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Authors and Academics: The Epistemic Culture of Linguistic Science Writing in Early American Grammars of Pacific Languages

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Abstract

This study examines four linguistic grammars published between 1905-1918, representing five Pacific languages—Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Tagalog (Philippines), Sissano (Papua New Guinea), Sa'a (Solomon Islands), and Ulawa (Solomon Islands)—in order to understand the linguistic practices of the epistemic culture that early linguistic science embodied. What was the culture of knowledge that governed the language of the authors of linguistic description while also itself being governed by it? In order to bring to light a response, this analysis relies on the theory of 'discourses' from Foucault's work, The Archaeology of Knowledge and the methodology of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis derived from his work. In answering this question, it becomes necessary to understand what discourses are involved within the knowledge culture of early language science. Within this analysis, the study investigates the discursive constructions, discourses, action orientations, positionings, practices, and subjectivities involved in this epistemic culture. The conclusions of the analysis suggest that the epistemic culture of early linguistics was one of 'representation by quantification,' which legitimized the effects of imperialism through universals in a Euro-American-created historical universe.

1. INTRODUCTION

When linguists, early in the history of this scholastic field, approached the lands beyond Europe (and Anglo North America), they created ways of understanding and interacting with those peoples there that served several specific purposes. With the field of linguistics taking off at the height of the colonial period, at the beginning of the 19th through the early 20th century, the social milieu of the period surrounded and influenced the 'thoughts and ideas,'[1] but moreover, and more importantly, in this treatment, the 'ideation' of linguists and linguistics. Language science, like any other and indeed all other sciences, was crystallizing into its habits of knowledge acquisition—indeed, the practices of an epistemic culture.[2] Part of those cultures,

[1] While most single and double quotation marking is of canonical use, in this paper, the convention of using single quotes for packaged concepts (i.e, for what some scholars in this tradition use capitalization) and double quotes for directly quoted concepts will be followed.

[2] Knorr Cetina (1999) engages in a comparative study of two different sciences, High Energy Physics and Molecular Biology, in her book *Epistemic Cultures: How the Sciences Make Knowledge* in order to reveal how distinct "scientific fields exhibit distinct 'epistemic cultures'" (Giere 2002: 637). This perspective from the philosophy of science (i.e., the natural sciences) is important, even though many people consider linguistics part of the humanities or social sciences, because it gives a vocabulary through which a young and burgeoning

as is inherent to all cultures, is the aspect where language plays in its performance, its maintenance, and even its creation. Language is both the representation and the performance of human culture—it is a demonstration of social and cultural behavior while being just as much a social and cultural behavior of its own.

Language is the portrayal of the customs, beliefs, and events within a particular group's social system, while also existing as a portrayal of the system itself by language itself being a behavioral practice governed by the system's structure. This latter part is of the most interest: what does the language of early linguists in their descriptions of the world's languages portray concerning the system of behavioral practice that the cultural system itself governs? Indeed what was the epistemic culture that directed the language of the authors of linguistic descriptions while also itself being directed by it?

Michel Foucault, in his work, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) provides a lens through which to perform an analysis that might yield a response to such a question. Especially in regard to communities of academic fields, Foucault describes discourses as systems of language that contain the shared ideas, values, and lexicons of an epistemic community. These discourses are beyond the control of any single individual within a certain community of knowledge, indeed beyond any single 'author,' and yet these discourses govern what these 'authors' can know and say. To answer the question of interest here, I must understand the discourses that are at play within the epistemic culture of early linguistic science.

Here in my investigation, I examine four linguistic grammars published between 1905-1918 on five Pacific languages: Rapa Nui of Easter Island, Tagalog of the Philippines, Sissano of Papua New Guinea, and Sa'a and Ulawa of the Solomon Islands. While other regions of the world see similar issues with early grammars during the colonial era, here I have chosen an areal focus of Oceania and the representations of its languages, cultures, and histories through these grammars.

I use the word grammar more widely than it usually is deployed, meaning the study and/or description of sentence constructions in a language. Here I employ it in an almost classical sense of the word—'grammar' being derived from the Ancient Greek *γραμματική* meaning "pertaining to letters or literature" (OED). Grammar here will indicate any systematic form of linguistic description. This includes what is traditionally thought of as grammars as well as dictionaries, smaller vocabularies, handbooks, and comparative studies in philology. Through this study of Oceanic grammars, I examine how grammars became tools of power—indeed instruments for social hegemony from the inside out.

