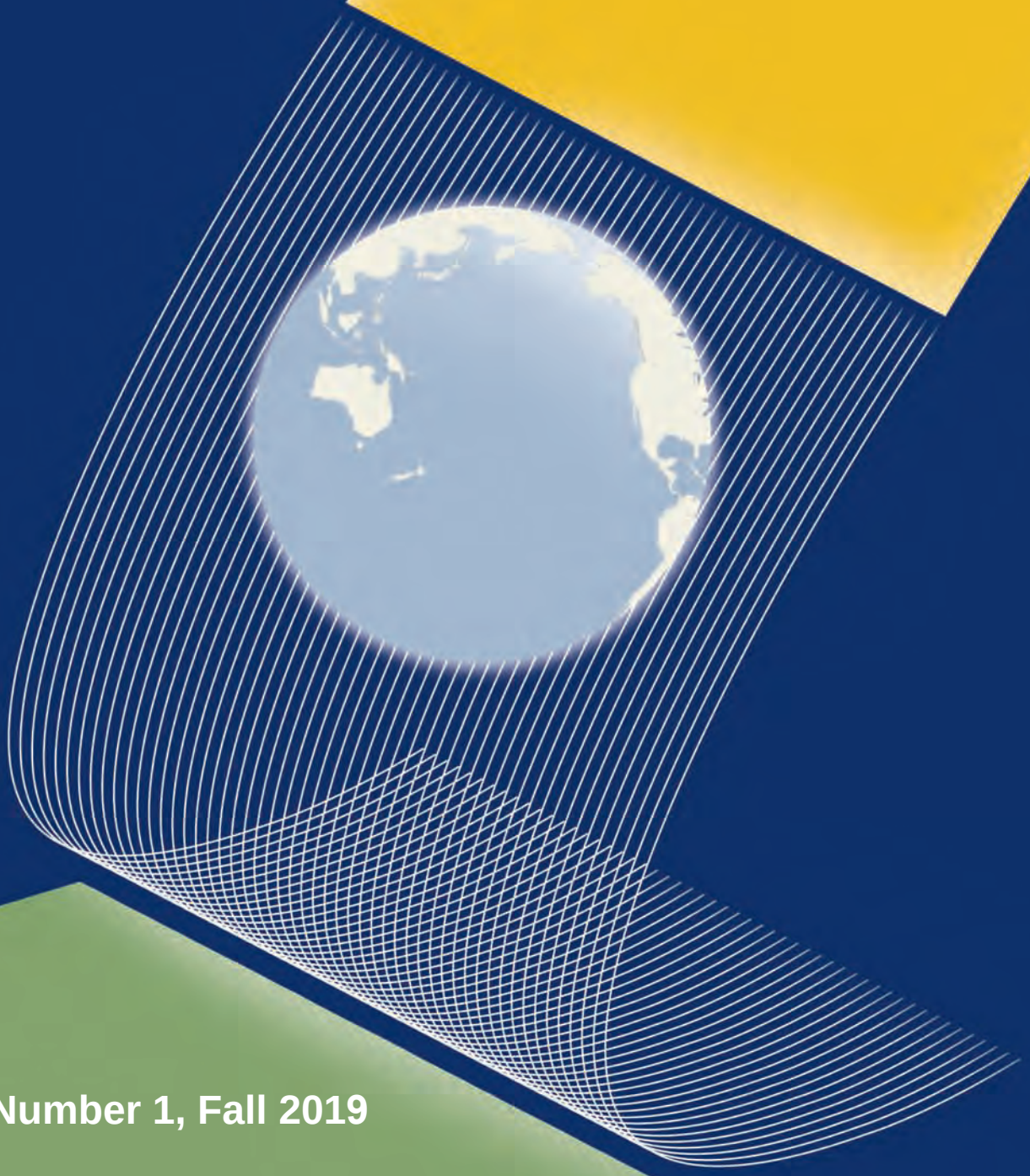
Pacific Asia Inquiry

Multidisciplinary Perspectives

Occasional Papers in the Liberal Arts and Social Sciences



Volume 10, Number 1, Fall 2019

Pacific Asia Inquiry

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Editorial Board

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Editorial Policies

Pacific Asia Inquiry is a peer reviewed on-line journal dedicated to showcasing works on the Pacific Asia Region and to advancing knowledge and understanding of this region. The Pacific Asia has long been the focus of intense cultural, political and economic interaction with other world regions, and it is the central theme of this journal.

Pacific Asia Inquiry analyzes and publishes contributions from a wide scope of works - national and international, regional and global, historical and current. Contributions are drawn from multiple disciplines in the liberal arts and social sciences - including sociology, psychology, communication, language and literature, visual arts, music, drama, history, geography, anthropology, philosophy, political science and economics. This journal appeals to academics, policy makers, and both government and non-government professionals with an interest in the Pacific Asia Region. Special edition themes under consideration include Economic Development and Social Change, Militarization in Pacific Asia, Culture Change and Global Interactions, After Orientalism, and Trends in the Visual Arts.

The Editorial Board of ***Pacific Asia Inquiry*** welcomes theoretical and field oriented contributions and analyses. Articles, critical essays, and case studies applied or theoretical that span the liberal arts and social sciences are welcome. The research emphasis of this series accommodates in-depth studies. Contributors are invited to share their innovative research, challenging past and current positions and perspectives. Any interdisciplinary approach may be employed so long as it is documented in a readable style of writing that is accessible to specialists and non-specialists alike. Authors may submit their writings on problems and issues associated with any ethnic group, national culture, historical period, genre, or media so long as the article has some scholarly and/or intellectual relevance or relation to Pacific Asia, especially Micronesia.

All submissions and editorial inquiries should be addressed to the editor of the next volume, Dr. Michael R. Clement, History and Micronesian Studies, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, University of Guam, UOG Station, Mangilao, Guam 96923, email: mclement@triton.uog.edu. See final page for submission procedures.

Editor's Note

Michael R. Clement

This volume of *Pacific Asia Inquiry* features an eclectic mix of articles and book reviews that span a wide range of disciplines. While these submissions do not on the surface present the picture of a cohesive theme, they do reflect the geographic and academic positioning of the University of Guam. As a US institution at the center of scholarship in the Western Pacific with strong ties to both Asia and Oceania, UOG is uniquely positioned to explore the types of cross-cultural interactions and geopolitical concerns that have shaped Guam throughout its history. These connections make this journal a valuable resource, not just for the island, but for other islands like Guam and for the people of the larger landmasses on the region's periphery that both shape and are shaped by the same forces.

Mary Spencer's "Child Development in Micronesia and US Micronesian Migration Diaspora: Through the Lens of Bronfenbrenner's Theoretical Structures" provides historical and cultural contexts for the practice of social science in Micronesia. Importantly, she frames the issues facing FAS communities as diasporic, spanning the islands and the continental United States. In the process, she decenters Micronesian Studies, focusing on people rather than specific place. Such perspectives are crucial as we all face a future in which climate change and economic migrations ensure most Islanders will no longer live on their home islands. Wi Yi Ma's "Understanding Aid Providers of a Pacific Island Developing State: The Case of the Federated States of Micronesia" looks at another critical issue facing Micronesia, that of managing relationships with aid providers who are, at least for the time being, essential to sustaining and developing the economies of these islands.

Perry Pangelinan's article "Identifying Hurdles Contributing to Achievement Gaps of CHamoru Males at the University of Guam" and Deborah T. Cabrera's "Social Bonds and Juvenile Delinquency bring attention to the unique struggles faced by indigenous islanders in Guam and the Northern Marianas. Despite a long history of interaction with the West, these studies demonstrate that the indigenous people of the Marianas still face conflicts as their cultures, both Chamorro and Refaluwasch, come into tension with the demands of the western education system. In the past, education policies focused on acculturating islanders to western ways, often at the expense of indigenous cultures. Pangelinan and Cabrera, themselves indigenous islanders, instead seek to understand islanders' experiences as they are today and do not present island cultures as impediments to success. Pangelinan, in particular, advocates for a school system that takes into account the unique needs of CHamoru males, a group that as he demonstrates, has largely been ignored as they have fallen behind in educational achievement in recent decades.

Raymond Anderson's "Visions of Cinema: Thoughts on a Developing Film Industry in Guam" lays out the myriad of issues that must be considered as Guam seeks to develop its local film industry. Importantly, he brings attention to the fact that at the heart of these issues are central, still largely unresolved questions of cultural and political identity. As home to indigenous peoples and settlers who are also US citizens in an unincorporated colony of the United States, films that represent "Guam" can look around the globe for models to follow. Should Guam look to sovereign nation-states like the Philippines that share strong connections to Guam's local population? Or to a place like Puerto Rico which shares a similarly ambiguous political relationship to the United States? Should films primarily represent the indigenous culture of the island? Or should they embrace a more 'local' one? While the answers to these questions are not clear, Anderson's article

makes an excellent case for the development of Guam's film industry as a platform for exploring such issues.

Francis Dalisay's "Local Newspaper Use in Hawaii Fosters Acculturation to Local Culture, Community Ties and Involvement" brings attention to the role of media in shaping and being shaped by identity. In the age of social media and the seeming inevitable decline of print media, local newspapers, though not necessarily read on paper anymore, still play a vital role instilling a sense of community. Historically, in Guam, the role of media in shaping identity has been contentious in that it came as a colonial importation with little local input. But this has changed in recent decades as indigenous Chamorros have played a much greater role in shaping the local media sphere. In examining the case of Hawaii, Dalisay offers a reference point that will be of considerable value to social scientists who seek models by which to examine similar dynamics in Guam.

This volume also features exciting collaborations between formally trained western scholars and experts in traditional knowledge. Historian Carlos Madrid worked with indigenous Chamorro cultural practitioner Jeremy Cepeda to translate the "1799 Garrido Document," a document that is, at least so far, the oldest identified official document written by a Chamorro in the Chamorro language. The document is of enormous value for linguists as well as historians because it demonstrates the continuity of the indigenous language at a time before the large-scale adoption of foreign loan words. Furthermore, the document sheds light on the role of Chamorros as agents in their history at a time in which textbook histories would have one believe such agency is irretrievable.

"A Nukuoro Origin Story" began as part of Swarthmore linguist David Harrison's 2015 undergraduate linguistics field school in Pohnpei and four of its outer islands. One of the students, Emily Drummond, took the lead on the Nukuoro research and continues the work as she now pursues a PhD in linguistics. The article outlines issues facing language survival for the now mostly diasporic Nukuoro population and features the traditional knowledge of Nukuoro storyteller Johnny Rudolph. Accompanied by links to a webpage where Johnny Rudolph is featured telling indigenous histories in his language, the article allows us a glimpse into the contemporary culture of Nukuoro, a Polynesian outlier in Pohnpei State, FSM.

Lastly, Jace Saplan's "O Le Fogava'a e Tasi: Claiming Indigeneity through Western Choral Practice in the Sāmoan Church" explores a process familiar to many Pacific Islanders, that of perpetuating indigeneity through introduced cultural practices. In the case of Christianity and Western choral practice, Saplan emphasizes the strong role of Sāmoan agency in choosing, often communally, exactly how western ideas and practices were incorporated and indigenized. Despite the continual pressures from outside influences, Saplan maintains an optimistic view of the power of Sāmoan society to continue to control the dynamics of indigenous cultural perpetuation amidst new influences.

Like the articles in this volume, the varied, and on the surface, unrelated topics of the books reviewed here provide insights that are of tremendous contemporary relevance to Guam readers. Chris Cabrera reviewed Medoruma Shun's *In the Woods of Memory [眼の奥の森]* (2017). The review is timely, as Guam and Okinawa have long been linked by a history of Japanese and American militarism and most recently connected by the planned US Marine relocation from Okinawa to Guam. The novel tells the story of an Okinawan girl who was raped in the final days of World War II. Cabrera notes that Medoruma "uses fiction" to "give voice" to Okinawans who have struggled with trauma brought by outsiders who have dominated their land. Paulette M. Coulter reviewed California-based Chamoru poet Lehua Taitano's *Inside Me an Island: Poems*

(2018), a collection of poems through which Taitano explores her identity and connection to her homeland of Guahan. Chris Rasmussen reviewed Daniel Immerwahr's *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (2019). The book has received considerable national attention by reframing American history in a way that brings attention to places like Guam as he tells of lesser known features of the US global imprint. James D. Sellmann reviewed Rebecca Stephenson and Mary Spencer's *Ulithi Atoll, Micronesia: Recalling the Past, Reaffirming the Future* (2019). This edited collection features contributions from many of the foremost local and foreign experts on culture, history and contemporary issues in Ulithi in a volume designed to be accessible to readers "at all academic levels". Lastly, C.S. Schreiner provides an extended review of historian Maya Jasanoff's *The Dawn Watch: Joseph Conrad in a Global World* (2017). In his praise of Jasanoff, Schreiner wades into the contested territory of identity politics and offers his own passionate and very personal defense of Conrad, a pillar of the western literary cannon who has fallen out of favor in literary studies as he has become increasingly associated with the western imperial project.

Volume 10 of *Pacific Asia Inquiry* follows previous issues in offering a place for scholars of the humanities and social sciences to publish work of central importance to life on Guam and the surrounding region. As editor this year, I find myself making a small contribution to a journal made possible by years of dedication on the part of the editorial board, previous editors, the dean of the University of Guam College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, and by faculty from the University of Guam and elsewhere who serve as blind peer reviewers. I give special thanks to this volume's book review editor Chris Schreiner, layout designer Leiana Naholowa'a and to volume 9 editor David Gugin who gave me excellent advice at the start of my tenure as editor.

Si Yu'us ma'ase', Biba PAI, and Biba UOG

Child Development in Micronesia and the US Micronesian Migration Diaspora: Through the Lens of Bronfenbrenner's Theoretical Structures

Mary Spencer[1]
University of Guam

Decisions made by the United Nations regarding the Pacific Islands at the close of World War II set in motion the terms for not only the future governance and protection of these small islands, but also for significant waves of future out-migration. This report will address the state of Micronesian migration and the associated status of child development research in the Micronesian region and the US Micronesian diaspora. Particular attention is given to the potential utility of Urie Bronfenbrenner's theoretical structures for organizing Micronesian migration research design and outcome analysis.

The purposes of child development research in the Micronesian Region, and also in the US Micronesian migration communities, align with the traditional purposes of the social sciences (i.e., to understand, to predict, and to support positive development or to ameliorate problems and suffering). Needs are acute for research regarding the migrating children and youth of Micronesia because their home island cultures and circumstances are often in sharp contrast compared to those of other ethnic and cultural groups in the US. Research on Micronesian children's development – whether on the home island or in the diaspora – is scarce and often difficult to locate. US educators, social workers, health professionals, and community leaders seek the assistance of social science to better understand their new Micronesian Compact of Free Association residents. These US community leaders often ask for more knowledge of Micronesian home island traditions in order to create effective relations with the new migrants.

Similarly, they seek analysis of how effective their receiving strategies are proving to be, what the gaps are, and how further improvement can be affected (e.g., Pinhey & Spencer, 1996; Smith, Smith, Aguilar, Coulter, Woo, & Spencer, 1997). Studies on education have received some investment attention, often in the course of faculty and graduate student research, and also because federal funds to alleviate migration impact come with financial accountability requirements. For several reasons, research on Micronesian adoption is also somewhat prominent. It is a topic of historic interest to anthropology (e.g., Carroll, 1970; Goodenough, 1970). Further, there is a high rate of adoption among Micronesian families, and legal issues arise as adopted children and their adopted families attempt to migrate across international borders (e.g., Rauchholz, 2008). So far, research on child development in Micronesia has rarely been considered from a theoretical view. After grounding readers in the history and status of Micronesia's Pacific Island context, and in extant research on children and families in the Micronesian region as well as in migration locations, the author examines the merits of using Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory (e.g. 1979, 1986, 1992,

[1] Correspondence concerning this chapter should be addressed to Mary L. Spencer, Dean Emerita and retired Professor of Psychology and Micronesian Studies, University of Guam, c/o 12 Anamuli, Kahului, HI 96732. Email: class_uog@yahoo.com. The author thanks administrators, teachers, staff, and students at Pu'u Kukui Elementary School and the Big Brothers Big Sisters organization on Maui, HI for sharing insights and experiences with families and students who have moved to Maui from communities in the Micronesian Region. She also appreciates the advice provided by Dr. Hui Chu and Dr. Barbara Thelamour of the Asian Caucus of the Society for Research on Child Development.

1994, Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998) as an organizing tool to consider the current body of research, and as a heuristic tool for designing new research with Micronesian children and families.

A review of some basic geographic, historical, and social arrangements within the Micronesian home islands will set the stage for readers' consideration of child development research and theoretical advances in Micronesia and also in migration communities. To borrow a definition from Father Francis X. Hezel (2013a, p. 1), a renowned scholar of Micronesian history, the term *Micronesia* "…would include the broad cultural expanse in the western Pacific north of the equator, comprising everything from Palau to the Marshall Islands, including the four states and multiple culture-language areas found in what is now the Federated States of Micronesia." Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) are generally included in this regional designation, although their exposure to modernizing forces has been more extensive. Discussion here will focus on the US affiliated Micronesian areas of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the Republic of Palau (RP), and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI), and the modern migrations of their populations. Because of the historic British affiliations of the Micronesian countries of Kiribati and Nauru, they are better discussed within the context of the South Pacific.

Physical conditions and social/familial arrangements in the multiple cultures of Micronesia vary in complex ways. Moreover, home island cultures and conditions accompany Micronesian families as they settle into and make adjustments to their migration destinations. These circumstances have inspired new research productivity, some in the home islands (e.g., Spencer, 2012; 2015), by researchers near major migration centers such as Guam (e.g., Smith, 2014), Hawai'i (e.g., Ratliffe, 2010; 2011; 2013; Ratliffe, Rao, Skouge, & Peter, 2012), or Kansas City and Cincinnati metropolitan centers (Hubbard, 2018). This research energy suggests the need to consider the potential contributions of the theoretical constructs of Urie Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986, 1992, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). The five ecological systems of Bronfenbrenner's theory (individual, microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem) could be useful to the planning, design, and interpretation of future research and practice in Micronesian home islands and also in Micronesian migration settings.

Micronesia within the Pacific Island Context

Geographers view the Pacific Islands as consisting of three far-flung regions: Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia (e.g., Rapaport, 2013). The forces of foreign invasion, war, political change, and modernization over the years have differentially influenced all of these regions. However, the many place-specific traditional cultures and societal structures still hold sway to greater or lesser degrees throughout. The extent of change depends largely upon the nature and force of colonial pressures applied since the beginning of external contact with the Pacific Islands. The Micronesian region's modern history flows through the sequential domination by Spain, Germany, Japan, and the Post-WWII US agreements. Guam, the largest of the Mariana Islands, was proclaimed a Spanish possession in the 1500's and was peacefully captured by the US during the Spanish-American War in 1898 (Sanchez, 1987, pp. 31; 70-78). In 1950, the US – Guam Organic Act was signed, granting US citizenship to Guam residents. In 1978, the Northern Mariana Islands became the US Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, with US citizenship. Three Micronesian trustees became self-governing entities in free association with the US: The FSM which was formed by Pohnpei, Kosrae, Chuuk, and Yap States in 1986; the many islands

and atolls of the Marshall Islands which formed the RMI in 1986; and the RP which was chartered in 1994 (e.g., US Department of the Interior, 2018).[2, 3] The terms of the Compact of Free Association between the US and these entities conferred the rights to their citizens to enter, live, and work in the US.

In addition to the volatile histories of Micronesia's many home communities, the complicated physical and human landscape of Micronesia is characterized by a multitude of interrelated cultures, languages, and land forms. Across the 2,182 islands of FSM, RMI, and RP, with a combined land area of 700 square miles, within nearly 2 million square miles of Ocean, it is estimated that 11-17 languages are used (*Pacificrisa,* 2018; Pawley, 2013; *Worldstat,* 2018). Micronesian entities are separated by small to great physical distances. They differ from one another in family organizing traditions, social conditions, modes of political and economic function, and in the degree of absence or scarcity of modern conveniences (e.g., electricity, running water, plumbing, and sewage treatment). Other factors that vary across these entities include limitations in school and health services, resident and visitor housing, communication and digital technology, protection from typhoons, and reliable and affordable local and cross-region transportation.

[2] The terms of the US Compacts of Free Association with the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the Republic of Palau (RP), and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) were developed as the US-United Nations post-World War II Trusteeships were expiring. They provide reciprocal rights of most citizens of the US and the US-affiliated Micronesian entities to live and work in one another's countries. The compacts allow the US to have armed forces in the Compact entities. The US may also negotiate for land in the Compact countries for US military bases and exclude the militaries of other countries. The reciprocal US responsibilities (and also a US benefit) are to provide the Compact countries and their waters with military protection, and to administer international agreements. RP's Compact prohibits use of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. The RMI and FSM prohibit the storage of such weapons in peacetime. Many FSM, RMI, and RP citizens serve in the US armed forces (US Department of the Interior, 2018). As migration has progressed, many children have been born to Micronesian migrants living in the US; thus, many such families have children who are US citizens.

[3] The United Nations assigned two other Micronesian entities, Nauru and Kiribati, to trustee status with Britain. Kiribati gained independence in 1979, and Nauru became independent in 1968.

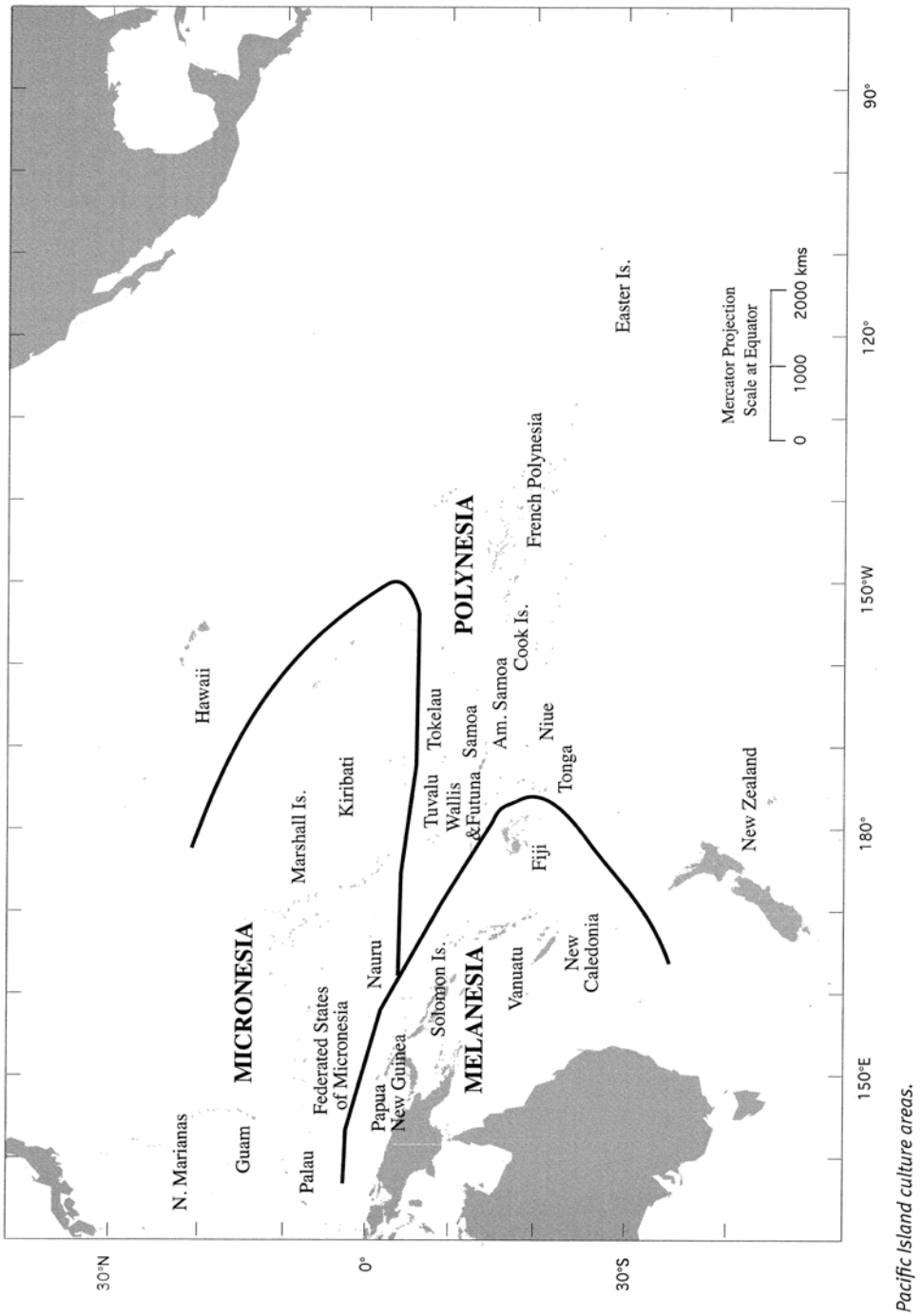

Figure 1. Map of Pacific regions. (Courtesy of University of Hawai‘i Press)

Child and Family Development in Micronesia

Students of child and family development in Micronesia will find that access to research may require a deep search. Some important documentation was conducted immediately after WWII as part of the anthropological studies known as the US Coordinated Investigations of Micronesian Anthropology (overviewed by Kiste and Marshall, 2000), including foci on growing up in Palau (e.g., Barnett, 1979, pp. 4-10), and Romonum, Chuuk (Fischer, 1950). Developmental research in other Micronesian locations has appeared intermittently: Fais Island (Rubinstein, 1979) and Woleai Atoll (Douglass, 1999), in the outer islands in Yap State, FSM; Yap Proper (Lingenfelter, 1981; Lettiere, 1987); Nomonuito (Thomas, 1978) and Pulap Atolls (Flinn, 1982; 1992a; 1992b, 2010), in the outer islands of Chuuk State in the FSM; and briefly for Kosrae, FSM (Lewis, 1949; Wilson, 1968). More recently, the daily lives of Romonum, Chuuk children in the Chuuk Lagoon were documented at school and in their home domains (Spencer, 2015). This included 12 extensive case studies of children, with coordinated interviews of key people in their lives (parents, teachers, community members). Recent ethnographies of Pohnpeian life on the home island and in post-migration settings in Kansas City and Cincinnati (Hubbard, 2013, 2016, 2018), have added limited information on the lives of children of Pohnpei, FSM to other historical and cultural studies (e.g., Hanlon, 1988). Information on the lives of Marshallese children and families is not extensive (e.g, Alkire, 1977, pp. 68-77; Kiste, 1967). International information on infant mortality rates illustrates relevant health concerns for Micronesian children compared to those of the state of Hawai‘i (UNESCAP, 2011): Hawai‘i: 6.5 per thousand; CNMI: 5 per thousand; Guam: 8 per thousand; Palau: 20 per thousand; RMI: 21 per thousand; FSM: 32 per thousand).

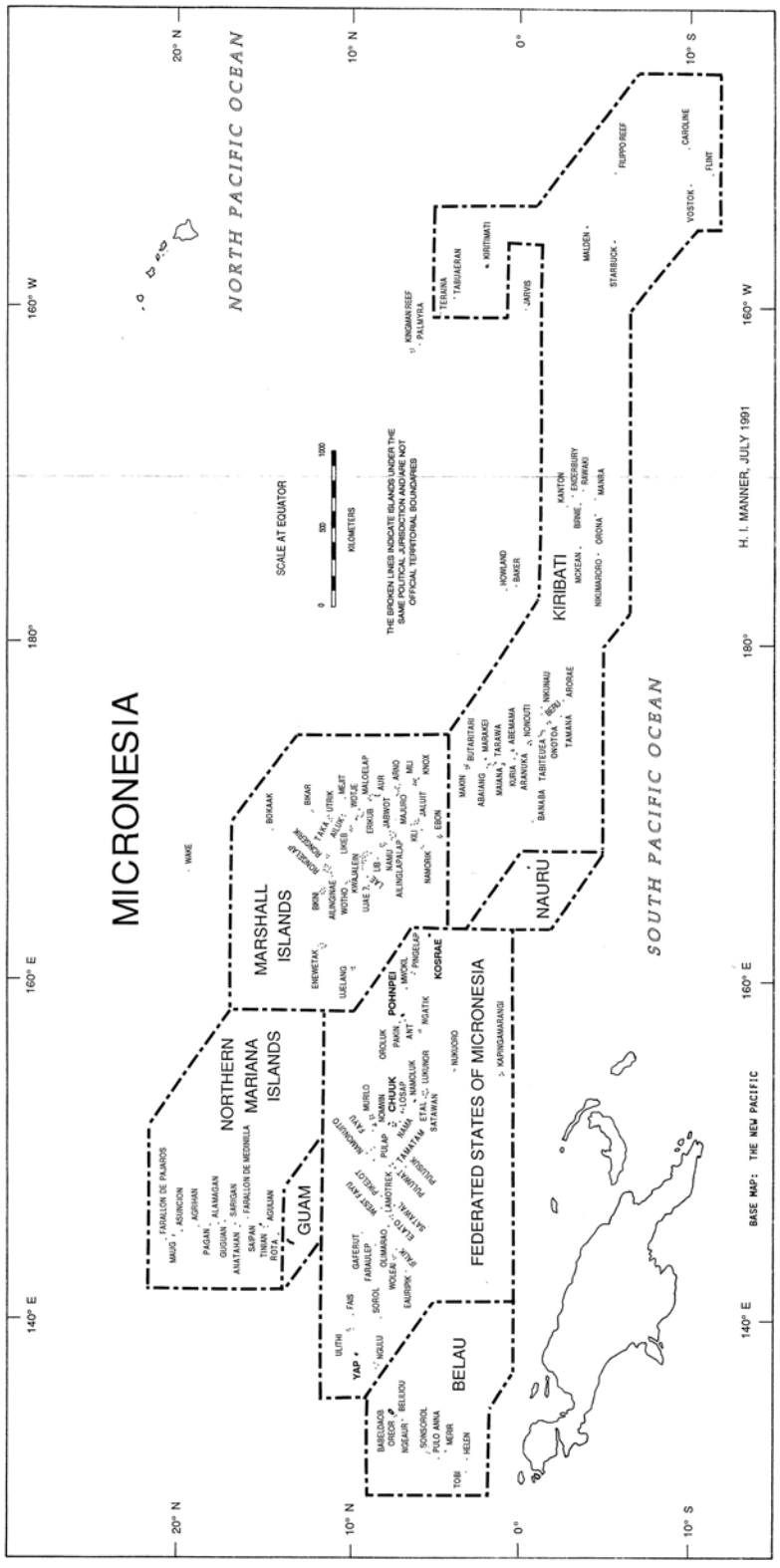

Figure 2. Map of Micronesia. (Courtesy of H. Manner)

The lives of individual Micronesian children and families will be shaped by some of the following interrelated factors: 1. The specific nation (i.e., the Marshall Islands, the FSM, or the RP); and the island group within it. For example, in FSM, Yap is one of four states. Yap Proper has four high volcanic islands and 10 municipalities. A researcher might choose to focus on Colonia, the largest city, and/or a small village within Tomil, a municipality toward the east. Deciding on a research site includes careful consideration of whether the researcher wishes to observe life on a high island or on an isolated low-lying atoll because of the differential life experiences and cultures of each context; 2. The degree of remoteness of the area will affect the range of experiences and opportunities of family members; 3. The specific Micronesian culture of a community is a critical factor; e.g., Palauan, Marshallese, Kosraean, Pohnpeian, Mokilese, Pingalapese, Kapingamarangi, Ngatese, Chuukese, Mortlockese, Pulapese, Puluwatese,Yapese, Ulithian, Fais, Satawalese, Woleaian, Lamotrek, and others. Cultural factors such as matrilineal versus patrilineal descent factors, or social rank, will structure children's lives in important ways. Other factors would include considerations of gender; birth order; cultural attention to menstruation; adoption; access to education, preventative health care, and medical treatment resources; emotional factors (e.g., stress in the face of familial disharmony, abuse or violence, over-work, depopulation, exposure to high suicide rates, or untreated mental health concerns).

A brief overview is provided in the example below of the family context in Chuuk Lagoon, based on ethnographic research (Alkire, 1977, pp. 53-59; Goodenough, 1978; Spencer, 2015). The Chuukese matrilineal clans form the structure governing the ownership of the lands and other property. This structure influences the choice of marriage partners and residential decisions. Couples usually live with the wife's family in an arrangement including several sisters and their children, in-marrying husbands, and out-marrying males who have left to relocate to their own wives' lineage lands. The resulting family constellation lives in a group of adjacent dwellings built on lineage land. After marriage, a man has labor obligations to his wife's lineage as well as to his lineage and that of his sisters, all of which require him to be active between these two areas. The senior man of the lineage is the head of the group and is usually consulted on all major decisions. As the eldest daughter grows older, she assumes increasing responsibility for the younger members of the family and the clan as a whole; including matters concerning the family lands and other resources. Social class may also be a determiner of children's opportunities and this hinges on long established historical and hereditary lineage and clan ranking criteria. Daily life during a typical week will consist of all children contributing substantially to the subsistence labor of the family. Children will do their part by collecting fire wood from the beach and along the roads, tending the fire before and during food preparation, assisting in the distribution of food, sweeping and cleaning of all types, caring for and carrying babies. Boys may accompany adult males on fishing expeditions far into the lagoon or across the reef. Girls and young children will often assist women who are fishing near shore, or – on some islands – accompany them into the dense tropical portions of their land in search of breadfruit and coconuts. Childcare responsibilities are delegated in a major way to both girls and boys, sometimes even before they themselves are school age. This family dependence on sibling care may interfere with the older child's school attendance; yet it may also enhance the development of leadership skills. In many parts of Chuuk, a substantial portion of the school-aged children are not attending school regularly. Elementary school opportunities are generally available throughout Chuuk. Senior high schools are primarily available on Weno, the capitol city; and intermediate schools are on only a few islands. Therefore, most Chuukese children must leave their home island if they intend to attend junior or senior high school.

Different Paths of Micronesian Migration to the US

Even before Micronesian leaders signed the Compacts of Free Association between the US and FSM, RMI, and RP, Micronesians were finding ways to emigrate to the shores of US territories and protectorates, and to the US mainland, for health, higher education, and employment opportunities (e.g., Hezel, 2013b, p. 5-6). Hezel and Levin (1990, p. 58) estimate the total pre-Compact FSM emigration to the US to have been about 600-900 nonstudents. With the reciprocal signing of the Compacts of Free Association, the Micronesian migration stream became a steadily increasing flow of new and usually permanent residents to Guam, CNMI, Hawai‘i, and the US mainland. For example, Hezel (2013b, p. 4) cited the number of people from FSM, one of the new Micronesian nations, who were living in the US, Guam, or CNMI as 50,000. This compared to the FSM home population in 2010 of 102,000.

Due to greater distances, migration from FSM to Hawai‘i and the continental US developed somewhat more slowly than it did to Guam or CNMI; but it has now resulted in the establishment of many Micronesian communities in all of these areas. The extent and nature of these population movements have been the subject of much documentation and survey research with migrants and their leadership from all of the new Micronesian nations: FSM, RMI, and RP (e.g., Smith et al, 1997; Pinhey & Spencer, 1998). Hezel (2013b) presented a matrix of the studies of one Micronesian country's (FSM) migrant populations on Guam, CNMI, Hawai‘i, and the US Mainland for 2012 (p. 24-25), resulting in a total estimate of 49,840 FSM people. He estimated that an additional 1,776 children were born to FSM migrants on Guam during a 5-year period. Hezel estimated the 2012 Micronesian population in CNMI to be 4,286, and 7,948 in Hawai‘i. US Mainland rates of FSM migration were cited as 24,048 with the largest populations in Kansas City, Missouri and Portland, Oregon, each with approximately 4,000 FSM migrants (Hezel, 2012, p. 31). Hezel estimates that Micronesians reside in at least 34 states.

The cost of Micronesian migration to the receiving locations is high and is only partially compensated by the US Government. The Compacts of Free Association contain language indicating that the US government will cover these costs, but since costs outstrip federal compact budgets for receiving locations, the local governments have been forced to fund the gap in expenditures for FAS health and hospitalization, education, public housing and accommodations, labor and industrial relations, public safety, and incarceration. Homelessness was documented as a major problem on Guam from the very beginning of the Compact period. Hezel (2013b) reported that in 1992, 25% of approximately 5,000 migrants to Guam were living in shelters (p. 26); and in 2011, in the state of Hawai‘i, 15% of all clients served by homeless shelters were from the FSM (p. 31).

Motivations for Migration

A US Government Accountability Office report on the impacts of the Compact of Free Association on Marshallese migration patterns (2011) suggests that approximately one-third of the RMI population has left, with many having resettled in Hawai‘i (e.g., Carruci, 2008) and the state of Arkansas (Watts, 2011). For Marshall Islanders, health care is a particularly salient motivator for migration due to the negative health impacts of the US atomic bomb testing in parts of the Marshall Islands (e.g., Niedenthal, 2001; Duke, 2014). Besides needs for medical care, the report cited needs for improved education, economic conditions, and employment as leading stimuli to Marshallese out-migration. In a study of the reproductive lives of Chuukese women in health

service settings on Guam and in Chuuk, Smith (2014) pointed out that the migration motivation of FSM Chuukese women seeking reproductive health care for themselves and their babies continues to be strong (e.g., Haddock, Whippy, Talon, & Matano, 2009; Pobutsky, Buenconsejo-Lum, Chow, Palafox, & Maskarinec, 2005; Yamada & Pobutsky, 2009). Challenges remain – both at home in Chuuk as well as on Guam.

Investigation has found that education is a strong motivator for migration. In 1972 a US regulation declared Micronesians eligible for Pell Grants for college attendance (e.g., Hubbard, 2018, p. 66). In 1970, the number of Micronesians abroad for college was about 200. By 1978, the number had increased to 2,400 (Hezel and Lewin, 1990). The vigorous pre-Compact migration of Palauans to Guam, CNMI, and Hawai'i, often for the purpose of seeking educational opportunities, began at the end of WWII. This may account for the early development of stabilizing skills among later Palauan migrants (e.g., Johanek, 1984).

For Palauan migrants to Guam, opportunities for initial employment, and especially for jobs and careers with higher economic returns have been key migration motivators. In a study by Pinhey and Spencer (1998) of Palauans who had migrated to Guam, low income was shown to be a problem for about 13% of their families several years after migration, but at a rate comparable to families in many areas of the United States. The majority of Palauan study participants over 16 years of age (69%) reported being employed, most in the private sector, with the Government of Guam and the US Federal Government ranking second and third as employers. The same study found that the majority of Palauans on Guam spoke a language other than English and almost all of those reported that language to be Palauan; however, over 90% reported being able to read and write in English, a favorable factor for economic advancement.

Considering Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory within Micronesian Contexts

Urie Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of child development provides a useful conceptual framework for considering the migration experiences of Micronesian families and communities, and the reciprocal experiences of originating and receiving communities (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986, 1992, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). Bronfenbrenner's theory provides five ecological systems to describe the individual and group experiences of child development and later life transitions. When these are applied to the overall process of Micronesian migration toward Guam, CNMI, and the US mainland, a multigenerational and multidimensional international process appears, and the variables and forces involved may be identified and explored.

A benefit of applying Bronfenbrenner's ecological concepts to the complex Micronesian home context, as well as to the migration process, is that the model is suitable for explanatory expansion as the body of migration research grows and history develops. The ecological schema aids researchers' rationales for the design of future research, and readers' development of a better understanding of the identity of, and connections between levels of analysis. Research-based examples are developed below as a means of illustrating the basic fit of Bronfenbrenner's ecological principles to the home island and migration realities.

Microsystem

A microsystem is the smallest, closest level having immediate and direct influence on a child's development; e.g., family, friends, peers, school, church, and neighbors. Researchers of

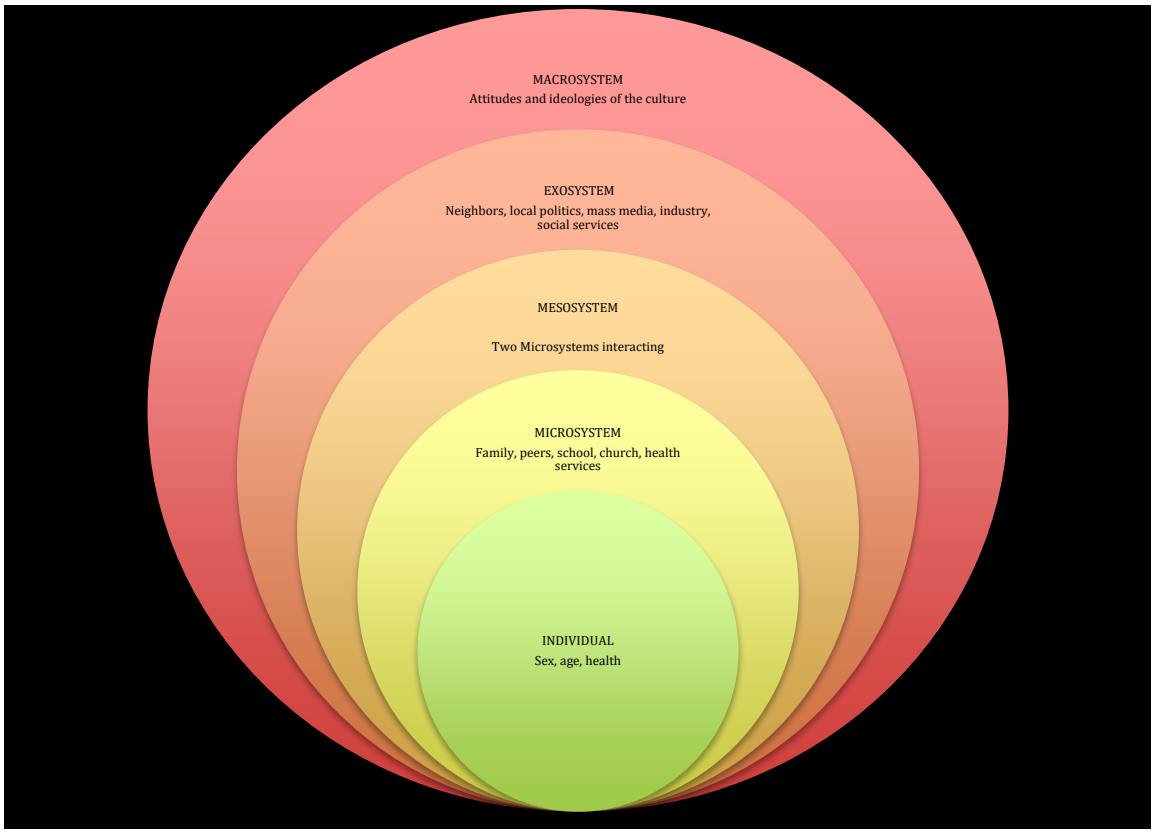

Figure 3. Schematic view of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory.

Micronesian child development may begin by conducting research with one or more children who live in the Micronesian region homes and compounds of their respective birth parents (i.e., the microsystem). For example, the daily home and school activities of a Chuukese child were documented on Romonum Island (Spencer, 2015).[4] The child's daily activities were influenced considerably by her grandmother, who is the matrilineal family leader of her lineage. Her mother, her mother's brother, her maternal grandfather, and her siblings and cousins all exerted influence on the child. When she went to school, she was influenced by her principal and one or more of her teachers. Close neighbors (who may also be family members) and a church leader all had some direct influence on her.

Adoptive family situations in Micronesia would usually be examples of the microsystem. Because of the very high rate of adoption by both relatives and individuals outside the immediate family, any child of interest may be an adoptee. In addition, many children have been permitted by parents to migrate away from the home island with siblings, aunts or uncles, or other relatives or friends (often to locations as far away as Guam, CNMI, or any of the US states). Some return, but many do not. Although Bronfenbrenner may not have anticipated this particular situation, the ecological schema makes consideration of it possible. He suggested that the paired comparison of brothers and sisters brought up in adoptive versus biologically related families might permit a clear

[4] Romonum, Chuuk examples were taken from observation data and field notes on child development (Spencer, 2015).

analysis of biological versus environmental influences on child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). But with the high frequency of adoption in Micronesia, especially those involving close relatives, there could be reliability and validity problems with such comparisons if a child chosen for study shares much of the genetic make-up of other study children living with different families.

Microsystem settings in post-migration home and educational situations in Hawai‘i are beginning to receive attention. In Kaneshiro and Black's study (2012), the strengths and resources of Micronesian students in a Hawai‘i middle school reflected the direct influences of the school on the child's development. Talmy's (2006; 2009) systematic observations of multiple Micronesian migrant groups in a Honolulu high school share vivid and troubling examples of student-faculty/administrator interpersonal environments. The closest people influencing the Micronesian child in the migration home may be the same type as those in his home island, but the probability of fewer close family relatives and of more unrelated, newly met adults and children of different ethnicities is high (e.g., in an apartment complex serving families of Chuukese, Pohnpeian, Kosraean, and Marshallese migrant families; or school personnel local to Hawai‘i of multiple cultures such as Hawai‘ian, Japanese, Chinese, Samoan, Filipino, African American, or Caucasian). This may add to the child's sense of isolation and homesickness. Heightening this is the pressure to speak English in all domains outside of the home and often for children to take on the role of interpreter and translator for the family. On the other hand, the author has observed at least some Micronesian migrant children reveling in new friendships and in the context of well-resourced classrooms on Guam and in Hawai‘i.

Mesosystem

Bronfenbrenner's mesosystem is the influence of two microsystems interacting; e.g., parents with teachers. In a home island example of this, the principal of the Romonum School in Chuuk, FSM, held a meeting of parents and also visited homes of school age children who were not enrolled in school (Spencer, 2015). His goal was to persuade them to allow their children to attend school. This effort led to the enrollment of some children, but some other parents felt it was more important for their children to join the father and uncles, or mothers and aunts, to learn traditional skills such as fishing in either the ocean or the lagoon, and learning how to tend to important subsistence gardening. Similar mesosystem influences may occur in the post-migration site. For example, Iding, Cholymay, & Kaneshiro (2009) obtained recommendations from migrant Micronesian families on how Hawai‘i schools could improve student adjustment and progress via improved teacher expectations and attitudes, stimulating more positive peer relations; lessening prejudice; and expanding family involvement. On Guam, certain mesosystem situations were documented in research on the influences and interactions of local public health provider systems with migrant Micronesian family members. Health employee reception and treatment behaviors with Micronesian parents appeared to create barriers to their children receiving health care (Smith, S.A., 2014).

Exosystem

An exosystem refers to environmental settings in which a child is not actively involved, yet which exert influences over the child; e.g., an education or health administration system that does or does not adequately support the education or health of children. In parts of Micronesia, health and special needs assistance are scarce. For example, on Romonum, in the FSM state of

Chuuk, the author has observed a teenage boy with severe hearing deficiency who had never received diagnostic or developmental assistance from public or private resources. In the absence of such assistance, his parents created their own sign language and taught it to him, an instance in which the microsystem substituted for gaps in the official health exosystem (Spencer, 2015). In related but separate research in Micronesia, Ratliffe, Rao, Skouge, & Peter (2012), documented access to assistive technology resources by two FSM individuals with disabilities. Collaboration among community organizations, government agencies, and families was shown to be essential.

Another important instance in Micronesia of the exosystem concept is the *remittance* process in which family members in the home island receive money and other resources sent by individuals who have migrated away from the island. Family leaders on home islands then distribute the funds and material gifts among the home island family members, including children. This activity is so important that economists couple it with the other two key economic engines of small islands: aid and bureaucracy; thus, the acronym: MIRAB for Migration, Remittance, Aid, and Bureaucracy (e.g., Ogden, 1994; Bertram & Watters, 1986).

In an exosystem example in the post-migration adjustment process of Micronesians on Guam, Walter, Salas, and Li (2011) conducted a needs assessment study among Micronesian migrants, and documented specific perceived needs regarding education, housing, and other public services – exosystem domains. The priority of expressed concerns (e.g., discrimination) and needs (education) created awareness among Guam's community leaders. In another example, exosystem activity occurred in Hawai'i's post-migration environment when a state-based non-profit health consortium responded to the needs of migrant families for immunizations, diagnoses, referrals, health emergencies, and on-site medical care in housing or community locations. In a recent example of the consortium's activity, they conferred with educators on a neighboring island in which the absenteeism of Micronesian migrant children is high due to health problems.

Macrosystem

The macrosystem of Bronfenbrenner's ecological system is the actual culture of the individual – the common heritage or identity, political and social beliefs, and group traditions. The macrosystems of Micronesia were systematically and intensely researched by American anthropologists toward the end of World War II and shortly after the United Nations placed the region in the US Trust. The post-war Chuuk, FSM culture of Romonum was documented by several anthropologists (e.g., A. Fischer, 1950; Gladwin and Sarason, 1953; R. Goodenough, 1970; W. Goodenough, 1978, 2002; and LeBar, 1964). Other studies of Micronesian sub-regions were also conducted by US scholars (e.g., Weckler, 1949 in Mokil; Barnett, 1949 in Palau; Lewis, 1949, in Kosrae; J. L. and A. M. Fischer, 1957, in Pohnpei; and Kiste, in the Marshall Islands, 1967 and 1976). These studies provide important baseline information for that time period that is relevant to the macrosystem, and the chronosystem. However, little information on child behavior and development was reported.

Research on Micronesian cultures in post-migration settings has been largely missing until very recently. However, Pohnpeian culture in both the home island and the migration communities of Kansas City and Cincinatti have now been documented and analyzed by Hubbard (e.g., 2013, 2016, 2018). Over 1,000 Pohnpeians have established a Pohnpeian sociopolitical system in Kansas City, MO, and Kansas City, KS, with the cultural endorsement of a paramount chief of Pohnpei, FSM. The Kansas City section chief accords chiefly titles, sponsors tribute feasts, conducts official business with the Pohnpei FSM base, and maintains the Pohnpeian culture and language in the

Kansas City diaspora. Thus, official clan membership and authority lines of Pohnpei have been seeded in the macrosystem of a major American city. Hubbard identifies the development of some cultural contrasts across the home island and the diaspora that are beginning to appear for both children and adults; however, the consistencies across the two vastly distanced locations are substantial. The full story of child development in these US Pohnpeian communities is yet to be discovered.

To build on Hubbard's exploration of a particular Micronesian culture in US migration sites, one fruitful future research pursuit would be documentation of new microsystems and macrosystems within each Micronesian migration community. It is likely that the portions of the cultural research base identified for the home island macrosystem will have been substantially transmitted to the migration sites. An emerging example of interest would be observations and structured interviews with Micronesian migrant families who have US-born children, or both Micronesian- and US-born children. In the author's experiences in Hawai'i schools and community organizations, interesting contrasts often appear between Micronesia-born and US-born children of Micronesian migrant families. For example, among Micronesian families with whom the author is acquainted through the activities of the Big Brothers Big Sisters organization in Maui, HI, children in a single Micronesian family may have significantly different fluency levels in their cultural language, or in their first-hand experience on the home island with cultural expectations for a range of interpersonal behaviors (e.g., mutual avoidance of the opposite sex) or participation in culturally based ritual experiences (e.g., Palauan first birth celebrations). On some occasions, siblings and age-mates can be heard arguing about their relative social status based on being the one in the group who has been in Hawai'i the longest; or conversely, the one who lived longest in the Marshall Islands and is therefore the greatest cultural expert among the children.

Chronosystem

A chronosystem in Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory consists of major life transitions, environmental and historical events that occur during development and tend to impact or change the child's future. Examples of chronosystem factors include adoption, migration, or major changes in nation or community status. The Micronesian region has experienced multiple major chronosystem events in the 20th and 21st centuries: The sequence of German, Spanish, Japanese, and US occupations all continue to have minor to major impacts and influences on the cultures, environments, and everyday lives of Micronesian families.

As a chronosystem element, adoption maintains its traditional cultural forms in Micronesia (Marshall, 1999; Carrucci, 2008), and has exceedingly high incidence in some locations (e.g., Rauchholz, 2008). Carruci described various forms of adoption as it is practiced in the Marshallese home islands, finding it to be a very significant event in child development, and typically changing the child's future; but usually not in a debilitating manner (2008). Over 80% of Carucci's pre-WWII Marshallese sample were adoptees, with 20-35% reporting strong or consistent relationships. Rauchholz, on the basis of over 200 structured interviews with relatives and friends of adopted people from multiple Chuuk villages, found that most adoptions were between close relatives. He concluded that most of the adoptees in his study reported emotional struggle associated with their adoptions. He reported that between 10 - 90% of specific Chuukese island populations may have been adopted. Adoption follows Micronesian children through migration movements, and often occurs because an adult member of a family who intends to migrate is entrusted with a relative's child as a means of giving the child the perceived advantages of

migration. The child's natural parents may also be hoping for future remittances from the child. Carruci (2008) studied adoption of Marshallese migrants on Hawai'i Island, where he found that the incidence of adoption is high and household size is large (e.g., 13-32).

Contemporary Micronesian migration is another forceful chronosystem element, requiring a multitude of long-term family and child adjustments, as well as many potentially beneficial opportunities. For example, at the encouragement of a former Peace Corps volunteer to Romonum Island, Chuuk, a segment of the island population moved to Milan, Minnesota – an agricultural area of Norwegian heritage - to explore economic and educational opportunities. The Milan Chuukese community has told about their challenges, adjustments, and successes in a video produced with grant funds that they and Milan friends secured (Video.Pioneer.Org: Postcards-Micronesian-Culture-Milan, 2018). In another example, after decades of affiliation with the people of Namoluk Atoll in the southeastern portion of Chuuk, Marshall (2004) traced the history of seven waves of Namoluk migration to Guam, CNMI, Hawai'i, and the US mainland. Their stories bear witness to the long-term ups and downs and directional changes associated with the migration chronosystem experience.

In their study of Marshallese and Chuukese children who migrated to Honolulu, Kaneshiro and Black (2012) conducted one of the first studies of Micronesian migrants that draws directly on Bronfenbrenner's constructs. The study illustrates the life transitions of migrating Micronesian children by examining the processes and impacts experienced in family, home, and school situations in the Marshalls and Chuuk home islands, as well as in Honolulu. Using qualitative case study methods with four children – two Marshallese and two Chuukese, they were able to link their findings to Bronfenbrenner's key concepts. This study is also one of the first to conduct research in the home island, the migration homes, and also church contexts of the participants. Their results identified overlapping themes of "…culture, relationships, transitions, and cooperation" (p. 60). They made recommendations of two types for the migration educational settings: The incorporation of technology learning in instruction, and enhancement of teacher perception in the service of student academic success. The latter recommendation arose from their observation that:

> "…many current educational practices are deficit-based."
> "In summary, we found that the participating students had many strengths and supports that schools do not traditionally recognize. The students had good family and community support. They were responsible, resilient, caring young adolescents who valued their relationships with others." (p. 63)

Implications for the Work Ahead

In this and other writing, the author has argued for the importance of growing the research base on both pre-migration and post-migration development of Micronesian children, and to do so across the range of Micronesian entities. As a relatively remote and economically developing region of the world, and one in which the US literally prohibited entry by non-military visitors for decades (e.g., Stephenson and Spencer, 2018, pp. 3-35), the body of Micronesian child development research in the home islands is sparse. Research in the post-migration sites is only beginning. Many gaps regarding the documentation and interpretation of developmental

experiences in children's familiar settings in both home and migration settings, and across the bioecological systems, remain. The full range of research support and dissemination, and also more guidance and participation of Micronesians are needed. These needs can be illustrated with a simple compound example of home island-to-migration site microsystem behavior with which Micronesian migrant children must frequently cope. In the author's volunteer work with Guam and Hawai'i schools on behalf of Micronesian migrants, one of the most common concerns voiced by teachers is: "Micronesian children will not make direct eye contact with me." From her research and experience in the outer islands of Yap, Hasuguluyag (an indigenous Ulithian woman scholar) explained this behavior to professionals working with Micronesian children (2018):

> Showing respect for an authority figure is important and often manifests as classic respect avoidance, which includes refraining from or limiting one's speech when in the presence of an authority figure and intentionally avoiding direct eye contact. Although in more Western societies this type of body language is often misinterpreted as disrespect, in Ulithi it is a show of respect; in essence, it is an acknowledgment, through one's body language, that one is not on the same level as the authority figure (Hezel, 2013; J. Figirliyong, 2018).

