonial governments, therefore, used their own alphabets on those occasions when writing had to be done. This naturally led to some confusion as to the "correct" way to spell any given word. In 1971 the Committee on Chamorro Orthography established an official spelling system which is now considered to be the standard.

The Present Study

There are several basic questions about the present language situation on Guam that have defined the scope and nature of this study.

The first of these questions deals with the linguistic dominance configuration which characterizes the language usage of the typical bilingual speaker of English and Chamorro in the Territory. Two aspects of this looked at are the degree to which such a speaker is bilingual and the nature of the distribution of the bilingualism in intimate and formal societal domains. The second question deals with the relationships existing between ethnocentrism and language usage and language loyalty. A third question deals with the speech community's attitudes towards language maintenance and language shift both in general and, more specifically, towards use in intimate and formal situations and in five societal domans.

Let us return to the first of these questions. The two types of bilingualism that Weinreich (1958) refers to and the subsequent development of that concept into that of compound and coordinate bilingualism by various authors (e.g., Osgood-Ervin, 1954; Fishman, 1966; Macnamara, 1967; Diller, 1967 and Jakobovits, 1970) seem to be two extremes along one continuum of the bilingual's neurological linguistic mechanism. The distinction is, however, of value since it aids in describing more specifically and exactly the total communicative competence of that individual. And

in a study of this nature, it is the individual's communicative competence that is of prime interest. Spolsky (1972) lists five factors which must be taken into account in discussing this competence. It is evident that the bilingual has within his neurological network a competence in the phonology, lexicon, syntax, and semantics of his two varieties. The second factor concerns the channel, that is, the manner or manners by means of which the code is transmitted, be it by speech, writing, or by gesture. The third factor is the code itself, that is, the variations that are available to the speaker, such variations being dialects, styles, or registers. In conjunction with this factor, one must take into account the bilingual's ability to control the proper rules of alternation, sequencing, and co-occurance as described by Erving-Tripp (1971). The fourth factor concerns the topic, that is, what it is the speaker is able to talk about and what it is he is able to understand. Fifth, and last, is the factor of setting, that is, how well the speaker is able to function linguistically in various societal domains and situations.

It is not the purpose of this study to continue the discussion concerning compound and coordinate bilingualism. As I have indicated, the communicative competence of the members of this speech community as this competence is reflected in the degree of bilingualism exhibited by these speakers and the location of that bilingualism is of much greater interest and importance.

The expression "degree of bilingualism" is, of course, vague and without careful clarification, can lead to any manner and number of interpretations. By "degree of Chamorro/English bilingualism" I will choose to refer specifically to the total amount of everyday speech in each of five societal domains that the individual prefers to carry on in Chamorro as contrasted to the total amount of the same individual's everyday speech in the same five societal domains which he prefers to carry on in English. Now, Fishman (1956, pg. 432) has stated that "bilinguals vary with respect to the number and overlap of domains in which they habitually employ each of their languages" (italics his.) This, however, is not to deny that there is within the bilingual speaker a certain competence which governs his performance in any given bilingual speech encounter--a competence which will lead the speakers to use one language over another depending on any number of variables.

For the purposes of this study and this definition, these variables are threefold--the person with whom the bilingual is speaking; the location of the speech encounter, and the topic that is being discussed. As Hymes' (1972) model suggests, there are more variables involved in any speech encounter, but an in-depth analysis of each of his variables would require a study of much greater magnitude than this present study. Greenfield and Fishman (1971) have suggested that an analysis of the three variables mentioned above can give a very accurate picture of the actual language

situation within a speech community. Hence, my emphasis will be given to these three variables.

I use the term "language dominance", which is intimately related to "degree of bilingualism" as discussed above, to refer to the bilingual's over-all English competence in all domans as contrasted to his over-all Chamorro competence in all domains. Greenfield (1971) has shown the possibility of establishing the bilingual's dominance using word frequency estimations and Jakobovits (1970) discusses in detail various methods of determining this dominance. No one will deny that a language shift of as yet unspecified dimensions is occurring within the Chamorro-English speakers of the Guamanian speech community. Of the utmost value will be an analysis of the bilinguals' language dominance which will, with allied data, indicate with more precision where and among whom this shift is taking place.

Various authors have at different times preferred to make their analyses using varying number of domains (e.g. Weinreich, 1953; Haugen, 1956; Mackey, 1962). For the purposes of this study, however, I prefer to follow Greenfield and Fishman (1971). They are, then, the domains of the homes, the neighborhood, the church, school, and work. And following Haugen (1972) I assign the features of "intimacy" and "status" (herein referred to as "formal") to each of these domains. As Haugen (1972, pg. 329) states:

> "This marks the fact that the plus status variety (H) is used by the government, in the schools, by persons of high social and

> economic rank, or by city-dwellers, while the minus status variety (L) is not used by one or all of these groups. Intimacy is used here in the sense of being associated with solidarity, shared values, friendship, love, in short, the contacts established through common family and group life."

Hence, the domains of home and neighborhood will have the feature of (-formal) assigned to them while the domains of school, church, and work will have the feature of (+formal). In like manner, such topics as "how children should behave" and "how to play cards" will be marked (-formal) while the topics, such as "how a good Christian should act," "how to do a math problem," and "how to do your job more efficiently" will be marked (+formal). Likewise, if the bilingual is speaking to his parents or to his good friends, such individuals will be marked (-formal) while such people as his priest, his teacher, or his co-workers will be marked (+formal).

It is of the utmost importance to reiterate that these features are by no means mutually exclusive. As an overlap exists in the bilingual's domains, so such an overlap will occur in his speech encounters where speaker and topic vary. Thus, a co-worker (+formal) may at a fiesta (-formal), for example, be accorded the feature (-formal) when the conversation itself is marked (-formal). In a similar manner, a mother talking to her son (-formal) about his behavior (-formal) in school (+formal) in the presence of her son's teacher (+formal) might regard the entire speech event as

(+formal) and thus use her formal variety in discussing a subject that she ordinarily does only in her familiar variety (See, for example, Rubin, 1968).

It may be that this overlap is somehow related to a certain sense of linguistic insecurity especially when the speaker finds himself in the midst of a language shift that he does not as yet understand. This linguistic insecurity, of course, is closely related to the role one assumes vis-a-vis the listener in any speech event. If the speaker's concept of his role or the compartmentalization of his roles is vague, so may be his choice of language. Thus, the mother in the above hypothetical speech event may be unable to clearly define her role when discussing a subject marked (-formal) when both her son (-formal) and her son's teacher (+formal) are considered to be in the same speech event. Hence, her insecurity and her choice of using the safer (+formal) variety. One must not forget that in normal sociolinguistic situations, language choice in the bilingual is usually an automatic choice and often the bilingual is unable to report which language he has just been using in a speech event. While I have no empirical evidence to support this, I am positive that if I were to interrupt a basketball game being played by a group of Chamorro/English speaking junior high school boys at the local court and asked them what language they were using during the play of the game, they would be unable to answer with any degree of certitude. Nor can one ignore the possibility of mere inclination on

on the part of the speaker as to his language choice. Thus, a bilingual Chamorro/English student at the University of Guam when talking to his advisor (+formal) about some aspect of his education (+formal) does so in English (+formal). But when he turns to discuss the same subject (+formal) with his buddy (-formal) who has accompanied him, he (the first student) may switch to Chamorro, even when the advisor is still present. Whether this is to indicate that the advisor is momentarily excluded from the speech encounter or that the student simply feels like using Chamorro indicates that the whole subject of switching is still open to any amount of investigation.

Let us now turn our attention to the second of the questions posed at the beginning of this section, that is, the relationship existing between ethnocentrism and language loyalty. What exactly is the nature of this relationship? Is it perhaps on a one-to-one basis? That is, does the very existence of one necessarily imply the existence of the other? If one factor is considered of extreme importance by a speech community, is the other ipso facto accorded the same degree of importance? Or can these concepts be divorced in such a way that it may be possible to find a speech community with strong ethnocentric feelings but little or no strong feelings of language loyalty? Is it possible to draw up a scale wherein the ratio of correspondence between these two concepts can fall anywhere on the scale?

Weinreich (1958, pg. 100) notes that "it is in the

situation of language contact that people most easily become aware of the peculiarities of their language as against others, and it is there that the purity of standarized language most easily becomes the symbol of group integrity. Language loyalty breeds in contact situations just as nationalism breeds on ethnic borders."

Hence, language loyalty exists primarily in bilingual or multilingual speech communities where two or more languages exist in contrast. This is not to say that the concept of language loyalty is nonexistent in monolingual communities; in the latter very strong emotional ties may indeed exist between the speakers and their one language, but these ties are not threatened. For these speakers, the concept of language loyalty is, thus, of minimal importance.

Fishman (1973) suggests that in modern nationalistic movements the two concepts of language loyalty and ethnocentrism are intimately and essentially related. He notes that the single, most all-pervasive factor in modern nationalism is the absolute and essential need of a unique language which will express the authenticity of a speech community. It is this function of language that the nationalist of today is most interested in. It is a function that goes beyond mere identification of a group with a particular language. Fishman (1973, pg. 43) notes that

> "...the identification of authenticity with a particular language which is experientially unique and, therefore,

> functional in a way that other languages cannot match, namely, in safeguarding sentimental and behavioral links between the speech community of today and its (real or imaginary) counterparts yesterday and in antiquity."

Language, and here we refer to the unique language of a speech community, therefore becomes the single most salient factor in relating the present generation's aspirations with those of the past and maintaining their authenticity. It is evident, that any language suffices to recall names, dates, historical events, and the great movements of the past, but it is only through the unique language of the community in question that the very heart, the very soul, the very essence of that culture is accurately preserved and transmitted in its purest form.

On the other hand, Weinreich (1958) feels that strong aspirations of language loyalty need not necessarily be allied with strong aspirations of nationalism. He notes (pg. 10) that "...even in this age of nationalism, a group's language loyalty and nationalistic aspirations do not necessarily have parallel goals... This connection is thus at least flexible and cannot be taken entirely for granted."

One can safely assume that in the vast majority of present day nationalistic movements, favorable attitudes towards language loyalty are considered a <u>sine qua non</u> for the speakers' overall and total integration into that movement. Yet, it must be borne in mind that the concept of language loyalty does not necessarily imply strong feelings

of nationalism or ethnocentrism. It would appear that the aspirations of the militant separatists of Quebec do imply an essential correlation between their nationalism and their language loyalty. On the other hand, as Weinreich (1958) points out, the Italian speakers of Switzerland show extraordinarily strong feelings of language loyalty without exhibiting the idea of independence or separatism that modern militant nationalism or ethnocentrism normally does. Further, Streib (1974) has shown with the modern Irish, while they exhibit very strong feelings of nationalism and similarly strong attitudes towards preserving and maintaining Gaelic, only a very small minority of the population actually uses this language in their everyday conversations.

It must also be remembered that often strong feelings of language loyalty exist only in a minority of the members of a speech community, specifically among those in political power or in highly placed academic situations. As Linton (cited in Weinreich, 1958) points out, cultural groups in contact may be classified as objectively dominant or dominated and subjectively superior or inferior. Thus, if a given group within the community feels itself superior to the dominant group, but is compelled to rely on the dominant group's language in some domains, or is required to borrow certain lexical items to fill out its own as yet unmodernized lexical system, feelings of resentment are likely to arise. Linton (cited in Weinreich, 1958, pg. 101) continues:

"...nativistic tendencies will be the strongest

> in those classes of individuals who occupy a favored position and who feel this position threatened by cultural change. This factor may produce a split in the society, the favored individuals or groups indulging in a rational nativism...while those in less favored positions are eager for assimilation."

It is not improbable that in many instances where a strong spirit of nationalism is growing, these proto-elites or elites (to use Fishman's terminology) actively foster among those less favored than themselves not only the goals of their nationalistic aspirations, but also attempt to develop in these individuals their own feelings of language loyalty. The elites abhor the very notion of assimilation and all that it implies. Since the idea does suggest a possible change in language choice, the elites do all that they are able to develop in these pro-assimilationists strong feelings of language loyalty. Feelings of such loyalty, thus, are not necessarily common to all the members of a speech community, even when that community is in linguistic contact with another.

The relationship existing between ethnocentrism or nationalism and language loyalty is, therefore, relative. Generalizations must be avoided for the possible combinations of correlation between these two factors are as numerous as is the number of speech communities being considered. These factors may exhibit themselves in a most intimate and inseparable manner; they may both exist, but have varying degrees of importance and significance for the speech

community, or one of them may exist totally alone, having no relationship with the other.

Let us now turn our attention to the third and final question of this study, that is, the attitudes of the Guamanian speech community towards language maintenance and language shift.

Weinreich (1958, pg. 68) has defined language shift as "...the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another." Attempts to account for this seemingly simply but actually complex phenomenon have proved difficult. To expect a set of factors, social, economic, political, geographic, or psychological to be the sure and certain basis of a language shift, will inevitably result in a serious distortion when they are applied to any specific speech community undergoing a shift. The search for an explanatory predictive model is, however, the sociolinguist's task.

There are then several factors that are worthy of investigation concerning analyses of language shift since these basic factors seem to apply rather generally to the majority of communities where languages are in contact. These factors may be the basis of the predictive model mentioned above. Language shift may be classified as either total or partial. By "total" is meant that the mother-tongue of a speech community has been totally supplanted by a "new" language. Such a total shift has occurred in Schleswig, where Danish has been totally replaced by

Standard German (Selk, in Weinreich, 1958).

A "partial" shift, as its name indicates, occurs only within specific societal domains of a speech community. Such a shift might have been noticed within the various immigrant groups which came to the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Here, at least during the first and second generations, the mother-tongue was zealously maintained in the domains of the home, and often times in the church and school as well, while in the more formal domains a shift was easily and rapidly made to English (see, for example, Fishman, 1966).

Closely related to the concept of a partial shift is the direction of the shift, such a direction receiving its impetus from varying combinations of sociological, political, economic, and psychological factors. Windisch (cited in Haugen, 1969, pg. 370) has established the thesis that "it is the language of the learner that is influenced, not the language that he learns." This statement, he claims, is based on empirical evidence. The mother-tongues of immigrants to the United States were strongly influenced by English while American English, on the other hand, with the exception of a limited number of lexical items, resisted any major influence from these immigrant languages. This is not to imply that the bilingual's own version of his second language will not be influenced by his mother tongue. That is true need not be stressed. In the area of phonology, for example, transfer of specific phonological elements from

the mother-tongue to the language being learned is evident to most observers. Often, too, one finds traces of lexical borrowings made to adapt to the "new" language's morphological constraints, and, rarely, one even encounters syntactical imports to the language being learned.