By controlling the psychological bilateral praxis of communication—language as a representation of cultural practice and interaction as well as language as cultural practice and interaction—imperial powers were able to lay claim and subjugate the populations of its colonies, on the one hand, through what could be said through these grammars and, on the other hand, through what the practice of writing these grammars signified. This produced two major problems for the colonial and later for the post-colonial worlds: first, of measuring various populations' level of 'civilization' and second, of controlling the representation of various populations and their creation of the subjugable, 'cultured' body politics.

We know that in the history of language description, before colonialism or during early colonies on par with the ideology of, for example, the "Spanish model" (Stoler, 1989, p. 638; Stoler, 2009, p. 121) of colonialism that allowed racial mixing, we see that written grammars "covered ... perfectly topics congruent with that of science today" (Mondada, 1998, p. 60).

scientific field—especially as it incorporates more quantitative methods from biology, genetics, neuroscience, physiology and computer science—may understand, critique, and refine how it acquires knowledge.

Descriptions of "rich lists lexical [and] sentence patterns" (Mondada, 1998, p. 60)—the things needed to communicate with the people they met, were present. After the firm establishment of high colonial rule, the descriptions became more systematic and selective, "emphasizing the abstract description of an order rather than communicative practices" (Mondada, 1998, p. 44). We can see in these descriptions "traces of the takeover and asymmetry that govern relations with the natives" (Mondada, 1998, p. 49). Grammars become a tool of quantification and evaluation.

From the perspective of 'grammatical quantification,' Appadurai's *Number in the Colonial Imagination* (1996) and ideas of the importance of numeracy and enumeration in the imperial world is a key connection to make with the language and grammar writing of this period. I want to understand how grammars became tools of power—indeed instruments for social hegemony from the inside out.

Appadurai holds that while Edward Said's famous book *Orientalism* (1979) is centrally concerned with the forms of knowledge that constitute what he defined as 'Orientalism', Said does not specify how exactly the Orientalist knowledge project and the colonial project of domination were linked. Said (1979) discusses the various ways the discourse of Orientalism formed perspectives of strangeness, exoticism, and other notions of alterity. Appadurai (1996, p. 114) writes that "rhetorically speaking, orientalism is absolutely anatomical and enumerative, to use its vocabulary is to engage in the particularizing and dividing of things Oriental into manageable parts."

Then Appadurai (1996, p. 115) suggests that in disinterring extinct languages, orientalists participated in a process in which "reconstructive precision, science, even imagination could prepare the way for what armies, administrations, and bureaucracies would later do on the ground, in the Orient"—a quantification of a colored peoples' state of civilization. He maintains that scholars "have paid a good deal of attention to the classificatory logic of colonial regimes, but less attention to the ways in which they employ quantification as well as the various other instruments like maps, agrarian surveys, racial studies, and a variety of other products of the colonial archive" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 115). Linguistic grammars are to be added to this list. Early linguists tie grammars, albeit mostly inadvertently, to discourses of 'race' and 'culture' to tell the story of the Other through the epistemic culture of science. The speakers of a formally represented specific language group are a racialized body, a 'cultured' body, an uncivilized body, an unevolved or not yet evolved body." Stoler (1995) puts it best when she writes that:

> [In] the nineteenth century, . . . race becomes that organizing grammar of an imperial order in which modernity, the civilizing mission and the 'measure of man' were framed. And with it, 'culture' was harnessed to do more specific political work; not only to mark difference, but to rationalize the hierarchies of privilege and profit, to consolidate the labor regimes of expanding capitalism, to provide the psychological scaffolding for the exploitative structures of colonial rule. (Stoler, 1995, p. 27)

Language, seen as an inherent part of culture, was no different and the descriptions, thus quantifications, of it were a 'technology of knowledge' used as a 'technology of power.'

Besides the problem of the 'measuring of man', the directly linked problem of representation emerges. The quantified people groups, through formal grammars, face the consequences of a European-dictated and Eurocentric representation as a justifiedly, subjugable, 'cultured' body politic. Mondada, in describing the power dynamics involved in the organization of the interaction between the interviewer and the informant—an important

aspect as a method and practice of the linguistic epistemic culture—notices that supposed descriptions produced from the "multiple voices of informants" is usually a muted ensemble of the "colonized, [and] outvoted … for [the linguists] never let them speak" (Mondada, 1998, p. 40). The asymmetry of power is clear and due to the practice from which grammars are born, descriptions of various languages' informants are never neutral. These grammars were produced primarily for the benefit of White audiences—serving as representations that both constructed and reinforced the ideational frameworks of White cultural minds during the colonial period.