Thus, rather than being disrespectful as her teacher believed, a Micronesian child observed by the author in a Guam classroom was demonstrating a high degree of respect for the teacher by keeping his eyes lowered (Spencer, 2012).

One fruitful future research pursuit would be the documentation of new or varied microsystems and macrosystems within each Micronesian migration community and how they compare to the traditional forms of their home islands. Relative to macrosystems, culture has only rarely been deeply researched in post-migration Micronesian settings. Although the sample size is small, the Kaneshiro and Black (2012) study is a good example of one approach for achieving this goal. Hubbard's studies (2013, 2016, 2018) of Pohnpeian communities in Pohnpei, FSM, and the US metropolitan areas of Kansas City and Cincinnati, are also notable examples. Basic observation and descriptive reports from any of the key migration locations, and across the bioecological systems would be useful. Priorities for research and assistance include: Certain needs (e.g., housing, health care, food security, education, assistive technology), threats (violence, child abuse, lack of medical care, homelessness, children not attending school), methods for addressing them, as well as examples of positive adjustment and problem solving. The level of current information and analysis reflects progress when compared to the complete void of a decade ago, but research questions and analyses need to be on a path to deeper and more coordinated answers. For example, are responses by community organizations and public agencies maturing? Are there lines of communication for sharing best practices across professionals and migration sites? Are the lives of migrating Micronesian children and youth improving? Are they prospering in their new schools, graduating with literacy, numeracy, and science backgrounds that support their post-secondary goals and vocational pursuits? Has their incidence of high probability maladies (e.g., diabetes) abated? Do the indicators of social adaptation and productivity point in positive directions (i.e., increasing high school and college graduation rates; examples of positive family and community participation and contributions; increasing income levels; declining rates of incarceration or deportation for criminal behavior)? Finally, activities to engage Micronesian as well as

professional communities and public agencies in the utilization of research findings is essential to promoting healthy environments for children.

Conclusions

Researchers of Micronesian childhoods may find that Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of the child development landscape can lend order to research design work in the multi-faceted historical, cultural, and political situations of both the Micronesian region and the immigration sites. It allows us to take stock of our inventory of research on the various microsystems, as they are nested within the various macrosystems of the region, and also across the growing and connected diaspora of Micronesian migration. This exercise better prepares us to identify gaps in our knowledge, by topic, cultural group, and across the geography of the region and the world; thus improving the decisions of researchers and policy makers as they select research priorities. For example, in Spencer's examination of existing research conducted for the post-migration home settings of Micronesian children (Spencer, 2018a, b), only one study was found (Kaneshiro & Black, 2012). Recently, Hubbard's studies (e.g., 2018) offered indirect views into migrating Pohnpeian children's home lives. Few studies have been conducted in post-migration school settings (e.g., Talmy, 2006; 2009) or in neighborhoods. The church context, which is prominent in the lives of Micronesian children and families, is a desirable but neglected research context. The author has previously noted the important role that churches in Micronesia play in the development of literacy in both the indigenous language and in English (Spencer, 2018a;b).

Whether the research aims are focused on problem-solving/benefit-maximizing applications, or basic research objectives, improvements in the conceptualization of regional research programs can potentially enhance the efficient and effective use of scarce research resources. Results of studies of Micronesian migrant children and families have the potential for improving the understanding by local leaders in Micronesia of the needs of children in their own far-flung communities and schools. Greater understanding by indigenous home island leadership has the power to boost their efficacy in identifying resources to meet these needs, and to better counsel Micronesian families contemplating migration. Improved understanding of the connection between information needs and regional research with Micronesian children is also important to institutions of higher education because they receive these children as college students, prepare the teachers who will teach them throughout the region, support the academic units in which professional researchers will conduct research with Micronesian families, and often provide expertise and facilities throughout the region for carrying out research and related services that have been sponsored by government agencies and foundations.

Finally, the information provided above about the growing Micronesian migrant communities in the United States should awaken readers and their professional affiliates to an existing and increasing wave of Pacific Islanders from a multitude of Micronesian origins, to all parts of the United States. Their successful relocation in places as different as Guam, Minnesota, Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, Washington, Oregon, California, and Hawai‘i raise new research questions and may expand the application of Bronfenbrenner's schema to new avenues of inquiry.

It is very definitely time to re-examine existing policies that govern the health, education, and economic welfare of the US Micronesian diaspora, and to develop new policy where gaps exist. Public attitudes in the US toward migration have been in a serious state of turmoil throughout the first two decades of the 21st century. In contrast, the Lau v Nichols 1974 Supreme Court case,

which found in favor of San Francisco Chinese-American students who claimed violations of their civil rights to education due to English-only school policies, provided the stimulus for state and national bilingual education opportunities for several decades. Key to implementation of the resulting policies was the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. In spite of progress made in many schools throughout the country, counter forces have succeeded in recent years, through a series of new laws, to dismantle much of the educational progress made in the US for minority language children (e.g., Patrick, 2015). Remarkably, several new developments in the Pacific region signal grass roots persistence regarding cultural and linguistic maintenance in education. With both public and private support, indigenous language charter schools have been opened by Native Hawai‘ians on several islands in the State of Hawai‘i. A publicly supported Chamoru language charter school has been opened by indigenous Chamoru educators on Guam. Examples such as these involve policy development as well as policy implementation. They deserve study of their operational histories, and analysis of factors contributing to their difficulties as well as to their achievements. Bronfenbrenner's theoretical structures could provide a useful organizing framework for the research that will underlie culturally oriented educational improvement efforts throughout the Micronesian region.

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Bilateral Aid to a Small Island Developing State: The Case of the Federated States of Micronesia

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Abstract

Most of the world's Small Island Developing States (SIDS) are heavily dependent on foreign aid. Since many factors affect the volume of aid, SIDS constantly encounter unpredictable funding for both development and fiscal needs. This study argues that recipient countries may be able to predict the trends of aid by systematically organizing historical and current data; identifying determinants; analysing trends in the international aid community; and examining relations among provider countries. It examines the case of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) and addresses three central questions: 1) who are the significant and emerging bilateral aid providers? 2) what is the history of bilateral relations with each significant provider before and after the FSM became a nation? 3) what are the main determinants of aid giving? The study finds that the main determinants are strategic alliance and regional stability. The findings also suggest that significant providers will continue to provide aid to the FSM although the shares of aid volume may be changed.

Keywords: foreign aid, aid determinants, aid donors, small island developing states, Micronesia
Subject classification codes: economic assistance, small developing island countries

Introduction

The world's Small Island Developing States (SIDS) share similar challenges: they are geographically small and remote; they have a narrow resource and export base; and they are exposed to global environmental challenges, external economic shocks, impacts from climate change, and frequent and intense natural disasters (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform, 2019). Because of these challenges, most of these states are heavily dependent on foreign aid. SIDS are vulnerable to other countries' foreign aid decisions, which consist of many influential factors such as international relations among aid providers, bilateral relations with providers, multilateral relations with inter-governmental and non-governmental agencies, and aid providers' domestic politics. The recipient countries constantly encounter these unpredictable circumstances and it's difficult for them to make long-term development plans.

This study argues that recipient countries may predict the trends of aid flow by systematically organizing historical and current data; identifying determinants; analysing trends in the international aid community; and examining relations among provider countries. It examines countries that provide development aid to the FSM. Since the study focuses on providers' intentions and their national interests, multilateral aid providers will not be discussed.

This study also examines current and emerging aid providers in a descriptive way and uses available numeric data to illustrate and support the descriptions. The data is extracted from reliable sources, such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); however, there may be discrepancies among data provided by other intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, aid provider agencies, and partner agencies for multiple reasons: different fiscal years are provided, what was included varied; and there were differences in the use of constant dollars or current dollars, exchange rates, time of disbursement, etc. Nonetheless, these discrepancies do not undermine the general findings of the study because

the study discusses the historical background, diplomatic relations and determinants of aid of the current and emerging providers.

The Case in Micronesia – The Federated States of Micronesia

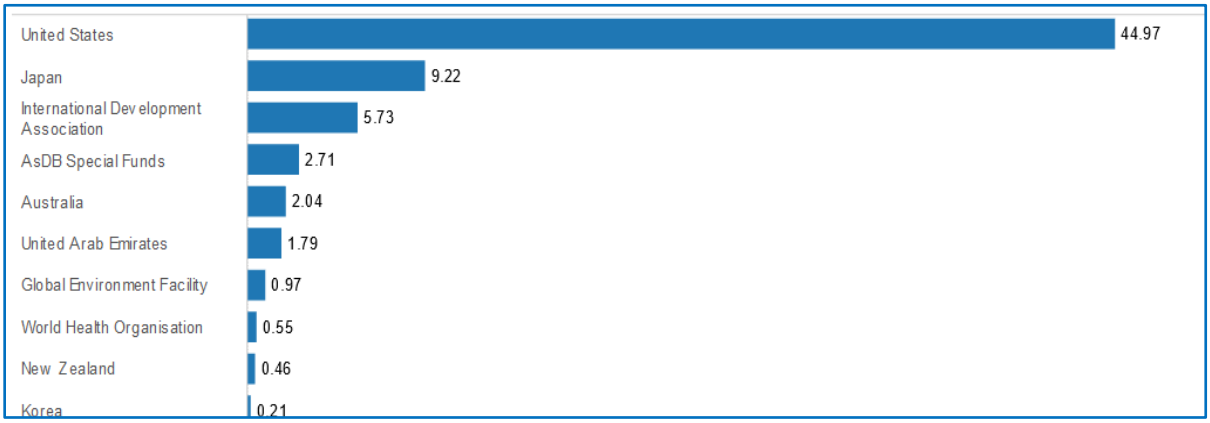
The four states of the Federated States of Micronesia - Pohnpei, Chuuk, Yap and Kosrae each are home to unique peoples and cultures but they share similar colonial era and wartime experiences, as well as similar vulnerabilities to natural disasters and economic challengers. After World War I, these islands were governed by Japan under the South Pacific Mandate by the Leagues of Nations. After Japan was defeated in World War II, the United Nations entrusted the islands to the United States under the Strategy Trusteeship. The stated goals of the Trusteeship were to help the islands in Micronesia move towards autonomy (Yeichy, 2019, p. 176).

In 1965, the Congress of Micronesia was established. The Congress consisted of all Trust Territory islands: the Marianas (except Guam), Palau, Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, Kosrae and the Marshall Islands. The establishment of the Congress intended "to assert control over the process of economic development through a series of legislative initiatives" (Hanlon, 1998, p. 142). They tried to look for consultation beyond the Trust Territory government and prepared for negotiations with the U.S. about the future political status of Micronesia. The negotiations began in 1969. After years of negotiations, the Marianas, Palau and the Marshall Islands broke away and negotiated with the U.S. both multilaterally and individually. After a 1978 plebiscite, this left Pohnpei, Yap, Chuuk and Kosrae in the Congress of Micronesia. The Congress of Micronesia chose a freely associated status with the U.S. and eventually became an independent country - the Federated States of Micronesia. The Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) was established in 1979 and became fully independent in 1986. In the same year, the FSM signed the Compact of Free Association with the United States. After the long negotiating period and eventual emergence as an independent nation, the FSM became part of the new Pacific in which sovereign governments are the primary actors, just like other countries established after the trusteeship dissolved. Among these small island developing states, development aid is a vital resource to the nation.

Significant and Emerging Aid Providers

According to the OECD, the top ten aid providers to the FSM in 2015-16 were the United States, Japan, International Development Association (World Bank), ADB Special Funds (Asian Development Bank), Australia, United Arab Emirates, Global Environmental Facility (multilateral institution), World Health Organization (United Nations agency), New Zealand and Korea. China is another significant aid provider; however, China is not on the chart because it is not an OECD member and its aid data (as a provider) is not tracked by OECD.

Figure 1. Top Ten Donors of Gross ODA for Micronesia, 2015-2016 average, USD Million



Source: OECD (2017), Aid at a Glance charts, OECD-DAC, http://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/aid-at-a-glance.htm

Bilateral Relations with Aid Providers

There are four significant bilateral foreign aid providers to the FSM: United States, Japan, Australia and China, and three emerging providers: Korea, New Zealand and United Arab Emirates.

Table 1. Diplomatic Relations with Aid Donor Countries

	Diplomatic relations established on	Country ambassador	FSM Ambassador
Significant and providers			
United States	November 3, 1986	Resident	Resident
Australia	July 6, 1988	Resident	
Japan	August 5, 1988	Resident	Resident
China	September 11, 1989	Resident	Resident
Emerging aid providers			
New Zealand	June 30, 1988	Non-Resident (Hawaii)	
Korea	April 5, 1991	Non-Resident (Fiji)	
United Arab Emirates	September 14, 2016		

Source: Countries with which the Federated States of Micronesia has established diplomatic relations. Information retrieved from http://www.fsmgov.org/diprel.html

United States

The United States is the largest aid provider to the FSM, and certainly the most influential one. The U.S. funding is so substantial that it almost doubled the total of all funding provided by other aid providers and multilateral agencies. The U.S. influenced Micronesia even before the FSM became a nation. In 1944, when the American troops landed in Micronesia during WWII, they brought in great quantities of foodstuffs and supplies that immediately brought relief to the islanders. One islander described "a short time later some amtracs landed and brought a great deal of food onto the islet. They brought perhaps a thousand dollars' worth of food and left it there (Poyer, 2001, p. 239). That was the first time Micronesians received humanitarian assistance from the U.S.

Under Strategic Trusteeship

After WWII, the Micronesian islands were placed under American administration through the United Nation Trusteeship Council in 1947. The UN-US Trusteeship was an arrangement affecting the colonies of those countries defeated at war. The former Japanese mandate, including three archipelagos: Mariana Islands (except Guam), Caroline Islands and the Marshall Islands, were entrusted to the U.S. Under Chapter XII, Article 76 of the Charter of the United Nations, the basic objectives of the trusteeship were "to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence…" (United Nations, 2018). The goal of the trusteeship was that the nations would gain self-government or independence one day. There were 11 territories in the UN Trusteeship system: 7 were in African and 4 were Pacific Islands areas.

Nevertheless, the U.S. insisted upon the region's strategic importance. As the Japanese had fought hard in the Pacific area to protect their homeland, the U.S. also saw that Micronesia could serve as a buffer against attacks from Asia. During the Japanese Mandate period, Japan fortified the islands in preparation for potential threats from the U.S. The essence of the strategic thrust was the right of denial by the U.S. for any third-party nation to again build military installations in the island. Unlike other colonial countries, such as Germany and Japan, whose main purpose was economic exploitation, America's interest in Micronesia was its strategic location.

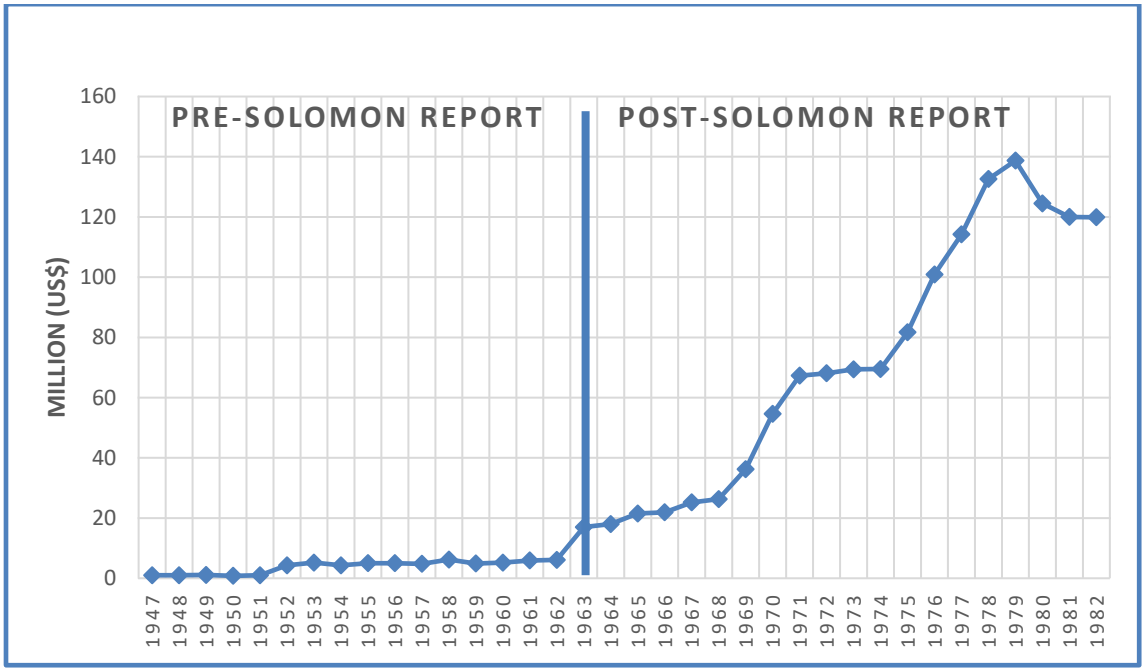
To deny access to Micronesia by other countries, the U.S. sought a "double guarantee" from the U.N. (Lake, 1999, p. 147). The Strategic Trust that was created by the U.N. provided the U.S. with near-total control over Micronesia. There were three major differences between an ordinary trust and a strategic trust. First, the strategic trust "allow[ed] the administering power to fortify the territory and to close parts of it at will for security purposes" (p.147). Second was the location of the U.N. control. Instead of the General Assembly, the Security Council became the location of the U.N. control and that permitted the U.S. to exercise its veto power (p. 147). Last was that strategic trust specified "that the state 'concerned' would have final authority regarding any alteration in the status of the territory" (p. 147). As Hanlon describes in the *Remaking Micronesia*, "the document's [Trusteeship Agreement] terms and conditions reveal just how extensive was American license to control and direct" (Hanlon, 1998, p. 52).

In 1961, the U.N. sent a Visiting Mission to survey the progress in Micronesia and found that the progress in both political and economic development was unsatisfactory. The U.S. had not met the goals indicated in Chapter XII, Article 76 of the Charter of the U.N. In "Our 'Colonial' Problem in the Pacific", Jacobson (1960) identified one of the reasons for the unsatisfactory

development was the security restrictions. Not only foreign investment and alien labor were prohibited, foreign vessels were not allowed to come close to the islands.

Transition to a Freely Associated State. The U.S. assumed the islands would eventually gain self-government or independence, although what form that would take was unclear. To ensure a favorable vote in plebiscite and to achieve rapidly minimum but satisfactory social standards, two strategies were implemented: the U.S. sent many Peace Corps volunteers to Micronesia and provided substantial aid to the islands (Dibblin, 1990, p.171-172). The following chart demonstrates the dramatic changes after the 1960 UN visiting mission issued its critical report. Prior to that, the level of subsidies was low and basically flat. In 1963, the U.S. subsidies almost tripled from the year before and reached 17 million dollars. The subsidies continually increased and tripled again in 1970 when they reached 54 million dollars. The subsidies hit the highest level in 1979 and were over 138 million dollars (Schwalbenberg, 1994, p.97). Nonetheless, the aid was not focused on economic development, but on social services, such as education and health services (Hezel, 1984). Besides large amounts of aid, the U.S. government also brought in a large number of federal programs.

Figure 2. United States Aid to Micronesia during Trusteeship



Source: Data extracted from Schwalbenberg, H. M., & Hatcher, T. (1994). Micronesian trade and foreign assistance: Contrasting the Japanese and American colonial periods. *The Journal of Pacific History*, (1), 95-104.

The Compact of Free Association. The first Compact of Free Association was signed between the U.S. and the FSM in 1982 and became effective in 1986. The Compact itself is of indefinite duration, however, under Article III, section 213, the economic provisions would expire

after 15 years, in 2001, and the Compact stipulated that negotiations for the renewal of the Compact begin by the 13th year, in 1999. Since the Compact itself would not be expired, the extension of the economic provisions was made under an amended compact act signed in 2003. The economic provisions were extended for 20 years and will expire in 2023. In the original compact, grant assistance was provided in a step-down pattern. The U.S. provided US$60 million from Year 1 to Year 5, US$51 million from Year 6 to Year 10, and US$40 million from Year 11 to 15.

The Amended Compact. The FSM government established the Joint Committee on Compact Economic Negotiations (JCN) in 1997 to handle the negotiation process with the government of the United States. The JCN began its negotiations with the representatives from the United States in 1999 in Honolulu. After years of negotiations, the economic provision in the Amended Compact agreement was finalized in 2003. The Amended Compact provides annual grant to 2023. The Joint Economic Management Committee (JEMCO) was established under the amended Compact. Its functions are: to monitor the funding operations and activities, to review development plan, audit, performance and other reports, to approve grant allocations and changes, and to evaluate and comment on the outcomes (U.S. Embassy, 2018). It consists of five members: three representatives from the U.S. and two representatives from the FSM. The FSM receives a fixed total, $92.7M, with the annual grant gradually decreasing while the trust fund contribution gradually increasing. The amended provisions provide approximately 45% more funding in total than the original compact, and the goal of the trust fund is to provide a source for the FSM after the provision expires. The funds from the Trust provide for part of the government's operational expenses after the amended economic provision expires in 2023. The FSM Government is also required to contribute to the Trust Fund. However, the FSM Government has not maintained its contribution. The fiscal year 2016 Annual Report indicated that the FSM contributed US$30.30 million in 2004 but has not contributed any since then.

Japan

Japan is the second largest aid provider to the FSM. It is historically and culturally linked to Micronesia. After World War I, the League of Nations transferred the colonies and territories of the defeated German nation to the allied powers. The Micronesian islands, including the Caroline Islands, the Marshall Islands and the Mariana Islands except Guam, were charged to Japan as a mandate by the Council of the League of Nations (Harris, 1932, p. 691)

Unlike Germany, the former colonizer of Micronesia, the Japanese government was very ambitious about developing the islands. In 1922, Japan established the Nan'yo-cho, a civilian South Seas Agency. The Japanese government extensively developed education and health care programs, but also intensively promoted economic development and immigration of laborers from Japan, Okinawa and Korea. Under the Japanese Empire, the economy in the islands prospered. According to Poyer, by the late 1920s, the mandate began to turn a profit for Japan (2001, p.19). After 1922, Japanese workers, businessmen and government officials migrated to the Micronesian islands. Purcell concludes that the reasons for the successful economic development in Micronesia under the Japanese Mandate were efficient administration, modern technology, well-defined objectives, adequate communication, public works facilities, and improved roads. Most important was the "aspirations [for] a higher standard of living, and [this] increased dependence on a money economy" (Purcell, 1967, p.211).

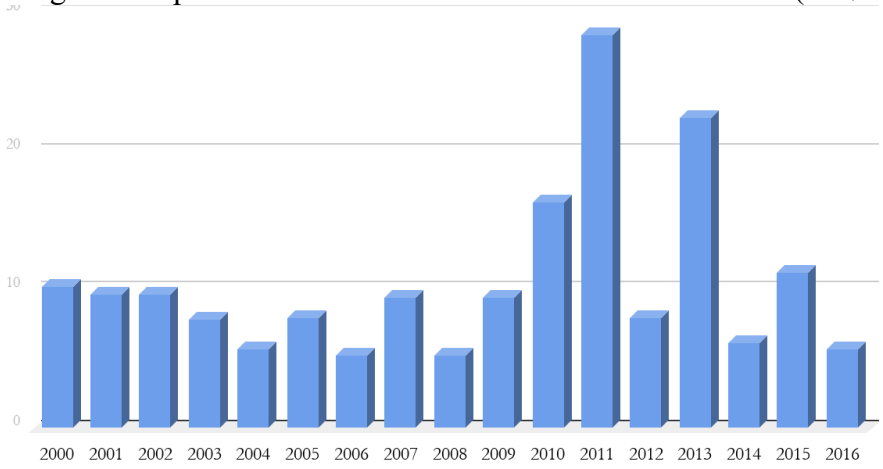
After Japan was defeated by the U.S. in WWII, the surviving Japanese were repatriated to Japan by the U.S. military (Komai, 2001, p. 230). However, many Japanese preserve feelings of friendship with Micronesians and are interested in the island and may have relatives there.

Diplomatic Relations

The FSM government opened a liaison office in Japan on 1984. On August 5, 1988, the two countries officially established diplomatic relations. The liaison office was upgraded to a full embassy in May 1989. The FSM's first ambassador to Japan was Mr. Masao Nakayama, whose father was Japanese (Pearce, 1991, p. 36). After twenty years of relations, in 2008, the first Japanese resident ambassador, Shoji Sato was officially stationed in the Japanese Embassy in the FSM (Government of the Federated States of Micronesia, 2018).

The embassy also gets small-grant funding to help the FSM. The Japanese ODA focuses on large scale infrastructure projects. Figure Three shows that the quantity of Japanese aid fluctuates from year to year but it's not necessarily an indication of unpredictable funding. It could be the large-scale infrastructure projects weren't able to be completed in a single year, therefore, the funding was disbursed in uneven patterns.

Figure 3. Japanese Aid to the FSM from Year 2000 to 2016 (US$ million)



Source: Data extracted from OECD 2008-2018 annual report: Geographical distribution of financial flows to developing countries: Disbursements, commitments, country indicators.

The Determinants of Japanese Aid

Former Colonies

Japan's colonial relations with the Micronesian islands began under the Japanese Mandate and ended when the islands were place under the U.S. Strategic Trusteeship. As of now, the FSM is still culturally linked to Japan. There are a number of descendants of the former Japanese migrants living in the FSM. However, the former colonial relationship doesn't appear to be the

strongest factor when Japan determines whom to give aid to. The top ten recipients of Japanese aid are Asian and Middle East countries that do not have colonial ties to Japan.

Economic Interest

The indicator of economic interests as a determinant is tied aid, which is the procurement of goods and services are restricted to the provider countries as a condition of aid (Ali, 2015, p.125). In the case of Japanese aid, all infrastructure projects funded by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) must awarded to Japanese companies. Even consulting contracts are likely to be awarded to Japanese consultant firms because the awarded consultant firms work with the project implementing firms during the project cycles.

Food Security

The FSM's EEZ covers close to 3 million sq. km. of ocean of the Pacific Ocean and is one of the richest fishing grounds in the western and central Pacific (Tarte, 1998, p.90). Japan consumes a high volume of tuna that can be divided into three types: dried fish (Katsuobushi) for soup base, sashimi and canned. The FSM's EEZ provides about 70% of total tuna consumption to Japan. Maintaining reliable and promising relations with the FSM is crucial.

Australia

After the FSM became an independent country in 1986, it first established diplomatic relations with the United States. Two years later, on July 6, 1988, it established diplomatic relations with Australia, which was the sixth country to exchange diplomatic relations with the FSM. The Australian Embassy was opened in November 1989 in Pohnpei, FSM. The Australian Embassy in the FSM is also responsible for the diplomatic mission to the Republic of Palau, the Republic of Marshall Islands, the Territory of Guam, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

Development Aid Policy

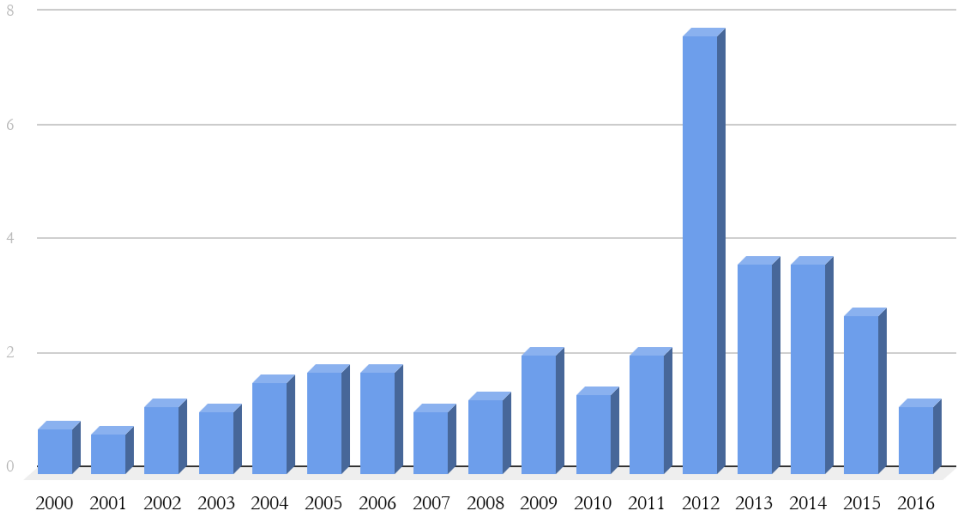
Australia's geographic location and its history have shaped its foreign aid policy. Barratt identified the importance that regionalism plays in Australia's aid patterns (2008, p.162). She believes the isolation from other developed countries makes Australia more vulnerable. One of the major factors in its aid giving pattern is geographic proximity. Therefore, Australia pays special attention to the developing countries in the Pacific and East Asia, especially countries that are close to Australia, have large populations, and are considered politically unstable, for example Papua New Guinea and Indonesia. Australia's aid strategy has not changed much over time, although practices have. The 2006 AusAid White Paper was explicit in linking Australia's security with poverty reduction in the near region of Southeast Asia and Southwest Pacific (Hameiri, 2008, 357). In 2011, AusAid stated in its website that the objective of Australia's aid program is to assist developing countries to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development, in line with Australia's national interest. Currently, AusAid no longer exists and the embassies oversee the aid programs. One of Australia's strategies in choosing aid programs is to pursue national interest and extend its influence (Australian Government, 2018).

Australian scholars label Australia as neo-liberal and this worldview influences how Australian government gives aid. Hadiz defined neoliberalism as an idea that the "most efficient allocation of resources is achieved by a natural and self-regulating market driven by its own internal laws" (2006, p.67). To extend this idea to politics and international relations, neo-liberalism focuses on the rules and norms that citizens of aid-giving states are socialized to accept by working through international institutions (Devetak, 2007, p. 391).

Development Aid

Prior to fiscal year 2010-2011, Australia appropriated a single allocation to Micronesia as a whole. The aid to Micronesia is divided among the three island states based on their populations. Starting from fiscal year 2010-2011, the government of Australia signed individual partnership agreement with the FSM, the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Republic of Palau respectively. On August 4, 2010, the FSM and Australia entered a Partnership for Development. The Partnership expired in 2015, as the intention of the partnership agreement was to make progress towards fulfilment of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015 (Partnership for Development, 2010). The Aid Investment Plan (AIP) replaced it in 2016. Despite the name changed, the Aid Investment Plan is similar to the Partnership for Development.

Figure 4. Australia Aid to the FSM from Year 2000 to 2016 (US$ million)



Source: Data extracted from OECD 2008-2018 annual report: Geographical distribution of financial flows to developing countries: Disbursements, commitments, country indicators.

The Determinants of Australian Aid

Regional Stability

As discussed in the Australian aid policy, Australia is a developed country which is not only surrounded by developing countries, but also far away from other developed countries.

Regional security and stability are the top determining factor. As an Australian analyst at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute once stated, Australian aid is a long-term investment in Australia's national security.

China

The FSM officially established diplomatic relations with China in 1989 and the FSM agreed that the People's Republic of China is the only legal Chinese Government (People's Daily New, 1989). The then FSM President John Haglelgam made the first official visit to China since the two countries established diplomatic relations on November 2, 1990 (People's Daily New, 1990a) and the two countries signed an Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement, in which China agreed to provide untied aid to the FSM (People's Daily New, 1990b).

Among all significant aid providers, China is unique in many ways. First, China is the only developing country which is an aid provider and yet also an aid recipient. The experience of being simultaneously an aid provider and an aid recipient contributes to its unique behaviors. China provides foreign aid to other developing countries under the United Nations Development Program for South-South Cooperation, which encourages "developing countries working together to find solutions to common development challenges" (United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation, 2018).

Second, Chinese aid motivated from the start by ideology and it's still influencing its decision today. During the 1950s when China was in the desperate poverty, it still provided aid to Korea and Vietnam to help them counter any forms of imperialism (Zhang, 2006, p. 59).

Third, China is ruled by one party, the Communist Party. Its government administrators are not accountable to voters. As Elizabeth Feizkhah, an Australian official, said in an interview, "China has freedom of action that Australia, New Zealand and the U.S. simply do not have" (2001, p.22). From a recipient perspective, the freedom is not a bad thing. For example, China built residential houses for the FSM President, Speaker and the Justices in early 2000s. China also contributed one million dollars into the FSM trust account in 2009 and in 2010. These contributions would be more difficult for a democratic country to justify for the "development" purpose.

Fourth, Chinese aid is controversial because the traditional aid providers claimed that Chinese aid is undermining their painstaking work on reform supported by good governance and accountability (Hanson, 2008. p.17). Traditional aid providers use tied aid as a tool to combat corruption and bad governance which inhibit development. However, the interpretation of good governance is dominated by traditional aid providers, such as the U.S. and Australia. China is not intentionally promoting corruption and bad governance, but it has a different understanding of good governance.

Fifth, China is not a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as an aid provider; therefore, it was difficult to track Chinese aid. Hanson (2009) describes Chinese aid as "secretive aid". Recently, the circumstances have changed. A team from the Research Lab of William and Mary College analyzed Chinese aid using a dataset tracking Chinese aid from 2000-2014. However, data on Chinese aid to the FSM is not included.

The Determinants of Chinese Aid

Economic Interest

As with Japanese aid, China is interested in providing infrastructure projects to the FSM. The projects were awarded only to Chinese construction companies, with Chinese construction workers working on the projects and using building materials imported from China.

Strategic Alliance

The FSM is the only freely associated state in the Western Pacific that has diplomatic relations with China. The Republic of Palau, the Republic of the Marshall Islands have diplomatic relations with the Republic of China (ROC) aka Taiwan. Therefore, the FSM is an important strategic partner for China in the Western Pacific.

Table 2. The Determinants of Aid Giving

	U.S.	Japan	Australia	China
Economic interest		**X**		**X**
Food security		**X**		
Former colonies	**X**	**X**		
Regional stability	**X**	**X**	**X**	
Strategic alliance	**X**			**X**

Emerging Aid Providers

New Zealand, Korea and the United Arab Emirates are the emerging aid providers to the FSM. The volumes of aid are comparatively small, but they are consistently providing ODA to the FSM. If the FSM development plans align with their national interests and development policies and goals, these countries will potentially become significant aid providers to the FSM.

New Zealand

New Zealand is the ninth top donor to the FSM. The aid is provided through the North Pacific Development Fund (NPDF), which covers funding to the FSM, the Republic of Palau and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (New Zealand Foreign Affairs & Trade, 2018). The top ten New Zealand aid recipients are neighbouring island states in the Pacific, for example, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. The pattern demonstrates that regional stability is the most important factor in determining whom to give to.

Korea

Korea is the tenth top donor to the FSM. However, the volume of Korean aid is very small and variable. The aid was between US$100,000 to US$300,000 a year. Korean aid focuses mainly on Asian and African countries. In the Pacific region, Korean aid is focused on Fiji and the Solomon Islands (Korea International Cooperation Agency, 2018). However, the issues Korean aid tackles in the Pacific are climate change and natural disasters, which also concerns the FSM. Korean could potentially increase its aid if the FSM can demonstrate its commitment on these issues.

United Arab Emirates

The FSM established diplomatic relations with the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in 2016. The UAE gave the FSM US$1.78 million in 2015 and US$1.79 million in 2016 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, 2015 & 2016). Their development goals have aligned with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2016.

Implication

U.S. funding overshadows aid from other provider countries. With the current fiscal status in the FSM, if the U.S. does not extend economic provisions to the FSM, the FSM must search for other aid providers. According to providers' patterns of behaviour, one or multiple aid providers will step in for many reasons. Among all the factors, regional security is one of the top determinants for providing aid. This study implies that if the U.S. withdraws development aid, which is a vital source of funds for the FSM, other developed countries will fill the void and step in to be the lead aid provider. The following section discusses implications for the FSM and the aid provider countries.

Federated States of Micronesia

The FSM is still heavily dependent on foreign assistance. Negotiation of economic provisions to the country after 2023 must be started soon. If the U.S. decides not to amend or extend these provisions, the FSM will have to seek foreign assistance with other provider countries. A number of provider countries will be interested filling the void. However, it will be extremely challenging for the FSM. Transition phases are almost guaranteed to be problematic and complicated. First, individual providers may approach and negotiate with individual states or political leaders. Diverse opinions or decisions may further divide the country. Third, since no country will be able to completely replace the U.S., the FSM may likely have to deal with multiple providers. Since each provider has its own ideology, agenda, domestic politics and policies, the FSM may be pulled in different directions, which will make long-term development planning even harder.

United States

The U.S. will likely amend or extend economic provisions to the FSM. The expiration for economic provisions is not equal to the expiration for the termination of the Compact of Freely

Association Agreement. Because of the government funding deficits, however, the FSM will still have to approach other providers. In the three freely associated states, the FSM is the only state that has diplomatic relations with China. Both the Republic of Marshall Islands and the Republic of Palau have diplomatic relations with the Republic of China (Taiwan). If the U.S. steps down as the FSM's lead provider, it will give China a chance to increase its presence in the western Pacific. The U.S. may not want to see a non-ally country step in as a lead provider.

Australia

If in case the U.S. steps down from the lead provider position, for the sake of regional security, Australia may substantially increase its aid to the FSM. The U.S. is their ally and is currently the FSM's lead provider, while Australia is the lead aid provider in the southern Pacific. There is no reason for these allies to overlap their efforts in one region. Nonetheless, if the U.S. is no longer the lead provider, Australia concern for regional security gives it the strongest reason to step in. However, domestic politics has major effect on international relations. An increase in the volume of aid does not mean the funding will go to areas the FSM targets, nor will be able to meet all its needs.

Japan

Although both regional stability and food security are the determinants of aid from Japan, Japan has comparatively less incentive to step in to become the lead provider in the FSM if the U.S. decides not to extend economic provisions. According to the pattern of Japanese aid flow, Asia is more crucial than the region of Oceania. For food security there is no obvious reason to believe that the lead provider country, whoever assumes the role in the future, will prohibit Japanese to fish in the FSM's EEZ as long as Japanese fishing vessels comply with international and local laws and regulations.

China

Of the three freely associated states in the western Pacific, only the FSM has diplomatic relations with the People's of Republic China. The other two freely associated states have diplomatic relations with Republic of China (Taiwan). It's much easier for China to increase its aid to the FSM, because policymakers in China do not have to seek electoral approval. Furthermore, China has very lax policies on the sectors it funds. However, because of the characteristics of Chinese aid: the fluctuation of aid flow; over-emphasized infrastructure and construction projects; and a lack of consistent aid policies, the FSM may not be truly benefit from the aid in the long term.

Conclusion

Fulfilling aid providers' agendas does not have happen at the expense of the partner. A win-win situation is possible, and the partner is key. To be more precise, the partner's national government is key. The partner's national government should proactively manage the relationship and partnership, making certain the national development plan and national policies are implemented as planned, and ensuring that local needs are met.

Anticipating the Future

The economic provisions of the Compact of Free Association will expire in 2023. The FSM and the U.S. will soon negotiate whether or not to extend the provisions beyond 2023. It is likely the U.S. will continue to provide substantial grant and financial support to the FSM. However, in case the U.S. decreases its financial support of the FSM, it is optimistic to say that other ODA providers, such as Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Korea and China, will fill the void because of the FSM's geographic importance.

Studies on foreign aid are important for developing countries, especially the SIDS that are highly vulnerable to external factors; however, studies in this area are scarce. Studies that focus on the impact of aid providers' agendas on their partners' policymaking; factors that influence the distribution of aid among national governments, state governments and local communities; and the inclusiveness and participation of local communities in development planning can be useful evaluation tools when negotiating foreign aid agreements.

These studies will provide a more complete and clearer picture of the effectiveness of development aid. Like other aid-dependent developing countries, SIDS' government operations and development depend on various external factors such as unpredictable aid flows, changes in diplomatic or international relations, as well as uncertainty of aid providers' domestic politics. This case study is significant because it demonstrates that by systematically examining aid determinants, aid flows and trends of aid providing countries, recipient countries may foresee problems and seek solutions in advance. The findings of such examinations allow recipients' countries to manage aid providers and aid received; to expand development goals; and to improve development plans.

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Inadentefikan Chinatsaga ni' Kumontribubuyi i Kinaguan Tinaka' Siha para i Lalåhen CHamoru gi i Unibetsedåt Guåhan: Identifying Hurdles Contributing to Achievement Gaps of CHamoru Males at the University of Guam

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The Problem

The University of Guam is a public, open admissions, accredited, four-year, land grant institution (Western Association of Schools and Colleges [WASC], 2016). The institution started in 1952 as the College of Guam and presently offers 34 undergraduate bachelor degree programs and 14 graduate programs (WASC, 2016). The UOG mainly serves postsecondary students from the island of Guam and throughout Micronesia (WASC, 2016). The student population for UOG is approximately 4,000 (WASC, 2016).

At UOG, the achievement gap among CHamoru males is of notable concern (A. Leon Guerrero, personal communication, May 2, 2019). The Office of Institutional Effectiveness [OIE], University of Guam [UOG], 2019) provided an analysis of retention and graduation of first time, full time freshmen cohorts and compared the overall cohorts to the CHamoru male student population for the period 2009-2017:

> **Retention**. The University of Guam tracks Fall-to-Fall retention rates of full time, first time freshmen cohorts in fall semesters. These rates are further disaggregated by gender, ethnicity, and academic program for further analysis. The calculated Fall-to-Fall retention rates for the 2009 through 2017 cohorts range from a low of 67% for the 2009 cohort to a high of 77% for the 2014 cohort and with the most recent rate of 73% for the 2017 cohort. The overall average for the nine cohorts is 73%. When the cohorts are disaggregated by gender the overall average retention rate for male cohorts is 70%, three (3) percentage points lower than the overall retention rate. Further disaggregating the male cohorts by ethnicity and gender results in a fall to fall average retention rate of 65% for Chamorro males which is eight (8) percentage points lower than the overall average retention rate and five (5) percentage points lower than the overall average retention rate for male cohorts.
>
> **Student Success (6-year Graduation Rates)**. The University of Guam tracks graduation rates of full time, first time freshmen cohorts in fall semesters. These rates are further disaggregated by gender, ethnicity, and academic program for further analysis. The calculated 6-year graduation rates for the 2009 through 2012 cohorts range from a low of 27% for the 2009 cohort to a high of 35% for the 2011 cohort and with the most recent graduation rate of 33%. The overall average graduation rate for the four

cohorts is 31%. When the cohorts are disaggregated by gender the average graduation rate for male cohorts is 26%, which is five (5) percentage points lower than the overall graduation rate. Further disaggregating the cohorts by ethnicity and gender results in a graduation rate of 23% for Chamorro males which is eight (8) percentage points lower than the overall average graduation rate and three (3) percentage points lower than the overall average retention rate for male students.

Matriculation. The University of Guam tracks annual retention rates from the second year through to the sixth year of full time, first time freshmen cohorts each fall semester and disaggregates these rates by gender, ethnicity, and academic program for further analysis. An analysis of the retention rate of the percent that continue to the 6th year for the 2009 through 2013 cohorts reveals that the overall average is 63%. Further disaggregating the cohorts by gender shows a fall to fall retention rate of male students at 25%, a staggering 38 percentage points lower than the overall continuation rate. Further disaggregating the cohorts by ethnicity and gender shows a fall to fall average continuation rate of 26% for Chamorro males, which is 37 percentage points lower than the overall average retention rate, but one (1) percentage point *higher* than the overall average 6th year continuation rate for male students. The overall average stop out rate by the sixth year is 37% compared to 63% for Chamorro male cohorts (OIE, UOG, 2019).

May 2019 Student Success Indicators	Overall Cohort Averages	Male Cohort Averages	Chamorro Males Cohort Averages
Fall to Fall Retention Rates (cohorts 2009-2017)	73%	70%	65%
% Graduated in 6 Years (cohorts 2009 – 2012)	31%	26%	23%
% Continued to 6th Year (cohorts 2009-2013)	63%	25%	26%

Source: Certified Fall Semesters Enrollment and Certified Graduation Records; Colleague; UOG.ENR, ACAD.CRREDENTIALS

Moreover, highlighting the issue, a study that was conducted on the prediction of freshmen to sophomore student retention at UOG between Fall 2006 and Spring 2008 semesters showed that "male Guam-based Chamorro freshmen, and freshmen from the Federated States of Micronesia and Palau, are at unusually high risk for stopping out and/or losing academic good standing" (Smith, 2008, p. 1). Many contributing factors lead to student retention or non-retention in the higher education context (Smith, 2008). Some examples of dependable and established predictors

include the availability of financial resources and subsistence, standardized test scores, family's background regarding higher education, and the student's ethnicity, sex, and social economic condition (Smith, 2008). Thus, the achievement gap among the CHamoru and FSM male population is a growing concern for UOG.

Further commenting on the achievement gap of CHamoru males at UOG, Smith stated:

> I'm also wondering how CHamoru males define masculinity, and what the role of scholarship is, in such definitions. If, for example, teen CHamoru males grow up believing that CHamoru men tend to be relatively less skilled at academics and that education is not part of what makes CHamoru men special or appealing as men, their beliefs — which can lead to reduced academic motivation and confidence — may become self-fulfilling prophecies. Social psychologist Claude Steele refers to this as "stereotype threat." Stereotypes are often untrue, but if people in the group so labeled *believe* those stereotypes, then that can be enough to hold them back.
>
> Dr. Gerhard Schwab (in Social Work) completed a dissertation that addressed CHamoru masculinities. It would be very helpful for us to talk with him.
>
> Finally, I have spoken with colleagues who believe that CHamoru families often assign less importance to academic success than do Filipino families on Guam. This leads me to another question. Given recurring problems in Guam public schools (e.g., not enough textbooks or qualified teachers), are CHamoru families less likely to compensate (e.g., with tutoring; with admonitions to their children, to work harder) than are (for example) Filipino families? If so, would fewer compensations uniquely affect CHamoru *male* teens (in comparison with CHamoru females)? (K. Smith, personal communication, May 30, 2019).

CHamoru males struggle to seek and complete higher education for a variety of internal and external reasons. This research study will not close the aspiration gap; however, it may help to identify reasons for the gap, which continues to disempower the young men of Guam. The study explored the hurdles influencing the academic achievement of CHamoru males within the postsecondary education environment. The analysis of the data was critical in ascertaining if the aforementioned factors impacted the achievement gap of CHamoru males in college.

Interestingly, women, more than men, are making tremendous educational advancements in earning a degree (Center for Community College Engagement, 2014; Marrs, 2016). At UOG, men are more likely to stop out or withdraw from courses for a number of reasons such as work schedule conflicts and lack of interest in the course (Smith, 2008). Specifically, Guam-based CHamoru male freshmen as well as freshmen from other Micronesian islands are likely to stop out, lose academic good standing, or withdraw from their courses (Smith, 2008). On the other hand, Smith (2008) corroborated that Filipino female freshmen are more likely to advance to sophomore status, to maintain good academic standing, and to remain enrolled in individual courses.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

This research study investigated the achievement gap of CHamoru male students at the post-secondary level, the roadblocks leading to academic achievement, and their perspectives about success. Hence, three research questions guided this study:

1. What are the hurdles influencing the achievement gap of the CHamoru male student population at the University of Guam?

2. What are the attitudes of CHamoru men toward seeking a higher education?

3. What effective interventions and programs can UOG implement to support CHamoru male students to persist and complete a college degree program?

Significance of the Study

The findings from this study provided a better understanding of how UOG can help to improve the educational experiences, persistence, and success of CHamoru male students in the higher learning landscape. In addition, the retention rates of UOG among the CHamoru male population may see significant improvement. Further, the study provided valuable information to UOG on the needs of CHamoru male students when they enter higher education. Resolving the achievement gap of this group may help the Guam community have effective and efficient CHamoru male leaders as future administrators and prospective civic leaders.

Theoretical Framework

This study draws on theoretical frameworks from three disciplines: sociology, education, and psychology. For the sociology frame, this study builds on literature concerning Guam's culture and the concept of masculinity. For the education frame, this study examines the achievement gap at the college level and the barriers that prevent CHamoru males from successfully completing a degree. The psychology frame is incorporated through a focus on motivational theory and attitudes toward a college education.

Social Factors

In CHamoru culture, men traditionally assumed roles in the community serving as chiefs, spiritual leaders, or combatants (Sanchez, 1991). In ancient Chamorro society, young men and boys were valued for their skills and unique talents (Cunningham, 1992). They had mentors (Cunningham, 1992); they learned in a supportive community (Rogers, 2011). During the United States' naval period, the brutal Japanese occupation, and during post-war Guam, CHamoru men displayed a strong sense of a spirit of patriotism through enlistment into one of the United States Armed forces (Ballendorf, 1997; Untalan, 2016; Viernes, 2010). Military life and vocation was the choice for most CHamoru men on Guam (Untalan, 2016). In addition to fighting for their country and island through military affairs, CHamoru men also assumed political roles that shaped Guam's

political status in becoming an unincorporated Territory of the United States (Carano & Sanchez, 1969; Rogers, 2011).

As discussed, in Guam's history, Chamorro men engaged in and assumed critical and vital roles for the survival and protection of their family and island community. Although, evidence showed that Chamorro men exhibited courageous, valiant, and heroic qualities, assumptions about masculinity may be an impediment to the academic success of most males (Jackson & Dempster, 2009). Some males think that the elimination of scholastic pursuits is a manifestation of their manhood (Kimmel & Sommers, 2013), and that the pursuit of educational accomplishment is indicative of feminine behaviors (Kehler & Greig, 2005).

Educational Factors

The achievement gap of college degrees in the United States is at a crossroads for many male students (Ross, Kena, Rathbun, KewalRamani, Zhang, Kristapovich, & Manning, 2012). A significant number of college male students in the United States continue to grapple in academic achievements (Marrs, 2016). To help bridge the gap between aspiration and attainment of a higher degree, the former First Lady, Michelle Obama, established The Reach Higher Initiative, in support of former President Obama's North Star ambitious goal (U.S. Department of Education, 2017). The objective of North Star is that the United States of America produce the highest proportion of college graduates in the world by the year 2020 (U.S. Department of Education, 2017).

On Guam, the achievement gap among CHamoru males is troubling for the University of Guam (Smith, 2008). Many contributing factors hinder CHamoru males from attaining a college degree such as work, family obligations and responsibilities, lack of motivation and confidence to attend college, and a lack of college readiness (A. Leon Guerrero, personal communication, May 2, 2019). Smith contended, "one hypothesis is that CHamoru males are particularly likely to have strongly competing commitments as wage-earners, which take time away from their studies. I don't know whether that's the case, but it's worth checking with relevant data" (K. Smith, personal communication, May 30, 2019). CHamoru male students at the University of Guam are at a high risk for stopping out and not completing a college degree (Smith, 2008).

Psychology Factors

Motivation is described as "activation to action. Level of motivation is reflected in choice of courses of action, and in the intensity and persistence of effort" (Bandura, 1994, p. 2). An essential element to academic accomplishment and success in higher education is motivation (Sogunro, 2015). Motivation permeates every facet of educational behavior and performance (Schunk, Pintrich, & Meece, 2008). In terms of gender, research shows that female students are highly motivated in the academia context versus male students who have lower levels of motivation (Sax, 2008; Sheard, 2009). Student motivation in higher education is dependent on the choice that each learner will make (Pedescleaux, 2010).

At UOG, Leon Guerrero stated regarding the lack of motivation of CHamoru males, "I've observed those who really want to succeed despite their challenges and make it through their first semester and those who give up either because of their challenges and/or lack of motivation. With the non-traditional mature CHamoru males, their motivations and attitudes are more positive than

some of the younger Chamoru males" (A. Leon Guerrero, personal communication, May 2, 2019). Smith observed:

> There's a lot of diversity among CHamoru young men, in terms of the importance they attach to their work at UOG, and the centrality it has in their lives. I have worked with many who are highly dedicated to the degrees and the careers they're pursuing. And in some freshman classes, I've also worked with young men who are feeling lost and inadequately prepared, and less motivated in part as a result. Feeling motivated requires both wanting something, and believing it is attainable. If they don't see doing well in college as attainable, they're not going to be motivated, no matter how much they want a college education and the opportunities that come with it (K. Smith, personal communication, May 30, 2019).

The theory of perceived self-efficacy is defined "as people's beliefs about their capabilities to produce designated levels of performance that exercise influence over events that affect their lives" (Bandura, 1994, p. 1). A student's attitude of successfully achieving and obtaining a college degree is dependent on his high level of self-efficacy (Conner, Skidmore, & Aagaard, 2012). On Guam, the once optimistic attitude that students had toward education has slowly dematerialized (Hendricks, 1990).

Methodology

The contributors were selected using snowball sampling as the strategy. The researcher worked closely with the Office of Institutional Effectiveness (OIE), UOG, to obtain a list of prospective contributors. Further, the researcher obtained the ten contributors through OIE, and asked other contributors for referrals until the contributor list was completed.

Ethical considerations in qualitative research are critical because, to some degree, the validity and reliability of a research study is dependent upon the ethical standards of the researcher (Merriam, 2002). In the data collection and throughout the research process, the confidentiality of each of the identities of the participants was kept private and secret (Creswell, 2007). Thus, the researcher did not identify the participants by name in any reports using information obtained from the interview, and that the confidentiality of a participant in this study will remain safe and secure. The researcher assigned all 10 participants with a pseudonym to keep the identities of the participants confidential and all demographic information was presented as aggregated information. Pseudonyms were used to mask and protect the identities of participants. Any identifying markers such as place of current employment were masked to further decrease the probability of identity.

The study employed a qualitative approach using a collective case study of 10 CHamoru males (18 years old and older) who had attended UOG for at least one semester between spring 2009 thru fall 2018 without re-enrollment for the spring 2019 semester. The use of a demographic survey and in-depth interviews were the means for the collection of data. The educational experiences of CHamoru males at UOG were described and explained in the responses of individual contributors

Participation was voluntary. The contributors could withdraw from the interview and study at any time during the interview without negative consequences. Further, the contributor could

decline to answer the survey or any questions that make the contributor uncomfortable. The risks associated with this study included retrieval of personal memories or conflict, time, loss, and physical or emotional fatigue. The researcher provided a referral listing of Guam Mental Health providers to contributors to help minimize any risk. The researcher would make follow up calls to the contributor to see if more support was needed.

The contributors were helped to understand that participation could be beneficial to them as well as others who face struggles in the education system since this purpose of this study is to improve educational achievement and success for CHamoru male college students. Information gained is intended to uncover insights in to the experience of CHamoru males in a higher education institution.

Findings

The data for this study w collected in two segments. In the first segment, a demographic survey was completed by the contributors. The second segment consisted of recorded interviews with contributors each answering 16 questions. A general overview of the demographic characteristics of the 10 contributors is provided. Next, the findings of the face-to-face interviews with the study's contributors are presented. The findings were gathered and organized from the analysis of the transcriptions of the 10 recorded interviews and from research field notes taken during the interview process. The researcher utilized open coding and selective coding to identify emerging themes in the transcriptions and designate categories for these themes.

