

**CHAMORU UNCERTAINTY: REVITALIZATION RHETORIC IN
DECOLONIAL SETTINGS**

by

Curtis J. Jewell

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Purdue University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts



Department of English

West Lafayette, Indiana

August 2021

**THE PURDUE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL
STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE APPROVAL**

Dr. Harry Denny, Chair

Department of English

Dr. Jennifer Bay

Department of English

Dr. Anthony Silva

Department of English

Approved by:

Dr. S. Dorsey Armstrong

Dedicated to my family and friends who have shown unwavering support throughout my journey

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to use this space to thank the members of my committee Drs. Harry Denny, Jennifer Bay, and Anthony Silva. Through their guidance I was encouraged and challenged. They have played a crucial role in my development as a scholar and I will be eternally grateful.

* * *

A version of the first chapter appears in my previous work concerning the narratives surrounding the survivors of the Vanport flood in Oregon, USA published in the Portland State University Theses database. The specific portion reused here is the introduction to and literature review of narrative theory which provides an overview on the rhetorical theories of narrative. This work is then reapplied within the context of this thesis. The original work may be found using the following citation:

Jewell, Curtis J., "The Ripples of Vanport: Navigating Competing Narratives" (2019). University Honors Theses. Paper 725. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15760/honors.743>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	6
ABSTRACT.....	7
INTRODUCTION	8
NARRATIVE THEORY AND CHAMORU LEGENDS	13
Rhetorical Theories of Narrative	14
CHamoru Legends	18
“The Coconut Tree”.....	22
“The Cow and the Carabao”	25
CULTURAL ANXIETY	31
Affect, Anxiety, and the Asynchronous.....	32
Play, Performativity, and the Product	39
LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION RHETORIC AND TRANSLINGUALISM	48
Theories of Language and Power	53
Language Revitalization	57
Moving Forward	61
CONCLUSION.....	64
REFERENCES	69

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 An illustration of an elderly women above children, a coconut tree, and other aspects of the island created by Joseph Certeza for CHamoru Legends. The image conveys the themes of interconnectivity and protection (Perez).	22
Figure 2 An illustration of the cow and the carabao running side by side in a stream created by Tome Tani for CHamoru Legends. The image conveys the themes of comradery and cohabitation (Perez).	25
Figure 3 A simple representation of firework-like trails connecting concepts and identifiers to additional concepts.....	34

ABSTRACT

Globalization asserts increasing pressure on marginalized cultures and languages. While faced with the pragmatic, often economic, need to communicate via global languages such as English and Chinese, communities of non-dominant language users struggle to maintain or reestablish their own cultural and linguistic practices. This thesis considers three areas of theory to further inquiry into how revitalization contexts may operate within an increasingly borderless world. The specific focus is the CHamoru/Chamorro revitalization context on Guåhan /Guam. First, readers enter the discussion through the conduit of narrative theory which focuses on how legends spanning generations may lend insight into how the dispositions of local inhabitants developed. Second, affect theory is considered to illustrate how narratives are constructed about the future through fear and anxiety. Third, revitalization rhetoric and the emergent theory of translingualism are addressed as they lie at the intersection of narratives about the past and future. The thesis works to initiate conversations between theories which previously worked apart from one another in a context infrequently considered in an effort to establish a foundation for future research and activism on the the island of Guåhan.

INTRODUCTION

Increasing pressures of globalization and burgeoning digital spaces, aided drastically by the COVID-19 pandemic, have contributed to the development of a progressively diverse linguistic world. Although the number of languages employed throughout the world has ceased to grow and, in fact, is in decline, bi-/multilingualism (henceforth written as multilingualism but assumed to include both) has established itself as the linguistic norm. Despite the prevalence of multilingualism, languages and their users experience elevated pressures to participate in communities that privilege global languages (i.e., languages such as English or Chinese). The paradoxical status of multilingualism, in which it is the norm yet exists within a world where other specific language use is perceived as superior, deserves our attention.

This thesis aims to narrow that broad field of inquiry by focusing on a specific community of language users, the CHamoru people of Guam, subsequently written as Guåhan to honor the name given to the island by the CHamoru people; similarly, CHamoru is used in place of Chamorro as the former privileges the indigenous language's spelling over the Spanish alternative. Guåhan currently exists within a kairotic moment. After centuries of repeated colonization from nations such as Spain, Japan, and the United States, the CHamoru community is positioned to rewrite its perceived identity. After the Organic Act of 1950, the island gained more powers of self-determination and governance (Title 48). While the measure provided the island community the ability to self-elect governmental officials, the desire to determine the shape of its future emerged in other domains. In modern day Guåhan, the CHamoru people must grapple with the looming threat of linguistic extinction as global languages, particularly English, obtain more economic value and the island must further adapt to ensure the stability of its linguistic and, in connection,

cultural future. Additionally, the pressures of globalization continue to threaten the island. Guåhan's status as a United States naval base and the increasing economic reliance on tourism pushes local communities to cater to external expectations. This can be seen as cultural gatherings are turned into spectacles in hotels for visitors as well as in the necessity to prioritize global languages such as English within educational settings. The power of English as a language has resulted in a shrinking number of CHamoru language users; the 2010 US census estimated that, out of the island's total population of 145,069, only a staggering 25,827 people, or roughly 17.8%, spoke CHamoru (Guam State Data Center). Local grassroots efforts are attempting to combat potential linguistic and, necessarily connected to this, cultural extinction through educational programs and the creation of physical and digital corpus materials to revitalize the CHamoru identity.

To develop a shared understanding of the island's revitalization efforts, this thesis will proceed in the following structure. First, we will situate ourselves within the story of the CHamoru people through the text *CHamoru Legends: A Gathering of Stories*, a text containing 12 stories passed down through generations on the island (Perez). *CHamoru Legends'* stories, selected from resources varying from elders to old newspapers, are written in both the original CHamoru as well as English. The stories were thoroughly discussed by a (re)teller, editor, and CHamoru translator to preserve the meanings attached to the stories by the community which might be lost in a direct and uncritical translation. By combining narrative theories and a critical reading of the text, we glean an understanding of the CHamoru storytellers' conception of the indigenous people's communal identity while simultaneously conveying respect to the status of storytellers in CHamoru culture; storytellers were entrusted to recall and preserve lessons, perspectives, and

goals of previous island inhabitants. Our engagement with the text will be limited to considering only the English versions of these stories.

Second, to move the conversation away from considering reflections of the past, the island's current state will be discussed through the lens of affect theory. While the island maintains strong linkages to the past through oral storytelling and cultural sites, such as the new Museum of Guåhan, the island's future is uncertain. A diminishing number of people, recently estimated to be around 43,567, speak the language worldwide ("Chamorro - Worldwide Distribution"). The dwindling percentage of speakers local to the island and worldwide reflect the island community's struggle against pressure from the potential extinction of their language and the connected loss of culture embodied within it, generating understandable uncertainty. The perceived approach of an uncertain future is ripe ground for theories of fear and anxiety, which will enable us to contemplate how local experiences may enact pressure on the present body through its anticipation. Anxiety and fear provide a way to explore how the anticipation of a possible cultural erasure results in actions in the present. Potential action will be further discussed in the Translingualism and Revitalization Rhetorics section.

Third, this thesis will venture into unfamiliar territory by considering translingualism and revitalization rhetoric in tandem. These two approaches to language use have been selected due to the former's rise within the discourse over recent decades and the kairotic moment which has rendered the latter increasingly important, the potential extinction of languages in an increasingly globalized world. The connections and tensions between the two perspectives remain curiously unexplored despite their nearly concurrent rise within academic discourse. To begin, the positions on language use will be discussed separately and then put into conversation with one another. Subsequently, the third chapter will turn to

considerations of how the relationship between the two approaches to language use are complicated when considered in tandem with revitalization efforts.

Ultimately, we will return to the narratives discussed throughout the text, but most pointedly in the first chapter. We will consider how the stories of the CHamoru people house lessons and mantras which hint at a cultural disposition crucial to revitalization work. This thesis initially intended to posit suggestions for potential strategies to be employed within classrooms on the island. However, having conducted extensive research on the topic, it is clear that more work must be done before this is possible. Despite my own beliefs regarding the importance of teaching the language throughout all levels of the island's educational system and my own hereditary connection to the community and its language, I am writing this as an outsider to the culture, raised within the Pacific Northwest of the contiguous United States. My analysis will thus lack crucial (auto)ethnographic information that can only be obtained through experience and collaboration with the local community. Instead of presenting strategies to be employed in the classroom, this thesis concludes by pointing to future routes for research and actions community members and scholars alike may take within the CHamoru revitalization setting. My suggestions, should they be followed, will lead to deeper understandings of how educators may highlight the importance of students' and their own rhetorical choices to (not) participate in certain language practices to avoid intellectually colonizing the CHamoru community and thus perpetuating their violent history. This does not, however, detract from the value of the work conducted within this thesis as a key aspect of any boundary object's development into infrastructure, which here is the idea of appropriate pedagogical practices for teachers in the CHamoru revitalization context, consists of discourse

around and about the object from various perspectives. Additionally, I will address some of the limitations of my work

* * *

The subsequent chapters serve not as the final word, but instead as an initial statement. They represent a developing understanding of the CHamoru context on an adventure of extended inquiry. It is my hope that the following conversation will provide a reasonable foundation and spark of interest for myself and fellow scholars.

NARRATIVE THEORY AND CHAMORU LEGENDS¹

The first chapter of this thesis focuses on narrative theory and selections from the text *CHamoru Legends*. Despite, admittedly, not completely explaining cultures or individuals, they can be analyzed to develop understandings of public (self-)representations. Rhetorical theories of narrative are introduced here to convey the value these narratives can contribute to the discourse. Exploring narrative theory here prepares readers to consider CHamoru perspectives. These perspectives provide insight into possible dispositions towards community and language. They thus provide a crucial initial stepping stone for this research project by serving as reflections on Guåhan's past.

Narratives inundate our lives; they are an integral part of the human experience. In our increasingly media-saturated environment—rich with racial, economic, and social tensions—it is crucial to understand how beliefs and behaviors are influenced by public storytelling. After repeated exposure to particular kinds of narratives, ones highlighting particular values or how certain actions result in similar consequences, people develop frameworks for understanding the world and determining what choice to make. These mental shortcuts serve as useful tools for navigating the worlds we occupy. As these narratives become more heavily used navigational landmarks, they fade into the background of our mental landscape, often overlooked. Considering the power of stories to shape our understanding of others and the world we live in; the strategic use of narratives deserves attention.

¹ A version of this chapter appears in my previous work concerning the narratives surrounding the survivors of the Vanport flood in Oregon, USA. The specific portion reused here is the introduction to and literature review of narrative theory which provides an overview on the rhetorical theories of narrative. This work is then reapplied within the context of this thesis. The original work may be found using the following citation: Jewell, Curtis J., "The Ripples of Vanport: Navigating Competing Narratives" (2019). University Honors Theses. Paper 725. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15760/honors.743>

Though narratives are often associated with literature, storytelling permeates every aspect of human communication, as researchers and theorists have well established (Fisher; Carr; Gotschall). Narratives help the storyteller understand their own experiences, whether the story is constructed for an external audience or an internal one. As a person constructs and consumes narratives, they are continuously influenced by them and in turn influence others. This occurs on an individual and societal level as “the apparently meaningless stuff of the past is revealed in the present as events that will come significantly together in the future to form a whole plot. The future, in other words, *makes* the past, just as the past leads to the future” (Puckett 63; emphasis in original). Interpretations of the past alter understandings, and thus actions, in the present; laws and beliefs are wrapped in the understandings of what came before.

Narrative theory rejects the notion of an unbiased, categorically true narrative construction of history. It recognizes the possibility of a teller’s agenda influencing the rhetorical moves employed, the information included or omitted, and the motivation for the telling in the first place. As I write this from an outside perspective, this thesis begins by analyzing the narrative constructions retold within *CHamoru Legends* to understand which values are expressed as important or central to CHamoru identity within public discourse.