Early linguists' representations formed part of the evidence engaged in the academic discourse of history. This 'history' is a discourse produced at the institutional site of the university, unknowingly preoccupied with Europe even when telling the histories of non-European peoples. "'Europe' remains the sovereign, theoretical subject of all histories, including the ones we call 'Indian,' 'Chinese,' 'Kenyan,' and so on" (Chakrabarty, 1992, p. 1). There is a particular way in which all these other histories tend to become variations on a master narrative that could be called the 'history of Europe'. Europe as the model for all reinforces its superiority, because 'others did it, therefore Europeans did it too, but on a greater scale.'

2. FOUCAULDIAN THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

In order to deal with concerns of imperial quantification and representations in which linguists and linguistics played a role, I examine precisely the governing and the governed within the epistemic culture of early linguistics. Again, what is the statement that the language of these scientists' grammars makes concerning the system of its own regulating behavioral practice? Foucault provides a perspective on how to carry out this investigation and analysis that might produce an answer to my question.

In investigating the structure of an epistemic culture, I have observed that there are various discourses that compose the habitual language and grammar through which the field of early linguistics functions. Foucauldian discourses are systems of language that contain the shared concepts, ideals, and vocabulary of an epistemic community. Discourses are outside of the command of any single individual within a certain epistemic community. There is no single 'author' of the discourse—yet these discourses dictate what these 'authors' can know and say.

As for the epistemic culture and community of early linguistics, when examining the writings of linguists, I observe that there are many clearly-held, unquestioned and quite possibly unquestionable assumptions that linguists make in their quantifications and representations of Oceanic languages and, by way of them, Oceanic histories, cultures, and societies. When I write that certain assumptions are 'unquestionable,' I do not mean that a person cannot at some point hold the 'obvious' up for examination, but indeed that to question these assumptions is to go against the 'obvious'—to question 'common-sense.' These assumptions are the implicit beliefs of this epistemic culture which function as the underlying theme and logic for how linguists quantify and, by means of this, represent Oceanic peoples.

The underlying theme and logic of 'representation by quantification' form the fundamental discourses of the early linguistic epistemic community. These discourses constitute the 'technologies of knowledge' that reveal the power relations at play within a community. Foucault points out that "technologies of knowledge" are "technologies of power". He discusses this relationship between 'knowledge' and 'power' in terms of space (Duranti, 1997, p. 11).

For Foucault, noticing that nineteenth-century thinkers seemed to preoccupy themselves

with temporality (history and the progressive mechanisms of time) while the twentieth-century thinkers on spatiality, he suggests that thinking in spatial terms such as "region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition" (Foucault, 1972, p. 65) would lead to an understanding of how knowledge is never unbiased, but always a tool of power with the "political and militaristic connotations" (Duranti, 1997, p. 12) of such thinking revealing themselves as they actually, deliberately exist. Elucidating these technologies of knowledge as they abide by these discourses draws attention to their roles in the creation of authority within a given social setting.

The discourses of interest in this study are technologies of knowledge that reveal the role of the language in the writing of these linguistic descriptions, and thus the understandings of histories, cultures, and societies, in the epistemic lives of the linguists as it functions to create their conceptualizations of self, civilization, racial/ethnic identity, historical progression, societal/cultural status, and moral standing. These formative discourses are the implicit beliefs that compose how this epistemic culture arrives at its understandings and carries out its work. This study exposes those beliefs.

In order to accomplish this, I rely on what may be called Foucauldian discourse analysis. While I use the term 'discourse analysis' and while my work here is the analysis of textual construction, this is an analysis of Foucauldian 'discourses' or semiotic systems (especially of language) that contain the shared ideas, values, and vocabularies of a given community. I must make it clear that this work does not study speech acts, turn-taking, turn sequences, or any of the other studies of text and conversation organization (Lerner, 2004). 'Discourse' here has a more extensive meaning.

As for approaches to doing such an analysis, while Foucault himself never delineated a precise methodology in any formal way by which to harvest these discourses, I have derived from his theories a methodology based on Willig (2008). I begin by looking at the surface during a preliminary scan, pointing out statements that with regularity form a certain internal "system of dispersion" or what Foucault calls a "discursive formation" (Foucault, 1972, p. 38). After this scan, I draw a schematic representation of the "rules of formation" or the conditions in which these discourses exist and maintain themselves (Willig, 2008, p. 115).

Through a closer, second examination, I begin my analysis, noting in more detail the statements and their contexts that touch upon these discourses and pull them apart through six different approaches. First, I look at discursive construction: lexically speaking, how do members of this community construct the discursive object in the text? Secondly, I look at the discourses themselves which are primarily, in this study, 'quantification' and 'representation,' but also minor ones that arise in the text. What is the place of these various discourse constructions within the wider discourses of 'quantification,' 'representation,' and so on that compose the nature of the text? Third, I examine the action orientation: what can the various constructions of the discursive object accomplish within the text? Fourth, Positioning is in focus. What are the various subject positions to be identified? Fifth, I look for practices of discourse: what is the relationship between the discourses and practice in terms of possibilities and limitations for the action of constructing certain accounts of the world? And finally, sixth, I examine the subjectivities at play. What are the links between the discursive constructions and the sense of self for the involved people of this community?