As Topping (1963, 1973) has pointed out in reference to Chamorro, great numbers of Spanish and English lexical items have been borrowed by Chamorro, but both Spanish and English have been virtually untouched by Chamorro. Spanish and English influence on Chamorro has been tolerated almost without limit while the influence of Chamorro on Spanish and English has been kept closely within bounds, allowance having been made for only a few lexical items which refer to unique social customs of this Territory. Further, bilingual speakers of Chamorro and English show no phonological influence of English upon their Chamorro but, on the other hand, their own English is often strongly influenced by Chamorro phonology.

This might account for the ambiguity which Weinreich (1958, pg. 85) refers to when stating that "the most natural direction of influence is generally thought to be from the mother-tongue upon the other tongue..." That is, the direction of influence from mother-tongue to the imported language is reflected primarily in the bilingual's unique version of the imported language while the direction of influence is from the imported language to the mother-tongue when reference is made to either language as language.

Returning to the subject of language shift in general, studies by various authors (Tabouret-Keller, 1968; Haugen, 1969; Verdoodt, 1972) often imply that language maintenance and shift are almost always strongly influenced by attitudes of in-group cohesiveness, such as nationalism, or that those living in urban areas tend to be more amenable to language shift than those living in rural areas, or that a language of greater "prestige" will replace a language of less "prestige" when the two are in contact. Fishman (1966) offers to each of these generalizations one or more exceptions which indicates that each speech community undergoing language shift must be studied and analyzed independently as a unique community. To rely on general principles will only lead to the possibility of error. Fishman (1966, pg. 427) offers the concept of "general variance" considerations which might be of great value in discussing and analyzing a language shift occurring in a given speech community. Of special note for this study are his "situational" variances which refer to intimate versus formal speech and his "domain" variances which refer to speech manifested in the five societal domains already referred to. In this study, the shift that is obviously taking place in Guam is analyzed in reference to the situation the bilingual finds himself in, be it formal or intimate, and closely allied to this, to the domains he finds himself in when speaking to other Chamorro-English bilinguals.

Description of the Subjects

For the purposes of this study, it was felt that two hundred and forty subjects would represent a fair sampling of the Guamanian speech community. At this point it is necessary to discuss the concept of "speech community" and the precise meaning attached to the term "Guamanian speech community."

Gumperz (1972) has defined a speech community as "... any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage." Fishman (1971) has defined the concept as "...one all of whose members share at least a single speech variety and the norms for its apprprirate use." Both of these definitions imply that there are at least two essential factors which characterize any given speech community. The first of these is that there must be at least one common variety which is shared by all members of the community. It is agreed that the variety will be characterized by any number of levels, styles, and registers which will either define the social situation or one's status vis-a-vis the listener. The fact remains, however, that all members of the community regard these variations as being merely subunits, as it were, of a single language. Secondly, all members of the community are aware of and recognize, though perhaps unconsciously, the sociolinguistic rules of alternation, sequencing, and co-occurrence as

described by Ervin-Tripp (1971) which define variety usage in any given community.

Gumperz' definition, however, does include an additional factor--the necessity of frequent and regular social interaction. Fishman also speaks of verbal interaction in a physical sense, but he also recognizes what he calls "symbolic integration," wherein the members of the speech community, although they may seldom have social interaction in a physical sense and may even speak a distinct variation of the standard language, nonetheless recognize a "Standard" as a reference point for their integration into the speech community. It would seem, perhaps, that Gumperz is a little too narrow in positing the necessity of "regular and frequent interaction" in a purely physical sense. One can certainly say that the American people constitute a nationwide speech community using "Standard American" as their reference point. Yet, the regular interaction that Gumperz speaks of most certainly is not in evidence. What is present, however, is what Fishman calls a sense of "attitudinal integration," that is, a recognition of solidarity, of unity, of cohesiveness which permeates the populace and unites all into a common speech community. For present purposes, then, the two factors of possessing at least one common variety and sharing the norms of its usage will suffice to define the speech community. The problem of interaction, whether it be physical or attitudinal, will be left for further analysis and study.

Table 3. Census of population: Guam, 1970.

Americans born in a U.S. Territory	47,472
Americans born in the United States	23,934
Americans born in Puerto Rico	106
Foreign born	13,484
	84,996

Of the foreign born census of 13,848, only about 8,000 may be considered members of the Guamanian speech community. The latter figure represents those who are either naturalized citizens or who are classified as permanent aliens. The remainder are temporary aliens who are, for the most part, contract workers hired by local firms to work on Guam usually for a two-year period. They seldom have any social interaction with others outside of their own groups. The first reason for this is linguistic. They do not know English or Chamorro. Further, they have no interest in becoming citizens and they do not identify in any way with the local community.

Thus, it may be argued that the Guamanian speech community consists of some 47,000 Americans born in the Territory, some 2,000 Americans born in the United States, and some 8,500 foreign-born who have immigrated to Guam. The one language they have in common is English. And it is through this language and their sharing of a common set of norms for its use that the various groups comprising the speech

community find the basis for their person integration into that community.

The Guamanian speech community then can be divided into at least four categories: monolingual Chamorro speakers; bilingual Chamorro-English speakers; bilingual speakers of English and some other language, and monolingual English speakers. The number of monolingual Chamorro speakers is minimal, consisting almost exclusively of some of the most aged members of the community who now live in areas that in the not too distant past were quite remote. Of the second group, the bilingual Chamorro-English speakers, one feels it would be safe to estimate that approximately three-quarters of those Americans born in the Territory belong to this class. The third group consists primarily of those bilinguals who speak English and one of the Philippine-type languages, such as Tagalog, Ilokano, or Visayan. The fourth group are those who are monolingual English speakers. This group consists of about one-quarter of the Americans born in the Territory and all of the Americans born in the United States.

The two hundred and forty subjects studied in this survey then were members of this speech community. More specifically, only members of the second group who were bilingual in Chamorro and English were surveyed. Monolingual speakers and those who were bilingual in some other language and English were excluded.

The population was stratified into twenty-four categories

made up of all the possible combinations of four demographic factors--sex, age, education, and place of residence. The subjects were then randomly selected within each category by the interviewers.

The basis for selection by sex is obvious. The division was originally made more in respect for tradition than anything else for it was felt at the time the study began that it would be of only minimal significance, if any, in indicating language preference and usage. However, a recent survey (Odo, 1972) has given some indication that Guamanian women appear more amenable than Guamanian men in adapting themselves to language shift. Hence, this factor was retained; it has turned out to be of great importance.

The community was divided into two groups according to age--one group being those who were thirty years old or less and the other group being those who were thirty-one years old or more. The age of thirty was selected for it represents the approximate age of those who have lived their entire lives on the island under American jurisdiction. Most of those older than thirty have lived under both the aegis of Japan and that of the United States. It was felt that this factor might possibly have a significant effect on the language preference of the speech community in that this segment of the population might have been influenced in variety usage by the impact of the Japanese occupation during World War II and use either Chamorro or English today basing their preference, unconsciously perhaps, on

previous acts of linguistic defiance against the required use of Japanese.

The community was further divided into two groups by education--those who had received an eigth grade education or less and those who had received a ninth grade education or more. This division was based on the fact that the majority of the secondary school teachers are native speakers of English who have been recruited from the mainland. On the other hand, a goodly portion of the elementary teachers are Americans born on the island and this difference of birthplace and, consequently, native language of the teachers themselves was felt to be of great importance in influencing the language preferences of the local speech community. While it is impossible to give statistical evidence to support this conjecture, Mr. Sabino Flores, the Associate Superintendent for Personnel with the Territorial Department of Education, in a personal interview, confirmed this impression.

As for residence, the island was divided into three geographic areas--the southern, the eastern, and the western as given in Figure 1. This division is not arbitrary, but represents what is felt to be a natural division which might be described as rural, suburban, and urban respectively. It must be borne in mind that these three terms are used here in a relative sense and apply to conditions as they exist on this island. They are not to be construed in the sense that they are usually used on the mainland. The rural

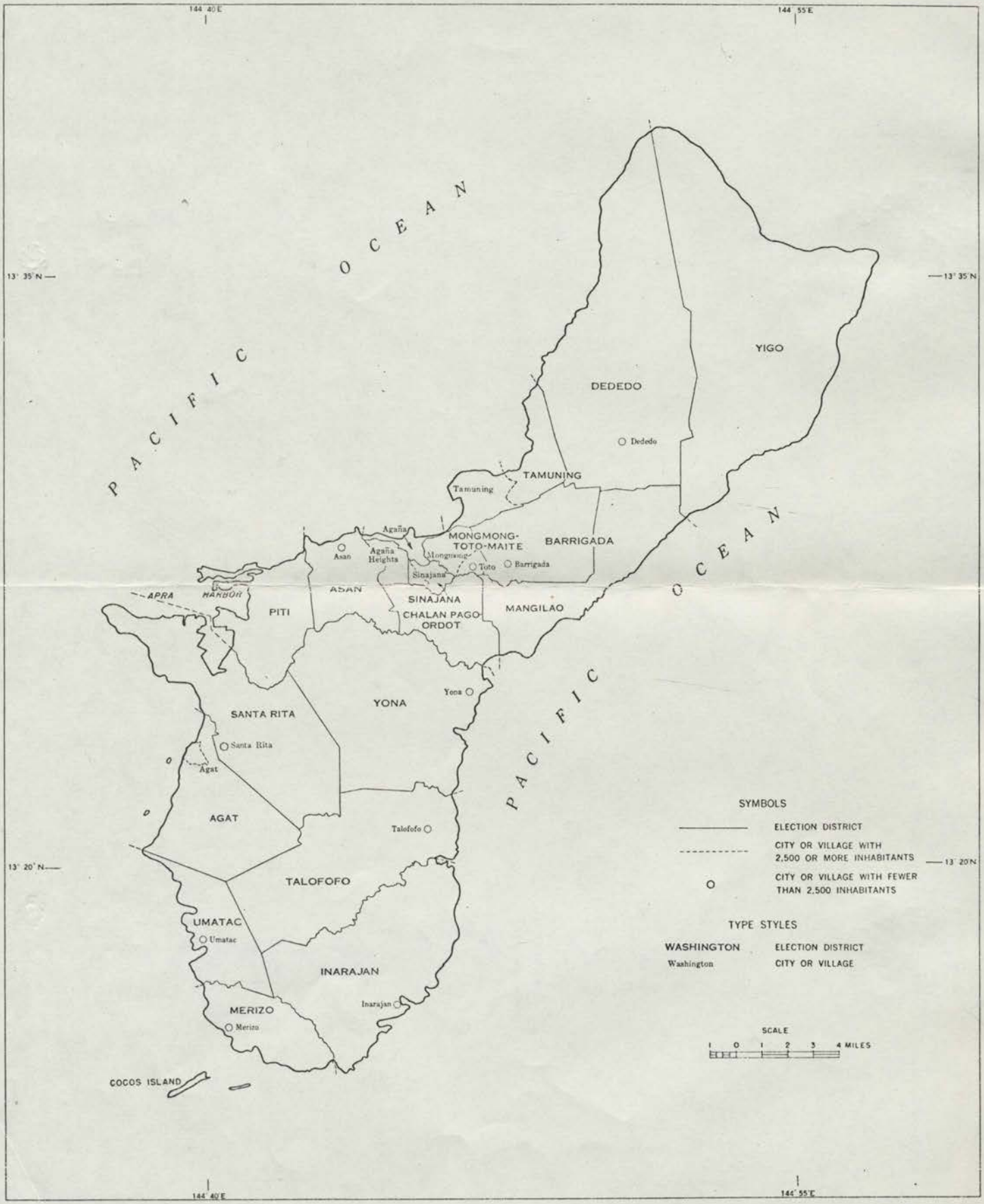
southern area is characterized by small villages that are widely separated, there is no industry except an oil refinery which is outside any village limits, and the over-all impression this portion of the island conveys is somewhat pastoral. The eastern portion of the island consists of villages that are somewhat larger than those in the south, there is a goodly number of small retail outlets in this area, and the amount of new housing tracts and apartment complexes is enormous--it could be considered the "bedroom" of the island. The western area consists of the largest villages that are so close as to almost form one large city, the vast majority of the island's department stores, hardware stores, and supermarkets are located here, and the Tumon Beach area is the center for a huge complex of resort hotels.

It should be pointed out that there does exist a linguistic division on the island, the line of demarcation being that which separates the three southern villages of Umatac, Merizo, and Inarajan from the rest of the island. Topping (1973) comments on the dialect of Chamorro spoken there as being distinctly different from that used and heard elsewhere on the island. This division was not used in this study for it was felt that the influence of geographic separation and isolation versus suburbanization and urbanization might be of greater importance in indicating language preference than dialectical usages.

It should be noted that a socioeconomic factor has

Figure 1
Map of Guam

Election Districts, Cities, and Villages



not been considered in this study. The major reason for this decision is that the island presently is in the throes of an economic revolution. Within the last four years land values have soared and many individuals and families that might officially be classified as "poor" find themselves now in the position of being potentially very well-off indeed should they decide to sell their property. Further, the traditional and still prevalent custom of living in extended families makes the assignment of individual or familial wealth almost impossible. Socially, with the exception of a very few, highly placed and extremely wealthy families, the population of Guam represents about as classless a society as can be found in the United States today. Hence, the socioeconomic factor has not been considered.

The twenty-four categories that the four demographic factors establish are shown in Table 4.

The subjects of the second survey dealing with language and attitudes consisted of the entire 1973 freshman class enrolled in English 101a-b, Fundamentals of English, at the University of Guam. Obviously, not everyone in this population could be considered a member of the speech community described earlier. A method was devised whereby it was possible to sort out those questionnaires that represented the responses of the bilingual members of the speech community.

The surveys were anonymous, but the respondents were asked to indicate their place of birth. Those indicating

Table 4. Twenty-Four Demographic Factors

1.	M	30-	8-	S	13.	F	30-	8-	S
2.	M	30-	8-	E	14.	F	30-	8-	E
3.	M	30-	8-	W	15.	F	30-	8-	W
4.	M	31+	8-	S	16.	F	31+	8-	S
5.	M	31+	8-	E	17.	F	31+	8-	E
6.	M	31+	8-	W	18.	F	31+	8-	W
7.	M	30+	9+	S	19.	F	30-	9+	S
8.	M	30-	9+	E	20.	F	30-	9+	E
9.	M	30-	9+	W	21.	F	30-	9+	W
10.	M	31+	9+	S	22.	F	31+	9+	S
11.	M	31+	9+	E	23.	F	31+	9+	E
12.	M	31+	9+	W	24.	F	31+	9+	W

Legend:

M = Male
F = Female
30- = 30 years old or less
31+ = 31 years old or more
8- = eighth grade education or less
9+ = ninth grade education or more
S - the southern area of the island
E = the eastern area of the island
W = the western area of the island

a birthplace other than within the Territory of Guam were eliminated from the community. Further, since only the bilingual members of the community were being considered, any who survived the first elimination and indicated that he or she did not know Chamorro was then eliminated. While it is undoubtedly true that this led to some error, it was felt to be significantly less than had the basis of judgment been that of using surnames alone, as is so commonly done (see Andersson, 1970, pg. 12).