The contributors were CHamoru male students who attended the University of Guam between the years 2009-2018. The age of the contributors ranged between 19 and 35 years. At the time of stop out from UOG, five contributors were in good academic standing, four on academic probation, and one on academic dismissal. The data concerning college attendance and completion of male siblings showed that only one contributor had at least one male sibling start and complete a college degree program. Further, seven contributors highlighted that their male siblings, either older or younger, are not currently enrolled nor do they plan to pursue a college path. The other two contributors reported that they did not have any male siblings.

A general review of the themes that resulted from the in-depth face-to-face interviews with the 10 CHamoru male contributors relative to each of the three Research Questions is provided. The members of the study who were interviewed were nervous, and somewhat anxious, but at the same time willing to participate in the interviews and relate their responses. During the interviews, they expressed their individual perspectives with all seriousness, and with very little to no emotion. The contributors were assigned a pseudonym to help reveal his experiences in a more personal way. The following pseudonyms were assigned to the contributors: Hurao, Tano', Miget, Pedro, Puti'on, Quipuha, Maga'låhi, Anghet, Taga', and Matå'pang. Throughout this article, these pseudonyms will be used as their responses are uncovered and themes emerged.

Hurdles Impacting the Achievement Gap

The interviews generated 155 coded responses addressing Research Question #1: What are the hurdles influencing the achievement gap of the CHamoru male student population at the University of Guam? The collected data emerged in three theme categories: (a) financial constraints, (b) lack of self-motivation, and (c) social distractions. The pertinent findings on the participants' financial constraints comprised 78 coded responses. The participants disclosed the

theme of financial constraints most often. Additionally, the data generated 29 coded responses for lack of self-motivation. For social distractions, 48 coded responses were reported.

Attitudes of Chamorro Men toward Higher Education

The interviews generated 53 coded responses pertinent to addressing Research Question #2: What are the attitudes of CHamoru men toward seeking a higher education? Three principle themes surfaced for Research Question #2 from the coded participants' responses: (a) positive outlook, (b) perspectives on success, and (c) words of encouragement. The applicable findings of the theme of positive attitude toward higher education comprised of 23 coded responses. For the individual perspectives on what success means, 9 coded responses were noted. The findings for the words of encouragement theme consisted of 21 coded responses.

Support of Chamorro Male Students

The interviews generated 55 coded responses pertinent to addressing Research Question #3: What effective interventions and programs can UOG implement to support CHamoru male students to persist and complete a college degree program? Two fundamental themes emerged for Research Question #3 from the coded participant's responses: (a) financial aid and (b) support programs. The relevant findings to the participant's response related to financial aid consisted of 35 coded responses. For the replies on the supporting programs theme, 20 coded responses were identified.

Insights, Discussion, and Recommendations

The study explored the achievement gaps of CHamoru male students at the University of Guam. The focal point of the research study was to gain a better understanding of the social, educational, and psychological factors that impacted their achievement gap. The study was conducted in two phases: a survey and an individual, face-to-face, in-depth interview. The two components were used to collect data for this research study. Creswell (1998) discussed that open coding is the act of discovering emergent themes, allowing the researcher to form categories of information based on contributors' responses. Thus, the data collected during the interview process was analyzed through open, axial, and selective coding (Thorne, 2000). Insights were derived from the contributors' responses to the survey and interview questions. Finally, the researcher provides the connection of the literature and collected data, implications for practice as well as present general recommendations.

Insights

1. In the demographic survey, 100% of the contributors felt that higher education was important to them. At the same time, all the contributors said that their respective families expected them to pursue higher education. On Guam, familial support in any endeavor, including the pursuit of higher education, runs deep and strong. During the interviews, several contributors highlighted that their parents, grandparents, and other loved ones greatly supported their educational endeavors.

2. Significant responses from four contributors revealed that obligations to family, relatives, and extended relatives made finishing their college degree programs a challenge. On the other hand, six contributors said that commitments to family were in no way a threat to their finishing their degrees.

3. The demographic survey noted that 70% of the contributors highlighted that their high school education prepared them for a college degree. On the other hand, 30% either disagreed or strongly disagreed that their high school education did not prepare them for a college path.

4. The survey divulged that 100% of the contributors received support and encouragement for student achievement and college success from UOG faculty and staff. As far as student services and faculty interactions with students were concerned, the demographic survey revealed that 80% were satisfied, and on the other hand, 20% were not satisfied.

5. Based on the demographic survey, 70% of the contributors recognized and reported that outside distractions such as clubbing, bars, and parties hindered and interfered with their completing a degree, whereas 30% of the contributors said that distractions were not a problem to seeking a college degree.

6. One of the factors that impacted the educational achievement gap of CHamoru males at the college level proved to be financial constraints. Four contributors reported that they were on the *Free Application for Student Aid (FAFSA)* to help fund their higher education. Interestingly, the demographic survey reported that 50% of the contributors responded that due to financial problems, they needed to seek employment rather than continue with their higher education. For instance, one contributor said that was a major reason why he didn't finish his degree program at UOG and that he feared being in debt with student loans. One the other hand, 50% mentioned that financial setbacks were not an issue for them continuing with their education at UOG. Several contributors expressed that family members such parents, grandparents paid for their college education while they attended UOG. Also, two contributors highlighted that the G.I. bill paid their tuitions and other related expenses.

7. The survey disclosed that 90% of the contributors preferred to earn a college degree than to join military service. For instance, one contributor reported that although he comes from a family with military background, greater incentive to enroll in school was of utmost importance.

8. The personal interviews revealed that 100% of the CHamoru male contributors showed a positive attitude toward obtaining a college degree. Several contributors saw the personal benefits that would result because of a higher education. For instance, one contributor said that he enjoyed the educational experience that he received at UOG. Further, the positive attitude was reflected in the contributors' responses that they would one day return to UOG. One contributor, who initially

said all he wanted to do was have fun in life and play games, had a change in attitude when he mentioned that one day he would return to college to complete his degree.

9. During the in-depth interviews, the 10 contributors expressed their personal views on the meaning of success. At the same time, 100% of the contributors felt that holding a college degree is in some respects beneficial, the attainment of a degree is not the only way to success.

10. Of interest to note, the contributors offered words of encouragement to both the present and future CHamoru male students aspiring a college degree. These words of encouragement reflected their positive attitude toward a higher education. For instance, one contributor urged, "just do it. Get that education" (Matå'pang, p. 5). Another contributor encouraged to "make the most of it" (Hurao, p. 5).

11. Responses from the contributors highlighted two important ways in which UOG can help support CHamoru male students. One way is through financial aid such as scholarships and grants aimed specifically to help finance the higher education of Pacific Islanders. Another aspect that UOG can do to aid CHamoru male students is by providing good customer service to students. For instance, one contributor mentioned that an office gave him the runaround and that he was frustrated with the system.

Discussion of Results

In this research study, the phenomenon of the factors related to the achievement gap of CHamoru male students at UOG was approached using three disciplines: sociology, education, and psychology. Taking this three-framework step approach not only may add to the first-year college retention and diversity literature but also may begin to develop a wide understanding of what is needed to help close the achievement gap affecting the overall college success of present and future CHamoru male students at the college level.

Historically, CHamoru males have played a huge part in military service through their participation and enlistments (Ballendorf, 1997; Untalan 2016; Viernes, 2010). Military service was a vocation of choice for many CHamoru males on the island of Guam (Untalan, 2016). Interestingly, however, according to the data generated from the demographic survey and the interviews, 90% of 21st century American CHamoru male contributors for this study preferred the college path versus enlistment into military service. For example, one contributor admitted, "it's more pressure going to college just because of what my family was expecting" (Quipuha, p. 3). Matå'pang acknowledged, "I never really thought about joining the military. I thought about joining college" (Matå'pang, p. 4).

The concept of masculinity stressed the idea that the display of masculine traits and behavior by men is opposed to educational accomplishment and a display of feminine behaviors (Kehler & Greig, 2005). Further, some men feel that elimination of educational pursuits is a manifestation of their manhood (Kimmel & Sommers, 2013). Nevertheless, as noted in the contributors' responses, several contributors said they had plans to return to UOG to complete their degree programs. For example, one contributor related, "Yes, I would go back. I do think higher education is important. Certain jobs require a diploma but yes, I would go back" (Tano, p.

2). In addition, the 10 contributors extended and offered words of inspiration to present and future generations of CHamoru male students pursuing or planning on attending UOG. Maga'låhi put it this way, "stay on top of your work. Don't miss classes and if you ever feel overburdened, I guess, seek help" (Maga'låhi, p. 4). Tano' further encouraged, "don't give up…there's that sense of achievement at the end" (Tano', p. 4).

The educational framework within the literature review showed that according to a US Department of Education publication a great number of males drop out of college due to financial reasons (Ross, Kena, Rathbun, KewalRamani, Zhang, Kristapovich, & Manning, 2012). Yet, the data generated from the demographic survey showed that 50% of CHamoru male contributors reported that they had some sort of financial support to attend college, whereas 50% reported that they lacked the financial means to continue their higher education. For one contributor in particular, funding for a higher education was a challenge in his case. He said, "it became very difficult to balance full-time job and also paying for school. I did qualify for federal assistance loans but at the same time, I don't feel too comfortable acquiring so much debt even with that assistance. It does get scary" (Pedro, p. 1). Taga' acknowledged, "I have FAFSA right now so it doesn't cover everything so that's like an extra bill for monthly expenses" (Taga', p. 2).

In the literature, college male students continue to struggle in academia (Marrs, 2016). In the United States, notable disparities persisted in college readiness and enrollment (Nagaoka, Roderick, & Coca, 2009). In Guam, the Guam Public School System has used the ACT Aspire to track students' progress toward college readiness. In the data generated from the demographic survey, seven contributors averaged an A or B and the other three contributors averaged C or D in their high school performances. As far as college preparation was concerned the contributors were divided on the preparation for college they received in high school. 30% of the contributors reported that their high school education did not prepare them for a college degree program; whereas the other 70% contended that their high school had prepared them to purse higher education. The prediction of freshmen to sophomore student retention at UOG between Fall 2006 and Spring 2008 semesters showed that Guam-based CHamoru freshmen male students are at a very high risk "for stopping out and/or losing academic good standing" (Smith, 2008, p. 1). The theme lack of self-motivation was identified as one of the three categories addressing Research Question #1 on the hurdles influencing the achievement gap of the CHamoru male student population at the University of Guam. Responses from the in-depth interviews highlighted that CHamoru male students were not driven in the college environment citing exhaustion because of concurrently working and going to school at the same time. Also, a few of contributors divulged that having fun as a young man contributed to their lack of motivation to move forward with their college aspirations. One contributor admitted that, "video games, cell phone, girls, just partying…those are my distractions, at least" (Puti'on, p.1).

In the literature, motivation is described as, "activation to action. Level of motivation is reflected in choice of courses of action, and in the intensity and persistence of effort" (Bandura, 1994, p. 2). In academia, motivation is vital for every student to succeed. Additionally, motivation pervades every dimension of educational behavior and production (Schunk, Pintrich, & Meece, 2008). Pedescleaux (2010) asserted that student motivation in higher education is contingent on the choice that each student makes. Thus, for this study several of the CHamoru male Contributors' motivation was based on their individual choice and decision not to complete their degrees. In support of Research Question #2, in general, the contributors to this study exhibited a positive attitude toward pursing a higher education. Overwhelmingly, contributors cited many personal benefits that can come by pursuing and obtaining a college degree. One contributor said that a

college degree is a "very important factor…if you want to be successful. A degree would achieve that goal…" (Puti'on, p. 3). Additionally, their positive attitude toward a higher education was indicated in their determination to one day to return to UOG to complete their degrees. One contributor said, "yeah, definitely I want to go back…I feel that I've waited long enough" (Anghet, p. 3). Further, in the data generated from the demographic survey, the 10 contributors said family expectations were high to attend college. Responses from the interviewees established familial support and encouragement as a significant factor to their positive attitude toward seeking and completing higher education. One contributor acknowledged that "I do have a good support system from my family…they are very encouraging to me to go to college and they still encourage me to go back" (Tano, p. 3).

From the psychology framework, the concept of perceived self-efficacy is defined as "people's beliefs about their capabilities to produce designated levels of performance that exercise influence over events that affect their lives" (Bandura, 1994, p. 1). Conner, Skidmore, and Aagaard (2012) contended that a student's attitude of achievement and completing a degree program is conditional on his high level of self-efficacy. Hence, the contributors' responses from the interviews indicated that CHamoru male students, although they did not complete a degree, showed a high level of self-efficacy toward higher education, highlighted in their desire to return to UOG to complete their respective degrees.

The contributors shared their perspectives on what success meant during the interviews. A contributor remarked that success means being able to, "provide for yourself and your family…I think that's the ultimate goal you want to live a good life" (Hurao, p. 3). Significant contributor responses stipulated that, while holding a college degree is helpful, it is not the only way to success. One contributor said that having a degree is, "a good thing. It doesn't necessarily translate to success and that is part of the reason that people either become entrepreneurs or fined a trade or craft that paid $20 an hour and they're fine and happy with that" (Hurao, p.3). Miget acknowledged, "I had to do it my way and that meant not going to school and putting all my time into the arts and, so yeah, that's my own pathway to success"(Miget, p. 5).

Although the published studies in the literature review did not indicate any support programs geared towards aiding CHamoru males' achievements in academia, the contributor s' significant responses from the demographic survey and interviews were noted supporting Research Question #3. This is related to the types of effective interventions and programs UOG can implement to support CHamoru male students to persist and complete a college degree program. Eight contributors were pleased and contented with the student services rendered at UOG whereas two were not satisfied. Although the majority of contributors were pleased with some of the services and degree programs UOG had to offer, contributors' responses showed that the institution can make improvements such as by promoting an awareness of the various types of student services available to UOG students, building support programs aimed at assisting Chamoru males, and providing customer service training for its staff. Further, based on the demographic characteristics, eight of the contributors felt that UOG provided a sense of belonging and reported feeling that the institution's faculty and staff encouraged to achieve and reach their potential in college.

General Recommendations

In discussing the issues surrounding the achievement gaps of CHamoru males at UOG, the researcher interviewed a few UOG faculty members who provided recommendations on what

UOG can do as an institution to create effective and evidence-based interventions, programs, and settings that can better support the CHamoru male population in order to maintain high retention rates for the respective groups. UOG can work to design effective mentorship programs aimed towards the CHamoru male population. An instructor and counselor of student services at UOG encouraged the creation of "mentorship programs that provide more CHamoru male role models" (A. Leon Guerrero, personal communication, May 2, 2019). Smith maintained:

> I believe that many of these young men respond very well to peer mentoring and to mentoring by faculty. I'm glad that CLASS, TRIO and the University more generally are providing students with more of these opportunities.
>
> In addition to the peer mentoring and mentoring by faculty that I mentioned earlier, I believe that UOG faculty need systematic training in advising that works for our particular student populations... CHamoru men, included (K. Smith, personal communication, May 30, 2019).

For example, UOG could design a program that is geared towards assisting CHamoru males with their educational achievements similar to that of City of New York Black Male Initiative (CUNY BMI). CUNY BMI's "vision is to create model projects throughout the University that are intended to provide additional layers of academic and social support for students from populations that are severely underrepresented in higher education, particularly African, African American/Black, Caribbean and Latino/Hispanic males" (Best, 2018). The CUNY BMI model has proven effective in larger universities throughout the United States. UOG's proposed program could be named *Progråman Sinaonao Lalåhen CHamoru para ge'hilo na edukasion: The CHamoru Male Initiative Within Higher Education.*

Further, encouraging advocates for this group such as the establishment of a student organization for CHamoru males. Currently, there is no CHamoru student club or organization here at UOG aimed to support CHamoru males' educational endeavors (A. Leon Guerrero, personal communication, May 2, 2019). A Professor of Social Work at UOG suggested:

> We can put together (in a user-friendly way) what we know about young CHamoru male UOG students, then invite male CHamoru students to discuss and interpret what we think we know about them. And if we can build some degree of trust with some of them, they may be of significant help to better understand the factors that influence them as UOG students. This may be an interesting project to do in close collaboration with CHamoru Studies. Depending on how we approach it, it may lead to some sort of participatory action research, where the research objects become the research subjects and co-authors of the knowledge produced. But even if the above does not work out, we still can make a focused institutional effort to ensure what every students should get; an academic advisor who meets regularly with the new students, make sure that the student know all resources available to him, link the student into support systems and positive social networks, … and we keep very good student records, as we should for every student (Schwab, personal communication, June 3, 2019).

As a final recommendation, Smith asserted:

> I also believe that with the new requirement of declaring a major by the time that the student completes 30 credits, we will need new interventions in place to help these students make that decision. It's true that students who declare are more likely to stay enrolled, but they will need easy-to-access resources that will help them choose. After all, for many of them, half of those first 30 credits will be in the Core Competencies, which are not designed to familiarize them with fields in which they may wish to major and launch a career (K, Smith, personal communication, May 30, 2019).

Conclusion

The achievement gap among male students in the higher education environment across the United States is on the increase--males attending UOG on Guam are no exception. Statistics from UOG show that CHamoru male students struggle to complete a college degree. Through this research study, the contributors shared their experiences in great detail that centered on the hurdles that have affected their student achievement and overall success at UOG. These stories presented a thick and rich description of the difficulties and issues faced by the CHamoru student population at UOG that impeded their educational endeavors such as financial constraints, the distractions of social life, and lack of motivation. Overall, the contributors displayed a positive attitude toward seeking a college degree and expressed their desires to eventually return to UOG. To help close the achievement gap particularly of the CHamoru male population, UOG must be diligent in their persistence and retention efforts by examining 21st century strategies, methods, and practices in the higher learning landscape.

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Social Bonds and Juvenile Delinquency in the Northern Mariana Islands

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Introduction

The National Education Goals Panel (1994:109) stated, "By the year 2000, schools in the United States will be free of drugs, violence, and the unauthorized presence of firearms, and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning." The proclamation of this still unfulfilled goal may have been fueled by the need to calm the public's fears of what seemed to be a skyrocketing increase in crimes committed in the nations' schools. In addition to media reports, academic papers on school crime have continued to highlight these fears. Research has ranged from prevention (Haynie et al., 1997; Dusenbury et al., 1997), to organizational and community structures conducive to school crime (Hellman and Beaton, 1986; Menacker et al., 1990), to specific offenses, such as bullying (Akira, 1996; Limber, 1998). Remaining unclear is the picture of the nature and causes of misconduct committed by students inside versus outside the school. Moreover, most of the reports on school delinquency lack any clear theoretical framework that may be helpful in understanding this phenomenon.

Hirschi's (1969) social bonding theory is one of the most prominent theories in the etiology of crime and delinquency. The theory argues that four elements of the social bond prevent people from engaging in crime and delinquency. Those attached to others, committed to a conventional life, involved in conventional activities, and those who believe in the value and validity of rules are less likely to commit delinquency. Hirschi and others presented research that supports the theory (Gardner and Shoemaker, 1989; Hepburn, 1976; Hindelang, 1973; Johnson, 1979, Krohn and Massey, 1980, Wiatrowski et al., 1981). In Shoemaker's (1990) assessment of the literature, social bonding theory accounts for 25% to 50% of the variance in delinquency. Using the theoretical framework of the social bonding theory, the present study explores a wide range of delinquent behaviors committed by students inside and outside the school setting in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI).

Cultural Context

Prior to the establishment of colonial rule in the late seventeenth century Chamorro society was highly decentralized. Clans, in constant competition with each other, each controlled their own territories. A socio-political hierarchy was comprised of two or three general levels of status, or rank. Individuals in higher statuses were given respectful behavior, preferred seating, special foods at gatherings, and assistance with manual tasks. Respect was also extended to the elders, even to those who occupied a status lower than that of other leaders. It is likely that there were no chiefs who ruled over village confederations, entire islands, or groups of islands. The extent of chiefly powers was limited in scope and geographic range. Instead, village chiefs operating within an extended family structure may have commanded over the affairs of their respective village.

Early missionaries' accounts suggest that men and women played different roles in the community. Men's roles included a wide range of occupations from farming to skilled trades like

boat making. Warriors and sea navigators were highly respected. Women were the heads of households (Russell, 1998). Women, particularly elder women who were married and had children were powerful in many areas of society. Women exercised control over family life, property, and inheritance through the matrilineal kinship system (Souder 1992).

Today both Chamorros and Carolinians, or Refaluwasch, can be characterized by a number of general cultural traits. As described by Inos (1994), fiestas for village patron saints and other celebrations organized around Catholic sacraments provide opportunities for family gatherings and socialization. These gatherings of large extended families reflect the strong value of interdependency as well as the culture's rootedness in the Catholic faith. As with their pre-colonial ancestors, Chamorros and Refaluwasch respect elders regardless of their socio-economic status or educational background. Hundreds of years under colonial rule have influenced and altered the indigenous culture of the CNMI. Although the traditional role of women has changed, women continue to play a central role in cultural preservation; and they continue to make important decisions that have an impact on both the family and the wider community.

New opportunities arose in the mid-1980s experienced as the tourism industry expanded. Both Chamorros and Carolinians were able to capitalize on this boom in part because the CNMI Constitution restricts land ownership to people of indigenous descent, American and Japanese businesses invested millions in real estate by leasing instead of purchasing land from Chamorro and Carolinian families. A few indigenous families experienced instant economic prosperity, while others did not. People generally began to recognize that material wealth is a real possibility, and something to value. As a result of the islands' overall economic success, a large number of foreign, or guest, workers arrived in the islands in large numbers in the 1980s from Asian countries, particularly the Philippines, China, and Korea. The majority of guest workers were employed as construction, farm, and domestic laborers but others filled professional occupations such as teaching. Many of these migrants settled permanently, adding new layers to the CNMI's multicultural society.

The rapid change families in the CNMI have experienced leads one to question the nature of their social ties, in essence their social bonds, disrupted by colonial rule, religious conversion, population mobility, and economic transformations. Of interest in the present study is the nature of these bonds among the youth, and whether these bonds can protect and discourage them from engaging in risk-behavior in the form of various juvenile delinquency acts.

Literature Review on Social Bonding Theory

Researchers have tested social bonding theory in a variety of ways. They have examined every element of the bond (Krohn and Massey, 1980, Jenkins, 1997, Gardner and Shoemaker, 1989) or have examined two or three elements of the bond (Agnew, 1985; DeFronzo and Pawlak, 1993; Foshee and Bauman, 1992; Jenkins, 1995; Junger and Marshall, 1997; Marcos et al., 1986; Matsueda and Heimer, 1987; Rankin and Wells, 1990; Weber, 1995). Results of studies on the relative importance of the elements of the bond are not consistent, although there is some evidence that involvement has the weakest relationship to crime and delinquency (Akers and Cochran, 1985; Krohn and Massey, 1980; Empey and Stafford, 1991; Junger-Tas, 1992; Shoemaker, 1990; Thornberry et al., 1991).

One reason for inconclusive findings may be that research on social bonding theory has employed different measurements of the bond elements and of delinquency. Social bonding theory has been tested by exploring the relationships between the elements of the bond and delinquency

in general (Cernkovich and Giordano, 1992; Liska and Reed, 1985), minor and serious delinquency (Krohn and Massey, 1980), and drug use specifically (Marcos et al., 1986; Akers and Lee, 1999). Studies generally involve measurements of the elements of the social bond that include different institutions (or persons and activities in different institutions) without separating out the effects of bonding in various institutions on general delinquency. Some research has looked at social bonding within one institutional setting and its effect on general delinquency (Cernkovich and Giordano, 1992; McBride et al., 1995). There is also an examination of the elements of the social bond within the confines of a specific institution or organization, typically the school, and to study the effects of these bonds on crime and delinquency occurring within the boundaries of the same institution (Jenkins, 1995; 1997; Welsh et al., 1999).

Although Hirschi's (1969) social bonding theory is one of the most popular and widely tested theories in studies of crime and deviance, the current state of social bonding theory is limited by several gaps in the research. First, there is an "ethnic gap" that is present in American sociology literature, as well as the social bonding literature specifically (Matsueda and Heimer, 1987). This is the state of social bonding theory, despite Hirschi's (1969) argument that it can be applied across ethnic and racial groups. Sociological research, including research on social bonding theory, has focused on White participants residing in the US. Rarely are other racial/ethnic groups, with the exception of African Americans, included in sociological research. Pacific Islanders and Asians are largely absent in criminology research, with a few exceptions such as Chui and Chan's (2012) study showing that a strong belief in the legal system, a healthy parent–child bonding, and a strong school commitment are significant protective factors to prevent adolescents from engaging in theft and violent delinquency in Hong Kong.

There are only a handful of published studies on the interethnic generalizability of social bonding theory (Junger and Marshall, 1997; Ellickson et al., 1999; Cernkovich and Giordano, 1992; Liska and Reed, 1985). One comprehensive cross-national study is by Junger and Marshall (1997). However, this study relied on data restricted to 788 males in four different ethnic groups in the Netherlands. In contrast, the proposed study seeks to examine both males and females in indigenous and non-indigenous ethnic groups in the CNMI, an ethnically diverse commonwealth of the US.

The second gap that the proposed study addresses is the testing and elaboration of social bonding theory. Hirschi (1969:88) argued that social bonds, particularly parental attachment, should shield individuals from delinquency since "the important consideration is whether the parent is psychologically present when temptation to commit crimes occurs." However, this argument has not been fully explored. Is parental attachment's impact on delinquency inside the school, where parents are largely physically absent, different from its impact on delinquency outside of school, where parents' "psychological presence" may be more salient and where their physical presence is more likely? This question, as well as others, has yet to be fully investigated.

Currently, the bulk of the literature in social bonding does not separate out the influence of school bonds from family and community bonds. The assumption seems to exist that school bonds best explain school delinquency. This assumption is made without simultaneously testing the effects of non-school bonds in models examining the influence of school bonds on school delinquency. Furthermore, research has not looked separately at school bonds' influence on delinquency that occurs outside the school setting. Research has also not examined the effect of non-school related social bonds on delinquency inside and outside the school setting.

These gaps in the literature can be addressed by exploring the following research questions:

R1: What are the varying effects of bonds associated with the school environment on delinquency that occurs inside and outside the school environment?

R2: What are the varying effects of bonds outside the school environment on delinquency that occurs inside and outside the school environment?

R3: Is social bonding theory generalizable across indigenous and non-indigenous ethnic groups in the CNMI?

The present study addresses the gaps in the sociology literature. First, it will help close the ethnic gap with a survey of CNMI public and private high school students. The high schools, which function in an American school system, have an ethnically diverse population that facilitates the inclusion of Asian and Pacific Islanders in the sociology literature. Despite being a US political entity, the CNMI is largely absent in American sociological literature. Most importantly, there is no extensive research on delinquency correlation and causation among ethnic groups in the CNMI. There have been numerous surveys sponsored by government agencies, but their focus has largely been on the incidence and prevalence of drug use and not on the correlates of delinquency. Second, the present study adds to the scarce literature on the generalizability of social bonding theory. Participants are divided into two groups – indigenous (Chamorros and Carolinians) and non-indigenous (Other) ethnic groups, a meaningful separation based on the groups' different historical roots in the islands. Separate analyses are conducted on each group to facilitate a test of social bonding theory's generalizability across the two groups. Third, the study explores the relative impact of school and non-school bonds on delinquency inside and outside of the school setting. The following hypotheses are tested:

H1. Attachment to teachers is negatively correlated to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both indigenous and non-indigenous students.

H2. School commitment is negatively correlated to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both indigenous and non-indigenous students.

H3. School involvement in clubs is negatively correlated to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both indigenous and non-indigenous students.

H4. School belief is negatively correlated to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both indigenous and non-indigenous students.

H5. Mother attachment is negatively correlated to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both indigenous and non-indigenous students.

H6. Father attachment is negatively correlated to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both indigenous and non-indigenous students.

H7. Peer attachment is negatively correlated to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both indigenous and non-indigenous students.

H8. Family social activities is negatively correlated to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both indigenous and non-indigenous students.

H9. Family chores are negatively correlated to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both indigenous and non-indigenous students.

H10. Non-school belief is negatively correlated to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both indigenous and non-indigenous students.

H11. Religious activity is negatively correlated to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both indigenous and non-indigenous students.

Methodology

Participation of Schools and Respondents

The CNMI Youth Survey was administered in the year 2000. A total of five schools in the CNMI are represented in this study. School A, B, and C are public high schools included in the study. Each is located on a different island, one on Saipan, one on Tinian, and one on Rota. School D and E are private schools located on Saipan. Each school gave their full support and cooperation to the study by giving access to the researcher to teachers, staff members, and students.

The response rates for the five participating high schools ranged from 74 percent to 97.6 percent. The response rates of high schools in the study are presented in Table 1. Also appearing in Table 1 are the percentages of indigenous and non-indigenous students included in the study by school affiliation. More than half of the indigenous and non-indigenous students included in the study are from School A, the largest public high school on Saipan, and at the time the survey was administered, the lone public school on Saipan.

Table 1. Response Rates of Participating High Schools

School	Overall Response Rate[a]	Percentage of Respondents in Survey	Percentage of Indigenous Included in Study[b]	Percentage of Non-Indigenous Included in Study[c]	Percentage Included in Study[d]
Public					
School A	79.8	68.9	68.4	66.2	67.7
School B	87.3	7.3	8.8	4.4	7.3
School C	91.0	8.6	11.0	2.8	8.3
Private					
School D	74.0	9.1	9.8	8.9	9.5
School E	97.6	6.4	2.0	17.7	7.2

a Calculation of response rate: number of respondents divided by the number of students enrolled at time of survey administration (excluding those who participated in pre-tests).
b Listwise deletion of cases: N=715
c Listwise deletion of cases: N=361
d Listwise deletion of cases: N=1076

The participants of the study are ethnically diverse, with almost half Chamorro. Table 2 displays the frequency distribution of ethnic groups into indigenous and non-indigenous categories.

Table 2. Frequency Distribution of Ethnic Groups

Ethnicity	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Total
Chamorro	----------	777(75.7%)	49.1%
Carolinian (Refaluwasch)	----------	102(9.9%)	6.4%
Carolinian & Chamorro	----------	147(14.3%)	9.3%
Filipino	176(31.7%)	----------	11.1%
Chinese	22(4.0%)	----------	1.4%
Korean	117(21.0%)	----------	7.4%
Palauan	81(14.6%)	----------	5.1%
Chuukese	31(5.6%)	----------	2.0%
Yapese	11(2.0%)	----------	.7%
White/Caucasian	16(2.9%)	----------	1.0%
Pohnpeian	28(5.0%)	----------	1.8%
Other Pacific Islander	14(.9%)	----------	.9%
Other Asian	20(3.6%)	----------	1.3%
Multi-Ethnic Non-Indigenous	31(5.6%)	----------	2.0%
Other	9(1.6%)	----------	.6%
Total	556(35.1%)	1026(64.9%)	100%

Operationalization of Variables

Delinquency

For the present study, a total of twenty items were used to measure students' delinquency in school. In the survey, students were asked to respond "Yes" or "No" to nineteen questions that asked if they in the current school year had ever committed a list of acts while on school campus or while participating in school-related activities. For each of the nineteen items, "No" is coded 0 and "Yes" is coded 1. An additional question asked students if they had in the current school year cheated on exams, test or quizzes. Responses on a five-point scale ranged from 1) "Always" to 5) "Never." "Never" is coded as 0 and the other responses were coded as 1. Approximately 78 percent of indigenous students and 72 percent of non-indigenous students say they cheated sometime during the school year. For both groups this is the most common delinquent behavior in school, while the two least common delinquent acts for both indigenous and non-indigenous students are using crystal methamphetamine ("ice") and using cocaine ("coke").

In addition to looking at school delinquency, this study also looks at delinquency outside the school environment. As with school delinquency a total of twenty items is used to measure non-school delinquency. Students were asked to indicate whether they had during the school year ever committed a list of nineteen acts outside the school campus and school-related activities. For each of the nineteen items, "No" is coded 0 and "Yes" is coded 1. Additionally, students were asked if they ever played video poker, available only outside school campuses. "No" is coded as 0 and "Yes" is coded as 1. The most common delinquent behavior outside of school for indigenous students is punching or hitting someone, while pulling or twisting someone is the most common act for non-indigenous students. As with acts committed in the school environment, using crystal

methamphetamine and using cocaine are the least common behaviors. Also, more than half of indigenous students say they smoked marijuana outside of school while only 38.1 of non-indigenous students say they smoked marijuana outside of school during the school year.

The 40 items that constitute the school delinquency and non-school delinquency variables are used to measured total delinquency. For every item "No" is coded as 0 and "Yes" is coded as 1. Frequencies and percentages of the delinquency indexes are displayed in Table 3. Significant difference in proportions between indigenous and non-indigenous students for school and non-school delinquency items are also reported.

Table 3: Frequency Distribution of Delinquency Items*

	Indigenous				Non-Indigenous			
	School		Non-School		School		Non-School	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Shoved Someone	640(64.4)	354(35.6)[a]	459(46.2)	535(53.8)[b]	381(70.0)	163(30.0)	304(56.3)	236(43.7)
Sat on or Held Someone Down	745(75.5)	242(24.5)[a]	521(52.8)	465(47.2)[b]	430(80.1)	107(19.9)	323(60.5)	211(39.5)
Drunk or Stoned	638(65.3)	339(34.7)[a]	369(37.4)	618(62.6)[b]	420(78.2)	117(21.8)	291(54.0)	248(46.0)
Wrote on Property	711(71.2)	288(28.8)	709(71.7)	280(28.3)	391(72.1)	151(27.9)	385(71.4)	154(28.6)
Sold Drugs	862(86.8)	131(13.2)[a]	856(86.3)	136(13.7)[b]	509(93.4)	36(6.6)	497(91.2)	48(8.8)
Smoked Pot	631(64.0)	355(36.0)[a]	357(36.0)	636(64.0)[b]	431(79.5)	111(20.5)	337(61.9)	207(38.1)
Drank Alcohol	790(79.9)	199(20.1)[a]	352(35.5)	640(64.5)[b]	458(84.0)	87(16.0)	236(43.5)	307(56.5)
Pulled or Twisted	453(45.6)	540(54.4)[a]	318(32.1)	672(67.9)[b]	276(50.5)	270(49.5)	220(40.6)	322(59.4)
Threw Something	726(73.0)	269(27.0)	535(54.0)	455(46.0)[b]	408(75.4)	133(24.6)	333(61.4)	209(38.6)
Used Ice	979(98.4)	16(1.6)	962(97.1)	29(2.9)	537(98.4)	9(1.6)	527(96.5)	19(3.5)
Used Coke	977(98.3)	17(1.7)	966(97.7)	23(2.3)	534(98.0)	11(2.0)	530(97.2)	15(2.8)
Smoked Cigarettes	565(57.0)	426(43.0)[a]	324(32.6)	670(67.4)[b]	398(73.0)	147(27.0)	260(47.8)	284(52.2)
Tricked Someone	824(82.9)	170(17.1)	717(72.4)	273(27.6)	458(83.7)	89(16.3)	402(73.8)	143(26.2)
Punched or Hit	527(53.2)	463(46.8)[a]	289(29.3)	698(70.7)[b]	340(62.2)	207(37.8)	237(43.5)	308(56.5)
Stole under $50	897(90.1)	99(9.9)[a]	762(76.8)	230(23.2)	506(93.2)	37(6.8)	416(76.3)	129(23.7)
Stole over $50	962(96.8)	32(3.2)	896(90.6)	93(9.4)	526(97.0)	16(3.0)	478(87.9)	66(12.1)
Stole Money	914(92.4)	75(7.6)	798(80.6)	192(19.4)	504(93.0)	38(7.0)	456(84.1)	86(15.9)
Used Weapon	938(94.4)	56(5.6)	880(88.6)	113(11.4)	523(95.6)	24(4.4)	487(89.4)	58(10.6)
Made Threats	731(73.5)	263(26.5)[a]	631(63.5)	363(36.5)[b]	433(79.7)	110(20.3)	376(69.1)	168(30.9)
Cheated	221(22.0)	783(78.0)	----------	----------	151(27.7)	395(72.3)	----------	----------
Played Poker	----------	----------	680(70.4)	286(29.6)	----------	----------	412(78.3)	114(21.7)

* Percentages in parentheses

a Significant difference in proportions between indigenous and non-indigenous students for school delinquency items ($p < .05$)

b Significant difference in proportions between indigenous and non-indigenous students for non-school delinquency items ($p < .05$)

Based on the measures described above, three delinquency indexes are created. The school delinquency and non-school delinquency indexes are calculated by summing across the values of the items comprising the index. The total delinquency index is calculated by summing the scores of the school and non-school delinquency indexes. Items comprising the school delinquency index have a reliability coefficient of .85 for both indigenous and non-indigenous students. A high degree of internal consistency exists also for the items comprising the non-school delinquency index. The items yield a reliability coefficient of .84 for indigenous and .86 for non-indigenous students.

School Social Bonds

Teacher attachment is measured by six items that asked students to assess their relationship with their teachers on a four-point scale ranging from 1) "Strongly agree" to 4) "Strongly disagree." Responses are reverse re-coded so that a low score indicates low attachment and a high score means high attachment. Thus, "Strongly disagree" is coded as 1 and "Strongly agree" is coded as 4. Indigenous and non-indigenous students indicate that they are strongly attached to their teachers. For many of the items over half of the students indicate that they agree to strongly agree with the statements regarding teachers. Many of the students seemed to care what their teachers think of them. Approximately 43 percent of indigenous students agree with the statement "I care a lot what teachers think of me," while about 49 percent of non-indigenous students say that they agree with this statement.

School commitment is assessed with seven items. Students were asked to state how strongly they agreed or disagreed with statements about their education on a four-point scale ranging from 1) "Strongly agree" to 4) "Strongly disagree. As with teacher attachment variables, responses are reverse re-coded so that a low score indicates low school commitment and a high score indicates high school commitment. Thus, "Strongly disagree" is coded as 1 and "Strongly agree" is coded as 4. These numbers suggest that there is a very high level of school commitment for both indigenous and non-indigenous students; 80.4 percent of indigenous and 75 percent of non-indigenous students strongly agreed that education is important. Furthermore, an overwhelming majority of the students indicate that they want to continue their education after high school. This is consistent with the findings by Inos (1994), who found that most of the students attending Rota High School planned to go to college. Furthermore, she found that this was directly related to the expectations of their parents.

In contrast to the other school social bonds, one item is used to assess a student's involvement in school. Students were asked how often during the school year they participated in extra-curricular activities such as student government and school clubs. Responses range from 1) "Never" to 5) "Everyday." Data show that 55 percent of indigenous and 46.1 percent of non-indigenous students say that they never participate in extra-curricular activities.

Seven items are used to measure students' school belief. Students were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed or disagreed with statements about their school's rules and enforcement on a four-point scale ranging from 1) "Strongly agree" to 4) "Strongly disagree." Responses are reverse coded so that 1 means "Strongly disagree" 4 means "Strongly agree." Students generally seem to have a positive assessment of school rules. However, only 28.4 percent of indigenous students strongly agree that punishment is the same for everyone; while only 18.6 percent of non-indigenous students strongly agree that their principal is fair.

Prior to determining the measurement of social bonding variables, factor analysis was conducted on items expected to represent diverse dimensions, or elements, of the social bond.

Factors with an eigenvalue of 1 or greater are included in all factor analyses in the present study. Initially, factor analysis was conducted on school bonding items for indigenous and non-indigenous students separately (Table 4). Drawing on the social bonding literature, the expectation was that the list of school social bonding items would collapse into four distinct dimensions – the first measuring teacher attachment, the second measuring school commitment, the third school involvement, and the fourth measuring school belief. Initial factor analysis of twenty items showed that they loaded onto four different factors as expected. However, the item "School involvement in activities" had a low communality of .224 and factor loading of .408 for non-indigenous students, so it was removed from the analysis. Subsequent factor analysis of the remaining school bonding items shows that the rotated matrix of factor loadings form, as hypothesized, distinct dimensions of the social bond.

The items that load highly on the teacher attachment dimension for both indigenous and non-indigenous students are 1) "Care what teachers think," 2) "Have a favorite teacher," 3) "Most teachers like me," 4) "I like most teachers," 5) "Miss teachers if I leave," and 6) "Easy to talk to teachers." The items in this index exhibit internal consistency, with a reliability coefficient of .82 for indigenous and .79 for non-indigenous students.

For indigenous students, items 1) "Care homework done right," 2) "Honor roll important," 3) "Think classes are important," 4) "Grades matter," 5) "Education important," 6) "Disappointed if fail a class," and 7) "Want to continue education" load onto a single factor representing school commitment. Factor loadings are similar for non-indigenous students, except "Care homework done right" and "Think classes are important" load onto a different factor. However, these two items are included with the other items as an indicator of school commitment since there is no theoretical argument to separate them from the other five items that load onto the school commitment dimension. These two items are consistent with the theoretical meaning of school commitment. Furthermore, reliability analysis shows that the alpha coefficient increases from .78 to .81. when these two items are included with the other five items for non-indigenous students. For indigenous students, the reliability coefficient is .79 for the school commitment index

Seven items load onto the school belief dimension. They include 1) "School rules fair," 2) "Students treated fairly," 3) "Everyone knows school rules," 4) "Most teachers fair," 5) "Punishment same for everyone," 6) "Know type of punishment," and 7) "Principal fair." The items for the school belief index also exhibit internal consistency, with a reliability coefficient of .79 for both indigenous and non-indigenous students.

To prevent the unnecessary loss of cases while maintaining the theoretical meaning of the factor-based indexes, it is necessary to allow for a limited number of missing responses for all the factor-based indexes in the present study. Summing the response values of the items comprising the factor-based index, and then dividing by the number of valid responses produces each individual's index score. Thus, the factor-based index scores represent a weighted average of valid responses. However, it should be noted that for each factor-based index there is a limit on the number of missing responses allowed. In other words, a score is calculated only if the individual has a certain number of valid responses among the items comprising the index.

	Indigenous				Non-Indigenous				
	1	2	3	Communality	1	2	3	4	Communality
Teacher Attachment									
Care What Teachers Think	.42	.54	.16	.49	.54	.22	.36	.24	.52
Have a Favorite Teacher	.03	.67	.01	.45	.65	-.01	.02	.09	.43
Most Teachers Like Me	.17	.69	.17	.54	.59	.01	.26	-.27	.50
I Like Most Teachers	.15	.78	.19	.67	.70	.28	.20	.08	.62
Miss Teachers If I Leave	.19	.79	.15	.68	.73	.21	.10	.17	.62
Easy to Talk to Teachers	.07	.69	.10	.50	.62	.19	-.08	.19	.46
School Commitment									
Care Homework Done Right	.63	.15	.11	.43	.23	.08	.38	.66	.64
Honor Roll Important	.67	.10	.12	.48	.13	.02	.59	.41	.53
Think Classes are Important	.55	.28	.22	.43	.22	.20	.29	.69	.64
Grades Matter	.75	.05	.06	.57	.06	.08	.70	.34	.61
Education Important	.69	.10	.06	.49	.19	.09	.70	.11	.54
Disappointed If Fail a Class	.61	.05	-.02	.38	-.01	.13	.72	-.10	.55
Want to Continue Education	.64	.09	.01	.42	.12	.03	.74	.13	.58
School Belief									
School Rules Fair	.08	.22	.65	.47	.37	.55	.10	.22	.50
Students Treated Fairly	.00	.16	.75	.59	.29	.72	-.09	.05	.61
Everyone Knows School Rules	.16	.01	.58	.37	-.07	.52	-.02	.35	.42
Most Teachers Fair	-.00	.29	.64	.49	.37	.58	.10	-.08	.50
Punishment Same for Everyone	.07	.03	.64	.42	.13	.71	.02	.12	.54
Know Type of Punishment	.11	.00	.60	.38	-.02	.66	.25	.12	.51
Principal Fair	.07	.12	.73	.55	.23	.62	.21	-.21	.53

a Principal component analysis, Varimax rotation
b N=905, Listwise deletion of cases
c N=484, Listwise deletion of cases

Table 4. Factor Analysis of School Social Bonding Items[a]

	Indigenous[b]						Non-Indigenous[c]					
	1	2	3	4	5	Communality	1	2	3	4	5	Communality
Mother Attachment												
Mother Understands	-.02	.23	.70	-.07	.01	56	-.04	.29	.75	-.03	.11	.65
Share Thoughts with Mother	.09	.18	.78	.01	-.02	.65	.02	.18	.80	.02	.03	.68
Do Things with Mother	.10	.09	.72	.28	.11	.63	.06	.17	.74	.16	.01	.62
Father Attachment												
Father Understands	-.01	.83	.17	-.00	.03	.73	-.00	.81	.22	.03	.10	.72
Share Thoughts with Father	.04	.80	.18	.03	.02	.67	.06	.77	.22	.08	.03	.65
Do Things with Father	.04	.80	.13	.12	.10	.67	.06	.76	.19	.19	.02	.66
Peer Attachment												
Respect Friends' Opinions	.61	-.07	.08	.02	.08	.39	.57	.01	-.02	-.07	.17	.35
Friends Stick by Me	.77	.08	-07	.14	-02	.63	.74	.03	.04	.10	.01	.56
I Stick by Friends	.72	.06	-.17	.12	-04	.57	.68	-.15	.06	.03	.10	.50
Friends Consider Me Friend	.65	.09	.16	.01	-02	.46	.71	07	.12	-.00	-.14	.54
Friends Interested in Problems	.72	-.08	.08	-01	-01	.53	.70	.08	-.05	.01	-.00	.49
I Fit in Well with Friends	.74	.04	.08	-04	.07	.56	.74	.08	-.06	.05	.04	.56
Family Involvement												
Help with Family Party	.04	.01	-.03	.83	-01	.70	.00	-.02	.12	.85	-.06	.73
Attend Family Party	.06	.07	-.03	.76	-.05	.58	.00	.16	-.04	.78	.06	.65
Chores	.04	.05	.26	.53	.07	.35	.06	.10	.06	.63	.09	.42
Non-School Belief												
Government Laws Fair	.07	.12	.05	-.03	.79	.65	.04	.01	-.01	.14	.85	.74
Police Fair to Most	-.02	.01	.01	.03	.82	.68	.09	.12	.15	-.04	.77	.65

a Principal component analysis, Varimax rotation
b N=786, Listwise deletion of cases
c N=418, Listwise deletion of cases

Table 5. Factor Analysis of Non-School Social Bonding Items[a]

Non-School Social Bonds

To measure students' attachment to their mother they were asked to respond to three items regarding their relationship with their mother. Responses ranged from 1) "Always" to 5) "Never." Responses are reverse coded so that 1 is "Never" and 4 is "Always." Thus, a low score on the mother attachment variable indicates low mother attachment, while a high score indicates that the student is highly attached to his or her mother. The majority of indigenous and non-indigenous students say that their mother sometimes to always understands them, and that they sometimes to always share thoughts and do things with their mother.

Father attachment is measured in the same manner as mother attachment. Students were asked to assess their relationship with their father on a five-point scale ranging from 1) "Always" to 5) "Never." Responses are reverse coded so that 1 is "Never" and 4 is "Always." Thus, a low score on the father attachment variable signifies low father attachment, while a high score indicates that the student is highly attached to his or her father. Although father attachment seems high among students, indigenous and non-indigenous students are less likely to say that their father, in comparison to their mother, always understands them, and that they always share thoughts and do things with their father.

Items asking students to evaluate their relationships to close friends by responding to six items that measure peer attachment. Responses for each item ranged from 1) "Strongly agree" to 4) "Strongly disagree." Responses are reverse coded so that 1 is "Strongly disagree" and 4 is "Strongly agree."

Another non-school bond included in this study is family involvement. Students were asked two questions about the frequency of their involvement in the family's social activities and one question about family chores. Specifically, questions about the family social activities addresses how often they help prepare for family parties such as birthdays, weddings, etc., and how often they attend these family functions. Responses range from 1) "Never" to 6) "More than 8 times."

Non-school belief is another social bond that is included in the study. Students were asked to respond to two statements about fairness of government laws and the police on a four-point scale ranging from 1) "Strongly agree" to 4) "Strongly disagree." Responses are reverse coded so that responses range from 1) "Strongly disagree" to 4) "Strongly agree."

A single item that asked students about the frequency of religious services or activity measures religiosity. Responses range from 1) "Never" to 6) "More than once a week." Less than 9 percent of indigenous and less than 11 percent of non-indigenous students say that they never participate in religious services or activities.

As with the social bonding indexes, prior to determining how non-school bonding indexes are created, factor analysis is conducted on items that were expected to represent diverse dimensions, or elements, of the social bond outside the school environment (Table 5). Again, factor analysis is conducted on non-school bonding items for indigenous and non-indigenous students separately. Drawing on the social bonding literature, the expectation was that the list of non-school social bonding items would collapse into several distinct dimensions –mother attachment, father attachment, peer attachment, family involvement, and non-school belief.

Items that load highly on the mother attachment dimension are 1) "Mother understands, 2) "Share thoughts with mother," and 3) "Do things with mother." A high degree of internal consistency among the items comprising this index is indicated by a reliability coefficient of .68 for indigenous and .70 for non-indigenous students. Three similar items load onto the father

attachment dimension. Reliability coefficients are slightly higher for the items comprising the father attachment index – .77 for indigenous and .76 for non-indigenous students.

Six items load onto the peer attachment dimension. They include 1) "Respect friends' opinions," 2) "Friends stick by me," 3) "I stick by friends," 4) "Friends consider me a friend," 5) "Friends interested in my problems," and 6) "I fit in well with my friends." Reliability coefficient for these items is .99 for both indigenous and non-indigenous students, indicating a high degree of internal consistency.

The items that load onto the family involvement dimension are 1) "Help with family party," 2) "Attend family party," and 4) "Family chores." The reliability coefficient decreases for both groups (.5496 for indigenous and .6256 for non-indigenous) with the three items combined, but increases with family chores excluded. Therefore, two measures of the family involvement concept were created. The first is an index measuring family social activities that includes items "Help with family party" and "Attend family party." Reliability coefficient is .60 for indigenous and .67 for non-indigenous students. The single item asking students how often they do chores is the second measure of the family involvement concept. Since the exclusion of family chores increases the reliability coefficient for both groups, and because it is conceptually distinct from family social activities, the three items are not combined.

Two items load onto the non-school belief dimension. They include 1) "Government laws fair" and 2) "Police fair to most." The items have a moderate, but acceptable degree of internal consistency, indicated by the reliability coefficient of .49 for indigenous and .51 for non-indigenous students.

Demographic Variables

Gender is a key demographic variable that has been closely linked with delinquency. A dummy variable was created so that female is coded as 0 and male is coded as 1. Females make up 50.6 percent of indigenous students and 48.1 percent of non-indigenous students. A second demographic variable is age. Students were asked for their current age in years. The sample has students from ages twelve to twenty-one. Most students fell between fifteen to seventeen years old.

Table 6 displays the variables, metrics, and descriptive statistics for the indigenous and non-indigenous groups. The mean delinquency inside and outside of school is higher for indigenous students in comparison to non-indigenous students. Non-indigenous students have higher average scores for teacher attachment, school involvement, religious activity, and age in comparison to indigenous students.

*Table 6. Variables, Metrics, Descriptive Statistics**

Variables	Metrics	Indigenous (N=715)			Non-Indigenous (N=361)		
		Mean	**S.D.**	**Min-Max**	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Min-Max**
Dependent Variables							
School Delinquency	(Number of different types of delinquent acts inside school)	5.35	3.86	0-20	4.43	3.80	0-20
Non-School Delinquency	(Number of different types of delinquent acts outside school)	7.72	4.14	0-20	6.57	4.45	0-20
Total Delinquency	(Total number of different types of delinquent acts)	13.07	7.54	0-40	10.99	7.72	0-40
School Bonding Variables							
Teacher Attachment	(1=Strongly disagree…4=Strongly agree)	2.75	.68	1-4	2.78	.59	1-4
School Commitment	(1=Strongly disagree…4=Strongly agree)	3.54	.44	1-4	3.50	.47	1.57-4
School Involvement	(1=Never…5=Everyday)	2.06	1.40	1-5	2.34	1.47	1-5
School Belief	(1=Strongly disagree…4=Strongly agree)	2.70	.61	1-4	2.65	.57	1-4
Non-School Bonding Variables							
Mother Attachment	(1=Never, 5=Always)	3.54	.94	1-5	3.19	.96	1-5
Father Attachment	(1=Never…5=Always)	3.06	1.10	1-5	2.78	1.01	1-5
Peer Attachment	(1=Strongly disagree…4=Strongly agree)	3.46	.47	1-4	3.42	.43	2-4
Family Social Activities	(1=Never…6=More than 8 times)	5.10	1.19	1-6	4.39	1.52	1-6
Family Chores	(1=Never…5=Everyday)	4.20	1.04	1-5	3.70	1.27	1-5
Non-School Belief	(1=Strongly disagree…4=Strongly agree)	2.60	.67	1-4	2.45	.68	1-4
Religious Activity	(1=Never…6=More than once a week)	3.91	1.68	1-6	4.18	1.71	1-6
Demographic Variables							
Gender	(0=Female, 1=Male)	.47	.50	0-1	.50	.50	0-1
Age	(Number of years)	15.95	1.35	13-20	16.33	1.37	14-20

* Listwise deletion of cases

Results

Zero-Order Correlations among All Variables

Zero-order correlations among all the variables, which show the strength and direction of the relationship between two variables, are displayed in Table 7 and Table 8. As seen in these tables, although many of the relationships among the variables are relatively weak or moderate, many are in the expected direction and statistically significant at the .05 or .01 level.

The zero-order correlations between the school bonding variables and the three measures of delinquency are largely in the expected direction. Teacher attachment has a weak negative, but significant relationship to school delinquency (r = -.224), non-school delinquency (r= -.189), and total delinquency (r = -.218) for indigenous students. The correlations for non-indigenous students are also significant, weak, and negative (r = -.339 for school delinquency, r = -.384 for non-school delinquency, and r = -.388 for total delinquency). This suggests that students who are attached to their teachers commit a fewer number different types of school, non-school, and total delinquent acts. School commitment has a weak negative, but significant relationship to school delinquency (r = -.201), non-school delinquency (r = -.184), and total delinquency (r = -.204) for indigenous students. The correlations for non-indigenous students are also significant and negative, but stronger (r = -.277 for school delinquency, r = -.242 for non-school delinquency, and r = -.276 for total delinquency). These correlations suggest that students who are committed to school commit a fewer number of different types of school, non-school, and total delinquent acts than those not committed to school. School involvement does not have a significant relationship to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both indigenous and non-indigenous students. For indigenous students, school belief has a weak negative, but significant relationship to school delinquency (r = -.258), non-school delinquency (r = -.232), and total delinquency (r = -.260). The correlations for non-indigenous students are also significant, weak, and negative (r = -.220 for school delinquency, r = -.255 for non-school delinquency, and r = -.255 for total delinquency).

An examination of the zero-order correlations between non-school attachment variables and the three measures of delinquency reveals that the relationships are largely in the expected direction. For indigenous students, mother attachment has a weak negative, but significant relationship to school delinquency (r = -.149), a slightly stronger relationship to non-school delinquency (r = -.106), and total delinquency (r = -.134). The correlations for non-indigenous students are also significant, weak, and negative (r = -.167 for school delinquency, r = -.195 for non-school delinquency, and r = -.195 for total delinquency). These correlations suggest that students who are attached to their mother commit a fewer number of different types of school, non-school, and total delinquent acts than those not attached to their mother. The relationships of father attachment to school delinquency (r = -.098), non-school delinquency (r = -.091), and total delinquency (r = -.100) are also significant, weak, and negative for indigenous students. These correlations suggest that indigenous students who are attached to their father commit a fewer number of different types of school, non-school, and total delinquent acts than those not attached to their father. The relationship of father attachment to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency is non-significant for non-indigenous students. Additionally, peer attachment has a non-significant relationship to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency for both groups.