After having completed this six-staged approach to the texts, I look back and of each text ask the following questions: how are statements composed? What is there that authors can and cannot say? How do authors form the spaces in which they might make new statements?

What comprises the material and discursive aspects of certain practices? What do authors represent here as truth or as a norm? How is this constructed? What 'evidence' do they use? What do they leave out? What do they place in the foreground, and what in the background? What is problematic, and what is not? What alternative meanings or explanations do authors ignore? What do they separate, and what do they link together? What interests do they employ or serve through these texts, and which ones are not employed or served? How has this text come into existence? What identities, actions, and practices are made possible, desirable, and/or required by this community's way of thinking? Which ones are disallowed? What do authors normalize, and what do they pathologize? Only close scrutiny may reveal the discourses and the systems of practice that construct the objects of discourse of a given community.

3. AUTHORS, ACADEMICS, AND THE COLONIAL USE OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

Through the analysis of these four grammars—the *Handbook and Grammar of the Tagalog Language*, *Easter Island: The Rapanui Speech and the Peopling of Southeast Polynesia*, *Sissano: Movements of the Migration Within and Through Melanesia*, and the *Dictionary and Grammar of the Language of Sa'a and Ulawa*[3]—I am able to get a glimpse into the sort of discourses that existed and indeed constructed the quantified description and representation of the colonized world through the study of its languages. Although these works of linguistic description centre on those five languages, especially in their attempt to understand the place of each language within Oceanic prehistory and, thus, human prehistory itself, they are not without interaction with other Pacific languages. Other languages that these grammars mention in their descriptions are Indonesian, Paumotu, Mangareva, Tahitian, Marquesan, Hawaiian, and various Papuan languages.

Most of the languages that these grammars aim to delineate or that are in interaction with those described languages belong to the Austronesian language family[4]. In the same way that Welsh, Hindi, French, Lithuanian, English and approximately 400 other languages historically derive from a 'Proto-Indo-European' ancestor, the languages mentioned above, as well as languages such as Malagasy (Madagascar), Māori (New Zealand), and Balinese (Indonesia) share a common ancestor through 'Proto-Austronesian'. There are around 1,200 Austronesian languages, making it the largest language family in the world (Lewis et al., 2013). It is the largest family not only in terms of the number of languages but also from the perspective of indigenous geographic extensiveness, with an area stretching from Madagascar to Indonesia and from Taiwan to Easter Island (Blust, 1976; Blust, 1980).

The earliest linguistic description under investigation here is William E. W. MacKinlay's *Handbook and Grammar of the Tagalog Language*, published in 1905. Not much is known about MacKinlay except that he was a First Lieutenant in the First Calvary of the United States Army and also a member of the American Oriental Society. The purpose of this text is probably connected to his military work. He has his grammar physically constructed—bound, sized, and waterproofed—in the fashion of a "Soldier's Handbook" of the time. The purpose of his text was to take Tagalog, a language "belonging to a very different family of

[3] Ulawa is now considered a dialect of Sa'a (Lewis et al., 2013).

[4] Except the Papuan languages, the mass of the languages of New Guinea. Using the term 'Papuan' here does not imply that most of New Guinea's languages share a scientifically traceable, genetic common ancestor. There is no 'Papuan' language family; it is merely a cover term for languages in this area. Some linguists prefer the term 'non-Austronesian'; however this presents a number of its own issues. Scholars suggest that there are over 60 distinct language families in New Guinea (approximately 36 genetically related groups and 24 isolates—languages with no known or proven relatives) (Foley, 1986, p. 3; Foley, 2000, p. 360; Foley, 2003; Lynch, 1998, p. 61).

languages from those with which Americans are familiar" with its "extremely dissimilar characteristics from English or any other Aryan tongue" (MacKinlay, 1905, p. 5), and make it accessible to students who need it.

Many of the sources, especially the earliest ones for MacKinlay's work, as mentioned in his bibliographical essay, come from Spanish authors—specifically early Spanish clergymen. As mentioned before, in connection with 'Spanish modelled' colonialism, his grammar covers basic topics very similar to the language descriptions of today with a focus on communicative practice enriched by detailed vocabularies and sentence structures.

