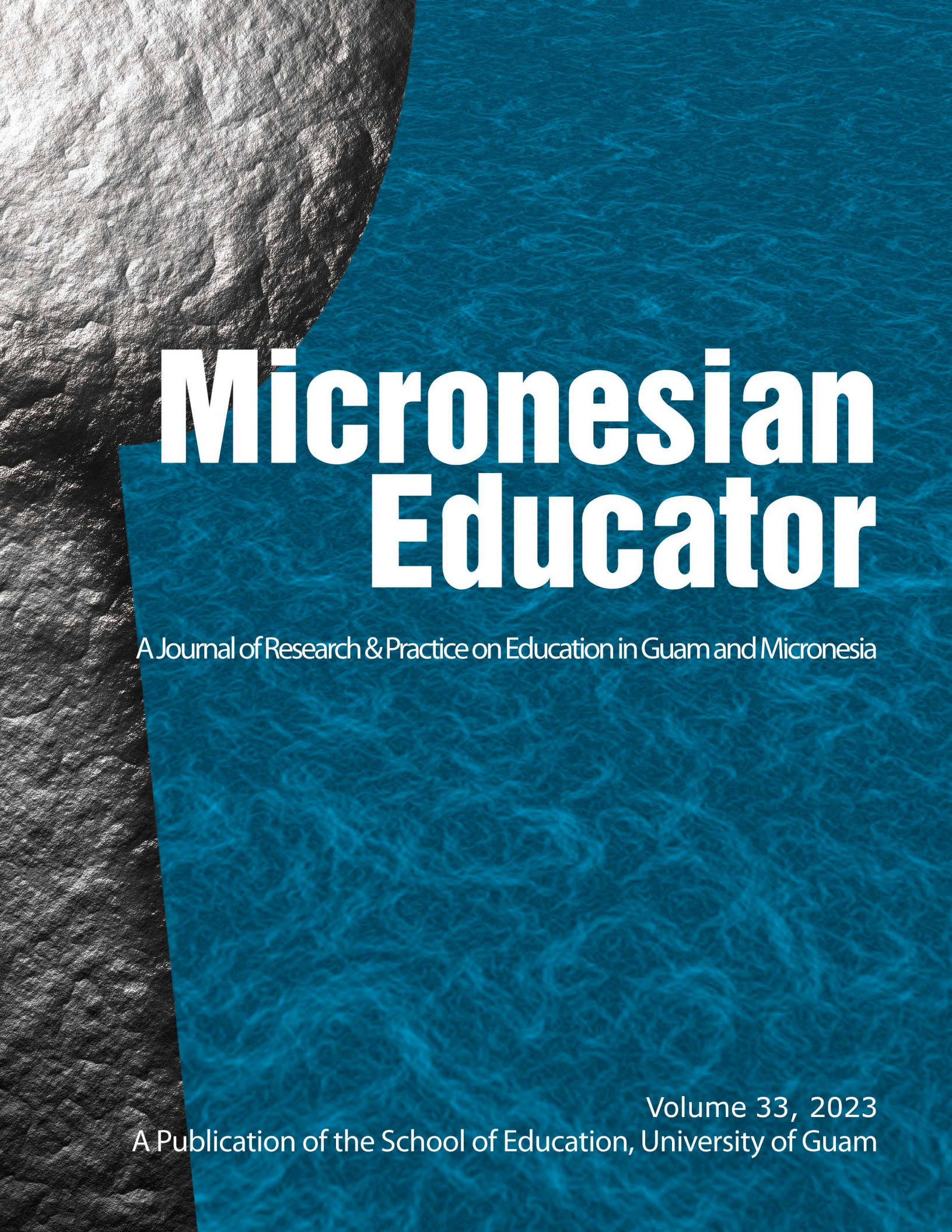
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Alicia C. Aguon
School of Education, University of Guam

Letter from the Dean

Hafa Adai Readers,

In 2022, the University of Guam (UOG) celebrated its 70th Platinum Jubilee as a higher learning institution in the Pacific region. This year, faculty and students continue with cultural celebrations and conversations of sharing historical beginnings, educational topics, successes, and reimagining a trajectory of continued collaboration with our island communities in Guam and across our physical borders.

I look forward to growing our regional partnerships in Palau and Yap with hopes for extended centralized issues of education and strategies to further *Island Wisdom* conversations. Based on the formal definition to *"move fluidly and deftly through the confluence of local and modern visions of the world" (2023, Island Wisdom, UOG website),* topics explored incorporate cultural context of Micronesian island cultures and western frameworks.

The Micronesian Educator, Vol. 33, captured a range of voices from instructors from Guam and colleagues from other learning institutions. A few of our graduate students shared a glimpse into their academic journey who embraced their virtual learning spaces while reimagining the traditional classroom through transterritorial pedagogies. Sexual trafficking and human rights topics were shared to bring awareness of the growing problem in the Pacific. Historical artifacts from the Seven Heroes of Malesso' were included in this publication, which embodies war experiences and patriotism of Chamorros.

As you engage in reflective reading of the articles in this publication, consider discussions with others in your workplace, home, and social engagements for intentional and purposeful ideas for community conversations to build knowledge and gain valuable cultural insights that can help transform lives in meaningful ways.

Un Dangkulo Na Si Yu'os Ma'åse' to Dr. Genevieve Leon Guerrero, editor, and Dr. Matilda Rivera, assistant editor, for their commitment to offering articles which illuminate a range of social and cultural learning of community voices for our readership.

Enjoy!

Alicia C. Aguon
Dean, School of Education
University of Guam

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Faculty Reflections of Negotiating Instructional Frames and Assessing Our Work

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Abstract
This academic essay presents faculty individual and collective reflections of "negotiating instructional frames." First, we introduce the importance and thoughtfulness of reflecting on our role or our part in the teaching and learning process, and present our interpretation and meaning of negotiating instructional frames. Next, we provide reflective examples of the transformation in practice – our intentional pedagogical actions via negotiating instructional frames. We describe how we apply Western pedagogical practices with cultural understandings that inspire our instructional practice. Further, we discuss how our reflections prompt next questions and new insights for our instructional journey ahead that exemplifies an iterative process of evolving our practice and a nod to the importance of assessing the work we do to support our diverse learners.

Keywords: instructional practices, instructional frames, assessing instruction, faculty reflection

Introduction

In this academic essay, we express our understandings and perceptions of "negotiating instructional frames" within our academic practices that honor, value, and care for diverse learners in our unique setting of higher education. Our shared interpretations and story in this essay come by way of individual and collective or collaborative reflections of our teaching and learning practices in support of each other's experiences and pedagogical actions of transforming or reimaging our respective learning spaces. We use the word *spaces* to reference teaching and learning in face-to-face instruction and online instructional formats. We situate our writing/our essay to the academic literature on the importance of engaging in reflection on our role or our part in the teaching and learning process and extend our interpretation and our meaning of this phrase "negotiating instructional frames." For emphasis of an individual reflective experience(s), in this writing, we provide a leading statement prior to noting an individual account/individual narrative quote.

Reflections and Its Importance to Evolve Instructional Practice

We centered on reflections or reflecting on instructional practice to assess the work we do as higher education faculty members. Specifically, we aspired to reflect individually and then collectively to discourse and share our experiences of how we engage and enact intentional actions to serve our diverse student body population in our higher education context. The discussions and recollections of each of our intentional work were inspiring, illuminating, and grounding for one another as we learned from each other's stories of teaching and learning actions, and most importantly as we unified shared understandings of this phrase "negotiating instructional frames" in ways that honor, respect and support our diverse learners.

Reflections and Reflecting

Our process of reflecting entailed a recollection of events, activities, acts, routines that have affected both decisions and actions in our teaching and learning practice. In connection to the academic literature on the positiveness and importance of engaging in reflection of professional practice in higher education, we cite a recent study by Jaramillo Cherrez and Jin (2020) who describes their single case study of an instructor engaging in a course redesign in which their interview protocol focused on "… [an] examin[ation] [of the instructor's] reflective practice on her experiences, challenges, and lessons learned while designing, developing, and teaching the course" (p. 64); and further describes the findings or effects of reflection on teaching and learning. In their article, Jaramillo Cherrez and Jin (2020) write on the aspects of the value of engaging in reflective practice (p. 62) noting "[r]eflection is an essential element in teaching and learning…" (p.62); discuss its usefulness as a process or means for enhancing teaching (p. 63), and note enabling of critical reflection as an individual activity and collective activity (p.63). They emphasize:

> … [R]eflective practice can be individual or collective. The advantage of a collective reflective practice with others involved in the process is the support for reaffirmation of the self, confidence, and sense of professionalism (Cooper 2014). Thus, the nature of shared experiences and narratives can help uncover collective assumptions and strengthen a professional individual. Existing research on reflective practice at the individual level has suggested that critical reflection enhances the teaching experience itself and its value. (Jaramillo Cherrez & Jin, 2020, p. 63)

They further note that research on reflective practice has been written about K12 contexts and at the community college level (p.62), yet "… reflective practice in higher education is under-researched" (Jaramillo Cherrez & Jin, 2020, p. 62). Hora and Smolarek (2018) also expressed "… little empirical work exists on the prevalence of reflective practice among postsecondary faculty" (p. 560), and noted, "… in higher education, the field would benefit from evidence of how, if at all, faculty are reflecting on data to continually improve their work as course planners and classroom teachers" (p. 561). It is within this conversation of extending or contributing to the literature on faculty reflection of instructional practice that we offer and situate our writing/our essay herein. It is our hope that this academic essay can further foster reflection writing forward, as we embark on unifying our collaborative reflection to prompt further transformation in our

teaching and learning practices to advance and support our diverse students in our higher education learning spaces.

Negotiating Instructional Frames: Bracketing this Phrase

The word or term *negotiating* may raise an emotional response or reaction to the word associated with either a negative or positive life experience(s). In this essay, we use the term endearingly to support our growth as faculty members in academia and more so to demonstrate care for the learning needs and support of our diverse student body in our higher education learning spaces. Sander's (2017) writes that negotiating is part of everyday life, and one engages in the act or process of negotiating daily. As Sander's (2017) remarks, "Every one of us negotiates every day. Not necessarily from sunup to sundown – but a lot. It's an unavoidable feature of today's life" (p. 17). Further, Sander's (2017) offers a few definitions on the term "negotiation" (pp. 17-18) and offers a personal definition as "*Negotiation is about having a give and take discussion with other parties . . . to get something important that you want or need or to achieve a goal*…" (Sander, 2017, p. 18). It is with this connection to daily or we say timely and meaningful negotiating for instructional relevance, cultural relevance of teaching and learning practices that we operationalize this term *negotiating* in part of the phrase *negotiating instructional frames*, and this expression encompasses a string of keywords we feel denote the intentional examination and assessment of our professional work and alterations/transformations in practice as faculty to support our students. These words relate to intentional and focus endeavors to achieve our goal of transforming instructional practice to meet the learner needs of our diverse students, and as we situate ourselves as co-learners and facilitators of learning.

We propose and advance a characterization/description of this notion *negotiating instructional frames* as: *negotiating* – the give and take between the expected or defined constructs of learning activities and the adaptability, relatability and relevance to cultural understandings and perspectives of our students. We also refer to this process of *negotiating* as arranging or choosing or deciding what learning activities/tools will best serve the students' needs in our higher education learning spaces. We ascribe a further specific meaning of this term *negotiating* in our phrasing to refer to navigating or finding the way, the way that centers students at the core of our teaching and learning processes; *instructional* – the teaching and learning process that takes place in our learning spaces; and *frames* - ways of thinking, interpretations, scripts (written or professed), mindsets or windows of understanding the pedagogical work we do and how we are doing it. Therefore, we attribute to this phrase *negotiating instructional frames* the aspects of enveloping processes of teaching and learning actions and ways of communication with our learning community and this entails: faculty in partnership, collaboration, and shared ownership of learning with our students; creating and nurturing safe learning spaces, cultivating critical dialogue with being culturally responsive to our learning community; understanding who our students are and their learning experiences to help guide needed shifts in our instructional practice; and that we observe, listen, relate, reflect, adapt and evoke authentic learning conversations with and for our students. In essence, this view of *negotiating instructional frames* is about emphasizing that what we do, teaching and learning, is about and for our students, and that are positionality as faculty in the teaching and learning process is as collaborators of learning or agents of learning.

Intentional Pedagogical Actions via Negotiating Instructional Frames

We begin this section with an acknowledgment that our faculty instructional practice is guided by and anchored to Western pedagogical practices. We are faculty members in a higher education institution that is recognized as a U.S. Land Grant and Sea Grant institution and as an accredited institution – accredited by a U.S. accrediting agency. A key instructional artifact we use in our courses is the course syllabus. A document which is the required or the prescribed formal written document we create and provide to our students upon the initiation of a course. This formal written document follows the duration of the course we teach, with adjustments and needed modifications to learning objectives and course activities refreshed periodically. Development of and providing a course syllabus is an institutional standard expectation for delivering a course, and the syllabus would entail typical information that details the course description, meeting times, learning outcomes, learning activities to be assessed during the course, grade scale, protocols/requirements for work submissions and late work etc., institutional policy statements and other pro forma document information. The course syllabus is one of a few initial formal written documents that students are given to read to commence in the course. This document is static – it does not account for the variation in the learning engagement that is organic and unfolding throughout the lifespan or timeline of the course delivery. It does not account for the variation of who are or will be the diverse students in the class. It is not a "living" script. It is a roadmap of a prescribed set of established protocols for the course as promulgated by the institution for an instructor to commence the role of teaching and learning. The *negotiating* process is the unfolding of the written formal document of the course syllabus that evolves with interactive and engaged means of teaching and learning conversations and activities that is enacted via dynamic communication with the students in the course: students-students, students-instructor, instructor to student(s).The knowing of one's students happens "in-action" in the process of learning communication as we enter our learning spaces as co-leaners and co-constructors of meaning of the context.