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CHAPTER TWO

THE LANGUAGE SITUATION ON GUAM

Any discussion of modern societal bilingualism must investigate the underlying factors which account for the social changes which a speech community is currently experiencing as these changes are reflected in the community's total linguistic dominance configuration. The two most salient factors of contemporary social and cultural change are those of modernization and urbanization from which ultimately flow the concept of civic versus communal awareness (Lewis, in press). From this awareness, then, is derived a civic as opposed to a communal culture. The latter refers to the homogenous, traditional culture in which the value system supporting the culture is taken for granted. Its very existence is its own justification. In like manner, the very existence of a language is its own justification. On the other hand, a civic culture has a scientific, technological base which tends to level out differences existing between cultures. All components of this culture must, therefore, be justified, not taken for granted. And, in like manner, the existence of a language too must be justified and rationalized. As Lewis (page 11) notes:

> "This culture is also the distillation of a 'civic' as distinct from a 'communal awareness.' It arises from inter-relationships within political institutions rather than within and between historical communities. The participation of the individual is in terms of his role as 'citizen' not as a member of a close knit local community."

For centuries Guam lay outside the mainstream of western, or even oriental, modernization. Guam's geographic isolation in the Western Pacific Ocean was the prime factor in its tardiness in experiencing the dynamic social upheaval it is currently undergoing. With the advent of rapid means of transportation and vastly improved means of communication, however, changes of enormous social and cultural significance began to appear within the social institutions of the community. And these changes are of very recent origin.

Until 1960, communication of Guam with the outside world and of the outside world with Guam was effectively curtailed by the simple expedient of the United States Navy's deciding that the strategic importance of Guam was of such great importance that anyone wishing to visit the island had to undergo the scrutiny of a naval investigation and be eligible for a secret security clearance. The difficulty and inconvenience this caused effectively precluded any significant outside influence on the traditional social and cultural institutions of Guam. During the decade which followed, however, immigration to the island began to increase rapidly, the immigrants being both foreigners, Filipinos for the most part, and Americans born in the United States. The Census of 1970 shows the present foreign population to be 13,484 and that of Americans born in the United States about 2,000. Between 1960, the year the security clearance requirement was removed, and 1964, the total number of immigrants was 1,081; between 1965 and 1966, the number was

2,950; between 1967 and 1968, and this is the last year for which figures are available, the number of immigrants had soared to 5,672. The very vast majority of these immigrants settled in the more populous, urbanized areas of the island, where their influence for social and cultural change would be most strongly felt for, as we shall see, it is in these urbanized areas that indigenous cultural awareness first develops as the indigenous culture comes in contact with alternate value systems.

The second major factor influencing social and cultural change in Guam was the devastating effects of Typhoon Karen in 1962. Within one and a half hours, the entire island was reduced to shambles. Homes were blown or washed away, crops were obliterated by the high winds, and many small businesses were destroyed. Following this disaster, the Federal Government began an enormous program of rehabilitation and redevelopment. Millions of dollars have flowed into the local economy and the uses to which these millions have been put have strongly altered traditional Guamanian culture. Roads were constructed which enabled the peoples of the several villages to communicate with each other more easily; new concrete housing developments, very similar to the common American tract development, replaced the traditional cluster-style of housing, and, most significantly, many new, modern schools, including a college, were built. All of this means that the effects of modernization mobilization, the erosion of traditional life-styles, and the

of civic awareness suddenly appeared on the Guamanian scene.

The third factor strongly affecting social and cultural change in Guam was the rapid and dramatic introduction of foreign investments in the local economy, beginning in 1969. Under the aegis of Japanese business interests, millions of dollars poured into Guam and, seemingly overnight, undeveloped areas such as Tumon Bay were dotted with first-class resort hotels; vast, American-style shopping centers were built; elegant country clubs were designed, and modern housing developments were started. Most significantly, however, land, which for generations had been in the hands of the Guamanians, land which many felt should have been held as a trust from the past for the benefit of future generations, was sold and passed on to the foreign investors. In this manner, many Guamanians effectively severed one of the strongest links binding them to the past--the ownership of land.

The effects of these developments, the removal of security restrictions with the resultant increase in immigration, the devastation of Typhoon Karen and the consequent Federal rehabilitation programs, and the introduction of enormous foreign investments are at the root of the dynamic social upheaval that the island is currently undergoing, an upheaval which in due process, will change the culture from one that was predominantly traditional to one that will eventually become post-traditional.

As Lewis (in press) has pointed out, it is during this period of transition that, from the cultural viewpoint at least, reciprocal bilingualism will obtain within a speech community with the avowed goal of maintaining cultural integrity. The effects of urbanization, a consequence of modernization, are such that the centers of population become the center of ethnic consciousness and the preservation of culture as a dynamic phenomenon is felt to be dependent on reciprocal bilingualism. Yet it is in these urbanized centers that ethnic consciousness develops and, for the first time perhaps, become a subject of thought and overt discussion. For the first time, the traditional values that underlie the society and cultural milieu are questioned. These values are no longer accepted or taken as given. Rather, they are now open for discussion for they are now being confronted with alternative values and value systems.

A dichotomy has developed. On the one hand there are those who would idealize the older ethnic value system and would have a reciprocal type of bilingualism obtain which, they feel, would guarantee accurate and pure transmission of this older value system to the coming generations. On the other hand, there are those who are beginning to recognize the demands of a newly emerging urbanized culture and are attempting to justify the position of the ethnic language as a preserving language of Guam's unique heritage relating it (Chamorro) to the discontinuous common culture

which is more and more making itself felt.

The common culture, which Lewis refers to as civic awareness has come about as a result of the enormous scientific and technological changes which have within the last decade swept over the island, changes which are not unique to Guam, but are common to all cultures. Of special note is the fact that in many cultures, the impact of science and technology were slowly introduced into the culture. As a result, these peoples had time to adapt and adjust to the dynamic influence of these changes. On Guam, however, these changes have appeared almost over night. And the impact has been devastating. The conflict arising between a new secular, civic awareness and the more traditional, religious communal awareness is nowhere better to be observed than in the dynamic changes which are occurring in the societal bilingualism which characterizes the Guamanian speech community.

Three basic questions concerning the present language situation on Guam seemed to be especially pertinent to this study. Each will be discussed in turn with special emphasis given to the effects of modernization and urbanization upon the present linguistic situation.

Developing Diglossia

The first of these questions deals with the linguistic dominance configuration which characterizes the language usage of the typical bilingual speaker of English and

Chamorro. Two aspects of this involve the degree to which this speaker is bilingual and the nature of the distribution of this bilingualism in intimate and formal societal domains. The term "degree of Chamorro/English bilingualism" has been defined as the total amount of everyday speech in each of five societal domains that the individual prefers to carry on in Chamorro as contrasted to the total amount of the same individual's everyday speech in the same five societal domains which he prefers to carry on in English. The analysis which follows is an attempt to define these linguistic preferences.

An analysis of language preference when speaking to intimate and formal individuals, as Table 5 indicates, shows that the mean rate of Chamorro usage when speaking to intimate individuals is 5.18 on a scale of one to seven, where "one" indicates the conversation is entirely in English and "seven" indicates the conversation is entirely in Chamorro. While the mean of 5.18 is a rate and, statistically, cannot be converted to a percent, the mean nonetheless implies that 74.00% of the everyday intimate speech of those surveyed is carried on in Chamorro. In like manner, the mean rate of Chamorro usage when speaking to formal individuals is 4.40 on the scale noted above. This mean implies that 62.86% of the everyday formal speech of those surveyed is carried on in Chamorro. Of special interest is this analysis is the fact that the average difference between these two means is .78, with all demo-

Table 5. Usage Rating Scale: Summary of Results of Language Usage When Speaking to Intimate and Formal Individuals.

Demographic Factor	Number	Mean Intimate	Mean Formal	t-Test
Sex				
Male	120	5.22	4.42	3.316*
Female	120	5.15	4.38	3.316*
Education				
8th or less	120	5.55	5.10	3.316*
9th or more	120	4.79	3.70	3.316*
Age				
Under 30	120	5.00	4.18	3.316*
Over 31	120	5.34	4.61	3.316*
Residence				
South	120	5.46	4.68	2.647**
East	120	5.20	4.37	2.647**
West	120	4.91	4.14	2.647**
		5.18	4.40	

* Significant at .01 level
** Significant at .05 level

graphic factors, except two, being within .05 of this mean. Looking at the factor of education, we find that those with an eighth grade education or less are .45 from this mean while those with a ninth grade education or better are 1.09 from this mean. This divergence is most interesting for it suggests that the degree to which the typical Chamorro/English speaker is educated may have great influence on which language he will use when speaking to both intimate and formal individuals.

Further analysis of these means will show that statistically the differences in language preference when speaking to intimate and formal individuals is significant for all

demographic factors: for sex, education, and age ($t = 3.316$, $df = 11$, $p < .01$) and for residence ($t = 2.647$, $df = 7$, $p < .05$). This difference, significant as it is, perhaps indicates that this speech community is slowly developing a diglossic characteristic, wherein Chamorro will be used as the L variety and English as the H (see, for example, Fishman, 1971a.)

At this point it might be well to explain the extraordinary similarity of t-values indicated in Table 5. As was noted above, the responses of those surveyed fall on a scale of "one" to "seven." It follows then that the responses exhibited by the two hundred and forty subjects will fall within a very close range, a range which, however small, shows significant differences. When the t-test was repeated with the program revised to request a t-value to the sixth decimal point, differences were noted, but these were so infinitesimal as to be meaningless and, therefore, were not indicated on the Table.

Tables 6 and 7 summarize an analysis of variance via a stepwise regression in which x number of significant independent variables (here nine) are selected in the order in which they account for variation of a dependent variable (here language preference towards Chamorro.)

As Table 6 indicates, the one significant independent variable accounting for male Chamorro preference in intimate speech is that of "age under thirty years" ($R = .445$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$). This correlates perfectly with the

Table 6. An Analysis of Variance Via a Stepwise Regression for Usage Rates in Intimate Speech.

Demographic Factor	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Male	30-, R=.445*		
Female	9+ , R=.455*	S , R=.756*	E , R=.846*
8th Grade or less	M , R=.301*	31+, R=.591*	F , R=.817*
9th Grade or more	F , R=.455*	S , R-.800*	
30 Years or less	M , R=.445*		
31 Years or more	E , R=.490*		
South	9+ , R=.387*	F , R=.736*	
East	31+, R=.590*		
West	F , R=.318*		

*Significant at .01 level

dependent variable of "age under thirty years" where the one significant independent variable accounting for Chamorro preference is "male" ($R = .445$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$).

The significant independent variables accounting for female Chamorro preference are "education more than grade nine" ($R = .455$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$), "residence south" ($R = .756$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$) and "residence east" ($R = .846$, $df = 1, 8$, $p < .01$). It should be noted that the first significant independent variable selected correlates perfectly with the dependent variable "education beyond grade nine" where the first significant independent variable accounting for Chamorro preference is "female" ($R = .455$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and the second is "residence south" ($R = .800$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$).

For the dependent variable "education less than grade

eight" three independent variables account for Chamorro preference, "male" ($R = .301$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$), "age over thirty-one years" ($R = .591$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$), and "female" ($R = .817$, $df = 1, 8$, $p < .01$). For the dependent variable "education more than grade nine", there are two significant independent variables accounting for Chamorro preference, "female" ($R = .455$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "residence south" ($R = .800$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$.)

For the dependent variable "age under thirty years" there is one significant independent variable accounting for Chamorro preference, "male" ($R = .445$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and for the dependent variable "age thirty-one or more" the one significant independent variable account for Chamorro preference is "residence east" ($R = .590$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$).

For the dependent variable "residence south" there are two significant independent variables accounting for Chamorro preference, "education more than grade nine" ($R = .387$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "female" ($R = .736$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$). The Chamorro preference for the dependent variable "residence east" is "age over thirty-one years" ($R = .590$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) while Chamorro preference for the dependent variable "residence west" is "female" ($R = .318$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$).

An analysis of these data suggest that the greatest degree of preference for using Chamorro in intimate speech is exhibited by males, with an eighth grade education

or less, and who are under thirty years of age. That this is the case is not too difficult to understand. Such individuals generally tend to remain outside the mainstream of scientific and technological advancement within a society since the very fact of their meager education militates against their active participation in such advances. They generally are engaged in menial trades, take little interest outside their immediate home and neighborhood environments and are usually content with the social and cultural status quo.

That a ninth grade education or better is the primary significant variable accounting for female Chamorro preference especially when that female comes from the west area of the island, that part which is most urbanized, is most surprising. It may be that regardless of the amount of education Guamanian females have and regardless of the area in which they live, the fact that they generally spend most of their time within the societal domains of the home and neighborhood and thus interact more often with intimate associates may account for their high preference for using Chamorro. That this may explain this phenomenon is the fact that nowhere is "education less than grade eight" an independent variable of significance in accounting for variation of any of the dependent variables.

As might be expected, the interaction between "age more than thirty-one years" and "residence east" tends to

confirm the idea that within the Guamanian cultural milieu those of greater age living in the less urbanized areas of the island tend to be more linguistically conservative and thus do prefer to use more Chamorro in their intimate speech.

Table 7 summarizes those independent variables which have been selected in the order in which they account for variation in the dependent variables in formal speech.

While the dependent variable of male Chamorro preference is not significantly affected by any of the independent variables, that of female Chamorro preference is accounted for by the independent variables of "residence west" ($R = .533$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$).

Table 7. An Analysis of Variance Via a Stepwise Regression Usage Rates in Formal Speech

Demographic Factor	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Male	9+ ,R=.000		
Female	W ,R=.522*		
8th Grade or less	F ,R=.360*		
9th Grade or more	S ,R=.576*	F ,R=.816*	
30 Years or less	30+,R=.343*		
31 Years or more	W ,R=.439*		
South	9+ ,R=.576*	F ,R=.761*	
East	9+ ,R=.467*		
West	F ,R=.522*		

*Significant at .01 level

The one independent variable accounting for Chamorro preference among those with an eighth grade education or less is "female" ($R = .360$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$), while the

independent variables accounting for Chamorro preference among those with a ninth grade education or better are "residence south" ($R = .576$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "female" ($R = .816$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$).