However, as his work continues, I have observed the emergence of discourses of language, culture, and race:

> It can scarcely be doubted that if some of the great works of the world were translated into Tagalog and placed where they would be accessible to the common people, who do not speak or read Spanish and are almost too old to learn English well, that the results would be of great and immediate importance in the mental development of the race. (MacKinlay, 1905, p. 7)

These discourses are built upon discursive constructions that define the language of 'Americans' as 'English,' a language among other "Aryan languages"[5] sharing common structures and histories. These 'Aryan' languages are 'civilized' and spoken by the 'civilized,' another connection tying language, culture, and race. Yet civilization comes in degrees and the languages, even some of the Philippine languages about which he writes, can be considered civilized. This notion of civilization is predicated on a discourse of 'quantification' as MacKinlay (1905, p. 13) indicates when he writes that "Tagalog, together with other civilized tongues of the Philippines, such as Visayan, Pampangan, Ilocano and Bicol, has preserved the verbal system better than any other … ." This idea of 'better preservation' is based on how extensive the verb paradigms are—paradigms that are laid out in tables to demonstrate their extensiveness (see Figure 1 for an example [the following page]).

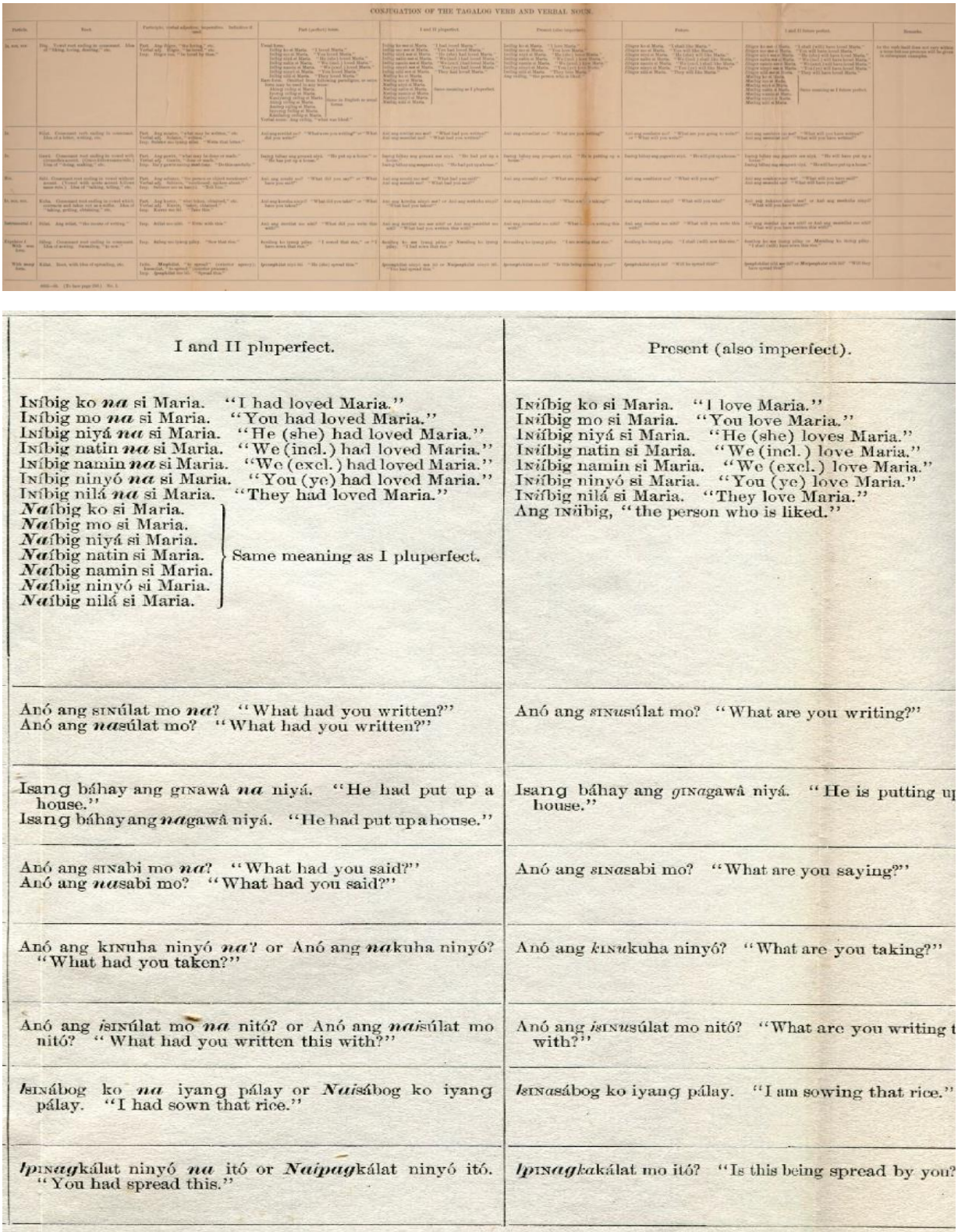
However, under the discourse of 'quantification,' more is not always better, especially when a person sees it as excessive, as Crawfurd writes concerning Philippine vocabularies:

