



CHANGES IN CHAMORRO PLURALITY

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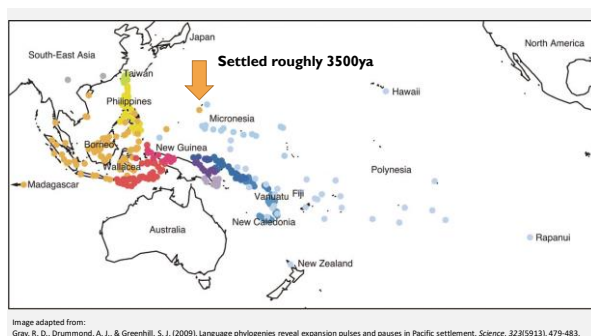


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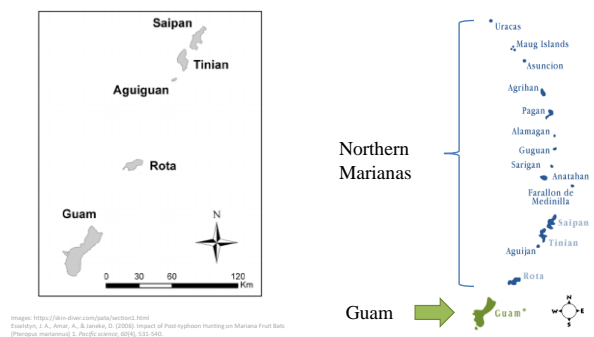
OUTLINE

- Guam – Location / History
- Grammatical Number
- Study Design
- Results
- Conclusions

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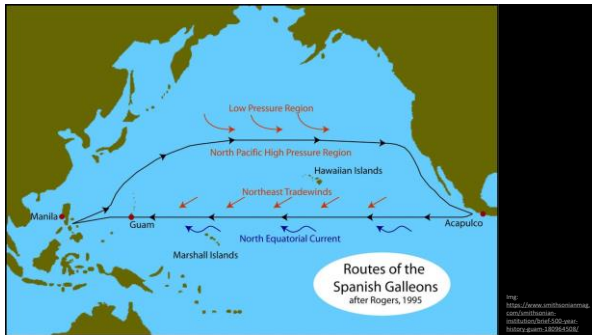
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CHAMORRO

- First inhabitants of the Marianas ~4000 years ago
- Fairly isolated
- Some trade with other island nations



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SPANISH COLONIZATION

- 1565-1898
- Chamorro Population: 50,000 – 100,000 → 3,539
- Bilingual Chamorros
- ~50% of Chamorro lexicon derived from Spanish

Hansen, Anna P. 2004. Colonial Disease: US Navy Health Policies and the Chamorro of Guam, 1898–1941. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
 Proulx, Alain (2012) Top. Carte de l'archipel de St. Lawrence les Iles. Montreal, N. Belin, 175–176.

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AMERICAN COLONIZATION

- 1898-Present
- Naval Executive Orders

Katz & Allison. (ca. 1898) The great naval battle off Cavite Manila Bay, fought May 1st, 5:30 A.M. till 2:50 P.M. noon. Philippine: Manila Bay, ca. 1898. [Photograph] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/98304764/>.

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“No Chamorro” rules

In 1917, Naval Government [Executive General Order No. 243](#) banned speaking Chamorro, and

“...designated English as only official language of Guam and ordered that “Chamorro must not be spoken except for official interpreting.”

Speaking Chamorro was also forbidden on [baseball](#) fields, a sport growing in popularity, to encourage English use. In the early 1920s, “No Chamorro” policies were implemented and enforced within the [schools](#) and playgrounds. Public school students were reprimanded or penalized for speaking their native language. This

<https://www.guampedia.com/ta-casal-asa-language-policy/>

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Children Who Speak English At Home Do Better In School

“Parents who speak English at home give great help to their children,” Tamuning Principal Mrs. Camacho said, **“because the children who speak English well do best in school. If you want your child to do better in class, encourage the speaking of English in your home.”**

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Children who speak English at home do better in school (1955) Public Schools Report, 26 September, 4,4.

11


Children who speak English at home do better in school (1955) Public Schools Report, 26 September, 4,4.

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AMERICAN COLONIZATION

- Children turned into informants against each other
- Any child caught speaking Chamorro was fined \$0.25 per word



Children who speak English at home do better in school (1955) Public Schools Report, 26 September, 4-6.