That independent variable accounting for Chamorro preference in formal speech among those thirty years old or less is "age thirty-one years or more" ($R = .343$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and that accounting for Chamorro preference among those thirty-one years old or more is "residence west" ($R = .439$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$).

The independent variables accounting for Chamorro preference in formal speech among those living in the south of the island are "education ninth grade or more" ($R = .576$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "female" ($R = .761$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$), while the one significant variable accounting for Chamorro preference among those living in the east is "education ninth grade or more" ($R = .467$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$), and that accounting for Chamorro preference among those living in the west is "female" ($R = .522$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$).

In analyzing this table, one is immediately struck by the fact that the correlations obtained here are much less, though still significant, than those obtained for intimate speech. A possible explanation of this phenomenon may be that the speech community, in the throes of dynamic social and cultural changes, reflects, in its linguistic preferences, an insecurity that these changes have effected. In

their formal speech with those who know both English and Chamorro, the position of Chamorro vis-a-vis a developing communal awareness may not yet be fully understood or appreciated by those within a given speech encounter. Hence, the variables affecting their language preferences are less clearly defined than in intimate speech.

Another fact that immediately stands out in an analysis of Table 7 is the fact that male Chamorro preference is not significantly accounted for by any of the independent variables used. Further, in no instance is "male" an independent variable accounting for Chamorro preference of any of the dependent variables. This may suggest that the typical male speaker in formal speech may see English as a threat to a way of life that was, or is, for him eminently suitable and practicable. Hence, he tends to stand firm and his Chamorro preference in formal speech is equally affected by all of the independent variables tested.

A third point of interest that an analysis of this Table presents is the fact that in two instances "education ninth grade or more" is significant in accounting for Chamorro preference. It is significant for the preference of southerners and easterners. As was indicated earlier, these two regions are the least urbanized areas of the island, the south being predominantly rural in nature and the east predominantly suburban. Perhaps, the polarization that exists among the urban speakers of Chamorro has not yet

fully developed among the southerners and easterners and, perhaps, in spite of their education, they still tend to remain somewhat against accepting the concept of civic awareness and prefer to maintain a more communal awareness. They are, after all, on the periphery of the dynamic social changes that modernization is effecting and their language preference, in spite of their education, may reflect this spatial and mental distance.

Closely related to the concept of "degree of bilingualism" is that of "language dominance" which has been defined as a bilingual's overall English competence in all domains as contrasted to his overall Chamorro competence in all domains. Table 8 summarizes the language dominance configuration of the Guamanian speech community. As was

Table 8. Language Dominance as Indicated by Word Frequency Estimation by Sex, Education, Age and Residence

Demographic Factor	Number	Mean		t-test
Sex		Male	Female	
	240	+ .10	+ .04	0.126
Education		8th or less	9th or more	3.215*
		+.73	-.60	
Age		Under 30	Over 31	
	240	- .21	+ .35	-1.144
Residence		South	East	
	160	+ .09	- .35	-0.346
		South	West	
	160	+ .09	+ .35	0.981

* Significant at .01 level

mentioned earlier, Cooper and Greenfield (1971) have estab-

lished the validity of using word frequency estimations to determine language dominance in bilingual speakers. Their main point is that this type of study is not ~~speed~~ dependent on speed and hence may be more valid for determining cross-cultural comparisons of degree of bilingualism than fluency measures which are generally dependent on the speed of the subject's response. As they note (page 286) word frequency estimations "seem to be more easily designed to reflect the existence of domain related differences in degree of bilingualism than either flexibility or dominance tests." Using a scale of +7 to -7, where a "+7" would indicate a monolingual Chamorro speaker and a "-7" would indicate a monolingual English speaker, we note that the differences existing between the demographic factors or sex, age, and residence are not statistically significant. However, the difference existing between those with an eighth grade education or less and those with a ninth grade education or more is significant ($t = 3.125$, $df = 11$, $p < .01$). Again, one notes the possible saliency of education as being contributory towards a linguistic attribute, here, language dominance.

The second aspect of this question dealing with linguistic dominance configuration of the Guamanian speech community investigates the distribution of the bilingualism exhibited by this community in intimate and formal societal domains with emphasis given to three variables: the person to whom one is talking, the place where one is talking,

and the topic one is talking about. Table 9 summarizes the usage rates reported when speaking with intimate persons,

Table 9. A Study of Conversations: Usage Rages by Speaker in Intimate versus Formal Situations.

Demographic Factor	Number	Mean		t-test
		Intimate	Formal	
Sex				
Male	120	3.99	2.93	3.316*
Female	120	3.75	3.83	3.316*
Education				
8th grade or less	120	4.13	3.23	3.316*
9th grade or more	120	3.62	2.54	3.316*
Age				
30 years or less	120	3.63	2.74	3.316*
31 years or more	120	4.12	3.01	3.316*
Residence				
South	80	4.02	3.09	2.647**
East	80	3.79	2.90	2.647**
West	80	3.73	2.64	2.647**
		3.86	2.88	

* Significant at .01 level
** Significant at .05 level

that is, one's parents and one's good friends versus speaking with formal persons, that is, one's priest, teacher, or boss. When all variables save that of "speaker" have been deleted from an analysis of a speech event, we note that the subjects surveyed indicate an intimate mean of 3.86 on a scale of one to five, where "one" indicates the entire conversation would be in English and "5" indicates the entire conversation would be in Chamorro. All of the demographic factors exhibit means which are within .27 of the average, indicating a very striking similarity across the

entire sampling. In speaking with formal persons, the respondents show an average mean of 2.88, with all demographic factors being within .35 of this average. The similarity between all factors is again noteworthy, suggesting a strong consensus among all demographic factors in the sampling. As Table 9 indicates, the differences between intimate and formal usage with "speaker" the only variable of concern are statistically significant: for sex, education, and age ($t = 3.316$, $df = 11$, $p < .01$) and for residence ($t = 2.467$, $df = 7$, $p < .05$). This significant difference once again suggests that this speech community may be developing a diglossic characteristic, where Chamorro will become the L variety and English the H.

Table 10 summarizes the usage rates reported in intimate places, that is, in the home and immediate neighborhood versus formal places, that is, at church, at school, and at work. When all variables save that of place have been deleted from consideration, the reported intimate average mean is 3.32 with all demographic factors being within .35 of this average. In formal places, the reported average mean is 3.17, with all demographic factors being within .32 of this average. Again, one notes a strong feeling of unanimity among those surveyed. As Table 10 indicates, the differences existing between intimate and formal usage when "place" is of prime consideration for analysis is statistically significant: for sex, education, and age ($t = 3.316$, $df = 11$, $p < .01$) and for residence

($t = 2.647$, $df = 7$, $p < .05$). Again, this significant

Table 10. A Study of Conversations: Usage Rates by Place in Intimate versus Formal Situations

Demographic Factor	Number	Mean		t-test
		Intimate	Formal	
Sex				
Male	120	3.38	3.22	3.316*
Female	120	3.25	3.13	3.316*
Education				
8th grade or less	120	3.66	3.48	3.316*
9th grade or more	120	2.97	2.86	3.316*
Age				
30 years or less	120	3.24	3.95	3.316*
31 years or more	120	3.39	3.39	0.000
Residence				
South	80	3.46	3.38	2.647**
East	80	3.41	3.14	2.647**
West	80	3.08	3.00	2.647*
		3.32	3.17	

* Significant at .01 level
** Significant at .05 level

difference strongly suggests the developing diglossic characteristic of this speech community.

Table 11, summarizes the usage rates reported for topic. An analysis of the data will show that in intimate domains, where the topics are "how children should behave" and "how to play cards," the average mean is 3.18 and in formal domains, where the topics are "how a good Christian should act," "how to do a math problem," and "how to do your job more efficiently," the average mean is 3.29. Statistically, the differences between the intimate and formal means is significant: for sex, education, and age ($t - -3.316$,

df = 11, $p < .01$) and for residence ($t = -2.647$, df = 7, $p < .05$), indicating that more Chamorro is used in formal domains that in intimate domains. This is, of course, exactly the opposite of what one would intuitively expect when one is familiar with the language situation of the Guamanian speech community.

Table 11. A Study of Conversation: Usage Rates by Topic in Intimate versus Formal Situations.

Demographic Factor	Number	Mean		t-test
		Intimate	Formal	
Sex				
Male	120	3.28	3.34	-3.316*
Female	120	3.08	3.22	-3.316*
Education				
8th grade or less	120	3.50	3.59	-3.316*
9th grade or more	120	2.87	2.98	-3.316*
Age				
30 years or less	120	3.07	3.06	0.000
31 years or more	120	3.29	3.50	-3.316*
Residence				
South	80	3.39	3.49	-2.647**
East	80	3.18	3.28	-2.647**
West	80	2.98	3.12	
		3.18	3.29	

* Significant at .01 level
** Significant at .05 level

The problem, of course, is the very nature of "topic" itself. As Fishman (1972, pg. 247) notes "The very multiplicity of sources of topical regulation suggests that Topic may not in itself be a convenient analytic variable when language choice is considered from the point of view of the larger societal patterns and sociolinguistic norms

of a multilingual setting." Further, Greenfield (1972, pg. 28) comments on his studies that "Topic was found to be clearly less related to such reports (i.e., language preferences) than either Person or Place...which suggest that for our Ss Topic was the least significant of the three situational components." As Fishman (1972) continues to point out, what the sociolinguistic must investigate about topical usages is <u>why</u> a significant number of the members of the speech community have been "trained" to use language X for particular topics and <u>what</u> it reveals about the multilingual setting if language X is better for coping with the topic than is language Y.

In the Guamanian multilingual setting, there is no question that the topic "how children should behave" is intimate in nature, and Chamorro obtains. However, when one considers the topic "how to play cards", a definite linguistic situation, unique to this speech community. Card playing on Guam is a highly favored pasttime, the two most popular games being "Tres Siete," which is generally played by the elders who use, as one would expect from the name of the game, a lexicon of Spanish items that has been totally "charmorrocized." The most popular game among the younger generation is poker, a relatively recent American import. And, significantly, the game is played in English for the simple reason that Chamorro lacks such lexical items as "royal flush" or "I'll raise and call." Moreover, when a Guamanian

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THIS IS 2 GAMES?

"trains" an intimate friend in the game, even in his own home, he does so in English. One very important and significant sociolinguistic implication derived from this topical pattern is that English apparently is not considered to be an intrusive language within this speech community. The very fact that English can be brought into the intimate domains of the home or neighborhood itself indicates that the community recognizes English for what it is: A language of world communication, a language which is scientifically and technologically more "advanced" than Charmorro and hence eminently practical and useful. Further, it would appear that English and its use have lost all connotation of national origin or significance. It is simply regarded as a very useful vehicle for communication in those areas where Chamorro is unable to cope with a topic linguistically.

When we look at the formal topics, we note that without any question "how to do a math problem" is formal and English obtains. However, with the topic "how to do your job better" other sociolinguistic norms enter into the situation and must be taken into consideration. That segment of the population that was born on this island is generally characterized by what is known locally as the "querido" system, wherein the members of the community feel a deep moral obligation to assist those whom they consider intimates in any way possible in obtaining preferential treatment in obtaining jobs or promotions. As a result,

in their work environment, these individuals find themselves surrounded not only by members of their immediate and extended families, but also by many of their closest and most intimate friends. This, of course, indicates that conversations concerning work will almost always be carried on in Chamorro, since "person" is the preeiminent variable in determining language preference (See, for example, Brennan and Ryan, 1973). Moreover, within the work environment and extending even beyond it, there is within the Guamanian cultural setting a clearly defined power structure that has as its base the relative importance of the person, or here the worker, within his own extended family. Identification with this structure, one's integration into it, and its very maintenance is linguistic in nature. Hence, the Chamorro preference indicated by the respondents to this topic.

The same may be said for the topic "how a good Christian should act." Guam is a predominantly Roman Catholic island and the Church, historically, has played a significant role in the social and cultural development of the community. So long has the Church been so deeply involved with the people's lives that it appears to have become a relationship of the deepest and most intimate kind. At the present time, there are twenty-six Catholic priests on the island, eight of whom are Guamanians. When the typical Guamanian seeks spiritual advice of the type implied by the topic selected for this domain, he most often will seek out

a Guamanian priest, a Chamorro speaker, for he feels that such a priest will better understand not only the religious implications of his question, but will be able to offer a solution or advice that only a native to a culture could give, a solution that reflects and is compatible with the deepest and most intimate aspects of the culture.

In a brief review of this first question dealing with the linguistic dominance configuration which characterizes the typical Chamorro/English bilingual, two points seem to be most significant. The first is that it appears as if the speech community is developing a clearly defined diglossia, wherein Chamorro will remain the vehicle in L communications, and English will become the primary vehicle in H communications. In line with this, it appears that the average Guamanian recognizes the tremendous forces being exerted within his culture by modernization and urbanization and is willing to accept the idea of a civic awareness, at least in his formal domains, and further is willing to concede that in these domains the practical value and utility of Chamorro is relatively unimportant. He is willing to shift the English for the simple reason that it is a language of world communication.

The second point of importance is that the analysis of these data has suggested that education is playing a significant role in altering the linguistic dominance configuration of the average or typical Guamanian bilingual,

an alteration that appears headed towards a dominance in English. Should this be the case, a strong possibility suggests itself, namely, that should the population at large become predominantly English dominant, Chamorro will not continue to obtain within the intimate domains of the Guamanian cultural milieu. This, of course, will depend on the speech community's attitues towards language loyalty and language maintenance, a question which will shortly be discussed.

Ethnocentrism and Language Loyalty

The second question that was examined in this study was the relationship of ethnocentrism to language usage and language loyalty. As was mentioned earlier, when two cultures come into immediate contact, there often develops within the indigenous culture for the first time a conscious awareness of its own value system. Until contact with another value system was made, the native of a culture usually takes his entire cultural network for granted. If this individual prefers to retain his communal awareness, he will often ideologize his own value system, elevating it to a pre-eminent position *vis-a-vis* the newly recognized value system. And one extremely common way of indicating such reaction is a fierce retention of the native language which is considered intimately associated with his strong feelings of ethnocentrism. This portion of the study examines the relationship between these two components, ethnocentrism and language loyalty and usage, within the

Guamanian speech community.

The data for this particular question were obtained from a survey made among the freshmen enrolled in Fundamentals of English, 101a-W and 101b, during the Fall 1973 semester at the University of Guam. A total of one hundred and ninety-four questionnaires were found acceptable for analysis. As Table 12 indicates eight respondents, or 4.12% of the total sampling, indicated very strong feelings of ethnocentrism. Seventy-four respondents, or 38.14%, indicated mild feelings, and one hundred and two respondents, or 52.58% indicated neutral feelings. Ten respondents, or 5.15% showed mildly negative feelings towards Guamanian ethnocentrism. Of the total, 78.35% of the respondents either agree or strongly agree with the proposition that Chamorro should be accorded official status with English, thus giving the Territory two co-official languages. Similarly, 81.96% of the respondents either agree or strongly agree that Guamanian students should actively participate in a club or organization which has as its primary goals the encouragement of the use of Chamorro and the maintenance of Guamanian traditions. At the same time, however, 67.52 of the respondents indicated that they do not consider an ability to either speak or understand Chamorro as essential in order to be identified with or integrated into the Guamanian speech community.