Transformation in Practice

Our individual and collective narratives in this section describes this act or process of *negotiating instructional frames* as intricate and multidimensional, and that this act happens each time we enter the teaching and learning space – whether that space is a face-to-face interaction or online interaction. Negotiating what to teach and how to teach unfolds through the current learning conversations and reflecting upon the day's learning conversations and engagement. The pace and expediency of marking off or checking off today's learning objectives may be thwarted as it advances or responds to the learning dialogue and needs of students comprising the learning community. Thus, the academic set of written expectations noted in the course syllabus should be molded and shaped uniquely in each course. As one of us richly describes a transformation in practice thought reflecting on the course syllabus as an instructional artifact, noting:

> The syllabus follows the prescribed course, with each semester or term offering, with expected tweaks and modifications and refinements in the written script. Yet, each course is comprised with a unique set of diverse students with diverse backgrounds, values, lived experiences, and perspectives that truly make a rich learning environment that should be

> intentionally acknowledged and tended to. The evolution of teaching and learning in the course is as unique as who the students are in the course, at that time or for that specific course duration dubbed as the course learning community. Negotiating involves consideration of what must be communicated and the content that must be instructed (the non-negotiables) with the flexibility of adjustment in mode, expectations, and extension of alternate activities to forward the organic conversations to unfold. Cultural relevancy and cultural dynamics of the course learning community is at the forefront of intentional flexibility or instructional pivots to engage the distinct students in the class.

In another individual account of transforming practice and this notion of negotiating instructional frames, one of us vividly and enthusiastically recollected,

> The requirements of an educational institution and its mandates, and the tradition of higher education create an instructional frame that impacts our pedagogy and one that impacts learner expectations. As professionals, our acknowledgment of our teaching role in the university setting is dedicated to advancing knowledge. Negotiating between that defined role and what the students need in order to apply the concepts are sometimes two different things.
>
> In an instructional experience teaching in an island context, students were entwined in a Western pedagogical process with expectations of a course activity that was noted in the syllabus, and the relatability of the activity artifacts and application to their unique cultural context. In reflecting on negotiating the elements of the course activity for cultural relevance to the students and their context to meet the desired goal or outcome of the application in practice, a critical conversation had to happen on another instructional method to enact the activity. It became clear to all that this conversation was needed. While I initially provided and expected the activity to be carried out as defined from a Western perspective as noted in course syllabus. It was through listening, adapting, and relating to the cultural context that the learning activity shifted to the use of culturally relevant resources. Utilizing the knowledge of resources within their communities for learning engagement and replicability or applicability to their cultural context linked this bridge between the instructional frames.
>
> In further recollection of this transformation in practice, an extensive amount of planning took place to prepare and assemble the instructional resources needed to teach in an environment where resources that are typically part of my instructional environment, available in my office or across the hall, would be hundreds of miles away. In preparation for a methods course, the instructional tool kit from which I was so excited to share, required a multitude of supplies that would make the execution of this curriculum seamless. While understanding that some of the items would not be as easily accessible to the students in their cultural context, I attempted to adapt and find creative ways that we, the students and myself as co-learner of this activity, could make instructional materials applicable, available, and relevant to the cultural community. For example, if students need bean bags to teach the initial skills of catching and throwing, we do not

> need to buy them, we can make bean bags using baby socks and a filler. So, here we are on day seven of class, working with our bean bags and the students were finding out the disadvantages of sand in a sock. With gritty hands and discussions of how we do not want materials that could cause an injury, the *aha* moment arrived, not only may the educators not have the natural resources to fill the "bean" bag, but they may not have access to baby socks. The students began to share with me the natural resources they use at home to play "baseball" or catch. From there, they began to teach each other how to make the "balls" and how to vary the weight for the purpose of the activity. The beauty of their application was, they share when a "ball" broke or was inaccessible, they could just make another. This experience, one in which we *negotiated instructional frames*, made me realize that I get to continue to learn from my students as to the relevancy of instructional activities to their cultural context and we are still meeting or addressing the goals of the desired learning outcome.

Yet another individual reflection aptly described the notion of evolving or transforming practice echoing negotiating instructional frames.

> In our co-created learning spaces, it is critical that at the forefront I evoke a shared understanding with my students that I am a facilitator of learning, and our learning space is an environment where students can share lived experiences that encompasses their individual cultures. As I begin a course, I recognize that students may have apprehensions about the details or specifics of requirements outlined in the syllabus that one would need to fulfill in order to complete the course. Through a prompt, I ask students to reflect on any apprehensions they may have in relation to the learning space. This engagement in intentional dialogue prompts this *negotiating instructional frames* process to unfold with the unique individuals in the course. The conversation aids to create an awareness of an inclusive space that enables productive conversations while providing opportunities for student-demonstrated products that are culturally relevant and authentic to the context of the learner. This relevancy strengthens the sustainability of the learned practice in its transformational state of applicability within their lives and professional practices. The transformation in practice focuses on bolstering and supporting the learning environment, and these learning spaces foster and value the learning community and cultural community. This helps in making the connection with the students to view the learning community as life-long educational relationships that extend beyond the initial learning space and into the profession.

The above individual narratives are just a few instances of our professional experiences and actions, as selected stories from our repertoire of teaching and learning experiences we opted to illuminate in this essay. These instances extend to our collective beliefs that we aspire to create transformations in our instructional practices as collaborators of learning with our students to advance instructional relevancy of course learning constructs into their professions and ultimately applicable as culturally relevant information for the purposes of teaching and learning. As one of us also reflected that our role as faculty focuses on assessing not only how or how much our students learn, yet moreover we as faculty members learn along with our students. This

notion of *negotiating instructional frames* aids in further reflection and refinements to improve our practice and the ways in which we communicate the instructional material and carry out instructional activities mindful of our students. As another one of us, when thinking about the story of transformation in practice, caringly stated, "I hope my students learn from me as much as I learn from them."

Discussion

This academic essay imparts a portion of our experiences and own understandings of the phrase we embrace and express as *negotiating instructional frames*. The interpretations and perceptions detailed herein this essay represent our respective individual and collective meaning making and understandings – it comprises the distinct voices of three faculty members in higher education. As we further reflect on our past and current higher education teaching experiences, we acknowledge the need to also survey the inputs and reflections from students to provide a holistic view of the iterative process of teaching and learning in our instructional spaces. For instance, in the work by Trinidad et al. (2020), they explored undergraduate students' perspectives of "pedagogical practices" in the higher education context (pp. 161-171) and noted, "Students can feel engaged when they are immersed in their specific learning experiences, and this can happen with activities that are interactive, exploratory, and relevant..." (p. 162). Trinidad et al. (2020) concluded from their study with students that, "... distinguishing what students find engaging from what they feel effective can lead to a more critical evaluation of different pedagogical practices. …[and] good pedagogical practices are those that show instructors' intentionality in promoting learning..." (p. 169).

We also acknowledge that this essay draws from our professional experiences in our own higher education context, one in which we are fortunate to have the opportunity to be in a community with and alongside a unique multitude of diverse individuals who come from various places in Micronesia, the United States, Asia, and international regions; and who we are able to engage with and foster learning conversations pertinent to supporting and advancing learning in authentic ways that value our students. Therefore, it is important that we highlight that at the core of *negotiating instructional frames* is the needed discourse or communication with our students to create and foster learning spaces where we acknowledge, respect and embrace critical thinking and perspectives that are indicative or shaped by ones individual lived experiences and of which may be informed from cultural perspectives or cultural understandings and/or influenced by the broader community. As Montero-Hernandez et al. (2021) denote in their study that focuses on communication or discourse in the college classroom (pp. 16-27), the university teaching space is part of the broader community (p. 17). As they expressed:

> The college classroom is an extension of the larger social system. … The types of communication that take place in the classroom are the result of the variety of practices and identities of individuals who come from culturally diverse groups. … students' participation in the classroom conversation is always a mediated action. … [And] mediated action involves the examination of the kind of individual who performs the action and the cultural resources the individual uses to organize his or her activities and interactions with others. (Montero-Hernandez et al., 2021, p. 17)

Thoughts on Instructional Journey Ahead

Our reflection of our professional practice as individual reflection and collective reflections has given new energy and new insights into the approaches by which we redesign or transform our instructional frames. For what we have described herein this essay is not a one instance but a daily and intentional manner to evolve or transform practice. We aspire to utilize this assessment means of "reflection or reflecting" routinely and to have further collective conversations and collective reflections on our professional practice. We recognize the academic space in which we can further develop and contribute to the discourse and scholarship of teaching and learning (SoTL) literature. As Shapiro (2006), who in the year 2006, remarked ". . . necessary to the development of scholarly teaching is scholarship on teaching and learning, which should be taken as seriously as other, more traditional forms of research" (p. 43). Further affirmation for an advancement of the scholarship of teaching and learning (SoTL) literature is the edited book by Friberg and McKinney (2019) that consists of writings about "… scholarship of teaching and learning (SoTL) projects and the applications of what is learned to levels beyond the individual classroom" (McKinney et al., 2019, p. 1).

Most importantly, we ponder next steps and further questions on generating empirical evidence on the approach to understand and examine the instructional work we do. We pose to the readers of this essay, to consider your role in the teaching and learning process, whether as a faculty member or student community member, and ponder: How would you define or explain this notion of *negotiating instructional frames* from your viewpoint and experiences in the teaching and learning process? What are you hopeful for in terms of transforming learning that will extend beyond the higher education learning spaces into our communities that bring forth new ideas and understandings to resolve issues in your professional context and community context?

Conclusion

We re-emphasize that our faculty (authors') positionality for *negotiating instructional frames* is situated in our perception and grounding that we are dedicated to advancing learning and we view our role in the teaching and learning process as collaborators of learning, agents of learning, facilitators of learning. This is important to us and more so important as we are devoted to supporting our students who comprise our unique and culturally rich higher education context. As this notion of collaborators of learning extends to the researchers' stance/position statement noted by Castillo-Montoya and Ives (2021) who indicated in their work that they view themselves, their "researcher positionality" (p. 742) as "…instructors as learners … commit[ted] to continuously improve [their] teaching toward educational equity for all students, especially racially minoritized students" (p. 742). Connecting and extending to Castillo-Montoya and Ives (2021) statement, we profess our professional work is as shared learners with and alongside our students, and most positively to support and provide advance learning opportunities for our diverse student population in our unique higher education context.

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Neocolonial Englishes and Linguistic Inequality: Marshallese language and education in the diaspora

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Abstract

We argue that Marshallese children's language experience in migrant communities in the U.S. reflects neocolonial linguistic inequities, and that their language is a *neocolonial English.* We focus on language use among Marshallese children in one family, embedding a case study of linguistic form with a larger discussion of the language ideologies and policies that surround Marshallese children. Although Marshallese children in the U.S. primarily use English, they are marked as English learners (EL) in school, at rates above and beyond other groups. An analysis of these children's English reveals that they produce many non-standard morphosyntactic features, features that are consistent with Marshallese English (ME), a world English used in the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI). Both the colonial past and neocolonial present—particularly neocolonial migration—have influenced this linguistic form. We call the children's English neocolonial not only because of its form, but also because in schools their language is subject to the language policies of the U.S. federal government, the children's former colonizers, policies that also shape language ideologies that erase the colonial past and neocolonial present. This analysis helps explain the linguistic inequities faced by neocolonial migrants in schools and beyond.

Keywords: *neocolonial migrants; neocolonial Englishes; Marshallese; ideology; educational inequity*

Introduction

(1)[i]

1	Annie:	But I'm sick
2		[$_1$ Here one
3		long time ago]
4	Jina:	[$_2$ All of us been sick]
5	Elise:	Oh what happened?
6		What did you get?
7	Jina:	We throw up cause we been um
8		We been
9	Annie:	[$_1$ I keep getting sick]
10	Jina:	[$_2$ cause we been uhm]
11		been playing at night

Annie and Jina were two school aged members of the large Marshallese community of Barnestown—a working-class city in the central United States (U.S.).[ii] Throughout this interaction, Annie and Jina fluently combine linguistic resources. First, they use forms tied to American English varieties: *All of us been sick* (line 7) reflects the typically African American language (AAL) zero modal auxiliary, in which *have* is variably excluded (Kohn et al., 2021). But their English also reveals influence from Marshallese, a nuclear Micronesian language: lines 2-3 include a direct calque from the Marshallese *juon* which can denote either the number 'one' or the indefinite article (Bender et al., 2016, p. 202). Some of their English is consistent with the form of English used in the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI): in lines 1, 7, and 12 Annie and Jina mark the past through "one long time ago" and then use the present tense or bare forms, a pattern also common in the RMI (Buchstaller & Willson, 2018, pp. 373–374). While such features could be called a postcolonial English, they are combined with local varieties of English and produced in not the postcolonial environment but the former colonial nation: the United States.