Rhetorical Theories of Narrative

Narratives exist throughout the world, necessitated by the nature of time and reality (Carr). Narrative studies have defined the concept of narrative as “a theory of symbolic - actions—words and/or deeds— that have sequence and meaning for those who live, create, and interpret them” (Fisher 2). A storyteller must choose what elements to include or exclude. The partial representations create a narrative based on the story’s focus. Using Aristotle’s treatment of tragedy as the critical first step, Kent Puckett reports on this dichotomy of storytelling known

as story and discourse (Puckett 25). This fragmentation is born out of “a conflict over discursive arrangements of the same events” (Puckett 19). Again, every storyteller constructs a unique arrangement.

Story is understood to be the event as it occurred. When details are left out of a person’s telling, they still exist within the realm of story. Regardless of how a narrative is represented, the events themselves do not change. This stems in part from the inability of humans to fully document chronological history and experiences, a point posited by Mink and White, and how part of what is (not) included is dictated by what it is the creator was able to observe and absorb (Carr). Carr agrees with Mink and White that, because of our limited perceptions, meaning is altered when filtered through a human interpreter (15). This filtration leads to the creation of discourse.

Discourse can be understood as the way a story is composed. Compositional decisions are recognizable when certain aspects are left out of the told story, either to enhance the flow of the plot or to elicit a specific emotional response from the audience. Compositional decisions can be seen as we inform others about our lives. What a writer decides to tell or to leave out indicates how they understand themselves, the implied author, and their imagined audience (Carr; Beard; Herman). That being said, narrative creation may not always be intentional. This emplotment, narrative shape or discourse, is the organizational structure chosen by the narrator(s) to convey meaning (Herman; Phelan & Rabinowitz).

As discourse changes so does an event’s perceived meaning for an audience. As Beard puts it, “the creator or narrator can never be separated from their own values, theories, ideologies, and socio-cultural or historical contexts—from this perspective oral history, like all histories, can be identified as a narrativized historical discourse” (533). Because of this,

Jenkins argues there is no categorically true version of history; instead, each recitation is an interpretation from a specific perspective that should be used in tandem with other varied perspectives (Beard). The story told is a filtered version of reality that occurs when attempting to understand the past.

It is important to consider the tailoring of a narrative that occurs when it is being communicated. Certain pieces of the story may be left out or emphasized and performative strategies may be employed—the use of quickened speech and raised voices in oral communication as well as italicization and bolding in written communication, to name a couple examples—to increase the likelihood that the audience will be swept away by the narrative and become empathetic (Beard; Gotschall; Mildorf). Because it is possible to intentionally employ these techniques, audience members should consider narratives critically (Mildorf).

Less explicitly, recent case studies shift the importance of a participant's account from its factuality by looking more intensively at how their participants employ “critical reflection” and how they develop patterns for how they communicate their experiences (Hickson and Drisko). These discoveries reveal information about the participants *while* they are recounting their experiences (Haynes). Instead of depicting the events as they occurred, the communication of narrative accounts reflects how the informant thinks and interprets the available information.

Postmodernists argue for the contextualization of narratives, and oral histories specifically, because stories acquire meaning within a historical landscape (Beard). This historical landscape is dictated by an individual's experiences and society's dominant narratives. When individuals attempt to understand the past, whether consciously or otherwise, events are not approached from a chronological, objective, comprehensive perspective. Instead, the past

becomes a pooled resource from which a person can draw to confirm ideas about the present. Alternatively, storytellers may also work to combat or complicate previous understandings to establish or strengthen counter stories and counter publics.

This process mirrors the concept of discourse as a person selectively constructs an internal story and explanation out of the information available to them before sharing a narrative publicly. As Bruner explains, a person's "life becomes dedicated to the theory or story into which [their] destiny is fitted" (70). In other words, a person's present understanding of the world and possible futures is framed by their interpretation of the past. Due to the myriad perspectives and endless differences between them, a narrative construction needs to be contextualized, its perspective elucidated as clearly as possible, to give the reader an opportunity to interact with it critically.

Though the term narrative has strong associations with fictive creations (novels, plays, movies and the like) it permeates communication of all kinds, in all contexts. The connection to fiction is understandable because, as theorists such as Mink and White posit, narratives are an artificial construct imposed upon events when filtered through the human experience (Carr). Fisher posits that the narrative perspective employs a "dialectical synthesis of two traditional strands in the history of rhetoric: the argumentative, persuasive theme and the literary, aesthetic theme" (2). The ability that narratives have to interact with the audience on both an "argumentative" and "aesthetic" level allows them to target audiences on various fronts increasing the likelihood of producing a lasting impact. The narrative paradigm, thus, empowers rhetors.

Dominant narratives influence public opinion and memory through the dissemination of particular narratives (Yow; Scheufeleand and Tewksbury). Dominant narratives are created by

popular news outlets, public texts, and other widely disseminated media. Frisch created a theory of “composure” to explain how the dominant narrative and language influence the public's understanding of specific events throughout history (Beard). In turn, these understandings then influence how individuals remember events as they are filtered through what becomes a cultural focal points and the language accessible to these individuals. Some theorists, such as Hayne, see dominant and alternative narratives from a combative perspective, directly fighting with, not adding to one another; however, that belief appears to have shifted with the adoption of a postmodernist perspective (Beard). These counter-narratives complicate one another, instead of combatting, by encouraging audiences to consider the motivations and reasons for discrepancies between them. The elucidation above is provided to assure readers of the value of engaging with the narratives found within *CHamoru Legends*.

CHamoru Legends

As addressed above, narratives serve as a rich resource for investigating the teller's perception of the world. They enable audiences to pinpoint the lessons and values deemed important by the teller. Despite being inundated with narratives, scholarly work considering the stories told by the CHamoru people is limited. In the following section, a summary of one CHamoru scholar and their colleague's work, addressing parallelism existing between the development of local activism practices and the ideologies present in reemerging legends, is consulted before moving to an original analysis of two additional legends.

The analysis of *CHamoru Legends* is conducted to both increase the amount of scholarship addressing CHamoru narratives as well as to place the reader within the ideological context of local inhabitants. These narratives consider CHamoru connections to ancestry, the role

of difference in CHamoru culture, and the tie between CHamoru identity and the island itself. The text has been selected as a focal point of this thesis due to the status of its creators—CHamoru storytellers, a CHamoru-English translator, and an individual local to the island—as well as its publisher, University of Guam. Although the stories within the text offer a limited understanding of CHamoru identity, the previously mentioned factors illustrate that the depictions have been vetted by the local community to serve as a public representation of CHamoru storytelling and identity. The two narratives selected from the available twelve readily give themselves to inquiry into the CHamoru relationship to language, key to this thesis. The additional stories may be relevant to researchers interested in other points of inquiry and from other fields as well. For example, those pursuing research in feminist indigenous rhetoric, ecological rhetoric, or international relations may find value in stories not selected for this thesis.

* * *

Michael Lujan Bevacqua, the aforementioned CHamoru scholar, University of Guam professor, and creator of the educational, grassroots, non-profit organization The Guam Bus, works with Bowman to illustrate how two legends fueled vastly different approaches to activism. Bevacqua and Bowman point towards the early to mid-1990's as a time in which “The Legend of Gadao” played a significant role in shaping the CHamoru consciousness amid conversations about self-determination and demilitarization. Gadao was a *maga'låhi*, within this story the term is understood as a powerful male leader, known for the strength he demonstrated when leading the CHamoru people to resist Spanish invasion. The idea of a *maga'låhi* became central to the structure of Nasion CHamoru, a local activist group, who appointed individuals to serve as tribal spokespersons in public meetings. These individuals were

lauded, seen as saviors and protectors who were deferred to when considering how to fight for CHamoru sovereignty. These *maga'låhi* adopted the appearance of warrior ancestors, wearing loincloths and the Kepuha hairstyle, a long knot on the top of their head with the remaining hair shaved off, while shirtless to bring with them the power to the images of CHamoru ancestors which colonization had trained inhabitants to reject. Ultimately, Bevacqua and Bowman posit that the individualistic and male exclusive approach to power resulted in Nasion CHamoru's loss of influence on the island. The refusal to acknowledge the power of CHamoru women and communal efforts was unsustainable and ended in disconnect.

The second legend addressed by Bevacqua and Bowman is "How the Women Saved Guåhan from a Giant Fish." This narrative recounts a time in which a giant fish devastated the island, swallowing land and resources vital to CHamoru survival. After the men of the village failed to capture the fish through strength alone, the women of the island congregated to consider how to address their situation. Heeding the advice of their elders, the women of the island cut their hair, combining it to create a giant net which they used to catch the fish. This story highlights not individual prowess but the importance of learning from past generations and collaborating in times of crisis. The rise of this narrative as an example for activism efforts highlighted how the *maga'låhi*, literally translated into the highest son, was not intended to lead alone but alongside the *maga'håga*, the highest daughter. Using "How the Women Saved Guåhan from a Giant Fish" enabled local groups to champion feminist rhetoric, highlighting the importance women have in leadership and the need for collaboration. Additionally, Bevacqua and Bowman argue for the legend's potential to be used in the near future as conversations shift from mere resistance to decolonization as the practice of shared leadership mirrors indigenous island practices. This legend continues to be told on the

island which faces a new fish, the United States, which threatens to swallow additional lands for military purposes, lands used as ancestral burial grounds and other points of cultural value.

As the summary of Bevacqua and Bowman has shown, CHamoru legends serve as catalysts and focal points for activist work. The various figures and ideologies present within them shape the strategies used by different organizations. After being operationalized as previous calls to action and rallying cries, the potential use additional stories may have in constructing the future when paired with scholarship and local movements become visible. Below, I discuss two narratives, to mirror the work of Bevacqua and Bowman, and their uses within the CHamoru revitalization context.

“The Coconut Tree”



Figure 1 An illustration of an elderly women above children, a coconut tree, and other aspects of the island created by Joseph Certeza for CHamoru Legends. The image conveys the themes of interconnectivity and protection (Perez).

The first story which we will interact with is the “I Trongkon Niyok” or “The Coconut Tree.” While many of the stories within *CHamoru Legends* exhibit similar treatment of elders and the relationships between CHamoru people, this story in particular focuses on the concept of an enduring celebration or respect. This idea is encapsulated within the brief description accompanying the story which reads “a story of an elder and a legacy” (37). The direct acknowledgment of elders and their impact on future generations opens the story to being interpreted both as an indication of local values as well as their relation to CHamoru identity.

This legend depicts the lives of two young children who grew up on the island long ago. These children are referred to as *mañe'lu*. *Mañe'lu* translates into siblings or individuals bound into companionship. The dual meaning provides an apt point to begin our reading of the story. The CHamoru word remains within the text, despite being an English translation and being easily written in English. This indicates that how the word functions is integral to its inclusion in the story. With the first meaning, readers can gather that the relationship between the two children is critical to being CHamoru. The second meaning marks the first of many demonstrations, we will see that words denoting relationships between people are presented in the CHamoru language, suggesting the connections between other people of the island is important for CHamoru identity.

At an early age, the parents of the children passed away, the *tâta* or father died fighting in clan wars and the *nâna* or mother succumbed to a deadly fever, although many on the island believed she passed due to a broken heart (37). Again, the moments in which CHamoru is used within the text indicates that the relationships between people are crucial to CHamoru identity. Those who are older than the children are always addressed with a CHamoru title, conveying respect to those being discussed as well as perpetuating the importance of relationships between individuals and to one's elders on the island.