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ENDANGERMENT

- Since WWII, severe decline in native speakers
- Many 2L speakers non-fluent
- Rapid shifts in Chamorro grammar, even among 1L speakers

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ONGOING SHIFTS IDENTIFIED BY I KUMISION I FINO' CHAMORU

- Vowel Harmony
- Nasal Assimilation
- Intonation & Stress
- Basic word order
- Overregularized morphology
- Reduced / improper affixation
- Voice / Focus system
- Passivization
- Grammatical number marking
- Shifts in semantic classes
- Loss of specialized vocabulary

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GRAMMATICAL NUMBER IN CHAMORRO

	Vb. Marking	siha use	
Sing. (1)	-um-	∅	<i>Humānao yo'</i> ∅ <i>para Sa'ipan</i>
Dual (2)		siha	<i>Humānao (i dos)</i> <i>siha</i> <i>para Sa'ipan</i>
Pl. (3+)	man-		<i>Manhānao i famagu'on</i> <i>siha</i> <i>para Sa'ipan</i>

Topping, D. & Dungca, B. (1973). Chamorro reference grammar. University of Hawaii Press.

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CONSTRUCTED DUAL

Dual is formed by a combination of singular predicate and plural subject

siha use	Singular	Non-Singular
	∅	siha
Vb. Marking	Non-Plural	Plural
<i>hānao 'go'</i>	humānao	manhānao

Example of a DUAL Sentence:
Humānao siha *para Sa'ipan*
 'They (2) went to Sa'ipan'

(Topping & Dungca, 1973 p.232)

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SIHA
OPTIONALITY?

- Optional number marker: **siha**
- Topping & Dungca (1973)
 - “grammatical redundancy”
 - Used variably

a. Lalâlo' I mediku siha
angry DEF doctor PL
'The doctors are angry'

b. Man-lalâlo' I mediku
PL-angry DEF doctor
'The doctors are angry'

c. Man-lalâlo' I mediku siha
PL-angry DEF doctor PL
'The doctors are angry'

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OPTIONALITY / VARIABILITY
↔ CHANGE *

- There is clear evidence of ongoing grammatical shift
- How can we characterize it? **
- **Vertical / Internal**
 - Drift: **May take centuries**
Oliveira e Silva, via Kroch (1989); Fontana, via Kroch (1989); Bowie & Wallis (2016); Zimmerman (2020)
- **Horizontal / Contact**
 - Socio-Cultural pressure, Assimilation, 2L Pressures; **Sometimes 50-100 years**
Saitoff & Laberge (1974); Brassman, Fieder, & Kohl (eds.) (2014); Zimmerman (2017); Trudgill (2020)
- **Free Variation Collapse**
 - Rapid Regularization; **Single cohort**
Singhara (2003); Singleton & Newport (2004); Hudson-Kam & Newport (2005, 2009)

* Weirich, Labov, & Herzog (1968); Kroch (1994); Labov (2007); Legtke & Chamorroa (eds.) (2013)
** Notably Carstairs-Thomson (2008); Kaulamemi, Coppi, Gallo, & Bermudez-Otero (2021)

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TASK DESIGN

14 Participants
(6 Females,
8 Males)

Native Speaker of Chamorro
Native Resident of Guam
With immediate relative also willing to participate

↓





Data Collection

Sentence Production Task
Targeting plural forms
Family Lines

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 gimen Singular	 ã'gang Dual
 maigo' Plural	 boka Large Plural


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DATA ANALYSIS



Average production of man- and siha

Singular, Dual, Plural, Big Plural
Connected by family line



Logistic Regression

Binary data; Age as proxy for year
Predicts plural use given age

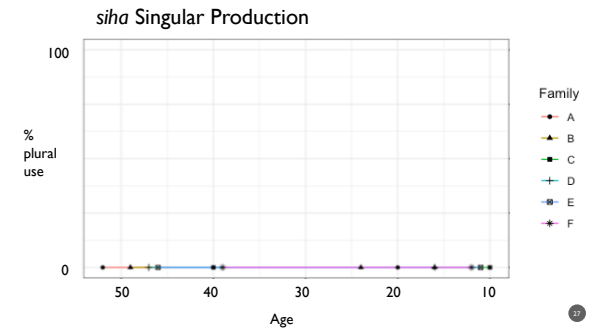
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SIHA & MAN- USE IN THE SINGULAR