Generally, the zero-order correlations between the family involvement variables and the three measures of delinquency are in the expected direction. For indigenous students, only, family social activities has a weak positive, but significant relationship to non-school delinquency (r = .108), and total delinquency (r = .091), suggesting that indigenous students who engage in family social activities commit more non-school and total delinquency than those who do not participate in family social activities. The relationships are not significant for non-indigenous students. For indigenous students only, family chores have a weak negative, but significant relationship to school delinquency (r = -.125) and a slightly stronger relationship to non-school delinquency (r = -.124), and total delinquency (r = -.132). Indigenous students who engage in family chores commit a fewer number of school, non-school, and total delinquent acts. The relationships of family chores to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency are non-significant for non-indigenous students.

Non-school belief has a weak negative, but significant relationship to school delinquency (r = -.122), and total delinquency (r = -.102) for indigenous students. Indigenous students who believe in non-school rules and enforcement commit a fewer number of different types of school and total delinquent acts than indigenous students who do not believe in the non-school rules and enforcement. Non-school belief has a weak negative, but significant relationship to non-school delinquency (r = -.113) and total delinquency (r = -.108) for non-indigenous students, suggesting that non-indigenous students who believe in school rules and enforcement commit a fewer number of different types of non-school and total delinquent acts than those who do not view non-school rules and enforcement positively.

For indigenous students, the relationships of religious activity to school delinquency, non-school delinquency, and total delinquency are non-significant. Religious activity has a weak negative, but significant relationship to school delinquency (r = -.144), non-school delinquency (r = -.167) and total delinquency (r = -.167) for non-indigenous students only, suggesting that non-indigenous students who engage in religious activity commit a fewer number of different types of school, non-school and total delinquent acts than non-indigenous students who do not participate in religious activity.

An examination of the zero-order correlations between demographic variables and the three delinquency measures shows that the relationships are in the expected direction. Gender has a weak positive, but significant relationship to school delinquency (r = .171), non-school delinquency (r = .173), and total delinquency (r = .183) for indigenous students. The correlations for non-indigenous students are also significant, weak, and positive (r = .227 for school delinquency, r = .238 for non-school delinquency, and r = .249 for total delinquency).

A review of the zero-order correlation between the delinquency measures reveals, as expected, that school delinquency has a significantly strong positive relationship with non-school delinquency for indigenous (r = .775) and non-indigenous (r = .750) students. Although strong, this relationship is not perfect. Students who engage in delinquent acts in the school environment do not necessarily commit the same number of different types of delinquent acts outside the school setting. Various factors may impact differently the delinquent behavior of youths inside and outside of school. Furthermore, the impact of these factors may not be the same for indigenous and non-indigenous students.

	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9	X_{10}	X_{11}	X_{12}	X_{13}	Y_1	Y_2	Y_3
(X_1)	1.00															
(X_2)	.406**	1.00														
(X_3)	.219**	.149**	1.00													
(X_4)	.362**	.283**	.004	1.00												
(X_5)	.183**	.191**	.055	.095*	1.00											
(X_6)	.228**	.168**	.089*	.139**	.377**	1.00										
(X_7)	.135**	.227**	.102*	.048	.088*	.061	1.00									
(X_8)	.054	.075*	.049	-.018	.096*	.070	.096*	1.00								
(X_9)	.171**	.236**	.094*	.065	.196**	.145**	.084*	.285**	1.00							
(X_{10})	.120**	.093*	-.011	.342**	.067	.093*	.018	-.013	.011	1.00						
(X_{11})	.140**	.168**	.179**	.047	.058	.088*	.040	.128**	.160**	.050	1.00					
(X_{12})	-.079*	-.105**	-.076*	-.031	.020	.177**	-.203**	-.034	-.113**	.022	-.075*	1.00				
(X_{13})	.163**	.012	.090*	.000	.061	.035	.022	-.012	.007	-.106**	-.076*	.088*	1.00			
(Y_1)	-.224**	-.201**	-.030	-.258**	-.149**	-.098**	.015	.061	-.125**	-.122**	-.001	.171**	-.020	1.00		
(Y_2)	-.189**	-.184**	-.066	-.232**	-.106**	-.091*	.056	.108**	-.124**	-.071	-.016	.173**	.024	.775**	1.00	
(Y_3)	-.218**	-.204**	-.051	-.260**	-.134**	-.100**	.038	.091*	-.132**	-.102**	-.009	.183**	.003	.938**	.946**	1.00

a N=715, Listwise deletion of cases, *p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01

Note: X_1 is Teacher Attachment, X_2 is School Commitment, X_3 is School Involvement, X_4 is School Belief, X_5 is Mother Attachment, X_6 is Father Attachment, X_7 is Peer Attachment, X_8 is Family Social Activities, X_9 is Family Chores, X_{10} is Non-School Belief, X_{11} is Religious Activity, X_{12} is Gender, X_{13} is Age, Y_1 is School Delinquency, Y_2 is Non-School Delinquency, Y_3 is Total Delinquency.

Table 7. Zero-Order Correlations among All Variables for Indigenous Group[a]

	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9	X_{10}	X_{11}	X_{12}	X_{13}	Y_1	Y_2	Y_3
(X_1)	1.00															
(X_2)	.362*	1.00														
(X_3)	.155**	.171**	1.00													
(X_4)	.510**	.276**	.095	1.00												
(X_5)	.238**	.180**	.110*	.268	1.00											
(X_6)	.188**	.150**	.064	.228**	.503**	1.00										
(X_7)	.167**	.240**	.100	.206**	.070	.125*	1.00									
(X_8)	.037	.034	.020	.108*	.110*	.191**	.036	1.00								
(X_9)	.228**	.203*	.102	.184*	.147**	.187**	.070	.324**	1.00							
(X_{10})	.311**	.123*	-.041	.418**	.142**	.107*	.142**	.058	.105*	1.00						
(X_{11})	.106*	.186**	.056	.128*	.064	.149**	.081	.037	.009	.018	1.00					
(X_{12})	-.059	-.088	-.063	-.003	-.056	.075	-.176**	.002	-.085	.096	-.114*	1.00				
(X_{13})	.171**	.024	.020	.033	.025	-.055	-.011	.009	-.139**	-.048	-.057	.129*	1.00			
(Y_1)	-.339**	-.277**	-.030	-.220**	-.167**	-.060	-.033	.066	-.045	-.088	-.144**	.227**	-.064	1.00		
(Y_2)	-.384**	-.242**	-.089	-.255**	-.195**	-.022	-.024	.052	-.044	-.113*	-.167**	.238**	-.080	.750**	1.00	
(Y_3)	-.388**	-.276**	-.066	-.255**	-.195**	-.042	-.030	.062	-.047	-.108*	-.167**	.249**	-.078	.924**	.946**	1.00

a N=361, Listwise deletion of cases, *$p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$

Note: X_1 is Teacher Attachment, X_2 is School Commitment, X_3 is School Involvement, X_4 is School Belief, X_5 is Mother Attachment, X_6 is Father Attachment, X_7 is Peer Attachment, X_8 is Family Social Activities, X_9 is Family Chores, X_{10} is Non-School Belief, X_{11} is Religious Activity, X_{12} is Gender, X_{13} is Age, Y_1 is School Delinquency, Y_2 is Non-School Delinquency, Y_3 is Total Delinquency

Table 8. Zero-Order Correlations among All Variables for Non-Indigenous Group[a]

Discussion and Conclusions

A review of the zero-order correlations reveals some support for the generalizability of social bonding theory across ethnic groups based on the hypotheses tested in this study. For indigenous youth, teacher attachment (H1), school commitment (H2), school belief (H4), mother attachment (H5), father attachment (H6), and family chores (H9) are negatively correlated with various measures of delinquency. For family social activities, although significant, the correlation is positive; resulting in the rejection of the hypothesis (H8). There is only partial support for non-school belief (H10). For non-indigenous youth, teacher attachment (H1), school commitment (H2), school belief (H4), mother attachment (H5), and religious activity (H11) are negatively correlated with various measure of delinquency. There is limited support for non-school belief (H10).

All the social bonding variables are positively correlated with each other, except the correlation between family social activities and non-school belief and the correlation between school involvement and non-school belief for indigenous students. Furthermore, most of these correlations are significant. School bonding variables are positively correlated with each other for both indigenous and non-indigenous students, while the relationships among the non-school bonding variables are also positive. Furthermore, the correlations suggest that students who have positive views of school rules and enforcement commit a fewer number of different types of school, non-school, and total delinquent acts than those who have a low level of school belief. Additionally, school bonds are positively correlated with non-school bonds. These findings are consistent with Hirschi's (1969) argument that the elements of the social bond are positively related to each other, and consistent with other research (Jenkins ,1997; Gardner and Shoemaker, 1989).

The correlations also suggest that male students commit more school, non-school, and total delinquency than female students. Age, however, does not have a significant relationship to the delinquency measures for either indigenous or non-indigenous students.

The social bonds our youth have with others and their community are at meaningful levels and can deter them from engaging in delinquent acts. For both indigenous and non-indigenous youth, mother attachment is an important factor, pointing to the strong matriarchal role women still wield in the family and the community, and to the notion of respect for elders. The importance of teacher attachment is also an indicator of the respect the youth still have for adults.

Limitations of Study

Although the present study contributes to our current understanding of delinquency, it is not devoid of limitations. One limitation is its treatment of the element of attachment, particularly its focus on parental attachment. Although the element of attachment has been studied primarily with a focus on attachment to parents, the influence of the attachment to the family is not limited to parents. The focus of attachment to parents ignores other possible recipients of an individual's attachment within the family. First, there is attachment to siblings, which may reinforce or take the place of missing or weakened parental attachment. Second, in communities such as those in the Marianas, close ties with extended families provide more opportunities for attachment that go beyond what the mother or father can offer. Extended families may include various combinations of relatives in different generations, such as parents, grandparents, parents' siblings, siblings' spouses, uncles, aunts, and cousins. An examination of the family structures of the students who participated in the survey revealed that family structures are extremely complex in the CNMI, and

that the nuclear family structure, where only parents and their children live in the household, is uncommon. Thus, including these potential attachments in a study of delinquency in the CNMI may allow a more complete exploration of the element of attachment.

As with most other studies on social bonds, the present study relies on cross-sectional data and the methodology focuses on correlations. This does not allow for the examination of the causal direction of the relationships between the bonds and delinquency. Longitudinal research has found that these relationships are either weak, or reciprocal.

Suggestions for Future Study

This study is a first major step in comprehending the etiology of delinquency in the islands comprising the CNMI. The following suggestions provide opportunities for future research. First, as previously discussed, a longitudinal study on delinquency will provide a better understanding of the causal processes involved. Second, future analyses should be conducted on the relationships between social bonds and different types of delinquency. The third suggestion involves an in-depth examination of the family, including an assessment of the family structures and extended-family attachments. Fourth, middle school students should be included in any study of delinquency, since this is a critical period in which many youths begin to display delinquent behaviors. Furthermore, this will provide an opportunity to study whether social bonding theory is more applicable to younger rather than older adolescents.

The present study of delinquency in the CNMI presents some unique opportunities and difficulties. It allows for the examination of the generalizability of an American theory of delinquency among a population comprised mostly of US citizens whose ethnic composition is unique. Because of the unique cultural and historical experiences of the students from the islands, there is the concern that the traditional measures of social bonds used in this study may not be capturing the distinctive ways in which people are bonded to each other in the CNMI. Although there may be increasing similarities in the customs and beliefs between the CNMI and the US, the islands' relatively new US commonwealth status, efforts to preserve the indigenous culture, and the islands' geographic distance from the US mainland limit complete acculturation. In the future, an in-depth exploration of indigenous perspectives on delinquency may uncover more meaningful concepts for examination and may lead to the integration of non-American theories of delinquency with social bonding theory. Thus, because of this and other limitations previously discussed, the results of the study should be interpreted with care. What is certain, however, is that the social ties that bind our youth can serve as protective factors against a variety of behavior that negatively impacts their well-being.

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Visions of Cinema:
Thoughts on Developing a Film Industry in Guam

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Introduction

In 2008, two CHamoru filmmakers completed what was to become Guam's first feature length film (Kuipers, 2008). The film, *Shiro's Head* (Muña, Castro and Davis, 2008), was accepted and won awards in various international film festivals and achieved $90,000 locally at the box office with a roughly $6,000 budget (Cruz, 2018). The filmmakers, who are also brothers, Kel and Don Muña, went on to form the Guam International Film Festival in 2011 and have encouraged local interest and appreciation for films and filmmaking (Muña Bros., n.d.).

This interest in the potential of local production is not new and neither are attempts at filmmaking on Guam. Worth noting is *Max Havoc: Curse of the Dragon* (Ciampa and Laing, 2004), that utilized off island actors and crew with a supposed $0.8 million investment from the Guam Economic Development Authority (GEDA), a failed direct-to-video B film (Christensen, 2007). A Hollywood producer, John F.S Laing, and director Albert Pyun approached the Government of Guam to have this action film set on the island and, as part of the deal, GEDA would put up the $0.8 million to guarantee a bank loan for the production. The film did not achieve theatrical distribution, and the producer defaulted on the loan, leading to suits and countersuits (Christensen, 2007). According to Fojas (2014) "*Max Havoc* failed to boost the island's fledgling film-production scene . . . but it did renew local interest in creating the conditions for consolidating a new industry around film making . . ." (p. 187). More recently, Guam senator Tina Muña-Barnes has introduced legislation meant to prioritize a Guam Film Office with the expectation that it could jump start domestic and international film making on Guam. In terms of foreign production companies, "Guam generates between $9 million and $13.5 million every year from filming activity, according to the Guam International Media Coordinators Association (GIMCA)" (Santos, 2019). Santos (2019) notes that though the Film Office has existed for 8 years it was unfunded and dormant under the Calvo Administration. What has also been lacking is expertise and leadership, and to achieve this, Muna-Barnes has recommended the Film Office be moved to the local Public Broadcasting Station where there is more experience (KUAM news, n.d.).

Given the growing interest in developing a film industry on Guam, this essay explores ideas and presents recommendations on a way forward that could lead to a sustainable future. As part of this, a theoretical framework is utilized that includes a look outwards at what other countries/nations have done to achieve such an endeavor. It is suggested that Guam's filmmaking future can benefit from taking a transnational approach to its efforts of attracting outside, as well as creating its own productions. The essay takes into consideration the cultural and economic challenges that face Guam and will focus on narrative *vis a vis* documentary films, as the former are the backbone of sustainable industries elsewhere in the world. It is felt this holistic approach will bring some insight into how to create a thriving film industry.

At the core of the cultural challenge is the political ambiguity of Guam, since as an unincorporated territory of the USA, it is not clearly its own country/nation. Residents are considered US citizens, afforded local representation, and since 1972, a non-voting delegate to the

US House of Representatives, but they have no representative in the Senate and cannot vote for President (Quimby, 2011, p. 362). So, it is part of the US but not completely. Compounding this is a tendency towards a nationalistic, anti-colonial narrative that foregrounds the CHamoru, who are the indigenous population of Guam, (Anderson, 2019). Emerging popular culture, like the Muña brother's *Shiro's Head*, presents CHamoru characters and their experiences as central to the story. The CHamoru, while the most dominant ethnicity, make up 37% of the island's population, followed by 26% Filipino, 7% white and 7% Chuukese (US Census, 2010). So, although Guam is not a nation/country, there are notions of such, with representations that potentially restrict storytelling to the CHamoru experience at the expense of a broader, local multicultural view.

Guam is not alone as a US unincorporated territory interested in the possibilities of a film industry. Puerto Rico, as another US unincorporated territory, has a noted history of filmmaking that spans over 100 years (García-Crespo, 2019 and Rodriquez, 2015). However, unlike Guam, Puerto Rico has two advantages. First, Puerto Rico has been able to attract top Hollywood films because of proximity to the US mainland, presence of experienced English-speaking crew, and a safe filming environment in a tropical setting compared to industry rival Mexico (Hecht, 2012). As a US territory, they are an easily accessed extension of the US, and, in fact, they have recently developed a Film District with a $70 million investment to provide sound studios and post production facilities among other filmmaking needs (Caribbean Business, 2018). Second, at roughly 3.2 million residents, Puerto Rico has a significantly larger population than Guam that can help to support the exhibition of local films (US Census Bureau, 2018). The need for exhibition is one of the key ingredients for a film industry if it is to be sustainable. This is the essence of the economic challenge that faces Guam. How can Guam, as a small island far from the US mainland, attract large filmmaking projects and/or find an exhibition audience big enough to provide sustainability?

Though Guam has these cultural and economic challenges, it also has strengths on the basis of its own location in being so close to, and arguably being part of, East Asia. The guiding theoretical approaches that will be explored in this essay are the concepts of transnationalism in filmmaking and the use of a cultural economy approach. It will first be necessary to define and clarify these terms as they relate to cinema and then we will need to consider what has become known as East Asian Cinema.

In particular, I will focus on two national cinemas, South Korea and the Philippines. The choice of South Korea is because it boasts the second highest cinema attendance ratio in the world and is now considered among the leading film producers in the region (Saluveer, 2014, p.1). The Philippines also has a vibrant national film industry, and though not considered as big a player as many other East Asian industries, it is the closest in terms of culture to Guam (Lim, 2019). I will then address the infrastructure needs on Guam and posit ideas given this frame of the transnational with the economy and culture in mind. I will attempt to show that for Guam to realistically move forward, it does not have to look to Hollywood, at least not yet, but instead use its place in the East to piggy back into a future with cinema.

Transnational Cinema and a Cultural Economy Approach

To understand the concept of transnational cinema, it is first useful to consider national cinema. In writing about British cinema, Higson (1995) notes that the concept of a national cinema is fluid but occupies four areas of use (pp. 4 - 5). First is economy focused, concerning the existence and sustainability of a film industry in a specific nation state. Second is distribution and

exhibition, where "[o]ften what is at stake. . . is an anxiety about the nation's cultural standing, and about the assumed effects of foreign cultural intervention – especially the effects of 'Americanization'" (Higson, 1995, p. 5). A third use involves a highly evaluative approach that privileges specific films as belonging to and are thus marketed as part of that nation-state's perceived "brand." Last, is a focus on representation, especially within the mise-én-scene and narrative, that must include examples of the nation's character, culture and identity (Higson, 1995, p.5). Mise-en-scène refers to what gets chosen to be included in the frame of the shots that make up a film and includes: setting, choice of actors, their costumes, props, performance and movement, and lighting (Bordwell and Thompson, 2013, pp. 112 and 115). Narrative on the other hand is the choice of story and how the various cause and effects of specific events are arranged (Bordwell and Thompson, 2013, p.73). So, for this fourth use, nation is present in the characters, setting, and stories that are presented.

Common to all four of these perspectives on national cinema is the notion of nationhood: a sense of constructed community that separates the "us" from "others" for the nation-state (Higson, 1995, p.6). Though usually focused on independent nations, national cinema can include part of a whole if the distinction is perceived significant. Thus, García-Crespo (2019) talks about scholarly and filmmaker ideas of a national cinema for Puerto Rico, though it is a territory of the US and similar discussions would not occur for individual US states. Tied to this view of national cinema for Puerto Rico is a nationalist narrative that assumes political consciousness of Spanish/US colonialism and/or assumptions of who or what is Puerto Rican. Similarly, as mentioned before, visions of Guam filmmaking exist in a narrative environment that is usually nationalistic, with an emphasis on CHamoru heritage and US militarism (Anderson, 2019, Clement, 2011). Concerns of imperialism and colonialism are evident in scholarly works (for example Na'puti and Bevacqua, 2015) as well as in literature (Perez, 2008). We will return to this later but for now it is important to establish this sense of the national for comparison purposes with transnational.

Transnationalism involves "the dissemination of products and ideas through local networks that transcend national borders" (García- Crespo, 2016, p.148). As it relates to film, it involves the use of co-productions as is evident in East Asian cinematic productions such as *Snowpiercer* (Jeong and Jeong, 2013), a science fiction film about a train that carries the remnants of humanity, circling the world every 360 days. In *Snowpiercer*, South Korean Bong Joon-ho directs a story that originates from a French comic book but is scripted by a South Korean, utilizes an international cast including American movie star Chris Evans and acclaimed British actress Tilda Swinton, is filmed in the Czech Republic, and is produced and distributed for theaters in the US by a division of the now defunct American Weinstein Company (Saluveer, 2014). The term transnational still accounts for the national/local but recognizes the possibilities of the international in terms of viewership and thus market potential by opening up to various players in partnership. To achieve the transnational, sometimes filmmakers transgress or violate what might be considered the "national," appearing to give up what is perceived as authentic in order to achieve crossover and broader appeal (Hunt and Wing Fi, 2008).

After production, a film moves on to exhibition through the significant gatekeeping process of distribution (Lim, 2019). It is important to recognize that "[o]f all the stages in the film value chain, distribution is the most crucial because it connects production and exhibition. . ." (Lim, 2019, Film Distribution in Film Studies section, para. 3). One growing area of film studies is the importance of critically discussing the cultures of enterprise and film production and their explanatory abilities (*ibid*, Film Studies: An Industry Approach section, para. 1). In such an

endeavor a consideration of what is called cultural economy becomes a useful frame that looks not only at a film's production, but also the importance of distribution and ultimate exhibition, with the recognition that these related but distinct economic activities and practices are cultural phenomena with meaning (*ibid*, Distribution Studies: From Political Economy to Cultural Economy section, para. 10). In other words, when studying film one "look[s] at how the money-making aspect of the filmmaking process affects and impacts the meaning-making component of filmmaking and vice versa" (*ibid*, Distribution Studies: From Political Economy to Cultural Economy section, para. 11). Any consideration of Guam's ability to grow a film industry will need to consider distribution and exhibition, exploring what exists and what could work, and that in turn should have an impact on the cultural product that is created. On the other hand, adjustments need to be made to existing distribution and exhibition networks to facilitate establishing an industry with specific content.

One final consideration before we move on to the next section is locating Guam in what could be part of East Asian cinema or a potential hybrid of such. East Asian cinema can include northeast nations like Japan, all the way down to the southeast, and incorporate Indonesia (Hunt and Wing-Fi, 2008). Guam is geographically closest to this region, though it has political affinities with the US. This makes it unique not only for military purposes but as will be argued, for cinematic relationships. In other words, its political ambiguity could be its strength.

East Asian Cinema Standouts

East Asia covers a wide cross section of nations and their related cinemas and a full discussion is beyond the ability of this essay. Thus in narrowing down a choice for focus, two cinemas are selected for brief discussion. First is the example of South Korea, as it has in the past two decades become a global sensation in terms of its popular culture, including its cinema (Jin, 2016). Second to be considered, and in more depth, will be the Philippines, not only because of their history with film production but also because, as mentioned earlier, Filipinos are the second largest ethnic group on Guam, with 26% of the population self identifying as such. Additionally, according to Kit Lanuza, Tango theater's General Manager, both local film theaters on Guam (Tango and Regal) show Filipino films on a regular basis, with Tango exhibiting a new Filipino film each month (personal communication, July 23, 2019). That means there is a pre-existing local audience for Filipino-oriented films, a fact that will become useful as we look at ideas to jump-start a film industry on Guam.

South Korean Cinema

As a country, Korea had a turbulent 20th century, including occupation by Japan (1910-1945), division into North and South by Western powers by 1948, and for the South, our focus here, decades of military rule from 1961 to 1993 (Paquet, 2009). South Korea's government, from 1961 through mid 1980s, saw the film industry as a way for communicating national and cultural identity. They banned Japanese cultural products, an important source of regional films, given Japan's harsh colonization practices in the early 20th century (Paquet, 2009). Additionally, the authoritarian government restricted Hollywood film imports, outlawed local independent filmmakers, and provided licenses to a limited number of large companies with the requirement that they had to produce as well as export a certain quota of South Korean films in order to have access to US imports (Paquet, 2009, pp. 45 -47). The end result was numerous, comparatively

poor-quality Korean films as there were no incentives to improve infrastructure and technical ability. Then in the mid/late 1980s, the government changed the law to allow Hollywood majors like Twentieth Century Fox and Disney to distribute their pictures in South Korea without a quota, while also allowing independent local companies to develop. The resulting competitive environment eventually led to a South Korean wave of cinema growth both locally and internationally (Paquet, 2009). Over the past decade, South Korean films have maintained over 50% of the Korean local box office (Kil and Frater, 2019), and as a film market, they currently tie with France at fifth, at $1.6 billion, behind Japan ($2 billion) and the very protected market of China ($9 billion) in the East Asian region (Sun-young , 2019).

Jin (2016) notes the sudden rise of South Korean popular culture in East Asia, a phenomenon known as *Hallyu* that took place in 1997, which included not only film but also other South Korean cultural products like online games and TV dramas (pp. 4 -5). This phenomenon extended into 2007 and morphed into another similar wave (*Hallyu 2.0*) from 2008 – present, with K-pop and animation. For film, much of this growth has been due to the government's emphasis on globalization while initially requiring a local film quota for exhibitors that allowed the local industry to survive Hollywood distributors in Korean markets, and opening up to independent filmmaking which brought in new styles and approaches (Paquet, 2009), but also by offering financial and regulatory support, and allowing a unique oligopoly of vertically integrated film investors/distributors/exhibitionists to thrive in the form of three majors: CJ Entertainment, Showbox-Megabox, and Lotte-Entertainment Cinema (Howard, 2008). The oligopolistic structure has led to record breaking films such as Bong Joon-ho's *The Host* (Choi and Joh, 2006), where the distributor/exhibitor facilitates blanket coverage in theaters as well as marketing of the film.

In addition to efforts at co-production (Saluveer, 2014), there are attempts at creating hybridized film products that blend Korean sensibilities and mise-en-scene with Hollywood type genres in an effort to grow audiences beyond South Korea's borders (Jin, 2016). Jin (2016) and suggests these hybrid films, like *The Thieves* (Ahn, Jung and Kim, 2012), are part of the success of the new South Korean wave of filmmaking. Also, Paquet (2009) identifies that the importance and diversification of style of the South Korean wave was facilitated by the creation and spread of film schools from the late 1980s and early 1990s, resulting in important alumni film directors with more expertise, like Bong Joon-ho (pp. 66 -67). Finally, Saluveer (2014) notes the importance of the presence of South Korean films in international film festival circuits as well having their own international festivals like the Busan International Film Festival and the Puchon International Fantastic Film Festival, where critical acclaim and possible distribution deals are achieved.

Inherent in these observations, though brief, is that for a national cinema like Korea's to survive and grow within and beyond its own borders, there are important elements that were needed. First is a strong network of investment that is linked to local exhibition as was evident in their vertically integrated system. Second is government support and regulations that allow local filmmakers to grow. Third is education, in terms of citizenry having access to film schools and training in filmmaking craft. The presence of their own film festival circuit also serves educational, as well as market, purposes. Last is the potential of hybridity, and I include co-production as part of this concept, which implies a letting go of adherence to cultural rigidity with an eye to a broader market. With this in mind, let us now turn to the Philippines.

Filipino Film Culture

Though it does not fall anywhere among the top film markets and is usually not included in discussions of East Asian cinema, the Philippines film industry is very much alive. Yeatter (2007) notes that ". . . [t]he Philippines has always had a very robust film industry, which had for many years . . . been one of the most active in the world" (pp. 3-4). It has gone through booms and busts but is currently achieving a renaissance at international festivals while growing box office successes with a mash-up of independent style and mainstream focused movies locally called "maindies" (Lim, 2019). Unlike South Korea's 50+% local market share, the Philippines have only 29%, which, while lower, is still noteworthy (Shackleton, 2018). Their highest grossing movie *The Hows of Us* (Censon and Raymundo, 2018) was exhibited last year with a local box office of over US $12 million. This film was produced and distributed by one of the mainstream studio /distributor companies, Star Cinema, that is owned by a local multi-media conglomerate ABS-CBN (Lim, 2019). On the other hand, the most successful independent film in terms of box office, *Kita Kita* or *I See You* (Blanco and Bernal, 2017) was made by one of several newer independent studios, Spring Film, but had to rely on a mainstream distributor (Lim, 2019).

To Lim (2019) it is the power of distribution and exhibition that controls the success of films in general and any opportunities for independent filmmaking in the Philippines. Unlike South Korea that is vertically integrated to control production, distribution and exhibition, the Philippines is similar to the USA, where the exhibition is controlled by separate entities than the production and distribution. Star Cinema controls 85% of the market as it relates to production/distribution whereas three other mainstream studios Viva Films, OctoArts and Regal Films share the rest (Lim, 2019, Next Attraction section, para. 5). Their control of the distribution side of the operation works in conjunction with a Central Booking Committee to decide what films get shown, at what theaters and when (Lim, 2019, The Rise of the Mall section, para.10). Just as powerful, if not more so, are the companies that own the exhibition side, with SM Cinema owning 36% or 344 theaters, followed closely by Robinsons (19%), Cinema 2000 (13%), and Ayala (10%) with a total of 967 theaters nationwide (*ibid*, para. 13). As an example of the power exhibitionists have over the industry, Lim shares the anecdote of SM Cinema, who actually have more than half the country's market share, imposed a policy of not screening R-18 movies (restricted for 18 years old and above), which led to producers focusing on movies below the R-18 classification (*ibid*, para. 13). Independent companies like Spring Cinema rely on the major distributors to have their films shown. So having a close relationship to the mainstream studios/ distributors and exhibition companies is imperative.

Also important in the Philippines is the notion of what is a safe investment for movie production that leads to better results at the box office (Lim, 2019). From its inception in the early 20th century, the industry has always had a star system of recognized performers who are eligible for awards from the Filipino Academy of Movie Arts and Sciences (Yeater, 2007). As a result, in the Philippines, the presence of a star performer is important to a movie's success. Second is a consideration of genre, with romantic comedies dominating the last two decades (Lim, 2019, Risky Business section, para. 4-5). A third ingredient is a happy ending as Filipinos do not want to pay for an expensive movie ticket to be reminded of hardships they likely have already (*ibid*).

As with South Korean cinema, government input plays an important role, as does the presence of several film festivals (Lim, 2019). Shackleton (2018) notes that the Philippines has film festivals running throughout the year and highlights the efforts of a government agency, the Film Development Council of the Philippines (FDCP), that has created a weeklong celebration of

Philippines cinema, where commercial theaters can only play local movies. During this celebration, the FDCP hosts a Film Industry Conference that brings together sales agents, producers, and other important players from around the world to advise local filmmakers what can be done to expand the industry (*ibid*). Education institutions were pivotal in driving the independent sector of the 1980s, which ultimately fed into mainstream film production and continued independent presence of later years (Lim, 2019, Organizational section, para. 4).

What stands out in the Filipino industry is the similarity to the South Korean experience, with one major difference. Both have government involvement and support as well as accessibility to local film festivals that give opportunity for independent filmmakers to develop. Also important is a network of agreement between producers/distributors and exhibitionists that allow for local productions to gain a screen presence on the over 900 screens in the country. Though the market share is less, it is nonetheless a strong presence, albeit faced with increasing competition from Hollywood. There is also evidence of educational institutions that support the industry and allow for workforce development and diversity of ideas. What is missing is the focus on transnationalism and co-production, at least as a concerted effort as it is in South Korea. Though there is evidence of Netflix investing in Philippine-sourced content and the FDCP Film Industry Conference may facilitate such efforts, it is apparent that Filipino cinema is less sophisticated and has room to grow.

Guam's Potential and Needs

With a clearer understanding of the key players in East Asian Cinema, we can now turn to Guam and discuss how it may fit into the region as a potential filmmaking partner/player. As part of exploring answers to Guam's potential and needs as it relates to film, two key individuals were interviewed. First Don Muña, co-founder and Executive Director of the Guam International Film Festival (GIFF) and currently an Executive Producer at the Guam Public Broadcasting Station. Through GIFF, Don has been instrumental in encouraging the development of film on island. Second is Bobby Bonifacio Jr., a Creative Manager at Docomo Pacific and an independent filmmaker who is networked into the Filipino film industry with two features completed in the Philippines, *Numbalikdiwa* (2006) and *Hospicio* (2018), and he is currently working as director on a third feature with a US $200,000 budget (Bobby Bonifacio, personal communication, July 28, 2019). His knowledge of the potential for co-production is useful. Their comments and ideas will be noted together under relevant sections below. However, before delving into this, it is important to consider what exists already on Guam.

Guam's Extant Film Infrastructure

The presence of GIFF on Guam is useful and serves as a regional venue for films as well as an opportunity for local productions to be shown. GIFF, which peaked in attendance during 2017, continues to capture a local audience and shows 60 films over one month during October of each year and currently utilizes the Guam Museum for exhibition (Don Muña, personal communication, July 22, 2019). The festival operates as a non-profit entity and has been able to break even on a consistent basis despite not receiving a promised $50,000 of annual support from the Government of Guam (*ibid*). GIFF has also started to run a High School film club during the spring semester and helped start University of Guam's own film festival in 2015, though they are no longer involved in the latter.

At the University of Guam, there is an active Communication program with a Media and Journalism track that is attempting to incorporate film with a newly proposed Digital Cinema, Multimedia, and Journalism track. The university already offers classes in film and television criticism, script writing, and independent filmmaking as well as some intermediate level postproduction and motion graphics. With the new track's perspective, including cinema specifically, these classes will be given more visibility, and some will become required classes for those in the major. As mentioned, UOG has an annual film festival that has become student run with awards for student work and, as of 2019, includes a high school competition as part of the event. Worth noting is that the university has invested over $50,000 in the past four years to upgrade equipment, and they manage an industry grade digital cinema camera that is capable of shooting films for competitive theatrical exhibition.

The Guam Community College also offers a number of classes in video production and graphic arts as part of their Visual Communication program. They also have community teachers that are assigned to particular high schools with extension classes that support the high schools in media productions. Several local filmmakers have been involved with this local extension and have inspired a number of students.

There are two main theater companies on Guam, Regal Cinemas, which is part of the national brand of Regal, and Tango Inc. that belongs to a mid-sized regional holdings corporation, Tan Holdings (Tan holdings, 2019). There are also two separate theaters on the military bases here on Guam (Navy and Air Force), but these are small and limited to military personnel and will not be part of our consideration.

According to Kit Lanuza, general manager of Tango Inc., the company has 12 screens at a multiplex in the Micronesia Mall and 5 screens in the Hagåtña Mall with a total seat occupancy potential of over 2,600 (personal communication, July 23, 2019). Regal Cinemas has less screens overall at 14 but was the first of the multiplexes to appear in the late 1990s and was originally owned and operated as Wallace Theaters (*ibid*). Lanuza also notes that Tango leads in market share by approximately 5 -10%. Tango also has an exclusive deal with the Filipino distributor of Star Cinema, and they average 4-5,000 audience members per month for these films, for which they keep approximately 50% of the box office. At $10.20 for general admission, that means the Filipino film industry potentially receives roughly $300,000 every year from Guam.

It is evident that there exists some infrastructure potential on Guam but not enough of an audience to maintain major sustainability beyond a cottage industry. If we assumed a local film garnering at best twice what a Filipino film achieved, so say 10,000 audience members at $10.20 and use the 50% box office figure as a guide, a local film might achieve $51,000. This is probably just enough to break even on a relatively low budget. Sustainability and profit are two different things, and the former is about covering production costs but having enough to invest in the next production (Lim, 2019, Framing Philippine Independent Film Distribution section, para. 10). Thus, breaking even is too minimalistic of a vision.

Thoughts on Developing a Guam Film Industry

Both Muña and Bonifacio have similar ideas but they also diverge in various perspectives. The following discussion will follow the categories of infrastructure and organizational needs then potential target audience. To avoid heavy referencing, I will note here that when mentioning Muña, this interview took place on July 22, 2019, and Bonifacio's occurred July 28, 2019.

Infrastructure and Organizational Needs

Muña mentions, "I constantly think about [a sustainable Guam film industry], but what I haven't done is write anything down." This speaks to the lack of coordination and potential policy that is part of what this essay hopes to achieve. For Muña, he agrees there is a need to see Guam as existing in that Asian market and being a potential bridge between the US and the region. For him, the most important need is that of the Guam Film Office to be funded and managed as a way to capture what activities are occurring on island and to offer promotion for Guam as a location for filming and support for local filmmakers. He notes the recent use of the island for a Netflix film *Operation Christmas Drop* where, according to discussions he had with their production manager, they spent roughly $1 million. He argues with a film office, there could have been stronger coordination of local services offered and certainly capturing of important metrics that could be used to identify funds that feed back into the local film making community. He foresees a future that GIFF becomes the promotional arm of the Film Office and a meeting place not only for filmmakers but distributors.

Both Muña and Bonifacio see the need for producers (the business side of film making) both in terms of training for industry standard efficient scheduling, and also individuals willing and able to network to find funding. Tied to this is the need for some type of investment network that would be supportive of film. Bonifacio points out that for the industry to grow, it will need to develop a market that is deemed profitable to more experienced international producers, and he believes his link to existing Filipino producers could be helpful if there were some joint ventures.

Whereas Muña believes there are adequate technicians, scriptwriters, editors, and cinematographers, Bonifacio points out the lack of acting experience and audience awareness of or connection to talent. Given his Philippines exposure, Bonifacio is cognizant of the importance of a star system, where actors have a fan base. Though it could be developed on Guam, he notes it is possible, for a cost, to bring in more experienced and known Filipino star talent. Part of that cost will be room and board as well as arranging visas in a timely manner. He has done this before for shorter projects and believes it achievable on a consistent basis. In addition to acting skills, he also believes scriptwriting has to be developed as the on-island experience is for shorter pieces. There needs to be some form of coordination of potential and more experienced writers to develop projects.

Muña has in the past had discussions with local media companies and government agencies like GEDA, but he says for many the notion of an industry is "so far fetched" that potential players are unwilling to invest. That said, he sees the possibilities of a film fund being developed to help local films that share authentic cultural identity. Muña believes "one of our driving forces . . . is our cultural identity, I think that is going to be our edge in the market place." When asked how realistic it would be to have a continued stream of Guam oriented stories, Muña provides this analogy: " I always tell my brother 'dude hand me a camera and I will shoot a film on ants,' there are levels and levels of uniqueness." So too he believes there are many stories to tell on Guam and the region. For Muña, there are opportunities to explore "who and what is Guam?" He is not focused solely here on CHamoru culture but Guam as a site of cultural conflicts, including military presence, tourism, and environmental impacts. Captured in his outlook is the challenge of a 'national' cinema, desiring cultural authenticity.

Bonifacio on the other hand, who is Filipino, believes given the connection of Guam to the Philippines, there are shared stories that could attract not only the Guam audience but also do well in the Philippines. He notes that in 2017, he and a local filmmaker had a romantic comedy project

that would feature a CHamoru and Filipino, but with other concrete project demands and lagging potential for meeting a $30,000 budget, the project was shelved. In his perspective, there is a leaning towards a transnational effort, with a focus on exploring the two cultures simultaneously.

It is worth noting that these two visions, one that seeks to focus only on Guam's cultural identity, albeit a multi-cultural identity, and the other that seeks Guam-Filipino stories, are not mutually exclusive. Part of Guam's cultural fabric is Filipino and the tensions and conflicts of blending with CHamoru and other island traditions. This only adds to the pool of potential storytelling.

Target Audience Needs

Both Muña and Bonifacio acknowledge the challenge of distribution and exhibition on Guam and the need to find a larger audience. One idea Muña suggests is developing a relationship with Regal Cinemas that targets their theater chains in US regions with significant populations of CHamoru and Asian American populations. However, this effort would likely need an experienced distributor with a track record of international deals.

Bonifacio points to efforts in the Philippines to grow their market internationally with a move towards coproduction. He believes the time is right for exploring a joint venture that is focused on developing script ideas. Scripts after all have no initial cost and may be an option for "green lighting" by established studios that are hungry for potential ideas. For example, ABS-CBN, the owner of the Filipino major Star Cinema also owns Black Sheep, an independent oriented arm that seeks stories that do not fit the formulaic representations of mainstream productions (Jaucian, 2019).

Additionally, Bonifacio points to licensing deals with Netflix who already have a relationship in the Philippines with several of the mainstream films in their catalog. Though Lobato (2019) notes the disruptive nature of Netflix to national media markets, as part of their access to certain nations they have to incorporate local fare. This in turn can lead to audience development beyond the nation/region, which can lead to future opportunities. Either way, licensing fees are yet another source of revenue.

Transnationalism with the Philippines as First Step

Based on these various thoughts and ideas, this section attempts to set forth a list of initial recommendations that could be used as a stepping stone, if not fruitful discussions of film industry development on Guam. It foregrounds the concept of transnational and co-production in seeking a working relationship with the existing Philippines industry with the recognition that there will be a need for hybrid stories in order to speak not only to Filipinos and Pacific Islanders but to indigenous groups and Asian Americans in general.

1. With the help of GIFF, UOG, GCC, and the newly revised Guam Film Office, come up with a steering committee for film industry development on Guam. The mandate of this committee should include the establishment of a policy that explores the possibilities of coproduction with the Filipino ABS-CBN multi-media organization and/or one of the more up and coming independent companies.

2. Through GIFF and/or the Film Office, there should be a concerted effort to gather local filmmakers as well as producer/s from the Philippines to discuss hybrid audience needs and suggest areas of interest with the possibility of developing three top script ideas from Guam.

3. With the Filipino/Guam initial network established, there should be a structured effort to develop potential scripts. As UOG has personnel with experience in feature length scriptwriting, they could lead the way in developing a writing club with a mix of the most willing and the most experienced writers. This could lead to initially a pitching session that results in a selection of the top three or five ideas to be completed for a final choice of three scripts by a certain time frame. This effort can include workshop meetings to build on and improve concepts. The ultimate aim would be to have story options that could lead to one film production per year for at least the next three years.

4. Concurrently, the Guam Film Office could work with local businesses for production cost support through "in kind" and or monetary donations. An example of "in kind" can be accommodations and food for Filipino talent and crew. Any money made from the film goes back into the next film where some of these "in kind" services start to be actually paid for in future projects.

5. Film productions can also be planned around a summer break where experienced UOG /GCC students can gain paid internship experience, especially in areas of Producer and the related Production Assistant roles.

6. Without incurring additional curriculum and in light of the stated perceived need of training Producers, UOG can focus the existing Independent Filmmaking class around lessons and practical aspects of the Producer. To some extent, this is already happening, but there is a need to improve and utilize industry standard software and approaches to this process.

7. Utilizing existing Filipino distributors and if one (if not all) of these film ventures achieve success locally and in the Philippines, Regal Cinemas can be approached with the potential of an exclusive deal in specific areas of the US.

These ideas, though preliminary, are actionable and should lead to ongoing discussions and research. This initial focus on the Philippines is not the end all, since with time and experience, other regional markets can be approached, including South Korea and Japan.

Conclusion

In writing on the film industry in the Philippines, Yeatter (2007) says Filipinos have always been storytellers, and he believes for this reason the industry survives (p. 4). The same could be said about CHamoru and others in the region, and film is clearly an important medium to share those stories. It is hoped that this essay can be used to consider policy and generate discussions that could make a sustainable film industry on Guam a reality. At the very least, this effort captures

on paper ideas that have been mulled around but have never been written down and, as such, commences academic discovery into the possibilities. This endeavor also serves as a snapshot of where the island is presently and can be used as a benchmark for future endeavors.

By positioning Guam as a US extension of East Asian culture, there may be possibilities open to filmmaking through transnational partnerships, starting first with the Philippines. Benefits can be had both ways as hybrid stories under the rubric of Asian "American" and/or Pacific Islander which might provide Filipino majors like Star Cinema, and its independent sister company Black Sheep, another "genre" to explore for a different and possibly larger if not nuanced market.

At the same time by taking on a cultural economy view, we have placed side by side not simply the potential for cultural products but the economic requirements that will be needed to attain sustainability. As Lim notes, "there is a corresponding cultural issue for every economic issue and vice versa" (Lim, 2019, Conclusion section, para. 5). By delving into this framework, we have been able to capture what exists and what might be needed. Being aware is a first step, and then possibly we can move Guam beyond the sense of "far fetched" when speaking of a vision of cinema.

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Local Newspaper Use in Hawaii Fosters Acculturation to Local Culture, Community Ties and Involvement

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A long tradition of research suggests that local newspapers serve as a key vehicle facilitating individuals' community ties and participation in community processes (Janowitz, 1952; Jeffres, Lee, Neuendorf, & Atkin, 2007; Stamm, 1985; Viswanath, Finnegan, Rooney, & Potter, 1990). These studies have found that local newspapers promote a sense of social cohesion (Yamamoto, 2011), trust of community members (Beudoin & Thorson, 2004), and involvement in local community and civic activities (Jeffres et al., 2007). Local newspapers foster the acquisition and reinforcement of local culture through the sharing of symbols that promote local interests, values, and traditions (Janowitz, 1952; Merton, 1960; Stamm, 1985).

Yet this line of research is limited in two important ways. First, the aforementioned studies of local newspapers have been primarily conducted in the continental U.S. A question is begged as to whether their findings can be extended to other local contexts, such as local communities in the Pacific Islands.

Second, few studies have specifically examined the role of the acquisition of local culture—or acculturation to local culture—as an explanation for the positive link between reading local newspapers and the development of community ties and involvement in community processes. Although a line of scholarship influenced by the work of Merton (1960) has delineated the link between interest in local newspaper content and local orientations, that line of scholarship primarily conceptualizes local orientations as membership in local community organizations (e.g., Viswanath et al., 1990). Moving beyond membership in organizations, acculturation refers to an internalized process of learning how to adapt to a cultural environment (Berry & Kim, 1997; Stephenson, 2000). Yet limited research has analyzed whether local newspaper use helps in the fostering of community ties and community involvement by first facilitating one's acculturation to the community's local culture.

In an attempt to fill the above noted voids in research, the present study analyzes data from a survey conducted in Hawaii, and examines the links between local newspaper use, local acculturation, community ties, and community involvement.

The purpose of the present study is three-fold. First, it examines whether local newspaper use is positively linked with acculturation to local culture on the one hand, and community ties and community involvement, on the other hand. Second, this study examines whether acculturation to local culture is linked positively with community ties and community involvement. Third, this study tests the indirect link of local newspaper use on the three previously mentioned variables via acculturation to local culture.

The present study uses the specific case of Hawaii because "localism" is a salient aspect of the cultural identity of the state's local residents (e.g., Wooden, 1995; Yamamoto, 1979). Given this unique aspect of local community in Hawaii, research is warranted to examine how the state's newspapers serve to form and reinforce local culture and foster a civically vibrant local community.

The present study is important from a practical standpoint because in spite of the known decline of the newspaper industry, recent research implies that newspapers still play vital role as a

social institution that builds and sustains local communities (e.g., Pew Research Center, 2015). The overarching goal of the present study is to examine the extent to which local newspapers serve to foster and sustain "community" in Hawaii by way of reinforcing local culture.

Community Ties and Involvement

As stated earlier, the present study investigates how local newspaper use in Hawaii is linked with community ties and community involvement.

In general terms, *community ties* refer to "bonds between the individual and community…[such as] their identification with their community and the patterns of behavior that keep people in the locality" (Rothenbuhler, 2001, p. 163). A resident's ties with his or her community can take various forms, including affective, attitudinal, cognitive, and behavioral. This definition points to the multi-dimensional nature of community ties. It is in this vein that the present study examines three dimensions of community ties: sense of belonging, feelings of morale, and social trust.

Sense of belonging refers to the extent to which individuals feel they belong to a social group (Bollen & Hoyle, 1990). This concept concerns cognitive and affective elements and includes information about group experiences and feelings related to those experiences, as information gleaned from paying attention to, and learning about the group often results in an affective response (Bollen & Hoyle, 1990).

Feelings of morale refer to the emotional response, whether positive or negative, of belonging to a social group (Bollen & Hoyle, 1990). Individuals vary in their emotional investment in their community. Some residents feel strongly toward their community, while others do not. Such variations collectively present different opportunities for community building and are tied to citizens' levels of willingness to participate in local institutions.

Both sense of belonging and feelings of morale are dimensions of social cohesion (Bollen & Hoyle, 1990), which is known to be positively impacted by local newspaper use (Yamamoto, 2011).

Social trust, or the belief that others behave in ways that are consistent with normative expectations (Putnam, 2000), is a foundation of social life. Individuals are able to perform various forms of social action every day because they believe others share and follow the same rules and behavioral standards. The value of social trust is manifested in a wide range of activities such as sharing one's information with neighbors, purchasing groceries at a farmer's market, and inviting neighbors to one's house, among others. Social trust is identified as a factor affected by media use.

Community involvement concerns a linkage of cognitive and behavioral dimensions of community ties (e.g., Boulianne & Brailey, 2014; Stamm, 1985). Involvement can take a wide range of cognitive and behavioral activities such as the local community as part of one's personal identity, orientation to the local community, interacting with community members, participating in local events and activities, and joining or volunteering for a local club, church, or organization (Demers, 1996; Finnegan & Viswanath, 1988; Jeffres, Dobos, & Sweeney, 1987; Stamm, 1985; Stamm, Emig, & Hesse, 1997; Stamm & Guest, 1991; Viswanath et al.,1990).

Local newspapers help readers become integrated into community life. They tend to highlight community activities, social ties, and culture. Events covered in news stories are local in nature, such as cultural festivals, achievements, weddings, and births (Janowitz, 1952; Lauterer, 2006). National and international events tend to be presented through the lens of a local community, such as soldiers reuniting with their family after military service in a foreign country.

Overall, local newspapers spotlight community actors, be they residents, clubs, organizations, businesses, and institutions, with intimate and personal tones (Edelstein & Larsen, 1960; Janowitz, 1952; Lauterer, 2006). Reading news stories of this nature allows to residents and newcomers alike to vicariously interact with local actors, learn common values and norms, and develop positive feelings toward other residents and their community. Indeed, prior research has shown that reading a local newspaper is associated with various aspects of community life including psychological attachment to the community, social trust, community involvement (Jeffres, Lee, Neuendorf, & Atkin, 2007; McLeod et al., 1996), and a sense of cohesion (Yamamoto, 2011).

Local newspapers in Hawaii tend to present a common pattern of messages that reinforce local identity and local culture (e.g., Auman, 2007; Chapin, 1996). Based on the discussion above, the present study tests the following hypothesis in Hawaii:

> H1: *Local newspaper use will be positively associated with (a) sense of belonging, (b) feelings of morale, (c) social trust, and (d) community involvement.*

Acculturation to Local Culture

Acculturation can be defined as an internalized learning process that occurs among individuals when they interact with the cultural environment of a new or host society (Berry & Kim, 1997; Stephenson, 2000). Acculturation research has typically analyzed the process in which newcomers such as immigrants or sojourners acquire their host society's culture through adopting its values, norms, and behaviors (e.g., Stephenson, 2000). These notions can be extended to the process of adapting to the local culture of a community.

In the context of Hawaii, Bautista (2003) developed a Hawaii Local Acculturation Scale, which was designed to measure several dimensions of adapting to Hawaii's local culture. These dimensions included feeling attached to Hawaii's local culture (e.g., considering one's self and one's family as local), preferring things that are local (e.g., hanging out with local people), and being knowledgeable of, and practicing local customs (e.g., being knowledgeable of local Hawaii Pidgin English).

Park (1922) provided one of the first comprehensive scholarly commentaries in the U.S. explaining the role of the newspaper in integrating immigrants to America. Kim (1977, 1988) later proposed and tested a comprehensive theoretical model explaining how U.S. immigrants' exposure to American media fosters their acculturation to American society. Subsequent studies supported the assumptions of Kim's model (Dalisay, 2012; Dalisay & Liu, 2015; Author, 2015; Choi & Tamborini, 1988; Moon & Park, 2007). For instance, research conducted with immigrants shows a positive relationship between media use and knowledge of American politics, an indicator of acculturation to American culture (e.g., Chaffee et al., 1991).

However, the extant research in the role of media in the acculturation process has primarily focused on the link between use of a host country's media (e.g., use of American media) in the acquisition of a host society's national culture (e.g., American values, knowledge, etc.). Few studies of this kind have examined the role of local media in acculturating individuals to the cultures of their local communities.

Yet there is reason to expect that the use of local newspapers could facilitate the acquisition

of local culture. In his classic study of local newspapers serving communities in Chicago, Janowitz (1952) posited that local papers contain contents that provide "a flow of specific news to assist adjustment to the institutions and facilities" of life within the community (p. 61), and help community residents orient themselves into the local community through "building and maintaining local traditions and local identifications" (p. 61). Similarly, Merton (1960) proposed that local orientations are linked with an interest in local newspaper content. However, and as noted above, it is important to note that Merton conceptualized local orientation to refer to membership in local community organizations (Viswanath et al., 1990), and he did not explicitly conceptualize this variable as local culture. Subsequent research has similarly treated local orientations in the same way as Merton (e.g., Stamm, 1985).

Based on the assumptions that communication is the primary socialization agent through which individuals become acculturated to their social environment (Kim, 1978), and that local newspapers foster and reinforce the acquisition of local culture by disseminating and reinforcing symbols that promote community interests, values, traditions, and images (Janowitz, 1952; Stamm, 1985), the present study proposes the following hypothesis and tests it in Hawaii:

> H2: *Local newspaper use will be positively associated with acculturation to local culture.*

Acculturation to Local Culture and Community Ties

Research suggests a positive link between acculturation and indicators of community ties and involvement (e.g., Kenyon & Carter, 2011; Tucker & Santiago, 2013). In a study of Latinos in the U.S., Tucker and Santiago (2013) suggested that several indicators of acculturation to U.S. culture positively predict levels of civic engagement. Yet studies also indicate that acculturation to one's ethnic group is positively linked with indicators of ethnic community ties (e.g., Kenyon & Carter, 2011). Scholars have suggested a link between culture and levels of community involvement among the state's local residents (e.g., Boylan, 1992). For instance, there is evidence suggesting that the state's local residents are among the least civically active states in the country (Pratt & Smith, 2000; Smith & Pratt, 1992; U.S. Elections Project, 2014; Wong, 2012), and some have argued that culture could be playing a role in explaining why some Hawaii residents are less civically active than others (e.g., Boylan, 1992). Yet given the research indicating a link between acculturation to local culture and community ties and involvement, it is justified to test the following hypothesis in Hawaii:

> H3: *Acculturation to local culture will be positively associated with (a) sense of belonging, (b) feelings of morale, (c) social trust, and (d) community involvement.*

The Mediating Role of Acculturation to Local Culture

A mediation model proposes the process through which an independent variable is related with a dependent variable through a third explanatory variable, or mediator. The hypotheses above provide the basis for a mediation model, as it was predicted that local newspaper use will be

positively associated with both acculturation to local culture (H1) and community ties (i.e., sense of belonging, feelings of morale, social trust, and community involvement) (H2), and acculturation to local culture will be associated with community ties (H3). It is plausible that acculturation to local culture will serve as a mediator between use of local media and community ties.

The Pew Research Center (2015) suggested that the local newspaper is the most important source of local news for residents who have stronger ties to the community, as indicated by their level of local involvement in and satisfaction with the community. These same types of residents also tend to follow news on local arts and culture and local civics more closely.