The *mañe'lu* lived alone in a cave on the island, sequestering themselves to experience their grief in private. One day, after attempting to forage and hunt for whatever food they could, the *mañe'lu* returned to their damp home to find an elderly woman in the cave. Sensing her lack of strength, the children gave the food and water they could to bolster the elderly woman's fortitude. The children grew accustomed to the woman's presence, what initially was perceived as a lack of energy or weakness soon became recognized as a source of consistency

and wisdom. The *mañe'lu* grew closer to the woman who they now shared a cave with, calling her *nānan biha*, or grandmother. By addressing the older woman as grandmother, the *mañe'lu* demonstrate a feeling of closeness and, as the relationship developed, the woman was no longer perceived as an old woman but instead they establish their own clan, of sorts, and once the woman becomes a part of their clan, she is given a CHamoru title, linking the CHamoru language to the relationships between people within communities as well as to CHamoru identity.

Sometime later, the children recognized the woman, too, would soon be leaving their world. The elderly woman expressed a final wish, to be buried with a seed unlike any other on the island. With the seed, the woman promised to watch over and care for the children until the end of time. The children, wishing to show their gratitude and respect for the woman, abided by her wishes and buried the woman with the seed. With surprising speed, the seed sprouted, becoming an *i trongkon niyok*, or coconut tree, which quickly flowered and fruited. The tree retains its CHamoru name within the telling of the story. Perhaps the retention is due to the connection the tree has with the *nānan biha*, being not only a gift, but growing out of her body. The coconuts are personified, the faces of the coconuts reminding the *mañe'lu* of the woman and the promise made to the children.

The coconuts provided both food and drink to the children who, after being the recipients of charity from their clan, in turn shared the new plant with their clan. The clan celebrated the new and plentiful resource, promising to preserve the trees and the memory of the woman over generations. The story's theme demonstrates the need for young children to appreciate and share the words and gifts of their elders. Elders are viewed as crucial to the island's growth as the tree "like the biha [...] gave life to their clan, and provided for all who

lived and cared for it” (41). Gratitude for the everlasting impact made by the gifts of elders over generations is demonstrated through the use of the CHamoru language. The story concludes with a general metaphor connecting the tree and its importance to the ways of older individuals on the island as “I trongkon niyok is not a loud tree; it does not sparkle in brightly colored blossoms; it is still and quiet, modest and thin – leaves, sparse in their appearance; all masking the legacy of an abundance of life, the legacy from our nānan biha” (41). The tree, and elders in tandem, are valued for their abundance of life, instead of the differences between themselves and more vibrant foliage.

“The Cow and the Carabao”



Figure 2 An illustration of the cow and the carabao running side by side in a stream created by Tome Tani for CHamoru Legends. The image conveys the themes of comradery and cohabitation (Perez).

The second story this discussion will focus on is “I Guaka Yan I Karabão” or “The Cow and the Carabao.” The selection of this legend rests upon the overarching theme of the story and its possible connection to language theory and future activist work. As with the previous legend, “The Cow and the Carabao” includes the selective use of CHamoru words which highlights the value particular aspects of CHamoru life have to the identity of local inhabitants. While the legend is subtitled “A Story of Friendship,” an equally apt description would be a story of difference.

The legend begins depicting two animals, the cow and the carabao, who live on the same island farm. In part due to a desire to not be turned into *kelaguen*, a CHamoru take on the Filipino *kilawin* dish which uses the acidity of citrus fruit to cook raw meats, the cow and carabao constantly compete with one another. Each attempts to outperform the other to win the affection and attention of their farmer. Cow, while being smaller, was nimble and quick, able to transport small loads quickly to their destination in addition to providing sweet milk for the farm, to be consumed or traded. Carabao, while being slower than Cow, was strong and sturdy, capable of transporting large loads over considerable distances and working the fields.

The legend quickly establishes a rivalry between the two animals which can be related to particular views of language. Monolingual approaches to language, to be discussed in depth in the third chapter, create hierarchies in which one must be superior to the other because of its social and cultural capital, the attention of the farmer which both animals vie for. Within the constructed competition, both animals and languages participate in a zero-sum competition “instead of recognizing the unique value of each” (52). As the story progresses, the value of recognizing the benefits of multiple sides and approaches to language use are subtly explored.

The competition between the animals resulted in lighthearted squabbles in which each animal would scoff or snort at the boastings of the other. Their bickering eventually gave way to laughter and comradery, responses became predictable and humorous as the two grew to recognize the foolishness of their competition. Their budding friendship, however, began unfortunately late in their relationship as the animals were sold to different farms. Unable to see one another on a daily basis, the two coordinated to meet to swim, one of their favorite recreational activities.

Due to their previous competition, Cow and Carabao developed a standing ritual before swimming together. Their earlier desire to be seen as unique and separate in the eyes of the farmer had ingrained lasting habits. Before swimming, each removed their hides. Cow had a tough, wooly, brown hide which hugged her tightly. Carabao's hide was a soft, silky, white, and draped off his body, contributing to his slower movements. The two, furthering their desire to establish themselves as unique, opted for different modes of protection for their hides as well. Cow elected to place her hide beneath *i trongkon niyok*, hoping the risk of falling coconuts would ward off others. Carabao decided to place his hide beneath a banana tree, hoping the wide leaves of the tree would grant sufficient shade to protect his delicate hide. To continue the analogy of relationships to language, the difference of modes of protection signals towards the possible recognition of different communities of language users valuing their respective languages for distinct reasons. Speaker-writers may value their language for how it is used as well as elect to protect it in diverse ways.

While swimming, the splashing and laughter of Cow and Carabeo attracted the attention of a person walking by. Peeking through the foliage, the person was shocked and amused at the novel sight of Cow and Carabao's pink and unprotected bodies. In a mischievous moment, the

person decides to prank the two animals by switching their hides in the cover of darkness. Before doing so, however, the prankster considers the possible presence of *duendes* and *taotaomo'na*. The inclusion of the two phenomena is important for our reading of the legend. Previously, the legend drew specific attention to *kelaguen*, a dish borrowed from another culture. The legend continues this borrowing with its use of *duendes*, goblins or leprechauns as described in Spanish folklore. Similar to *kelaguen*, this word is borrowed from another language and culture yet the repeated incorporation of different languages within the English translation points towards the possibility of cohabitation of these languages, pushing back against monolingual ideologies of language. When positioned immediately before *taotaomo'na*, ancient CHamoru spirits who protect natural sights on the island, the legend connects the two languages. Spanish culture is tied to CHamoru identity, a subtle nod to Guåhan's history of colonization. This connection is strengthened as, in the story, the trickster leaves at the rise of the *sinahi* moon. *Sinahi*, within this context is read as a new moon, however, this too has a deeper connection to CHamoru history. The word *sinahi* describes the large shells carved into crescent shaped pendants and worn by Chamoru men, especially village elders. The confluence of these non-English words within a short span of the same legend indicates how interwoven these cultures and languages are on the island.

After swimming, Cow and Carabao returned to their respective trees, dawned the hides beneath them, and returned to their farms; it was only upon awaking the next morning that the two realized their hides had been switched. The two animals met one another and, after a brief conversation, decided to retain their new hides, recognizing the value each hide offered to the other; Carabao now had a quicker, stronger hide for carrying loads and Cow's new hide, while being slower, reminded people of the milk she made which was invaluable to life on the

farm. The newfound appreciation for different appearances and uses of the hides, in tandem with the various languages employed and cultures borrowed from in the legend, hints towards the value this story may have for activist-scholars on the island. The story demonstrates not an either/or, separatist approach but one that is both/and. Amid conversations of how to address the impending extinction of the CHamoru language and its dwindling social and cultural capital, this story may be used as part of an argument of a translingual approach to language instruction on the island, an approach which recognizes the ability to trade and shift between linguistic modes to improve communication and local connections to the island's history without detracting from more pragmatic economic concerns.

* * *

The stories presented within *CHamoru Legends* are considered seriously within this thesis. They are not perceived as silly myths or stories meant to be told solely for the entertainment of young children. This work takes seriously what Bevacqua and Bowman describe as the “Chamorro concept of wonder [...] histories of wonder, stories of greatness in the past that construct an Indigenous narrative of eco-identity tied intimately to the island of Guåhan” (Bevacqua and Bowman, 72). The connections between the legends, the language and culture, as well as the identity of the CHamoru people illustrated above are presented as one of the first steps to engagement between language theory and the island's indigenous ways of knowing. While the above discussion is by no means extensive, the intention of the work is to provide a foundation for future conversations which must include residents. Definitive conclusions which fail to do so risk perpetuating the infantilization of CHamoru narratives as discussed by Bevacqua and Bowman; interpretations lacking those voices, one of the limitations of this study, will likely miss more subtle ways “ancestors call

upon [CHamoru people] to ask permission, to ask for forgiveness, to acknowledge, and to respect them [...] through the stories they give us” (Perez, 83). These stories have endured the passage of generations and will continue to do so, developing a deeper understanding of the implications they hold is a critical step in shaping the community's future.

This first chapter, which discussed reflections on legends and Guåhan’s past, facilitates the introduction of the next. After interacting with legends of the past, it becomes possible to discuss alternative legends, ones of the future. In order to do so, the second chapter will turn to a discussion of affect theory, specifically theories of fear and anxiety. The discussion of these theories will help us to develop an understanding of how narratives reach out from the past, through the present, and into the future, all the while impacting the community and the subject. This interaction is crucial to understanding the CHamoru revitalization context.

CULTURAL ANXIETY

We are slowly inching through a temporal landscape along undetermined paths in which each movement alters the world's shape; we are affected by the past, our present, and the impending future. Our bodies are navigating this terrain while being shaped by it and those in it, constantly reorienting and attuning. At times, this reorientation occurs as the subject turns, searching for the source of perceived threats. Unable to locate a source, those consumed by the spiral of anxiety are pulled to the vantablack center of a mental black hole; the subject shifts their vision constantly, unable to pinpoint the source of danger. Anxiety forces a search for dark matter, something traceable only through lack and absence: a non-labeling.

An estimated 28.8% of people living within the United States have experienced the intense gravity of an anxiety disorder. Minority populations have an additional source of anxiety, and thus increased rates of anxiety disorders, due to the anticipation of discrimination, harassment, and abuse (Williams Et. Al). With such a high impact, it is curious why the mediation of anxiety is not more central to conversations focused on understanding mental stability and health. We speak of depression, eating disorders, and substance abuse but ignore the pull of anxiety. Perhaps this stems from anxiety's more ethereal, ambiguous nature and its orientation towards the future instead of its visibility in the past or supposed present.

The following chapter works to explore this understanding of the temporal by considering the affective influence anxiety exerts over communal and individual worlds. To facilitate this conversation, theories of anxiety and its closely related phenomenon fear, the necessitated interaction with futurities of the individual and the communal, and discussions of the performative nature of identity creation on both the individual and cultural level are addressed. This chapter then moves to considering how the theoretical conversations of affect naturally lend

themselves to pragmatism and points towards their role in serving as a catalyst for change. This investigation is coupled with recent movements observable through the CHamoru people of Guåhan and their attempt to revitalize their language and culture.

Before moving forward, it is important to state clearly and definitively that, although I am of CHamoru descent, my understanding of CHamoru culture is admittedly limited. I did not grow up on the island of Guåhan nor with an especially intimate relationship with CHamoru practices and was raised within the contiguous United States. It is likely that my interpretation is being presented while missing key insights to the CHamoru culture that may alter my understanding of the relationship between the discussed theory and the actions the community is taking. Instead of providing a definitive reading of the current cultural movements occurring on the island, I have opted to use the specific events taking place on the island as a way to engage with the relevant theory on a more abstract level.

Affect, Anxiety, and the Asynchronous

Anxiety has pulled the attention of intellectuals such as Heidegger, Seyfert, Massumi, Ahmed, Damasio, and LeDoux as well as non-academics for generations. Unlike other problems that our species has encountered, the issue of anxiety has not only captivated us but also left us lost. Anxiety's nature makes it unlikely to find a 'solution' without the supernatural ability to remove our bodies out of the flow of time itself.