Table 12. Reported means of ethnocentrism, language use and language knowledge.

	Level 1*	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Number	8	74	102	10	0	194
Percentage	4.12	38.14	52.58	5.15	0	99.99
Ethnocentric Mean (range = 7 to 35)	8.50	14.95	20.20	25.50	0	17.70
Usage Mean (range = 1 to 7)	3.10	2.60	2.46	2.69	0	2.69
Knowledge Mean (range = 1 to 5)	4.25	3.85	3.76	3.80	0	3.91

* Level 1 = strongly ethnocentric (range = 7 to 10)
Level 2 = mildly ethnocentric (range = 11 to 17)
Level 3 = neutral (range = 18 to 24)
Level 4 = mildly a-ethnocentric (range = 25 to 31)
Level 5 = strongly a-ethnocentric (range = 32 to 35)

While the respondents indicated a mean knowledge of Chamorro of 3.91 on a scale of one to five, indicating a "pretty good" knowledge of the language, the mean usage rate of those surveyed was 2.69 on a scale of one to seven, indicating that about 20% of their speech, while on the campus of the University of Guam and when speaking to those who know both Chamorro and English, is in Chamorro.

As the reported ethnocentric feelings of the respondents decrease, there is also a slight decrease in both the reported knowledge of the language and the usage rate of the respondents. There appears, however, to be no correlation between the respondents' feelings of ethnocentrism and their

reported use of Chamorro (r = -.04).

As was pointed out above, the data indicate that these students show only midly ethnocentric attitudes or are completely neutral. Should strong feelings exist within this speech community, one would expect them to appear in this segment of the population, for as was discussed earlier, the concept of ethnocentrism is predominantly an intellectual activity found in areas that are predominantly modernized and urbanized. Its remarkable absence may be a strong indication of the general integration of the various ethnic components, that is, that this segment of the speech community has a fully developed sense of civic awareness.

The singular lack of strong ethnocentric attitudes among these freshmen contributes perhaps to the low usage factor reported by the students, at least in the formal societal domain, a factor that is very low indeed when compared to their reported knowledge of the language. Of course, one must be extremely careful in the area of attempting to correlate self-report and overt language behavior. As Agheyisi and Fishman (1970, pg. 149) have noted: "It (i.e., a survey using closed questions) is generally considered adequate for collecting data about attitudinal criteria per se (e.g., political or religious attitudes), but most types of questionnaires are found inadequate for data relating to anticipatory behavior. Cognitive or affective views are insufficient for predicting behavior." Again Fishman (1971b, pg. 114) points out that "the

relationship between self-report and language behavior may be higher for subpopulations that are high in commitment than it is for the population as a whole."

The extraordinarily high percentage of students who maintain that it is not necessary that one be able to understand or speak Chamorro in order to be considered a Guamanian is most striking. Such attitudes towards language usage are understandable, however, when strong ethnocentric feelings are lacking within a speech community. Possibly these students represent a home and background which gave them more English and placed a higher value on English at least in this formal domain. Again, perhaps, the late adolescent's ambivalence may explain what is happening. He rejects the use of Chamorro for himself as he tends to reject his home influence and tries to assimilate into the university culture. At the same time, he is influenced by ethnic trends on campus which call for loyalty to his own language.

It must not be forgotten that the students show extraordinarily strong feelings towards language maintenance and language loyalty. As was indicated above in Table 12, 78.45% of the respondents would like to see Chamorro legally regarded as co-official with English and 81.96% of the sampling feel that Guamanian students should actively participate in organizations or clubs whose chief objectives are to encourage the use of Chamorro and to maintain Guamanian traditions.

In this respect, the responses of these students, as far as their attitudes towards language loyalty related to their reported usage rates are concerned, seem strikingly similar to the language attitudes and usage rates that Streib (1974) found existing among the Irish. Perhaps his conclusion (pg. 73) that "patterned evasion in the use of Irish is a pragmatic way to handle the attempted restoration of the language for it permits the retention of the language as a symbol of nationhood without altering the daily patterns of communication" will find a certain validity within this speech community. The students recognize the significance of English as a world language, especially in the formal domains, and find it eminently suitable for their daily communicative needs. Hence, in spite of their extremely high loyalty rates indicated above, they nonetheless prefer English in this situation.

One must not discount the strong possibility that these strong feelings may be based on the rapid re-ordering of social values which is, as was discussed earlier, one of the primary characteristics of a culture that is undergoing modernization and urbanization. As Lambert (1972, pg. 199) suggests when talking about the French-Canadians, "these young people (may) have circumvented the conflicts and developed means of becoming members of both cultural groups. They have, in other terms, achieved a comfortable bicultural identity." In short, in their intimate domains they may wish to maintain a communal awareness while in

their formal domains they may wish to maintain a civic awareness.

Community Attitudes

The third question that was investigated in this study was the speech community's attitudes towards language maintenance and language shift both in general and, more specifically, towards use in intimate and formal situations and in five societal domains.

One of the most serious difficulties facing the sociolinguist is the singular lack of correlation between reported language attitudes and overt linguistic behavior. As was mentioned earlier, Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) have shown the inadequacy of attitudinal studies using either open or closed questions in predicting future linguistic behavior. However, such studies are not completely useless for they do admit that these studies are "...used primarily in initial surveys." (pg. 148) in preparation for what Fishman (1972) calls "commitment measures." This type of measure is designed to measure the subjects willingness to perform a particular type of behavior without actually performing it. The analysis of the data which follows, then, must be regarded as an initial survey, and the reader is cautioned to regard the reports of future linguistic behavior in light of what has been just mentioned.

Table 13 summarizes the Guamanian speech community's attitudes towards language maintenance and language loyalty

Table 13. Language Maintenance and Language Loyalty: Summary of Results by Sex, Education, Age, and Residence.

Demographic Factor	Number	Mean		t-test
		Intimate	Formal	
Sex				
Male	120	87.92	61.67	3.316*
Female	120	83.75	53.05	3.316*
Education				
8th grade or less	120	85.42	59.72	3.316*
9th grade or more	120	86.25	55.00	3.316*
Age				
30 years or less	120	85.42	55.56	3.316*
31 years or more	120	86.67	59.16	3.316*
Residence				
South	80	91.25	52.50	2.647**
East	80	82.50	61.25	2.647**
West	80	83.75	57.92	2.647*
		86.23	57.03	

* Significant at .01 level
** Significant at .05 level

in intimate and formal domains. In the intimate domans of the home and neighborhood the community is overwhelming in favor of maintaining Chamorro as a dynamic and vital vernacular. The strong similarity of their responses, especially in the intimate domans, is most striking. In these domains, the respondents show an average mean of 86.23% with every demographic factor falling within 5.02% of this average. In the formal domains, the respondents indicate an average mean of 57.03% with all demographic factors falling within 5.53% of this average. The extreme consensus exhibited by these respondents indicates perhaps that the community as a whole is willing to participate

in a language shift, a shift that will generally employ English in the formal domains. As the Table also indicates, the differences existing between attitudes of maintenance and loyalty in the intimate and formal domains are statistically significant: for sex, education, and age ($t = 3.316$, $df = 11$, $p < .01$) and for residence ($t = 2.647$, $df = 7$, $p < .05$). This significance perhaps indicates that the community as a whole is developing a diglossic characteristic, wherein they prefer to retain a strong feeling of communal awareness within the intimate domains and maintain the use of Chamorro while in the formal domains, they are willing to accept a civic awareness and employ English as their vehicle of communication.

Table 14 summarizes the results of an analysis of variance via a stepwise regression for language loyalty and language maintenance in intimate domains.

Table 14. An Analysis of Variance Via a Stepwise Regression for Language Loyalty and Language Maintenance in Intimate Domains.

Demographic Factor	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Male	9+ ,R=.774*		
Female	M ,R=.544*	8- ,R=.782*	
8th grade or less	F ,R=.382*	M ,R=.638*	
9th grade or more	M ,R=.774*		
30 years or less	8- ,R=.271*		
31 years or more	E ,R=.581*	9+ ,R=.842*	
South	F ,R=.000		
East	31+,R=.581*	9+ ,R=.780*	
West	M ,R=.584*	31+,R=.759*	

* Significant at .01 level

An analysis of these data indicates that the single independent variable accounting for positive male attitudes towards language maintenance in intimate domains is "education ninth grade or more" ($R = .774$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) while the two independent variables accounting for positive female attitudes towards language maintenance in intimate domains are "male" ($R = .544$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "education eighth grade or less" ($R = .782$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$).

The two variables accounting for positive attitudes towards language maintenance for those with an eighth grade education or less are "female" ($R = .382$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "male" ($R = .638$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$)

The one variable accounting for positive attitudes towards language maintenance among those who are thirty years old or less is "education eighth grade or less" ($R = .271$, df 1, 10, $p < .01$), while the two variables accounting for these positive attitudes among those who are thirty-one years old or more are "residence east" ($R = .581$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "education ninth grade or more" ($R = 1842$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$).

There is no single variable accounting for positive attitudes towards language maintenance for those living in the south. However, the two variables accounting for these attitudes for those living in the east are "age thirty one years or more" ($R = .581$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "education ninth grade or more" ($R = .780$, $df = 1, 9$,

$p < .01$). The two variables accounting for positive attitudes towards language maintenance for those living in the west are "male" ($R - .584$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "age thirty-one years or more" ($R = .759$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$).

Of great interest is the fact that for those with an eighth grade education or less, the entire population accounts for the positive attitudes towards language maintenance. This is as might be expected. As was mentioned earlier, those with such a meager education generally are outside the mainstream of scientific and technological advances simply because their lack of education precludes their participation in these advances. They generally do more menial work, are interested primarily in their immediate home and neighborhood environments and prefer the social and cultural situation to remain as it has been in the past. It is interesting to note that those with a ninth grade education or more find the accountability for their positive attitudes towards language maintenance only among the men. This may be, again, based on the fact that Guamanian men tend to be more conservative in the linguistic preferences than women even when these men possess a higher degree of education. It may suggest that Guamanian men feel themselves somewhat threatened by the changes occurring with their culture and would prefer to remain in a milieu where they have always found comfort and ease.

Of further interest is the fact that in three instances a ninth grade education or better accounts for positive

attitudes towards language maintenance in intimate domains. We note that "male," "Thirty-one years of age or more," and "residence east" are significantly affected by this independent variable. This correlates in general with what has already been noted. That is, those who are older and live in the periphery of urbanized centers generally tend to be outside speculation concerning overt discussion and questioning of indigenous value systems. They are usually more conservative in their attitudes and hence show a strong preference for maintaining the status quo regardless of, or in spite of, their greater degree of education.

Four times "male" is a significant independent variable affecting positive attitudes towards language maintenance in intimate domains while "female" appears only twice. Again, there is the suggestion that men tend to be more conservative in their linguistic preferences and that women, even in intimate domains, are more amenable to the language shift that is taking place.

Table 15 summarizes the results of an analysis of variance via a stepwise regression for language loyalty and language maintenance in formal domains.

An analysis of these data show that the single independent variable accounting for positive male attitudes towards language maintenance in formal domains is "age thirty years or less" $R = .506$, df, 1, 10, $p < .01$ and the two variables accounting for female positive attitudes towards language maintenance in formal domains are "education

Table 15. An Analysis of Variance Via a Stepwise Regression for Language Loyalty and Language Maintenance in Formal Domains.

Demographic Factor	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Male	30-, R=.506*		
Female	9+ , R=.606*	30-, R=.746*	
8th grade or less	30-, R=.540*	31+, R=.824*	F , R=.853*
30 years or less	8- , R=.540*	31+, R=.734*	
31 years or more	9+ , R=.667*	8- , R=.820*	
South	M , R=.201**		
East	9+ , R=.283*		
West	8- , R=.000		

* Significant at .01 level
** Significant at .05 level

ninth grade or more" ($R = .606$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "age thirty years or less" ($R = .746$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$).

The two variables significantly accounting for positive attitudes towards language maintenance for those with an eighth grade education or less are "age thirty years or less" ($R = .540$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "age thirty one years or more" ($R = .824$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$). There are three variables accounting for these positive attitudes for those with a ninth grade education or more. They are "age thirty-one years or more" ($R = .667$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$); "residence east" ($R = .778$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$), and "female" ($R = .853$, $df = 1, 8$, $p < .01$).

The two variables significantly accounting for positive attitudes towards language maintenance in formal domains for those who are thirty years old or less are "education

eighth grade or less" ($R = .540$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "age thirty-one years old or more" ($R = .734$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$) and the two variables accounting for these attitudes for those who are thirty-one years old or more are "education ninth grade or more" ($R = .667$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$) and "education eighth grade or less" ($R = .820$, $df = 1, 9$, $p < .01$).

While there is no one independent variable which significantly accounts for positive attitudes towards language maintenance for those who live in the west, the one variable that significantly accounts for these attitudes for those living in the south is "male" ($R = .201$, df 1, 10, $p < .05$) and the one variable that significantly accounts for these attitudes for those living in the east is "education ninth grade or more" ($R = .283$, $df = 1, 10$, $p < .01$).

Of special interest in an analysis of these data is the indication that all ages significantly account for those with an eighth grade education or less. As has already been noted, those with less education tend to be outside the influence of dynamic social and cultural changes since their meager education itself precludes their participation in the scientific and technological advances which characterize a culture undergoing modernization.

Further, the factor of less education being the one significant factor accounting for positive male attitudes towards language maintenance in formal domains is of note

since it again suggests that men as a whole tend to be more conversative in their linguistic preferences.

Once again we note that all levels of education significantly affect the positive attitudes of language maintenance in formal domains for anyone over thirty-one years of age. This suggests again, that regardless of education, or in spite of their education, those who are older also tend to be more conservative in their attitudes towards language maintenance.

Finally, it is surprising to note that the combination of "age thirty-one years or more," "east," and "female" are the significant variables accounting for positive language maintenance attitudes for those with a ninth grade education or better. The surprise is that "female" appears in the combination for it has generally been shown that women tend to be more flexible than men in adapting to a language shift. Perhaps the first two variables override the third since both those who are older and live in the less urbanized areas of the society tend to be more conservative.