Stamm and Guest (1991) noted that some papers do attempt to help newcomers through providing "special editions or supplements," however, "the 'information' these publications contain is usually geared primarily to the needs of local government and merchants to disseminate certain kinds of information" (p. 645). In Hawaii, local newspapers may disseminate content reinforcing a "local-style" identity among local residents (e.g., Auman, 2007). As such, the following hypothesis is tested it in Hawaii:

> H4: *Local newspaper use will have an indirect positive association with (a) sense of belonging, (b) feelings of morale, (c) social trust, and (d) community involvement through its positive association with acculturation to local culture.*

Method

Procedure and sample

Since the present study sought to test propositions regarding local acculturation, it was necessary to select a sample with varying levels of acculturation to Hawaii's local culture. Presumably, college students in Hawaii fit this aforementioned criterion as they represent individuals who have lived in the state for a long period of time and those who have recently arrived to the state from other places in the U.S. and the world. While not representative of the population of Hawaii, we expected that a college student sample would yield a wider variation in acculturation. Therefore, we surveyed a purposive sample of undergraduate college students in Hawaii (N = 290). We conducted our survey during the Fall 2013 semester. The students were recruited from communication courses at a large public university in Honolulu, Hawaii and offered course credit for their participation. At the time of data collection, around 30% of students identified themselves as non-residents, and 70% identified themselves as residents.

Measures

Independent variable.

Local newspaper use was measured by asking respondents about the extent to which they paid attention "local newspapers such as the Honolulu Star-Advertiser." Responses were measured on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *no attention*, 5 = *lots of attention*, M = 3.43, SD = .88).

Mediator.

11 items adapted from Bautista's (2003) Hawaii Local Acculturation Scale (HLAS) measured acculturation to local culture. The items used in this study are listed in Table 1. A 5-point Likert scale was used to measure respondents' level of agreement with the items (1 = *strongly disagree,* 5 = *strongly agree*). A principle component analysis using varimax rotation was employed on the 11 HLAS items to examine whether they represented separate index.

Table 1. Results of a principle components analysis for items measuring acculturation to local culture.

	Acculturation to local culture factor 1: Preference for things local	Acculturation to local culture factor 2: Identifying as local/knowledge of Hawaii Pidgin English
I prefer to eat local food.	**.74**	.22
I prefer to listen to local music.	**.71**	.02
I enjoy going to "local parties" held by local people.	**.70**	.31
A good party has lots of local foods.	**.65**	.26
I like following local customs.	**.63**	.39
Hawaii should be run mostly by locals than non-locals.	**.55**	.07
I consider myself local.	-.02	**.81**
I consider my family local.	.11	**.81**
I have "local pride."	.37	**.70**
Most people I "hang out" with are locals.	.38	**.60**
If someone speaks [local Hawaii] Pidgin English to me, I will have an easy time understanding.	.30	**.57**
Eigenvalue	4.60	1.44
% of Variance	41.77%	13.12%

As Table 1 above shows[1],, the first factor comprised of items that were interpreted as measuring "preference for things local." These items were summed and averaged to form a single index ($M = 3.34$, $SD = .71$, $\alpha = .79$). The second factor comprised of items that were interpreted as

[1] The principle component analysis revealed two factors emerged with eigenvalues greater than 1, and explained more than 50% of the variance.

measuring "identifying as local/knowledge of Hawaii pidgin English." These items were also summed and averaged to form a single index (M = 3.50, SD = .90, α = .81).

Dependent variables.

Items from Bollen and Hoyle (1990) were adapted to measure sense of belonging and feelings of morale. Responses were measured on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*).

Sense of belonging was measured with three items, which were summed and averaged to form a single index (M = 3.97, SD = .85, α = .91): I feel a sense of belonging to Hawaii; I feel that I am a member of Hawaii's community; I see myself as part of Hawaii's community. Three items, which were summed and average to form a single index (M = 4.10, SD = .80, α = .81), were used to measure *feelings of morale*: I am enthusiastic about Hawaii; I am happy to live in Hawaii; Hawaii is one of the best states in the nation.

Social trust was measured with three items, which were summed and averaged to form a single index (M = 3.83, SD = .68, α = .79): generally speaking, people in Hawaii can be trusted; in general, people in Hawaii try to be fair; in general, people in Hawaii try to be helpful.

Community involvement was measured with the following items adapted from Doolittle and Faul (2013): I am involved in volunteer position(s) in Hawaii; I help members in my community in Hawaii; I stay informed of events in my community in Hawaii; I participate in discussions that raise issues of social responsibility in Hawaii; I contribute to charitable organizations within Hawaii (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). The items were summed and averaged to form a single index (M = 3.27, SD = .82, α = .81).

Controls.

Several variables were measured and included as statistical controls in order to counteract potential misspecification errors in the regression models. With non-resident coded as the higher number. Age was measured in an open-ended format (M = 22.61, SD = 5.51). Sex was measured with females as the high value (females = 2) and males as the low value (males = 1) (M = 1.58, SD = .50). Race was measured with Caucasians as the high value and all other groups as the low value (M = .35, SD = .48). Residency was measured by asking respondents whether their university considered them as a resident "for tuition purposes;" non-residents were coded as the high value (M = 1.24, SD = .43). Income was measured on an 11-point scale (1 = $19,999 *or less*; 6 = $100,000-$119,999; 11 = $190,000 *and above*) ($M$ = 4.07, SD = 2.73). Political interest was measured by asking respondents about the extent to which they were interested in politics along a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not interested at all*, 5 = *very interested*; M = 2.62, SD = 1.20).

Analysis.

To test the hypotheses, several sets of ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models were estimated. As shown on Table 2, H1 was tested by regressing the two factors of acculturation to local culture on the control variables and local newspaper use. The models shown on Table 3 were used to test H2 and H3. H2 and H3 were tested by regressing each of the respective indicators of community ties (sense of belonging, feelings of morale, social trust, and community involvement)

on the control variables (model 1), local newspaper use (model 2), and the two acculturation factors (model 3).

In addition, to test for mediation, the present study used Hayes' SPSS PROCESS macro (2013), which estimated the indirect effects of local newspaper use on sense of belonging, feelings of morale, social trust, and community involvement through the two factors of acculturation to local culture. The present study employed bootstrap methods with 5,000 bootstrap samples and 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals to infer indirect effects.

Results

H1 proposed that local newspaper use will be positively associated with (a) sense of belonging, (b) feelings of morale, (c) social trust, and (d) community involvement. As shown in Model 2 of Table 3, local newspaper use was positively associated with sense of belonging (β = .16, $p < .01$), feelings of morale (β = .23, $p < .001$), social trust (β = .13, $p < .05$), and community involvement (β = .28, $p < .001$), with all other variables simultaneously taken into account. It is important to note, however, that when the two acculturation variables were added to each model (see Model 3), the relationships between local newspaper use and sense of belonging and social trust, respectively, were reduced to non-significance. In contrast, local newspaper use remained a positive predictor of feelings of morale (β = .25, $p < .001$) and community involvement (β = .26, $p < .001$). The results collectively provide partial support for H1.

H2 proposed that local newspaper use will be positively associated with acculturation to local culture. As shown in Table 2, after all other variables were simultaneously taken into account, local newspaper use positively predicted acculturation to local culture factor 1 (Preference for things local) (β = .23, $p < .001$) and acculturation to local culture factor 2 (Identifying as local/knowledge of Hawaii Pidgin English) (β = .15, $p < .01$). These results support H2.

H3 proposed that acculturation to local culture will be positively associated with (a) sense of belonging, (b) social trust, and (c) community involvement. As shown in Table 3 (see results for Model 3), after accounting for the control variables and local newspaper use, acculturation to local culture factor 1 positively predicted sense of belonging (β = .19, $p < .01$), feelings of morale (β = .30, $p < .001$), social trust (β = .20, $p < .01$). However, the relationship between acculturation to local culture factor 1 and community involvement was not statistically significant. Additionally, acculturation to local culture factor 2 positively predicted sense of belonging (β = .53, $p < .001$), feelings of morale (β = .26, $p < .001$), social trust (β = .25, $p < .01$), and community involvement (β = .17, $p < .05$). H2 was partially supported.

Table 2. Local newspaper use as a predictor of acculturation to local culture.

	Acculturation to local culture factor 1: Preference for things local		Acculturation to local culture factor 2: Identifying as local/ knowledge of Hawaii Pidgin English	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Age	-.19**	-.18**	-.04	-.04
Sex	.02	.01	-.03	-.04
Race (White)	.08	.07	-.08	-.08
Non-resident	-.01	.01	-.44***	-.42***
Income	-.03	-.04	.10+	.10+
Political interest	.10+	.06	.05	-.02
Total R^2 (%)	4.9%	--	22.4%	--
Local newspaper use	--	.23***	--	.15**
Total R^2 (%)	--	10.1%	--	24.5%

Note: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, + < .10.

	Sense of Belonging			*Feelings of Morale*			*Social Trust*			*Community Involvement*		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Age	-.14*	-.13*	-.08+	-.15*	-.13*	-.07	-.10	-.10	-.05	.03	.05	.06
Sex (Female)	.08	.07	.09+	.08	.07	.07	.01	-.01	.01	.17**	.15**	.16**
Race (White)	-.05	-.05	-.02	.07	.07	.06	.08	.08	.08	-.04	-.05	-.04
Non-resident	-.29***	-.28***	-.05	.07	-.10+	.00	-.12+	-.10+	.00	-.14*	-.11*	-.04
Income	.03	.02	-.02	-.12*	-.07	-.09	.04	.03	.01	.01	-.00	-.02
Political interest	.03	-.01	-.03	.06	.01	.01	-.05	-.08	-.10+	.32***	.26***	.26***
Total R^2 (%)	11.6%	--	--	4.8%	--	--	3.0%	--	--	13.1%	--	--
Local newspaper use	--	.16**	.04	--	.23***	.12*	--	.13*	.04	--	.28***	.24***
Total R^2 (%)	--	14.0%	--	--	10.0%	--	--	4.5%	--	--	20.4%	--
Acculturation to local culture factor 1: Preference for things local	--	--	.19**	--	--	.30***			.20**	--	--	.04
Acculturation to local culture factor 2: Identifying as local/ knowledge of Hawaii Pidgin English	--	--	.53***	--	--	.26***			.25**	--	--	.17*
Total R^2 (%)			47.7%	--	--	31.0%			17.8%	--	--	23.4%

Note: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, + $< .10$

Table 3. Local newspaper use and acculturation to local culture as predictors of community ties and involvement

H4 proposed that acculturation to local culture will serve as a mediator of the association between local newspaper use and community ties (sense of belonging, feelings of belongingness, social trust, community involvement), with local newspaper use leading to higher acculturation to local culture and higher levels in community ties. As shown on Table 3 above, local newspaper use had a small but statistically significant and positive indirect relationship with sense of belonging through acculturation factor 1 (point estimate = .093, 95% CI [.043 to .158]) and acculturation factor 2 (point estimate = .083, 95% CI [.015 to .153]). In addition, local newspaper use had a small but significant and positive indirect relationship with feelings of morale through acculturation factor 1 (point estimate = .084, 95% CI [.035 to .149]) and acculturation factor 2 (point estimate = .055, 95% CI [.008 to .114]). Local newspaper use also had a small but significant and positive indirect relationship with social trust through acculturation factor 1 (point estimate = .054, 95% CI [.023 to .096]) and acculturation factor 2 (point estimate = .039, 95% CI [.008 to .081]). Finally, local newspaper use had a small but significant and positive indirect relationship with community involvement through acculturation factor 1 (point estimate = .023, 95% CI [.002 to .060]) and acculturation factor 2 (point estimate = .022, 95% CI [.002 to .064]).

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to use the case of Hawaii to investigate the linkages between local newspaper use, acculturation to local culture, community ties, and community involvement. The findings contribute to the current literature in a number of ways and imply a vital role of local newspapers in sustaining local communities.

First, local newspaper use was found to be related to increased acculturation to local culture. This finding supports previous research that has shown a positive link between use of a host society's media and the acquisition of the host society's culture (e.g., Dalisay, 2012; Kim, 1978). Prior research influenced by the work of Merton (1960) shows that local media use fosters orientation to the local community (e.g., Stamm, 1985; Viswanath et al., 1990). Such research typically conceptualized local orientation as membership in local community organizations. The present study extends Merton's (1960) notion by revealing that the internalized process of learning how to adjust to a local cultural environment—as conceptualized by acculturation to local culture—can also be explained by local newspaper use.

Second, consistent with prior studies (e.g., Janowitz, 1952; Jeffres et al., 2007; Park, 1922; Stamm, 1985; Viswanath et. al, 1990), local newspaper use was found to be a vehicle for community integration. Specifically, local newspaper use was related to increases in a sense of belonging, feelings of morale, trust of others in the local community, and community involvement. The literature on community journalism indicates that community newspaper content is characterized by a system of messages endorsing and reinforcing the social and cultural organization of the local community. The present study suggests the same pattern can be extended to an isolated island such as Oahu in Hawaii.

Third, the present study found that being acculturated to local culture was positively associated with sense of belonging, and social trust. However, community involvement was positively predicted by one of the two factors of acculturation to local culture— identifying as local/knowledge of Pidgin, but not the other factor, preference for things local. This implies that local community involvement is tied more closely to perceiving one's self as local, or part of the local community, as opposed to preferring local things or ideas. Nevertheless, taken together, these results extend previous research suggesting that has shown a positive link between acculturation

and indicators of community ties and involvement (e.g., Kenyon & Carter, 2011; Tucker & Santiago, 2013).

Fourth, consistent with our prediction, the results show that local newspaper use was related to increases in each criterion variable through its positive association with acculturation to local culture. Substantively speaking, some individuals feel attached to the community, trust other residents, and engage in local events and activities, because they become acculturated into local culture through reading of a local newspaper. This mediation effect is particularly notable for a sense of belonging and social trust, as their links with local newspaper use were completely mediated by acculturation to local culture. When this mediating variable was taken into account, the respective links between local newspaper use and a sense of belonging and social trust, were reduced to non-significance. The results suggest that local newspaper use may not directly affect a sense of belonging and social trust, but indirectly does so by orienting readers into the local community.

Conclusions

Despite the known decline of the newspaper industry, recent research implies that newspapers still play a vital role as a social institution in building and sustaining local communities (e.g., Pew Research Center, 2015). The present study found evidence supporting the idea that local newspapers serve an important role in fostering and sustaining "community" in Hawaii—local newspaper use fosters acculturation to Hawaii's local culture and promotes community ties and involvement. From a more practical standpoint, these findings can be used to help rally public support for local newspapers in Hawaii. More broadly, these findings imply to the newspaper industry that its coverage of local news is vital to sustaining its local readership. More than anything else, local newspapers should continue to provide quality local content to its readers. They should also encourage local readers to keep reading local news.

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Chamorro as a Written Official Language in the Mariana Islands. The Garrido Document of 1799

Carlos Madrid and Jeremy Cepeda

Abstract

This article presents in a comprehensible manner the earliest sample of written Chamorro/Chamoru language in an official document. Dating from 1799, the text includes some ancient Chamorro terms no longer in general use, whose meanings can be inferred as a result of the comparative analysis with the original Spanish text. The overall context confirms the existing model proposed in 2013, of continuity of many elements of ancient Chamorro culture, like the language, well into the 18th and 19th centuries.

On September 7 1799, the Guam-born Sergeant of the Spanish Army Manuel Tiburcio Garrido signed a statement after he translated into Chamorro an official account of a military victory in Mindanao of the Spanish over the British. Little did Garrido know he was making a historic declaration. With it, the Chamorro or Chamoru, an oral language of Austronesian roots that is unique to the Mariana Islands, turned into a written language after 1668, was used in an official document destined for island-wide dissemination. Chamoru was on that very date used for the first time as an official written language of the Mariana islands.

Since then, 220 years ago, and with the ups and downs of history, the language has made it into the 21st century as a vibrant, revitalized tool of communication for the people of the Mariana islands and Guam. Upon reading the last paragraph, we realized that Garrido chose to add, besides the original text he was commissioned to translate, a paragraph in Chamoru which, translated in English, reads as follows:

> It is absolutely faithful and true, the two written versions in local language and foreign language, in the way in which we understand. And for whoever is to know in the future, I put my name, Sergeant Manuel Tiburcio Garrido. Because I am the so-called interpreter in this place [of speaking] in the City of Agaña, in the 7th of the month of September of Seventeen Ninety-Nine.
>
> Manuel Tiburcio Garrido

That future which Garrido foresaw, "whoever is to know in the future", came to reality in 2013, at the Micronesian Area Research Center. With the intention of fostering further studies into the Spanish records and Chamorro language, we started working on it. As it was expected, this process revealed that some of the indigenous words were not understandable to contemporary Chamorro speakers. In the process we carefully read the Spanish version and inferred their meaning. First, we transcribed the original Spanish. Then we translated it into English. Later we transcribed the original Chamorro, and finally, updated the spelling of Chamorro into contemporary practice.

Likewise, we translated the original Spanish into English (first column), and then added our own interpretation of a contemporary Chamoru spelling (second column). The original Chamorro spelling as recorded in 1799 is included as well (third column), and finally the original Spanish text (fourth column). We added the footnotes throughout the text to make it easier for

future scholars to trace the process source. Once the findings were consolidated, the resulting paper is intended to promote further scrutiny and facilitate its diffusion.

Notwithstanding the recommendation of the Kumisión i Fino' CHamoru about the spelling of the word CHamoru, we favor the traditional spelling (Chamorro or Chamoru), and therefore we use it throughout this article.

In the abovementioned analysis, many experts and supporters helped us. First and foremost, cultural advocate Leonard Iriarte accompanied us for most of our meetings and contributed with many thoughts and encouragement. At different times many experts and scholars joined, like Rosa Palomo, Fr. Eric Forbes, and Michael Bevacqua, all of whom made contributions in the process of transcription and interpretation, and to whom we would like to express our gratitude. Most specially to Malia Angelica Ramirez, who first called my attention to this document twenty years ago. Any possible errors or oversights in the text are our sole responsibility.

Historic Context

The Mariana Islands have been under different colonial administrations for over 400 years. The first 300 years by different Spanish regimes, then by Germany, Japan, and the United States. Chamoru was widely spoken until the second half of the XX century, when it entered a decline out of which several revitalizing efforts taken by various institutions, cultural groups, and independent scholars, have been able to take it. Based on the 2010 Census, Chamoru was spoken by 37.646 speakers in the Northern Mariana Islands (11.819) and Guam (25.827).[1]

The conversion to Christianity by most of the Chamoru people started in 1668, followed by a period of conflict, wars, and epidemics that lasted for over thirty years and had devastating consequences for the indigenous population of the archipelago.

Manuel Tiburcio Garrido, author of the Chamoru version of the text, was an officer of the Spanish army. We argue he was most probably born in Guam because a certain Domingo Garrido, probably his father, was already listed as an officer in the 1728 census. Based on his use of the Chamoru language, we believe he was a native bilingual speaker. In Hagatña, the city of San Ignacio de Agaña, core of the colonial administration, Chamoru language was not only in use a century after the end of the conquest, but it was necessary to communicate with the population.

Why was the document written in the first place? On November 3, 1796, the Spanish fleet of Admiral Ignacio Maria de Alava anchored in Guam waters. The Royal Orders specified that the fleet was to show to the inhabitants of the most remote Spanish territories, the military forces destined to their defense and preservation of sovereignty. This practice is known in navy operations was "showing the flag". The fleet left Guam waters three days later, on November 6, from the Southern village of "Humatac", as Commander Alava spelled it in his diary.[2]

Great Britain was at war with Spain and France. In the Asian scenario of that conflict, the Captain General of the Philippines, Rafael María de Aguilar y Ponce de León, confronted British navy forces in Zamboanga, the capital of the Southern Philippine island of Mindanao. The victory our document is referring, took place on January 21, 1798 in the waters of Zamboanga.

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[1] Rafael Rodriguez-Ponga (2018), *The Economic Value of a Minority Language: Chamorro in the Mariana Islands*. Page 113. http://www.mineco.gob.es/stfls/mineco/ministerio/ficheros/libreria/InfluenciaEspanolING_Pdf.pdf [Accessed on October 30, 2019]

[2] Antonio Laborda (Ed.) *Viaje Alrededor del globo realizado por la Escuadra al Mando de Don Ignacio María de Álava, con anotaciones sobre las operaciones de dicha escuadra en los mares de Filipinas, 1795-1803*. Editorial La Hoja del Monte. Paginas 33-34.

For the colonial government of the Mariana Islands, the need to disseminate the victory of the Spanish forces along with the Filipino native soldiers that supported the operation, was instrumental, because just a few months before, the fleet commanded by Spanish Admiral Ignacio Maria de Alava was anchored in Guam. Therefore, the victory represented a unique opportunity to highlight the alleged benefits of the colonization: defense against foreign enemies, and rewards for those who contribute in the victorious effort.

Unbeknownst to the people of the Marianas, the absolutist regimes in Europe were already collapsing by 1796. But even before those regimes were replaced by constitutional ones after a long period of conflicts, the rulers of the enlightenment era were already applying somewhat engaging governance practices: the mere fact that the colonial government insisted in spreading the news of the victory and the corresponding rewards given to the troops that defeated the British enemies, reveals the logic of addressing the native inhabitants to stress the alleged merits of the colonization. Having the news translated into the vernaculars implies the determination to communicate with the subjects whose taxes were being used to provision the Royal ships whenever they passed by the islands.

To make sure the message was understood, the translation into local vernaculars was ordered from Manila. It is most likely that Garrido, in charge of the Chamoru translation, learned to write it in the Jesuit-run Colegio de San Juan de Letran, the oldest educational institution of Oceania and subsidized by Spanish Queen Mariana de Austria since its opening in 1673. It was there where Chamoru was expanded into a written language. Thus, the following document came to be.

English Translation of the Spanish	Contemporary Chamoru	Original Chamorro	Original Spanish
… in this Court… Don Manuel Muro, Governor of this… in so called Marianas. As ordered by the King… translated into the local language the two great acts that had taken place, the afore[mentioned] is from the Governor of Manila; Where the joyous victories that we speak of over the English, happened in the Plaza/City of Zamboanga; and those are here below:[1] As ordered by the King, from the Governor of Manila, here there are in the local language the two great acts that took place in Zamboanga against those called English, and those are here below:	[…] gi ayen[2] na *Juzgado* […] D. Manuel Muro Maga'låhen ayen […] i ilek-ñiha Marianas; pine'lon Rai na […] mina'fino' håya i hugiyai[3] na maolek na fina'tinas gi me'nan i ayen ginen i Maga'låhen Manila ayu nai gaige i minagof na hinago' siha i ilek-ta Enggleses gi Plåsan Zamboanga; ya i ayu siha gaige guini gi ya påpa'.	…gui adyin nga Juzgado (…) D. Manuel Muro Magalahen adyin (…) y erecniha Marianas; pineron Rey nga (…) ina'fino haya y huguiyai nga mauric nga finatinas gui minan y adyin guini y Magalahin Manila adyo ngai guaigui y minegof nga inego siha y ericta ingleses gui Plazan Zamboanga; ya y adyo siha guaigui guini gui ya popah.	

[1] This introductory paragraph was written by the translator (Manuel Tiburcio Garrido, as we will see later), from the Court or Juzgado, which in 1799 was an office likely located either in the Almacen or in the Government Palace, both in Agaña.
[2] *Adyin* seems to be an early spelling of *ayen*, meaning "this". In contemporary Chamoru however, *yini*, *ini*, and especially *este*, are more widely used.
[3] *Hugiyai* means two, when referring to inanimate things. Thus, ancient numbering was very much in use by 1799, a century after the end of the conquest. Based in this document, Spanish numbering was already in use as well, but only for dates.

High Disposition, informing the army of this city, the victory obtained by our forces in that of Zamboanga. Manila, April 14, 1798.	Tákkilo' na tinago' mana'maneni[4] gi *Ejercito* nu ayen na Plåsa i minagof na mali'e' gi *Armada* Zamboanga Manila katotse gi Pulan[5] Abrit di mit siette sientos nubentai ocho.	Tequiro nga tenego mana manene gui Exercito ngu adyin nga Plaza y minegof nga marij gui Armada Zamboanga Manila catorce gui Pulan Abril de mil setecientos noventa y ocho.	Superior providencia, manifestando al ejército de esta plaza, la victoria conseguida por nuestras armas en la de Zamboanga. Manila, 14 de abril de 1798.
At all times it has been universally believed to be the most effective way and the most evocative example to lead men towards great actions, is to put them in view of the glorious actions of their countrymen, which ordinarily generates in our spirits an stimulus, more or less strong based on the times of the events and of the circumstances that we notice are more or less similar to ours. So, nothing can elevate us more than the reading of a famous episode recently conducted by our own countrymen in equal if not lower conditions than those in which we find ourselves.	I manmå'pos na ha'åni, mahongge yan magåhet, i maolek na åmot, u na'tákkilo' hinalom-ta, i mapo'lo gi me'nan Matå-ta, i maolek, yan i Kokkok[6] na fina'tinas, sa' nána'takkilo'[7] hinalom-ta, lachao-ña[8] gi fina'tinas manaotao-ta.	Yman mapus nga haani, mahongui, yan magahit, y maulig nga amot, una tequiro Ginaromta, y ma poro gui minan Matata, y maurig, yan y Cocog nga finatinas, sa nga na tequiro ginaromta, rachauña gui finatinas manautaota.	En todos los tiempos se ha creído universalmente ser el medio más eficaz, y la lección más insinuante, para conducir a los hombres a grandes hechos, el de ponerles a la vista las acciones gloriosas de sus semejantes; que causan de ordinario en nuestros espíritus, un estímulo más o menos fuerte, en razón de las épocas de los sucesos y a las circunstancias que advertimos nos son más o menos análogas: de modo que nada puede elevarnos tanto, como la lectura de un hecho famoso, ejecutado por nuestros mismos compatriotas recientemente y en iguales, sino inferiores

[4] The root word of *mana`maneni* is *noni*, and is used here to mean informing, stating. In Pale Román María de Vera´s 1932 dictionary *noni* appears as *none*, meaning to salute or to acknowledge, and nowadays this term is mostly used in religious Catholic practice.

[5] *Pulan* refers here to "month", but Garrido indistinctively uses it to mean date and month, as seen later in the document.

[6] *Kokkok* likely is an alternate version of *Hokkok*, in this instance meaning "perfect, complete". In Chamoru the consonants *K* and *H* are sometimes interexchangeable, like in *håhalom*/*kåkalom*.

[7] Original reads *nga na tequiro*. We believe the term *tequiro* derives from *takkilo'*, meaning high.

[8] This word was written *Rachau*, likely to be pronounced *lachao*. We have not found it in dictionaries, but in this text matches with the meanings "to operate", "to react", "to maneuver", "to intend".

Following this undeniable principle and hoping that this garrison will receive the satisfaction and good example that is consequent, it will be excerpted from the news comunicated to this general captaincy by Don Raimundo Español and the Reverend Father Fray Vicente Aparicio, governor and parish priest of the town of Zamboanga, which dates of 30 January of 12 February. And copies to all garrisons will be distributed, to warn of the newly acquired glory of their peers, and the obligation they have of imitate them with the most serious resolution, to behave in similar instances with the same courageous impulse.	Ta tútufong yan ta na'maneni, sa' ti nénpuni[9] na fina'tinas yan malago'-ña nu i pinapå'-ña, yan i lahyan na sendalu-ña[10] u áchahlao, i minagof, yan i maolek na inetnon[11] u fanmatuge', i migai na masangåni, ayen na Maga'låhen Manila: Si *Don* Raymundo Español, yan si Fr. Vicente Aparicio, Maga'låhi yan Påle' gi iya Zamboanga gi Pulan trenta di Ineru yan dosse gi Fibreru yan u fanmana'tungo', i migai yan hokkok[12] na Sendalu-ña, ya u ha tungo' i minagof mangga'chong-ña yan i pekkå'-ta nu ta Kulao[13] ayen na kinekkok na fina'tinas.	Tatotofon yan tana manene, sa tinenpuni nga finatinas, yan maregoña ngu y pina paña, yan y rahyan nga Sondaluña, ù acharao, y minegof, yan y maulig, nga inenun ufanmatugui, y migai nga masangani, y adyin nga Magalahin Manila: Si D^{n}. Raymundo Español, yàn si Fr. Vicente Aparicio, Magalahi yan Pari gui yà Zamboànga gui Pulan treinta de Enero yan doce gui Febrero yan ufan mana tongo, y migai yàn hocog nga Sondaluña, yà ò ha tongo y minegof mangachongña yàn y picata, ngu ta Corao adyin nga quinicog nga finatinas.	proporciones, de las en que nos contemplamos. Siguiendo este innegable principio, y aspirando a que las tropas de esta guarnición reciban la complacencia, y buen ejemplo que es consiguiente, se extractarán las noticias que han comunicado a esta capitanía general el señor don Raimundo Español, y el Reverendo Padre Fray Vicente Aparicio, gobernador y párroco de la plaza de Zamboanga, con fechas de 30 de enero de 12 de febrero últimos, y se distribuirán ejemplares a todos los cuerpos, para que adviertan la gloria que acaban de adquirir sus compañeros, y la obligación en que se hayan de imitarlos formando en consecuencia la más seria resolución de portarse en iguales accidentes con el mismo valeroso ardimiento.

[9] The word *nénpuni* is not recorded in other Chamoru dictionaries. Here it seems to match the meaning "deny", "deniable".
[10] This word, from the original Spanish "soldado", is one of the few Spanish borrowings registered in this text and incorporated into Chamoru. The other words are "viuda" (widow), "polvora" (gunpowder), "bandera" (flag), "calzones" (pants), and "Pari" (Priest). The other Spanish words that appear in the Chamoru version were written in their original Spanish spelling, which suggests that they were not part of the daily Chamoru language: Marianas, Rey, Plaza, abril, catorce, etc. We have adjusted the spelling of these words at the corresponding contemporary version, since they are now incorporated into Chamoru language.
[11] What today would be spelled *inetnon*, which means a group or a gathering, was written as *inenon* in 1799. Hence, the root word of *inenon* most likely would have been *onon*.
[12] Nowadays it is used to mean "there is nothing". In other segments of this text it matches with the meaning "all", "everyone", and it is known to have this same meaning in historic religious songs.
[13] This word is now in complete disuse. In this text matches the meaning "to emulate", "to imitate", "to mirror", "to have the same fate".

On the last January 21, at four in the morning, appeared near the town of Zamboanga one enemy warship, a frigate, two of the cannon boats that were apprehended with deception few days before in this same bay, and four armed boats, with the larger vessels flying Spanish flags.	I Pulan bente unu di Ineru hinekkok gi Chatangmak alas kuåttro manmåtto hihot gi Plåsan Zamboanga hachiyai na Moddong Chichang, yan hachiyai […] na mafana'an […] *Lanchas Cañoneras,* nu ayen […] ha', sa' ti åpmam na manmå'pos [...] na […] ami […] ha chule'guan ginen i ayen […] na […] yan fatfåtai[14] na Botes na ha po'luyi i m[…] lámoddong na Såhyan Banderas Españolas.	Y Pulan veinte y uno de Enero hinecog gui Chatanmag àlas quatro manmarto hifot gui Plazan Zamboanga hachiyai nga Mudong Chichang, yan hachiyai (…) nga mafanean (…) Lanchas Cañoneras, ngu adyin (…) ha, sa tiamam nga manmapus nga (…) ami hachuriguan guini y adyin (…) nga (…) yan farfatai nga Botes nga hapuluyi y m(…)la mudun nga Sahyan Banderas Españolas.	El 21 de Enero ultimo a las cuatro de la mañana aparecieron cerca de la Plaza de Zamboanga un navio de guerra enemigo, una fragata, dos lanchas cañaneras de las que con engaño apresaron pocos días antes en esta bahía, y cuatro Botes armados, llevando los buques mayores banderas españolas.
The governor believed, with reason, that they would be a part of our fleet, but he changed his mind upon noticing that they did not anchor while they could; and that the small boats maneuvered with suspicious precautions. Accordingly, he resolved to prepare for defense and to send a Captain of the Navy to do a reconnaissance within the range of a cannon shot, with all the precautions	I Maga'låhi, na[15] na'okñan[16] na ti Chichang lao mangga'chong-ta, yan Hachatao-ta[17], ada' nina'hallom ya ti na hongge sa' na li'e' na siña masohi[18] ya ti na fa'tinas yan i mandíkuko'[19] na Såhyan mina'Lachao na humallom nu ayen ada' na pulan guihi yan na fa'maolek manaotao-ña yan Sendaluña ya na tågo' maisa na Kapitan di Marina, i Láguaigue,[20] ya u kétungo' Kao håyi na taotågue; ya i adahi Cha'-	Y Magalahi, nga na ocñan nga ti Chicha (…) rao mangachonta, yàn Jachataota, adda nina herum yà tina fongui; sa nga rij nga siña masohi yà tina fatinas yàn y mandicoco nga Sahyan mina Rachao nga humerum ngu adyin adda nga puran guij yàn nga famaulig manaotaoña yan Sondaluña yà nga tago maisa nga Capitan de Marina, ù raguoigui, yà ù quitongo Cao hayi nga taotagui; yà í hadehi Chaña	El **gobernador** creyó, con fundamento, que sería una parte de nuestra escuadra, pero varió de concepto al advertir que no daban fondo, pudiendo, y que las embarcaciones pequeñas obraban con precauciones sospechosas: en consecuencia se resolvió a ponerse en defensa, y enviar a un **Capitán de Marina** para que hiciese reconocimiento a tiro de Cañón con

[14] Indigenous counting system, meaning four.
[15] The particle *nga*, alternatively spelled *na*, corresponds throughout this text in many, but not all instances with the verbalizing prefix *ma-* , and the pronoun *ma* of contemporary Chamoru.
[16] The word *okñan* matches here with the concept "to believe with reason".
[17] We keep the original sound as written in 1799, with an aspirated *H*. Today this word is pronounced *Achatao-ta*.
[18] This word is now in complete disuse. Based on this document *sohi* must have meant "anchor". Thus, in this sentence *masohi* meant "to anchor".
[19] Most likely *mandikuko* is an early form of *mandikike'*, meaning "small".
[20] This word is now in disuse. In this segment, it means "reconnaissance", to "learn more about what is there". It is derived from the prefix *la-,* meaning "augment", and the term *guaigue*, which in turn is an older form of *gaige*, meaning, "present, located someplace."

that the signs required and that his known zeal recommended him. In that way he conducted it, and even though they told him to be [Royal] Warships from this bay, they did not respond when asked about the name of their Commanders. With this news, [the Captain] returned to shore suffering a heavy rifle fire when his return was noticed.	ña Lachao hihot ya siha sa' gi hinasso-ña, sésen Magahet ti manmaolek na Taotao, hiyot[21] ilek-ñiha Såhyan Rai gi ayen na Tano'an;[22] sa' ti manmanoppe gi annai manmafaisen Kao håyi hulon-ñiha, guihi na Såhyan; ya nu ayen i Kapitan na leklek i Sahyan malak i Tano' ya gúsise' manPinaki hålom nu migai nu i mafana'an *Fusileria.*	Rachao hihit yà siha sagui hinasoña sisin Magahit ti man maurig nga Tautao, hiyut erigñia Sahuyan Rey gui adyin nga Tanoan; sà ti manman opi gui ngai manmafaisin Cao Joyi huronñia, guihi nga Sahyan; yà ngu adyin, y Capitan nga Eigrig y Sahyan marag y Teno ya gusisi man Pinegui harom ngu migai ngui mafanean Fusileria.	todas las seguridades a que obligaban los indicios, y que les aconsejó su conocido celo; de cuyo modo lo verificó, y no obstante de que le expresaron ser Buques del **[Rey]** procedentes de esta Bahía, dejaron de contestar al preguntarle el nombre de los Comandantes, con cuyas noticias regresó a tierra, sufriendo una fuerte descarga de **fusilería** que le dispararon al notarlo.
Immediately the Citadel stated its Flag by a cannon shot, and the ship shot a terrible volley of 24 [mm.], the other **battery** and the Boats continued with the most violent fire, which was reciprocated by the **Bulwarks**, without interruption from 6 [am] to 11 [am].	Ti manman i Maga'låhi, na na'metton i Banderå-ña gi Plåsa, nu hachiyai na i ilek-ñiha *tiro* ya i Meddong Chichang fihom[23] na Pinaki siha hålom migai nu i ilek-ñiha di bente kuåttro Taiguihi na fa'tinas i *Baluartes*; ha tutuhon gi alas sais gi Ógga'an tumaka' alas onse gi ha'åni.	Timenmen y Magalahi, nga na miton y Banderaña gui Plaza, ngu hachiyai nga y erigñia Tiro ya y Midon Chichan fihom nga Pinegui siha harom migai ngui erigñia de veinte y quatro Taiguihi nga fatinas y **Baluartes**; hatotohon gui las seis gui Ogaan tumaca las once gui haani.	Inmediatamente afirmó la Plaza su Bandera con un Cañonazo, y el Navío la hizo una terrible descarga de a 24, continuando la otra Batería, y las Lanchas con el más violento fuego, que fue correspondido por los Baluartes, sin que cesasen desde las 6 a las 11 del día.
The frigate that had been leeward, was incorporated with the Ship at that time,	I *Fragata* na inagas[24] umetnon[25] yan meddong[26] ya ha ta'lugua manmumu	Y Fragata nga inagas uminun yán Midon ya hatarugua manmumo a la una	La fragata que se había sotaventado fue incorporada con el Navío a esta

[21] This word is now in disuse. It could be an archaic form of *achok*, meaning "even though". When compared with the Spanish text, *hiyot* could also match the concept "to claim to be." It is also possible that this was a typo and the intended word was actually *hiyong*, to complete the sentence, "… sésen Magahet ti manmaolek na Taotao hiyong" meaning, "it is absolutely true that they were no good outsiders".

[22] It means "place", "location". This word was also recorded by French explorer Freycinet in 1819.
[23] *Fihom* means "vehemently". It is the root word of *Fehman.*
[24] Possibly meaning "Leeward" or "the act of", based in the corresponding Spanish version.
[25] Seems to derive from the word *Otnon*, "meaning to come together", plus the infix *–um-*.
[26] This word was inconsistently spelled by Garrido: *midon*, or *modon-*.

and returned to fire at one [pm], arranged in such form that this one [the frigate] shot at the **Fortress**, that one [the Ship] at the batteries, and the gunboats, boats and other small vessels, [shot to] the Dock and other points where there might be defenders; In such way they continued the most vivid volleys until four, when upon seeing the lack of powder of the Citadel, [the British] formed the daring plan of landing, and executed it covered by the high shots of their ships, and protected by their gunboats; but with such a bad result that they were rejected by 250 men of the town armed with Lances and **Crizes**, that the Governor had in ambush [and] who showed extraordinary courage, not waiting for the enemies to have their feet dry,[they] threw themselves into the water towards them, imposing such a horror that they [the British] re-embarked in a confused and hasty manner, leaving some of them their	ala una ya ayen i Higua[27] na Såhyan Må'gas ha kéchuda' i *Fortaleza*, i *Lanchas* yan i palu na Såhyan díkuko' i *Muelle*; fihom manmamaki hålom tumaka' alas kuåttro na ha na'okñan na i […] Polvoran-ñiha[28] i Plaza nu ayen i […] i mafana'an *desembarco* manhålom gi mandíkuko' na Såhyan manatok hålom gi […] i guafen i meddong na Såhyan Lao Sulai-ña[29] hinasson-ñiha sa' gi nai fanmåtto hålom ti manmana'gatcha' tåno', manfoyong i mañåsaga gi halom chå'guan manninangga siha Pine'lon Maga'låhi i mafana'an *emboscada* manhuyong ada'; hugua na gåtos guai lima na fulu[30] na Taotao Songsong, i na'an-ñiha *Lanzas* yan *Crizes* ya i ayen siha manhuyong mantinagam i Chichang na ti ha na'fanmåtto gi Tatasi-ña[31] sa' guihi	ya adyin y Jigua nĝa Sahyan Magas ha quichuda y **fortaleza**, y Lanchas yán y pero nĝa Sahyan dicoco y Muelle; fihom man mamegui ha[rum tumaca] a las quatro nĝa hanaocñan nĝa y [illegible] Polvoranñia y Plaza nĝu adyin y [illegible] y mafanean desembarco man harom gui mandicoco nĝa Sahyan man etog harom gui [illegible] y guafin y Midon nĝa Sahyan Rao Suraiña [h]inesonñia sá gui ngai fanmarto harom ti manmana guecha teno, manfoyon y mañasaga gui harom Chaguan man ninenanga siha Pinilon Magalahi y mafanean emboscada man hoyon adá; [h]ugua nĝa Gatos guai Lima nĝa fulo nĝa Tautao Sonson, y na[h]anñia **Lanzas** yán **Crizes** yá y adyin siha man hoyon mantinagam y Chichan nĝa ti hana fan marto gui Taitasiña sá guihi hanaoyan ninamnamñiha nĝa tinensanĝan, sá manmarto taiguihi y Gaga nĝa hafita siha; há totohon manmumo, adda y Chichan nina fan Ynababa tiha tonĝo	última hora, y volvieron a romper fuego a la una, disponiéndose en forma de que este ofendiese a la Fortaleza, aquella a las Baterías, y las Lanchas, Botes y demás Buques pequeños, al Muelle, y resto de puntos donde pudiese haber defensores; de cuya suerte continuaron vivísimas descargas hasta las cuatro, que contemplando exhaustez de pólvora en la plaza, formaron el atrevido designio de desembarcar y lo ejecutaron bajo los fuegos altos de sus Buques y protegidos de las Lanchas Cañoneras; pero con tan mal éxito que fueron rechazados por doscientos cincuenta hombres del Pueblo, que armados con Lanzas y Crizes, tenía emboscados el Gobernador, los cuales demostraron una intrepidez tan extraordinaria, que sin esperar a que los Enemigos estuviesen a pie enjuto, se arrojaron al agua sobre ellos, imponiéndoles

[27] Indigenous counting system. It means 2.

[28] *Polvora*, Spanish for powder, was one of the few borrowings from Spanish incorporated in Chamoru by 1799.

[29] The meaning of *sulai* is unclear. *Sulaiña* matches with the original Spanish "mal exito" or bad result, bad outcome. It is unclear whether the suffix *–ña* acts here as the pronoun, meaning "his, hers, its", or as the comparative degree. Hence, if Garrido did a literal translation, *sulai* would be a word no longer in use, meaning bad outcome, bad result. However, we believe *sulai* could actually be and earlier form of the adjective *sala'*, meaning unrecoverable, irreparable, incurable. Thus, Garrido could mean that the situation could not be overturned.

[30] Indigenous counting system, meaning 250. As for the term *guai*, meaning "to possess", nowadays it pronounced and written "gai".

[31] Original might include a typo: it reads "Taitasina".

rifles on the beach, and experiencing all of them a lot of damage from the few who were hiding in **ambush** that were carrying firearms, and from a battery that shot them with grapeshot.	hanaoyan[32] ninamnam-ñiha[33] na ti nénsangan[34], sa' manmåtto taiguihi i Ga'ga' na ha fita' siha; ha tutuhon manmumu, ada' i Chichang nina'faninábaba' ti ha tungo' Håfa u fa'tinas siha guaha manmatai-ñiha ya ti manmana'fåtto gi Tano', ada' manmasåhi gi Sahyan yan manmå'pos sa' ti ha sungon, Lokkue' manPinaki nu i mañåsaga gi mafana'an *Emboscada* yan i *Bateria*:	Ofa ú fatinas siha guaha manmatai ñiha yá ti manmanafarto gui Teno, adda manmasahi gui Sahyan yá man mapus sá tihasonĝon, Rogui man Pinequi ngui mañasaga gui mafanaan **Emboscada** yán y Bateria:	tal pavor que se reembarcaron atropellada y confusamente, dejando algunos de sus fusiles en la Playa, y experimentando todos mucho daño de los pocos emboscados que llevaban armas de fuego, y de una batería que les disparaba a metralla.
The withdrawal was the most shameful, and the wounded [were] so many, that [they] tinted of blood the water that was filling the Boats, causing in the Ship and the **Frigate** such dismay, that made them reduce their fire, and among our [men] such extraordinary ardor that it fanned incredibly and with such success that every shot was a havoc on the **Enemies**, which full of damages and gloom, retreated in ruins **at 5 pm**, and stayed about half a league away, where	I mina'añao-ñiha fa'mamahlao, ya i manmåtai yan masisi ya siha i hugua na Moddong måtto ya siha ada' mina'åñao, ya ha po'lo lachao mamaki hålom gi Tano'; ya ayen siha Kokolo'ña manmatetnge ya manmagof, sa' manunas na gin ha Paki Lågu[35] tåya' nai Lachi ada' fihom nina'ale' meddong-ñiha sa' migai na machuda': gi oras alas singko gi pupuengi manláttagu ya manotnon[36] gi nai[37] ti tinaka´ nu i paken tåno´, guihi ha fa´maolek i sahyan-ñiha sa´migai na	Ymina añao ñiha femamarao, yá ý mammatai yán masisi yá siha y Jugua nĝa Mudon mato yá siha adda minaañao, ya ha poro Rachao mamequi harom gui Teno; ya adyin siha Cocoroña man ma ternge ya man mégof, sá manunas nĝa guin ha Pegui Rago toya nĝai Rache adda fihum nina arih Midonñia sá migai nĝa machuda: gui **oras las cinco** gui Popuingi man Ratago yá man onon gui nĝai titeneca nĝu y Paquin tano, guihi hafamaurig y Sayanñia sá migai nĝa manmachuda yá	La retirada fue la más vergonzosa, y los heridos tantos que teñían de sangre el agua que hacían los Botes, influyendo en el Navío y **Fragata** un desfallecimiento tal, que les hizo disminuir su fuego, y en los nuestros un ardor tan extraordinario que lo avivaron increíblemente, y con tanto acierto que cada tiro era un estrago en los **Enemigos**, los quales llenos de averías, y abatimiento, se retiraron destrozados **a las 5 de la tarde**, y se situaron como a media legua de

[32] The directional verb *hanao* means "to go towards". It is also a possibility that it might instead be the phrase "ha na'oyan"; and thus *"oyan"* would have been the root word in this case.
[33] *Namnam* means courage, valor.
[34] The little used prefix *nen-* introduces causality. The root word *Sångan*, means "to speak", "to speak of". Thus, *ti nénsangan* appears to mean undescribable, unspeakable.
[35] Here *Lågu* is used in its traditional meaning, "seaward".
[36] *Otnon* means "to unify". In the Spanish version, this word matches with the idea "to regroup".
[37] Interestingly enough this particle was alternatively spelled *nĝai*, or *ngahai*, having both the same meaning of "instance", or "occasion". In the updated version of the transcription it has been unified into *nai*.

they only tried to repair the Ships, their masts and riggings, consuming in this operation three days. They ended up abandoning the **Boats**, scuttled, and leaving in peace our Defenders, who had not dropped their weapons for three days, during the time they remained in sight.	manmachuda´ ya totgiyai na ha´åni ha huto´ taiguihi na fa´maolek siha ya gi nai monhåyan … ha na´mahågom i … tåno´manmagof Lao ti …-ñiha tumaka´ manmalingu …	torguiyai nga haani hahuto taiguihi nga famaulig siha yá gui ngahai mun hayan [illegible] hana mahagom y [illegible] tano man megof Rao ti [illegible] ñia tumaca man maringo [illegible]	distancia, en donde solo trataron de componer los Buques, sus arboladuras y jarcias, consumiendo en esta operación tres días: Concluyeron con abandonar barrenadas las **Lanchas** y dejar en tranquilidad a nuestros Defensores, que no soltaron las Armas de la mano, durante el tiempo que permanecieron a la vista.
The zealous **Governor** ordered to recover these useful vessels, and to inspect the Garrison, finding that happily, there were only four wounded, and one dead who, failing in his obligation was fleeing from combat and met death as just punishment for his cowardice. The recovered bullets were above four hundred and fifty, from the caliber thirty up to [caliber] eight, not counting those which fell in mud flats and reefs, which were not a few.	Yigoh[38] Maga´låhi manag[…] […] i sahyan siha na i manmayute´gi [39]si ya na na´fanmahokka´ i lahyan na taotao-ña ya tåya´ na sodda´ maisa ha na´måtai ya fåtfat na masisi lao ayen i inabak-ñiha sa´ manhånao gi i ninon[40] mumu: i bålas na i manmahokka´ gi fåtfat na gåtos na guai lima nga fulu ayu i mafana´an *Calibre* trenta yan a ocho[41] ti ta tufong i manpoddong gi halom fache´ yan i tasi.	Yegoh **Magalahi** manag[¿ [¿]]n n[illegible] y Sahyan siha nga y Man mayuti gui [illegible] si ya nga nafanmahoca y Rahyan nga Tautaoña ya toya nga suda maisa ha nga m[a]tai ya farfar nga masisi Rao adyin y ni nabagñia sa manhanao gui y ninon mumo: y Balas nga y man mahoca mapus gui farfar nga Gatos nga guai Lima nga fulo adyu y mafanean Calibre treinta yan a ocho tita tufon y man pudon gui harum fechi yán y Tesi.	El celoso **Governador** dispuso se recogiesen estas útiles embarcaciones, y se revistase la Guarnición, hallando que la felicidad había llegado al extremo de encontrar sólo quatro heridos y un muerto, que faltando a su obligación huía el combate y halló la muerte en justo castigo de su cobardía: las balas recogidas pasan de quatrocientas y cincuenta, desde los calibres de treinta, hasta el de a ocho, sin contar con las que cayeron en fangales y arrecifes, que no fueron pocas.

[38] This word is unkown to contemporary Chamoru. *Yigoh* (alternately spelled Yigu) matches with the term "zealous". It could be considered that the place name *Yigo* derives from this term as well.

[39] The original document is illegible in this part. It could be missing the syllable *Ta-*, which would complete the word *Tasi*, "ocean".

[40] The term *ninon* is obscure. It could derive from the term *nen-*, "which causes", becoming *ninen* with the infix *–in-*, but spelled here as *ninon*. Alternatively, it could be the thematic *–n* applied to the word *nunu*, which meant ancestor or grandparent. Either way, *ninon* appears to be referring to their obligation to fight.

[41] In Spanish this numeral would have been "treinta y ocho". Here it appears to have been Chamorrized as *treinta yan á ocho*, what indicates an early incorporation of the Spanish numbering into Chamoru, coexisting with the original indigenous numbering.