Anxiety lives in ambiguity, uncertainty, and displacement. Anxiety finds a comfortable breeding ground in the future as it, too, is indeterminate. Unlike fear, which attaches itself to a definite object, anxiety possesses no referential object and instead circulates between and among infinite potential signifiers. With no object to reference or latch onto, it spreads, jumping from entity to entity, infecting the affective atmosphere: by being without label, it

becomes omnipresent. The siren song of anxiety plays from a shuffled playlist compiled of every song that ever has been or ever might have been or ever will be or ever could be or is; it abandons the linear logic of the vinyl record's rings.

The perpetual tonal shifting intensifies the sense of anxiety as the subject experiencing anxiety repeatedly struggles to identify its source while “the detachment from a given object allows anxiety to accumulate through gathering more and more objects, until it overwhelms other possible affective relations to the world”; as the subject turns from object to object, searching for the source, the impossibility to pin down the affective force results in its potential to be anywhere and thus everywhere (Ahmed 66). This framing of anxiety follows the understanding of affect posited by Jordynn Jack that argues for a less linear conception of affect (—). Affect is not something that moves from entity A to entity B, moving implicitly forward in time as it is passed from one actor to another. This passing off takes a reductive approach to affect which should be avoided. Being outside of time, instances of anxiety are then able to be considered as both being a response to a moment while also anticipating it. In this way, anxiety is further created as the subject responds to this repeated turning while simultaneously anticipating the impending future turns; this cyclical visual circulation harkens back to Heidegger's explanation of falling, a fleeing into and from oneself and the world to which Dasein is related; the experience of anxiety is akin to the gravity of a black hole in which the repeated spinning pulls the subject deeper inward and further away from the observable, the knowable, the light.

Another way to conceptualize the nature of anxiety is to compare it to Derrida's exploration of *différance*. Crucial to *différance* is the idea of deferral. For Derrida, a signifier represents only the beginning of a chain of signifiers. Each signifier refers to myriad

other signifiers or connotations. Think of the initial signifier as a firework shooting into the air and then bursting into tens of different shimmering trails.

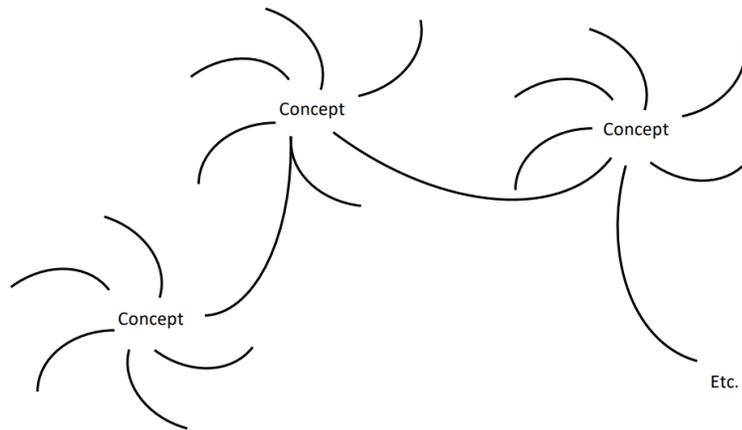


Figure 3 A simple representation of firework-like trails connecting concepts and identifiers to additional concepts.

Each trail represents its own signifier that in turn bursts, relating to another set of connotations and adjacent signifiers. This repeated explosion of relations continues ad nauseam. In this way, language’s meaning is deferred as an end to the signifying chain is never found. Similarly, those attempting to locate the source of anxiety explore the never-ending, shimmering trails of the possible to find an identifiable, concrete object or signified. Anxiety thus blinds the subject, as each thought creates a multitude of possibilities; endless shimmering light makes it impossible to find a singular truth.

The past provides heuristics, approaches to navigate and interpret both the present and future. Seeing an event unfold, and the subsequent events following the first, teaches the subject to interpret the world through a particular cultivated lens. LeDoux describes how “[t]hrough Pavlovian threat conditioning, stimuli associated with danger in the past come to elicit

innate defense reactions in anticipation of the actual danger” (64). In this way, previous experiences construct cognitive infrastructure providing a foundation for everyday analysis. This meta-cognition geared towards understanding how we think about life, can only be applied to the past and future. (Some may argue that the present could be included within a subject’s analysis, but I argue that the present is a fleeting temporal moment that cannot be captured or considered by the thinker, only experienced, as the time it takes to comprehend the present immediately relegates even our most recent experience to the realm of the past.) Subjects use the aforementioned heuristics, often unconsciously, to attune themselves to the world and its inherent otherness. This attunement has been discussed at length by Heidegger who has termed this relational establishment of the self, or Dasein, Being-in-the world.

Each experience trains the subject in a specific mode of interpretation that scaffolds its understanding of probable future actions and choices; these choices are made based upon the outcomes of previous actions, and the perceived consequences of them. Being-in-the-world focuses on rhetorical relationships and understanding how each entity acts within a system in the present. This becomes increasingly complicated as one considers how “this *present* is always meant as having an endless *past* behind it and an open *future* before it” (Husserl in Salamon, emphasis in _ 78). Subjects interacting with one another are affected not only by their present actions but the interactions of their imagined pasts and presents as well. Not only are relational worlds constructed physically “in the context of others” but temporally as well (Damasio 172).

This relation-based worlding makes implicit an argument for the subject’s lack of true agency and autonomy. A significant portion of an actor’s choices are dictated by what Heidegger describes as its thrownness. Thrownness disarms the subject by injecting them into a system of signs concocted by previous signs and based off the assumed functioning of future signs. As a

person floats about this affective solution of signs, moods “assail” the subject, coming from both without through osmosis and from within (Heidegger 176, Damasio). This thrownness, present when entering a novel situation, occurs when a person works to comprehend the future. The subject is transported into the uncertainty of the future and, due to the subject's inherent vulnerability, is affected by it. The subject is unable to act on the future, as it is always already yet to occur, and thus may only be acted upon. The response to and anticipation of fictive futures, contributes to the establishment of moods as “what is yet to occur [...] takes blaring precedence over what has actually happened” (Massumi 52). This mentality makes its way into popular idioms such as ‘focus on what’s ahead’ or ‘don’t dwell on the past.’

The anticipation of threat, the not yet, conjures fear—an affective presence often connected to anxiety—and objects or events become fearsome in their perceived temporal approach (Ahmed). As the subject, the fearing body, is removed from their temporal moment and thrown into futurity, they react based upon prophesized injury. These signifiers exist independently of their forecasted doom and have not “truth-value” but “threat-value” (Massumi 59, LeDoux). Although most easily imagined as literal harm—anticipation of a blade piercing flesh—this injury can take symbolic form: the potential loss of a relationship, embarrassing oneself during an important interview, or the death of a culture, its philosophies, and more. The fearing body’s reaction to these potentialities is triggered by the internalization of heuristics denoting what an acceptable response to a particular source of fear is after previous Pavlovian training and the social construction of expectations.

The possibility of an end carries the weight of an actual end regardless of whether the language or culture, within the context of this thesis, conclude. Massumi proposes the capability of alarm to “overlay [threat’s] own conditional determination upon an objective situation;” the

threat functions as a signifier that triggers the individual's temporal thrownness; yet the sign acts not only in connection with the future fiction but, instead, upon "the dynamical object," an "activation event" compelling a transformation in the subject's feeling state (58, 64, 65). Again, it is the mere possibility of a futurity that influences the individual or, in our application, the communal as a perceived linguistic extinction serves as a catalyst to the creation of real, present-at-hand institutions that are working against an anticipated future. Massumi points towards how this "preemptive logic" does not follow along normative, linear paths and "is reluctant to attribute an effective reality to futurity," the futurity of subjects' experiences in the world constructed without a lack of causality and structure (57). When a person or community is thrown into the artificial "uncertainty of the potential next," its being-in is determined purely by the anticipated, not yet actualized, fictive, immaterial future: the reference of "an unconsummated surplus of danger" (Massumi 53).

The decision of how to react to the anticipated death of the CHamoru culture creates a bifurcation point in which fear creates two, discernable versions of future occurrences are created. Whether the dichotomy is false does not alter the experienced reality, the subject's fear and anxiety, because "it will have been real because it was felt to be real;" the experience of the subject is determined by its readings of the world (Massumi 63). One discretely labelable future includes a world in which the CHamoru language and culture continues to be passed on through generations; the second, feared future consists of the language and culture's death. Of course, variations of each potential future exist, however, for the sake of brevity, these are the main outcomes of each. Despite the more readily digestible distinction between these outcomes envisioned by the CHamoru people, specifically those who founded the CHamoru immersion school Chief Hurao Academy and Bevacqua who founded The Guam

But, this same issue may conjure feelings of anxiety. The initial split, may be conceptualized as dandelions stemming from a shared point on the ground, being of the same weed. However, once reaching the end of their stems, each dandelion splits into a multitude of pappuses, the feathered seed pods. The future, when considered with limitless environmental and atmospheric transmissions, can result in the growth of infinite seeds from each perceived fear or stem, some of which will be taken by the wind, impossible to pin down, label, quantify or analyze. Within this metaphor, the countless variations of what a future with or without the CHamoru language and culture take the place of the pappuses.

The contemplation of what action to take to address the futures the CHamoru culture faces creates fear, the labelable death of a language and connections to the past, and anxiety, the limitless possible iterations of how the decisions that are made today will impact the community—on one hand, would a dismissal of previous ways of being allow for a better integration into the globalized economic system or possibly provide students more time to further their work in other fields instead of spending time learning a language that can only be used within a community of, at its most optimistic, less than 70,000 speaker-writers; on the other, to what extent will revitalizing connections to the past ground the identity of community members (Pacific Daily News). This last point is worth considering as stronger connections to ethnic and racial identity have been shown to mitigate feelings of anxiety (Williams Et. Al).

* * *

As affective social beings, individuals construct not only their own immediate futures through the decisions they make but through the dispersion of energy, rippling out from each celestial steppingstone, they influence the worlds around them. Interactions with perceived futures prompt choices that clearly influence the lives of others and even the embodied

experience of the individual can be felt radiating outwards, transcending the boundaries of the body, seeping into the world. On a more tangible note, modes of expression are considered through imaginative play that allows for a weighing of futurities. LeDoux interprets Kierkegaard's “[conception] of anxiety as the key to human existence: a sense of dread over our freedom to choose” (3). This freedom of choice creates countless alternative paths that cannot occur in the physical world and thus must be explored through the vehicle of imaginative play.

Play, Performativity, and the Product

Play provides a place in which the subject can perform mental experiments, weigh the consequences of choices, and contemplate the performance of various identities. The endless hybridity engendered by the ever expanding potential contact zones housed in social media, and the internet in general, creates a milieu ripe for play as each platform provides the user the ability to cultivate and interact with disparate or competing social spheres leading to the possibility for conflicting identities, within those digital 3rd spaces. As each person decides whether to disclose specific information about their experience, they must interact with a multitude of possible self-representations which are considered through imaginative play. Each post, picture, like, react, and so forth inherently negates other performances. Zizi Papacharissi discusses how

Every human being is a collection of actual and potential selves that further evolve as we progress through different stages in life. Every human is thus a collection of stories that are rendered as literal, figurative, representational, or more abstract presentations of who we are, and *what we do at given points in time combine to form performances of the self.* (96, emphasis added)

These performances are dependent upon the social construction of identity. The subject is trained to recognize specific norms and deviations; these social heuristics are shaped by the “the abundant recall of related memories [...] Memory helps project the situation into the imagined future and lets us envision the consequences” of our choices (Damasio 11). Damasio points

towards memory as being a source of affective influence as the recollection of past experiences and the imagined interactions of the future result in neurological changes that impact the subject's homeostatic state: bodies desire to use memory to anticipate and interpret possible futures as a mode of preservation. This activity can be seen in everyday life, as children avoid foods they sampled once but did not enjoy or as dogs retreat from the sound of running bathwater.