We argue that these children's language is a *neocolonial English,* and that their linguistic experiences in schools reflect *neocolonial linguistic inequities.* A type of postcolonialism, *neocolonialism* refers to 'control of states by external powers despite the formal appearance of constitutional independence' (Bray, 1993, p. 334; see also Bealey, 1999; Chilisa, 2005; Young, 2016). We describe the children's language use and experience as *neocolonial* because 1) their linguistic form is a result of past colonial and current neocolonial control; 2) the children are subject to language ideologies that erase this neocolonial influence; and 3) they are subject to language policies of the U.S. federal government, their former colonizers.

Through an analysis of language use in Marshallese communities in the U.S., we develop a theory of neocolonial Englishes and linguistic inequity in schools. This theory likely applies not just to Marshallese, but to migrants from the geographic region of Micronesia as a whole. Marshallese share colonial histories with Palauans and Micronesians, while the colonial history of English in Guam and the Marianas is even more extensive (Hezel, 1983; Thomas, 1984; Thompson, 1941; Underwood, 1989). All such migrants likely experience neocolonial linguistic inequality not only on the mainland, but also in Hawai'i and Guam (Spencer, 2019). Spencer (2012) estimated that 50% of the population of some schools on Guam are (non-Chamorro) Micronesians. Finally, this study reflects back on education in the Pacific itself, and whether regions such as the RMI are themselves incorporating Marshallese-English into the school system or continue to prioritize standard American as the ideal. Thus, "neocolonial Englishes" and "neocolonial languages" provide theoretical models for understanding linguistic experience and inequity for Marshallese and Micronesian children in schools in the U.S., its territories, and Oceania as well.

Neocolonial languages and neocolonial migration

Neocolonial theory tries to capture how technically independent states still experience colonial control. Some describe neocolonialism as 'deliberate' modes in which nations 'maintain their domination' (Kelly & Altbach, 1978, p. 30); others see it as a less deliberate process through which 'politically independent people' are bound 'voluntarily and perhaps through necessity' to a Western power (Thomas & Postlethwaite, 1984a, p. 13). Neocolonialism functions through

foreign aid programs, technical advisers, publishing firms, financial systems, non-profit and human rights organizations, educational institutions, and more (Bray, 1993; Milligan, 2004; Mulenga, 2001; Papoutsaki & Rooney, 2006; Quist, 2001; Thomas, 1993; Thomas & Postlethwaite, 1984b; Watson, 1994; Wickens & Sandlin, 2007).

Defined by policy and ideology, neocolonialism entails continued control by the colonial power and an ideological invisibility of that control (Bray, 1993). Similarly, Irvine and Gal (2000) have argued that linguistic differentiation is fundamentally ideological. Centrally, linguistic differentiation often involves practices of erasure and contrast (among others)— producing both people and their ways of speaking as supposedly distinct. While all acts of linguistic differentiation involve such ideological divisions, neocolonial ones may take a particular form. Specifically, just as neocolonialism refers to invisible external control—incorporating ideology and policy—we argue that neocolonial language experiences are influenced by neocolonial control that is ideologically invisible. Such an approach provides a way to analyze how and why inequality manifests in the way it does for a particular people, particularly, as we will show, in language policies and ideologies that are widespread in schools.

World Englishes theory has pluralized and legitimized the many Englishes around the world, showing that Englishes vary in forms and functions, as well as their political histories and status (e.g., Bhatt, 2001; Bolton & Kachru, 2006; Crystal, 2003; Kachru, 1997; Melchers et al., 2019; Platt et al., 1984). One key influence on both linguistic form and its' political status is a nation's experience with colonialism, producing what Schneider (2007) has called "postcolonial Englishes".

We argue that many linguistic experiences (language use, policies, and ideologies) are tied to not only postcolonial but also neocolonial structures. For example, Tupas (2004, p. 55) argues that Philippine English in the Philippines should be redefined from a "postcolonial language to a neocolonial one", particularly because English in the Philippines is tied to continued U.S. military control."

Specifically, one central influence on linguistic experience is what we call "neocolonial migration". An arena of neocolonial control is the frequent migration of postcolonial subjects to the former colonial center (Czaika & De Haas, 2014). Hooghe (2008) found that colonial ties had a greater impact on migration to Europe between 1980 and 2004 than either economic incentives or pre-established migration networks. Importantly, "former U.S. dependencies", like the RMI, "are particularly oriented toward their own colonial sphere" (2018, p. 177). Such migration produces large indigenous communities in the former colonizing nation, communities whose uses of English are influenced by linguistic change in the colonial past, undergo change in the current place of migration, and become subject in schools to the ideologies and policies of those colonizers who they supposedly left behind. We argue that we should consider the experiences of migrants—linguistic, educational, and otherwise—as shaped by this neocolonial history.

Although migration is a central neocolonial project, scholarly analysis of post and neocolonial linguistic experiences tends to be focused on the home country context (e.g., Eades, 2008). There

is extensive work on Pasifika Englishes in New Zealand but the speakers of these Englishes—Tongan, Samoan, Fijian—are not from countries colonized by New Zealand nor do they have open border relationships with New Zealand in the same way as the U.S. does with the RMI (Starks, Donna et al., 2015). Maori is an exception, of course, but Maori are not migrants to New Zealand. Philippine English, in turn, is described and analyzed mostly in the Philippines (e.g., Borlongan, 2016; Osborne, 2018; Pefianco Martin, 2014). But Filipinos have also engaged in neocolonial migration with influences on language structure and use (Jubilado, 2016).

Theoretical approaches to migrant and bilingual students' language practices in classrooms in the U.S. and other countries do not entirely capture the colonial and neocolonial control that influences Marshallese migration and linguistic experiences. For example, some might argue that the children's flexible use of multiple resources reflects translanguaging (Otheguy et al., 2015). But translanguaging theory does not explain the high degree of consistency of English use in Marshallese communities in both the U.S. and RMI that we document below (see also Jaspers, 2018; MacSwan, 2020 for critiques). In addition, scholars have long documented that first and second generation children in the U.S. quickly become fluent speakers of varieties perceived of as English (Orellana et al., 1999). But, their uses of English are more typically described in the literature as either assimilating to English uses found in the U.S. or as unique to U.S. communities—such as Chicano English (Peñalosa, 1980; Santa Ana, 1993). In this case, as we discuss below, these Marshallese children's uses of non-dominant forms of English are clearly consistent with the world English form developed in the Marshall Islands itself.

Our phrase "neocolonial migrants" builds on the category of "involuntary" or "native" minority/immigrant (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991; Ogbu & Simons, 1998; Ratliffe, 2018; Warikoo & Carter, 2009). Our term points not only to the fact that Marshallese migration is partly involuntary, but also directly references Marshallese citizens' liminal legal status in the U.S., the perception (by themselves and others) of the Marshallese community as an immigrant community, and the continued U.S. control that effects Marshallese migration, language, and education in both nations. The linguistic inequities they face in schools in the U.S.—the schools of their former colonizers—are also directly linked to post and neocolonial influences on form, and neocolonial ideological erasure of this influence.

This article focuses on Marshallese. But many other people likely fall into this category, including migrants from Micronesia, Guam and the Marianas, American Samoa, the Philippines, or even Puerto Rico who have had similar historical linguistic experiences and related neocolonial influences on migration (Bautista & Bolton, 2008; Biewer, 2020; Britain & Matsumoto, 2015; Esquivel, 2019; Ilina, 2018; Jubilado, 2016; McFarland, 2008; Nickels, 2005; Tupas, 2004). This topic is particularly pressing since the population of the Marshalls, Micronesia, Guam and the Marianas, and Palau have all decreased in the last decade due to outmigration to the U.S., while the respective population of these migrants in the U.S. and its territories—specifically Guam—has grown dramatically (Stewart et al., 2017; S. Wilson et al., 2021). Consequently, neocolonial linguistic inequity allows us to understand the diaspora from the Micronesian region more generally, as well as how to make education in the diaspora more equal.

Marshallese as neocolonial migrants

The post-independence political relationship between the former Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (the region that includes the RMI) and the U.S. is a textbook example of neocolonialism. America took control of the region during World War II as a trusteeship—essentially colonialism by another name (Hezel, 1995). In the Marshallese archipelago in particular, the U.S. military appropriated three atolls: one as a military base, and two as nuclear testing sites, where the U.S. tested 67 nuclear bombs including the world's first above ground hydrogen bomb. The health and economic consequences of nuclear testing and fallout have been immense and long-term (Abon & Riklon, 2017; Barker, 2013). After independence, the U.S. entered into a Compact of Free Association (COFA) with the RMI (and several former colonial Pacific Islands), which included among its provisions continued U.S. military control over Marshallese waters, monetary payment to the RMI, and the visa-free entry of Marshallese into the U.S. to work (Daniel, 2004; C. Heine, 1974; Walsh & Heine, 2012). Duke (2017, p. 424) calls this arrangement "neocolonial" given "the sovereign status of the nation" combined "with ongoing dependency and political subjugation in relation to military power from abroad."

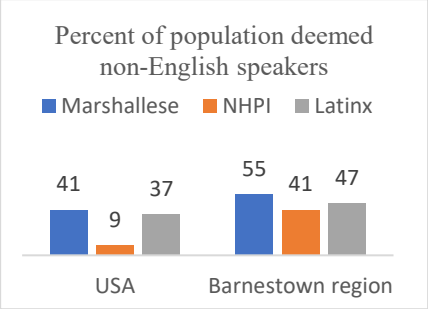
Both its colonial history and the neocolonial present influence language and education in the RMI (Kupferman, 2015). English was introduced to the RMI first by American and British whalers in the 1800s, then American missionaries, and most recently institutions during the Trust Territory (Low et al., 2005). This long history created linguistic change: Marshallese has many English cognates; English in the RMI has Marshallese substrate influence (Abo et al., 2009; Buchstaller & Alvanides, 2017; Buchstaller & Willson, 2018). Attitudes toward bilingualism in schools shifted over the years: in the early days of American control primary schools were in Marshallese and secondary schools in English; in the 1960s English became 'the medium of all instruction'; in the 1970s bilingual education became more prominent once again. From independence on, English was dominant from Grade Three and sometimes Kindergarten (Low et al., 2005; Nimmer, 2017; Pine & Savage, 1989, p. 85; Thomas, 1984; Thomas & Postlethwaite, 1984a). In 2015 the Marshallese Ministry of Education produced a language policy aimed at reorienting the school system away toward Marshallese, but that does not discuss Marshallese English (Marshall Islands Journal, 2015).

This colonial situation resulted in a world English—Marshallese English (ME). Buchstaller and Willson (2018, in press) describe ME as an "outer circle" variety where English has an important within-country official function (Kachru, 1997). Following Schneider (2007), one could also define ME as a "postcolonial English". ME has a number of syntactic and phonetic features influenced by substrate influence from Marshallese (Buchstaller, 2020; Buchstaller & Willson, in press).

Post-COFA, Marshallese migration to the U.S. skyrocketed (Jetñil-Kijiner & Heine, 2020), producing a large community of neocolonial migrants. In the past decade the RMI population has decreased by 26% due to outmigration, and the Marshallese population of the Barnestown region has increased by roughly 126% (EPIC/AJ, 2014; Hezel, 2013; McClain et al., 2020; U.S. Census Bureau, 2020; S. Wilson et al., 2021).[iii] Marshallese citizens' status in the U.S. reflects the ambiguous nature of neocolonialism: Marshallese are "non-immigrants without visas" authorized to work (USCIS, 2019). While Hawai'i or California were the first migration destinations, since the

90s migration has shifted toward "new immigrant destinations" in the Pacific Northwest and the South and Southeast, including Barnestown.

Many minoritized children—in the U.S. and elsewhere—experience various forms of linguistic inequity (García, 2009). But the sources, nature, and scale of these inequities are not all the same (Umansky et al., 2020). Among both migrants and Pacific Islanders in the U.S., for example, Marshallese stand out as particularly minoritized. In Hawai'i and Guam, Marshallese and Chuukese experience discrimination in schools that other Pacific Islanders do not (Nimmer, 2017; Smith & Castañeda, 2021; Spencer, 2012; Talmy, 2006); nationally, Marshallese have startlingly low BA rates: 3% (compared to the next lowest rate of 10% for Samoans) (EPIC/AJ, 2014). In Barnestown, Marshallese have the lowest high school graduation rates and the highest rates of being retained as English Learners than any other group (SDE, 2018; school district, personal communication, February 5, 2019; Floyd-Faught, 2019). Despite the historic presence of English in their homeland, Marshallese are also categorized in national statistics as limited English proficient above and beyond other groups (see graph 1, data from EPIC/AJ, 2014). Viewing Marshallese children's linguistic experience as neocolonial sheds light on the historical fingerprints that influence how they speak and how others interpret their language.



Studying language in Marshallese communities in Barnestown

Since the 1990s, Barnestown's demographics have rapidly changed as migrants from around the world, including a large population of Marshallese who came to work in the poultry industry, turning Barnestown into a 'new' immigrant destination (Marrow, 2011). Previously more than 90% white, in 2019 Barnestown's school district was roughly 37% white, 43% Hispanic, 13% Pacific Islander (mainly Marshallese), and 1% African American (District, 2019).