This is in short, the victory won by our forces. And the prize for the worthy **Vassals** who have reached it, will be in accordance to their merit and by the detailed report to be requested to their Governor, whose zeal, courage, and military expertise make him in the Kings´debt, to whom it will be reported extensively, to honor and distinguish him. It should not be omitted the fidelity and courage of the People in its three guilds, who will receive as many graces as possible from this General Captaincy, which is always prone to reward merit to those who are worthy, as he recently practiced with the inhabitants of the town of San Jazinto, with the occasion of their defeating of the **English Ship** named *Resistencia*, who tried to demand foodstuffs through the force of arms, causing known damage as recorded by eyewitnesses, and forcing them to abandon the attempt as demonstrated by the disposition issued last March 5 which is as follows:	Ayen nai otnon i minagof ya mali´e´ gi éntalo´ ninamnam yan nå´an; yan håfa na minaolek u nangga i manunas na i mafana´an ***Basallos*** ya manmanå´i, ada´minaolek´-ñiha nu i tunas na fina´tinas ya mana´tungo´ sa´ u magågao si Maga´låhi håf taimanu i minénhallom, yan ninamnam i hinasso i as Rai sa´ i masangåni i mígagai, nu ayen i fina´maolek yan nina´láttilo´, ada´ ti ta fatkiluyi i minaolek yan ninamnam taotao songsong siha lokkue´ u fanfinamtå´-ña, nu i Maga´låhen Manila, taiguihi na ha hasso nina´maolek ayu siha i ilek-ta manunas taiguihi i ti åpmam na ha fa´tinas i Taotao San Jazinto, gi nai fanmumu nu i **Meddong Engles** mafana´an *Resistencia* sa´ ayen na hasso chumule´guan ågon lao ti ha na´siña sa´ fihom ha sågue´ siha i Taotao Tåno´ ya ada´ […] ayen ilek-ñiha i ha li´e´ un måtan[…] papå´-ña ta li´e´ gi singko gi Pulan [Marz]o na ilek-ña:	Adyin ngai onon y menegof yá marij gui intalo ninamnam yán nafan; yán ofa nga minaurig ú nan ga y manunas nga y mafanean **Basallos** yá man manai, ada minaurigñia ngu i tunas nga finatinas yá manatoñgo sá umagagao si Magalahi oftaimeno y minihnaron, yan ninamnam i hinesu yas Rey sa i masangani y Migagai, ngu adyin i finamaurig yán nina Rattiro, adda tita farguiroyi y minaurig yan ninamnam Tautao, Sonson siha Rogui ufan finantaña, ngui Magalahin Manila, taiguihi nga hehesu Ninamaurig adyu siha y erigta Manunas taiguihi y ti hamam nga hafatinas y Tautao San Jazinto, gui nga hai fan mumo ngui **Midon Yngles** mafanean *Resistencia* sa adyin nga hesu Chumuriguan Aguon Rao ti hanasiña sa fihum ha sagui siha y Tautao Tano ya ada [ilegible words] adyin erigñia y harij ngu matan [illegible words] Popaña [¿] tarij gui cinco gui Pulan [illegible words]o nga erigña.	Esta es en resumen, la victoria conseguida por nuestras armas; y el premio que disfrutarán los dignos **Vasallos** que la han alcanzado, será en razón de su relevante mérito, y mediante el circunstanciado informe que se pedirá a su Governador, cuyo celo, valor, y pericia militar le hacen acreedor a que el Rey, a quien se dará parte extensamente, le honre y distinga, no debiendo omitirse la fidelidad y valentía del Pueblo en sus tres Gremios a quienes se harán quantas gracias quepan en esta Capitanía General, que siempre está propensa a premiar el mérito de los que se hacen dignos, como recientemente lo practicó con los habitantes del pueblo de San Jazinto, en ocasión de haver batido al **Navío Inglés** nombrado *Resistencia*, que intentó exigir viveres a fuerza de Armas, causándole un conocido daño, como consta por testigos oculares, y obligándole a abandonar la empresa según demuestra la Providencia expedida en 5 de Marzo anterior que es como se sigue:
"In just reward of the fidelity, constancy and courage shown by the **Town Mayor** of San Jazinto, Don	[T]unas na nina'i, sa' nu i minaolek sinin […]an ninamnam na na'huyong Sainan-ñiha mafana'an	[…]unas nga ninei, sa ngui minaurig, sinin[...]an ninamnam nga na hoyon y Sainan ñiha mafanean	"En justo premio de la fidelidad, constancia y valor que ha manifestado el Governadorcillo del

Santiago de Llamas, he is granted the honor of Provincial Militia Captain, with perpetual exemption from taxes and enjoy of the privileges and distinctions that are attached to the employment.	*Governadorcillo*, gi Songsong *San Jazinto* si *Don* Santiago de Llamas manå'i minaolek-ña yan Lumáttilo' pekkå'-ña i ilek-ñiha *Capitan de Milicias Provinciales*; yan ti u fannå'i Tributo humáttulo' na Såkkan.	**Governadorcillo**, Gui Sonson San Jazinto si Don Santiago de Llamas manahi minaurigña yan Rumatiro picaña y erigñiha **Capitan de Milicias Provinciales**; yan ti ufan nahi Tributo humad hulo nga Sacan.	Pueblo de San Jazinto, Don Santiago de Llamas, se le concede el honor de Capitán de Milicias Provinciales, con perpetua exoneración de tributos y goce del fuero, y distinciones que son anejas al empleo.
The widow of Don Joseph Gutierrez will enjoy for the rest of her life the assignment of two pesos a month, which will be alocated from the **Royal Budget** of the Province of Albay, whose **Mayor** shall make sure it is supplied to her, certifying that he has done it, so they can be passed on to him in data, by the **Ministry of the Royal Treasury**.	I Bi'udan[42] *Don* Jose Gutierrez u manåna'i gi éntalo' ha'ani-ña hugiyai na pesos gi hachiyai na Pulan sa' na famohi[43] gi *Real Haver* gi Songsong Albay ya i ayen na *Alcalde maior* u Pulan nu u nåna'i ya u fa'tinas månu nai mahongge gi *Ministerio Real Hacienda*."	Y Viudan Don José Gutierrez ú mana nahi gui intalo ha haniña Joguiyai nga pesos gui hachiyai nga Pulan sá nga famohi gui **Real Haver** gui Sonson Albay yá y adyin nga **Alcalde maior** ú puran ngu ú nanahi ya ú fatinas mano ngai mahongui gui **Ministerio Real Hacienda**."	La viuda de Don Joseph Gutierrez gozará durante su vida de la asignación de dos pesos mensuales, que se le sitúan sobre el Real Haber de la Provincia de Albay, y cuyo Alcalde mayor cuidará de suministrárselos, acreditando haberlo hecho, para que se le pasen en data por el Ministerio de la Real Hacienda.
All the inhabitants of the said Town, will be given the best thanks on behalf of **H. M.**, for the honesty and loyalty they have shown, [illegible], exempted from paying tribute for one year pa [illegible] - of this grace that they have earned, henceforth continue handling themselves so that they are the example	"Ya i lahyan na Taotao Songsong manå'i Migai na si Dios Ma'åsi[44] nu nina'en Rai na Saina-ta sa' i tunas na fina'tinas-ñiha, na apåsi nu ayen Ha na'hånao nu u fannå'i i mafana'an Tributo gi hachiyai na Ha'åni ya nu ayen u Saohuni[45] i hachatao-ña ya u	"Ya y lahyan nga Tautao Sonson manahi Migai nga si Dios Maasi ngu ni nahin **Rey** nga Saineta sa y tonas nga finatinasñia, nga a pasi ngu adyin Jana hanao ngu u fan nahi y mafanean Tributo gui Jachiyai nga sacan Taiguini Mafatinas gui Mamaira nga Jahani ya ngu adyin u Sauhuni y Jachatauña ya	A todos los habitantes del enunciado Pueblo se les darán las más expresivas gracias a nombre de S. M. por la honradez y lealtad que han demostrado, [ilegible], libres de pagar tributo durante un año, pa [ilegible] –dos de esta gracia a que se han hecho dignos, continúen

[42] *Biuda*: widow, one of the few Spanish words incorporated in Chamoru by 1799.
[43] This word, no longer in use, matches with the meaning "to allocate". Upon analyzing the etymology of this word, it may derive from *mohi* or *pohi*; neither of which are currently known in contemporary Chamoru.
[44] It appears that by 1799, this expression included *migai* and not *dångkolo*, like it is said nowadays.
[45] This word is no longer in use. Here it matches with meanings such as "to stimulate", "to incite", "to compel". The root word *saohon* is most likely an older variant of the word *su'on*, which has the same meanings.

of their countrymen, for which they will be provided the number of **cannons, rifles and ammunition** that is compatible with the serious circumstances of the moment, [for that] a separate order is issued.	fanmanå'i fiyai[46] na kañones, *fusiles* i *municiones* i nai sa'-ñiha ya u fanmanå'i sa' ayen tinago'."	ufan manaij fiyai nga **Cañones, Fusiles y Municiones** y ngai sa ñiha ya ufan manahi sa adyin tinego."	manejándose en lo sucesivo de modo que sean el ejemplo de sus compatriotas, a cuyo efecto se les suministrará el número de Cañones, Fusiles y municiones que sea combinable con las graves atenciones del día, librándose por separado la oportuna orden.
The **Parish Priest**, whose advice has contributed so much to the glorious action of the Town and our honor, will receive on behalf of the Sovereign due thanks, writting him for the purpose, and also to the Most Illustrious Bishop, recommending him that he may distinguish his zeal in the parishes which may get vacant, consulting me, so he can receive the award this honest Priest deserves, and his imitation influences other Pastors in the defense of the Provinces.	I Påle' Cura i Pinagåt-ña guáilahye Lokkue' nu i maolek fina'tinas-ñiha gi Songsong yan Maga'om-ta[47] u Chåhlao siha na fino' Saina-ta i migai na si Dios Ma'åsi yan u måtto guihi nu ayen si *Ilustre* Señor Obispo na tinaguan[48] u Li'e' yan u na'sahnge sa' i ayen na minaolek gi Songsong-ña yan u mana'tungo' masenhagu'i ya u manå'i åpas i tunas na fina'tinås-ña ya nu ayen lokkue' mandinalak nu i palu na Påle' […].	Y **Pali Cura** y Pinagatña guailayi Rogui ngu y maurig finatinasñia gui Sonson yan Magaonta u Charao sia nga fino Saineta y migai nga si Dios Maasi yan Umato guij ngu adyin si Ilustre Señor Obispo nga tinaguan u Rij yan u na sengi sa y adyin nga minaurig gui Sonsonña yan u mana tongo masin hagui ya uma nai apas y tunas nga finatinasña ya ngu adyin Rogui mandinarag ngu y pero nga Pali [...s].	El **Padre Cura**, cuyos consejos han contribuido tanto a la gloriosa acción del Pueblo y a nuestro honor, recibirá a nombre del Soberano las debidas gracias, escribiéndosele al efecto, como al Ilustrísimo Señor Obispo, que le recomienda, para que se sirva distinguir su celo en los Curatos que vaquen, consultándomelo, a fin de que reciba el premio que merece este honrado Presbítero, y a su imitación influyan los demás Párrocos en la defensa de las Provincias.
Finally, it is approved the behavior and dispositions of the Mayors of **Camarines and Albay**, who are given due thanks, and will be forwarded with this Provision with the dual purpose	Gi hinekkok man[…] na fina'yågai Alcaldes […] Camarines yan Albay, ya nu […] na si Dios Ma'åsi ya na […] na Fina'mohi ya u masodda' gi Håyi	Gui hinicog man [...s] nga finayagai Alcaldes [mayores?] [...s] **[Cama]-rines yan Albay**, ya ngu [¿] a[...s] nga si Dios Maasi ya nga [...s] nga Finamohi ya Umasuda guin Joyi	Últimamente se aprueba la conducta y disposiciones de los Alcaldes Mayores de **Camarines y Albay**, a quienes se dan las debidas gracias, y se les insertará esta Providencia con

[46] *Fiyai* it has been recorded to mean "how many". Here, it appears to mean "an undetermined number"; much in the same way contemporary Chamoru uses the word *noskuåntos*.
[47] The term *maga'om-ta*, matches in the Spanish version with the words "our honor". *Maga'om-ta* derives from *gå'om*, which has been recorded to mean "to subdue", "to impress", "to move the spirit".
[48] *Tinaguan*: an order. Term in disuse, derived from the root word *Tågo'* to give an order to someone.

that each looks for its exact observance, on the part that concerns them, and that by enacting it in maritime towns it will cause the satisfaction and good success which follows. Take note [of it] on both **Accounting offices**. Answer to the Bishop the report of sheets 11 and let the remaining orders be executed. Aguilar."	manmatåguan[49] u gófpilan, i håfa nai manmapo'lo, ya u fanmana'tungo' gi Songsong, ya nu ayen, u nina'fanmagå'an[50] hinalom-ñiha. Manmatuge' i ayen gi *Contaduria*: U ma oppe si Obispo i Tinige'-ña gi *foxas* onse, ya u ma osge i palu na Tinago'. Aguilar.	m[an]mataguan, u gofpilan, y ofa nĝai man maporo, ya ufan mana tongo gui Sonson, ya nĝu adyin, uninafan magaan hinaromñia. Manmatugui y adyin gui **Contaduria**: Uma opi si Obispo y Tingueña gui foxas once, ya uma osgui y pero nĝa Tinego. Aguilar.	el doble objeto de que cada cual cuide exactamente su observancia en la parte que le toca, y de que promulgándola en los Pueblos marítimos cause la satisfacción y buen éxito que es consiguiente. Tomese razón en ambas Contadurías. Contéstese al Señor Obispo el oficio de hojas 11 y ejecútese lo demás prevenido. Aguilar."
All of which is made public to this **army**, so that, inflamed its members by the spirit of glory that must cause in them the loyalty and courage that their Companions have shown, shall follow a laudable example and become worthy of experiencing the eternal name, with the privileges and graces that deserve those who willingly expose themselves to sacrifice in defense of their religion, their Sovereign and their country. Aguilar.	Ayen ada' mana'maneni guini na *Ejercito* nu u nina'fanmagå'an nu i Ha li'e' i fa'matuna na fina'tinas-ñiha gi mangga'chong-ñiha nu ayen i fa'magof na Sinangan ya u áchahlao minaolek ada' nina'hågua' hinalom-ña ya ti na hasso måtai Lao u sågue' i mangga'chong-ña Kilisyanos i Saina-ta i as Rai yan Tano'-ña. Aguilar.[51]	Adyin ada mana manene guini nĝa **Ejército** nĝu u nina fan magaan ngui Jarij y fematuna nĝa finatinas ñiha gui mangachon ñiha nĝu adyin y femegof nĝa Sinanĝan ya u acharao minaurig adda nina hagua hinaromña ya tina hesu metai Rao u sagui y mangachonña Christianos y Saineta yas Rey yan Tanoña. Aguilar.	Todo lo cual se hace público a este ejército, para que inflamados sus Individuos del espíritu de gloria que debe inspirarles la fidelidad y el valor que han acreditado sus Compañeros, sigan un ejemplo tan laudable y se hagan dignos de experimentar el eterno nombre, con los privilegios y gracias que merecen los que se exponen gustosos a sacrificarse en defensa de su Religión, su Soberano y su Patria. Aguilar.

[49] Also derived from the root word *Tågo'*.

[50] The root of this term appears to be *gå'an*, a term of obscure meaning. It could derive from *ga-*, which means "by nature", "always", "in its essence", plus the suffix *-an*. Thus, *nina'fanmagå'an* could mean "that which incites one's nature". In the original Spanish text, the matching expression is "to cause satisfaction". The stem *word magå'an* means to be awake and aware.

[51] The name Aguilar corresponds to Rafael María de Aguilar y Ponce de León, Captain General of the Philippines from 1793 to his death in 1806.

Copy of the Higher Disposition whose original exists in this Secretary of my responsability. Date as above. Juan Nepomuceno Miciano.	Ayen machule' gi Tákkilo' na Tinago' Gaige gi Sekretårian Mataguån-hu. Monhåyan guihi na Ha'åni. Juan Nepomuceno Miciano.	Adyin machuri gui Tequiro nga Tinego Guagui gui Secretarian Mataguanho. Monhayan guihi nga Jahani. Juan Nepomuceno Miciano.	Copia de la Superior Providencia que original existe en la Secretaria de mi cargo. Fecha ut supra. Juan Nepomuceno Miciano.
Superior Disposition, clarifying the one reported to this Garrison on the 14th of this month. Manila, April 20, 1798.	Tákkilo' na Tinago', ya mana'maneni, mana'tungo' i ayen na Pulan Manila, bente gi Abrit di mit siette sientos nobentai ocho.	Teguiro nga Tinego, ya mana manene, mana tongo y adyin nga Pulan Manila, veinte gui Abril de mil setecientos noventa y ocho.	Superior Providencia Esclareciendo la comunicada a esta Guarnición en 14 del corriente. Manila, 20 de abril de 1798.
Having anchored in this bay the 17th of this month, the **Frigate Santa Gertrudis** from China, which brought news about the victory achieved by Our Forces in the Garrison of Zamboanga, nothing is more in line with the objective proposed by this Superiority [Higher Command] when they ordered that all the troops of this garrison to be informed of it; than to print and also to communicate it, not only with the purpose of clarifying some circumstances honorable to the Individuals of the said Garrison, but with it, also that all the **Indios** come to form the concept they should have of themselves, realizing how much they	Ayen na fañohiyan i dies i siette gi ayen na Pulan, I Fragata Santa Gertrudis na ginen China, na Chule' mågi migai […] –megos na fina'tinas, i Taotao mumu gi Plåsan Zamboanga, tåya' Lachao gi ni [...] na mafatpai, ayen na mina'gas, sa' ma-[...] ha góftingo', ya u ha Såsangan, ti ilek-ta u ha [...] minaolek-ñiha i Presidio Lao nu ayen i hokkok na Taotao Songsong u ha háhasso ya siha gi éntalo' menhallom-ñiha, gin maguåguahon[52], taiguihi, i ayu siha, nu må'gas na kinekkok, yan mina'tetnge iyok u masa'pet sa' gin hachatao-ña i Saohon-ñiha yan i hilon-ñiha: Ya u ma gófhasso, na i Chichang-ta siha	Masohi gui adyin nga fañohiyan y diez y siete gui adyin nga Pulan, y **Fragata Santa Gertrudis** nga guini China, nga Churi magui [m]igai n[a] […] –megos nga finatinas, y Tautao mu[mu gui Plazan] Zamboanga, toya Rachao gui ni [...s] [nga] [ma]farpai, adyin nga minegas, sa ma- [...s] hagoftingo, ya u ha Sasangan, ti erigta u ha [...s] –ao minauligñia y Presidio Rao ngu adyin y hocog nga **Tautao Sonson** u ha hehesu ya siha gui intaro minaromñia, guin magoguahon, tai guihi, y adyu siha, ngu magas nga quinicog, yan minaternge iyuc [¿] u masapit sa guin Jachataoña y Saufonñia yan y hiromñia: Ya u ma gofheso, nga y	Habiendo anclado en esta bahía el 17 del corriente, la Fragata Santa Gertrudis procedente de China, y conducido noticias referentes a la Victoria conseguida por Nuestras Armas en la Plaza de Zamboanga, nada es más consiguiente al objeto que se propuso esta Superioridad, cuando ordenó se enterasen de aquella todas las Tropas de esta Guarnición; que el que se impriman y comuniquen igualmente, no sólo con el fin de escoliar algunas circunstancias honrosas a los Individuos de aquél Presidio, sino con él, de que todos los Indios lleguen a formar el concepto que

[52] Gin is a conditional form equivalent to the Spanish "si" or the English "if". The meaning of magoguåhon is obscure, therefore assesing what its contemporary spelling is, presents a challenge. As far as the meaning is concerned, given this context magoguåhon seems to match the Spanish verb "anima" from the verb "animar", that we trasnlate as encouragement, to encourage. If magoguåhon is a verb, ma- could be the verbalizing prefix for the past tense. We interpret that the vowel -o- used by Garrido in his original spelling (magoguahon) could actually be a shortened duplication of the syllable guå-, therefore maguåguahon. Furthermore, -hon/-on could be the suffix meaning "capable of".

are able to do, if they are encouraged **like those**, a noble impulse to sacrifice for their religion, their properties and their Monarch; reflecting that are our very enemies those which praise them, and those who will publish throughout the World that the Natives from the Philippines are faithful vassals of their King, and brave defenders of their Homeland.	mina'måpta' gi Tano' Filipinas, ayen siha i manmaolek na Taotao Rai, manmatetnge na ha sågue' Tano'-ñiha.	Chichanta siha mina mapta gui **Tano Filipinas**, adyin siha y man maurig nga Tautao Rey, man materñge [?] nga hasagui Tano ñiha.	deben de si mismos, haciéndose cargo de cuánto son capaces, si los anima como a aquellos un noble aliento de sacrificarse por su Religión, sus propiedades y su Monarca.; reflexionando que nuestros mismos Enemigos son los que forman su elogio, y los que publicarán en el Mundo que los Naturales de Filipinas, son fieles Vasallos de su REY, y bravos defensores de su Patria.
The English frigates named **Civeles** and **Fox**, the first one of fifty-four guns, and the second one of forty, and which appeared last January 11 in this Bay, covered with a false friendly flag, and that by this deceptive mean captured from us three Gunboats that in good faith were going to assist and protect them, were the same ones that came to the Town of Zamboanga in the 21 [of January].	I *Fragatas Inglesas* na'an-ñiha *Civeles,* yan *Fox*, i mina'lima na fulu na guái fatfat Paki-ña ya i Hacha Fåtfat nga fulu lokkue' Paken-ñiha guai onse gi Pulan Ineru, manmåtto guini na fañohiyan, i mafana'an Bahia, ya ha po'luyi siha, nu i Banderan ti mumu nu ayen na ninamchat-ñiha[53] ha chule'guan totgiyai na Såhyan i Mafana'an *Cañoneras* sa' i manfinatoigue nu ha fa'maolek, siha i ayen i manmåtto gi Plåsan Zamboanga.	Y Fragatas Inglesas nahan ñiha **Civiles** [sic], yan **Fox**, y mena Lima nga fulo nga guai farfar Paquiña ya y Jecha Farfar nga fulog Rogui Paquin ñiha guai onze gui Pulan Enero, man marto guini nga fañohiyan, y mafanean Bahia, ya ha puruyi siha, ngui Banderan ti mumo ngu adyin nga ni namcha ñiha Jachuriguan turguiyai nga Sahyan y Mafanean Cañoneras sai man finatoigui ngu hà famaurig[,] siha y adyin y manmarto gui Plazan Zamboanga.	Las Fragatas Inglesas nombradas **Civeles** y **Fox**, aquella de cincuenta y cuatro Cañones, y esta de cuarenta, que el once de Enero último aparecieron en esta Bahía, cubiertas de una falsa Bandera Amiga, y que con este engañoso medio, nos apresaron tres Lanchas Cañoneras que iban de buena fe a auxiliarlas y protegerlas, fueron las mismas que el veinte y uno llegaron a la Plaza de Zamboanga.

[53] Unknown word. It matches with the concept of "negative intent". The root word in this case would have been namcha' or namchat, which may derive from lámchat (reduced from lámichat). The suggested term lámichat would have derived from the prefixes *lá-* (augment), *mí-* (lots of), and *chat-* (negative). The change from /l/ to /n/ and vice versa is a linguistic phenomenon seen in Chamoru and other Austronesian languages; much in the same way as the phenomenon of /l/ to /r/, and vice versa. In other parts of the text the term *namcha'* will appear as *ramcha* in its original, written form. Thus, giving further creedence to the etymology of this word.

They presented themselves with Spanish flags, and wanted to persuade us that they were our Frigates Caveza and Lucia. And subsequently they expressed it like that to the Captain that went to identify them, circumstance which augments his merit, because nevertheless, he distrusted: he asked them the names of the commanders, who should be known to them, and their silence confirmed the suspicion that they were Enemy [Boats].	Manmåtto nu Banderas Españolas ya malago'-ñiha u ta hasso na siha i Moddong-ta Cavesa yan i Lucia yan tunas na u taiguini Hinasson-ñiha ya i Kapitan manlinaguaigue[54] siha, ya i ayen siha nina'tákkilo' matunå-ña, sa' ti na'hongge siha, manfinaisen i na'an i ma'gas-ñiha, sa' i nu ayen u ha' fanmatungo', håyi siha lao tåya' manoppe ada' nu ayen magåhet i hinasso-ña na Såhyan Chichang.	Man marto nĝu Banderas Españolas ya maragoñiha ú ta heso nĝa siha y Modonta Cavesa yan y Lucia yan tunas nĝa ú taiguine Jinason ñiha ya y Capitan man Rinaguaigui siha, ya y adyin siha nina tequiro matunaña, saj tina hongui siha, manfinaisin y naan magasñiha, sai nĝu adyin ó ha fan matongo, hayi siha Rao toya man opi ada nĝu adyin magahid y *f*inasoña nĝa Sahyan Chichan.	Se presentaron con Banderas Españolas, y quisieron hacer persuadir que eran nuestras Fragatas Cabeza, y Lucia, siendo consiguiente lo expresaran así al Capitán que fue a reconocerlas, cuya circunstancia realza el mérito de éste, porque, sin embargo, desconfió: les preguntó los nombres de los Comandantes, que les serían conocidos, y confirmó en su silencio la sospecha de que eran [Barcos] Enemigos.
They said in **Macau** that in the City of Zamboanga was where they were fired on first, which compelled them to reciprocate; but this is entirely false, because as soon as they [Zamboanga] raised their flag, they made terrible volleys by surprise, which were instantly returned by the bulwarks, and it proves the vigilance and preparation in which our Presidio was under.	Ilek-ñiha i ya Macao, na i Plåsan Zamboanga mo'na manpinaki siha, ya ada' nu ayen nina'saohon nu Lokkue' manineppe; sésen ma'gas na padakdak sa' i ayu siha på'go apo'luyi i Bandera [...] noktan[55] na hunggan sa' [...] hålom gi Tano', na i ilek-ñiha [descargas] na su[...] i ti manmanman nu ha fa'maolek siha i […] –ha Pulan i Presidio.	Erigñiha yá **Macao**, nĝa y Plazan Zamboanga mona man Pinequi siha, ya ada nĝu adyin nina Sauhun nĝu Rogui man inepi; si sin magas nĝa pada[cdac] saj y adyu siha [*pa*]go apuruyi y Ban[dera] [...s] nĝocran nĝa jongan [¿] saj f [...s] harom gui Teno, nĝa y erigñiha [...] nĝa su [...] y timan menmen nĝu hafamaurig siha y[illegible] –ha puram y Presidio.	Dijeron estos en **Macao** de que la Plaza de Zamboanga fue la que primero les hizo fuego, al cual se vieron precisados a corresponder; pero es enteramente falso; pues apenas afirmó aquella su Bandera, cuando estos la hicieron de sorpresa terribles descargas, que fueron al instante devueltas por los Baluartes; y prueban el estado de vigilancia y preparativo en que se hallaba nuestro Presidio.
The **English** admit that in their ill fated **landing** they lost fifteen men, including the dead and wounded. They	Ha sångan magåhet i *Ingleses* na i Chathinalom-ñiha, i mafana'an *desembarco*, manmalingu i Taotao-	Ha sanĝan magahid y **Ingleses** nĝa y Chad hinaromñiha, y mafanean **desembarco**, man marinĝo y Tautau	Confiesan los Ingleses que en el mal éxito de su desembarco perdieron entre muertos y heridos quince

[54] This word a deriviative of the previously seen term of "reconnaissance", *láguaigui*.
[55] Defining this unknown term is challenging. The portion of the original manuscript is damaged and unreadable.

say that it [the landing] was directed by the Commander of the **Fox** and the Mester or second Captain of the **Cibeles**, and they add that he [Fox´s captain] died by a shot, and that one [Cibeles´ Captain] was so close to have the same fate, that a portion of **his pants** was taken away. These shots so successfully directed were aimed by a single Spaniard, who commanded the provisional **battery** built in the beach, of which the Governor has written that caused much havoc.	ñiha. I manmasisi yan manmåtai Månot na guái Lima, ya i hulon-ñiha mafana'an *Comandante* nu i *Fox*; ya i pinapå'-ña Kapitan gi Sahyan mafana'an i *Civeles*, Ilek-ñiha Lokkue' na måtai mapaki, ya ayu Lokkue' hat na kinilao[56] i Komandånte sa' mapaki, ya Chinile' empe' i Katsunes-ña[57] nu i Balan ginen Tano' sa' mantunas lågu ya siha ya tumåtago' i ayen maisa na Taotao Lågu na i Ilek-ñiha Español gi sagan fanmomyan[58] na i mafana'an *Bateria* nu i mapo'lo gi Inai, ya na tugi'i si Maga'låhi migai nina'fanale'.[59]	ñiha. Yman masisi yan man matai Manut nĝa guai Lima, ya y furonñiha mafanean Comandante nĝu y **Fox**; ya y pinapaña Capitan gui Sahyan mafanean y **Civiles**, Erigñiha Rogui nĝa matai ma Pequi, ya adyu Rogui hat nĝa quinirao y Comandante saj ma Pequi, ya Chiniri impi y **Calzonesña** nĝu y Balan guini Tano sai man tunas Rago ya siha ya tumatago y adyin maisa nĝa Tautao Rago nĝa y Erigñiha Español gui saguin fanmomyan nĝa y mafanean **Bateria** nĝu y ma puro gui Ynai, ya nĝa Tuguihi si Magalahi migai nina fangheri.	hombres, expresando que lo dirigía el Comandante de la **Fox**, y el Mester o segundo Capitán de las **Cibeles**, y añadiendo que este murió de un balazo y que aquél estuvo tan próximo a correr la misma suerte, que les llevó otro un pedazo del Calzón, siendo estos fuegos dirigidos con tanto acierto, por un único Español que mandaba la Batería Provisional, construida en la Playa, y que tiene escrito el Gobernador hizo mucho estrago.
Incapable by all means our Enemies, of excusing their withdrawal, they published in China that they were forced to unfurl the sails because their Frigate **Civeles** was run aground for some hours before they could execute [the withdrawal]. But this is a subterfuge, because if the run aground	Ya ti siña u ha lipa siha i Chichang-ta fina'pos-ñiha; ha na'måpta' i ya China na ti ha sungon, ya ha na'hågua'[60] Layak-ñiha, manhånao, sa' ilek-ñiha, na i Sahyan, na'ån-ña *Civeles* gåni gi nai ti ha tutuhon mumu, Lao ayen linipa[61] sa' gin magåhet na gåni u ta a'go i égga'an gi nai ma agónmamaki,	Ya ti siña ú ha Ripa siha y Chichangta finaposñiha; ha na mapta ya China nĝa ti ha songôn, ya hana hagua Layagñiha, man hanao, saj erigñiha, nga y Sahyan, naanña, **Civiles** gani guinai ti ha totohon mumu, Rao adyin ninipa sajguin magahit nĝa gani uta argo y egaan guinay magon ma mequi, y	No pudiendo de ningún modo disculpar nuestros Contrarios su retirada; publicaron en China que se vieron precisados a dar la Vela porque estuvo varada su Fragata Civeles algunas horas antes de ejecutarla; pero es un efugio, porque en caso de ser cierta la barada,

[56] Unknown word. It matches the concept of "suffering the same fate", "experiencing equal condition". It is derived from the root word *kulao* which is seen previously in footnote thirteen. The phrase *"...hat na kinilao"* would mean, "nearly suffering the same fate", "close to having the same thing happen".
[57] *Katsunes*, from Spanish *Calzones*, pants. One of the few words incorporated into Chamoru by 1799.
[58] Meaning, "place for fighting".
[59] The original spelling of this word is *fangheri*. It could originate from *fangâti*, which derives from *kåti*, "to cry". However, *fangale'*, which derives from *ale'* and means misfortune, is closer to the word used in the Spanish version, *estragos*, havoc or damage.
[60] Unknown term to contemporary Chamoru speakers, in the Spanish version of the text, it matches with the verb "to unfurl". It may derive from the term *hågua'* which refers to two in one of the ancient Chamoru counting systems. Perhaps it is used to mean "unfurl" here by virtue of opening something up from both sides.
[61] Original spelling was *ninipa*. Another example of the /l/ and /n/ phenomena previously mentioned in footnote fifty three.

was true, it happened during the morning, when firing was sustained from the other Frigate and the **Boats**. It is provided that, at 11 in the morning they had joined [the Civeles], and that, arranged in the position they thought was more suitable to attack the Plaza, they opened fired at 1[pm], and they continued it with passion until the bad results of their landing caused them dismay. And their damages forced them to recognize their mistake, sailing away without hopes to obtain their hostile attempt.	i hachiyai na Såhyan, yan i *Lanchas*; Lao ta li'e' yan magåhet na i oras alas onse gi ha'åni manotnon siha, ya ha fa'maolek siha na ha na'okñan na ayen nai siña u ha na'ale' i Plåsa, ha tutuhon manmamaki, gi oras la una,[62] ya ti ha po'lo, lao ha fihumi, ya ha sodda' inale' sa' gi ti- […] -nina'fanlálangu namnam-ñiha; i [...] nina'tungo' siha i ti tunas ada' [...] hågua' i Layak sa' i tåya' ninanggan [...] nu i lamchat na hinasso.	hasiyai nĝa Sahyan, yan y **Lanchas**; Rau tarij yan magahit nĝa y horas las once gui ha ani man onon siha, ya hafamaurig siha nĝa hana ogñan nĝa adyin ngai siña ú hana eri y Plaza, ha totohon man Mamequi, gui oras la una, ya ti ha poro, rao hafifumi, ya ha suda ineri saj gui ti- [illegible] -[n]ina fan Rerengo namnam ñia; y [...] nina tonĝo siha y ti tonas ada [...] hagua [¿] y Rayag sai toya ninan gan [...] nĝui Ramcha nĝa finesu.	sucedió por la mañana, cuando sostuvo el fuego la otra Fragata, y las Lanchas; constando que a las once del día ya se les había incorporado, y que ordenándose en la posición que creyeron más oportuna para ofender la Plaza, rompieron el fuego a la una, y lo continuaron con ardor hasta que las malas resultas del desembarco los desmayaron; y sus averías les hicieron conocer su engaño, haciéndose a la Vela desesperados de poder conseguir sus intentos hostiles.
We know, by their own exposition, that afterwards they took the route by the South of the **Island of Mindanao**, and that in a Moorish Port they tried to replenish water. And those killed nine to eleven men. [We know] that they continued their voyage, by the East of these islands, and that in a storm, it wrecked the only **gunboat** that remained, which they were trying to tow. As a result [of the wreck] as many individuals drowned.	[...]-tungo' sa' siha sumåsangan na gi nai måpao manmå'pos ya ha Layågue i manu'on[63] må'gas gi **tano' Mindanao**[64] yan manmåtto gi fañohiyan mafana'an *Puerton Moros* ha hasso manmañule' hånom ya ayu siha manpinino' sigua pat månot na guái maisa na taotao ya manhånao ginen ha tokcha' na i poddong åtdao ya mangginacha' ale' ha'åni nu ayen mahågom i tétehnan na Såhyan díkuko' mafana'an *Lancha Cañonera*, na i tétehnan ya ha hasso nu ha chule'	[...] –tongo sa siha sumasangan nĝa gui ngai mapao man mapos ya ha Rayagui y manuun magas **guitano Mindanao** yan man mato gui fañohiyan mafanean Puerton Moros ha hesu man manuri hanum ya adyu siha man pininu sigua pat manot nĝa guai maisa nĝa taotau ya man Hanau guini ha togcha nĝa y pudon adao ya man guinecha ari ha ani nĝu adyin mahagum y titinan nĝa Sahyan dicoco mafanean Lancha Cañonera, nĝa y titinan ya ha hesu nĝu hachuri sumasaguij ha, ya nĝu adyin	Sabemos por exposición de ellos mismos, que después tomaron la derrota por el Sur de la **Isla de Mindanao**, y que en un Puerto de Moros intentaron hacer agua, y aquellos les mataron de nueve a once hombres: que continuaron su viaje por el Este de estas Islas, y que en un temporal naufragó la única Lancha Cañonera que les quedaba, y que intentaban conducir a remolque, ahogándose de sus resultas otros tantos individuos: de modo que

[62] Today, it would be said *oran ala una*.
[63] In the Spanish text, *manu'on* matches with the term *sur*, South. However, it was recorded in 1821 by Chamisso, to mean East. Chamisso's informant was Don Luis de Torres. See Alexander M. Kerr (ed)., *Adelbert von Chamisso's in Kotzebue 1821: Vocabularium der Dialekte Chamori*. Micronesian Area Research Center University of Guam, 2009.
[64] Either *tano* originally meant island, or it referred to all kinds of land, as is used today.

Hence, full of miseries and after immense labors, they arrived in Macau on the previous **March 4**, a harbor where they tried to recover and to extract from their [ship´s] side, the **projectiles** that were shot at them in Zamboanga. This circumstance, and the absence of the commanders, forced to admit that, had they had more active Gunpowder, or having been fired with red bullets, or that our happiness and their misfortune would have dismasted them, they would be now –no question- our Prisoners. [They say also] that the Governor deserves all praise, like the defenders in general, for their constancy and firmness. But a special reference [deserves] the one who commanded the Beach Battery, for his vivacity, spirit and aptitude.	sumåsaggue' ha', ya nu ayen manfinataigue palu na taotao ada' fihom na manale' ya i éntalo' i migai na inale'-ñiha ha leklek siha manmalak Macao gi Pulan **kuattro di Måtso** i mina'-ña ya ginen Ha hasso u ha fa'maolek siha ya u ha gunos i ilek-ñiha Balas gi kålaguak moddong-ñiha, i mapaken-ñiha ya Zamboanga, ya na lipanñaihon nu ayen yan i tåya' Sainan-ñiha na i mafana'an *Comandante*, Lokkue' ha sångan na u potbulan i Tano' tákkilo', yan manmapaki nu i bala kulang Guåfi sa' i Goffina'tinås-ta ya i Chatfina'tinas-ñiha mina'huyong i manmåhlok i falinan-ñiha,[65] ada' ilek-ta ti tinangan i Taotao-ta na i Magu'ot gi ya siha guáilahye matuna yan masångan i Maga'låhi taiguihi Lokkue' i Láhyayan asague'-ña yan i minesngon-ña; Lokkue' sahnge na matunå-ña i manånago' gi *Bateria* gi unai nu i ti manman yan tunas.	manfinataigui pero nĝa tautao ada fihum nĝa man Eri ya y intalo y migai nĝa ineri ñiha harigrig siha mang malag Macao gui Pulan **quatro de Marzo** y minaña ya guini Jaheso ú hafamaurig siha ya ú ha gunos y erigñiha **Balas** gui Calaguag Modongñiha, y ma Pequin ñiha ya Zamboanga, ya nĝa lipan ñahon nĝu adyin yan y toya Sainanñiha nĝa y mafanean Comandante, Rogui ha sanĝan nĝa ú Polvoran y Tenu tequiro, yan manma Pequi nĝu y Bala curang Guafi saj y Goffinatinasta yan y Charfinatinasñia mina Joyon y Man marog y falinanñiha, ada erigta ti Tinangân y Tautaota nĝa y Maguut gui ya siha guairayi matuna yan masangan y Magarahi taiguihi Rogui y Rahyallan a saguiña yan y Mines ngonña; Rogui sengi nĝa matunaña y mananago gui Bateria gui unay nĝu y Timenmen yan tunas.	llenos de miserias, y después de inmensos trabajos, arribaron a Macao el **quatro de Marzo** anterior, en cuya Rada trataron de rehabilitarse y de sacar de sus costados las balas que les dispararon de Zamboanga, obligándoles esta circunstancia, y la falta de los Comandantes a confesar que a haber sido la Pólvora más activa, o de habérseles disparado bala roja, o que nuestra felicidad y su desgracia hubiera dispuesto que desarbolasen serían sin arbitrio nuestros Prisioneros: que merece todo elogio el Gobernador, como generalmente los defensores por su constancia y firmeza; pero una particular memoria el que mandaba la Batería de la Playa, por su viveza, espíritu y acierto.
These are in short, the news received from China as of last **March 28**, acquired there by the Spanish, who like all those who came in the Frigate Gertrudis, assure that the number of wounded that the enemy [ships] transported, was very large. Special	Ayen siha nai fanotnon i masångan na mámaila', ginen **China gi Pulan Måtso** hinekkok na machåhlao gi ilek-ñiha Español ya ha na'fihom na magåhet ya taiguihi yuhi siha, i manmámaila' gi Sahyan mafana'an Gertrudis sésen lahyan i manmasisi na	Adyin siha ngai fan onon y masanân nĝa mamaira, guini **Chi[na] gui Pul[an] Marzo** J[ine]-cog nĝa macharao g[ui erigñiha español¿] ya hana fihum nĝa magahi[t ya tai guihi] yu[hi] siha, y manma maira gui [Sahyan] mafanean Gertrudis si sin	Estas son en resumen las noticias recibidas de China con fecha de **28 de marzo** último, y adquiridas allí por los Españoles que aseguran, así como todos los que han venido en la Fragata Gertrudis, ser un gran número el de los heridos que han

[65] *Falina* is a nautical term meaning mast in Chamoru. It was also recorded as such by Kotzebue.

consideration must be made about that [the number] of deaths we know by disclosure of the Enemies themselves, that might have decreased the majority [of the figures], following the policy used in these cases. And therefore, we can assume without recklessness, that they might have lost at least double amount than what they confess.	i ilek-ñiha *heridos* na i ha kókonne' i Chichang, yanggen u ta gófhasso i manmåtai ta tungo' un i sinangan i Chichang, ya huguan ha na'látpapa' sa' tenga u ha sångan taiguini, ya nu ayen siña ta hasso ya ta po'lo manmalingu yan manmåtai, huguan fa'hågua', gi sinangan-ñiha.	layan y manma[sese] nga y [erig]ñiha heridos nga y ha coconi y Chichang; ya guin uta gofhesu y man matai ta tongo ngu y sinangan ñiha y Chichang, ya huguan hana Re[¿] –papa saj ten ngo ú ha sangan taiguini, ya ngu adyin siña ta hesu ya ta puro man meringo yan man matai, huguan fahagua, gui sinangan ñiha.	conducido las enemigas; debiendo hacerse especial consideración en que el de los muertos lo sabemos por exposición de los mismos Enemigos que habrán disminuido, siguiendo la usada política de estos sucesos, la mayor parte; y que en consecuencia podemos sin temeridad suponer que perderían, al menos, una cantidad duplicada a la que confiesan.
This **Captaincy General** cannot go without publicly expressing the great satisfaction with which it has heard such pleasing news; nor it can do but to promise to exhaust the powers at its *reach* in rewarding the merit of the loyal Vassals of His Majesty, who will also be extensively reported, so that he exercises his **Royal** favor in favor of those.	Ayen na ***Capitania General*** na ilek i fino'-ta Maga'låhen Manila, ti siña ti na na'tungo' i Láhyayan na taotao-ña, i ma'gas na hinengge-ña mana'hungok i ayen i ná'magof, ya ti siña ti manai iyok u huto' i sisiñå-ña gi éntalo' i pekkå'-ña, nu u apåsi, i maolek yan må'gas na fina'yågai, i manggóftentago' Rai, na Saina-ta yan lokkue' u ha na'tungo', ya u na'maneni, nu ayen u fåtto, i tákkilo' na mina'ase'-ña nu minaolek i ayu siha.	Adyin nga **Capitanía General** nga eric y finota Magarahin Manila, tisiña ti nga na tongo y Rayayan nga taotaoña, y magas nga hininguiña y mana hongoc y adyin y ne megof, ya tisiña ti manai iyug ú juto isisiñaña gui intalo y picaña, ngu ú apasi, y maurig yan magas nga finayagai, y mangoftintago **Rey**, nga Saineta yan Rogui ú hana tongo, ya ú na manene, ngu adyin ú farto, y tequiro nga mina asiña ngu minaurig y adyu siha.	Esta **Capitanía General** no puede dejar de manifestar públicamente la gran satisfacción con que ha oído unas noticias tan gratas, ni puede dejar de prometer que agotará las facultades de su empleo en recompensar el mérito de los leales Vasallos de su SM [sic] a quien además dará cuenta extensamente, para que ejercite sus Reales piedades a favor de aquellos.
The **Governor of Zamboanga** will be requested a new report about the Spaniard who distinguished [himself] at the **Battery**, and about the others that deserve special mention, so that, in the fair order to their merit, due compensation *it is given* to them.	I **Maga'låhi Zamboanga** u mafamohi ta'lo nu U mana'tungo' i fina'tinås-ña ayu i ilek-ñiha Español na Sumahnge gi mafana'an *Bateria* yan i palu na i nénsangan i fina'tinas-ñiha gi éntalo' i maolek na tinago' ya nu ayu u manå'i minaolek-ña.	Y **Magalahi Zamboanga** uma famohi taro ngu Umanatongo y finatinasña adyu y erigñiha Español nga Sumengi gui mafanean **Bateria** yan y pero nga y nensangan nga finatinasñiha gui intaro y maurig nga tinego ya ngu adyu Umanahi minaurigña.	Al **Gobernador de Zamboanga** se prevendrá de nuevo informe acerca del Español distinguido en la Batería, y de los demás que merezcan particular mención, a fin de que, en justa orden al mérito, recaiga la debida compensación.

And for them to learn about it in full, the individuals of this Army, among whom on the 14 of this [month] there were circulated printed copies of the defense of Zamboanga, as the Governor reported, [and so those individuals] may find in these clarifications an Appendix or Complement, there will be distributed among them in the same way. And it is expected that, full of a noble enthusiasm, they manifest that they are of the same nature as the Victorious ones, and therefore able to act in the same cases with the same glory. Aguilar.	Ya gi nai u fanggóftingo' i Lahyan na Taotao i mafana'an *Ejercito* nu ayen u mana'lukao i migai na tinige' kånnai gi nu ayen na Pulan månot na guái fatfat i sinague' ya Zamboanga håf taimanu nina'tungo' i Maga'lahi-ña ya u guaha ya siha i ayen na nina'maneni ya lokkue' nu ayen u nina'f[ahå]gua' hinalom-ñiha sa' taiguihi ha' Lokkue' i ayu i manmanhago' ya ayen u fangkinilao i kinekkok-ñiha ya u fanmafåkkai håf taimanu u håyi tinanga Må'gas na minagof yan minalago' ya u mali'e' taiguihi siha i ayu i manmanhago'. Aguilar.	Ya gui ngai ufangoftinĝo y Rahyan nĝa Tautao y mafanean Ejercito nĝu adyin umanarucao y migai nĝa tinigui Canai gui nĝu adyin nĝa Pulan manut nĝa guai farfar y sinagui ya Zamboanga Hoftaimeno nina ton[go] y Ma[gala]hiña ya ú guaja ya siha y adyin nĝa n[inama]nene ya Rogui nĝu adyin uniña[f¿illegible]gua hinaromñia saj taiguiji ha Rogui y a[d]yu y manman hago ya nĝu adyin ufan [qui]nirao y quinicog ñiha ya ufan mafacay hoftaimeno u jayi tainanĝa Magas nĝa menegof yan minerego ya ú mariy taiguihi siha y adyu y manman hago. Aguilar.	Y para que se enteren de todo, los individuos de este Ejército a quienes se circularon ejemplares Impresos en 14 del presente de la defensa de Zamboanga según la informó su Gobernador, y tengan en estas aclaraciones un Apéndice o complemento, se les distribuirán del mismo modo, esperándose que llenos de un noble entusias[mo ma]nifiesten que son de la misma naturaleza que los V[ictorio]sos, y por tanto capaces de obrar en iguales [caso]s con la misma gloria. Aguilar.
It is a copy of the Superior Order that is found in the record of this matter, existing in the Secretariat of my office. Date as above. Juan Nepomuceno Miciano	Ayen machule' gi tákkilo' na tinago', i guaha gi Matuge' Taiguihi ayen i lokkue' gaige gi mafana'an Sekretåria gi Mataguån-hu. *Fecha ut supra.* Juan Nepomuceno Miciano	Adyin machuri gui Tequiro nĝa tinego, y guaha gui Matugui Taiguihi adyin y Rogui Guaigui gui mafanean Secretaria gui Mataguanjo. Fecha ut supra. Juan Nepomuceno Miciano	Es copia de la Superior providencia que se halla en el expediente de su asunto, y existe en la Secretaría de mi cargo. Fecha ut supra. Juan Nepomuceno Miciano.
It is absolutely faithful and true, the two written versions in local language and foreign language, in the way in which we understand. And for whoever is to know in the future, I put my name, Sergeant Manuel Tiburcio Garrido. Because I am the sole of what is called interpreter in this place [of speaking] in	Sen tunas na magåhet i higua' na tinago' na i ilek-ñiha *Ejemplares* mina' fino' Håya i fino' Lågu, håf taimanu yan taiguihi i tiningo'-måmi. Ya i håyi matungo' humáttulo' na ha'åni hu po'lo i na'ån-hu si Satgento Manuel Tiburcio Garrido sa' guåhu maisa gi ilek-ñiha	Sin tunas nĝa magager y higua nĝa tinego nĝa y eregñia Ejemplares imna fino Jaya y fino Rago, ofstaimeno yan taiguihi y tininĝomame. Ya y hoy matonĝo humad huro nĝa haani juporo y naanho si Sargento Manuel Tiburcio Garrido saguaho maisa gui y herigñia Interpretes gui adyin nĝa fañanĝañan	

the City of Agaña, in the 7th of the month of September of Seventeen Ninety-Nine. Manuel Tiburcio Garrido	*Interpretes* gi ayen na **fañangânan**[66] gi Siudåt Hagåtña siette gi Pulan Septiembre di mit siette sientos nobenta i nuebi. Manuel Tiburcio Garrido.[67]	gui Ciudad Agaña siete gui Pulan Septiembre de mil setecientos noventa y nueve. Manuel Tiburcio Garrido.	

[66] Meaning "the place of speaking", from the root word *sângan*. It means "the place of issuance" of the document.
[67] This last segment may be the first official document ever written in Chamoru only.

A Nukuoro Origin Story

Emily Drummond, Johnny Rudolph, and K. David Harrison

Nukuoro [ISO 639-3: nkr] belongs to a family of Polynesian Outlier languages, which are spoken by island populations in Micronesia, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and New Caledonia. These languages, though geographically outside the primary region of Polynesian influence, are more closely related to Polynesian languages like Samoan and Tongan than they are to their Micronesian and Melanesian neighbors. There are an estimated 1,000 speakers of Nukuoro. In recent decades, due to limited living space and arable land on Nukuoro Atoll, large numbers of Nukuoro speakers have relocated to Pohnpei, the state capital of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and to various locations in the United States; in fact, the diaspora population of Nukuoro now outnumbers the in-situ population approximately two to one.

Like many Pacific island cultures, Nukuoro boasts a vibrant oral tradition of chants, songs, and narratives, which center the culture and the language distinctly within both Polynesia and Micronesia. The knowledge contained within these materials is vast, encompassing the topography and directional systems of the atoll, family and social organization, ethnic origins and contacts, material culture, and spiritual cosmology. Much of this knowledge, integral to the cultural heritage of the Nukuoro people, is only known by a handful of speakers or has been forgotten entirely. In order to preserve this material, Nukuoro speakers have chosen to share narratives, chants, and songs both within and outside the Nukuoro community. Chants and songs are performed at cultural heritage celebrations, yearly events that take place in the Nukuoro Cultural Center in Pohnpei, and storytellers narrate for younger audiences. Storytellers have also recorded narratives with linguists outside the community for publication in books (Carroll 1980) and online.

In this paper, we present the creation myth of Nukuoro, recorded in June 2015 by Johnny Rudolph at Swarthmore College.[1] The Nukuoro text was later translated by the primary author, working with Rudolph during a field trip to Pohnpei in June 2016. The narrative identifies three distinct creation events within the Nukuoro cosmology: the creation of the circular coral reef, the creation of the islets which sit on top of the reef, and the arrival of human settlers on the atoll. The first of these stories, which describes the formation of the coral reef after a pearl is planted in the ocean, is not widely known in the Nukuoro community and does not appear in the collected canon (Carroll 1980). The Nukuoro creation myth employs motifs and plot elements found in myths throughout the Pacific, which we survey in Section 3 to provide context for the narrative, which appears in Section 4. Analysis of these myths as a collective body of knowledge can provide evidence for the migration patterns, land settlement, and material culture of prehistoric Polynesians. In Section 5, we offer a cursory analysis of the linguistic, discourse, and narrative features of the text. The presentation of this narrative, along with its thematic contextualization and linguistic and ethnopoetic analysis, supplements a growing collection of Nukuoro materials carefully preserved by the community with the support of linguists and anthropologists outside the community.

Figure 1: Johnny Rudolph tells the Nukuoro creation story at Swarthmore College. Photograph by Jeremy Fahringer.

The Nukuoro Community and Its Oral and Written Traditions

Nukuoro Atoll is a ring-shaped coral atoll in the Caroline Islands, located in the Western Pacific, and it is an outlier atoll of the FSM. It lies approximately 480 km southwest of the state capital of Pohnpei. While the ring-shaped atoll is comprised of a single coral reef, there are more than forty islets that sit on top of the reef; the largest of these is Nukuoro islet, which is by far the most populous. The low-lying nature of these islets makes them susceptible to damage by storms, and many islets have become smaller or disappeared in living memory. Life on the atoll is typical of many small Pacific Island communities, with food production generally limited to fishing and the farming of taro and coconuts. In recent decades, the food supply on the atoll has been supplemented by monthly boat deliveries of rice and other goods.

Figure 2: Nukuoro Atoll from space.
Photograph by NASA.

The Nukuoro community is fairly localised to Nukuoro Atoll and the surrounding Micronesian islands, although there are significant diaspora populations in the United States. Estimates for the total size of the Nukuoro speech community range from 800 to 1,200. Based on data from the 2000 FSM Census, there are currently around 700 Nukuoro speakers living in Micronesia, with 400 speakers residing in the district capital of Pohnpei and 300 living on Nukuoro Atoll.[2]

Almost all Nukuoro speakers on Nukuoro Atoll are ethnically Nukuoro, acquire Nukuoro as their first language and speak Nukuoro at home; furthermore, about half of Nukuoro Atoll residents are monolingual. On Pohnpei, however, less than half of the 400 attested speakers speak Nukuoro as their first language or in the home. Multilingualism is much more common on Pohnpei: an estimated 97% of speakers living on Pohnpei speak another language, typically Pohnpeian or English. There were only 10 attested monolingual Nukuoro speakers in Pohnpei in 2000.

Table 1: Nukuoro Language Usage in the FSM

	Total	Place of Usual Residence		
		Pohnpei	Nukuoro Atoll	Other
Total Speakers	716	397	314	5
First language	486	175	309	2
Spoken at home	495	185	310	0
Monolingual	173	10	162	1

Source: *2000 FSM Census of Population and Housing.*

Census data about Nukuoro communities in the United States is scarce, and often includes members of other Pacific Island populations. It is estimated that about 200 Nukuoro speakers live in the United States, with the largest communities in Oregon, North Carolina and Arkansas. Based on anecdotal evidence, it is very common for diaspora speakers to have immediate family living in Micronesia.

Nukuoro is almost exclusively a spoken language, most widely used in the home, with almost all residents of Nukuoro Atoll speaking the language with family members. Throughout the course of our fieldwork on Pohnpei, we observed Nukuoro usage in a variety of settings. In our experience, nearly all of the Nukuoro speakers we met on Pohnpei spoke Nukuoro in the home, and many elderly speakers were monolingual. This is more robust usage than would seem to be indicated by the 2000 census, which suggests that only half of the Nukuoro on Pohnpei speak the language in the home. Speakers were generally trilingual in Nukuoro, Pohnpeian, and English. On social media sites like Facebook, we observed that speakers often use some or all of these languages within the same post, indicating that they are posting for a trilingual readership. At community gatherings we observed, such as funerals, feasts, canoe- and house-building events, and weekly church services, Nukuoro was spoken and sung exclusively. However, in public settings, such as at the market, speakers defaulted to Pohnpeian. This was especially true when Nukuoro speakers worked in a professional capacity, such as at a library or in the local government, with Nukuoro only spoken between friends or after confirmation that the other was a Nukuoro speaker as well.

The robust oral tradition of Nukuoro includes chants (*mou*), folk narratives (*kai*) and instruction in traditional skills. There are also a number of neo-traditional songs (*daahili* is the general word for song), written from the mid-20th century and onwards. These songs are described by their composers as not derivative of older traditional material and were composed by Nukuoro musicians using Western instruments. The contemporary Nukuoro community has adopted these songs as part of their oral repertoire, teaching them to children and performing them at cultural ceremonies. The songs tend to be secular and present narratives about activities on the atoll like sailing in the lagoon, fishing, and playing on a rope swing. Videos of several renditions of these songs by a Nukuoro group called Marangi Boyz are posted on YouTube[3]. Here is a sample lyric from a song authored by Jason Gideon and Koisemy Rudolph in 1961.

Hagaleva hagatili	We swing, let go,
Pago gi lausedi	And hit the water,
Ga kau moso age	And swim back
Gi lalo de hedau	Underneath the tree
Ga tolo bala age gi lunga	We crawl back up,
Ga bele hagaleva e hagatili angeange	Swing, and let go again,
Te daea donu de hai hanu mee	Helpless to do anything,
Gai gu pago gi lalo	And hit the water below

A standardised orthography was developed in the early 20th century by the late Chief Leka, who may have been assisted by visiting Europeans or missionaries in Pohnpei (Carroll 1965a). This orthography, which is also adopted in this paper, is generally phonemic and uses Latin script, and is accepted by the Nukuoro community as the written standard. Nevertheless, there is very little written literature in Nukuoro. The two noteworthy texts written in Nukuoro are the Bible and a book of traditional Nukuoro stories, and neither of these texts are readily available to the Nukuoro community. The Nukuoro translation of the Bible was begun in the 1980s starting with the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, and a full working draft was completed in 2014; however, this draft has not been published and is currently only available to the Bible translation team (Smith 2014). In 1980, anthropologist and linguist Raymonde Carroll published a book of 280 traditional Nukuoro stories, which are transcriptions of recorded narratives edited by Tobias Soulik, a Nukuoro speaker. The circulation of this book is limited to a handful of libraries in the U.S., meaning that most Nukuoro speakers have never read it and have no access to it. Furthermore, the stories are not translated, rendering the book inaccessible to anyone who does not speak Nukuoro.

Nukuoro Origin Stories in Comparative Context

The text and video[1] presented herein were recorded in June 2015 by Johnny Rudolph, an expert storyteller and former chief of Nukuoro, at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania. It comprises three related but distinct myths, a small fraction of the many traditional stories of the Nukuoro people. The first of these, which is not attested in the collected canon (Carroll 1980), describes the creation of Nukuoro's coral reef. It is said to have grown after the culture hero Leibaaligi and his family (two wives and fourteen sons) descended from the rainbow in a double-hulled canoe (Kubary 1885) and planted a pearl in the ocean.

The second is the tale of Sogo, a type of ghost or spirit (*eidu*), a supernatural being who can take on a human form and meddle in the affairs of humans (Emory 1949). The myth, attested in six collected narratives (Carroll 1980), relates how Sogo inadvertently creates the islets of Nukuoro while carrying a leaking basket of sand. The motif of supernatural beings or ghosts creating islets out of sand is a common one in Micronesia. In Kapingamarangi, an islet named *touhou* is said to have been built by men, assisted by gods (Ashby 1989: 36–37). On Nukuoro itself, as on Kapingamarangi, archaeological evidence indicates ancient human constructed islets (Davidson 1992), while islanders report that man-made islets have been created in recent memory.

The third myth, the story of culture hero Vave, is perhaps the most salient of the three in modern Nukuoro culture, with ten versions in the collected canon (for one example, see Carroll 1965b). The Vave story was noted by German ethnographers in the 19th century, who wrote "...according to oral tradition, they immigrated, led by their chief Vave and his brother, both of

[1] Video may be viewed online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eZVl0yg7sL4

whom are still venerated in images in the temple and the *marae* (sacred ground)" (Schmeltz and Krause 1881 [2013]). This tale begins in Samoa, where a king has died, and his two sons fight over who should inherit the throne. Vave, the younger son, loses the fight; disgraced, he leaves Samoa with his family and friends looking for a new island to rule. They come to Kapingamarangi, an atoll three hundred kilometers south of Nukuoro, but Vave cannot take control of the people who are living there. He moves on to Nukuoro Atoll, where his sorcerer performs magic to keep Sogo and Sogo's lesser accompanying spirits at bay.

The Vave story positions the Nukuoro within Polynesia—specifically, Samoa—and also accounts for close linguistic, folkloric and ethnic ties between Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi (Fischer 1958). Both of these Polynesian outliers are believed, on the basis of archeological evidence (Kirch 2000), linguistic evidence (Ray 1912), and commensal animal genetic evidence (Matisoo-Smith and Robins 2004) to have been settled as the result of a back migration from Polynesia. Radiocarbon dating places initial settlement in the 8th or 9th century CE, but cannot confirm whether it was Polynesian in origin (Davidson 1992). Additional evidence of a migration from the south (Kapingamarangi lies due south, and Samoa to the southeast) is provided by the directional orientation system of Nukuoro (Carroll 1964).