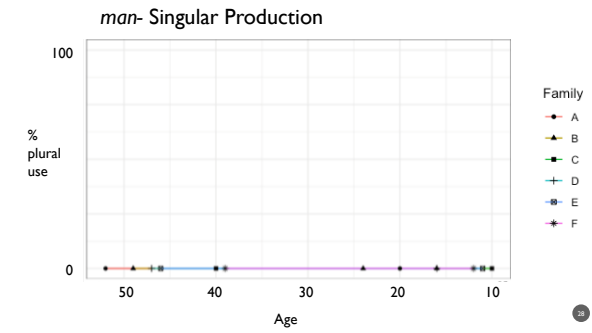
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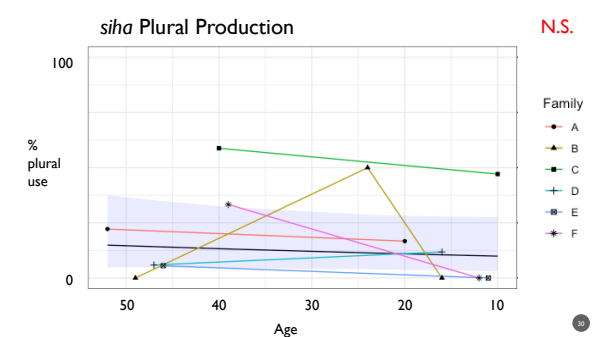
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SIHA & MAN- USE IN THE PLURAL

PL

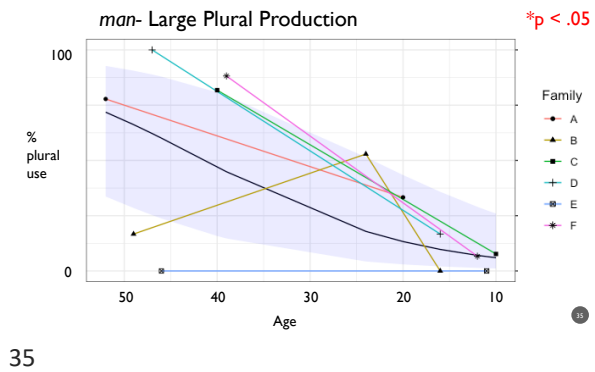
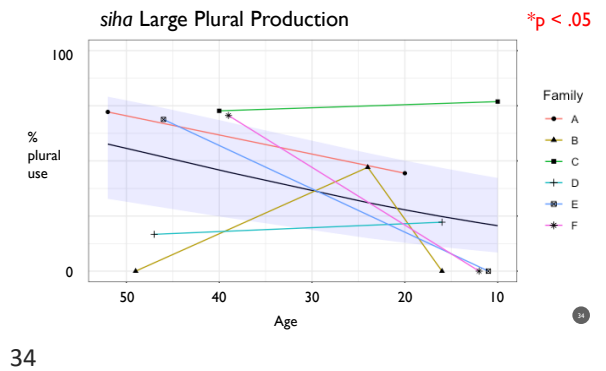
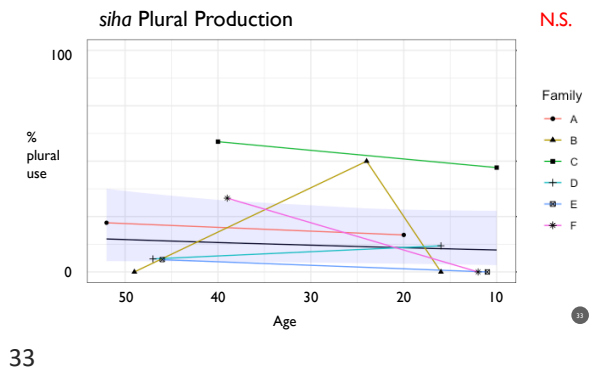
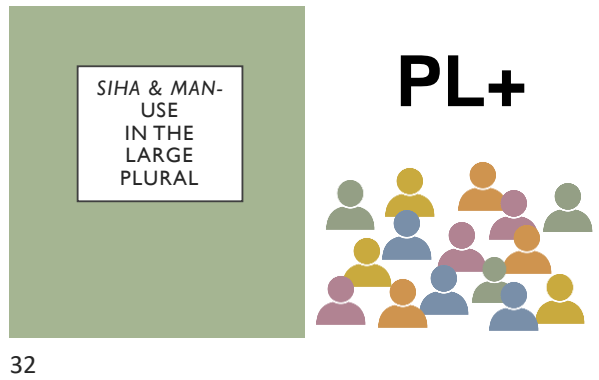
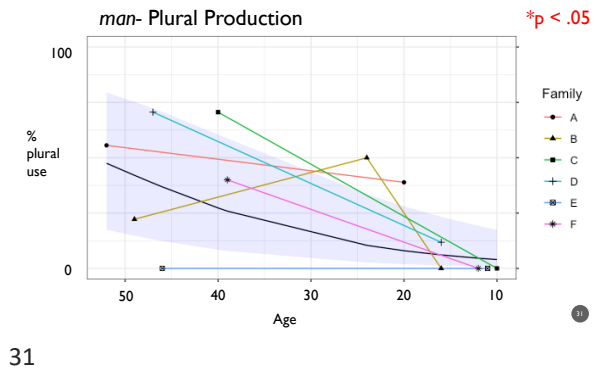


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N.S.