> The languages of the Philippine Islands may be described, not as copious, but wordy. In the state of society in which the natives of the Philippines were formed, ideas are considered more in concrete than in abstract, and by and importance being attached to trivial matters a profusion springs up which, in a more advanced state of society, are considered unworthy of retention, or which, if retained would only be productive of perplexity and distraction. (MacKinlay, 1905, p. 19)

These ideas around language and culture can be linked to lineages of languages with similar characteristics of civilization:

> Considering the rudimentary state of culture existing up to comparatively recent times of the majority of the peoples speaking the languages of this family, its unity is remarkable, and a thorough knowledge of one tongue is found to be of great utility in the acquirement of any other of the great group, especially in the same branch. (MacKinlay, 1905, p. 13)

[5] Note that, here, the linguist clearly is not referring to the traditional subfamily of Indo-European, Indo-Aryan spoken by decidedly 'non-White' speech communities of northern India, western Iran, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives (i.e., including well-known languages such as Hindi, Gujarati, Bengali, Nepali, Punjabi, Marathi, Sinhala, Dhivehi, etc.) (Hammarström et al., 2024).



I and II pluperfect.	Present (also imperfect).
Inífbig ko ***na*** si Maria. "I had loved Maria." Inífbig mo ***na*** si Maria. "You had loved Maria." Inífbig niyá ***na*** si Maria. "He (she) had loved Maria." Inífbig natin ***na*** si Maria. "We (incl.) had loved Maria." Inífbig namin ***na*** si Maria. "We (excl.) had loved Maria." Inífbig ninyó ***na*** si Maria. "You (ye) had loved Maria." Inífbig nilá ***na*** si Maria. "They had loved Maria." ***Na***ífbig ko si Maria. ***Na***ífbig mo si Maria. ***Na***ífbig niyá si Maria. ***Na***ífbig natin si Maria. ***Na***ífbig namin si Maria. ***Na***ífbig ninyó si Maria. ***Na***ífbig nilá si Maria. } Same meaning as I pluperfect.	Inífbig ko si Maria. "I love Maria." Inífbig mo si Maria. "You love Maria." Inífbig niyá si Maria. "He (she) loves Maria." Inífbig natin si Maria. "We (incl.) love Maria." Inífbig namin si Maria. "We (excl.) love Maria." Inífbig ninyó si Maria. "You (ye) love Maria." Inífbig nilá si Maria. "They love Maria." Ang inífbig, "the person who is liked."
Anó ang sinúlat mo ***na***? "What had you written?" Anó ang ***na***súlat mo? "What had you written?"	Anó ang *sinu*súlat mo? "What are you writing?"
Isang báhay ang ginawâ ***na*** niyá. "He had put up a house." Isang báhay ang ***na***gawâ niyá. "He had put up a house."	Isang báhay ang *gina*gawâ niyá. "He is putting up a house."
Anó ang sinabi mo ***na***? "What had you said?" Anó ang ***na***sabi mo? "What had you said?"	Anó ang *sina*sabi mo? "What are you saying?"
Anó ang kinuha ninyó ***na***? or Anó ang ***na***kuha ninyó? "What had you taken?"	Anó ang *kinu*kuha ninyó? "What are you taking?"
Anó ang *i*sinúlat mo ***na*** nitó? or Anó ang ***nai***súlat mo nitó? "What had you written this with?"	Anó ang *isinu*súlat mo nitó? "What are you writing with?"
*I*sináb**o**g ko ***na*** iyang pálay or ***Nai***sábog ko iyang pálay. "I had sown that rice."	*Isina*sábog ko iyang pálay. "I am sowing that rice."
*Ipinag*kálat ninyó ***na*** itó or ***Naipag***kálat ninyó itó. "You had spread this."	*Ipinag*kakálat mo itó? "Is this being spread by you?

Figure 1. MacKinlay (1905) lays out a table of Tagalog verb conjugations in order to reveal the extensiveness or 'conservation' behaviours of the language. The top part shows the entire table, which folds out of the book. The bottom shows the complexity of the grammatical information described, with a close-up of the page.