This preservation of the self can be seen within our application of the theories of fear and anxiety to the people of Guåhan. CHamoru people recognized the possibility of linguistic extinction and, after weighing the consequences of various actions through play, decided to create language and cultural immersion schools and programs that worked to reinforce the presence of CHamoru culture on the island. Here, a perception of what the future holds resulted in performative actions such as social media posts and the countless rhetorical moves made in face-to-face conversations that culminate in cultural influence. The anxiety brought upon by the imagining of futurities not similarly grounded in the CHamoru culture radiated out from individuals and into the networked relations of the community.

Despite the above discussion of the future's inherent limitlessness, reality is finite. Reality is a subtraction that takes away from the unimaginable potentiality of the future. The future possesses countless potentialities and has the potential to be exciting and interesting or, in the case of anxiety: sickening; what will be could be anything, take any form or have any relations and, in that way, is enticing; we are compelled to contemplate it ad nauseam. The future does not exist within the realm of reality, as the past or present do, and thus we are more readily able to engage with its potential endlessness, never able to stop being excited and interested. By

creating a label for an experience, by enacting a choice, the possibilities of the future are inherently limited: the possible, magical, endless potential stifled.

Performativity deals with the subtraction from the limitlessness that brings the ethereal future into the reality. A subject picks what to do out of a vast number of potential choices as they decide what identity they want to perform. Those possibilities, after being evaluated through cognitive play, are weighed against the values of the subject and the possible consequences of each action in an attempt to maintain homeostasis (Damasio). Of course, these actions are chosen only from a theoretically infinite future as the social construction of the worlds we inhabit serves as a filter for what actions are truly viable. The narrowing of potential choices and thus futures is more severe for those with higher levels of anxiety as they perceive futures with elevated levels of threat (LeDoux).

The subject works to construct and perform an identity that preserves, protects, or reconstructs their envisioned version of self (Ahmed 64). Consider the shame of a person begging being triggered by the cognitive dissonance of the person's actions not aligning with their idealized version of self, whereas the subject may want to be self-sufficient, safe, and even affluent while their actions show they are in the opposite situation. The preservation of self is based upon the fear instilled by dominant narratives that the subject is inherently exposed to due to their vulnerability and inability to close themselves off to cultural influence; even the responses to deviations from cultural expectations are social constructions established through repeated exposure (Ahmed, Blackman, Salamon). For the people of Guåhan, the narrative of colonialism casts a shadow across the island; the fish of the story discussed by Bevacqua and Bowman not only swallowed land and resources, but also removed potential choices and futures away from the island's inhabitants.

A heuristic for understanding social construction involves starting with Heidegger's being-in-the-world. Salamon elucidates how social construction "means that our bodies are always shaped by the social world in which we are inescapably situated" (76). Dasein, pulling from Heidegger, is an amalgamation of influences and impacts in which social relations exert pressures that mold it. Cheng argues that "a flexible notion of cultural identity reshapes our very notions of identity and authenticity, illuminating the reality that we create—not merely inherit or 'retrieve'—culture" (179). I propose a minor adjustment to Cheng's claim as far as to posit that subjects [re]create or perpetuate culture.

This functioning of social construction can be approached by starting with Foucault's conception of discourse; here, "cultural shaping happens at the conceptual level [...] what we are able to imagine about what our bodies are or may become—even to decide what 'counts' as a body and what does not is structured by the history of how bodies have been socially understood" (Salamon 76). The discourse determines what can be thought and how it is thought. In this way, the agency of the subject to self-define is effectively removed as they must interpret their own existence within the terminology, understandings, and logical framework forced upon them by a self-perpetuating system. To continue the comparison to Foucault, Salamon illustrates how social construction serves as a hermeneutic for tracing the genealogy of "*how* that felt sense arises [...] and to ask what it is, finally, that is delivered by that felt sense" (77). This socialized training of interpretive methods parallels Damasio's conception of temperament in which the subject is groomed to perform within predetermined boundaries, based upon previous experiences with others, in search of homeostasis. It is important to consider the social and the systemic, what Damasio refers to as the "surround," as well as the internal when considering the performance of identity (76).

Within an age in which our memory and social interactions are becoming increasingly externalized and digitized, respectively, social media platforms and digital communication must be incorporated into our interpretation of the “surround” (Damasio 76, Pruchnic & Lacey). The identity creation of people in their adolescences is closely tied to these digital social spheres and, as this community serves as the future vessel of cultural knowledge and practices, it cannot be ignored (Crocetti Et. Al, Lannegrand-Willems Et. Al). Unfortunately, as Damasio argues, “the widespread availability of nearly instantaneous and abundant communication of public and personal information, a manifest benefit, paradoxically reduces the time required for reflection on that same information” (215). The deluge of stimuli not only reduces the time required for reflection but decreases its likelihood as the subject struggles to orient themselves within a perpetually growing and shifting social sphere. This makes the task adopted by language and culture activists even more daunting. While dealing with indeterminable futures, those working within Guáhan’s revitalization setting must continuously reorient themselves to an ever-shifting digital landscape.

The exponential growth of possible interactions results in a need to develop heuristics for virtual interpretation and communication. Digital 3rd spaces serve as an apt example for how these shortcuts for mental reasoning are developed. As discussed by Papacharissi, in a contemporary setting, perceptions of isolation often present themselves in “electronic elsewheres [...] that support meaning-making and construction of marginalized viewpoints” (24). Electronic elsewheres, digital 3rd spaces, cultivate an environment in which even the moments of perceived isolation generated by affective experiences like anxiety, those superficial breaks and separations from the social akin to the caesura of poetry, can be discussed

(Blackman 6). The exchange of experiences and ideas then influence the shape of the entities participating in or witnessing the discussion.

The fear and anxiety present in the CHamoru population, and other cultural groups fearing similar perceived fates, are triggered by the perceived fear of losing distinctiveness, what Cheng refers to as a “bleaching out” and thus becoming inauthentic imitations of what used to be a thriving culture (Cheng 171). The increased globalization of culture has added yet another feared force of conflict in the battle for communal identity. The ground beneath the feet the CHamoru people continues to shift, shake, and crack, threatening to be pulled apart and lost at sea. Although this can be clearly understood from a negative perspective, I posit that it may also be perceived as benefitting the community. Ahmed discusses how “[r]ather than fear getting in the way of love, we can see that fear allows the subject to get closer to the loved object” (Ahmed 68). As the feared object comes into view, it triggers anxiety through the contemplation of the myriad outcomes that a choice, in this case the choice of revitalizing the community, can create but it also causes the subject to turn “away from the object of fear [...] towards the object of love, who becomes a defense against the death that is apparently threatened [...] fear is that which keeps alive the fantasy of love as the preservation of life, but paradoxically only by announcing the possibility of death” (Ahmed 68). The very possibility of a cultural or linguistic death serves as the catalyst for rebirth and reclaiming of identity on the fringe. Cheng argues that “a construction or reification of an authentic identity based on nostalgia is most possible and likely when the particular culture being authenticated has been largely and already eradicated (175). To go further, these feelings serve as “deputies of homeostasis” that work to create equilibrium and to preserve a culture that may have otherwise slipped silently into extinction (Damasio 26).

Of course, this resurgence of culture is not entirely without flaws. This cultural revitalization may fall victim to phenomenological idealism, an incessant othering of all things not deemed ‘CHamoru enough’ by an empowered few, and an isolation or turning away from the world triggered by a need to turn towards certainty while the world is composed of multitudes of uncertainty. In this gravitational pull towards finding something certain, fixed, and tangible it is possible to romanticize cultures, even our own, in an attempt to make them “beautifully coherent, satisfying, harmonious, and static” thus flattening cultures and diminishing their complexity (Cheng 177). *Roots Mania*, as employed by Cheng, examines how this simplification of cultures can occur when the search for a connection to a subject’s heritage results in “stereotyped [...] and nostalgic notions and images [...] as opposed to the actual lived experience” of both the subject and the culture (174). This is especially prevalent within what Cheng calls *the Heritage Industry* in which companies commodify portions of cultures to sell back to people attempting to forge an authentic connection. These problems not only narrow conceptions about these cultures but may lead to ethnocentrism, othering community members who do not perfectly conform to these constructed narratives. In a similar vein, I argue that it is possible that the attempt to capture a communal paradigm could lead to a temporal appropriation. One in which participants of a revitalization movement may cast aside aspects of their contemporary lives to recreate the imagined, idealized lives of ancestors.

It is my hope that careful reflection, of the kind discussed by Gross, presents the opportunity to “dissolve obsolete prejudices and overcome social privileges” that are created by the *Heritage Industry* while one pursues an understanding of one’s ancestry (8). The pursuit is not merely a “reception of a tradition [...] but is as well a kind of ‘performance’ that is

simultaneously the instantiation of tradition and an expression of freedom” (Gross 9). As Cheng puts forth

to admit to a heritage and a past that strengthens and enriches one’s present life, that adds to one’s ongoing identity formation based on a complex compilation of ongoing influences and experiences, grants the past a role in informing and enriching one’s identity, while still acknowledging that one’s “identity” is based largely on lived experiences, and influences. (178)

This acknowledgement of ties to the past while still valuing and including the lived experience of subjects and community will be crucial to developing an appreciation for cultural roots and understanding their place in contemporary settings. Building relationships, with community members or the history of a culture itself is made possible when a subject exhibits “Being-their-Selves” as this authenticity facilitates meaningful relationships with others and one’s heritage (Gross 40).

* * *

Until this point, the discussion of various theories and phenomena have been considered within the narrow application to the CHamoru people of Guåhan and, in passing, the Chief Huraon Academy and The Guam Bus. It is important to take a moment to recognize that these discussions could take place around any national, cultural, racial, and ethnic identity as explored by Anderson and Cheng. I posit that other nation-like communities are forming through face-to-face and digital spaces that are developing their own cultural practices as visible on the widely used forum site Reddit where users categorize themselves as being a part of a particular group. Each subreddit [r/academia for example] establishes their own set of rules and expectations on how community members will interact and govern themselves. Although outside the scope of this thesis, future work may benefit from considering how these digital 3rd spaces are impacting revitalization efforts.

This chapter built upon the first. Initially, we considered the narratives presented in *CHamoru Legends* and how they may be used to develop a, admittedly limited, understanding of the community's perspective of the past. Within the second chapter, discussing theories on fear and anxiety encourages us to consider how narratives stretch not only backwards but forwards as well. The stories told about what the future may contain influence communities and subjects in the present. After ruminating on the narratives of the past and future, we now turn to an analysis of the present. The following chapter provides an overview of revitalization rhetoric and translingualism. This pairing has been made due to the increasing pressure for the former to take place, due to approaching linguistic extinctions, as well as the latter's newfound dominance amid discussions of approaches to language use.

LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION RHETORIC AND TRANSLINGUALISM

Various fields which study language and its use—linguistics, rhetoric and composition, second language studies, and the like—have seen recent development within the realm of theory. Two theories which developed concurrently are the concept of translanguaging and the academic study of language revitalization. Revival movements began in the 19th century, focusing on language's ability to frame and share communal concerns such as social class, inequality, and marginalization (Costa). However, language revitalization entered academic discourse communities much later; Costa points towards the work of Hale et al. in 1992 as its moment of establishment. Similarly, translanguaging has only recently emerged in the discussion, with much of the foundational work being written in the 2010s (See references below). The simultaneous arrival of distinct approaches to language has engendered a kairōtic moment, one in which translanguaging nears an establishment of a firm understanding of what it is as a theory and in which language revitalization efforts are desperately needed due to a multitude of factors.

Considering the recent rise of both perspectives on language, and their relative youth, inquiry into the connection between their ideologies may assist activists as well as add to the scholarly conversation, a conversation which has yet to explore these two areas alongside one another. This may be in part due to the relative distance between theorists and practitioners. As I desire to operate between these social worlds, I have taken it upon myself to initiate the exchange between them. The following analysis works within the spaces between these two approaches. I examine moments of overlap and commonalities, places where language revitalization activists may be able to pull from to inform their pedagogies. Additionally, I look for existing tensions, which complicate and at times challenge the approaches taken by the very

same activists or prompt scholars interested in translanguaging to adapt their approaches towards a more pragmatic and tangible end.