Berman conducted fieldwork in Barnestown in the summer of 2018. Berman, who has previously spent extensive time in the RMI as a teacher and ethnographer, spent much of her time with families whom she knew previously in the RMI. The fieldwork was designed as a pilot investigation of Marshallese children's languages and experiences in Barnestown, with the goal of developing a focused study for a larger project. Consequently, data collection included a variety of activities: observations and recordings of elementary school children's language use and experiences in school, interviews with educators, ethnographic research with families, interviews with Marshallese community members, and photoelicitation interviews with Marshallese children. We focus here on the photoelicitation interviews, interviews with teachers, and ethnographic

research. We use the former for morphosyntactic analysis, and the latter for language policy and ideologies.

The original goal of the photoelicitation interviews was to encourage children to talk about their lives; upon analysis the interviews also revealed valuable morphosyntactic data. Berman provided the four children with disposable cameras for one week. After developing the photos, she returned to videorecord conversations with the children about the photos. The interviews took place in a backroom of the children's house, with permission from the children's guardians. Multiple children were present. Berman speaks both Marshallese and English and switched between both, giving the children the option of responding in whichever language they preferred.

Tereshenko transcribed the interviews using Du Bois' (2006) delicacy hierarchy with a concern for the first three delicacy levels. Berman transcribed and translated the Marshallese sections. Tereshenko roughly coded for any forms of non-dominant morphosyntactic forms of English. Roeder reviewed and cleaned up the morpho-syntactic coding, including interpretation of influence from U.S. varieties of English and discussion with Berman of substrate influence from Marshallese. Roeder also organized the features and examples into the categories discussed throughout. Berman and Roeder wrote the current article.

Below we frequently compare features of Marshallese English to constructions in Marshallese. Sources for the Marshallese data are either the Marshallese English Online Dictionary or the Marshallese Reference Grammar (Abo et al., 2009; Bender et al., 2016), or data from Berman's extensive database of over 100 hours of audio and video recordings of un-elicited everyday interactions in a village in the RMI, recorded between 2009 and 2013 (Berman, 2019). When a Marshallese example indicates the speaker, it is from Berman's database.

First and second generation English speakers

Jina, Annie, Tomi, and Mike present as fluent speakers of a variety of English with similarities to ME as described in the RMI. They all completed all of their schooling in the U.S. Siblings, eleven-year-old Mike and nine-year-old Jina migrated separately: Mike in 2012 at age five; Jina in 2011 at age two. Both have visited the RMI. Annie and Tomi were born in the U.S. According to their mothers, Annie has never left while Tomi visited the RMI briefly when she was six months old. While Annie and Tomi's parents did not supply their children's birth years, both girls were also in elementary school. Annie was in first grade, and all three girls said that Jina was the oldest of the three while Annie and Tomi were younger.[iv]

Jina, Annie, and Tomi discussed the pictures they took; Mike lost his camera so was not technically an "interviewee" but was present the whole time. Two additional children were present—Bob and Dijini. The children claimed that Bob was Tongan-Marshallese and spoke neither Marshallese nor English. Dijini, roughly two years old, also did not talk much, although the four older children occasionally directed commands to both her and Bob. Finally, with the possible exception of Bob all of the children were related to each other and, at the time, lived together in the same house (see Figure 1). The children said that Bob was also a relative, but no one was able to explain the exact kinship connection.

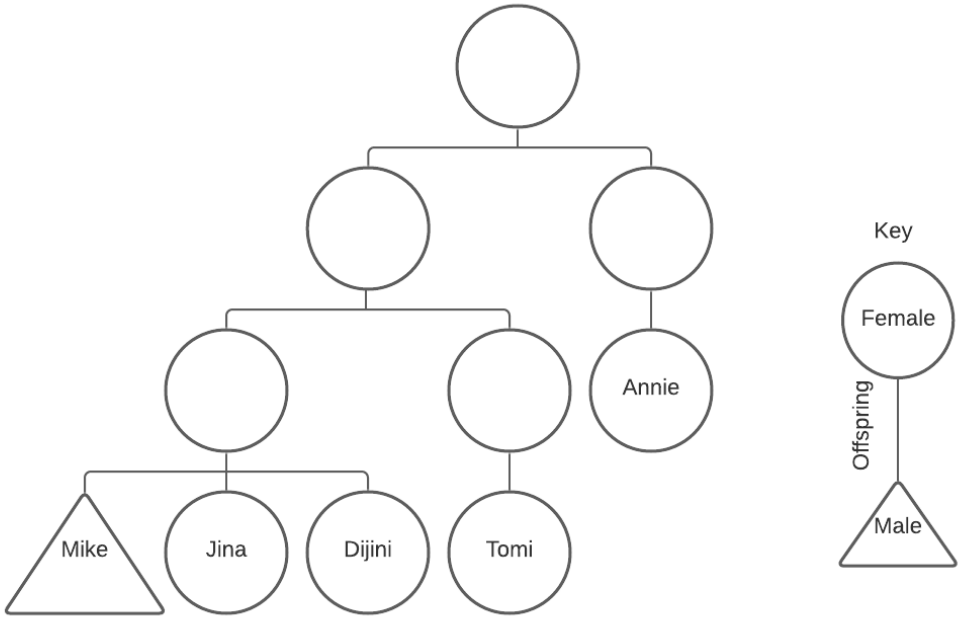


Figure 1: Kinship Chart

Unlike their parents, Tomi, Mike, Jina, and Annie all demonstrated preferential usage of English with not only Berman but also each other. “Jina!” Tomi said, “your dad is gonna to put our picture [$_1$ all over there].” A similar preference for English appears when speaking with Berman, as seen in (2). After Annie hesitates to speak, Berman suggests in Marshallese that Annie could speak in Marshallese. Annie responds in English, exemplifying a recurrent pattern of responding to Marshallese in English.

(2)

1	Elise:	kōmaroñ ba lo Ṃajeḷ ñe pidodo ippaṃ bwe
		you can say it in Marshallese if it is easier for you because
2		kōkōṇaan ba ke…ke Ṃajeḷ ke pālle?
		do you want to talk in…Marshallese or English?
3	Annie:	I like her cause she's my cousin and

Jina, uniquely, displayed some accommodation, occasionally responding to Marshallese in Marshallese. Jina also instigated Marshallese occasionally, but usually switched quickly back to English. The predominant pattern was for the children to interact exclusively in English, both with Berman and each other.

Neocolonial forms

Below we discuss some morphosyntactic features the children produced. We describe them as neocolonial because some features are clearly continuous with Marshallese-English in the RMI,

while other features reflect the influence of local American English varieties. They are thus tied to past colonial control in the RMI *and* language shift produced by neocolonial migration. Throughout, the children moved back and forth between these features and those more typical of dominant American English.

Continuity with Marshallese-English in the RMI

We first discuss features that are continuous with forms of English used in Marshallese communities in the RMI. While some of these features are also common in American English varieties, some of the features we discuss—such as gender neutrality—are not common in varieties of English found throughout the U.S. All of the features in this section have both been documented in English in the RMI and have likely substrate influence.

Nouns and pronouns

The children regularly marked person and number on nouns through context instead of inflection, as marked possession through "asyndetic linkage" as in ME in the RMI (Buchstaller & Willson 2018, 378). They also neutrally moved between gender pronouns, something that Jina and Mike's father did once as well (Table 1).

Table 1: Nouns and Pronouns[v]

Feature	*# of spkrs*	*Barnestown English*	*ME in the RMI*	*Marshallese Rule*	*n*
Plural (zero pl. -s)	***3***	***Jina: "I got <u>two sister</u> and one brother"***	***"My <u>parent</u> were" (B&W 376)***	***Plural marked on post noun determiner (BC&P 186)***	***8***
Possession (zero poss. -s)	***2***	***Annie: "my mom keep <u>Bob picture</u> two time"***	***"My mother and <u>father house</u>" (B&W 378)***	***Possession marked with classifier following noun (BC&P 193)***	***12***
3ps gender pronoun (free variation)	***3***	Jina: "we're the ones who love god and <u>she he</u> made us and we pray for him"	***"My daughter …<u>his</u> husband" (B&W 375)***	***Pronouns unmarked for gender BC&P 171)***	***18***

Tense/aspect/mood

The children regularly used the bare verb for both the past tense and the third person singular present tense (Table 2), reflecting English in the RMI in which "verbs often occur in the present simple or unmarked verbal forms" (Buchstaller & Willson, in press, p. 9). As with uses of English in the RMI, they often marked TAM through context and/or pre/post verb markers. The predominance of *take* in this data set is probably because the interviews were about the pictures that the children took.

Table 2. Verb forms

Feature	*# of spkrs*	*Barnestown English*	*ME in the RMI*	*Marshallese Rule*	*n*
Bare form for reg. past	***4***	***Tomi: "they <u>move</u> three times"***	***I went to the office and I <u>say</u> (B&W 374)***	***TAM for non-finite verbs marked on auxiliary verb preceding main verb (BC&P 150-151)[vi]***	***10***
Bare form for irreg. past ("take")	***3***	***Jina: "When I was little I <u>take</u> care of my grandma because she was sick"***	***You already <u>take</u> this recipe? (B&W 375)***	***Same as above***	***29***
Bare form for irreg. past (other)	***3***	***Tomi: "When I was five years old and I was turning to six and I <u>have</u> chocolate cake"***	***Long time ago we <u>go</u> there swimming*** (B&W 374)	***Same as above***	***9***
Bare form for 3ps present	***4***	Mike: "but she always <u>bother</u> us"	***When the canoe <u>sail</u> forward (B&W 373)***	***Same as above***	***31***
Zero copula (ø)	***3***	Mike: "oh yeah she <u>ø</u> two years old" Jina: why ø they not doing this way?	***This <u>ø</u> my school room (B&W 373)***	***No copula with definite nouns, two noun phrase sentences (BC&P 239, 269)***	***6***
functional shift	***3***	***Tomi: "I was <u>picturing</u> them"*** Annie: "he um <u>weekend</u> with them"	Calendar the data (B&W 2 14)	***Roots function as verbs and nouns (BC&P 116)*** Direct calque from Marshallese *pija* (picture)	***10***

The children also frequently constructed verbless sentences without the copula, reflecting Buchstaller and Willson's (2018, 373) argument that "zero copula appears to be the norm" in English in the RMI (Table 2).

Finally, the Barnestown children also exhibited functional shift, such that the nouns *picture* and *weekend* are used as verbs. This occurs in the English in the RMI, where "individual words can — dependent on the syntactic context — function as an adjective, a noun or a verb" (Buchstaller

and Willson in press, 5–6). This exact form of "picture" was frequently heard by Berman when living in the RMI; and seems to be clearly shared between the transnational communities. Syntactic flexibility likely has substrate influence both generally and in respect to the word "picture": In Marshallese, many roots function as both nouns and verbs, while other nouns and verbs are derived from each other (Bender, Capelle, and Pagotto 2016,). This is also true of some English cognates in Marshallese such as *pija,* which comes from the English "picture". The noun *pija* means "artistic or photographic creation" (including movies), while the verb with the same form (*pija*-) refers to the act of creating a picture, photograph, or movie (Bender et al., 2016, 143–44). In ME in the U.S. and the RMI, the formerly English cognate returns to English from Marshallese, with substrate influence from Marshallese grammar.

Although only one example of *weekend* as a verb appears in this data, Berman also heard this from other children in Barnestown beyond those in this study. Here, *weekend* functions as a verb to mean 'spending the weekend' or 'spending the night'. Marshallese children, in the RMI and Barnestown, regularly sleep at relatives' houses for several days to visit with other family and friends or to help (Berman, 2014a). In this community in the U.S., the children used *weekend* as a verb to describe this practice, reflecting substrate influence and Marshallese cultural practices.

Prepositions and articles

The children's preposition use departs from dominant American English, reflecting what Buchstaller and Willson (2018, 376) call an "idiosyncratic" use of prepositions in English in the RMI (Table 3). In our data and in data on English in the RMI we see some regularity: interchangeably using "in", "on", and "at". This likely reflects the Marshallese use of the preposition "i" as a marker of location at a particular time, which translates as all three English prepositions. Similarly, the preposition *ñan* is a directional goal preposition, which we can see in the example from the ME in the RMI below.