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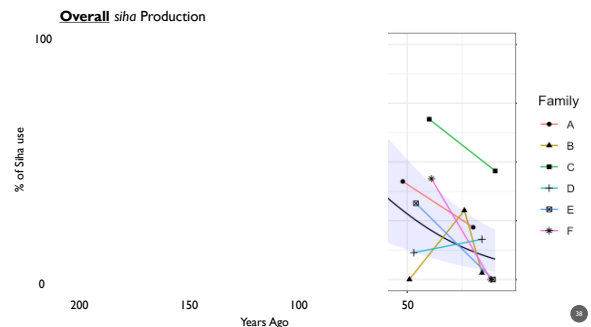


MAJOR TREND

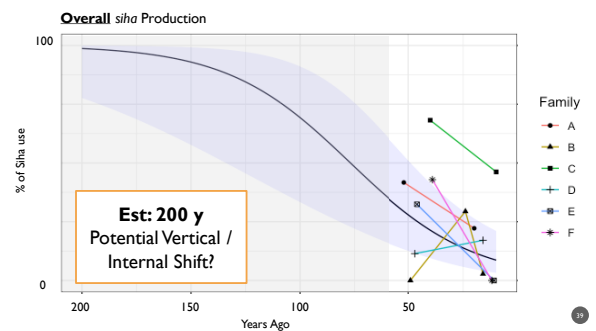
Clear, progressive loss of grammatical number marking

Youngest generation of speakers are not using any marking in their production

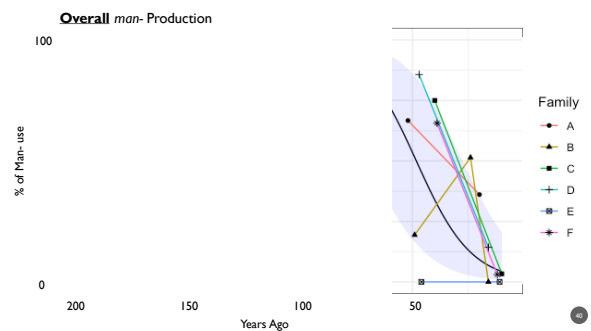
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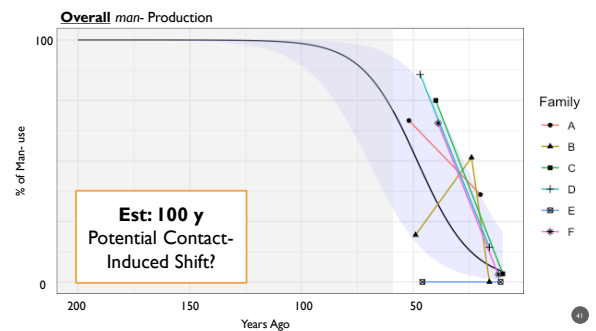
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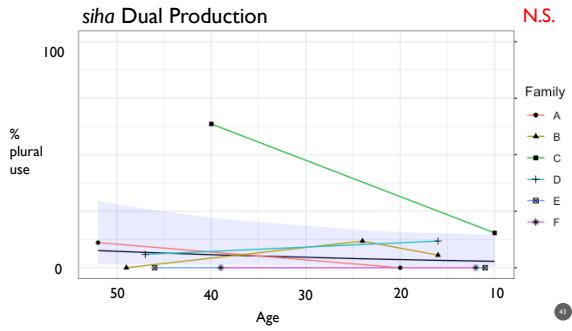


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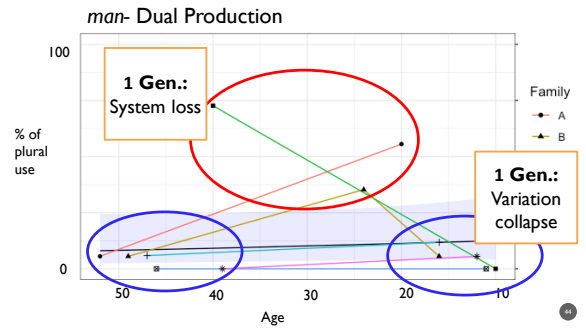
**SIHA & MAN- USE
IN THE
DUAL**

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UNDOCUMENTED SEMANTICS

	Vb. Marking	siha use
Sing. (1)		∅
Dual (2)	-um-	siha
Pl. (?)		~∅
Large Pl. (?)	man-	siha

- Siha as an augments?
- Exact PL divide unclear
- Paucal common in area
- Entire system being lost

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CONCLUSIONS

- Grammatical Number severe decline
- Dual form almost gone
- Siha semantics different / shifted
- Language health, indicator

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SI YU'OS MA'ÅSE'
(THANK YOU)

QUESTIONS?

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