A brief review of this data shows several common characteristics exhibited by this speech community towards positive language maintenance. We have noted that those with eighth grade educations or less prefer to maintain Chamorro even in the formal domains since their social position precludes their participation in the intellectual aspects of the social changes that are taking place around

them. Further, one notes that men, more than women, tend to be more conservative in maintaining Chamorro in the formal domains, suggesting that women are more amenable and flexible in adapting to language shift. And, finally, as one would expect, those living on the periphery of the urbanized areas tend to give little attention to the questioning of indigenous value systems that is characteristic of those living in modern, urban areas. They still seem to prefer to take their value system for granted and indicate this by preferring to maintain Chamorro even in formal domains.

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CHAPTER THREE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This present study has attempted to investigate and analyze certain problems that are related to the language situation that presently obtains in the Territory of Guam. Three specific areas were investigated, namely, the linguistic dominance configuration which characterizes the language usage of the typical bilingual speaker of English and Chamorro in the Territory of Guam to include the degree to which this speaker is bilingual and the nature of the distribution of this bilingualism in intimate and formal societal domains. The second area dealt with the relationships existing between ethnocentrism and language usage and language loyalty. The third question dealt with the speech community's attitudes towards language maintenance and language shift, both in general and towards use in intimate and formal situations and in five societal domains.

In review of the data presented, one fact of great sociolinguistic interest stands out most clearly. This fact is that within the Guamanian speech community, as a direct result of the influence of modernization and ubanization, a language shift is taking place, a shift which is allowing for the greater use of English in all formal domains and in all formal situations. It should be noted that the data suggests that the major factors precipitating this shift are the degree to which one is educated and the speaker's sex. Consistently, those with an eighth grade

education or less show a more conservative spirit in participating in this shift while those with a ninth grade education or more seem more flexible and amenable in shifting to English in the formal domains and in formal situations. In like manner, the data suggest that men generally are more conservative in their language preferences, preferring to retain Chamorro in both intimate and formal domains and situations while women seem much more adaptable to the shift that is taking place.

The question that is of greatest interest to the sociolinguist is what will be the eventual outcome of this shift. Will it perhaps lead to the point where English will prevail even in intimate domains, thereby bringing about the demise of Chamorro as a vibrant and dynamic vernacular? Or will this shift eventually lead to a clearly diglossic speech community, wherein Chamorro will be the L vehicle of intimate usage and English the H vehicle of formal usage? The second possibility seems to be supported by the extraordinarily strong attitudes towards language maintenance exhibited by all the subjects surveyed. The singular degree of consensus indicated by all participants in this study suggests an overwhelming sense of loyalty to Chamorro and its maintenance in intimate domains and situations.

A language shift, such as that occurring on Guam today, is not in and of itself an evil thing. It is, rather, a recognition of a linguistic reality. Chamorro

is a vernacular (in the strictest sense of the word) of limited use. There are no more than 65,000 to 70,000 speakers in the entire world. Its use is limited to the island of Guam, the northern Mariana Islands, and the small pockets of Guamanians who reside abroad, especially in California. English, on the other hand, is a language of world communication and, as such, worthy of the prestige it carries. It would appear that the vast majority of Chamorro/English speakers today recognize this linguistic fact and as the growth and development of a civic awareness prevails in the formal domains and in formal situations, the shift towards English will accelerate. The only danger, if that is the right word to use, inherent in any shift is the possibility that the L variety will give way to the H, even in intimate domains and situations. One must not forget that those with a ninth grade education indicate a greater preference for English <u>in both intimate and formal domains</u> than those with less education. A total shift of this nature would be a cultural disaster; it should and must not be allowed to occur.

It would seem, then, that the educational system in the Territory of Guam must take two things into account. First of all, it must recognize the relationship of Chamorro in relationship to the discontinuous communal value system that is presently developing within the Guamanian cultural network. To maintain the language in this value system would appear to be meaningless since

Chamorro is of such limited use. On the other hand, the speech community has indicated a remarkable degree of unanimity in wanting to preserve and maintain Chamorro in the intimate domans and in intimate situations. The school system then should design and provide programs, either as regular courses or as extra-curricular activities, which would provide the participants with the communal awareness that the speech community has appeared to want.

As a result of this study, several areas of sociolinguistic study and research seem most promising and deserving of investigation. First, using the attitudinal survey employed in this study, as a base, one should attempt a commitment measure similar to that of Fishman's in Jersey City among the Puerto Ricans. Such a measure seems to allow greater and more valid predictions concerning language preferences and usage and actual, overt language behavior. Such a study might give more insight into the final outcome of the language shift that currently characterizes the Guamanian speech community.

A second study of great interest could center on the differences which seem to exist between both male and female language usage and male and female attitudes towards language maintenance. It is generally assumed that there is little or no difference between the speech preferences of males and females, yet the data presented in this study suggest that there may indeed be significant differences in male versus female speech habits and patterns.

A third study of great interest might concern itself with establishing to what degree the modern, urban Guamanian has accepted and reacted to the development of a civic awareness both within himself and within the total speech community. The information obtained from such a study would provide invaluable guidelines to those within the government who are charged with language planning for the Territory, for it would indicate the way a bilingual education should be directed and suggest sound goals and outcomes.

This study has, perhaps, raised even more questions concerning language usage with the Territory of Guam. If this be the case, I am very pleased. For language study on Guam, and in the entire Mariana chain, is still in the infant stage. The field is wide open of any variety of linguistic study, be it theoretical, historical, psychological or sociological. It is with great interest that I have noted that Dr. Donald Vesper has received a grant to make an in-depth study of language usage within this speech community, particularly in the villages of Inarajan and Tamuning, later this year. Perhaps, because of this initial study, others will find an impetus to study and investigate in more detail and in more depth language usage and language preference in the Territory of Guam.

APPENDIX I

Description of the Instrument

The instrument used in this study follows very closely that devised and used by Joshua A. Fishman and his collegues (1971) in their survey of bilingualism in Jersey City. Portions of their instrument were adapted and modified to meet the particular sociolinguistic characteristics of the Guamanian speech community and the particular scope of this study. The description which follows is of this modified instrument.

The survey was divided into seven sections, viz., the Census, the Study of Conversations, Word Frequency Estimation, Word Naming, Word Association, Usage Rating, and Variety Maintenance.

Both the Census and Usage Rating are virtually those used by Fishman and his collegues with minimum changes in wording.

In the Study of Conversations, one topic and one place were changed. In the original instrument, one is talking to someone at the beach about how to play a game. This was altered to have one talking to someone at a fiesta about how to play cards. These changes were made since it was felt that the latter place and topic would be more relevant to the actual neighborhood situation on this island.

The choice of word selections in the Word Frequency Estimation, especially in the domains of the home, the

neighborhood, and the church, were altered to fit the unique social situation found on Guam. Thus, one will find such lexical items as "rice," "spare ribs," "flame tree," "chickens," "novena," and "wake" included in this section. A major change occurs in this section in that the respondents were first asked to estimate their frequency rate in English and then asked to estimate their frequency rate in Chamorro with both word lists being identical. As Carroll (1971) and Cooper and Greenfield (1971) have indicated, speakers are able to estimate with a very high degree of correlation their frequency of word usage. It was felt, therefore, that by having the respondents estimate their frequency of usage of identical words in two languages, one would be able to obtain some indication of the language dominance patterns of the respondents.

The Word Naming and Word Association sections are identical with those in the original instrument.

The last section, Variety Maintenance, is a broad adaptation Fishman's instrument with several ethnocentric statements of local importance and relevance inserted.

The Language/Attitude Survey consisted of three parts. Part One consists of seven statements dealing with specific ethnocentric problems confronting the Territory today.

Part Two had the respondents circle a number which he or she felt represented his or her knowledge of language, English and Chamorro.

Part Three was identical to the Usage Rating of the primary instrument used in this study, that portion which dealt with language usage in school.

To obtain the data for this study, four upper-division students at the University of Guam were recruited through the University's work-study program. These students were, of course, bilingual in Chamorro and English. Three of the students were from Saipan and one from Guam. While the Saipanese often take a somewhat superior attitude concerning the "purity" of their dialect of Chamorro over that used on Guam, it was felt that the limited amount of Chamorro used in the survey itself precluded any major bias from coloring the students' reports.

Prior to beginning the actual interviews, these students spent approximately twenty hours each with me in an intensive study and analysis of interviewing techniques. Their formal study was complemented by several practice sessions with the other interviewers as witnesses and/or "subjects." This allowed for several valuable critiques.

The stratification of the population to be sampled had already been established and, to obtain as random a sampling as possible, the interviewrs met their subjects most often at the many fiestas that are held on this island. They would select a likely subject and ask if he would care to participate in the survey. This initial contact was made either in Chamorro or in English as the interviewer preferred. Other subjects were met on the campuses of the

three public high schools, the campus of the University of Guam, at the several supermarkets, and at other fiesta-type activities, such as wakes, fandangos, and the like.

Each interviewer scored his own survey. I checked their procedures at random.

CENSUS

1. Name: _____.

2. Age: _____.

3. Sex: _____.

4. Residence (Village): _____.

5. Length of Time: _____. If less than five years, previous residence: _____. How long? _____.

6. Other living in this house? Number: _____.

Relationship	Age	Relationship	Age	Relationship	Age
_____	___	_____	___	_____	___
_____	___	_____	___	_____	___
_____	___	_____	___	_____	___
_____	___	_____	___	_____	___

7. Education: Eighth grade or less: ____.

   Ninth grade or more: ____.

8. Are you able to

	Yes	No		Yes	No
a. understand Chamorro?	___	___	e. understand English	___	___
b. speak Chamorro?	___	___	f. speak English	___	___
c. read Chamorro?	___	___	g. read English	___	___
d. write Chamorro?	___	___	h. write English	___	___

9. What was your

   a. first language understood? _____

   b. first language spoken? _____

   c. first language read? _____

   d. first language written? _____

10. Which language do you mostly use at

a. home, for conversation? _____

b. home, for writing letters? _____

c. work, with your co-workers? _____

d. work, with your boss? _____

11. Which language do you mostly use

a. for conversations with your friends? _____

b. for silent prayer (e.g., the rosary)? _____

c. for going to confessions? _____

A STUDY OF CONVERSATIONS

We are interested in finding out how much Chamorro and how much English you use when speaking to various people about various topics in various situations. Treat each question independently of any other question and assume that BOTH YOU AND THE OTHER PERSON(S) KNOW CHAMORRO AND ENGLISH EQUALLY WELL.

Rating Scale:
5 = All in Chamorro
4 = Mostly in Chamorro
3 = Half in Chamorro and half in English
2 = Mostly in English
1 = All in English

1. Spkrs: Your co-workers
   Place: At home
   Topic: How to do a math problem 1. _____

2. Spkrs: Your priest
   Place: At work
   Topic: How children should behave 2. _____

3. Spkrs: Your teacher
   Place: At school
   Topic: How to play cards 3. _____

4. Spkrs: Your co-workers
   Place: At home
   Topic: How to do your job better 4. _____

5. Spkrs: Your good friends
   Place: At church
   Topic: How to do your job better 5. _____

6. Spkrs: Your co-workers
Place: At work
Topic: How to do your job better 6. _____

7. Spkrs: Your parents
Place: At work
Topic: How to do your job better 7. _____

8. Spkrs: Your parents
Place: At school
Topic: How a good Christian should act 8. _____

9. Spkrs: Your good friends
Place: At a fiesta
Topic: How to play cards 9. _____

10. Spkrs: Your parents
Place: At home
Topic: How children should behave 10. _____

11. Spkrs: Your good friends
Place: At school
Topic: How to do your job better 11. _____

12. Spkrs: Your teacher
Place: At church
Topic: How to play cards 12. _____

13. Spkrs: Your teacher
Place: At home
Topic: How to do your job better 13. _____

14. Spkrs: Your good friends
Place: At a fiesta
Topic: How a good Christian should act 14. _____

15. Spkrs: Your parents
Place: At work
Topic: How to play cards 15. _____

16. Spkrs: Your teacher
Place: At home
Topic: How children should behave 16. _____

17. Spkrs: Your good friends
Place: At work
Topic: How to do a math problem 17. _____

18. Spkrs: Your parents
Place: At a fiesta
Topic: How children should behave 18. _____

19. Spkrs: Your priest
Place: At school
Topic: How to do your job better 19. _____

20. Spkrs: Your priest
Place: At a fiesta
Topic: How a good Christian should act 20. _____

21. Spkrs: Your co-workers
Place: At school
Topic: How to play cards 21. _____

22. Spkrs: Your priest
Place: At a fiesta
Topic: How to play cards 22. _____

23. Spkrs: Your good friends
Place: At church
Topic: How to do your job better 23. _____

24. Spkrs: Your teacher
Place: At a fiesta
Topic: How children should behave 24. _____

25. Spkrs: Your good friends
Place: At church
Topic: How to do a math problem 25. _____

26. Spkrs: Your teacher
Place: At school
Topic: How a good Christian should act 26. _____

27. Spkrs: Your co-workers
Place: At church
Topic: How children should behave 27. _____

28. Spkrs: Your priest
Place: At home
Topic: How children should behave 28. _____

29. Spkrs: Your co-workers
Place: At church
Topic: How a good Christian should act 29. _____

30. Spkrs: Your parents
Place: At church
Topic: How to do a math problem 30. _____

31. Spkrs: Your priest
Place: At work
Topic: How to play cards 31. _____

32. Spkrs: Your priest
Place: At work
Topic: How a good Christian should act 32. _____

33. Spkrs: Your good friends
Place: At home
Topic: How a good Christian should act 33. _____

34. Spkrs: Your parents
Place: At school
Topic: How chidren should behave 34. _____

35. Spkrs: Your priest
Place: At school
Topic: How to do a math problem 35. _____

36. Spkrs: Your teacher
Place: At work
Topic: How to play cards 36. _____

37. Spkrs: Your parents
Place: At a fiesta
Topic: How a good Christian should act 37. _____

38. Spkrs: Your co-workers
Place: At a fiesta
Topic: How to play cards 38. _____

39. Spkrs: Your priest
Place: At home
Topic: How a good Christian should act 39. _____

40. Spkrs: Your co-workers
Place: At church
Topic: How to play cards 30. _____

WORD FREQUENCY ESTIMATION
(English)

I am going to read you a list of words in English and I would like you to tell me how often you use each word.

7 = more than once a day
6 = once a day
5 = every other day
4 = once a week
3 = every other week
2 = once a month
1 = every other month
0 = never

(give the respondent the small card with the options printed on it for him or her to refer to.)

kitchen _____	pencil _____	birthday _____
cows _____	money _____	priest _____
confession___	spoon _____	desk _____
teacher _____	pig _____	holiday _____
office _____	wake _____	dinner _____
table _____	pen _____	street _____
chickens_____	government___	rosary _____
church _____	rice _____	playground_____
classroom____	flametree____	payday _____
boss _____	baptism_____	spareribs _____
house _____	writing paper__	wedding party___
party _____	vacation_____	novena _____
mass _____	bathroom_____	sports _____
		secretary_____

(Chamorro)

I am going to read you a list of words in Chamorro and I would like you to tell me how often you use each word.