Table 3. Function words: Prepositions and articles

Feature	*# of spkrs*	*Barnestown English*	*ME in the RMI*	*Marshallese Rule*	*n*
Free variation between In, on, at as locational punctual prepositions	***3***	***Mike: "Is this <u>in</u> youtube?"*** ***Annie: "I was <u>at</u> the bathroom"***	"I live in the Marshall Islands <u>in</u> an island called Majuro" (M&W) ***"We're not <u>at</u> Bikini" (M&W)***	***Locational Punctual "i" (= in, on, at) (BC&P 190-191)***	***4***
Other preposition variation	***3***	***Jina: he live in hotel but he go <u>to</u> there in weekend***	***I want to work <u>to</u> my country here (B&W 376)***	***directional goal "ñan" (to) (BC&P 190-191)***	***6***
Zero indefinite article (ø)	***3***	**Tomi:** Allen you're not wearing <u>ø</u> shirt *Annie:* ***I have <u>ø</u> swimming pool***	***That's how it makes <u>ø</u> big change in our island (M&W)***	***Indefinite article not obligatory (BC&P 270)***	***12***
Zero definite article (ø)	***3***	***Jina: and that's why I want to go back to <u>ø</u> Marshall Islands***	***I live in <u>ø</u> Marshall Island (M&W)*** tables next to Ø trees (B&W 2 8)	***Definite article not obligatory, follows noun (BC&P 186)***	***6***
"one" for indefinite article	***1***	**Annie:** <u>one</u> long time ago	***one waters (B&W 2 17)***	***Marshallese* juon *refers to 'a' or 'one'***	***1***

The children also frequently dropped the definite and indefinite article, and Annie used *one* as an indefinite article (Table 3). In addition, instead of including the definite article when specifying numbers of people as in 'the two of us' or 'the three of us', Marshallese pronouns can be inflected for number and correspond to the entire phrase (Bender et al, 2016, 173). This creates a close comparison between Marshallese (6) and Marshallese-English in Barnestown (6a).

(6) Kilini: E-rro?
3ps-two
Them two?
The two of them?

(6a) Jina: I take care of <u>ø</u> two of them cause I love them

The phrase "ø Marshall Islands", appearing in both Barnestown and the RMI, also reflects how one says 'the Marshall Islands' in Marshallese with the single word *Maje̦l* and no article. In fact,

in the Barnestown data Jina codeswitches and uses *Ṃajeḷ* in an English sentence, similarly structuring it without a definite article (7).

(7) Jina: I like *Ṃajeḷ* cause we don't get sick there

Questions

The children produced questions in which *do* and/or auxiliary verb/copula inversion are unnecessary and wh-words vary in location, reflecting the form of questions used in English in the RMI (Table 4).

Table 4. Questions

Feature	*# of spkrs*	*Barnestown English*	*ME in the RMI*	*Marshallese rule*	*n*
"Do" and other auxiliaries unnecessary	***1***	***Jina: What church ø you go to Mike?***	***Where you buy? (B&W 378)***	***Question particle placed in various parts of utterance (BC&P 280-282)***	***1***
Embedded questions remain in situ	***2***	***Annie: Yeah do you know <u>who is this</u>?***	***How long you guys been here? (B&W 378)***	***Same as above***	***4***

Features potentially unique to Marshallese English in the USA

Many of the above features are common in some varieties of American English, including minimal inflectional marking on nouns and pronouns, zero copula, and bare verbs in the past tense (Arends et al., 1995; Kohn et al., 2021; Plag, 2008; Wolfram & Schilling, 2015). Other features are atypical, suggesting the existence of a transnational community and a shared use of a form of English between these spaces. These include functional shift/syntactic flexibility, non-obligatory articles, locational punctual prepositions, and pronoun gender neutralization. Functional shift seems to be very closely tied to Marshallese substrate influence. All children produced this pattern frequently with the word "picture", while weekend has been heard extensively among children as a whole. Variation between *in, on,* and *at* for locational punctual prepositions reflects the preposition "i" in Marshallese that serves this function. It is similar to, but more expansive than, the Chicano English use of *in* for *on* (Fought, 2003a, p. 100), suggesting again that it is tied to the Marshallese transnational community rather than Chicano English influences. Non-obligatory articles are also extensively distributed throughout the data set, and they are atypical for American English varieties. Finally, pronoun gender neutralization is something that is clearly continuous with both English as spoken in the RMI and with Marshallese substrate influence, was

produced numerous times by all children (and their father), and is not replicated in other common American English varieties.[vii]

Features attributable to American English varieties

At the same time, there are some morpho-syntactic features of the children's speech that are not, as far as we know, continuous with forms of English in the RMI but appear to be the result of contact with non-dominant varieties of American English, including AAL and southern English[viii]. We focus on five features (Table 5).

Table 5. Influence from other non-dominant varieties of American English

Variety	*# of spkrs*	*Feature*	*Barnestown English*	*n*
AAL	***1***	***Zero relative pronoun (ø)***	***Jina: This is the girl ø let me take a picture of her***	***4***
AAL	***3***	***Habitual "be"***	***Annie: she always be nice to me***	***4***
AAL	***1***	***Zero auxiliary "have" in completive aspect***	***Jina: Yeah, we ø been to his house***	***3***
Southern	***2***	"y'all"	***Mike: what do you mean y'all be nice together?***	***4***
General	***3***	Past tense "was" leveling	***Tomi: they was celebrating***	***9***
General	***3***	Singular 3rd person "don't"	***Annie: Yeah she does…no she don't***	***5***

Three features seem to be tied to AAL—deletion of a subject relative pronoun, zero auxiliary *have* in completive aspect, and habitual *be*. Habitual *be* is attested in youth speakers of Chicano English in Los Angeles and New York (Fought, 2003b), due to influence from AAL. The area of Barnestown where the study participants live and go to school has a large Latino/a/x population, but a minimal Black population. Bucholtz (2004, p. 131) also argues that AAL features have become a "cross-ethnic marker of youth identity among young people of color." We do not know the source of these features in the participant children's ME.

There are also numerous examples in the data of other non-dominant American English features. These include the word *y'all*, a marker of second person plural common across varieties of southern English, which appears four times across two speakers. Non-dominant subject-verb agreement was also observed, including past tense *was* leveling (e.g., *We was taking a picture*),

which appears nine times across three speakers, and singular third person *don't* (e.g., *The clock keep ringing but he don't wake up*), which appears five times across three speakers.

Neocolonial influences on language form

Some features of these children's speech appear to not be found in the RMI but rather are common in various American English varieties, suggesting language shift as a result of neocolonial migration. At the same time, their language displays substantial continuity with English as produced in the RMI, with many features that are not common in American English varieties. This continuity reflects colonial and neocolonial influences on language in the RMI, as well as neocolonial migration. These forms, as we will see below, also appear foreign to mainstream American educational institutions and assessments. Tied with the migration and colonial history, the result are neocolonial language ideologies and policies that affect children's experiences and opportunities.

Neocolonial language ideologies

Conversations reveal ideologies of Marshallese children's language practices that erase colonial and neocolonial linguistic influences while also marking their linguistic production as exotically different. While the sample was small for this project, similar ideologies are reported in other literature on Marshallese students in school systems throughout the U.S. These ideologies are partly tied, as we will see, to the federal language policies we discuss later, policies imposed on school districts.

During research in 2018, Berman found that no one—Marshallese or non-Marshallese—thought that Marshallese-English as an English variety existed. Given that it had barely been described as such by academics, this is not surprising. Marshallese also portrayed linguistic insecurity. One Marshallese adult referred to the English spoken by Marshallese as "broken", another discussed how Marshallese children and adults knew that their English was not the same as that spoken by others. A Marshallese liaison talked about one student who dropped out because she said that English was hard and Americans talk too fast. This idea that Marshallese uses of English are "bad" competes with simultaneous claims that Marshallese are mistaken as poor English speakers because they are very *jook* [shy] about speaking English in front of others (Floyd-Faught, 2019; H. C. Heine 2002, 2004, pp. 166–67). This *jook*—something that both Marshallese and educators in Barnestown discussed—leads children and adults to refrain from doing anything that leads an individual to stand out, including speaking English (Berman, 2019).

Such views connect to widespread interpretations of Marshallese students—in the RMI or the U.S.—as having poor English skills as well as perceptions that this supposed lack of English is a barrier to learning and achievement in school (Floyd-Faught, 2019, p. 137; H. C. Heine, 2002; Kamai, 2015; Robinson, 2018, pp. 75, 78; Talmy, 2006; UN & Unesco, 2015; Watts, 2011; Willson, 2015). Watts (2011, p. 48) reports that a U.S. teacher told him that "Marshallese kindergarten students, as a group, have the least developed spoken English skills." In an analysis of Micronesian students' experiences in college in the 1980s, Leinwand (1981, p. v) wrote, "The major academic problems discussed by the students and faculty were difficulty with the English language…" Multiple teachers in Barnestown claimed that Marshallese children take a surprisingly long time

to become proficient in English, more than their Latinx and other migrant students. For example, one negatively compared Marshallese students to her students from Laos, arguing that after only a year in Barnestown the Laotian students' English was "pretty good". Many Marshallese also view their community's English skills as poor (although none compare them to Latinx or Laotians). Marshallese Ph.D. (and former president) Hilda Heine (2004, p. 171) states in her discussion of Marshallese students that "English language proficiency [is] a major issue and a cause for high school dropout", viewing COFA students as having "low levels of English competency" which is a challenge for schools (H. C. Heine, 2002, p. 5–6).

Marshallese students' speech is ideologically perceived as exotically different—i.e., emphatically not English. Several speculated that perhaps Marshallese students struggle because their language is so "different" from English. As one said, "It's hard for them to make that connection in learning the language because it's so much different than ours." Reflecting on their large populations of Marshallese and Latinx students, two teachers presented Marshallese as *more* different from English than Spanish, and therein lies the challenge. Said one, "Whenever there's Spanish like, there's a little bit more of a connection there, with just the languages. You know, cognates or whatever it's called." This ideology appears to be widespread, Floyd-Fought (2019, p. 136) reports on an educator who said something almost exactly the same: "Spanish has a lot of cognates, or words that are nearly identical in English and Spanish. There are similar roots and phrasing patterns. That is simply not the case for the Marshallese language."

The above ideologies are tied to federal policies, as discussed below, as well as a lack of widespread research into and communication about Marshallese language practices. Together, these have led to several levels of invisibility of the past and current colonial legacy on Marshallese children's linguistic structures. First, ironically, due to the American colonial history Marshallese actually has a lot of English cognates (Abo et al., 2009). This is particularly true in the school system, as one main colonial enterprise was creating and structuring schools. Many school-based lexical items—such as school (*jikuuḷ*), paper (*peba*), book (*bok*), pencil (*pinjeḷ*), and more—are English cognates. Second, English is spoken by many in the RMI and taught in schools, making ME widespread. Finally, as we have seen, these children preferentially used English in a variety of situations. Similarly, in observations in school six other Marshallese children also preferentially used English with Berman. This invisibility of ongoing neocolonial ties that create these language practices reflects the invisibility of neocolonial politics.

Neocolonial language policies

The four children in this study, as well as other Marshallese and Marshallese-American children in Barnestown, are subject to the language policies of their former colonizer, the United States of America. These are statewide and federal policies imposed on the schools and educators. These policies interpret Marshallese children as non-English speakers in school, at a rate that seems to be above other minoritized students.

In these four children's case, their parents said that at least three of them—Mike, Jina, and Tomi—are labeled English Learners (EL) and go to afterschool English tutoring (we do not know whether Annie goes to tutoring or not). According to national policy, students who are retained past five

years in EL statuses are Long-term English Learners (LTEL) who are not progressing as expected (Every Student Succeeds Act of 2015, 2015). In the data provided by the district these four children attended, in 2018 31% of Marshallese ESL students were LTEL, compared to only 27% of the non-Marshallese ESL population. While Marshallese were 22% of the ESL population, they were only 10% of the reclassified population—students who have been judged English proficient (M. Bridgeforth, personal communication, February 5, 2019).[ix] Similarly, at a high school in a region with a large Marshallese population in 2018, 90% of the Marshallese EL students, compared to 80 % of all high school ELs in the region, were LTEL (Floyd-Faught, 2019). While 22 percent of students in the district with a home language other than English were Marshallese, Marshallese constituted only 7.2 percent of students who exited EL statuses (Floyd-Faught, 2019, p. 82). While the reclassified EL number could be skewed if a higher proportion of Marshallese students are recent immigrants, the LTEL numbers should not be effected by such an issue. Finally, as we saw above, ideologically teachers also have a perception that their Marshallese students were retained in EL statuses longer than other students. For example, one said that many of her students had been in the U.S. for a long time but were still in intermediate EL status.

Teachers offered varying explanations for their, potentially accurate, perception that their Marshallese students are retained in EL statuses longer than other groups. Some of these explanations include the previously discussed belief that Marshallese is such a different language that it makes learning English difficult, as well as beliefs about supposedly "different" cultural and home practices that educators portrayed as contradictory to school learning (see also Spencer, 2012). While all of these reports must be seen as ideologies as opposed to analytic accounts of the phenomenon, interestingly teachers also pointed to specific linguistic features of the children's Marshallese-English that we documented above, such as the lack of an 's' affix. As table 5 shows, this 's' affix is one of the most common differences between how the children in our sample spoke and the forms of English teachers expect. Said one teacher:

> One Marshallese girl…she had the hardest time with s's at the end. Whenever she was reading and writing, even whenever we were reading out loud. If it was 'cats' she would say "the cat are running." And I would say, "catssssss, catsssssss." And she could not produce that s at the end, even if we broke it up, 'c-at-s cats'. She could not put that s at the end, it was the weirdest thing. I had another who was like that too. But at the end of the year one of them was able to say the 's', and one of them wasn't.

Unfortunately, teachers said, the assessments they are required to use mark these children as failing. Said another:

> We're required to consider that a mistake….So when we're making determinations about how this child is reading….If every time they have a noun that ends with a 's' they don't pronounce that 's', that's considered a mistake. So now after four or five mistakes you're down a level…even though they're not bad readers.