While the Nukuoro creation story is unique in many respects, it exists within the broad framework of Polynesian island mythologies, which often share themes, crucial events and deity names. The vast scholarly literature on Pacific and Polynesian cosmogeny cannot be adequately referenced here, but we mention here some comparative sources to help contextualize the Nukuoro mythical motifs.

The rainbow is often used in creation myths as a bridge between heaven and earth. Throughout Polynesia, the god Lono (Logo, Ono, Rongo, Roʻo) is identified with the rainbow, along with other natural phenomena of the sky such as clouds, storms, thunder and lightning (Craig 1989: 142). In the Tahitian version of the story, Roʻo was the first god to break through the boundary between earth and sky; in Hawaiian lore, Lono comes to earth on a rainbow to marry a human woman. Some versions of this story state that Lono brings an oyster with him so that he can present a black pearl to his bride as a gift.

A broad and contiguous swath of Pacific peoples tell an island creation story that involves islands being "fished up" by a deity, a myth centrally located in parts of Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, and the Society Islands of French Polynesia (Nunn 2003: 350). Some of these myths involve actual fishing, commonly performed by the trickster Maui, while others describe the emergence of islands from the sea. A Truk legend describes a hidden underwater island catching fast to the anchor of the youngest of five brothers, who then pulls the island up to the surface in a contest of strength (Ashby 1989: 17–18).

A smaller subset of Pacific Island origin myths involves rocks or land being "thrown down" from on high by mythical beings or demigods. A variant of this motif involves earth being spilled to create small, discontinuous atoll or island forms, a myth often told by low-lying Pacific atoll populations. An origin myth of the Marshall Islands describes "earth spilling from a basket carried by Etao as he flew through the air" (Knappe 1888, as cited in Nunn 2003). Similarly, a Kiribati myth tells how sand and stones were poured from a bag to create islands (Hyde 1886). A Pingelap legend tells how a mischievous god from the Marshall Islands scooped up a gigantic handful of sand, creating a channel between two islets at Pingelap. When this god was pursued by Isopaw, the god of Pingelap, he dropped his sand at Jaluit Atoll, thus creating a new islet (Ashby 1989: 74–75). On Romulum, an island in Truk lagoon, a sand beach is said to have been created when ghosts brought sand as a gift in recompense for soil they had stolen (Ashby 1989: 56–57). A Majuro

trickster figure, Letao, scooped up sand and coral to form reefs and sandbars in order to stymie his pursuers from overtaking him (Ashby 1989: 87). In the origin story of Kapingamarangi (Lieber 1994: 5), the atoll closest to Nukuoro both linguistically and geographically, the founding ancestor Utamatua, after defeating a sorcerer who was inhabiting the island, transforms a small sandbar into a habitable islet. These mythical accounts of island construction are supported by toponymic and archeological evidence indicating that the Nukouro built islets being out of coral and sand, thus supplementing their limited living space (Carroll 1964).

Many other Pacific myth motifs resonate with the Nukuoro story. For example, the Hawaiian story of Pélé and Hi'iaka (Green 1923: 18–27) has key parallel plot elements. It begins with an introduction of the story as being about the creation of the island. The main character Hi'iaka sets out by canoe in search of a homeland, bypassing unsuitable locations. Having found a good location, she makes modifications to the land by digging craters. The population grows to exceed the capacity of the island, a secondary site is sought and found, a house built, and comfort and abundance attained. Later, sibling rivalry (two sisters) ensues, the influence of sorcery is revealed, and the heroine has an encounter with a deity (Pélé). Further journeys are needed to accomplish magical featsand complete a quest. The heroine finally undergoes death and transformation, with her body being turned into rock and lava.

A Nukuoro Origin Story[4]

1 *Taiao danuaa goodou. D-ogu ingo go Soni.*
DET.morning good 2PL DET-GEN.1SG name FOC Soni
'Good morning to you all. My name is Johnny.'

2 *Au se dangada Nuguolo mai*
1SG COP person Nukuoro VEN
'I am a Nukuoro person'

3 *i Pohnpei State, Federated States of Micronesia.*
LOC Pohnpei State Federates States of Micronesia
'from Pohnpei State, Federated States of Micronesia.'

4 *Taiao nei au e lodo e tala hanu momo daalanga mai*
DET.morning PROX 1SG NPST want NPST tell some few story VEN
'This morning I want to tell a few stories'

5 *i taalanga laumalie o Nuguolo.*
LOC DET.story big of Nukuoro
'from the big story of Nukuoro.'

6 *Tahi au e lodo e tala de hai o de ango*
DET.one 1SG NPST want NPST tell DET way of DET pearl
'First, I want to tell how the pearl'

7 *aabe-go de agau Nuguolo e daamada ai.*
or-FOC DET reef Nukuoro NPST begin RES.PR
'or the reef of Nukuoro began.'

8 *De lua au e lodo e tala*
DET two 1SG NPST want NPST tell
'Second, I want to tell'

9 *de hai o de-nga modu o Nuguolo ne daamada ai.*
DET way of DET-PL islet of Nukuoro PFV begin RES.PR
'how the islets of Nukuoro began.'

10 *Tolu au e lodo e tala de hai o de gau Saamoa*
DET.three 1SG NPST want NPST tell DET way of DET people Samoa
'Third, I want to tell how the Samoan people'

11 *ne loo mai ai ga nnoho i honga Nuguolo*
PFV come VEN RES.PR ASP stay.PL LOC on Nukuoro
'came to settle on Nukuoro'

12 *gai hai ai de gau Polynesian i Micronesia.*
DM make RES.PR DET people Polynesian LOC Micronesia
'and brought Polynesian people into Micronesia.'

Taalanga o de Ango
(The Story of the Pearl)

13 *Madagidagi madagidagi loo, madagidagi loo*
long.ago long.ago come long.ago come
'A long, long time ago, a long time ago'

14 *gai dahi hai-bodu, dahi daane ma luu ono bodu*
DM one make-spouse one man and two GEN.3SG spouse
'[there was] a couple, a man and his two wives'

15 *taane nei d-ono ingo go Leibaaligi*
DET.man PROX DET-GEN.3SG name FOC Leibaaligi
'this man, his name was Leibaaligi'

16 *aama luu ono bodu aama alaau dama dogo madaangahulu ma haa,*
and two GEN.3SG spouse and GEN.3DU child CL.ANIM ten and four
'and his two wives and their fourteen children'

17 *gilaadeu ne loo mai i de-laadeu moni.*
3PL PFV come VEN LOC DET-GEN.3PL canoe
'they came in their canoe.'

18 *Go de moni go de vaga e hai ange laa bolo go de hao-lua.*
FOC DET canoe FOC DET canoe NPST say AND DIST COMP FOC DET tie-two
'The canoe, the *vaka*,[5] is called the *haolua* (two canoes tied together).'[6]

19 *Gilaadeu e loo mai e ssala de momme e doo ai de ango.*
3PL NPST come VEN NPST look.for DET place NPST plant RES.PR DET pearl
'They came to look for a place to plant the pearl.'

20 *Gilaadeu ne loo mai i lote umada, de umada,*
3PL PFV come VEN LOC inside.DET rainbow DET rainbow
'They came from inside the rainbow, the rainbow'

21 *gai gilaadeu e loo mai e ssala*
DM 3PL NPST come VEN NPST look.for
'they came to look for'

22 *dahi momme heohi ange laa i de doo ai de ango*
one place correct AND DIST LOC DET plant RES.PR DET pearl
'a suitable place to plant the pearl.'

23 *gai dahi laangi huu gai gilaadeu gu loo mai*
DM one day when DM 3PL PRF come VEN
'So one day, they came'

24 *gi dahi momme i lote huaa dai o de Pacific*
to one place LOC inside.DET whole ocean of DET Pacific
'to a place in the whole Pacific Ocean'

25 *gai gilaadeu ga gidee dahi momme*
DM 3PL ASP see one place
'they saw one place'

26 *gai gilaadeu gu manadua-age bolo*
DM 3PL PRF think-up COMP
'and they decided that'

27 *de-nei de momme heohi ange i de doo ai de ango*
DET-PROX DET place correct AND LOC DET plant RES.PR DET pearl
'this [was] the right place to plant the pearl'

28 *gai gilaadeu ga loo mai gi aagena.*
DM 3PL ASP come VEN to destination
'so they came to [their] destination.'

29 *Tae mai huu gilaadeu gai gilaadeu ga hai alaadeu huahuaamee*
reach VEN when 3PL DM 3PL ASP do GEN.3PL magic
'When they arrived, they did their magic'

30 *ga lava gai de agau o Nuguolo ga daamada i de hai ga molomolo.*
ASP finish DM DET reef of Nukuoro ASP begin LOC DET make ASP clear
'then the reef of Nukuoro started to become clear.'

31 *Gai de masavaa huu ne hai ai de agau ga molomolo*
DM DET moment when PFV make RES.PR DET reef ASP round
'So the moment the reef formed, it was round'

32 *gai gilaadeu ga tuu ga tilo gu heohi*
DM they ASP stand.PL ASP look PRF correct
'so they stood and saw [that it] was good'

33 *gai gilaadeu ga doo ange de baa gi aagena.*
DM they ASP plant AND DET black.pearl to destination
'so they planted the black pearl in its proper place.'

34 *Ga tilo naa huu gidaadeu de ango*
ASP look MED when 2PL.INCL DET pearl
'When we look at the pearl,'

35 *ne hu-mai i de-nga leebunga i lote umada*
PFV come-VEN LOC DET-PL color LOC inside.DET rainbow
'the colors come from inside the rainbow'

36 *gai de ango e kave.*
DM DET pearl NPST take
'and the pearl took them'

37 *E maua gidaadeu gidee ai denga leebunga nei i lote ango.*
NPST able 2PL.INCL see RES.PR DET.PL color PROX LOC inside.DET pearl
'We can see the colors inside the pearl.'

38 *De-laa de mahamaha o de umada*
DET-DIST DET beauty of DET rainbow
'That is the beauty of the rainbow'

39 *adaadeu e gidee mai laa i de ango.*
GEN.2PL.INCL NPST see VEN DIST LOC DET pearl
'that we see in the pearl.'

40 *Go kilaa o dangada soa e vaasuu ai laa i de ango.*
FOC there of person many NPST like RES.PR DIST LOC DET pearl
'That is why many people love pearls.'

41 *Gai dua huu de-laadeu doo ange de baa gi aagena*
DM back when DET-GEN.3PL plant AND DET black.pearl to destination
'So after they planted the black pearl in the proper place,'

42 *gai gilaadeu ga maalanga ga hulo gee*
DM 3PL ASP depart ASP go.PL away.from
'they departed and left'

43 *hiidinga gilaadeu ne gaa mai de ango,*
reason 3PL PFV bring VEN DET pearl
'because they brought the pearl,'

44 *abe-go de baa lote gili-langi*
or-FOC DET black.pearl inside.DET skin-sky
'or the black pearl inside the atmosphere'

45 *i de umada ga loo mai gi henua-i-lalo*
LOC DET rainbow ASP come VEN to land-LOC-under
'from the rainbow and came down to earth'

46 *ga doo ange gi de agau Nuguolo.*
ASP plant AND to DET reef Nukuoro
'and planted [it] in the reef of Nukuoro.'

47 *Gai dahi laangi huu gai gilaadeu gu hulo gee.*
DM one day when DM 3PL PRF go.PL away.from
'So one day they left.'

Taalanga o Sogo
(The Story of Sogo)

48 *Gai ni ngadau se masavaa dau looloa i muli mai loo*
DM COP.PL year COP.SG time count long LOC after VEN come
'So after many years, after a long time coming'

49 *muli mai loo i muli mai loo gai a Sogo ga hu-mai*
after VEN come LOC after VEN come DM PERS Sogo ASP come-VEN
'after a long time coming, [a ghost named] Sogo came.'

50 *ga hu-mai huu a Sogo ga gidee ia de henua*
ASP come-VEN when PERS Sogo ASP see 3SG DET island
'When Sogo came, he saw the island'

51 *gai ia gu lodo ai i hiidinga*
DM 3SG PRF wanted RES.PR LOC reason
'and he wanted it because'

52 *ia ne hu-mai ma dahi bolobolo gelegele e ssala dahi momme*
3SG PFV come-VEN with one basket sand NPST look.for one place
'he came with a basket[7] of sand looking for a place'

53 *i de moana i lote dai laumalie o de Pacific.*
LOC DET open.sea LOC in.DET ocean big of DET Pacific
'in the sea in the big Pacific Ocean.'

54 *Gai ga hu-mai hogi ga gidee de agau*
DM ASP come-VEN also ASP see DET reef
'So he also came and saw the reef'

55 *gai ia ga hu-mai gi aagena, a Sogo ga hu-mai gi aagena*
DM 3SG ASP come-VEN to destination PERS Sogo ASP come-VEN to destination
'so he came to this place, Sogo came to this place'

56 *ga duu i honga de agau ga galo gi de momme mao*
ASP stand LOC on DET reef ASP look to DET place distant
'and stood on the reef and looked to the far side'

57 *gai ia gu lodo e seesee gai ia ga seesee.*
DM 3SG PRF want NPST walk SO 3SG ASP walk
'and he wanted to walk so he walked.'

58 *Dono masavaa huu e seesee ai*
GEN.3SG time when NPST walk RES.PR
'When he walked,'

59 *gai denga gelegele i lotana bolobolo gu malili ga malili ga malili*
DM DET.PL sand LOC in.GEN.3SG basket PRF fall ASP fall ASP fall
'the sand in his basket fell and fell and fell'

60 *gai ia e seesee ma e hano ga seesee ga hano*
DM 3SG NPST walk and NPST go ASP walk ASP go
'so he walked and went and walked and went'

61 *ga dae gi de haga-odi gai dana bolobolo gu odi.*
ASP reach to DET CAUS-finish DM GEN.3SG basket PRF finish
'and reached the end and his basket had emptied.'

62 *D-ana bolobolo gelegele gu odi gai ia ga huli dua mai huu*
DET-GEN.3SG basket sand PRF finish DM 3SG ASP turn back VEN when
'His basket of sand had emptied so when he turned around,'

63 *gai ia gu lele ono mouli ia gu malangilangi.*
DM 3SG PRF jump GEN.3SG life 3SG PRF happy
'he was surprised and he was happy.'

64 *De-nga modu o de henua gu tuu mai gai ia gu malangilangi.*
DET-PL islet of DET island PRF stand.PL VEN DM 3SG PRF happy
'The islets of the atoll stood there so he was happy.'

65 *Gai ia ga ahe dua mai ga hu-mai ga hu-mai ga hu-mai*
DM 3SG ASP return back VEN ASP come-VEN ASP come-VEN ASP come-VEN
'So he turned around and came and came and came'

66 *ga tilo de henua hugadoo laanui go Nuguolo*
ASP see DET island most big FOC Nukuoro
'and saw the biggest island, Nukuoro,'

67 *gai ia ga hano ga noho ssala dono momme ga hai dono momme noho*
DM 3SG ASP go ASP sit look.for GEN.3SG place ASP make GEN.3SG place live
'and he went and sat to look for his place to make his home'

68 *momme laa haga-ingo ange go Lodoaalohi.*
place DIST CAUS-name AND FOC Lodoaalohi
'that place was called Lodoaalohi.'

69 *Gai ia ga hano kilaa ga noho ai ga hai ai ana mee kilaa*
DM 3SG ASP go there ASP stay RES.PR ASP make RES.PR GEN.3SG thing there
'So he went there and lived there and made his things there'

70 *ga noho ga dau looloa, dau looloa dono noho.*
ASP stay ASP count long count long his stay
'and lived for a long time, he stayed for a long time.'

Taalanga o Vave
(The Story of Vave)

71 *Dahi laangi huu gai de hodooligi o de gau Saamoa*
one day when DM DET king of DET people Samoa
'One day, the king of the Samoan people'

72 *de momme haga-ingo ange go Manua*
DET place CAUS-name AND FOC Manua
'the place was called Manua,'

73 *de hodooligi laa gu magau gai e dogo lua ana dama daane.*
DET king DIST PRF die DM NPST CL.ANIM two GEN.3SG child male
'that king died and he had two sons.'

74 *Gai tagodo donu de hagatau go tama daane madua*
DM according truly DET tradition FOC DET.child male older
'So according to tradition, the older son'

75 *e gaave ina tiba a de hodooligi*
NPST take TR duty of DET king
'takes the duty of the king'

76 *e hai ai de hodooligi o Saamoa.*
NPST make RES.PR DET king of Samoa
'and becomes the king of Samoa.'

77 *Gai de masavaa huu alaau ne loo mai ai e kalo ange tiba nei*
DM DET moment when GEN.3DU PFV come VEN RES.PR NPST look AND duty PROX
'So when they [two] came and considered this duty,'

78 *gai taina tama gauligi go Vave dono ingo*
DM DET.brother DET.child small FOC Vave GEN.3SG name
'the younger son, whose name was Vave,'

79 *gu lodo hogi go go ia de king.*
PRF want also FOC FOC 3SG DET king
'also wanted himself [to be] the king.'

80 *Gai tama madua e dee lodo hiidinga go ia e madua*
DM DET.child older NPST NEG want because FOC 3SG NPST older
'The older son did not want [this] because he was older'

81 *gai tama gauligi e lodo go go ia*
DM DET.child small NPST want FOC FOC 3SG
'and the younger brother wanted himself [to be king]'

82 *hiidinga kona i dono lodo gi lunga.*
because very LOC GEN.3SG want to above
'because his desire for power was great.'

83 *Ga lava gai gilaau ga heloongoi bolo gilaau ga daudau aabe hibagi*
ASP finish DM 3DU ASP agree COMP 3DU ASP wrestle or fight
'Finally they agreed that they would wrestle or fight'

84 *gai go ai naa huu e kii*
DM FOC who MED when NPST win
'and whoever won'

85 *gai ia ga hano gee donu i de henua go Saamoa.*
DM 3SG ASP go away truly LOC DET island FOC Samoa
'he would leave the island of Samoa.'

86 *Gai tangada— go ai naa huu e kii*
DM DET.person FOC who MED when NPST win
'So the person— whoever won'

87 *ga noho i de henua o Saamoa gai go ai naa huu e magulu*
ASP stay LOC DET island of Samoa DM FOC who MED when NPST lose
'would stay on the island of Samoa, and whoever lost'

88 *gai ia ga hano gee donu i de henua o Saamoa.*
DM 3SG ASP go away truly LOC DET island of Samoa
'would leave the island of Samoa.'

89 *Gai ga hebagi huu gilaau aabe daudau gai a Vave gu magulu.*
DM ASP fight when 3DU or wrestle DM PERS Vave PRF lose
'So when they fought or wrestled, Vave lost.'

90 *Magulu huu a Vave gai a Vave ga tilo dono bodu*
lose when PERS Vave DM PERS Vave ASP find GEN.3SG spouse
'When Vave lost, Vave found his wife'

91 *ma ana dama ma ono soa alodahi ma madua o dono bodu*
and GEN.3SG children and GEN.3SG friends all and parents of GEN.3SG wife
'and his children and all his friends and his wife's parents'

92 *gai gilaadeu ga hulo gee i Saamoa.*
DM 3PL ASP go.PL away LOC Samoa
'and they all left Samoa.'

93 *Dae huu gi de laangi alaadeu ne hulo gee ai i Saamoa*
reach when to DET day GEN.3PL PFV go.PL away RES.PR LOC Samoa
'When it reached the day that they left Samoa,'

94 *gilaadeu ga tele mai ga tele mai ga loo mai ga tae mai gi dahi modu*
3PL ASP sail VEN ASP sail VEN ASP come VEN ASP reach VEN to one islet
'they sailed and sailed and came and reached an islet'

95 *gai a Vave e dee lodo ai i de modu laa.*
DM PERS Vave NPST NEG want RES.PR LOC DET islet there
'but Vave didn't like that islet.'

96 *Gilaadeu ga duu-dagi de tele ga hulo ga hulo*
3PL ASP stand-extend DET sail ASP go.PL ASP go.PL
'they continued to sail and went and went'

97 *ga tae ange gi dahi modu a Vave e dee lodo ai hogi.*
NPST reach AND to one islet PERS Vave NPST NEG like RES.PR also
'and reached an islet, but Vave didn't like [this one] either.'

98 *De-nei donu huu de-laadeu hai e hai ai hedae ange dahi modu*
DET-PROX truly when DET-GEN.3PL way NPST do RES.PR meet AND one islet
'This was their way of doing [it], [they would] meet another islet'

99 *gai a Vave e dee lodo ai*
DM PERS Vave NPST NEG want RES.PR
'and Vave never liked them'

100 *gai dahi laangi huu gai gilaadeu ga loo mai ga tae mai*
DM one day when DM 3PL ASP come VEN ASP reach VEN
'so one day, they came and reached'

101 *gi de henua go Kabingamaalangi abe-go Kilinisi*
to DET island FOC Kapingamarangi or-FOC Kilinisi
'the island called Kapingamarangi, or Kilinisi,'

102 *gai a Vave gu vaasu i Kilinisi*
DM PERS Vave PRF like LOC Kilinisi
'and Vave liked Kilinisi'

103 *gai ia gu lodo e hai go go ia de hodooligi*
DM 3SG PRF want NPST make FOC FOC 3SG DET king
'so he wanted to make himself the king.'

104 *aabe gi ni-oona de modu go Kilinisi.*
or to COP-3SG.GEN DET islet FOC Kilinisi
'or [take] for himself the island of Kilinisi.'

105 *Gai de masavaa huu aana e hai ai ana hagatau nei*
DM DET moment when 3SG.GEN NPST make RES.PR 3SG.GEN process PROX
'So when he tried to arrange this,'

106 *gai e haingadaa hiidinga gu hanu donu dangada*
DM NPST difficult because PRF some truly people
'it was difficult because there were already people'

107 *e noho i Kilinisi, Kabingamaalangi*
NPST stay LOC Kilinisi Kapingamarangi
'living on Kilinisi, Kapingamarangi,'

108 *gai e hagatale de kave de henua*
DM NPST try DET take DET island
'so he tried to take the island,'

109 *abe-go de modu go Kilinisi m-oona*
or-FOC DET islet FOC Kilinisi for-3SG.GEN
'or the islet of Kilinisi for himself'

110 *gai e kona i de haingadaa de-laa ai.*
DM NPST much LOC DET difficult DET-DIST RES.PR
'but it was very hard.'

111 *dau loloa d-ana hai de mee nei d-ana hagatau nei*
time long DET-3SG.GEN make DET thing PROX DET-3SG.GEN process PROX
'For a long time he tried to do this'

112 *gai tigi maua gi sula gai ia ga hai ange gi ono soa*
DM NEG.yet able to succeed DM 3SG ASP say AND to 3SG.GEN friend
'and he was not able to succeed, so he asked his friend,'

113 *de aaligi be e maua laa gilaadeu i de hulo gi de moana*
DET leader if NPST able DIST 3PL LOC DET leave to DET open.sea
'the leader, if they all could go out to sea'

114 *duu-dagi ai de ssala be hanu angeange modu*
stand-extend RES.PR DET search if some other islets
'to continue the search for some other islets'

115 *aabe ni henua alaadeu e gidee.*
or COP island 3PL.GEN NPST see
'or islands that they could find.'

116 *De masavaa huu olaadeu ne hulo gee ai*
DET moment when 3PL.GEN PFV go.PL away RES.PR
'When they left'

117 *llanea maasina olaadeu ne tele ai aabe ne llanea boo ma laangi*
many moon 3PL.GEN PFV sail RES.PR or PFV many night and day
'many moons that they sailed, or many days and nights'

118 *olaadeu ne tele ai ga tae mai gi Nuguolo*
3PL.GEN PFV sail RES.PR ASP reach VEN to Nukuoro
'that they sailed to reach Nukuoro'

119 *gai gilaadeu gu gidee Nuguolo gai gilaadeu ga loo mai gi aagena.*
DM 3PL PRF see Nukuoro DM 3PL ASP come VEN to destination
'so they saw Nukuoro and they came to their destination.'

120 *Masavaa huu olaadeu ne loo mai ai gi aagena*
moment when 3PL.GEN PFV come VEN RES.PR to destination
'When they came to this place,'

121 *gai gilaadeu gu gidee de mahamaha o de henua go Nuguolo,*
DM 3PL PRF see DET beauty of DET island FOC Nukuoro
'they saw the beauty of the island of Nukuoro,'

122 *de llanea gai aagena aama hua lausedi kona i de llanea.*
DET many food destination and fruit ocean much LOC DET many
'the plentiful food there and plentiful sea creatures.'

123 *Gilaadeu ga noho i de modu go Gausema.*
3PL ASP stay LOC DET islet FOC Gausema
'They stayed on the islet of Gausema.'

124 *Gilaadeu ga noho ga haga-mabu*
3PL ASP sit ASP CAUS-rest
'They sat and rested'

125 *ga nnoa de-laadeu moni ga makaga taula.*
ASP tie DET-3PL.GEN canoe ASP tighten DET.rope
'and tied their canoe and tightened the rope'

126 *Gai de masavaa huu olaadeu ne gaav-age ai alaadeu mamu*
DM DET moment when 3PL.GEN PFV take-up RES.PR 3PL.GEN fish
'So when they brought their fish'

127 *gi uda henua ga dunu e gai-mee ai gilaadeu*
to inland island ASP cook NPST eat-thing RES.PR 3PL
'inland and cooked and they ate,'

128 *gai a Sogo ga gaa mai ono eidu vaaligi gi vaivaihai de gau nei.*
DM PERS Sogo ASP bring VEN 3SG.GEN ghost small to threaten DET people PROX
'Sogo brought over his small ghosts to threaten these people.'

129 *Gai ga loo mai huu denga eidu nei*
DM ASP come VEN when DET.PL ghost PROX
'So when these ghosts came'

130 *ga hulo ga tala de moni o de gau o Vave*
ASP go ASP untie DET canoe of DET people of Vave
'and went and untied the canoe of Vave's people'

131 *gai de moni laa ga dahea*
DM DET canoe DIST ASP drift
'the canoe drifted [away]'

132 *gai gilaadeu ga kau ga hulo ga gaa mai.*
DM 3PL ASP swim.PL ASP go ASP bring VEN
'so they swam and went and brought [it] back.'

133 *E hia hanonga ne hai ai de mee nei*
NPST how.many times PFV do RES.PR DET thing PROX
'How many times they did this'

134 *gai gilaadeu gu langona-iho ma de tonu ange bolo*
DM 3PL PRF feel-down and DET understand AND COMP
'so they felt and understood that'

135 *denga eidu o Nuguolo e vaivaihai gilaadeu gai gilaadeu gu maatagu.*
DET.PL ghosts of Nukuoro NPST threaten 3PL DM 3PL PRF afraid.PL
'the ghosts of Nukuoro were threatening them so they were afraid.'

136 *Gai gilaadeu ga manadu-age bolo gilaadeu ga aahe donu gi Kilinisi*
DM 3PL ASP think-up COMP 3PL ASP return truly to Kilinisi
'So they decided that they would return to Kilinisi'

137 *i daho Vave e tala ange ai gi a Vave de-laadeu longo.*
LOC with Vave NPST tell AND RES.PR to PERS Vave DET-3PL.GEN message
'where Vave was to tell Vave their message.'

138 *Gai de masavaa huu olaadeu ne aahe ai ga hulo gi Kilinisi,*
DM DET moment when they PFV return RES.PR ASP go to Kilinisi,
'So when they returned and went to Kilinisi,'

139 *aabe-go Kabingamaalangi,*
or-FOC Kapingamarangi,
or Kapingamarangi,

140 *gai gilaadeu ga tala ange gi a Vave de longo.*
DM 3PL ASP tell AND to PERS Vave DET message
'they told Vave the message.'

141 *Gai de masavaa huu a Vave ne langona ai*
DM DET moment when PERS Vave PFV hear RES.PR
'So when Vave heard'

142 *bolo e dahi henua e mahamaha*
COMP NPST one island NPST beautiful
'that there was a beautiful island,'

143 *hiidinga de-nei de-laadeu hai ne hai ange ai*
because DET-PROX DET-3PL.GEN way PFV say AND RES.PR
'because this [was] their way of telling [him]:'

144 *E Vave! E dahi henua e baa mai gi odaadeu gaogao i kinei*
VOC Vave NPST one island NPST close VEN to 3PL.GEN near LOC here
'"Vave! There is an island close to here—'

145 *kona i de mahamaha de henua nei!*
much LOC DET beautiful DET island PROX
'how beautiful this island is!'

146 *E llanea gai e gai-mee ai, e llanea hua o lausedi,*
NPST many food NPST eat-thing RES.PR NPST many fruit of sea
'There is plenty of food to eat and plenty of sea creatures'

147 *ma de gili-malali. Gai de masavaa a Vave ne langona ai*
and DET skin-smooth DM DET moment PERS Vave PFV hear RES.PR
'and [it is] clean." So when Vave heard'

148 *tangada ne daala ange de longo gai de-laa donu huu de mee.*
DET.person PFV tell AND DET message DM DET-DIST truly when DET thing
'the person tell the message, "There is only [one] thing there.'

149 *E dee ai donu dangada gai ni eidu i aagena*
NPST NEG RES.PR truly person DM COP ghost LOC destination
'There are no people, but there are ghosts there,"'

150 *gai a Vave dulagi be gu langona-iho laa i ono lodo*
DM PERS Vave appear like PRF feel-down DIST LOC 3SG.GEN want
'Vave seemed to feel his desire'

151 *gu langaa ono lodo ga ssili gi danuaa ga hai ange,*
PRF lift 3SG.GEN want ASP ask to good ASP say AND
'growing and [he] asked and said,'

152 *Koe hai mai naa e dee ai donu dangada i de henua naa?*
2SG say VEN MED NPST NEG RES.PR truly people LOC DET island MED
'"You tell me there are no people on that island?"'

153 *Gai taane laa ga hai ange ua.*
DM DET.man DIST ASP say AND yes
'So that man said, "Yes."'

154 *Gai ia ga haga-ahe ange ga hai ange,*
DM 3SG ASP CAUS-return AND ASP say AND
'So he [Vave] replied and said,'

155 *E bei naa de henua naa ni oogu?*
NPST like MED DET island MED COP 1SG.GEN
'"It's as if the island is mine?'

156 *Go au de hodooligi o de henua naa?*
FOC 1SG DET king of DET island MED
'I am the king of that island?"'

157 *Gai ia ga hai ange, Iainei donu gai gidaadeu ga maalanga e hulo.*
DM 3SG ASP say AND right.now truly DM 3PL ASP take.off NPST go
'So he said, "Right now we are setting off to go."'

158 *Gai gilaadeu ga kave alaadeu mee alodahi mai*
DM 3PL ASP take 3PL.GEN thing all VEN
'So they took all their things'

159 *i honga de henua Kilinisi*
LOC on DET island Kilinisi
'on the island of Kilinisi'

160 *ga gaav-ange i honga de moni go hao-lua*
ASP put-AND LOC on DET canoe FOC tie-two
'and put [them] on the canoe, the *haolua*'

161 *gai gilaadeu ga aahe gi Nuguolo.*
DM 3PL ASP return to Nukuoro
'and they returned to Nukuoro.'

162 *De masavaa huu olaadeu e tele ai gi Nuguolo*
DET moment when 3PL.GEN NPST sail RES.PR to Nukuoro
'When they sailed to Nukuoro'

163 *gai a Vave ga hai ange gi taane hai huuhuuaamee ga hai ange,*
DM PERS Vave ASP say AND to DET.man do magic ASP say AND
'Vave said to the man who knew sorcery, he said,'

164 *Iainei gai goe saalaa de hai e maua ai au*
right.now DM 2SG find DET way NPST able RES.PR 1SG
'"'Right now you must find a way for me'

165 *i de kave ssauaa mai i ssauaa*
LOC DET take control VEN LOC control
'to take control over'

166 *be go ai e ssauaa i honga de henua nei*
if FOC who NPST control LOC on DET island PROX
'whoever controls this island'

167 *gai ssauaa laa gi maua ngau go de hodooligi*
DM control DIST to able 1SG FOC DET king
'so that control will make me the king,'

168 *aabe ni oogu de henua go Nuguolo*
or COP 1SG.GEN DET island FOC Nukuoro
'or make the island of Nukuoro mine."'

169 *Gai gilaadeu ga loo mai gai taane e hai ana huuhuuaamee.*
DM 3PL ASP come VEN DM DET.man NPST do 3SG.GEN magic
'So they came so the man did his magic.'

170 *De masavaa huu olaadeu ne tae mai ai*
DET moment when 3PL.GEN PFV reach VEN RES.PR
'When they reached [the island]'

171 *gai taane hai huuhuuaamee ga hai ange gi a Vave,*
DM DET.man do magic ASP say AND to PERS Vave
'the man who does magic said to Vave,'

172 *Gidaadeu ga hulo naa huu ga tae gi de ava*
1PL.INCL ASP go MED when ASP reach to DET channel
'When we go and reach the channel'

173 *ga tau-age gi dahi modu gai ga tala de moni ga hai gi lua.*
ASP land-up to one islet DM ASP untie DET canoe ASP make to two
'and land on an islet, untie the canoe to make it into two.'

174 *Gai goe ga dele i dahi ga dagi gidaadeu*
DM 2SG ASP sail LOC one ASP lead 1PL.INCL
'You will sail in one and lead us'

175 *gai dau dama-daane ga dele i dahi*
DM 2SG.GEN child-male ASP sail LOC one
'and your son will sail in one'

176 *ga dagi gidaadeu gi Tulugi tele i lote lodo*
NPST lead 1PL.INCL to Tulugi sail LOC inside.DET lagoon
'and lead us to Tulugi sailing through the lagoon'

177 *delaadeu tele i lote lodo gi modu vaaligi, de-nga modu vaaligi.*
3PL.GEN sail LOC inside.DET lagoon to islet small DET-PL islet small
'that we sail through the lagoon to the small islets, the furthest islets.'

178 *Gai ga tae naa huu gidaadeu gi dahi momme*
DM ASP reach MED when 1PL.INCL to one place
'When we reach the place,'

179 *gai au ga hagadaba naa huu ga aahe dua*
DM 1SG ASP call.out MED when ASP return back
'I will call out and turn around'

180 *gai gidaadeu ga llui alodahi, ga llui-age gi de henua laanui.*
DM 1PL.INCL ASP turn all ASP turn-up to DET island big
'so we will all turn around, turn around toward the big island.'

181 *Daadeu ga tele-age naa huu koe ma dau dama goluu e tele be nei*
1PL.INCL ASP sail-up MED when 2SG and 2SG.GEN child 2DU NPST sail like PROX
'When we sail, you and your son, you two will sail like this,'

182 *tele maavaevae be nei, ga tae naa donu huu goodou ga—*
sail separately like PROX ASP reach MED truly when 2PL ASP
'sail separately like this, and when you all reach [the big island], you will—'

183 *goluu ga tau-age be go hee oo dahi ma dahi ne dau-age ai*
2DU ASP reach-up like FOC where 2SG.GEN one and one PFV reach-up RES.PR
'when you two reach whichever two [places] you reach,'

184 *goluu ga iho, goluu ga seesee ange goluu ga seesee ange be nei.*
2DU ASP down 2DU ASP walk AND 2DU ASP walk AND like PROX
'You will get down, you will walk, you will walk like this [toward each other].'

185 *De momme naa huu oluu e hedae ai laa*
DET place MED when 2PL NPST meet RES.PR DIST
'[At] the place where you two meet,'

186 *gai koe Vave ga seesee gi uda henua*
DM 2SG Vave ASP walk to inland island
'you Vave will walk inland'

187 *gai dau dama ga seesee gi dai*
DM 2SG.GEN child ASP walk to lagoon[8]
'And your son will walk to the lagoon,'

188 *de momme o de laa e danu ai.*
DET place GEN DET sun NPST bury RES.PR
'the place where the sun sets.'

189 *Gai de masavaa naa huu tai gu dae-age ai gi luu ono vae*
DM DET moment MED when DET.sea PRF reach-up RES.PR to two 3SG.GEN leg
'So when the sea reaches to his knees'

190 *gai ia ga aoo gai koe Vave koe ga maaga de-naa*
DM 3SG ASP shout DM 2SG Vave 2SG ASP mark DET-MED
'he will shout, and you Vave, you will mark there'

191 *de momme i uda de ngaadonga i uda.*
DET place LOC inland DET end/limit LOC inland
'the place in the east, the border to the east.'[9]

192 *Gai goluu ga aahe mai ga seesee gi ngaage ma ngaiho*
DM 2DU ASP return VEN ASP walk to north and south
'So you two will return and walk to the north and south'[10]

193 *gai ga dae naa donu huu gi tae lodo*
DM ASP reach MED truly when to reach lagoon
'and when you reach'

194 *de haadinga uda ma dai*
DET measurement inland and lagoon
'the measurement [you walked] east and west'

195 *e bei donu huu ngaage ma ngaiho gai goluu ga maaga.*
NPST like truly when north and south DM 2DU ASP mark
'when it is the same as north and south you will mark [it].'

196 *Gai de-laa de masavaa oodou e haga-duu ai*
DM DET-DIST DET moment 2PL.GEN NPST CAUS-stand RES.PR
'So then you will create the place'

197 *de momme hai ange laa go de malai gilaadeu ga nnoho ai kilaa*
DET place say AND DIST FOC DET malai 3PL ASP stay RES.PR there
'that was mentioned, the Malai (sacred place), they will stay there.'

198 *De-laa de-laadeu hai ne noho ai de hai o de gau Polynesia*
DET-DIST DET-3PL.GEN way PFV stay RES.PR DET way of DET people Polynesia
'That [is] their way of staying here, the way that the Polynesian people'

199 *ne loo mai ga settle aabe loo mai ga noho i Micronesia.*
PFV come VEN ASP settle or come VEN ASP stay LOC Micronesia
'came and settled or came and stayed in Micronesia.'

200 *De abo donu mai i oodou daha.*
DET goodness truly VEN LOC 2PL.GEN around
'Thank you very much.'

201 *Hanu momo mee o taadeu daalanga o de gau Nuguolo.*
some few thing of DET.1PL.INCL story of DET people Nukuoro
'[These are] a few things from our story of the Nukuoro people.'

202 *Go au go Soni.*
FOC 1SG FOC Soni
'I am Johnny.'

Structure and Ethnopoetics

In this section, we note some of the narrative, grammatical and prosodic phenomena of the text. These merit further analysis, and will also necessitate further fieldwork, and are discussed only in a preliminary way in this paper.

Authorship is established at the beginning and end. In the introduction, the author identifies himself, and the story, as belonging to Nukuoro, Federated States of Micronesia, and to greater Polynesia (a construct that is both imagined and geographic). The introduction also includes autobiographical information about Johnny himself, likely for the benefit of this particular audience, a group of non-Nukuoro researchers and an online viewership. In most other attested Nukuoro stories, such as those recorded by Raymonde Carroll (1980), no such introduction is present. Within the story, historical connections are described linking Nukuoro to the peoples of Samoa and Kapingmarangi. At the end, the author ends the narrative rather abruptly by repeating his name. The particular construction that he uses, *Go au go [name]*, is formulaic at the end of most, if not all, narratives recorded in the collected canon, suggesting that this line is an established storytelling convention that both signals the end of the storytelling event and reaffirms the identity of the storyteller.

[202] *Go au go Soni*.
'I am Johnny.'

The structural organization of the spoken text is previewed in the introduction. Johnny Rudolph explicitly outlines the narrative content in lines 4-12, citing three distinct stories from the "big story" of Nukuoro. The first is the story of how the underwater reef of Nukuoro was formed by heavenly visitors, the second is the story of how the islets were formed by a spirit, and the third is the story of how voyagers came from Samoa to settle on the atoll.

The introduction is just one of several framing devices used in the text. The progression of the story is supported by temporal framing, which bookends each of the three smaller tales with an indication of the passage of time. The narrative begins with line 13, which sets the story in an unspecified and very distant past. After the story of the reef's creation, Johnny uses long, repetitive phrasing in lines 48-49 to convey a vast stretch of time that has passed, and to clearly delineate the boundary between the two stories. Lastly, the story of Sogo ends in line 70 with another lengthy passage of time indicated, before Johnny begins telling the third and final story of Vave.

[13] *Madagidagi madagidagi loo, madagidagi loo*
'A long, long time ago, a long time ago'

[48-49] *Gai ni ngadau se masavaa dau looloa i muli mai loo muli mai loo i muli mai loo*
'So after many years, after a long time coming, coming, coming'

[70] *ga noho ga dau looloa, dau looloa dono noho.*
'[he] lived for a long time, he stayed for a long time.'

These instances of temporal framing use repetition to emphasize the length of time that has passed, a common strategy used throughout this narrative. Often, this repetition takes the form of a serial verb construction, as in line 59, where a verb and a tense/aspect marker are repeated to

indicate a continuous action that occurred over a long stretch of time. In this case, the sand in Sogo's basket fell intermittently as he walked around the reef of Nukuoro. The serialization of *malili* 'fall' draws attention to the falling sand as an important narrative detail and emphasizes the passage of time.

[59] *denga gelegele i lotana bolobolo gu malili ga malili ga malili*
'the sand inside his basket fell, fell, fell'

It is worth noting that the serial verb construction in Nukuoro need not use the same tense/aspect marker with all iterations of the verb—the first instance of *malili* uses the perfect aspect *gu*, indicating a completed action, while the next two use a different aspectual marker *ga*, the default storytelling aspect in Nukuoro. In lines 61-62, we also see different verbs used together in a serial construction.

[61-62] *ia e seesee ma e hano ga seesee ga hano ga dae gi de hagaodi*
'he walked and went, walked, went, reached the end'

In this example, the verbs *hano* 'go' and *seesee* 'walk' are used in an alternating serial verb construction, fittingly ended by the verb phrase *dae gi de hagaodi* 'reach the end'. This serial construction, as well as in line 65 with the verb *humai* 'come', establishes the duration of time it took Sogo to walk around the entire reef, which is six kilometers in diameter.

[65] *ia ga ahe dua mai ga humai ga humai ga humai*
'he turned around, came, came, came [back]'

While serialization emphasizes the length of time or a continuous action, the repetition of a particular verb throughout the narrative maintains focus on a particular action as new information is added. In the first story about the creation of the reef, the phrase *gilaadeu ga/ne/gu loomai* 'they came' is used six times referring to the family from the rainbow, each time with a new addition to the story: 'in their canoe' [17], 'from the rainbow' [19], 'to search for a place' [20], 'to look for a suitable place' [21-22], 'to a place in the whole Pacific Ocean' [23-24], 'to the right spot' [28]. This repetition allows the storyteller to embellish upon the event while emphasizing the importance of a particular plot point. In this manner, the word *doo* 'plant' is used six times to announce the planting of the pearl, and the arrival of Sogo is announced six times using the term *humai* 'come'.

The default storytelling tense/aspect/mood in Nukuoro is indicated using the preverbal particle *ga.* Carroll (1965a: 210) defines *ga* as 'anticipatory aspect', "used where the verbal idea is indefinite, where permission or assent is being sought, or to indicate the passage of time." This morpheme reflects Proto-Polynesian **ka(a)* 'verbal aspect particle marking inception of new action or state' in both form and meaning (Greenhill et al. 2011). Cognates in closely related languages, such as Tuvaluan *kaa* and Vaeakau-Taumako *ka*, are described as indicating future, though neither is entirely temporal in nature and may be used to express conditionality or uncertainty. Besnier (2000: 476) notes that Tuvaluan *kaa* can mark temporal sequencing, and Vaeakau-Taumako *ka* can mark "futurity with respect to a reference time, a point in the narrative, rather than with respect to the time of speech" (Næss and Hovdhaugen 2011: 298). Though the contemporary Polynesian literature uses the term 'future', temporal future is rarely indicated using

ga in Nukuoro; thus, we have chosen to follow Carroll (1965a) and gloss *ga* as ASP (anticipatory aspect) to avoid any association with temporality.

In the story narrative, the first time any given action or event is introduced, it will appear in anticipatory aspect, while subsequent mentions of the now-established event appear in perfective aspect. The *ne* morpheme formulaically appears after the phrase *de masavaa huu* 'the moment when' [31].

[31] *gai de masavaa huu* ***ne*** *hai ai de agau* ***ga*** *molomolo*
'so the moment when the reef formed, it was round'

Thus, the narrative unfolds as a step-by-step series of events, with each new event building on the last. If we consider line 30 in addition to 31, we see that *daamada i de hai* 'start to form' is first introduced using anticipatory *ga*. It is then restated using *de masavaa huu* 'the moment when' and the perfective *ne* to convey completion of the event, ensuring that *molomolo* 'be round', which returns to anticipatory *ga*, occurs after the first event has finished.

[30-31] *Gai de agau o Nuguolo ga daamada i de hai* ***ga*** *molomolo. Gai de masavaa huu* ***ne*** *hai ai de agau* ***ga*** *molomolo.*
'So the reef of Nukuoro started to become clear. So the moment when the reef formed, it was round.'

Conclusions

The persistence of Nukuoro origin myths, together with the oral storytelling traditions still expertly practiced by Johnny Rudolph and others, comprise an important part of the intangible cultural heritage and intellectual property of the Nukuoro people. The stories' thematic content anchors the Nukuoro people in time and space, and in the temporal and spiritual realms. They reference significant elements of Nukuoro topography (atoll geography, ocean currents, spatial orientation systems), material culture (pearls, sailing canoes, ancestor figures), social organization (hereditary chiefdoms, fraternal rivals for succession, marriage, kinship), ethnic origins and contacts (Samoa, Kapingamarangi), and the spiritual cosmology (sky, rainbow, sorcerers, spirits). As such, these stories present a lesson in cultural values and collective memory, intentionally transmitted across the generations. They also supplement the existing historical-scientific record, as well as scientific findings yet to come, in domains such as genetics, archeology, oceanography, and human migration, thus yielding a more complete and culturally grounded historical record.

That the owners of this cultural resource—members of the Nukuoro community—have exercised their ownership by choosing to share it is noteworthy. They have done this firstly, through many interpersonal communications and acts of storytelling at locations both within and remote from the Nukuoro homeland; secondly, in a process of digital documentation carried out by community members in collaboration with outside linguists; and thirdly, via digital publications and archives (Nukuoro Talking Dictionary,[11] YouTube, social media, and academic journals). All three of these types of sharing represent intentional strategies of language conservation and have produced a rich corpus of materials generated by the Nukuoro community in the service of their language revitalization agenda.

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Notes

[1] The following students were present and assisted with this recording: Sarah Babinski, Joseph Corcoran, Lydia Ding, Lewis Esposito, Jeremy Fahringer, Joey Haavik, James Howard.
[2] We also consulted the 2010 census, but it combines the data for Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi and does not provide separate numbers for the ethnic groups or speaker populations.
[3] One of these songs, entitled *Solo iho de moni* (Launch the canoe), can be accessed here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fw0XsLpz1mE
[4] In addition to abbreviations from the Leipzig glossing rules (Comrie et al. 2015), we use the following non-standard abbreviations: AND andative; ANIM animate; ASP (anticipatory) aspect; DM discourse marker; MED medial; PERS personal marker (used preceding proper names in the narrative); RES.PR resumptive pronoun; VEN venitive.
[5] While *moni* is the general Nukuoro word for canoe, the term *vaka* (*~vaga*, *waka*) is more widely used throughout Polynesia and is used in Nukuoro to identify a canoe intended for long-distance sailing. When outsiders first visited Nukuoro atoll, no such sailing canoes were found on the atoll, and the Nukuoro do not consider such canoes to be part of their material culture.
[6] Di Piazza (2016: 2) notes: "Although ocean-going double canoes are often thought of as the quintessential voyaging craft...no specific shared terms differentiate their sailing rigs or manoeuvres from those of outriggers. The only term that marks them is 'doubled' as in Fijian *drua* (twin) and PPN [Proto-Polynesian] **rua* (two).... There is also no evidence for their existence during the early Oceanic settlement period, that is, during the time of P[roto] Oc[eanic]."
[7] A *bolobolo* is an elongated basket of coconut palm leaves, roughly 3 feet in length and 1 foot wide/deep, often used to carry coconuts, but unsuitable for materials such as sand, as it has many holes. See http://talkingdictionary.swarthmore.edu/nukuoro/?entry=2833.
[8] Carroll (1964: 9) reports these directional terms as *i dai* "lagoonward" (literally "on the water") contrasting with *i dua* "seaward" (literally "on the back").
[9] In current usage, *i dua (~ i uda)* "inland/seaward" (literally "on the back") may be used to reference "east", since most of the habitable islets of Nukuoro are positioned such that the two directionals coincide, e.g., when one walks east, one is walking with one's back to the lagoon, which means both towards the open sea and inland at the same time. See Carroll 1965.
[10] Carroll (1965: 8–9) explains that in the relative Nukuoro directional system, going *ngaage* means to be traveling away from the *ngaiho*, the northwestern terminus of the backwards C-shaped islet chain (such movement may take place in any cardinal direction), while going *ngaiho* means to be travelling away from the *ngaage*, the southwestern terminus of the backwards C-shaped chain (again, such movement may take place in any cardinal direction). He further notes that this system has been reinterpreted in terms of cardinal directions north/south under influence of education.
[11] The Nukuoro Talking Dictionary (Anderson et al. 2016) was created in June 2013 at a workshop organized by IREI and the Living Tongues Institute, with funding from the National Geographic Society and private donors Jack Daulton and Roz Ho. It was continued and expanded at a second digital lexicography workshop in Pohnpei in June, 2015, which coincided with the field visit by a group of nine US-based linguistics students and faculty, and a reciprocal visit by Johnny Rudolph to Swarthmore College in July 2015, all funded by NSF award #1461056. The dictionary continues to expand thanks to collaborative work between Nukuoro community members and linguists, and currently has 2,368 entries, 1,082 audio files, and 59 images.

O Le Fogava‘a e Tasi: Claiming Indigeneity through Western Choral practice in the Sāmoan Church

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Abstract

Indigenous performance of Native Sāmoa has been constructed through colonized and decolonized systems since the arrival of western missionaries. Today, the western choral tradition is considered a cultural practice of Sāmoan Indigeniety that exists through intersections of Indigenous protocol and eurocentric performance practice. This paper will explore these intersections through an analysis of Native Sāmoan understandings of gender, Indigenous understandings and prioritizations of western vocal pedagogy, and the Indigenization of western choral culture.

Introduction

Communal singing plays a significant role in Sāmoan society. Much like in the greater sphere of Polynesia, contemporary Sāmoan communities are codified and bound together through song. In Sāmoa, sa (evening devotions), Sunday church services, and inter-village festivals add to the vibrant propagation of communal music making. These practices exemplify the Sāmoan values of aiga (family) and lotu (church). Thus, the communal nature of these activities contributes to the cultural value of community (Anae, 1998). European missionaries introduced hymn singing and Christian theology in the 1800s; this is acknowledged as a significant influence on the paralleled values of Indigenous thought, as both facets illustrate the importance of community (McLean, 1986).

Today, the church continues to amplify the cultural importance of community, and singing remains an important activity to propagate these values. In Sāmoa, singing is a universal activity. The vast majority of Native Sāmoans grow up singing in the church choir, and many Indigenous schools require students to participate in the school choir. Communal vocal music is practiced and cultivated throughout the cultural fabric (Engle, 1993).

In this paper, I will investigate the intersection of pre-missionary Sāmoa and the evangelized Sāmoa of the 19th century through the lens of communal singing. I will then outline the musical style and performance practice of Sāmoan choral music. Finally, I will discuss the dissonance of performance practice concerns regarding choral tone quality in Sāmoan approaches to choral and hymn singing.

The Evangelization of Native Sāmoa

The London Missionary Society (LMS) began the evangelization of Polynesia in Tahiti in 1797. Once LMS missionaries established a presence in Tahiti, an expansion towards Sāmoa began as Native Tahitian converts began missionary work in the Cook Islands. Soon Cook Islander missionaries made their way to Sāmoa (Stillman, 1993). Once LMS missionaries secured their presence in the 19th century, American missionaries began to arrive from New England. Music was a central component of the missionary message and integral to the process of evangelization.

Before evangelization, two significant forms of vocal music prevailed: a monophonic melody that was passed down by rote from one generation to another and a monophonic chant that

was improvised in melody and narration (Densmore, 1934). These two vocal forms served the cultural functions of communicating genealogy and mythology; of notifying people that work, meals, and prayer were beginning; and of notifying them about larger events such as war, sanctuary, or seasons. Sāmoan music decoded culture and propagated societal structures.

The introduction of hymn singing in the 1830s also fell into two individual categories. In the early nineteenth century, missionaries taught the Native populous strophic, homophonic hymns of either British or American origin. Once acculturation and skill developed, American evangelical and gospel settings in verse-chorus form were introduced. Throughout the rise of these genres, missionaries utilized pre-existing English and American hymns, translating these texts into Sāmoan and disseminating the selections through hymnals. Thus, the genre of pese lotu, or Sāmoan church music, was codified (Densmore, 1934).

The pedagogy of hymn tunes was starkly different between LMS missionaries and American missionaries. The LMS pedagogical framework consisted of rote teaching. The original hymns they distributed did not include musical notation, only text. There is presently no evidence that LMS missionaries developed the music literacy of Native Sāmoa, which remained an important subject in the evangelizing of Sāmoans. To the contrary, American hymnals included musical notation, often with introductory materials on musical rudiments. American missionaries relied on these hymns as source texts as they introduced to Sāmoans singing schools modeled after New England practices. By the end of the 19th century, solmization had become a common tool for teaching musical literacy in Sāmoa (Stillman, 1993).

Texture, Gender, and Modern Performance Practice Concerns

On many other Polynesian islands, evangelization resulted in violence and even the deaths of some missionaries; however, in Native Sāmoa, evangelization was seamless. John Williams, the first missionary to arrive in Sāmoa, observed that before evangelization, there was a pantheon of 120 personal and communal gods and goddesses that were deeply rooted in the elements of nature (Macpherson, 2011). A large number of modern Sāmoan Christians argue that this pantheon represents the many facets of one greater being. Therefore, at its core, they argue that Sāmoan religion was monotheistic. Also, the values that surrounded the previously converted Sāmoa closely paralleled the philosophies of Christ, such as the values of family and community. In essence, modern Sāmoan Christians believe that pre-western Sāmoa practiced an Indigenous Christianity that was culturally familiar to the LMS missionaries (Enright, 2001).

Even today, the parallel ideals of what is Indigenous and what is Christian remain closely related. The cultural impetus behind the Indigenous practice of communal Sāmoan folk song and the singing of Sāmoan hymns are closely linked to the values of aiga and lotu. Because of the cultural importance of community, individual contribution to group output is regarded as an expectation. For example, because singing typically occurs in communal or choral settings, it is traditionally considered rude or conceited to sing alone without first receiving the permission of a church elder or a matai, a chief (Engle, 1993).

It was not until the 1980s that western instruments began to be interwoven within choral settings in Sāmoa. This is mainly due to the model of the organ within Sāmoan churches. Most churches use a 1988 Yamaha model, which is mainly used as an opportunity to include accompaniment for church hymns (Tuiasosopo, 2005). However, while the organ is now a prevalent component in church services, choral anthems are still traditionally done without organ

accompaniment. This performance practice concern has been codified since the intersection of Indigenous practice and missionary thought. It was not until the 2000s that the use of the synthesizer arose as a common instrument within Sāmoan choral music. While the organ does not traditionally accompany choral anthems, the synthesizer is an accepted addition to contemporary sacred Sāmoan choral works, and it is also played in tandem with the church organ to accompany church hymns (Burrows, 1934).