The current importance of language revitalization work cannot be overstated. Beyond the arguments of losing language diversity, the argument of language for its own sake, the endangerment and subsequent extinction or death of languages severs ties to the past. Languages are actualized ways of knowing and meaning making. The loss of a language means losing an understanding of the histories attached to that language and the various interpretations of the world associated with them. Those with power, whose linguistic variety is dominant, are the very same people who have the ability to construct archives. As languages in danger of extinction are clearly not dominant, minoritized language users lose the ability to self-document their collective experiences. To conduct language revitalization work requires an intersectional perspective. One that recognizes multiple theories of languages as well as approaches to language revitalization efforts. Successful scholarship in this area requires academics to approach the topic as a boundary object as outlined by Star as well as a public as defined by Warner.

This thesis approaches language revitalization as a boundary object by recognizing the three dominant factors of boundary objects: 1) residing between social worlds, 2) recognizing its value as a vague identifier which is actualized in non-interdisciplinary ways, 3) acknowledging groups which operate without consensus to (indirectly) negotiate towards a standardized infrastructure (Star). The discussion here aligns with the previous three factors by 1) being situated between multiple academic fields—education, second language studies, linguistics, rhetoric and composition, and communication—as well as existing between linguistic worlds, the dominant and the endangered language, as well as by directly engaging with the social worlds of the past, present, and future; 2) by recognizing the various forms the vague identifier of ‘person

working in language revitalization' might take—for one person this may mean determining their identity through scholarly work, for another the participation in public protests, for yet another the instruction of endangered languages to (their) children; 3) by being open to multiple forms of collaboration and negotiation. For example, this text recognizes academic authors as interacting with one another while talking about or around the issue of language revitalization, this conversation is seen to occur simultaneously with various grassroots organizations which experiment with different approaches to pedagogy and outreach events. Each instance is viewed as a statement in the ongoing conversation which is slowly building an infrastructure for what it means to conduct theoretically informed language revitalization work. This is all to say, while the various theories discussed below may seem disparate or disjointed, they all communicate about, or around, the issues of language and power and thus represent a functional boundary object.

Language revitalization efforts function as a public. Warner describes publics as “essentially intertextual, frameworks for understanding texts against an organized background of the circulation of other texts, all interwoven not just by citational references but by the incorporation of a reflexive circulatory field in the mode of address and consumption” (16). Language revitalization hinges on the incorporation of scholarship, governmental policy and action, as well as grassroots efforts, pedagogies, and materials. Each of these aspects operate upon one another as well as adjusting to the others as standards are developed, approaches are negotiated, and teachings are disseminated.

The impending future signals towards a mass erasure of languages. Baker and Wright present a startling figure of a potential loss of up to 90% of the world's languages by the year 2100 (41-43). Scholars point towards multiple sources of the pressure of erasure; however,

nationalism and globalization are often cited as two of the primary factors (Weber and Horner). Nationalism is often considered within the scope of communities establishing or understanding their identity as tied to that of the nation and its values. Because of this, their dispositions towards language are similarly tied. For example, subjects in the United States may feel a strong pull of nationalism when promoting English as the language of utmost importance in a variety of domains. I would, however, expand upon Weber and Horner's assessment of nationalism being a catalyst to encompass more groups than the term nation implies. As Benedict Anderson posits, communal identities can be structured based upon imagined communities where not all members of a group are met face-to-face. This means that smaller groups of language speakers, such as the only 24k native speakers of CHamoru in Guåhan, may, too, experience this sense of a shared communal identity where the imagined status of other CHamoru people influences their sense of self, who is akin to them, and who is other. The encapsulation of imagined community as nation, as described here, applies to speakers of other indigenous languages as well.

The second factor posited by Weber and Horner is globalization. While academic texts are currently brimming with assessments of the global context, in part enabled by our increasingly virtual and, thus, borderless world, I avoid submitting the reader to a yet another in depth analysis of globalization and its perils. However, specific to this research, globalization results in the interaction of diverse linguistic communities attempting to make meaning together. Through this interaction, infrastructure is developed, standards are set. Linguistic varieties rise in power. Similarly, the context in which a person learns to use a particular language influences their social and cultural capital, or perceived power, as “society treats its elective bilinguals differently from its circumstantial ones” (Hernández, Montelongo, and Herter 98). Dynamics of power determine what may enter the discourse and what may be said or thought, as outlined by

Foucault. These factors result in certain labeled languages having power over the others and being seen as holding more social and cultural capital.

The impending threat of cultural erasure, as well as the associated experiences of fear and anxiety, has resulted in an evolving standard for language revitalization efforts. These are encapsulated within the assessments of Baker and Wright as well as Weber and Horner (2017, 2012). Revitalization efforts operate within three different categories, and at three distinct levels. The three categories or types of language planning are acquisition, status, and corpus planning (Baker and Wright). Acquisition refers to the development of teaching techniques, an analysis of a community's needs, recognition of the domains of use, as well as the actual teaching and learning of a language. Status planning attempts to increase the social and cultural capital, or value, of the language in the views of the relevant population. Corpus planning is the creation of materials, physical and digital, which document language use and instruction. The development of corpus, however, is a complex subject within the uprising of translanguaging, which we will return to later in this chapter. The development of corpus leads to a standardization of language use when few speakers exist. This may contribute to both an essentialization of the language and its users as well as erect boundaries between what is considered to be a part of the endangered language and what is not, contributing to a view of language which supports a monolingual ideology. The three factors or levels of successful language revitalization, as described by Weber and Horner, are governmental policy, grassroots movements, and international minority rights organizations. Each of these levels of language revitalization efforts may work in any or all three categories discussed previously.

Theories of Language and Power

To tease out the relationship between translingualism and language revitalization, it is imperative to first establish a shared understanding of translingualism. It should be noted, the following depiction of translingualism is not a conclusive summary, but instead an illustration of the discourse in its current state. Translingual theorists are actively working to establish the perspective's boundaries and characteristics.

Translingualism, as described by Canagarajah in 2015, recognizes that "language and meaning are always in a process of becoming," echoing Derrida's *différance*, and, when integrated into pedagogy, prioritizes "deconstructing Standard English to make students aware that it is a social construct" (419, 425). While this may appear to be a vague umbrella statement for many pedagogies, Matsuda notes the "notion of translingual writing is a work in progress," Matsuda further develops our understanding of translingual work by describing the dispositions of scholars engaging with it:

- English monolingualism is prevalent and problematic.
- The presence of language differences is normal and desirable.
- Languages are neither discrete nor stable; they are dynamic and negotiated.
- Practicing translingual writing involves the negotiation of language differences (479).

Some of these descriptions complicate revitalization work. For example, the tenet of language not being discrete directly pushes back against those attempting to strength specific iterations of language use. Here, activist-scholars should consider whether the theory is worth adopting in part, as the theory as a whole may undermine the work being conducted. An activist scholar may, for example, agree that language is dynamic and in constant flux while arguing against languages as not being discrete due to the pragmatic need to strengthen a variation. Schrieber and Watson

offer further clarification by arguing that “pedagogy is translingual [...] by asking students to investigate/consider how language standards emerge, how and by whom they are enforced, and to whose benefit” (94). To summarize, these views present translingualism as a pedagogy which focuses on relationships of power and cultivating a metalinguistic awareness in students.

Multiple scholars express the need to clarify that translingualism is distinct from code meshing. Schrieber and Watson go as far as to title their article “Translingualism ≠ Code Meshing.” As defined by Canagarajah, “Code-meshing is a form of writing in which multilinguals merge their diverse language resources with the dominant genre conventions to construct hybrid texts for voice” (40, 2013). To risk reduction, code meshing may best be understood as a practice or event which occurs within writing while translingualism or translingual writing, which may include code meshing, is an attitude or disposition towards the use of language. For example, a writer may incorporate another language or signs normally excluded from academic writing, such as Arabic or emoticons as seen within Canagarajah’s study, and thus exhibit code meshing (2013). However, if the writing is not taking a critical stance to understand the relationship their writing has to dominating forms of power and conventions, the standardized expectations of the genre within which they compose, they are not taking a translingual approach. To point back towards the first chapter of this thesis, *CHamoru Legends* exhibits moments of code-meshing within the English translation when employing CHamoru or Spanish vocabulary. However, it is unclear whether the collective writers are displaying a translingual approach because of the reader’s inability to inquire about the underlying philosophy driving those choices.

Translingualism shares similarities with other, perhaps better known, theories such as Derrida’s *différance* and Foucault’s imagining of discourse and power. While these theories are

clearly used to discuss different instances of language use, they are considered here briefly due to their participation with the boundary object and their influence on thinkers researching language in general and translingualism specifically. To extend our discussion from the previous chapter, Derrida's difference was established, in part, to foreground the importance of writing in a meaning making context which prioritized verbal communication. It considers the deferral of meaning in two primary ways. One form is through a temporal deferral of meaning. The meaning of a word is determined by the subsequent word which is in turn influenced by the subsequent word ad nauseum. This extension spans backwards as well as forwards. The second form of deferral is through the concept of the trace or, in another word, connotation. Here, a word carries a multitude of connotations (for example, the word island may generate a mental image of a specific island which generates images of the island's inhabitants, which generates images of the island inhabitants at the market, which generates- and so on). Différance thus renders the meaning making process ambiguous, uncertain, and in constant negotiation. While some translingualism scholars refer to Derrida and *Of Grammatology* specifically, we see hints of his influence within the theory. The need to understand context and to negotiate the potential meanings and the unknown serve as a center point of translingualism.

Translingualism also pulls on the work of Foucault. Again, scholars make specific reference to his work in their texts. However, a discussion of the theoretical connections should suffice here. Foucault's conception of discourse outlines how sources of power determine what is sayable and thinkable. Foucault interrogates how power comes into being and how the discourse creates subjects who function in certain ways within their daily lives because of powerful institutions. As demonstrated above, translingualism is interested in recognizing and critically

responding to linguistic regimes of power, instructing students to interrogate their relationship to power through metalinguistic awareness and the analysis of genre conventions and language standards. Within the context of translingual pedagogy, the dominating power is a monolingual ideology.

Translingualism pushes back against monolingual ideologies, championing the histories and linguistic experiences of writers and their ‘right to their own language.’ Despite the difficulty of imagining reasons to not support these prerogatives, translingualism is not without criticism. Numerous scholars have critiqued the “Recent tendency to conflate L2 writing and translingual writing” because reviewer feedback seems to require translingualism’s inclusion, even when not incorporated within the research resulting in a narrowed focus of the field and its domination at scholarly conferences, as well as the assumption that having experience in translingualism is equivalent to Second Language Studies and how these beliefs impact hiring practices (Atkinson, et al., 384). The distinction is an important one. Translingualism did not surface as a response to L2 learning or as an attempted coup to replace it, but instead as a response to the reality of having diverse students in classrooms and recognizing the need to encourage students to think critically about their relationship to language.

Some critics, however, go further than arguing for the necessity of a distinction. Severino concludes their work aligning themselves with an argument made by Matsuda and others, arguing for educators to “replace some of the translingualism literature that naively duplicates and redundantly reinvents or rediscovers not only longstanding sociolinguistic and multilingual views of language, [...] but aspects of critical pedagogy” (28). Translingualism here is presented as, to be blunt, a waste of time. Other critiques are less vague and condemning. Gevers pushes educators to consider whether their students are in positions to construct written identities

through translanguaging, bringing into question their access to power (Gevers “Translanguaging Revisited”). Elsewhere, Gevers points towards translanguaging’s unsettled nature by acknowledging that concrete, agreed upon examples of what translanguaging pedagogy looks like have yet to be established (Gevers “Recognizing the Complexities”). Despite these criticisms, translanguaging still holds sway over the field’s discussion and does not appear to be loosening its grip and, due to its importance over this scholarly moment, is incorporated here.