Here, we have a language form influenced by the colonial past, brought to the U.S. through neocolonial migration patterns, and then judged as inadequate by language policies developed by that former colonial nation.

Table 5. Inflectional marking in Barnestown data compared to teacher expectations

Category	*Teacher expectation*	*Marshallese English*	*n (uninflected)*
Noun	plural *-s*	***Jina: I got two sister and one brother.***	***8***
	***possessive* -s**	***Annie: my mom keep Bob picture two time***	***12***
Verb	***3rd person sing.* -s**	***Mike: but she always bother us***	***31***
	***past tense* -ed**	***Tomi: they move three times***	***10***
	***progressive* -ing**	***Jina: She's take a picture of me***	***1***
	***completive* -en/-ed**	***not observed***	***0***
Adjective	***comparative* -er**	***Jina: She's little than me.***	***1***
	***superlative* -est**	***not observed***	***0***

Some might dispute calling these policies neocolonial, since the children's parents are actively deciding to migrate to the U.S. and place their children in these schools. This desire to put children in U.S. education systems is a central reason Marshallese adults give for migration, close to equal to the search for employment and, at least in reports, more important than issues such as climate migration (Hess et al., 2001; McClain et al., 2020). But, as Kelly and Altbach (1978, p. 39) state, educational neocolonialism "is for the most part voluntary; no gunboats are ready to sail to defend the right of a Western nation to distribute college textbooks in the Third World"; no soldiers are forcing Marshallese to move to the U.S. and subject their children to English learner assessments.

When intentions and the location of the children's education is removed the children's linguistic educational situation appears profoundly colonial. In Thomas and Posthlewaite's (1984b, p. 15–17) chart on the educational dimensions of colonialism versus independence, Marshallese children in U.S. schools fall almost completely in the full colonialism column. In this column, foreign colonists rather than indigenous peoples determine the purpose and curriculum of schools, control the administrative structure and staff, and shape the culture of the schools. Perhaps most importantly, in Thomas and Posthlewaite's model, children of the foreign colonizers have the best chances in the schools, something that very closely reflects the plight of Marshallese migrants in U.S. school systems (Nimmer, 2017). Compared to every other ethnic group disaggregated by the data, Marshallese children have the highest rates of extended EL statuses, the lowest scores on standardized tests, and the lowest rates of high school graduation in the region, and this holds true for other studies as well (District, 2018; M. Bridgeforth, personal communication, February 5, 2019; Floyd-Faught, 2019; Watts, 2011).

From a perspective that views Marshallese students alongside other immigrants, one might wonder why such inequalities seem greater than for other immigrants; from a neocolonial perspective it seems obvious why the inequities that Marshallese face in U.S. schools (and society as a whole) are so particularly stark. The patterns discussed above are not unique: many minoritized fluent English speaking students are routinely misinterpreted as non-English speakers in U.S. schools and retained in EL programs for many years (Clark-Gareca et al., 2020; Mendoza-Denton, 1999; Rosa, 2019). But such outcomes also differ across ethnicities and groups: in one district Latinx students are less likely to be reclassified than Chinese students (i.e. perceived as fluent) even controlling for variables such as social capital (Umansky et al., 2020; see also Reyes & Domina, 2019). Similarly, Marshallese and Micronesian children are placed in EL statuses even when fluent in English (Kala'i et al., 2015; Kupferman, 2015), are evaluated by assessments as having particularly low levels of documented English proficiency (Floyd-Faught, 2019; H. C. Heine, 2002), and are retained in EL statuses for extensive periods of time above and beyond other ethnic groups.

Conclusion

We have presented the first account of language use in the Marshallese community in the U.S. These children's demographic history along with their preferential use of English suggest that they are native L1 English speakers, multilingual in Marshallese and several varieties of English. Although our close analysis of neocolonial forms is only from these four children, every feature listed has also been observed produced by other children in Barnestown, and teachers also ideologically reflect on such forms, suggesting that the features are widespread. The children's language practices demonstrate substantial continuity with ME in the RMI. Their practices also reflect other local varieties of non-dominant English, demonstrating the process of language shift as a consequence of neocolonial migration. In and outside of schools, despite these widespread and diverse English practices tied to colonial and neocolonial control, Marshallese children are interpreted and assessed as having poor English skills and as speakers of an exotically "different" language that has no historical or linguistic connections to English. Such ideologies are tied to federally imposed policies that seem to disproportionally place Marshallese students in EL and extended EL assignments, policies that may be linked to low graduation rates and perceived poorer educational outcomes.

The children's linguistic forms are produced by the colonial past and current day neocolonial policies at the national level that continue to embed English in the RMI and bring Marshallese to the U.S. as neocolonial migrants. They are also subject to ideologies that erase the colonial past and neocolonial present, and language policies that impose the beliefs and curriculum of the former colonizers onto the Marshallese community. This combination of forms, ideologies, and policies produces a linguistic experience that we call a *Neocolonial English,* and the children as *neocolonial linguistic subjects.* Such a neocolonial lens lends particular insight into the unique inequities Marshallese students face.

While we present here only one case study of Marshallese children, shaped by the specific political history of the RMI, the theory we propose will be relevant for other groups. Similar neocolonial policies likely also affect other neocolonial migrants to the U.S.—including migrants

from other parts of the geographic region of Micronesia—as well as migrants to the mainland from places that remain territories such as Guam or American Samoa.

In addition, while this theory has implications for Pacific Islander migrants in the U.S., it also raises awareness about Pacific forms of English more generally, thus reflecting back on education in the islands themselves. Increasingly, Pacific Island communities are embracing indigenous languages in schools and challenging English-only language policies. Guam, for example, has immersion programs for Chamorro, and requires Chamorro education in parts of elementary school; Hawai'i is revitalizing Native Hawai'ian, the RMI has shifted its language policy in theory (albeit perhaps not in practice) to prioritize Marshallese in school (Marshall Islands Journal, 2015; Underwood, 1989; W. H. Wilson & Kamanā, 2011). But throughout Oceania many varieties of English are spoken (Biewer, 2020; Britain & Matsumoto, 2015; Eades & Jacobs, 2006; Kuske, 2019). The forms of English expected in schools throughout the islands is American standard, with little focus on how vernacular forms of English may impact education in the islands, or how acknowledging local forms of English may make education in not just the U.S. but also the islands more equitable.[x] Thus, this analysis lends depth to understanding the experiences—linguistic and otherwise—of not only Marshallese and Micronesian migrants, but Marshallese and Micronesians in schools in the homelands as well.

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[i] Transcription Key: [1, 2..]: Overlapping language

[ii] Several large Marshallese communities are spread across the central U.S., a region that includes Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, Kansas, Illinois, and Indiana. Barnestown is a pseudonym used to protect the community, I have also changed some identifiable details such as specific demographic counts to protect the community.

[iii] Official numbers are likely an undercount (Jaynes, 2013), while estimates suggest that migration increased exponentially since 2010 (EPIC/AJ, 2014; Taibbi & Saltzman, 2018).

[iv] Age in the RMI is complex and can be tied to relative birth order, kinship status, abilities, and uses of language (Berman, 2014b, 2018, 2019). From a kinship perspective, Annie is the mother of Jina and Tomi. Despite this elder kinship status, the children explicitly called Jina "older". They also reenacted this age hierarchy when Annie and Tomi deferred to Jina, and Jina regularly took control of speech and commanded the younger two children.

[v] In the tables, "B&W" refers to Buchstaller and Willson, 2018; B&W 2 refers to Buchstaller and Willson, in press; M&W refers to Mizner and Worth, 2018; BC&P refers to Bender et al., 2016; and Berman refers to Berman's notes.

[vi] Person marking for finite verbs in Marshallese includes an affix, no suffixes are used (Bender et al., 2016, pp. 150–151).

[vii] Non-obligatory articles and free gender variation are commonly found in World Englishes whose substrate language shares specific features with Marshallese (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008, pp. 47–52, 55–56). However, they are not common in the American English varieties to which the children are exposed.

[viii] Although Marshallese children in this area are in close contact with children of Mexican American heritage, we did not observe any features that can be uniquely traced to Chicano English in the current data set.

[ix] The percentage is based out of Marshallese and non-Marshallese ESL students—the population of all current and former EL students.
[x] Hawai'ian English Creole (Pidgin) is a potential exception (Saft, 2023).

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GHRI Guam Human Rights Conference Series: Human Trafficking on Guam and in the Pacific

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Introduction

This Conference reflection will be in four parts. First, it will describe the Conference purpose, then expand upon the structure and logistics. Next, we discuss the findings and outcomes of the Conference. Finally, it will make suggestions for future Conferences.

The first Guam Human Rights Conference (henceforth *the Conference*) was held on September 1st, 2022 at the Guam Hilton Resort (O'Connor, 2022; Stephens, 2022). It was sponsored by stakeholders ranging from academia to private business to Rotary Clubs to victim support organizations. The Conference was free to attend or there was the option to pay a small administrative fee for University of Guam-certified Continuing Education Units (CEUs), and was attended by approximately two hundred in-person and virtual attendees.

Conference purpose

Human trafficking is a known problem that has changed in name over the years. During WWII, there were five known comfort houses in Guam where victims were forced into sexual slavery to appease Japanese soldiers. Fast forward to 2000 and the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) was established. Prior to this Act, human trafficking was mistakenly seen as illegal immigration or prostitution where potential victims were treated as criminals. In 2009, Guam enacted a law against human trafficking with the first known case surfacing shortly after ("Human Trafficking and Criminal Exploitation Act of 2009,"). The Blue House Lounge case involved an elderly woman, Song Ja Cha, as the trafficker which came as a surprise to a culture that places elders in high regard. Even more shocking was the involvement in victim intimidation of three police officers from the Guam Police Department (Aguon, 2013). The notoriety of this case revealed a lack of

public awareness about human trafficking and available resources to support victims and survivors.

The Guam Human Rights Initiative (GHRI) co-founder, Mary Kate Soliva, was one of ten Post 9/11 veterans selected to participate in a year-long Veteran Fellowship Program under the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. The program is under the direction of former Secretary of State, Dr. Condoleezza Rice. The purpose of this Fellowship was to focus on a non-partisan issue impacting Americans. As a Veteran Fellow, Mary Kate focused her efforts on human trafficking in Guam as a national security and human rights concern. As a third of Guam is owned and operated by the U.S military, the strategic importance of Guam to the United States cannot be understated. In addition, conversations with stakeholders on Guam revealed a lack of funding and public understanding of each stakeholders' role.

Conference theme and structure

The theme of the Conference, *Human Trafficking on Guam and in the Pacific,* was chosen for several reasons. First, it is a regionally applicable issue from multiple standpoints, such as a national strategic concern and as a vile human rights violation. Second, GHRI co-founders Mary Kate Soliva and Erika Anderson previously worked in the countering-human trafficking sphere a decade before and hosted a similar seminar through the University of Guam. As it is a continuing problem in the region and has the potential to get worse due to geopolitical tensions, it was a timely topic decision.

The previous human trafficking-focused seminar included panelists ranging from the (then current) Attorney General of Guam Alicia Limtiaco, Guam Department of Labor Director Greg Massey, and prominent members of government and law enforcement. Many of these previous speakers readily agreed to return to the stage and offer insights and updates as to the progress of the last decade, which persistently reiterated the need for data, research, and adequate funding. Third, the upcoming influx of Marines to Guam will, unfortunately, create more opportunity for demand if there is inadequate training (Hoots, 2019). Sex trafficking has an unfortunate way of following military installations and with Guam's proximity to Southeast Asia, the island will attract more trafficking attempts as the illicit market has the potential to grow. While this is clearly a human rights violation, it is also of strategic military concern.

Preceding the Conference was a webinar focused on the strategic concerns of human trafficking on Guam, presented on August 31st 2022. Titled *Modern Slavery: A Threat to Our Strategic Security*, it was a joint presentation by Dr Kevin Bales[1], Dr Joseph Green[2], Mr Adam Gramann[3], and Captain Sarah Melville[4]. Given the military buildup on Guam, it is contextually necessary to examine the complexities of human trafficking from a strategic military perspective (Toves, 2022).

[1] Professor of Contemporary Slavery, University of Nottingham
[2] Director of Applied Science and Analytics, Pacific Disaster Center
[3] Senior Disaster Services Analyst, Pacific Disaster Center
[4] US Army Captain, developing anti-human trafficking training for US military personnel

The Conference itself was opened by remarks from Dr Anita Borja Enriquez[5], Governor of Guam the Honorable Lourdes Leon Guerrero, and Dr Robert Underwood[6]. Keynote remarks were presented by Former US Attorney General Alicia Limtiaco[7], who presented a considerate and thorough overview of the challenges and impacts of human trafficking on the island communities. Following these remarks, four panels of one hour each were presented: Law Enforcement, Victim Advocacy, Government, and Private Business. Participants are detailed below.