Unlike Western practice, vocal parts within a Native Sāmoan church community are not assigned based on vocal range. Instead, choral parts are assigned on the criteria of gender, age, and marital status. Women identifying individuals are assigned to sing alto or soprano; male identifying individuals sing tenor or bass. Single female individuals sing alto, and male bachelors sing tenor. Meanwhile, married females are given the part of soprano, and married males sing bass (Thomas, 1981).

Depending on different textures and forms, more practices arose. At times a fa'asala is needed, in which a single vocal line is sung by an elder or group of elders. This vocal line is a practice of respect to the elders of the community. For congregations with an abundance of young men, directors might assign an usu, where women identifying individuals present a melody, an ato, where pre- pubescent young men sing above their collective passaggio, and a malū, where the elderly men sing the lowest part (Tuiasosopo, 2005).

The philosophy behind voice parts, gender, age, and marital status within the Sāmoan choir is rooted in the indigenous cultural perspective. Native Sāmoans believe that the elders should not only be revered, but that the elders are also responsible for sheltering and protecting the youth of the community. Therefore, the elders sing the outside parts of the divisi, providing protection to the youth (Tuiasosopo, 2005).

Indigenous Sāmoa houses a third gender expression as well: the fa'afine. Individuals who identify as fa'afine are male at birth, but embody a gender expression that is both masculine and feminine. Fa'afine play an integral role in Native Sāmoan culture, as they serve as song leaders in a variety of ceremonial ritual and rites. Likewise, fa'afine have an important role in a church choir, as many are called upon to sing solo or descant parts within the choir (Mageo, 1992).

Western Influence and Indigenous Priority in the Sāmoan Church Choir

The Western idea of pitch and melodic accuracy does not transfer to the Native Sāmoan criteria for musical excellence. Therefore, melody inaccuracy and pitch inconsistency are embraced within the Indigenous choral community. The cultural prioritizing of music stems from the homogeneity of Sāmoan songs before Western contact. Creativity and originality came from improvisation and the attention to text. Within a choral context, the singer usually thrives on creating personal variations within the choral context of a hymn setting. This practice has been codified as an advanced technique, as this pushes the limits of community-minded musicianship (Densmore, 1934).

Because Sāmoan hymns are not dynamic and printed Sāmoan choral music is limited, it is a codified practice to have the conductor decide the distribution of dynamics (Stillman, 1993). Ethnomusicologists have reported an overall dynamic median of forte singing with minimal growth or decay, with the exception of reflective or prayer songs during times of meditation or benediction (Sholin, 1974).

The treatment of text remains of the utmost importance to the cultural nucleus of Native Sāmoa and Sāmoan choral culture. While melody and harmony are consistently manipulated and

changed by the individual, rhythm is the primary vessel for textual clarity. Thus, rhythm must be observed with paramount care and accuracy (Williams, 1975).

A Search for Identity: The Native Voice Within The Choir

The timbre of Sāmoan choral singing has evolved rapidly over the last 50 years. Twentieth-century descriptions of Sāmoan choral singing have been recorded as quite nasal and robust, with a complete absence of vibrato (Sholin, 1974). This description has been attributed to an Indigenous replication of Western singing, where Native voices have attempted to recreate the timbre and vocal habits of missionary singing (Stillman, 1993). The Indigenous female voice, however, has the opportunity to find strength within the male-dominated hierarchy of Sāmoan culture. Previous observations have described the speaking and singing timbres of Sāmoan women as starkly different from each other. When the Sāmoan woman is singing, her voice takes on a shrill quality. This is an attempt to fulfill the need to exert one's individuality in a blatantly community-oriented society. Therefore, Sāmoan women have developed this unique and special way of singing.

Today, Sāmoan music embraces a wider spectrum of vocal timbres. Many choirs now adhere to a bel canto technique among other Western tone qualities and techniques. This can partly be explained because many Sāmoan choral ensemble conductors do not identify as Sāmoan. This cross cultrural circumstance can potentially result in the discord of a conductor's personal bias of prioritizing musical facets outside of the Sāmoan ideal. In contrast, many younger Sāmoan singers identify this new style of singing as a way to rebel against a sound that sought to mimic voices that were not Sāmoan. Therefore, this wider spectrum of sound is a beckoning back to one's Indigeneity (Williams, 1975).

An ethnomusicological perspective does not decide what constitutes an authentic Sāmoan sound; instead, the Indigenous Sāmoan community at large makes this decision. Therefore, if the Sāmoan community stands behind the development of vocal timbre, there is little to argue. However, because the vast majority of choral conductors identify as non-Sāmoan, this creates a cultural conundrum in trying to understand what is authentic in the performance practice of Sāmoan choral singing.

Accessing Repertoire

While the distribution of Sāmoan choral music is mostly insular due to the performance practice of the repertoire and the advocacy of cultural preservation, there are resources available for the choral conductor outside of the Sāmoan cultural sphere wishing to access and perform this music.

One such resource is the website https://www.pouesimusic.com/paul-pouesi. This website is managed and upheld by the Pouesi family, who are pillars of the Sāmoan choral and church community. This website includes popular Sāmoan hymnals and choral anthems from two of the family members Dr. Paul Pouesi and Ioselani Pouesi. These works are widespread amongst the Sāmoan choral community today. Conductors have the opportunity to preview and purchase this repertoire and request a free copy for their own work and study Pouesi, 2008).

Dr. Paul Pouesi is also one of the first Native Sāmoans to receive a doctoral degree in the field of ethnomusicology. Conductors are also able to access folksong transcriptions from his doctoral thesis on the website. According to Dr. Pouesi, many of these folksong transcriptions were borrowed by early missionaries from old English hymnals, giving the conductor the

opportunity to experience this musical intersection between Indigenous folksong and church hymns (Pouesi, 2008).

A Final Intersection

Lindsey Ta'upu (2017), a Sāmoan choral conductor located in Rarotonga, states that the development of the choral sound is still innately tied to Indigeneity because the value of community is still treasured in Sāmoan choral culture. She states,

> There is no outside pressure to change my vision to a western one. Absolutely not. I feel empowered to reference my culture, my family, and my language to make decisions behind the podium. If an idea comes that is coined as western, it is easily made Indigenous if I make sure that the knowledge is filtered through my elders and community. That is the power of our Native performance practice. We are able to withstand the tests of time because we hold our elders' experiences and judgment as a powerful resource. As long as we continue to cherish our conversations with our elders in our artistic processes, as long as we defer to their wisdom, as long as we look backward before moving forward, there will always be Sāmoan choral music.

Ta'upu's (2017) ideas present an essential dilemma for non-Sāmoan choral conductors looking to create an informed performance of Sāmoan choral music. Western training and critique have implanted a series of cultural biases on tone quality and pedagogy. However, how does one overcome this bias for the sake of cultural allship and respectful scholarship if Sāmoan choral culture openly welcomes an expanded global view of choral tone for the purpose of community? Also, knowing that protocol and connection to a community of elders are tenets of Sāmoan choral culture, what does allyship look like for non-Sāmoan identifying conductors? Do we have a responsibility to aid in the preservation and propagation of this repertoire? Or should our roles be ideated in different ways? Understanding that the Sāmoan choral worldview is expansive and rooted in community, ethical conductors have the responsibility to stand behind the performance practice wishes of the Indigenous population.

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In the Woods of Memory [眼の奥の森]

Reviewed by CHRIS CABRERA

In the Woods of Memory [眼の奥の森], by Medoruma Shun, translated by Takuma Sminkey. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2017. ISBN: 978-1-61172-037-2, 208 pages (paperback).

Originally published in Japan in 2009, the latest novel from Okinawan writer, activist, and poet Medoruma Shun, *In the Woods of Memory,* was published in English translation in 2017. The novel takes up the themes of memory and trauma, as it retells a tragic rape of an Okinawan village girl in the final days of the war. Each relays the events from the perspective of a particular character who each provide a slightly different perspective of the events. Other accounts of the event come fifty years later, and the novel switches between accounts of the past and present to frame the longstanding effects of the events on the psychology of all parties involved, illuminating its haunting views of the present. Medoruma writes here of an unshakable trauma, invoking both the power of literature and memory and its necessity to the Okinawan people in reclaiming both agency and power, especially as the islands struggle between the forces of American and Japan hegemonic power. While these political tensions are an object of recent news headlines over base relocations and environmental degradation at the hands of both Japanese and American decisions, Medoruma's novel attempts to forge a connection between modern Okinawa and its forgotten history to illuminate the necessity of literature as a form of struggle against forces of history which have silenced Okinawa.

Okinawan literature has been the topic of recent scholarly studies and translations and Medoruma serves as a prominent figure in the slew of contemporary writers from the southern Japanese islands. This writer garnered attention across Japan when his story "Droplets" took home the coveted Akutagawa Prize in 1997, arguably the country's highest literary honor. His writings have continued to deal with issues of the island's tumultuous history at the hands of Japanese and American rule, weaving its complex historical contours with the need to address issues of the present. After the rape of a young girl by military servicemen stationed in Okinawa made headlines and anti-base protests hit their peak in 1995, Medoruma retorted with the short story "Hope." No longer than a few paragraphs, the story nonetheless is a radical and politically charged stab at the presence of military on Okinawa. A frustrated Okinawan man kidnaps an American child outside a military base in response to the events and murders him for revenge. The act is over in moments but Medoruma spares no detail in his graphic depictions of the deed. The killer then commits self-immolation outside the gates of an American military facility in the ultimate act of protest. The writer is far from apologetic in his tone, and his protagonist sees the only logical repentance for the acts of the servicemen as a brutal slaughter of one of their own by an Okinawan. His words spare little mercy for the situation at hand and express his own frustrations and indeed, those shared by the Okinawan people. While protests continue to this day in attempts to affect the political situation and stop base movement and expansion on the already small islands, Medoruma seems to suggest that action is important, if not only through the act of writing. Here is protest itself, a possibility to foster change, to express the anger of himself and the Okinawan people, in a means that will reach beyond the islands and to a wider public. The act of writing is a way to reclaim his agency as an Okinawan at the mercy of two hegemonic powers. Hope is perhaps less a referent to the story than of the possibilities of writing as a form of revolt.

In the Woods of Memory shares a similar frustration with tensions of Okinawan-American relations but this time within the currents of both the past and the present. Medoruma places significant emphasis on history and memory in the novel, shifting back and forth between events in 1945, at the end of the war and in 2005, its 50th anniversary. The novel begins in a small Okinawan village in the wake of the Battle of Okinawa, its residents having surrendered to the occupying American forces. The villagers are wary of the presence of the soldiers and their fears are realized when a village girl, Sayoko, is raped and severely injured. The village is shocked and unable to seek out justice; the girl is scarred, physically and psychologically. A young boy in the village, Seiji, takes justice into his own hands by wielding a spear and diving into the water to seek revenge for the girl. After unsuccessfully killing the soldiers, but wounding two of them, a merciless search of the village begins by the military in an attempt to capture Seiji. These events are retold across the chapters, labeled by character and dated for the English translation, creating a complex web of information related to the events presented from each character's point of view, which often differ in tone and content. There is something of a "Rashomon effect" here, but it feels too simple to write off the author's method for telling this story as a tribute to Akutagawa Ryunosuke's short story or Akira Kurosawa's film. Rather, Medoruma seems to employ this method to suggest the widespread impact of the event on so many people, how memories have lodged into individual's consciousness and affect even those remotely connected to it. Positioned fifty years apart, the chapters also attest to the traumatic events as they have affected the present, bridging considerable temporal distance to reveal that the consequences that these injustices, these forgotten yet severely traumatic moments in history, have impacted individuals and remain painful memories that seep into the present.

Contrary to the Translator's Preface, Medoruma does not seem to simply be focusing on "how past events have impacted the present." The approach is far from a neat, linear segment. Rather, the author seems to weave the present, that is, reality itself into the *In the Woods of Memory,* offering a multidimensional narrative that intersects both time and space. Crimes of sexual violence have never waned in wake of the 1995 rape that sparked so much outcry from the public, and Medoruma's novel seems to be speaking both to the very real history of these events as well as to the fictive events of the novel.

This is complicated even further when investigating the inspiration for the writing of the novel. Medoruma is cited as coming up with the premise of this story based on his conversations with his own relatives and elders in Okinawa who experienced the war. In a way, this complicates the nature of the "novel" itself: is it fair to call a work fiction if it is patched together through undocumented, and untold facts experienced by a number of people in Okinawa? Could *In the Woods of Memory* have a place as a historical retelling of traumatic events, as a collective kind of memory of the Okinawan people that

Medoruma seems to be using fiction here in place of nonfiction, where nonfiction has been rewritten, reinterpreted and re-inscribed upon the Okinawan people. Recent controversies of the Japanese government to modify history in its textbooks, with a careful eye on erasing any injustices the imperial army conducted in the Okinawan islands is just one of numerous examples of the ways in which Okinawans have been denied a voice. Medoruma allows them to speak in this volume. He gives history a voice.

Inside Me an Island: Poems

Reviewed by PAULETTE M. COULTER

Inside Me an Island: Poems, by Lehua M. Taitano. Cincinnati: WordTech Editions, 2018. ISBN: 978-1-62549-283-8, 131 pages (paperback).

Lehua M. Taitano's second book of poems takes its title from the first poem of her first book, *A Bell Made of Stones* (2013, TinFish Press): "inside me an island / shaped hole" (13). Tied as it is in title to *A Bell Made of Stones*, it is difficult to see *Inside Me an Island* as a totally separate work, as this reviewer sees the latter primarily in comparison to the former. In the second, as in the first volume, many poems are characterized by their island appearance in typographic rivers (white space)—or in Taitano's case, typographic oceans—with single lines and, often, single words suspended therein. The cover of this slim volume shows a major portion of an LP record with a photo of a woman on the label, the white space of the mounting hole where her heart would be, an image provided by Lisa Jarrett, from *Mother Tongues: 100 Exercises in Empathy, Part 3*. This woman is smiling nonetheless.

Inside Me an Island comprises three parts: Correspondence, Ma're (Low Tide), and Hafnot (High Tide). The latter two sections place the work in the context of island and ocean, and each contains seventeen poems. As in her first book, Taitano, a Chamoru writer and artist, begins with a letter to or for the reader. The first is a "Letter from an Island (Maria Flores to Shelton Family, 1982.)" (13) that identifies a major theme of her work as familial interdependence. The second letter is "A Love Letter to the Chamoru People in the Twenty-first Century" (15). This letter provides Taitano's Ars poetica. The speaker writes: "Because I could not sleep. / Because I could not eat. / Because I do not want to get my mind off things, I am writing to you" (17). She is also, and especially, "writing our [the Chamoru people's] bodies into existence" (ibid.). She writes to all her kin and all her saina to tell them, "I see you. I hear you. I feel you. I love you" (18).

Writing from all diaspora, or from anyone who has left or lost a home, may seem nostalgic: homesick for either a place or a past. And Taitano's poetic, emotional, and intellectual ties to island are clear, but her poems are of differing structures, styles, and topics. A number of the poems are somatic: written with specifications of how the body (soma) of the writer is to be used or posed, for example, "Speak father, father, father, father, father, father until the story surfaces of your unravel" (43) or with the assignment to "Create a sibling, a counterpart to your shale-flaked centerself, a blood-bound projection to visit you upon the lonely scree" (26). Others are, admittedly, composed of series of overheard conversations (132), such as "Spectator" (37) or "Come Sit Around This Stone" (81), while still others seem to be and are perhaps based on conversations one has with oneself (and others?) inside one's head, such as "Sonoma" (100), where I am wondering if I should read the text sequentially or if I should read by position of text on the page and how would my experience of the poem differ if I did. Taitano describes this poem as "the love letter *Sonoma*. The elegy *Sonoma*. The maybe long poem *Sonoma*. The floating words swirling in a canoe *Sonoma*, for my brothers and sisters adrift" (99). A number of poems are also written *for* someone, dedicated to them (54, 66, 78, 81) and reflect strong personal ties of caring.

It is difficult to decide which of the poems in *Inside Me An Island* are my favorites. I am not Chamoru, and I am not queer (though different, perhaps), while Taitano self-describes as both (132). "Trespass" (52), however, evoked a visceral response of "been there": why is it that our

"late night ways" are criticized when the late shift provides more income? And aren't streets spaces for public parking as well as driving? I also admire "Banana Queen" (49) for its spunk in the face of overt racism, for its Everywhere/Where/Nowhere serious wordplay, its treatment of "Guamanite / (Guamish, Guamese, Guamarian)" (ibid.), and its archery imagery. The image of sewing and sea in the poem "Here on the Seam" (87), like the arrow, is sharp, the poem clear and direct. Yet the long poems, "Sonoma" (100) and "Come Sit Around This Stone" (81), offer much for thought and meditation. I also find the dedication of the book to Taitano's siblings and the recognition of her mother particularly meaningful.

The title *Inside Me an Island* comes from Lehua M. Taitano's poem "inside me an island / shaped hole" (from page 13 of *A Bell Made of Stones*). If that island is still a hole, it is a hole filed with longing, with thought and experience, and with much caring for others as Taitano's poetry shows. Together, the two volumes of Taitano's work are, I believe, a valuable contribution to the growing body of indigenous Micronesian literatures. A personal essay by Taitano also appears in a recent anthology of these literatures; the essay contains one poem of eight quatrains (Flores & Kihleng 117).

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How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States

Reviewed by CHRIS RASMUSSEN

How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States, by Daniel Immerwahr. New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 2019. ISBN: 978-0-374172-14-5, 528 pages (hardcover).

Daniel Immerwahr's *How to Hide an Empire* makes what seems an obvious point: that much of the United States' global power rests on direct political control of overseas territories and peoples. Aimed at a general readership, *How to Hide and Empire* is a compelling precis for an as yet-to-be-written American history textbook. For Pacific scholars it stands as confirmation that their work is reshaping the way American history is understood and, potentially, taught. Immerwahr urges readers to look "beyond the logo map," what Immerwahr calls the familiar silhouette of the lower-forty-eight states. This set of ideological blinders excludes the territories and their peoples from the national field of vision, and produces distorted and dangerous understandings of race, democracy, and American power. As an experiment, I opened up the eleventh edition of a popular American history survey and found a political map of the United States containing the lower forty-eight with inserts of Alaska (not to scale), Hawaii (only the eight largest islands) and, surprisingly, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Perhaps Guam will appear in the next edition.[1]

As Immerwahr demonstrates in an engaging set of chapters on industrial standards and English-language diffusion, the United States also projects power through post-World War II international institutions and with, to varying degrees, consent. He contends; however, it has been the places, or "points," acquired prior to and following World War II that have undergirded such institutions and have formed the hard infrastructure of America's global influence. Another recent work claiming to be an imperial reinterpretation of American history, A.G. Hopkins slab-like *American Empire,* presses the long-standing view in American historiography that following World War II the United States exchanged an overseas empire of physical places for global hegemony.[2] Immerwahr, much more economically, shows how such analyses miss the point. The United States not only retained most of its overseas empire, an independent Philippines being the notable exception, it acquired new postwar possessions, significantly ones to which its responsibilities to and the administrative costs of were minimal. The approximately eight hundred overseas military bases, including basing rights on the independent Philippines, gave the United States "semi-autonomy," and, as Immerwahr points out, a legal grey zone in which rights were and remain conveniently contingent. These places were intended to serve not only as platforms for military power projection, but also as centers from which American culture and commerce radiated – that so-called soft power. Immerwahr delivers snapshots of postwar Liverpool and Tokyo in which he makes an at times muddled case that the rise of the Beatles and Sony, in part, resulted from their respective founders' close proximity to American military bases.

While the impressive network of mid-twentieth century American overseas bases, what Immerwahr evocatively calls a "pointillist empire," has attracted a great amount of scholarly

[1] David Emory Shi and George Brown Tindall, *America: A Narrative History.* vol. 1, tenth edition (New York: Norton, 2016)

[2] A.G. Hopkins, *American Empire: A Global History.* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2018.)

attention, *How to Hide and Empire* traces their origins partly to familiar story of continental empire building, but more directly to the mid-nineteenth century, when the United States seized, exploited, and articulated a retro-fitted legal status for Pacific and Caribbean guano islands. The 1857 legislation that declared United States' authority over uninhabited but valuable overseas possessions contrasted sharply with the contemporaneous political battles over statehood that produced the Civil War. The Guano Islands Act classified overseas places as "appertaining" to the United States, an obscure word meant to make guano islands and those who came to labor on them bound by American law, but not protected by it.[3] That laborers on guano islands tended in the Pacific to be Hawaiian and in the Caribbean to be black synthesizes an established historiography on the connections between America's domestic and overseas racial colonialism.

Following the Spanish-American War, Immerwahr recounts how in the Insular Cases the Supreme Court used Guano Act language to declare that Congress alone decides whether or not federal protections are to be afforded to the largely non-white inhabitants of its recent acquisitions. The resulting lawlessness encouraged surveillance and medical experimentation regimes that reveal the American imperial project was never incidental but always central. Immerwahr illustrates this through a particularly urgent account of American policies in the Pacific during the Second World War. The secretary of the Navy in 1941 declared Hawai'i an "enemy country" and the military subjected its people to martial law, the first mass fingerprinting in the United States, mandatory identification cards, and the largest compulsory vaccination. While the incarceration of Japanese Americans on the West Coast is part of the traditional war narrative, it is traditionally identified as a shameful aberration. Immerwahr shows how mass imprisonment and displacement are better understood as common practice. The military displaced and imprisoned Aleuts in Alaska, people of Japanese-heritage in the Philippines (before the Japanese conquest) and following the war, displaced and removed Chamorus on Guam, and displaced, bombed, and poisoned Marshallese. Historians have been telling such stories for decades, and Immerwahr does much to synthesize them for non-specialists and integrate them into the American history survey.

How to Hide an Empire succeeds on its own terms. Immerwahr acknowledges the book does not offer archival contributions relying instead on the work of a diverse group of scholars to make the case to see a "familiar history differently." A history of American power that is anything but "soft" and an empire that is not, as historian Geir Lundestad[4] would have it, "by invitation," Immerwahr is primarily addressing American and diplomatic historians for whom such narratives persist. Paul Kramer has offered the most comprehensive critique of Immerwahr's approach, albeit one levied prior to the book's publication when the ideas existed as a 2016 American Historical Association lecture and an essay in *Diplomatic History*.[5] In "How Not to Write the History of U.S. Empire," Kramer accuses Immerwahr of propping up a strawman argument (scholars have ignored American imperial history) to using uncritically terms favored by turn-of-the-century imperialists in describing American overseas possessions ("Greater United States"), to adopting a far-too-narrow definition of empire (places directly administered by the United States), to ignoring the decades of regional histories produced by specialists (he concludes the essay with a works cited to provide a glimpse into the diverse scholarship on American colonialism in the Philippines and

[3] The phrasing "bound by law, but not protected by it," is adapted from late political scientist Francis M. Wilhoit's description of American conservatism.

[4] Geir Lundestad, "Empire by Invitation," *Diplomatic History,* 23, no. 2 (1999): 189-217.

[5] Daniel Immerwahr, "The Greater United States: Territory and Empire in U.S. History," *Diplomatic History,* 40, no. 3 (2016): 373-91

Puerto Rico).[6] More so than Immerwahr's original lecture and subsequent essay were able, *How to Hide an Empire* addresses each of Kramer's criticisms. Kramer's most salient complaint, however, that the territories and peoples of Immerwahr's "Greater America" appear and recede according to their relationship with the mainland remains valid. *How to Hide an Empire* aims to be a blueprint for an American history textbook. Looking "beyond the logo map" might be insufficient because national history remains tethered to problematic narratives. Among other contributions, *How to Hide an Empire* reinforces the importance area studies and transnational approaches possess as perhaps the most effective fields in which to understand nineteenth and twentieth empire, American or otherwise.

[6] Paul Kramer, "How Not to Write the History of U.S. Empire," *Diplomatic History,* Vol. 42, No 5 (2018): 911-931.

Ulithi Atoll, Micronesia: Recalling the Past, Reaffirming the Future

Reviewed by JAMES D. SELLMANN

Ulithi Atoll, Micronesia: Recalling the Past, Reaffirming the Future, by Rebecca A. Stephenson and Mary L. Spencer. Mangilao: University of Guam Press, 2019. ISBN-13: 978-0692034859, 247 pages (hardcover).

Drs. Rebecca A. Stephenson and Mary L. Spencer have produced an outstanding piece of scholarship with their latest book on *Ulithi Atoll, Micronesia: Recalling the Past, Reaffirming the Future*. I highly recommend it to anyone interested in Pacific Island Studies.

The book *Ulithi Atoll, Micronesia* makes a lasting academic contribution to Micronesian and Pacific Island Studies by publishing unique and detailed scholarly work about Ulithi Atoll. The book can be used at all academic levels from high school through undergraduate to graduate level courses, will be of interest to tourists, and especially to the students of Ulithi and Yap. The book will also be of interest to other private and public institutions and employers who have immigrants from Ulithi or other islands in Micronesia.

A special feature of *Ulithi Atoll* is that it contains diverse contributions by indigenous Ulithians and other Micronesians, University of Guam students, professors, and professionals. To help the remote reader situate and understand the atoll, the book provides two maps; eight tables; six-and-a-half pages listing various and numerous figures that are mostly archive or modern photographs; a long list of Acknowledgments; fourteen chapters; an Afterword; and a helpful Index.

After the "Historical Overview and Introduction," Part 1, entitled "Encountering Ulithi—A University of Guam Field School in Cultural Anthropology," is comprised of six chapters.

Part 2, entitled "Culture, Economics, Learning, and Life Challenges in Ulithi," contains seven chapters.

In the "Historical Overview and Introduction" the authors provide an in-depth introduction and cultural-historical survey of Ulithi focusing on indigenous agency, contacts with explorers, traders and especially the military encounters of WWI and WWII, atoll life, economics, and their government. The Introduction concludes with a brief outline of Parts 1 and 2, and a note concerning the authors' intentions: "Each chapter in this volume draws readers directly into the research process employed to examine distinct questions, including those regarding culture and society, life science, agriculture, the economy, child development, and artistic activities within Ulithi Atoll" (p. 39).

The first chapter of Part 1, entitled "Field Report: Discovering Aspects of Life, Culture, and Environment on Ulithi Atoll," by Becky Stephenson, relates her field school experiences from 1992. It should be noted that the research in the respective chapters has been updated, citing sources published after the 1990s. The Field Report is also offered as an example of a model "capstone course learning experience" for students. Subsequent chapters in Part 1 are papers written by the field school participants.

In the next chapter, by Shawn Holstrum, entitled "Material Culture of Ulithi: A Fusion of Past and Present," focuses on Ulithi's artifacts, especially those involving fishing practices and technology.

Dr. Yosihiko H. Sinoto is the author of the next chapter entitled "Catching Flying-Fish in Ulithi Atoll: A Study of Gorges," offering a detailed study of the different types of fishhooks and gorges used.

The fourth chapter, entitled "Notes on Some Traditional and Contemporary Ulithian Economics," by Melvin D. Cruz, focuses on the island of Falalop. After discussing the post WWII subsistence economy, Cruz portrays the everyday life on Falalop, discussing extended family reciprocity, modernization, and the lack of tourism in the 1990s.

The fifth chapter by Becky Stephenson and Eulalia J. Harui-Walsh is entitled "A Tale of Two Islands: Being Disabled in the Western Pacific, Perspectives from Guam and Ulithi." The authors highlight their perspectives on the significantly different responses to disability in the two islands.

The concluding chapter "Resources in Print Concerning Ulithi Atoll" provides a thirteen-page, annotated bibliography by Deborah Piscusa Bratt with the assistance of Becky Stephenson.

There are seven chapters in Part 2, "Culture, Economics, Learning, and Life Challenges in Ulithi."

The first chapter in this section, by Joliene G. Hasugulayag, "Ulithi, Yap: Navigating the Seas of Cultural Tradition and Change," discusses far more than navigation. After presenting the relationship to the land, Hasugulayag relates information from the perspective of an indigenous Ulithian about subsistence and sustainability, education, family life and structure, gender roles, and adoption. She continues relating information about the social structure and post WWII life, economics, modernization and social work.

In the second chapter of Part 2, "My Parents Named Me Joshua," Joshua Depmar Walsh offers a touching personal account of his family life, his parents, and his role in the community.

In the third chapter, titled "Lava Lava: Hallmark of Ulithian Culture," Eulalia J. Harui-Walsh with Becky Stephenson provides a detailed description of the *ghow* or lava lava article of clothing; from the weaving of the cloth to its ceremonial uses, and a comprehensive discussion of the lava lava collection in the museum of New Zealand.

Dr. Ann Ames presents her findings in the fourth chapter, "Economic Well-Being in a Substance Economy: Production, Marketing, and Micro-Finance on Yap Proper and Falalop Islet, Ulithi, Yap State." Her chapter concludes with an interesting presentation of what it would take to establish a micro-finance program on Falalop.

In the fifth chapter of Part 2, "Field Notes from Ulithi," Todd Ames employs a narrative style to present the results of his subsistence farming and fishing research.

In the sixth chapter of this section, "Glimpses of Ulithian and Other Yap Outer Island Learning Traditions for Children," Mary L Spencer summarizes some of her early field research on cross cultural child development from 1985.

The concluding chapter of Part 2, by Harley I. Manner, offers a seventeen-page annotated bibliography entitled "Ulithi: Physical Environment Bibliography." The contents of this chapter will be indispensable to anyone interested in finding the published resources available about Ulithi's ecology.

In the "Afterword" the Editors discuss the specific purpose and significance of the various photographs in the book. The five page "Index" will be useful to the serious reader.

The book is clearly written and a joy to read. The extensive references given in each article are a valuable resource for other scholars. *Ulithi Atoll* is an outstanding contribution to Micronesian social, political, economic, environmental scholarship. I highly recommend this book to you.

The Dawn Watch: Joseph Conrad in a Global World

Reviewed by C. S. SCHREINER

The Dawn Watch: Joseph Conrad in a Global World, by Maya Jasanoff. New York: Penguin Press, 2017. ISBN: 978-1-594205-81-1, 400 pages (hardcover).

"Why are you watching?"
Someone must watch, it is said.
Someone must be there.
–Franz Kafka

From casual remarks uttered by my students over the years, one would think that Joseph Conrad only wrote one novel, *Heart of Darkness* (1899), brief enough to call a *novella*; that he was a gloomy writer and incurable racist; and that his nautical career as a British mariner was limited to shipping routes in and around Africa. It is my guess that these students' exegetical wings were clipped by moralistic, ideologically rigid teachers who affix taboos to imperialism and hegemony, and hence, by association, to British mercantile shipping and sailors in the 19th Century, when the Royal Navy "ruled the seas." A sailor like Joseph Conrad who happens to become a writer is not exempted from this stereotyping, which presumes that a writer's identity is irrevocably damned by his institutional affiliation and not capable of transindividuation by milieu—in other words, that he can't be transformed by experience or setting. But has anyone rendered experience and setting so atmospherically charged, or with such pensive, wary, introspective *gravitas* as Conrad? One doesn't pass through his landscapes and remain the same, unless one pays to do so with one's very life. The oceanic milieu, which poses such a gargantuan yet elusive challenge to the intelligence, training, and resilience of Conrad's protagonists, inspires the author himself to verbalize (in his third language, English) an alternately splendid and traumatizing panorama of foreign bodies and elemental forces that forms the general ecology in which his seamen often fail to subdue both nature and their own fatal habits and flaws. When they succeed, that is, when they survive to tell their story, their tale is weighted with resignation, the sense of an ending. Within this quasi-deterministic framework, this oceanic—think "cosmic"—milieu, human subjectivity is transindividuated in a synthesis of prior individuations and singular, intensely isolating challenges that confront each conscious being afloat on the high seas, inexorably distinguishing Conrad's profile from that of the sailors around him, as their personae are likewise distinguished from his and those of fellow shipmates. The specter of Doom and its progeny, Bravery and Cowardice, individuates beings, each memorialized or forgotten according to their unique response to seemingly unbearable pressure. On the one hand Conrad presents us with Lord Jim, who abandons his sinking ship and has to live with his shame and guilt for the rest of his desultory career, in the novel *Lord Jim* (1900); and on the other hand, he depicts in the novel *Victory* (1915) a philosophical recluse named Axel Heist, who endangers his secure existence on a private island by rescuing and sheltering a young woman who flees her predatory employer after suffering unspeakable abuses. In both novels the protagonists are doomed, albeit in morally distinctive ways that highlight singular patterns of individuation which resist stereotyping.

In her compulsively readable study of Joseph Conrad's career as a mariner and novelist, *The Dawn Watch*: *Joseph Conrad in a Global World,* Maya Jasanoff avoids simplifying Conrad's

legacy (and loyalties) as a British subject by reminding us of both his Polish upbringing, his apprenticeship in French harbors as a young sailor, and the intercontinental range of his adult voyaging. She argues that "Conrad didn't set a single novel in a British colony, and even the fiction he placed in Britain or on British ships generally featured non-British characters." Jasanoff continues:

> Conrad cast his net across Europe, Africa, South America, and the Indian Ocean. Then he wandered through the holes. He took his readers to the places "beyond the end of telegraph cables and mail-boat lines," onto the sailing ships that crept alongside the swift steamers, and among the "human outcasts such as one finds in the lost corners of the world." (7)

An ideological or overly simplistic treatment of Conrad's writings is misguided for many reasons, even if Conrad's often melancholy focus on outcasts is not one's cup of tea. The stunning innovation of the sailing ship, and later, the steamship, both of which have central roles in many of Conrad's writings before and after *Heart of Darkness*, by connecting up continents in a global totality, made possible mass emigration and the exchange of raw materials and resources for industrial development. "The sailing ship was perhaps the finest technological achievement of the pre-industrial era; yet it was the network of steamship services which, as much as any other single factor, created the western world and western civilization as they stood in 1900."[1] These developments are not behind us, relegated to ancient history. As Maya Jasanoff observes, "Ninety percent of world trade travels by sea, which makes ships and sailors more central to the world economy today than ever before."[2]

Conrad has much to teach us as a participant in this nautical milieu, as a first-hand observer of globalization, and teachers who dismiss his writing from their postcolonial watchtower throw out the baby with the bathwater. Critical consciousness is stunted at an early age when inexperienced readers in high school learn how to opine and cast judgement instead of exercising nuanced description and interpretation. How much more they could learn and criticize (or secretly appreciate) if they read past *Heart of Darkness* into Conrad's plentiful trans-Pacific writings that provide misty, weirdly intimate yet remote glimpses of life in the South China Sea, Borneo, the Sulu Islands, the view from coal ships traversing the Makassar Strait "between Borneo and Sulawesi, bound for the port of Donggala."[3] Likewise, if young readers suspend judgment and submit to the vicarious tumult of an oceanic typhoon from the viewpoint of shipmates engulfed on deck in torrential chaos, the stars above them symbols of hope, fading out one by one into cosmic obscurity: "The last star, blurred, enlarged, as if returning to the fiery mist of its beginning, struggled with the colossal depth of blackness hanging over the ship—and went out."[4] What, no GPS? With stellar guidance lost, there grows an incipient feeling of panic and claustrophobia, but even more gravely, an awareness that help cannot be outsourced, that each sailor must not shirk his responsibility, and that reciprocal self-reliance ("You do your job, and I'll do mine.") must prevail or the ship perish.

Should we learn the art of writing from the distinctive syntactical throes of Conrad's exquisite prose, which his peers called "literary impressionism," or absurdly dismiss it as the style of imperialism, or else disqualify it for violating the restrictive norms of college composition? In this regard, I have always sided with Edgar Allen Poe's critical principle that when it comes to evaluating literary writing, morality is blind to aesthetic and philosophical achievement and should retreat to the Sunday school class where it belongs. Conrad is still worth reading today as a

romantic story teller and stylist, and as a precariously situated first-hand observer of mercantile globalization. Among narrowly informed students, freshly sprung from high school, it is a rare exception to find one who has read widely enough to establish a context or intellectual milieu for legitimate critique. Here the context, which is the span of Conrad's writing career up the publication of his last novel *Victory* (1915), demonstrates that a writer of such emotional depth and polylingual intelligence does not remain beholden to an imperialist worldview, as reactive condemnation of his early work implies, but negotiates his identity and political viewpoint through acts of existential transindividuation incited by continually diverse experiences and social interactions. With Polish his first, French his second, and English his third language, Conrad's becoming-Captain, his progress as a professional sailor, which parallels his becoming a writer, is not patterned as the instantiation of a vertical hierarchy, as if he had entered the merchant marine directly from a British boarding school, but along transversal lines of individuation, which amounts, as we said, to transindividuation. As he ascends the nautical echelons as a British subject, his minority status is never jettisoned but remains integral to his self-understanding and social interaction. He is fated to be a white officer on his ships, on every voyage, but not to be smugly intolerant of others onboard. "As a white officer in Asia," Jasanoff observes, "Konrad [his Polish name] belonged to a minority privileged by race as well as rank. But as a foreigner on British ships he also knew what it was like not to speak the same language as his officers and shipmates. On board the Vidar he picked up some Malay, to facilitate basic communication with the Malay crew" (124).

It is the teacher's responsibility not only to teach the required text, but to adumbrate the writer's metaphysical and moral struggles, and, if pertinent, their geopolitical adventure; the rest is up to the exploratory initiative of her students. I was fortunate to have an English teacher in high school who required students to purchase *The Portable Conrad*, within which the assigned *Heart of Darkness* is one among other Conradian prose works. With such a capacious volume in hand, whether out of curiosity or boredom, a student is inclined to rove and wander beyond the horizon of what is merely assigned. At that time, undistracted immersion in Conrad's writings, including "Prince Roman," "Youth," and "Typhoon," whose long-term learning outcome in students can't be planned or foreseen, was an obscurely decisive factor in my becoming an English professor who ends up teaching in Japan and Guam. Not only did Conrad legitimate the idea of a vocation that takes place in a remote setting, but I somehow fused his concepts of exile and writing to conjure an appealing vision of academic life that was vaguely adventuresome, and that rejected conformist, bourgeois, and above all "safe" modes of employment and being-in-the-world. In the general ecology of academia that I envisioned, a professor was a reader and writer; it didn't matter what he wrote, since pretty much any and all writing, including literary criticism, seemed like a protest against the bourgeois expectations of parents and guidance counselors. This was my version of the *Zeitgeist* in 1972! Only later did I find out that the young Conrad's decision to become a sailor greatly upset his Polish uncle and guardian, who never really accepted his nephew's nomadic vocation due to their once prominent aristocratic heritage, and who often implored Conrad to adopt a safe and prosperous career. To repeat, in my mind, Conrad's sailing to distant ports, with plenty of time at dawn and dusk for deep reflection along the way, became equivalent to a career in which you spend most of your time reading and writing. As for sailors, few read poetry at sea like Conrad; Jasanoff says that Conrad read books while others slept or mended their clothes (91).

But why Conrad when so many other authors are assigned in AP English? Even friends who later became teachers and poets never dreamed of adopting him as a role model. Imagine if

you will a student isolated at a boarding school in rural Vermont at a turbulent time in both cultural history and within his own family in New York, which had suffered the loss of his near-twin sister a year before. While sequestered in his dorm room, he reads and ponders *The Portable Conrad* into the early morning hours long after his peers have gone to sleep. His incommunicable sentiments and thoughts find in Conrad's tales something like a sympathetic tonality or register, an emotional continuum linking his outpost in the Green Mountains with Conrad's dawn watch on the high seas. In the crepuscular insomnia of the dawn watch, this student hears a personal appeal come from Conrad's attentional ecology: language is a resource for self-determination; one can construct the story of one's selfhood, an imaginary community, and a philosophical position sentence by sentence in the middle of nowhere. Moreover, coeval with the novelty of expression and existential positioning afforded by words, the subjectivity of the watchman, attentive to the elemental *Umwelt* in which it is steeped, is also empowered by a nonhuman, preverbal semiotic material. Such is the ecology of the dawn watch whether in the Green Mountains or off the coast of Borneo.

Conrad was my first literary soulmate—or shipmate. There have been other such writers since then, of course, so after many years it was the appealing possibility of a spiritual reunion that attracted me to Maya Jasanoff's *The Dawn Watch*. I was not disappointed. The only arguable weakness in her well-written, sympathetic study is that Jasanoff's attention is narrowly distributed between four of Conrad's fifteen novels and seven collections of stories: *Heart of Darkness* (1899), *Lord Jim* (1900), *Nostromo* (1904), and *The Secret Agent* (1907). The only Conrad biography that tries to be inclusive, Frederick Karl's incredibly detailed *Joseph Conrad: The Three Lives* (1979), weighs in at 1008 pages, versus Jasanoff's 375 pages. To be sure, brevity has its virtues; furthermore, Karl was an English professor intimately acquainted with Conrad's *oeuvre*, whereas Jasanoff is a history scholar who happens to be a lifelong reader of Conrad, but whose research is not primarily literature and the modern novel. In some ways this unconventional background makes her study of Conrad all the more impressive. What makes her book so engaging--aside from its brevity--is that Jasanoff used research leave from her university to personally travel on ships to the locations depicted in Conrad's writings. Her adventuresome participation in the commercial routes of Conrad's voyaging adds a first-hand intensity to the text which helps to sustain the reader's interest and reminds us of both the grindingly dull routine of months at sea, and the perilous contingencies of oceanic exposure.

Even if one limits his reading in *The Portable Conrad* to Conrad's early writings about Africa and the Congo, such as the fatefully ironic tale, "An Outpost of Progress," it becomes apparent that the effort to establish colonial sovereignty in frightfully remote *regions of otherness* counted among its human casualties underprepared, frankly *disoriented* whites as well as indigenous peoples who perish while resisting their ignoble treatment as subalterns. Conrad's stories do not showcase pride of empire, haughty snapshots of a rich tourist's encounter with picturesque alterity, but the likelihood of human failure in alien circumstances where linguistic commonality and cultural understanding founder, obstructing "forward progress" as typically understood in Enlightenment terms. It is the specter of such failure, the fear of cultivated beings regressing to violence and barbarism, that pervades the obligations and predicaments of the protagonists of Conrad's literary voyages, not the glory of colonial conquest. As Jasanoff says, Conrad's characters "struggle with displacement, alienation, and despair. Seventeen of them commit suicide" (52). When critics accuse Conrad of being an insensitive bigot, when they condemn him as just another emissary of Empire, we need to remind them that his Polish upbringing exposed him and his family to untold abuses at the hands of Russian invaders, and that

he too, and not just the victims of British colonialism, had first-hand experience of ethnic abjection and displacement "in the oppressive shadow of the great Russian empire" (53). To this day, I have not forgotten the concluding episode of "An Outpost of Progress," when the station master Kayerts hangs himself from a cross in the African jungle. In this scene, the managing director of the Great Civilizing Company has ventured from London to a trading station in Africa to investigate the reported troubles of the two white men who had previously been assigned to this formidable location to coordinate (or at least represent) corporate interests:

> He had found one of them! And even he, the man of varied and startling experience, was somewhat discomposed by the manner of this finding. He stood and fumbled in his pockets (for a knife) while he faced Kayerts, who was hanging by a leather strap from the cross. He had evidently climbed the grave, which was high and narrow, and after tying the end of the strap to the arm, had swung himself off. His toes were only a couple of inches above the ground; his arms hung stiffly down; he seemed to be standing rigidly at attention, but with one purple cheek playfully posed on the shoulder. And, irreverently, he was putting out a swollen tongue at his managing Director.[5]

The parodic name of the Great Civilizing Company, whose initial managers, overcome by confusion and loneliness, failed to civilize Africa, is further caricatured in the death grimace of the suicide, Kayerts, who seem to be sticking his tongue out at the official representative of the company as if to say: "See, we accomplished nothing as an institution in this jungle but our own failure and destruction."

It is unfortunate that aside from his lifelong admirers, for whom he remains an existentially intimate, often desolate witness to the early effects of globalization in the tropical Pacific from Singapore to Sidney, Joseph Conrad represents little more than an anachronistic whipping post for neoliberal tantrums about racism and colonialism. As I said earlier, his novella, *Heart of Darkness*, which had a profound influence on popular classics such as *The Waste Land* (1922) and *The Great Gatsby* (1925), is predictably the first and last book by Conrad encountered by the common reader, who absorbs her teacher's reified, cliché-ridden criticism of Conrad's account of the brutal ivory trade in the African Congo. In fact, Conrad's personal experience in the Congo was so disillusioning that he broke a three-year contract after only five months, retreating to London a broken man to reassess his career possibilities. This was not a man gloating over his privileged membership in the British merchant marine service, as if such a membership could protect him from the onslaught of barbaric impressions he absorbed in the Congo. Stories such as "An Outpost of Progress" dramatize what Hegel called the "unhappy consciousness" of participants in the debacle of failed imperialism. Historicity and unconscious cultural presuppositions and prejudices infiltrate and codetermine our thoughts and actions from one century to another, and it behooves educators to carefully explain how these presuppositions determine the often violent and tragic outcomes of globalization for all parties involved in the so-called "clash of cultures." Well-meaning teachers, who condemn certain authors to infamy from a dizzying moral height, do more harm than good by putting brakes on the literary development of free spirits still in the infancy of their literary education. It is a blessing for us that Maya Jasanoff has the hermeneutic savvy to mediate these issues in her analysis of Joseph Conrad's by no means straightforward development as a writer and sailor. She pinpoints those crucial moments in his career that can only be described as metaphysical struggles, wherein the individual is forced to synthesize his minority birth status

as a Pole (with all the tragic nuances that this psycho-geographic fate implies) with the cosmic perceptions afforded by oceanic voyaging and the burden of his newfound allegiance to a global empire.

Permit me to indulge in what the Germans call a "thought experiment." It often proves interesting to ask of a legendary text, what profundity or depth dimension of meaning will be lost to me as a reader if I refuse to read it, whether because some authority figure trashes it, or social media ignores it, or due to my own indolence and aversion to controversy? What is the cost, in spirit, of not reading? For example, there are untold scores of readers who refuse to read anything written by Heidegger, including *Being and Time* (1927), because of the German philosopher's unforgivably stupid--even if temporary--political outlook in 1933, when he refused to relinquish his academic position during the rise to power of National Socialism. Based solely on my own transformative encounter with *Sein und Zeit* as an undergraduate, then later in a doctoral seminar, I wonder if someone who has not read it truly fathoms the significance of time as the inescapable horizon of being, that is, of human existence, if they fully understand that the secret to a meaningful, productive life is revealed to one as *finitude*, in his or her concrete *affirmation*--and not merely passive acceptance--of mortality. (This is only to appreciate the existential component of *Being and Time*, ignoring its formidable contribution to hermeneutic phenomenology.) The gift of time in the form of a specific *Lebenszeit* (lifetime) that is ours alone enables us to gauge the limits and possibilities of what we can realistically achieve. Finitude, which in its most prosaic form imposes grammar and punctuation on human expression, but which also empowers one to formulate existence in the form of a specific project, is the precondition of meaning in the phenomenal world; an infinite or immortal perspective would utterly scramble human sense making and deprive life of its urgency, which is why Kant divided the phenomenal world from the numinous kingdom of the Divine. Borges' ironic story, "The Immortal," depicts the squalid consequences for immortal beings who lack temporal urgency, nested in centuries of dust and grime, befouled by their procrastination regarding basic matters of self-hygiene and domestic order. They seem tranquilized or lethargic.[6] It is Heidegger's argument that most people likewise act numb or insensible about death, their *own* death. They unconsciously repress their mortality, hence squander time as if they are immortal. I would wager that someone who has not read *Being and Time* is more likely to waste time and procrastinate than someone who has read it—unless perhaps they have read Tolstoy's *The Death of Ivan Ilyich*, a text cited in *Being and Time*.[7] Such unforgettable books turn the hourglass full of sand on its head: suddenly the minutes, hours, and days that pour down, irretrievably lost, become grievous losses of one's very life substance; one seeks to consciously reclaim whatever grains of sand remain, to name and value them, cherish them, take ownership of them, even as they continue flowing, to mark them as projects as yet unaccomplished, friendships to be treasured, loved ones to be loved some more, opportunities, entire vistas to be welcomed or engaged and not ignored through procrastination.

The very idea of a "bucket list" popularized in the multimedia spectacle that captivates our time and attention is exploded when one grasps time as the essence of being, the bucket's contents integrated and actualized within the span of one's lifetime so as to enliven it and not mark its closure in a retirement package calculated to reap maximum profits for the financial industry. Retirement is an ideological concept, promoted by the financial industry, which governs the time and money of those who succumb to its logic of passive deferral symbolized in the bucket list—the same logic, framed in moral rather than economic terms, that Nietzsche relentlessly critiqued as providing a guidance system for good Christians who passively defer their most heartfelt desires

and worldly engagements until ascension to the afterlife in the heavenly paradise promised by Christianity.

It is arguable that the writings of Joseph Conrad, a Polish sailor who by "deliberate choice" became a British seaman and gradually made "his way up the ranks of the British merchant marine to captain" (93) to some extent shared the fate of Heidegger in being irrevocably linked to an institutional status with unsavory political connotations which have severely crimped his readership. To assert that Conrad was an uneasy observer and not an agent of British imperialism doesn't win any points among those critics who stridently quote Chinua Achebe's accusation that Conrad was a "bloody racist" and *Heart of Darkness* "an offensive and totally deplorable book" (4). As mentioned earlier, teachers take these remarks as the last word on Conrad and teach his work as little as possible, if at all. Students might as well avoid Homer as well, since, as Eva Cantarella has conclusively shown, the very "roots of Western misogyny" can be traced back to Homer's epic poems, the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*.[8] Such pedagogical misuse of good scholarship points to a future in which students only read what supports their own opinion, and scrupulously avoid anything that contradicts it or hurts someone's feelings. This tendency to only read texts and communications that reconfirm, rather than challenge, one's sociopolitical viewpoint has of course been intensified by the internet, an insidious development which has exacerbated the violent polarization of civil discourse between American voters and between political parties.

Maya Jasanoff has the temerity to individuate herself within the critical establishment by depicting another Conrad who "saw in Congo a European regime of appalling greed, violence, and hypocrisy, and left Africa in a state of psychological and moral despair. Nine years later, when he'd settled in England and Anglicized his name to Joseph Conrad, he channeled his experience into a novel called Heart of Darkness" (3). For those others who follow the critical orthodoxy, the question remains: what is the cost of not reading Conrad?

Over the years, my own reading of Conrad has impressed an indelible image in my memory of someone condemned to make a difficult decision in a milieu or framework that is not entirely controllable, that is beset with multiple, often unforeseeable contingencies and forces that might be life-changing, if not fatal. These contingencies are either man-made or cosmic (elemental, vegetable, meteorological), or both at once. This memory more or less concurs with Jasanoff's impression as follows: "His [Conrad's] fiction often focuses on characters who confront some critical choice, only to face consequences more far-ranging than they ever imagined. Conrad's novel are ethical injunctions. They meditate on how to behave in a globalizing world, where old rulebooks are becoming obsolete, but nobody's yet written new ones" (11).

Finally, let's end this review by citing the opinion of the great biographer of Conrad, Frederick Karl, who is inarguably correct to epitomize Conrad's contribution in terms of what general ecology would call the demographic periphery, namely, Conrad's abiding interest in depicting social outcasts:

> Conrad found in marginality itself a way of life, a form of existence, and a philosophy that added up to more than survival and well-being. In probing exile, dislocation of time and place, language disorientation, and shifting loyalties, he extended our view of the shadows of existence. Indeed, he suggested that the shadows were to be the main area of existence in the twentieth century.[9]

NOTES

[1] T. K. Derry, *A Short History of Technology* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1970), p. 364.

[2] Maya Jasanoff, *The Dawn Watch: Joseph Conrad in a Global World* (New York: Penguin Press, 2017), p. 9.

[3] Maya Jasanoff, *The Dawn Watch,* p. 125.

[4] Joseph Conrad, "Typhoon," in *The Portable Conrad*, ed. Morton Dauwen Zabel (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), p. 273.

[5] Joseph Conrad, "An Outpost of Progress," in *The Portable Conrad*, p. 489.

[6] Without time constraints, one can delay taking a bath or cleaning the house for as long as one wants. For example, the narrator, an explorer who discovers the city of the immortals beneath the desert sands, records the following memory: "I remember one [of the immortals] whom I never saw stand up: a bird had nested on his breast." See Jorge Luis Borges, "The Immortal," in *Labyrinths* (New York: New Directions, 1964), p. 115.

[7] Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. Joan Stambaugh (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1996), p. 235.

[8] Of course it is not the intent of Eva Cantarella to steer students away from reading Homer. She is merely establishing, through careful scholarship, "the true female condition in Homer." See her marvelous book, *Pandora's Daughters: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, trans. Maureen Fant (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1987), p. 33.

[9] Frederick Karl, *Joseph Conrad: The Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979), p. xiv.

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Pacific Asia Inquiry: Multidisciplinary Perspectives

Volume 11, Fall 2020

Deadline for submissions: November 1, 2020

The editors of volume 11 are especially interested in creating a special issue that focuses on Pacific island cultural ways of wisdom or Pacific Philosophies. We seek papers that will assist in the process of bringing Pacific Philosophies into the academy for classroom and further academic debate. We are keenly interested in papers that draw out Pacific cultural ways of knowing what and how (epistemology); ways of living well (morality and ethics); ways of reasoning (logic); and ways of being in the world, ways of understanding reality (cosmology and metaphysics).

The Editorial Board of *Pacific Asia Inquiry* invites the submission of articles, critical essays, and case studies, as well as book, film, and other reviews for possible publication in Volume 11. Submissions from across the liberal arts and social sciences are welcome. Pacific Asia Inquiry is a peer-reviewed, multidisciplinary journal published online by the University of Guam College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences. It features scholarly research relating to the Mariana Islands, Micronesia and the wider Pacific as well as Asia oriented studies that make connections with Pacific Islands.

Submission Procedures

Submissions can employ any theoretical or methodological approach so long as they are written in a readable style accessible to specialists and non-specialists alike. Please include the following as three separate files:

1) a cover page, including authors' names, titles, affiliations, and addresses, including street and e-mail addresses
2) a title page, which includes the title of the article, the name of the author(s) and an abstract of the paper (the abstract should be no more than 150 words)
3) the main text, including photos, tables, figures, media, and references

Our blind peer-review process requires that authors' names and addresses appear only on the cover page. No identifying information may appear in the abstract or text itself. Relevant publications, including those written by the author(s), may appear in the reference section, but nothing should be said to connect the reference with the author(s) of the submitted manuscript.

General Submission Guidelines

Submissions should not exceed 10,000 words, including tables and references. Please follow the conventions of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (6th ed., 2009), or the MLA Style Manual and Guide to Scholarly Publishing (7th ed., 2009). Other discipline-appropriate documentation styles are acceptable but should be discussed with the Editor(s). Indent the first word of a paragraph by half an inch or five spaces (one "tab"), and number all pages consecutively, putting numbers

in the lower right-hand corner. Figures, tables, and photos should be inserted into the manuscript at the time of initial submittal, and they need to be appropriately titled, sourced, and numbered consecutively. Endnotes and/or footnotes may be used and references should appear at the end of the paper. Do not insert automatic formatting anywhere in the manuscript. Additional guidelines apply. Please visit http://www.uog.edu/pai for full guidelines and for access to previous volumes of *Pacific Asia Inquiry*, which may be used as a general reference. Please be advised that this is a venue for scholarly essays. Fiction and poetry submissions will not be entertained. Fiction, poetry, art drawings and photographs can be submitted to our *Storyboard* journal.

Forward inquiries and submissions electronically to:
Drs. Sharon Rowe and James Sellmann, Editors, srowe@hawaii.edu; jsellmann@triton.uog.edu

Pacific Asia Inquiry, Volumes 1-10 may be examined and are available for free.
Full text downloads are at http://www.uog.edu/pai.