Language Revitalization

In this section, the conversation pivots from speaking generally about theories of language to considering scholarship done on language revitalization. To avoid subjecting the reader to an extraordinarily extensive reading, this section pulls points of specific interest to the overlap between translanguaging and language revitalization. Extensive summaries of each case study or article will not be provided and instead, relevant portions of the texts will be used to initiate a conversation between the two main theories guiding our discussion.

First, Costa outlines the development of revitalization movements within their article. Costa’s work complicates previous scholarship on identity such as Warner’s who, when describing the connections between a subject and a public, writes “an assertive and affirmative concept of identity seems to achieve a correspondence between public existence and private self” (16). While doing so, Costa notes the danger of focusing on language as an identity marker as it may result in additional hurdles. For example, indigenous tribes may have to prove their language to be distinct through the establishment of corpus materials as well as demonstrating its use in various domains to mark themselves as a distinct tribe to receive funding or rights (Costa). It is no great leap to imagine the Chamoru people being required to demonstrate their language’s efficacy in their struggle for self-determination. Costa argues that language

instruction within revitalization settings must "extend beyond formal lessons, in order to provide a social network for latent or lapsed speakers as well as those learning from scratch" (274). Translingual pedagogies are challenged here. If instruction of a language must reach outside the boundaries of classroom settings, so too must critical pedagogies. To influence and empower community members to develop a critical disposition towards language use and an understanding of systems of linguistic power, as translingualism attempts to do, this kind of thinking must be incorporated across domains. When translingualism focuses only on the classroom, something which scholars struggle to demonstrate in tangible terms, it risks making the activities which occur within classrooms and assignments performative.

Second, scholars Wilson, Johnson, and Sallabank conducted a study of the revitalization efforts taking place in the Isle of Man, Jersey, and Guernsey. They found that, despite the assessments made by Weber and Horner, that revitalization efforts generally start from the ground up. In other words, governments often wait until grassroots initiatives create a base for action and widespread interest in the movement is established. Because of this delayed involvement, revitalization efforts in these three islands often featured overworked grassroots activists shouldering significant workloads without larger institutional support. An example can be found earlier in this thesis; Bevacqua, who demonstrated how CHamoru stories were utilized by activist groups, is not only a scholar and professor but additionally operates and instructs for a non-profit organization known as The Guam Bus which provides free CHamoru culture, history, and language lessons. Despite working to integrate endangered languages into domains of daily use, these grassroots actors are often unable to fully negotiate communal use of language within a larger system due to the lack of governmental involvement and resources. Grassroots activist in

the study conducted by Wilson, Johnson, and Sallabank were not witnessed, as described by Oliver, and exhibited how “marginalized groups struggle for recognition from dominant groups or institutions, groups or institutions that establish the criteria for being recognized and control its conferral” (Oliver 477). The obstacle they faced was similar to the critique of translingualism by Gevers who noted students’ or language learners’ inability to negotiate from positions which lacked power.

Wilson, Johnson and Sallabank found it imperative for speaker-writers to actively engage with their language choices. It was found that “promoting language as an identity marker [...] does not necessarily increase its vitality or use” (274). Without an active engagement with language, the endangered language’s health was unaffected. This suggests that the connections between language and identity seen in *CHamoru Legends* may not be enough and must be accompanied by additional efforts. From this arises a tension with translingualism scholarship. As Gevers posited, few tangible examples of translingual pedagogy exist. When these examples do exist, they operate solely within the confines of the classroom, as seen in Canagarajah’s 2013 study which focused on the extensive drafting of graduate student literacy narratives (in which students incorporated other languages or systems of symbols within their texts). There are no readily accessible examples of what translingualism or translingual writing practices look like outside the context of the classroom. Yet, to be effective, language use and, arguably, metalinguistic critical thinking must expand outside of the classroom. We see again that translingual writing pedagogies are then not enough when they focus only on classroom use within revitalization contexts. The question arises: if translingualism is intended to empower and recognize speaker-writers’ relationships to power and language norms, how can it be made

valuable to speakers of endangered languages who are being linguistically marginalized on a global scale?

Third, Errington discusses multiple approaches to revitalization rhetoric within their text. Of primary importance is the work of what Errington calls localist linguistic rhetoric. This approach to language use in revitalization settings posits that “patterns of sound and grammar have little purchase on the social dynamics in which agents construe contexts and mobilize resources (material and symbolic) for particular purposes” (729). This understanding of language, unlike the previously discussed assessments, sits comfortably with translingualism's recognition of pooled resources being drawn upon depending on the context and authorial intent. Localist linguistic rhetoric prioritizes understanding the sociocultural context of language use which includes relationships to power and the implications of challenging linguistic norms and expectations. In contrast to the previous two articles discussed in this chapter, Errington hints at the possibility of cohabitation between translingualism and language revitalization work. For example, when Errington describes localist linguistic rhetoric as “Descriptive work that serves to redress threats to languages may be strategic and rhetorically keyed but can also help frame and answer politically fraught questions of identity,” Errington pinpoints factors crucial to translingualism, namely the political nature of language and power (731).

Lastly, Kroskrity provides an exemplary summation of the overlap between translingualism and language revitalization. Kroskrity writes,

representations of the global celebration of diversity betray the political interests of states and their neoliberal citizens by decoupling endangered languages from the political economic realities of their speakers, thus encouraging a limited, sympathetic support that can not be readily transformed into a subversive alignment, between a reading public and oppressed endangered language speakers, on more general issues of social justice (180).

There is a need to move beyond considering language for its own sake. Similar to translingualism, there is an argument for a recognition of ideology as focusing on language teaching and writing is not enough if it fails to consider the social implications of the language use as the incorporation of language by itself may be used by the very structures which marginalized languages and their speakers as a way to pacify groups, having language instruction take the place of social change. For example, it is easy to change street names or to create new reading materials or building plaques in additional languages without addressing systemic issues of power.

Moving Forward

The previous conversation considers a variety of theories as well as contexts for application which span around the globe. It is difficult to distill the complexities of it all into a pleasant package or digestible sound bite. However, the most apt attempt to do so is this: Costa presents a titillating question which begs for a response, the remainder of this chapter answers that call. Costa writes,

"[...] is revitalising a language an adequate response to or way to address threats to land, property or to environmental concerns, in turn caused by the very structure of the countries that concomitantly promote linguistic diversity?" (321)

One of the pillars of translingualism is the need to interrogate the social implications of language use. Why certain forms or varieties are preferred in particular contexts as opposed to others. Educators working to revive endangered languages may find a place of overlap when considering the language they are working with apart from the mentality of language for language's sake. Instead, they might talk about how certain words, for the example the names of cities in Guåhan, or the name Guåhan itself, were replaced due to colonization and the dominating force of the United States. These discussions contribute to the establishment

of counterpublics which are "formed by their conflict with the norms and contexts of their cultural environment [and] domination" to complicate widespread depictions of indigenous people and values constructed by entities outside their community (Warner 63). These counterpublics may appear as groups clearly established to conduct activist work or in texts such as *CHamoru Legends* which present narratives from the perspectives of the marginalized and colonized.

Translingualism may be used to discuss the development of new infrastructures of remembering, new ways to record and rewrite local histories using the linguistic resources chosen by the community, as part of the path towards self-determination and "collective cultural development" (Alcalá, Star, and Bowker 335). Recent movements to return the names of villages on Guåhan to their original CHamoru may be discussed not in terms of linguistic purism but as recognition of the island's history and the current efforts to increase the island's rights to self-governance. Instead of claiming there are specific ways that CHamoru people use language, it could be shown as a way to think about why certain languages, for example English, are used in particular domains, for example within businesses or the university, and how this connects with issues of power. *CHamoru Legends* performs this work by retaining the CHamoru vocabulary for relationships between people and the island and inviting the reader to question why. In this way, revitalization efforts would incorporate Canagarajah's depiction of translingualism which sees writing as "not about one person producing a text that contains its meaning, but many people constructing spaces for the co-formation of text and, thereby, collaborative meaningmaking." (Canagarajah, 2103, 44).

Teaching a new language may not be the solution to multiple problems such as ecological destruction or the marginalization of communities. However, doing so from a translingual

approach, while challenging, may serve as a response to Gevers's criticism by allowing participants to "engage in a productive conversation that recognizes the need for a politically committed writing pedagogy" (Gevers "Recognizing the Complexities" 99). Supporting students as they interrogate why language is used in particular ways, even if the theory motivating that pedagogy has yet to settle, will help them become more critical global and local citizens.

* * *

The third and final chapter finds itself at the intersection of the first and second. The initial chapters considered the power and influence of narratives by reaching backwards and forwards in time, respectively. This chapter considers the possibility of action and what can be done, or what is occurring, in the present to influence the shape of those narratives.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, it is important to note some of the limitations of this thesis. As discussed in Chapter One, rhetorical theories of narrative reject the belief that any narrative construction can be perceived as unbiased or categorically true; each reconstruction alters the meaning of the story. Narrative theory draws attention to the rhetor's agenda, whether intentional or subconscious, which impacts the rhetor's choice of rhetorical moves, the information relayed, and the reason a telling takes place. *CHamoru Legends*, while providing insight into how a select group of CHamoru people desire their collective identity to be perceived within public discourse, conveys meaning from a centralized source. It is entirely possible that alternative versions of the stories in the collection exist which focus on various aspects within the stories that would impact our reading of them. Some of these differing (re)presentations may come from outside CHamoru culture. For example, the story of "The Two Lovers," which tells of a Spanish man attempting to steal away a CHamoru daughter, when told from a Spanish perspective may complicate the story's ultimate meaning in ways this thesis has not considered. Future research would benefit from asking how interweaving readings of multiple versions of the same legends impacts our understanding of CHamoru identity establishment.

A scholar discussed within the second chapter of this thesis, Zizi Papacharissi, conducted an analysis of how social media exchanges functioned as a partial catalyst of the Arab Spring. Papacharissi's work points toward how circulation of the label of revolution in fact preceded revolutionary action. In this way, the movement was able to "attain power through contagion" (Papacharissi 18). Due to the time constraint of this thesis, a similar analysis was not possible to conduct regarding revitalization efforts on Guåhan, however, future research may benefit from analyzing social media interactions, their establishment of labels such as

linguistic extinction, and their connection to revitalization work. Additionally, the collection of primary data taking the forms of oral histories and interviews may be another fruitful resource when assessing experiences of fear and anxiety of the target population.

Continuing this research would be productive for understanding the progression of cultures as we inhabit an increasingly globalized world. A manner in which the discussion could be furthered would be incorporating the perspective of the people of Guåhan. Although outside speculation is always possible, it's not possible to fully encapsulate the experience of a community without allowing their voice to enter the conversation; without the incorporation of the voices of those who are actually a part of the community in question, this work will experience a similar array of critiques as theories such as post-colonialism or many of the identity based theories that were criticized for attempting to position themselves as progressive and inclusive while still labeling the experience of a group outside that of the writer or the source of where information was gathered from. Incorporating qualitative data collected through an interview would allow for the individuals to describe what is important to them while performing their own identities. This of course transfers to the creation of a communal or cultural identity.

Regarding chapter 3, the most glaring limitation is the void the chapter attempts to fill. While the chapter conveys initial findings of research involving translingualism and language revitalization rhetoric, the possible connections and tensions between the two, research specifically targeting language revitalization and translingualism is sparse if existent. To more deeply understand the relationship between Second Language Studies' new interest in translingualism and the pressing need for language revitalization work, significant work must be done. The field must establish an agreed upon understanding of what translingualism is and

how its practices manifest themselves within pedagogy, and scholars conducting revitalization work must actively engage with the theory. This is ripe ground for future research.