7 = more than once a day
6 = once a day
5 = every other day
4 = once a week
3 = every other week
2 = once a month
1 = every other month
0 = never

(Give the respondent the small card with the options printed on it for him or her to refer to.)

cosina	_____	lapis	_____	complianos	___
guaca	_____	salape	_____	pale	___
confesion	_____	cuchala	_____	lamasa mange	__
maestro(a)	_____	babui	_____	jaanen gupot	___
oficina	_____	bela	_____	sena	_____
lamasa	_____	pluma	_____	chalan	_____
manog	_____	gobietno	_____	lisazo	_____
guma-Yuus	_____	pugas	_____	plazan humugundo	_____
quaton escuela	_____	tronkon atbot	_____	pagamento	_____
magas	_____	bautismo	_____	costizas babui	_____
guma	_____	papet	_____	fandango	_____
guput	_____	bacasion	_____	nobena	_____
misa	_____	bano	_____	juego	_____
				secretaria	_____

WORD NAMING
(English)

I would like you to name as many objects as you can see in the following places. For instance, if I said "movie theater" you might say "seats...screen...lights...popcorn..." and so on. (Give the R one minute for each domain.)

1. home _____
2. Neighborhood____
3. church_____
4. school _____
5. work_____

WORD NAMING
(Chamorro)

GIVE THESE DIRECTIONS IN CHAMORRO. I would like you to name as many objects as you can see in the following places. For instance, if I said "beach" you might say "sand...water... reef..." and so on. (Give the R one minute for each domain.

1. cosina _____ 3. guma-Yuus _____ 5. chocho____

2. comatca_____ 4. escuela _____

WORD ASSOCIATION
(English)

I would like you to tell me everything the following words make you think of. For example, I might say "ocean" and you might say "wet...deep...blue..." and so on. (Give the R one minute for each domain.)

1. kitchen _____ 3. church _____ 5. work _____

2. neighborhood__ 4. school _____

WORD ASSOCIATION
(Chamorro)

GIVE THESE DIRECTIONS IN CHAMORRO. I would like you to tell me everything the following words make you think of. For example, I might say "governor" and you might say "authority ...power...politics..." and so on. (Give the R one minute for each domain.

1. cosina _____ 3. guma-Yuus _____ 5. chocho ___

2. comatca _____ 4. escuela _____

USAGE RATING SCALE

We are interested in finding out how much of your talk is in Chamorro when you speak to people who know BOTH Chamorro and English.

Rating Scale: 7 = all in Chamorro
6 = almost all in Chamorro

(if the R says "7" or "1" ask if the person spoken to knows both language.)

4 = about 50% in Chamorro
3 = about 30% in Chamorro
2 = only a few words in Chamorro
1 = none in Chamorro
NC = the other person does not know Chamorro
NE = the other person does not know English
X = you don't talk to the other person

At Home

Your grandparents - Male _____ Female _____

Your parents - Father ____ Mother _____

Your children - boys more than ten ____ girls more than ten ___

boys less than ten ____ girls less than ten ___

Your brothers ____ Your sisters ____

Your grandchildren - boys ____ girls ____

Your uncles ____ Your aunts ____

Other relatives - older males ____ same age males ____

older females ____ same age females ____

younger males ____ children _____

younger females ____

In the Neighborhood, at a fiesta

Older males ____ Younger males ____

Older females ____ Younger females ____

Same age males ____ Children ____

Same age females ____

At Church, before or after Mass

Church members - older males _____ younger males _____

older females _____ younger females ____

same age males _____ children _____

same age females ____

Clergy - in Confession ____ other times at church _____

At School, in the classroom before or after classes

teachers _____ close friends (boys) ____ other boys ____

close friends (girls) ____ other girls ____

At School, during class (whispering)

close friends (boys) ____ other boys ____

close friends (girls) ____ other girls ____

At School, in the hallway or cafeteria

teachers _____ close friends (boys) _____

close friends (girls) _____ Other girls _____

Other boys _____

At Work

Your boss (the man who tells you what to do) ____

Your co-workers older males ____ same age males____

younger males ____

older females ____ same age females ____

younger females ____

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

1. Do you wish you could speak more fluently in English?

____ Why?_____

_____

2. Do you wish you could speak more fluently in Chamorro?

____ Why? _____

_____

3. If you don't already know how, do you wish you could read and write in Chamorro? ____ Why? _____

_____

4. What do you think of Guamanians who do not speak Chamorro? _____

_____Are there many such? _____

5. Do you want your children (grandchildren) to speak Chamorro? _____ Do you think they will know it? _____ When and with whom will they use it? _____

_____

6. Do you think there should be more TV and radio programs in Chamorro? _____ Which kinds of programs? _____

_____

7. What about school? Would you prefer to have you children (grandchildren) taught in only English? ____, only Chamorro ____, or half English and half Chamorro? ____. Why? _____

8. If you had the choice, would you prefer to attend Mass in English or in Chamorro? _____ Why? _____

_____

9. Do you think the code of the Government of Guam is right in making English the official language of the Territory? ____ Why? _____

_____

10. Should statesiders and foreigners who come to live on Guam permanently learn to speak Chamorro? ____. Why? _____

_____

11. Do you think there are people who speak "better" Chamorro than you? _____ Who are they? _____ Why do you think their language is "better"? _____

_____

Language/Attitude Survey

Age: ____ Place of Birth: _____, _____
(Village or town)(Island or state)

Sex: ____ Present Residence: _____

PART I: We are interested in finding out your attitudes about the following statements. Simply circle that number after each statement which you feel reflects your attitude about the statement.

1 = I strongly agree
2 = I agree
3 = I don't care either way
4 = I disagree
5 = I strongly disagree

1. English, by law, is regarded as the official language of the Territory of Guam. Chamorro should also be legally regarded as co-official with English.

   1 2 3 4 5

2. Guamanian students should actively participate in an organization or club whose chief objectives are to encourage the use of Chamorro and to maintain Guamainian traditions.

   1 2 3 4 5

3. Two individuals are applying for the same job. Both are equally qualified to do the work. One of the applicants is a Guamanian and one of the applicants is a statesider. Preference should NOT be given to the Guamanian simply because he is a Guamanian.

   1 2 3 4 5

4. The influence of other nations, such as Japan, Korea, Taiwan or The Philipines, is making Guam a better place in which to live.

   1 2 3 4 5

5. For a person to be considered a Guamanian, it is NOT necessary that he or she be able to understand or speak Chamorro.

   1 2 3 4 5

6. The growth in tourism and the expansion of military installations have little or no effect on the day-to-day life of the average Guamanian.

   1 2 3 4 5

7. In order for a person to receive a Government of Guam scholarship, to vote in local elections, or to serve on a jury, that person should have been a resident of Guam for at least three years.

   1 2 3 4 5

IMPORTANT NOTE: If you are able to understand and/or speak Chamorro AND were born on Guam, please complete the following parts of the survey.

If you do not understand and/or speak Chamorro or were born outside of Guam, please omit the following parts. Thank you.

PART II: We are interested in knowing how well you feel that you know both Chamorro and English. Simply circle that number after each language which you feel indicates your knowledge of each language.

1 = I don't know the language
2 = I know only a few words of the language
3 = I know the language a little bit
4 = I know the language pretty well
5 = I know the language very well

Chamorro 1 2 3 4 5 English 1 2 3 4 5

PART III: We are interested in finding out how much of your talk is in Chamorro when you speak to people who know BOTH Chamorro and English. In the spaces provided after each group of people listed below, write the number from the Rating Scale which you feel represents how much Chamorro you use when speaking to those persons.

Rating Scale:
7 = all in Chamorro
6 = almost all in Chamorro
5 = about 70% in Chamorro
4 = about 50% in Chamorro
3 = about 30% in Chamorro
2 = only a few words in Chamorro
1 = none in Chamorro

At school, in the classroom before or after class, with
Teachers _____

Close friends (boys) _____ Close friends (girls) _____

Other boys _____ Other girls _____

At school, during class, whispering to

Close friends (boys) _____ Close friends (girls) _____

Other boys _____ Other girls _____

At school, in the hallway or cafeteria or on the playing fields, with

Teachers _____

Close friends (boys) _____ Close friends (girls) _____

Other boys _____ Other girls _____

APPENDIX II

Additional Tables

Table 16. A Study of Conversations: Male

Category	Speaker Intimate	Speaker Formal	Place Intimate	Place Formal	Topic Intimate	Topic Formal
1.	4.25*	3.38	4.18	3.49	4.08	3.72
2.	3.97	3.33	3.78	3.25	3.42	3.40
3.	2.97	2.45	2.79	2.48	2.63	2.60
4.	4.70	3.92	4.12	4.21	4.07	4.00
5.	4.37	3.37	3.62	3.64	3.56	3.83
6.	4.37	2.85	3.53	3.37	3.38	3.56
7.	4.16	2.87	3.51	3.25	3.15	3.31
8.	3.65	2.57	3.06	2.89	3.00	3.05
9.	3.61	2.60	3.02	2.93	3.16	3.01
10.	3.86	2.34	2.46	2.79	2.74	3.05
11.	4.16	2.72	3.43	3.11	3.03	3.31
12.	3.81	2.77	3.10	3.18	3.15	3.28
Mean	3.99	2.93	3.38	3.22	3.28	3.34

*Scale - 1 (all English) to 5 (all Chamorro).

Table 17. A Study of conversations: Female

Category	Speaker		Place		Topic	
	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal
13.	3.28*	2.58	2.97	2.75	2.88	2.84
14.	4.09	2.65	3.72	3.09	3.32	3.11
15.	3.52	3.20	3.17	3.29	3.01	3.31
16.	4.96	4.27	4.21	4.78	4.46	4.64
17.	4.86	4.25	4.63	4.36	4.26	4.67
18.	4.19	2.52	3.16	3.06	2.87	3.36
19.	3.56	2.63	3.18	2.91	2.93	3.05
20.	2.82	2.13	2.59	2.26	2.42	2.36
21.	3.63	2.43	2.94	2.84	2.80	2.96
22.	3.40	2.72	3.05	2.88	2.80	2.98
23.	2.98	2.17	2.43	2.48	2.39	2.47
24.	3.74	2.27	2.92	2.83	2.81	2.90
Mean	3.74	2.82	3.25	3.13	3.08	3.22

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 5 (all Chamorro)

Table 18. A Study of Conversations. Education, 8th Grade or Less.

Cate-gory	Speaker		Place		Topic	
	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal
1.	4.25*	3.38	4.18	3.49	4.08	3.72
2.	3.97	3.33	3.78	3.25	3.42	3.40
3.	2.97	2.45	2.79	2.48	2.68	2.60
4.	4.70	3.92	4.12	4.21	4.07	4.00
5.	4.37	3.37	3.52	3.64	3.56	3.83
6.	4.37	2.85	3.53	3.37	3.38	3.56
13.	3.28	2.58	2.97	2.75	2.88	2.84
14.	4.09	2.65	3.72	3.09	3.32	3.11
15.	3.53	3.20	3.17	3.29	3.01	3.31
16.	4.96	4.27	4.21	4.78	4.46	4.64
17.	4.86	4.25	4.63	4.36	4.26	4.67
18.	4.19	2.52	3.16	3.06	2.87	3.36
Mean	4.13	3.23	3.66	3.48	3.50	3.59

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 5 (all Chamorro).

Table 19. A Study of Conversations: Education, 9th Grade or More.

Cate gory	Speaker		Place		topic	
	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal
7.	4.16*	2.87	3.51	3.25	3.15	3.31
8.	3.65	2.57	3.06	2.89	3.00	3.05
9.	3.61	2.60	3.02	2.93	3.16	3.01
10.	3.86	2.34	2.46	2.79	2.74	3.05
11.	4.16	2.92	3.43	3.11	3.03	3.31
12.	3.81	2.77	3.10	3.18	3.15	3.28
19.	3.56	2.63	3.18	2.91	2.93	3.05
20.	2.82	2.13	2.59	2.26	2.42	2.36
21.	3.63	2.43	2.94	2.84	2.80	2.96
22.	3.40	2.72	3.05	2.88	2.80	2.98
23.	2.98	2.17	2.43	2.48	2.39	2.47
24.	3.74	2.27	2.92	2.83	2.81	2.90
Mean	3.62	2.54	2.97	2.86	2.87	2.98

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 5 (all Chamorro).

Table 20. A Study of conversations: Age 30 Years or Less

Category	Speaker		Place		Topic	
	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal
1.	4.25*	3.38	4.18	3.49	4.08	3.72
2.	3.97	3.33	3.78	3.25	3.42	3.40
3.	2.97	2.45	2.79	2.48	2.63	2.60
7.	4.16	2.87	3.51	3.25	3.15	3.31
8.	3.65	2.57	3.06	2.98	3.00	3.05
9.	3.61	2.60	3.02	2.93	3.16	3.01
13.	3.28	2.58	2.97	2.75	2.88	2.84
14.	4.09	2.65	3.72	3.09	3.32	3.11
15.	3.53	3.20	3.17	3.29	3.01	3.31
19.	3.56	2.63	3.18	2.91	2.93	3.05
20.	2.82	2.13	2.59	2.26	2.42	2.36
21.	3.63	2.43	2.94	2.84	2.80	2.96
Mean	3.63	2.74	3.24	2.95	3.07	3.06

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 5 (all Chamorro).

Table 21. A Study of Conversations: Age, 31 Years or More

Cate-gory	Speaker		Place		Topic	
	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal
4.	4.70*	3.92	4.12	4.21	4.07	4.00
5.	4.37	3.37	3.62	3.64	3.56	3.83
6.	4.37	2.85	3.53	3.39	3.38	3.56
10.	3.86	2.34	2.46	2.79	2.74	3.05
11.	4.16	2.72	3.43	3.11	3.03	3.31
12.	3.81	2.77	3.10	3.18	3.15	3.28
16.	4.96	4.27	4.21	4.78	4.46	4.64
17.	4.86	4.25	4.63	4.36	4.26	4.67
18.	4.19	2.52	3.16	3.06	2.87	3.36
22.	3.40	2.72	3.05	2.88	2.80	2.98
23.	2.98	2.17	2.43	2.48	2.39	2.47
24.	3.74	2.27	2.92	2.83	2.81	2.90
Mean	4.12	3.01	3.39	3.39	3.29	3.50

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 5 (all Chamorro).