However, Tagalog has been influenced by 'Aryan languages,' which interestingly contribute a certain amount of vocabulary associated with sophisticated areas of 'culture' or 'civilization':

> Spanish, as a matter of course, has contributed a great number of words to Tagalog, many of which have been thoroughly naturalized. They are mainly religious, governmental, social, legal, and abstract terms, including also terms for foreign articles and luxuries. … English has as yet given but few words to Tagalog. Of these, the newspapers use four, which seem to have no exact native or Spanish equivalents, viz: "Self-government," "high life," "sport," and "besbol," or baseball. The latter has been verbalized and taken into the language bodily, while the others are still quoted. (MacKinlay, 1905, p. 14)

Here in MacKinlay's military-focused grammar, I observe that, although still engaged with these discourses of a linked language-culture/civilization-race complex, his grammar is more communicative in focus, in line with the ideology of the Spanish colonial grammars from which he wrote his own. Now, I turn to the grammar of Easter Island.

William Churchill (born 1859–died 1920), the author of the Rapanui and Sissano grammars[6], was an American anthropologist and linguist who focused his career studying Oceania, particularly Polynesia. Born in New York and educated at Yale, he began his work in the Pacific in 1896 as the United States Consul-General to Samoa and later to Tonga in 1897. As an anthropologist, he became a fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (RAI). He was also a member of the Polynesian Society, the Hawaiian Historical Society, and the American Philological Association (Theroux, 1995).

For his linguistic description of Rapanui, Churchill creates a discursive construction that defines the idea of 'the natives' as 'savages'—that is, the "Tahitians" and the "Polynesians" for other peoples more generally. In a poem that Captain James Cook supposedly collected, he allows for the description—indeed a discourse of representation—of these Polynesians as inferior to the "White man" in the way that "Man" is inferior to "God":

O Kahiki, Moku kai a loa,	O Kahiki, land of the far-reaching ocean,
Aina o Olopana I noho ai!	Land where Olopana dwelt!
Iloko ka moku, iwaho ka la;	Within is the land, outside is the sun;
O ke aloalo o ka la, ka moku, ke hiki mai.	Indistinct is the sun and the land when approaching.
Ane ua ike oe?	Perhaps you have seen it?
Ua ike.	I have seen it.
Ua ike hoi aú ia Kahiki.	I have surely seen Kahiki.
He moku leo pahaohao wale Kahiki.	A land with a strange language is Kahiki.
No Kahiki kanaka i pii a luna	The men of Kahiki have ascended up
A ka iwi kuamoo o ka lani;	The backbone of heaven;
A luna, keehi iho,	And up there they trample indeed,

[6] Churchill is also the author of the following texts: *A Princess of Fiji* (1892); *The Polynesian Wanderings, Tracks of the Migration Deduced from an Examination of the Proto-Samoan Content of Efaté and other Languages of Melanesia* (1910); *Beach-la-Mar, the Jargon or Trade Speech of the Western Pacific* (1911); *The Subanu, Studies of a Sub-Visayan Mountain Folk of Mindanao* (1913).

Nana iho ia lalo.	And look down on below.
Aole o Kahiki kanaka;	Men of our race are not in Kahiki.
Hookahi o Kahiki kanaka,—he haole;	One kind of men is in Kahiki—the white man.
Me ia la he akua,	He is like a god;
Me aú la he kanaka;	I am like a man;
He kanaka no,	A man indeed,
Pai kau, a ke kanaka hookahi e hiki.	Wandering about, and the only man who got there.

(Churchill, 1912, p. 108)

This representation of 'inferior beings' is further propagated with the idea of 'racial inferiority by means of cultural decay':

> Church twice, twice State—each has essayed the Marquesas[7] and each has left its record of double failure, record and echo record. Yet where failure, complete and utter loss of effort, has attended the touch of the solemn facts of such life as is known to us, romance has found success. The unclothed truth has blushed to find herself in the company of a race whose painfully assumed tracery of tattooing has always seemed sufficient garb. But fiction with its better truth of the comprehending eye, has given life to the Marquesas, a life that will far outlast the fast-dying race. (Churchill, 1912, p. 129)

In this linguistic description, aside from the grammar and language, Churchill, in a sort of afterword, includes journalistic descriptions of the Polynesian islands' cultures and peoples, which compliments and reinforces his discourse of racial inferiority by way of cultural barbarism as written in an account from Lieutenant Julien Viaud described in *Harper's Weekly*:

> Crowds of natives assembled, and animated by the example set before them, they too displaced the images, levelled the monuments, and mutilated the statues of stone. At intervals the islanders would dance wildly about, at the same time making the place resound with savage yells. (Churchill, 1912, p. 324)

This is how he describes the Polynesians of Oceania. Now, I turn to examine Churchill's perspectives on the Melanesians.