Law Enforcement Panel

Captain Scott Wade, Division Chief, Guam Police Department Criminal Investigation Division
Attorney Joshua Walsh, Esq., Board Director, Micronesian Legal Services Corporation; Lecturer, University of Guam
Ret. Colonel Esther Duenas, Executive Director, 36th Wing, Andersen Air Force Base
John SA Duenas, Assistant Special Agent in Charge (ASAC), Homeland Security Investigations

The law enforcement panel largely agreed that challenges lie in (1) encouraging victims to come forward, (2) lack of actionable information and (3) the legal burden of proof for trafficking and the need to successfully prosecute. Members of law enforcement rely on community engagement to launch successful investigations, so if there are cultural or religious impediments to speaking openly about a potential case of human trafficking, it is more challenging for officers. Further, the burden of proof for a case of human trafficking is different than for a case of tax evasion. If a victim is unwilling to testify against the perpetrator, it can be incredibly difficult for law enforcement to build a body of evidence that will stand up in court. To get the perpetrator off the streets, offices may have to settle for a lesser charge in order to protect the community at large.

Victim Advocacy Panel

Cynthia Cabot, Executive Director, Guam Coalition Against Sexual Assault & Family Violence
Jayne Flores, Director, Bureau of Women's Affairs; Administrator, Governor's Community Outreach Federal Program Office
Lauri Ogumoro, Executive Director, Karidat
Holly Rustick, CEO, WEGO Consulting / Grant Writing & Funding

Victim advocacy programs have struggled to secure funding without actionable data and have seen their services called upon sporadically. In the case of Karidat, Mrs Ogumoro cited an instance wherein her organization was called upon to provide immediate accommodations for roughly eighty male victims of labor trafficking, while her organization was primarily positioned to house female victims. Sudden shifts like this can be immensely challenging, but Karidat was able to secure accommodations. Compounding the challenge of resource availability is a lack of

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education regarding the definitions of human trafficking. Oftentimes, a victim is unaware that they are technically subjected to human trafficking, and as such will not make use of the resources that are available for them.

Government Panel

AG Leevin Camacho, Attorney General of Guam
Greg Massey, Administrator of Alien Labor Processing & Certification, Acting Wage & Hour Division, Guam Department of Labor
FBI Supervisory Special Agent Rafael Fernandez, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Honolulu Division, Guam Resident Agency
Attorney Ron Aguon, Assistant Professor of Public Administration, University of Guam

The Government Panel reflected briefly on the Human Trafficking Task Force established by previous AG Alicia Limtiaco. Unfortunately, the task force had not been continued.

Private Business Panel

Attorney Vince Camacho, Principal, Camacho Calvo Law Group LLC
Dr Gerry Perez, Adjunct Professor, University of Guam; General Manager, Guam Visitor's Bureau
Mary Rhodes, President, Guam Hotel & Restaurant Association
Attorney Juan Carlos Benitez, President of the Board of Latte Training Academy, CNMI and Guam

The private business panel discussed private initiatives to train employees on the signs of human trafficking, most notable from the Guam Hotel & Restaurant Association and the Guam Visitor's Bureau. There are particular challenges for the private sector on an island the size of Guam, wherein visas are often issues for H2B workers or entertainers. Once a visa-holding person has arrived on Guam, their movements are not monitored which creates an opportunity for them to be put in danger. Sometimes victims are brought over on false pretenses, such as being brought to Guam on an entertainment visa only to be expected to 'entertain guests' in other ways. While this alone puts the victim in danger, it also creates a perception of Guam that is harmful to legitimate businesses with legitimate interest in bringing over entertainers to meet the needs of the tourism industry.

Between the Government and Private Business panels was a presentation by FBI Special Agent David Carrigan entitled *Self Protection*, a practical guide in suspicious behavior from at risk individuals or potential perpetrators. This was intended to support the practical application aspect of the Conference, as presenting data without also offering the information necessary to spot potentially dangerous situations would be less impactful.

These diverse perspectives allowed for an interesting range of perspectives to be discussed in one room. There was common agreement on the prevalence of human trafficking and the lack of systemically available data on the perpetrators and victims. Individual organizations, such as private businesses or victim advocacy organizations or specific police departments, have unique

approaches to educating their stakeholders on the threats of human trafficking and the resources available to help them. Unfortunately, there is no singular resource for victims to access all necessary information.

Findings and outcomes

This Conference brought together panels of experts under a single thematic umbrella who have different backgrounds and perspectives. For instance, the private business panel had a representative from the Guam Tourism Association, the Hotel and Restaurant Association, and two lawyers with different focuses. The benefits of this diversified panel allowed for a dialogue that included the challenges and benefits of hiring employees on visas (ie H2-B or an entertainer visa), the logistics and regulations of auditing supply chains and internal workings, and the concern over perception when openly discussing human trafficking on a tourist destination like Guam.

There were several key issues highlighted during panels and discussions, foundational and chief among them a lack of data and awareness. There has been a lack of focus on data collection, a challenge that is compounded by the siloing of the different elements of the anti-HT sphere. This is additionally complicated by a lack of understanding as to each stakeholders' role in the anti-human trafficking space. There is insufficient communication between divisions such as law enforcement, victim advocacy, and prosecution throughout the entirety of the process lifecycle. As such there is no comprehensive approach to data collection designed to provide tools to meet the needs of each division.

It is also important to note that a vital distinction arose during conversation. There is illegal migration or smuggling into Guam, but it is distinct from human trafficking. In the case of illegal migration or smuggling, participants are often involved voluntarily and have paid or will pay for the cost of transportation. In the case of human trafficking, the victims are forced or coerced into taking part. Illegal migration or smuggling can transition into human trafficking the *moment a victim's passport is taken from them*. This is a vital distinction as the person in question changes from willing participant to unwilling victim, as they lose autonomy and the ability to easily walk away. When discussing cases of human trafficking in the region, it is often noted that the perpetrators took the victim's passport as a means of control and restriction, typically telling the victim that they are powerless without their passports and would be immediately arrested or deported without it. In this regard, widespread educational initiatives should be implemented to teach young adults what to look for, such as someone outside of their trusted network controlling their passport, and what their options are should they lose control of their documents. Passports can be replaced, people cannot.

Future conferences

There are several key focuses for future Conference planning. First, we want to ensure that local stakeholders are properly represented and to respect the inherent value of indigenous knowledge (Hattori, 2011; O'Keefe et al., 2022). Second, as we have a longer planning timeframe for the 2023

Conference, we can give more personal notice to potentially interested stakeholders and to ensure that we are presenting a wide breadth of perspectives.

Following post-Conference discussions, it was decided that the Conference theme for 2023 will be chosen following meetings with on-island community leaders and practitioners. It is important that the issues addressed are timely, relevant, and impactful. This will also offer on-island stakeholders a more significant role in the direction and execution of the Conference, ideally offering table space for local NGOs to share resources and connect with attendees. The purpose is to group stakeholders on Guam by similarities in level of interest, investment, communication needs, and other traits to address their needs and promote collaboration between stakeholders to build trust. The intention of the GHRI for this Conference Series is to facilitate discussion and amplify the voices of practitioners working in the difficult realm of human rights, ergo it is important to center the voices of local organizations and leaders in the planning process.

This will further serve to diversify the stakeholders involved which will bolster the impact of the Conference through the interconnectedness of the island community. Further, by aligning these efforts with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UN SDGs), we can communicate within a framework that is locally, nationally, and internationally recognized. In support of this, future Conferences will be shared through more international channels for participation and attendance, while still intentionally centering local perspectives.

The support received for the planning, funding, and execution of this Conference was overwhelming and invaluable. We would like to particularly thank Dr Anita Borja Enriquez and Dr John Rivera for their incredible guidance and insights. We are humbled and grateful for the support from our sponsors; UOG Senior Vice President and Provost's Office, the UOG Regional Center for Public Policy, The Hoover Institution, the Project Management Institute, Guam Coalition Against Sexual Assault and Family Violence, Security Title, Guam Green Growth, Rotary eClub of Pago Bay, Rotary Club of Guam, University of Nottingham Right's Lab, the Rotary Club of Tumon Bay, and the Rotary Club of Guam Sunrise Pacific Basin Group District 2750**.** None of this would have been possible without the insights and investments made by our speakers, for which we are in their debt. Finally, the technical support received from UOG's Global Learning & Education office was invaluable and their professionalism unmatched.

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"Balancing the Blend: Hybrid Spaces and Literatures"
Presented at the 35th Language Arts Conference on November 19, 2022

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Abstract
The global pandemic, COVID-19, resulted in virtual learning spaces that reimagined the classroom. The expeditious adjustment to online learning was a challenge for students and instructors. After conditioned online learning behavior, learning engagement transitioned to face-to-face instruction, the value of the online learning experience emerged. The learning for both platforms, online or asynchronous and face-to-face or synchronized, suggests a blended or hybrid learning approach offering for students and teachers. This combined learning engagement unifies learning platforms to connect in ways that are not confined to walls or the coastlines of our island.

In this presentation we will share our expanded ideas of hybrid learning and illustrate some of the new opportunities for connections. We argue that hybridized content, not just hybrid teaching, can be incorporated into the Language Arts classroom by using transterritorial pedagogies. This theory reflects the cultural hybridity of students in our Pacific Island regions. Because this approach centers on visibility and inclusivity, we explore an island-centric pedagogy that recognizes our students' multicultural backgrounds.

Introduction
This presentation was completed in partial fulfillment for one of our required courses. As graduate students studying Literature under the University of Guam's Master of Arts in English program, we want to share our ideas for reimagining the literary classroom based on our university student experiences.

For the past several years, both students and educators have developed a certain understanding of "hybrid education." This paper looks at the ways we have expanded our views of this term, and how we have come to apply hybrid concepts to other areas in the classroom. Hybridized content, not just hybrid teaching, can be incorporated into the classroom by using transterritorial

pedagogies. This theory reflects the cultural hybridity of students in our Pacific Island regions. Because this approach centers on visibility and inclusivity, an island-centric pedagogy that recognizes our students' multicultural backgrounds remains at the forefront. This presentation aimed to engage in conversations and encouraged educators to share ideas for implementing transterritorial pedagogies in classrooms throughout the island.

The Meaning of Hybridity

Throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, students and educators adapted to a virtual classroom setting, with minimal, if any, face-to-face classroom instruction. The challenges that resulted from this switch were undeniable, but it also created new opportunities for connections. For example, class sessions conducted synchronized sessions via Zoom allowed off-island students to still attend classes. It also provided greater opportunities for guest speakers to attend and give presentations.

As classrooms shift back to a face-to-face learning environment, hybrid learning, or the blending of both face-to-face instruction with online instruction, is used to create a more comfortable transition. Some classrooms and educators have returned entirely to face-to-face instruction. With the hybrid classroom no longer an absolute necessity, other forms of hybridity can be maintained to support the classroom learning environment.

Re-visioning the Hybrid Learning Experience

The hybrid learning experience is conventionally thought of as a blend of face-to-face instruction with online, sometimes asynchronous, learning. Typically, educators used platforms such as Zoom and Moodle to connect with students without a physical classroom.

To expand these traditionally understood concepts of hybridity, they must extend out of the physical classroom space. In other words, hybridity can and should be applied to areas other than methods of instruction. An approach that redefines hybrid learning by making a shift towards hybridized content, rather than a hybridized classroom space, allows for ideas of hybridity to remain in any type of classroom, face-to-face or online.

To be hybrid is to be blended, to be not one thing, but many things. Our island itself houses lots of diverse cultures, resulting in many students coming from hybridized ethnic backgrounds. Hybridity is even seen on school campuses in places like the school cafeteria, where both longanisa and rice, and hotdogs and French fries, are served. School assemblies, where students proudly recite both The Pledge of Allegiance and the Inifresi, are another example of existing hybridity in local schools.

Incorporating hybridized content into the classroom involves an approach that familiarizes students with literature that recognizes and values hybrid identities. Translated literature is a form of hybridized content. Translated works allow the blending of cultures that reflects the blend of cultures evident in our culturally diverse learners in Guam. Studying translated literature may focus on texts originating from cultures around the Asian Pacific region: for example, Chantal T. Spitz from French Polynesia, Nora Vagi Brash from Papua New Guinea, Shenaz Patel from the

Chagos Islands, Pramoedya Ananta Toer from Indonesia, and Edgar Calabia Samar from the Philippines. Translated into English, these texts are a form of hybrid content because they blend cultures and languages to create new experiences and opportunities for meaning.

Transterritorial Pedagogies

The term "transterritorial" can be broken down into three components. "Trans-" is a prefix, meaning "across, to extend over, to expand." "Territory" refers to a geographic area. "-ial" is a suffix, meaning "relating to." Therefore, a transterritorial pedagogy is a teaching method where educators would expand content across areas, across cultures, and show the relations, or connections, between the areas and cultures that are expanded upon.

Transterritorial pedagogy, introduced by Oana Popescu-Sandu and Sukanya Gupta, acknowledges that people belong to multiple nations, speak multiple languages, and may practice multiple cultures. The objective of this approach is for students to develop transterritorial literacy, which is "a form of literacy that gives attention to the multiple nuances of language, identity, culture and belonging" (Popescu-Sandu and Gupta, 2022, p. 158). Our education system teaches general literacy in students; in other words, students are taught basic reading and writing. The transterritorial approach to literacy goes beyond that by paying attention to the hybrid backgrounds of our students (and the hybrid nature of the world). In understanding the storytelling techniques from writers who they can identify with, students can develop their literacy in a Pacific-centric way.