Table 22. A Study of Conversations: Residence, South

Cate gory	Speaker		Place		Topic	
	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal
1.	4.25*	3.38	4.18	3.49	4.08	3.72
4.	4.70	3.92	4.12	4.21	4.07	4.00
7.	4.16	2.87	3.51	3.25	3.15	3.31
10.	3.86	2.34	2.46	2.79	2.74	3.05
13.	3.28	2.58	2.97	2.75	2.88	2.84
16.	4.96	4.27	4.21	4.78	4.46	4.64
19.	3.56	2.63	3.18	2.91	2.93	3.05
22.	3.40	2.72	3.05	2.88	2.80	2.98
Mean	4.02	3.09	3.46	3.38	3.39	3.49

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 5 (all Chamorro).

Table 23. A Study of Conversations: Residence, East

Cate-gory	Speaker Intimate	Speaker Formal	Place Intimate	Place Formal	Topic Intimate	Topic Formal
2.	3.97*	3.33	3.78	3.25	3.42	3.40
5.	4.37	3.37	3.62	3.64	3.56	3.83
8.	3.65	2.57	3.06	2.89	3.00	3.05
11.	4.16	2.72	3.43	3.11	3.03	3.31
14.	4.09	2.65	3.72	3.09	3.32	3.11
17.	4.26	4.25	4.63	4.36	4.26	4.67
20.	2.82	2.13	2.59	2.26	2.42	2.36
23.	2.98	2.17	2.43	2.48	2.39	2.47
Mean	3.79	2.90	3.41	3.14	3.18	3.28

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 5 (all Chamorro).

Table 24. A Study of Conversations. Residence, West

Category	Speaker		Place		Topic	
	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal	Intimate	Formal
3.	2.97*	2.45	2.79	2.48	2.63	2.60
6.	4.37	2.85	3.53	3.37	3.38	3.56
9.	3.61	2.60	3.02	2.93	3.16	3.01
12.	3.81	2.77	3.10	3.18	3.15	3.28
15.	3.53	3.20	3.17	3.29	3.01	3.31
18.	4.19	2.52	3.16	3.06	2.87	3.36
21.	3.63	2.43	2.94	2.84	2.80	2.96
24.	3.74	2.27	2.92	2.83	2.81	2.90
Mean	3.73	2.64	3.08	3.00	2.98	3.12

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 5 (all Chamorro).

Table 25. Usage Rating Scale: Male.

Category	Intimate	Formal
1.	6.27*	6.02
2.	5.05	3.36
3.	4.24	3.71
4.	6.04	5.34
5.	5.51	4.95
6.	5.29	4.92
7.	5.20	4.01
8.	5.43	4.45
9.	4.61	3.35
10.	4.90	3.74
11.	5.07	4.18
12.	5.07	4.96
Mean	5.22	4.42

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 7 (all Chamorro).

Table 26. Usage Rating Scale: Female

Category	Intimate	Formal
13.	4.64*	4.25
14.	5.64	5.56
15.	5.84	5.94
16.	6.95	6.36
17.	6.65	6.90
18.	4.80	3.83
19.	4.91	4.09
20.	3.91	2.50
21.	4.30	2.91
22.	4.65	3.60
23.	4.31	3.07
24.	5.14	3.52
Mean	5.15	4.38

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 7 (all Chamorro).

Table 27. Usage Rating Scale: Education, 8th Grade or Less.

Category	Intimate	Formal
1.	6.27*	6.02
2.	5.05	3.36
3.	4.24	3.71
4.	6.04	5.34
5.	5.51	4.95
6.	5.29	4.92
13.	4.64	4.25
14.	5.64	5.56
15.	5.84	5.94
16.	6.59	6.36
17.	6.65	6.90
18.	4.80	3.83
Mean	5.55	5.10

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 7 (all Chamorro).

Table 28. Usage Rating Scale: Education, 9th Grade or More

Category	Intimate	Formal
7.	5.20*	4.01
8.	5.43	4.45
9.	4.61	3.35
10.	4.90	3.74
11.	5.07	4.18
12.	5.07	4.96
19.	4.91	4.09
20.	3.91	2.50
21.	4.30	2.91
22.	4.65	3.60
23.	4.31	3.07
24.	5.14	3.52
Mean	4.79	3.70

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 7 (all Chamorro).

Table 29. Usage Rating Scale: Age, 30 Years or Less

Category	Intimate	Formal
1.	6.27*	6.02
2.	5.05	3.36
3.	4.24	3.71
7.	5.20	4.01
8.	5.43	4.45
9.	4.61	3.35
13.	4.64	4.25
14.	5.64	5.56
15.	5.84	5.94
19.	4.91	4.09
20.	3.91	2.50
21.	4.30	2.91
Mean	5.00	4.18

*Scale = 1 (all English) to
7 (all Chamorro).

Table 30. Usage Rating Scale: Age, 31 Years or More

Category	Intimate	Formal
4.	6.04*	5.34
5.	5.51	4.95
6.	5.29	4.92
10.	4.90	3.74
11.	5.07	4.18
12.	5.07	4.96
16.	6.59	6.36
17.	6.65	6.90
18.	4.80	3.83
22.	4.65	3.60
23.	4.31	3.07
24.	5.14	3.52
Mean	5.34	4.61

*Scale = 1 (all English) to
7 (all Chamorro).

Table 31. Usage Rating Scale: Residence, South

Category	Intimate	Formal
1.	6.72*	6.02
4.	6.04	5.34
7.	5.20	4.01
10.	4.90	3.74
13.	4.64	4.25
16.	6.59	6.36
19.	4.91	4.09
22.	4.65	3.60
Mean	5.46	4.68

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 7 (all Chamorro).

Table 32. Usage Rating Scale: Residence East

Category	Intimate	Formal
2.	5.05*	3.36
5.	5.51	4.95
8.	5.43	4.45
11.	5.07	4.18
14.	5.64	5.56
17.	6.65	6.90
20.	3.91	2.50
23.	4.31	3.07
Mean	5.20	4.37

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 7 (all Chamorro).

Table 33. Usage Rating Scale: Residence, West

Category	Intimate	Formal
3.	4.24*	3.71
6.	5.29	4.92
9.	4.61	3.35
12.	5.07	4.96
15.	5.84	5.94
18.	4.80	3.83
21.	4.30	2.91
24.	5.14	3.52
Mean	4.91	4.14

*Scale = 1 (all English) to 7 (all Chamorro).

Table 34. Word Frequency Estimation: Male

Category	Language Dominance
1.	+1.02*
2.	+2.52
3.	- .62
4.	+1.49
5.	+1.32
6.	+ .52
7.	-1.09
8.	-2.32
9.	- .77
10.	- .88
11.	- .03
12.	+ .02
Mean	+ .10

*Scale = +7 -- -7 (+7 = monolingual Chamorro and -7 = monolingual English.)

Table 35. Word Frequency Estimation: Female

Category	Language Dominance
13.	- .89*
14.	+ .17
15.	- .88
16.	+2.37
17.	+1.83
18.	- .07
19.	+ .26
20.	- .14
21.	+ .19
22.	-1.53
23.	- .57
24.	- .32
Mean	+ .04

*Scale = +7 -- -7 (+7 = monolingual Chamorro and -7 = monolingual English.)

Table 36. Word Frequency Estimation: Education, 8th Grade or Less

Category	Language Dominance
1.	+1.02*
2.	+2.52
3.	- .62
4.	+1.49
5.	+1.32
6.	+ .52
13.	- .89
14.	+ .17
15.	- .88
16.	+2.37
17.	+1.83
18.	- .07
Mean	+ .73

*Scale = +7 -- -7 (+7 = monolingual Chamorro and -7 = monolingual English.)

Table 37. Word Frequency Estimation: Education, 9th Grade or More.

Category	Language Dominance
7.	-1.09*
8.	-2.32
9.	- .77
10.	- .88
11.	- .03
12.	+ .02
19.	+ .26
20.	- .14
21.	+ .19
22.	-1.53
23.	- .57
24.	- .32
Mean	- .60

*Scale = +7 -- -7 (+7 = monolingual Charmorro and -7 = monolingual English.)

Table 38. Word Frequency Estimation: Age, 30 Years or Less.

Category	Language Dominance
1.	+1.02*
2.	+2.52
3.	- .62
7.	-1.09
8.	-2.32
9.	- .77
13.	- .89
14.	+ .17
15.	- .88
19.	+ .26
20.	- .14
21.	+ .19
Mean	- .21

*Scale = +7 -- -7 (+7 = monolingual Chamorro and -7 = monolingual English.)

Table 39. Word Frequency Estimation: Age, 31 Years or More

Category	Language Dominance
4.	+1.49*
5.	+1.32
6.	+ .52
10.	- .88
11.	- .03
12.	+ .02
16.	+2.37
17.	+1.83
18.	- .07
22.	-1.53
23.	- .57
24.	- .32
Mean	+ .35

*Scale = +7 -- -7 (+7 = monolingual Chamorro and -7 = monolingual English.)

Table 40. Word Frequency Estimation: Residence South

Category	Language Dominance
1.	+1.02*
4.	+1.49
7.	-1.09
10.	- .88
13.	- .89
16.	+2.37
19.	+ .26
22.	-1.53
Mean	+ .09

*Scale = +7 -- -7 (+7 = monolingual Chamorro and -7 = monolingual English.)

Table 41. Word Frequency Estimation: Residence East

Category	Language Dominance
3.	- .62*
6.	+ .52
9.	- .77
12.	+ .02
15.	- .88
18.	- .95
21.	+ .19
24.	- .32
Mean	- .35

*Scale = +7 -- -7 (+7 = monolingual Chamorro and -7 = monolingual English.)

Table 42. Word Frequency Estimation: Residence, West

Category	Language Dominance
2.	+2.52*
5.	+1.32
8.	-2.32
11.	- .03
14.	+ .17
17.	+1.83
20.	- .14
23.	- .57
Mean	+ .35

*Scale = +7 -- -7 (+7 = monolingual Chamorro and -7 = monolingual English.)

Table 43. Language Maintenance: Male

Category	Intimate	Formal
1.	95.00*	56.67
2.	85.00	56.67
3.	85.00	66.67
4.	95.00	60.00
5.	85.00	70.00
6.	85.00	66.67
7.	90.00	40.00
8.	75.00	76.67
9.	90.00	66.67
10.	95.00	56.67
11.	90.00	60.00
12.	85.00	63.33
Mean	87.92	61.67

*Expressed in Per cents.

Table 44. Language Maintenance: Female

Category	Intimate	Formal
13.	90.00*	43.33
14.	85.00	60.00
15.	75.00	50.00
16.	75.00	76.67
17.	85.00	53.33
18.	85.00	56.67
19.	90.00	53.33
20.	70.00	50.00
21.	95.00	46.67
22.	100.00	33.33
23.	85.00	63.33
24.	70.00	50.00
Mean	83.75	53.05

*Expressed in Per cents.

Table 45. Language Maintenance: Education, 8th Grade or Less

Category	Intimate	Formal
1.	95.00*	56.67
2.	85.00	56.67
3.	85.00	66.67
4.	95.00	60.00
5.	85.00	70.00
6.	85.00	66.67
13.	90.00	43.33
14.	85.00	60.00
15.	75.00	50.00
16.	75.00	76.67
17.	85.00	53.33
18.	85.00	56.67
Mean	85.42	59.72

*Expressed in Percents.

Table 46. Language Maintenance: Education, 9th Grade or More

Category	Intimate	Formal
7.	90.00*	40.00
8.	75.00	76.67
9.	90.00	66.67
10.	95.00	56.67
11.	90.00	60.00
12.	85.00	63.33
19.	90.00	53.33
20.	70.00	50.00
21.	95.00	46.67
22.	100.00	33.33
23.	85.00	63.33
24.	70.00	50.00
Mean	86.25	55.00

*Expressed in Per cents.

Table 47. Language Maintenance: Age, 30 Years or Less

Category	Intimate	Formal
1.	95.00*	56.67
2.	85.00	56.67
3.	85.00	66.67
7.	90.00	40.00
8.	75.00	76.67
9.	90.00	66.67
13.	90.00	43.33
14.	85.00	60.00
15.	75.00	50.00
19.	90.00	53.33
20.	70.00	50.00
21.	95.00	46.67
Mean	85.42	55.56

*Expressed in Per cents.

Table 48. Language Maintenance: Age, 31 Years or More

Category	Intimate	Formal
4.	95.00*	60.00
5.	85.00	70.00
6.	85.00	66.67
10.	95.00	56.67
11.	90.00	60.00
12.	85.00	63.33
17.	75.00	76.67
18.	85.00	56.67
19.	90.00	53.33
22.	100.00	33.33
23.	85.00	63.33
24.	70.00	50.00
Mean	86.67	59.14

*Expressed in Per cents.

Table 49. Language Maintenance: Residence, South

Category	Intimate	Formal
1.	95.00*	56.67
2.	95.00	60.00
7.	90.00	40.00
10.	95.00	56.67
13.	90.00	43.33
16.	75.00	76.67
19.	90.00	53.33
22.	100.00	33.33
Mean	91.25	52.50

*Expressed in Per cents.

Table 50. Language Maintenance: Residence, East

Category	Intimate	Formal
2.	85.00*	56.67
5.	85.00	70.00
8.	75.00	76.67
11.	90.00	60.00
14.	85.00	60.00
17.	85.00	53.33
20.	70.00	50.00
23.	85.00	63.33
Mean	82.50	61.25

*Expressed in Per cents.

Table 51. Language Maintenance: Residence West

Category	Intimate	Formal
3.	85.00*	66.67
6.	85.00	66.67
9.	90.00	66.67
12.	85.00	63.33
15.	75.00	50.00
18.	85.00	56.67
21.	95.00	43.33
24.	70.00	50.00
Mean	83.75	57.92

*Expressed in Per cents.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

George Alfred Riley was born March 20, 1931 in Los Angeles, California. After completing his elementary and secondary education in local schools, he attended San Luis Rey College in Southern California where he received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1954. In 1955 he was awarded a Master of Arts degree by Loyola University of Los Angeles.

Upon completing his military obligation in 1957, he began teaching Latin and Spanish with the San Diego City School System. In 1962 he resigned and for the next four years taught English as a Second Language in West Africa and Southeast Asia. In 1966, he worked for one year with the San Mateo Community College teaching English as a Second Language in an MDTA program. Since 1967 he has been on the faculty of the University of Guam where he teaches English as a Second Language. In 1972-73, he received a leave of absence to study for a Doctor of Philosophy degree in secondary education at the University of New Mexico. He was awarded this degree in 1974.

While with the University of Guam, he conducted an NDEA Institute in English as a Second Language in 1969. He has participated in several in-service training seminars for teachers of English as a Second Language and has contributed to several local publications.