Despite the limitations of this thesis, the discussion facilitated here moves the discourse forward. The CHamoru people face extreme obstacles such as the increasing privilege of global languages and the daunting nature of language revitalization in general. While facing these barriers, Guåhan exists in a kairotic moment. Increased levels of local activism as well as academic interest in subjects relevant to the island's current state may be combined to enact novel changes, although the form of these changes must necessarily be decided by those local to the island. The CHamoru community appears to have the opportunity to rewrite its perceived identity, to structure language planning for years to come, and to fill a gap in academic discourse should they choose. After a history of struggling for self-determination, the CHamoru people are positioned to drastically impact Guåhan's future.

Through narrative theory and critical reading, the stories within *CHamoru Legends* we were acquainted with a public representation of the indigenous people's communal identity as depicted by those within that very community. These stories were connected to identity construction by recognizing when CHamoru language use was employed; activism through the analysis of Bevacqua, potential planting grounds for translingualism as seen in CHamoru approaches to difference and exchange; and the relationship between the past as well as the future through the treatment of elders and the protection offered to younger generations through gifts of knowledge and practices. The analysis conducted above may be built upon by future works, exploring how stories such as "The Lemmai Tree," in which a sacrifice made by the children

of the *maga'låhi* sustained islanders through famine, may be connected to the current existence of CHamoru education for children but not for adult learners.

This thesis works to understand how anxiety and the anticipation of an impending future can result in actions in the present, such as those taking place on the island of Guåhan. The stories within *CHamoru Legends* hint towards understandings of how the anticipation of the future prompts events in the present. Our exploration of “The Coconut Tree” demonstrated how the wisdom and gifts of elders and ancestors should be valued, passed down through generations. CHamoru stories recognize that actions taken in the present ripple through time. Other stories not discussed in depth within this thesis function similarly. The story “Pontan and Fo’na” tells of a brother and sister who create the world together. The sister, Fo’na, creates people and language, giving birth to the future. Fo’na, after the death of her brother, understands that she cannot live on alone. The story ends with Fo’na recognizing the approach of death as an exchange. This story continuously couples death, pain, and struggle with birth, life, and new beginnings as if anticipating the need to find strength in the face of the CHamoru language’s potential death to begin anew. Interestingly, the story also positions the siblings as opposing, yet complimentary sources of power which work on and with one another. This last aspect may be more useful to discussions of translingualism on the island than affect theory, however.

The third chapter of this thesis also moves the conversation forward by questioning how burgeoning academic discourse may be put into conversation with one another in a potential research locale. While existing within a progressively diverse linguistic world, Guåhan may have a small enough educational system and be motivated enough for language revitalization to take place to implement instructional changes on a larger scale than previous research limited

to an isolated classroom. Positing questions such as ‘why do stories such as “The Flame Tree” refuse to translate words of love, relationships, god, and strong emotions?’ may facilitate conversations about languages’ connection to power in certain domains.

Admittedly, this thesis conjures more questions than answers. However, questions inherently provide opportunities for inquiry. To pursue a deeper understanding of the CHamoru revitalization context, work will need to be conducted by myself and others. First, we must work to complicate the narratives addressed within this thesis. Assuming one representation to be apt of describing an entire risks essentialization; the variations must be teased out and explored. Second, these narratives must be coupled by the voices of the community through ethnographic research. Local inhabitants should be interviewed and collaborated with to discover what their understandings of the narratives entails. Simultaneously, local community members are valuable and necessary for exploring experiences of fear and anxiety regarding the future of CHamoru. Third, legends are not the only representation of culture and language. They are embodied in ceremony, sailing, and dance as well as food and art, among other aspects of life. Considering the development of other island practices in tandem with strictly linguistic ones will be crucial to continue the work initiated here.

The existence of questions and uncertainty is not a condemnation for hope. I conclude by reiterating an idea expressed earlier within this thesis: The anticipation of cultural, linguistic, and communal identity erasure is sure to conjure feelings of fear and anxiety; however, the very possibility of an end serves as the catalyst for the rebirth and reclaiming of identity on the fringe.

REFERENCES

- “A Dying Language.” *Guam Palau CNMI FSM News | Pacific Island Times*, <https://www.pacificislandtimes.com/single-post/2018/08/07/A-dying-language>. Accessed 13 Dec. 2019.
- Ahmed, Sara. *Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh University Press, 2014.
- Alcalá, J. C., Star, S. L., & Bowker, G. C. (2015). Boundary objects and BEYOND: Working with Leigh Star. In *Boundary objects and beyond: Working with Leigh Star* (pp. 323-338). Cambridge, MA, MA: The MIT Press.
- Anderson, B., & American Council of Learned Societies. (2006). *Imagined communities reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. ed., ACLS Humanities E-Book). London; New York: Verso.
- Atkinson, D., Crusan, D., Matsuda, P.K., Ortmeier-Hooper, C., Ruecker, T., Simpson, S., & Tardy, C. (2015). Clarifying the relationship between L2 writing and translingual writing: An open letter to writing studies editors and organization leaders. *College English* 77(4), 383-386. [4]
- Baker, C., & Wright, W. (2017). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (6th ed., Bilingual education and bilingualism; 106).
- Beard, M. (2017). Re-thinking oral history – a study of narrative performance. *Rethinking History*, 21(4), 529-548.
- Blackman, Lisa. *Immaterial Bodies: Affect, Embodiment, Mediation*. SAGE, 2012.
- Bruner, Jerome. “Self-Making and World-Making.” *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1991, pp. 67–78. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/3333092.

- Canagarajah, A. S. (2013). Negotiating translingual literacy: An enactment. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 48(1), 40-67. [28]
- Canagarajah, S. (2015). Clarifying the relationship between translingual practice and L2 writing. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 6(4), 414-440. [27]
- Carr, D. (1986). *Time, narrative, and history (Studies in phenomenology and existential philosophy)*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- "Chamorro - Worldwide Distribution." *Worlddata.info*. Web. 06 June 2021.
<https://www.worlddata.info/languages/chamorro.php>
- Cheng, Vincent John. *Inauthentic: The Anxiety over Culture and Identity*. Rutgers University Press, 2004. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/purdue/detail.action?docID=3032096>.
- Costa, James. (2013). Language endangerment and revitalisation as elements of regimes of truth: Shifting terminology to shift perspective. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 34(4), 317-331.
- Crocetti, Elisabetta, et al. "Anxiety Trajectories and Identity Development in Adolescence: A Five-Wave Longitudinal Study." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, vol. 38, no. 6, July 2009, pp. 839–49. *Springer Link*, doi:[10.1007/s10964-008-9302-y](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-008-9302-y).
- Damasio, Antonio R. *The Strange Order of Things: Life, Feeling, and the Making of Cultures*. Pantheon Books, 2018.
- Derrida, J., & Spivak, G. (1997). *Of grammatology (Corrected ed.)*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Errington, Joseph. (2003). Getting Language Rights: The Rhetorics of Language Endangerment and Loss. *American Anthropologist*, 105(4), 723-732.

- Fisher, W. (1984). Narration as a human communication paradigm: The case of public moral argument. *Communication Monographs*, 51(1), 1-22.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Gevers, J. (2018a). Translingualism revisited: Language difference and hybridity in L2 writing. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 40, 73-83. [11]
- Gevers, J. (2018b). Recognizing the complexities of linguistic social justice: The author responds. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 42, 98-100.
- Gottschall, J. (2013). *The storytelling animal: How stories make us human*. Boston: Mariner Books.
- Gregg, Melissa, et al. *The Affect Theory Reader*. Duke University Press, 2010.
- Guam State Data Center. "Guam Demographic Profile Summary File." uog.edu. Dec. 2012. Web. 24 May. 2021. https://cnas-re.uog.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/KGI_2010-Guam-Demographic-Profile-Study.pdf
- Haynes, K. (2010). Other lives in accounting: Critical reflections on oral history methodology in action. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 21(3), 221-231.
- Hernández, A. C., Montelongo, J. A., & Herter, R. J. (2016). Crossing borders, drawing boundaries: The rhetoric of lines across America. In 1356419484 992857627 B. Couture & 1356419485 992857627 P. Wojahn (Authors), *Crossing borders, drawing boundaries: The rhetoric of lines across America* (pp. 93-110). Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press. doi:10.7330/9781607324034.c006
- Herman, D. (2012). *Narrative theory: Core concepts and critical debates (Theory and interpretation of narrative series)*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

- Hickson, H., & Drisko, J. (2016). Becoming a critical narrativist: Using critical reflection and narrative inquiry as research methodology. *Qualitative Social Work*, 15(3), 380-391.
- Kroskrity, Paul V. (2016). Some Recent Trends in the Linguistic Anthropology of Native North America. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 45(1), 267-284.
- Lannegrand-Willems, Lyda, et al. "How Is Civic Engagement Related to Personal Identity and Social Identity in Late Adolescents and Emerging Adults? A Person-Oriented Approach." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, vol. 47, no. 4, Apr. 2018, pp. 731–48. *Springer Link*, doi:[10.1007/s10964-018-0821-x](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-018-0821-x).
- LeDoux, Joseph. *Anxious*. Oneworld Publications, 2015.
- Mildorf, Jarmila. "Performing Selves and Audience Design." *Narrative Theory, Literature, and New Media: Narrative Minds and Virtual Worlds*, edited by Mari Hatavara et al., Routledge, 2016, pp. 256–277.
- Oliver, Kelly. (2015). Witnessing, Recognition, and Response Ethics. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 48(4), 473-493.
- Papacharissi, Zizi. *Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Perez, Teresita Lourdes. *CHamoru Legends: A Gathering of Stories*. Trans. Maria Ana Tenorio Rivera. Ed. Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero. Mangilao: Taignini, U of Guam, 2019. Print.
- Phelan, James, and Peter J. Rabinowitz. *A Companion to Narrative Theory*. Blackwell Pub., 2005.
- Pruchnic, Jeff, and Kim Lacey. "The Future of Forgetting: Rhetoric, Memory, Affect." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 2011, p. 472.
- Puckett, Kent. *Narrative Theory: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

- Salamon, Gayle. *Assuming a Body: Transgender and Rhetorics of Materiality*. Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Scheufele, D., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 9-20.
- Schreiber, B.R., & Watson, M. (2018). Translingualism ≠ code meshing: A response to Gevers': "Translingualism revisited" (2018). *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 42, 94-97
- Severino, C. (2017). "Multilingualizing" composition: A diary self-study of learning Spanish and Chinese. *Composition Studies*, 45(2), 12-31 [20]
- Star, Susan L. (2010). This is Not a Boundary Object: Reflections on the Origin of a Concept. *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, 35(5), 601-617.
- Title 48. TERRITORIES AND INSULAR POSSESSIONS, United States Code §§ 8A—GUAM-1421-1428e (Government Printing Office 1950). Print.
- Warner, M. (2002). *Publics and counterpublics*. New York: Cambridge, Mass.: Zone Books; Distributed by MIT Press.
- Weber, J., & Horner, K. (2012). *Introducing multilingualism a social approach*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge.
- Williams, Monnica Terwilliger, et al. "The Role of Ethnic Identity in Symptoms of Anxiety and Depression in African Americans." *Psychiatry Research*, vol. 199, no. 1, Aug. 2012, pp. 31–36. *ScienceDirect*, doi:[10.1016/j.psychres.2012.03.049](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychres.2012.03.049).
- Wilson, Gary N, Johnson, Henry, & Sallabank, Julia. (2015). 'I'm not dead yet': A comparative study of indigenous language revitalization in the Isle of Man, Jersey and Guernsey. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 16(3), 259-278.

Wright, Wayne E, Boun, Sovicheth, & García, Ofelia. (2015). The handbook of bilingual and multilingual education (Blackwell handbooks in linguistics). Hoboken: WILEY.

Yow, Valerie Raleigh. "Oral History and Memory." Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences, 3rd ed., Rowman & Littlefield, 2015, pp. 41–75.