Eight Muses of the Fall, written by Edgar Calabia Samar in Tagalog, and translated into English by Mikael de Lara Co and Sasha Martinez, is a novel that follows the story of a young Filipino named Daniel, and his journey to unravel his identity amidst a post-colonial and post-martial-law Philippines. Even in this novel's English translation, it is rich in both Filipino cultural references and Tagalog words and folklore. Guam's Tagalog-speaking student population might find this text particularly enjoyable as they read and recognize parts of their own culture and childhood through Daniel's experiences.

A key technique in understanding translated texts is deliberative inquiry. Popescu-Sandu and Gupta (2022) recommend readers "not to gloss over the unfamiliar or opaque or domesticate it" (p. 160). Readers should be deliberate and intentional when encountering texts of unknown linguistic meaning. As part of our learning journey, the extended learning depth of understanding of cultural application were illustrated in oral references of elders. A transformative learning approach includes the investigation of terms and concepts that are difficult to research, such as oral traditional practices, to respond to inquiries. As this novel has no glossary, no foreword, no translator's note–no additional context–it was a fitting choice by our instructor to introduce this technique to us through this novel. Language research in the Tagalog language terms such as Philippine names, places, and events offered the context that helped to ground the novel. An effective technique for classroom teachers to consider, deliberative inquiry involves encouraging the exploration of literature through reading illustrative texts to insight fulfillment in expanding the understanding of cultural and temporal contexts.

Educators might also consider introducing the translated text *Island of Shattered Dreams* when fostering transterritorial literacy in students. Deriving from French Polynesia, *Island of Shattered Dreams* was originally written in French by Chantal T. Spitz and translated into English by Jean Anderson. Set around the time of World War II, this novel looks at the devastating and residual effects of French colonialism as it impacts three generations of one Indigenous Tahitian family whose land has been taken for the military's nuclear missile build-up. Not only does *Island of Shattered Dreams* teach us about the history of French Polynesia from an Indigenous perspective, but the intentional choices of the author and translator ground readers in the Indigenous experience. For example, the text begins with what we might assume is a creation story written in the Indigenous Ma'ohi language, without an English translation. What follows is the story of how God created heaven and earth, translated into English. The Ma'ohi creation story is only understood by readers familiar with Ma'ohi, and English monolingual readers can only assume that this is, in fact, a creation story, because of the English-written creation story that follows.

Reading *Island of Shattered Dreams* requires a de-centering of the reader, which is an essential method instilled in us by our instructor when we began learning to develop our own transterritorial literacy. This method asks that readers approach the text with "caution, curiosity, humility" to not alienate the text (Popescu-Sandu and Gupta, 2022, p. 159). Although translated literature may not follow what is viewed as conventional in most classrooms, these literatures should not be dismissed as inferior because of their differences. Texts in translation were not originally written for an English-reading audience, so naturally, there may be passages, sections, and events within a text that may not be understood. In these cases, educators may teach students how to analyze the choices of language, seeing them not as something that alienates us as outside readers, but rather, as an invitation for questions and discussion. With caution and curiosity, students can be encouraged to discuss why particular sections of a text remain untranslated, or why, in the *Island of Shattered Dreams* example, the Ma'ohi creation story precedes the English creation story.

In reading translated literatures as part of a Master's Degree graduate course requirement, it was necessary to de-center as English readers to fully engage with translated texts. Embracing this unfamiliarity for the benefit of learning was challenging and uncomfortable, but it resulted in the necessary push to grow as "close" readers (to read text closely, carefully, and beneath the surface). Our learning journey presented the opportunity to grow, learn, and think about previously unknown cultures and contexts. There was value in constructing a learning space wherein cultures present the classroom blended with cultures outside of the classroom.

Incorporating Transterritorial Ideas in the Classroom

Classroom teachers may be required to teach a unit or an entire semester of World Literature. A class or section on World Literature is a great place to incorporate transterritorial pedagogies through the introduction of translated literatures. According to Popescu-Sandu and Gupta (2022), "World literature is not a fixed entity, but a way of approaching texts" (p. 160). World literature is a chance to teach more than just content, but context as well.

Translingualism is an important part of teaching translated literature. As was previously mentioned, “trans-” is a prefix meaning “across, to extend over, to expand.” “Lingual” means related to language. “-ism” is a suffix that indicates practice. Based on its linguistic components, translingualism, is the practice of extending languages.

An approach to this form of literacy engagement is to encourage critical thinking skills by asking learners to reflect on how they would translate unfamiliar or new words themselves. A Chamorro language example is the word “ma’agoddai'' defined as “a feeling when something is so cute you want to pinch it,” “when something is cute it makes you tense,” and even “when something is pleasing and makes you feel so happy that you actually get mad.” Students can take turns sharing their definition of the word based on their own experiences and can be invited to share personal stories that aid in forming their definition of “ma’agoddai.” This teaching strategy offers support to learners to develop an appreciation for language and communication; to value learning Language Arts. On a global scale, translated literature can help learners to develop a lens of knowledge about the world they live in. With books and stories taught in the classroom often seen as “open doors,” introducing translated texts that support ideas and understandings of the world could expand literacy genres beyond their learning by encouraging a global literacy mindset.

As an expansive literacy approach to classroom instruction, literature or content currently required for classroom instruction may already lend themselves to transterritorial pedagogies. Global Literatures expose readers to new languages and cultures, students may learn to appreciate differences. Learners are introduced to new perspectives and the multiple ways of saying something in different languages—even in English. Popescu-Sandu and Gupta (2022) point out that, “The idea of standard language is often a manufactured one that aims to marginalize inherent language difference” (p. 159). Reading World Literature can demonstrate that even English is a diverse language; often we are taught to write using “standardized English” in the classroom, but can we identify what standardized English is? All English-speakers communicate differently depending on their geographic and cultural background; to acknowledge this is to recognize the diversity of students’ nationality and belonging. In the main theoretical text from our graduate course*, Is That a Fish in Your Ear* by David Bellos (2012), there is a chapter called “How Many Words Do We Have For Coffee?” which considers how every single language in the world is equally complex, with its own system of rules. Bellos (2012) argues that, “Different languages [just] make their speakers pay attention to different aspects of the world” (p. 164).

Teaching a more traditional text alongside an Asian Pacific text can help distinguish differences to learners, while also pointing out similarities. For example, the Chamorro legend “How the Women Saved Guam” and Shirley Jackson’s “The Lottery” share the common themes of tradition and community. “How the Women Saved Guam” emphasizes that a community bond and a focus on tradition are what save the island from being broken in half by a giant parrot fish. In comparison, “The Lottery” seems to critique tradition with its morbid descriptions of a community that blindly follows traditional activities. While both stories focus on the same themes, their executions are different. A consideration to teach these stories concurrently gives learners the depth of

understanding and reflective practice to identify and analyze differences. This technique can be used across grade levels, using stories and texts that might reinforce previous lesson plans.

This approach offers learners reflective practices to value and embrace differences. Learners can either share what they have learned from the differences identified, or what they have learned about a place or context. Identifying the similarities as well may guide learners with how to find common ground between something they are familiar with and something more geographically or culturally distant. Comparing traditional texts with Pacific Island texts teaches learners to think beyond their learned perspectives by bridging, or blending, their literacy across nations.

Reading Pacific Island texts, or introducing new texts, to learners may be challenging. Analyzing new texts requires additional effort to keep learners engaged. Incorporating culturally relevant literature is critical to encourage learners to build the capacity to share their own stories, their own voices, and their own diverse experiences. The empowering steps forward involve continuing to share the work of emerging writers and their voices, their diverse experiences.

Importance of Transterritorial Pedagogies

Our blended cultures in Guam and in our Pacific Island region indicates that this Island-centered approach is valuable to learners in our region or in the diaspora as they will see themselves and their hybrid identities represented in the text. Paying attention to the multiple expressions of language, culture, and identity, this approach allows learners to create new meaning through these multiple viewpoints. Learners at home, or outside of their classrooms, speak more languages than they can in the classroom space. Significant home languages and cultures can and should be valued even in the classroom setting. There is immense value in English writing and literacy, and there is just as much value in their experiences. Learners should be encouraged to translate their home experiences into the classroom lessons. Our learning journey acknowledged oral knowledge, such as the voices from our elders as a reference to understand Tagalog terms and contexts. Embracing the cultural context helped bridge that knowledge gap in the text, bringing culture and home languages into the classroom.

This brings up the issues of accessibility. What is already “available” to learners in terms of literature and storytelling? When learners return home, they may not have access to “classic” literature books or short stories. Many of them will have access to cultural storytelling, as well as more use of their own “home” languages. Transterritorial pedagogies using Asian Pacific stories effectively bridge the gap between language arts at school and language arts at home, by allowing learners to continue their classroom conversations at home.

At the core of transterritorial pedagogies lies the idea that more language and more culture can lead to more student engagement and learning. Using a transterritorial approach to incorporate more Asian Pacific literature in the classroom means that the learners’ own cultures are more likely to be “mirrored” in the classroom, unlike with strictly Western curriculums, since most Western curriculums cannot relate to certain aspects of island life, like weather or seasons, methods of travel, and even some foods. Transterritorial pedagogies teach learners to embrace

the identities that they start developing at home, rather than implying that their home culture is somehow undervalued because it is different from what they are taught in their textbooks. A transterritorial pedagogy will add more value to learners' culture, by incorporating that culture into the classroom.

Moving Forward

The views of hybridized learning continue expanding for educators and students can continue to expand views of literature and belonging. Hybrid learning negotiated the physical barriers put in place by the pandemic. Hybrid content allows educators to negotiate the cultural barriers behind which their students might be struggling.

With space-based hybrid learning models, there are undoubtedly challenges; tackling those challenges are critical conversations to create a prolific learning environment for students. While space-based hybrid learning allows learners to bring their classroom into their homes, hybrid content allows students to embrace their culture and background, bringing their homes, their safe learning to support maximized a range of learning opportunities in their learning space.

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The Seven Heroes of Malesso' During World War II

JOAQUIN NANGAUTA NAPUTI

As the University of Guam continues to promote Island Wisdom (Robert F. Kennedy Library, n.d.), it is important that we share the knowledge from our elders to sustain our cultural values as island people. Not many residents know, but Malesso' is the only village in Guam that was not liberated by the U.S. Armed Forces but by the villagers themselves. 77 years after the Liberation, the names of the seven heroes of Malesso' who led a victorious rebellion were added to the monument in front of San Dimas Church on July 13, 2021.

On July 15 and July 16, 1944, Japanese Imperial Forces massacred several Malesso' men and women at Tinta Cave and the Faha Area of Malesso'. Because of this attack, at sunset on July 20, 1944, seven men killed the Japanese Imperial Forces, which prevented a total massacre of the people of Malesso'. Those seven brave men were Jose S. Reyes, Mariano N. Nangauta, Jose N.Nangauta, Juan A. Naputi, Patricio S. Taijeron, Vicente M. Meno, and Nicolas A. Chargualaf. In honor and recognition of their heroic actions and valor, Public Law 36-109, designating a portion of Route 4, Malesso', the seven Heroes of Malesso' Highway, was signed into Law by Governor Lourdes Leon Guerrero on October 12, 2022.

The Merizo co-liberators are Jose "Pop Tonko" Reyes, front center; Vicente Meno, Patricio Taijeron, Nicolas Ada, Mariano Nangauta, Jose Nangauta and Juan Naputi. Jesus Barcinas (far right) was one of the six men that paddled to alert the Americans on July 21, 1944.

To continue to honor their memory, the oral tradition of this priceless history was shared by Juan Acfalle Naputi, Mariano Nangauta, and Jose Nangauta to their son and nephew, Joaquin Nangauta Naputi, respectively. The following are excerpts from this story, and other pieces will be shared in future volumes.

Tinta Cave

Malesso', the southernmost village of Guam is a small closely knitted community. It was the only village not liberated by U.S. Forces but by the villagers themselves. Events leading up to this liberation were tragic. First, on July 15, 1944, villagers that the Japanese perceived as closely aligned with the Americans were herded into Tinta Cave and grenades were thrown into the cave and bayonets were used to finish off moving bodies. Fortunately, a few survived.

Faha Cave

Secondly, on July 16, 1944, the biggest men of Malesso' were taken to Faha where they were all slaughtered. After learning what had happened at Faha, Jose "Tonko" Reyes met with his compadre Mariano Nangauta Nangauta, his brother Jose Nangauta Nangauta and his brother-in-law Juan Acfalle Naputi and told them what had happened. These men then recruited Jose "Tonko" Reyes' cousin Patricio Taijeron, the Nangauta brothers' nephew, Nicolas Ada Chargualaf, and his brother-in-law, Vicente "Dinga" Meno.

Atate

Jose "Tonko" Reyes told the men that if they didn't take action, the Japanese would kill all the villagers. The plan was to attack the Japanese returning from a work detail at Atate during sunset. Jose "Tonko" Reyes holding the only rifle would shoot the first Japanese soldiers descending from the hill when the work crew returned to Malesso'. This will be the signal for the other six (6) to rush the remaining Japanese soldiers and engage them in hand-to-hand combat.

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Heiwa: Heiwa is the pushing of the canoe on the unfolded mat to demonstrate how a canoe will actually sail in the ocean from the departure island to the destination island. The navigator uses one or more stars or constellations and uses the faunan etak (primary reference island) and possibly a fauan yatil (secondary reference island) in tracking the course. Heiwa is also used to explain the feeling of the canoe's movement caused by the waves and swells hitting the canoe.

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