In the Sissano description, there are various ways in which the linguist forms its 'authors' and 'objects' in the text. Churchill refers to "Melanesians" or "Melanesian folk" as "savages," "primitive folk," or the "inferior black[s]" (Churchill, 1916, p. 4; Churchill, 1916, p. 5; Churchill, 1916, p. 175). He categorizes them as a group or population so that Melanesians are a culturally 'inferior race' in direct contrast with the "white man of superior culture" (Churchill, 1916, p. 4). He also placed them in contrast to the "culturally higher" Polynesians and the "Malayan [people],"[8] a "superior folk" with an even "higher order of cultural attainment" (Churchill, 1916, p. 103). Churchill holds that those Melanesians, along with "the

[7] Here, Churchill is speaking of the Marquesan language and culture. The Marquesas islands are an archipelago which form part of French Polynesia, along with Tahiti and the Society Islands, the Austral Islands, the Gambier Islands, and the Tuamotu islands. A modern Marquesan grammar may be seen here (Cablitz, 2006).

[8] By Malayan, he is likely referring to the typical olive-to-brown-skinned, so-called 'asian-looking' inhabitants of insular Southeast Asia and Malaysia—which was often considered a racial type in some early human typologies.

culture and the speech" of his time, were "not autochthonous" to Oceania, but the result of "the mixture of races" originally migrating from their "homes…in the Malay Archipelago" (Churchill, 1916, p. 176). He affirms that there is no "Malayo-Polynesian speech family" through which a "Malayo-Polynesian race" speaks (Churchill, 1916, p. 176), drawing these distinctions based on race and culture which, especially in this case, have been revealed to be erroneous.[9]

As for how these references to identities interact with grammatical description, Churchill makes technical distinctions between a 'vocabulary' and a 'dictionary' as different kinds of lexicon predicated on the 'physical difference of size' (Churchill, 1916, p. 4)—vocabularies being smaller lexicons and dictionaries being the larger. According to him, "Melanesian dictionaries," however, fill "no more space than is required of a vocabulary, nor is there any such breadth of treatment of the individual vocables as would serve to raise the work into dictionary dignity" (Churchill, 1916, p. 4).

The dictionaries that Churchill uses in his linguistic description, according to him, spring from three sources: discovery records, lexicons, and 'essays' of comparative philology. Interestingly, he uses the word 'essays'[10] as these are seen as 'attempts' in prehistory, sometimes erroneous ones, as he notes concerning a dictionary of the Efate language of Vanuatu, in that particular "essay" that the linguist tries to construct a genesis story where "all the people of the island area,…the Oceanic race, derive from some pre-Mosaic Semitic stock" (Churchill, 1916, p. 6).

The writing of grammar itself suggests a level of agency for the 'civilized White' person in relation to, in many ways, his 'owned' object of the 'uncivilized Black' person, as Churchill describes it here:

> The extent of these vocabularies is a function of the condition out of which they arise, the need which the white man of superior culture recognizes to communicate with the inferior black in terms of such speech as is or as may be made comprehensible to him. (Churchill, 1916, p. 4)

The discovery records usually give some basic information concerning the language and its people. However, the deeper concentration on the writing of a linguistic description, according to these discourses, comes from the agency of the 'White author' in his choice to engage in 'native' speech or subject the 'native' to learn a 'White language':

> To satisfy this need, the white man resident in Melanesia subjects the Melanesian to an alien speech, or else he devotes his attention to the acquisition of some acquaintance with the Melanesian speech with whose speakers he has elected to cast his lot. So far as this relates to the Melanesian the controlling circumstance lies in the attitude of the white man. (Churchill, 1916, p. 4)

[9] Malayo-polynesian is now considered a major branch of the Austronesian language family. Race and language family do not fit neatly together.

[10] 'Essay' is etymologically derived from the Old French *essai* , *essay* [with the variant *assai*, *assay*] which came from the Latin *exagium* 'weighing,' but more often employed in a wider sense meaning 'examination, trial, testing' (OED).

Returning to the idea of civilization predicated on 'quantification,' Churchill understands Melanesia in terms of the lower classes of civilization:

> Since we have mentioned the numerical sum of one of the dictionaries of Melanesian, we may properly give passing consideration to the size of the vocabulary of these savages. From time to time it has interested popular fancy to compute the average vocabulary of the lower classes in our civilization. […I]t is scarcely worth our while to regard this speculation as other than curious; the condition among the Melanesian savages is radically different. He knows no social gradation of education; in his society, there is no distinction between the learned and the uncouth; in effect, that which anyone knows is known by all; the only difference in vocabulary is that which must exist between the inexperience of youth and the stores of the aged and which reaches the highest point in a few very ancient men who retain names of former customs which have passed out of use in the advance of progress. (Churchill, 1916, p. 5)

Churchill uses the fact that these "races" are less civilized as a justification for the colonial climate—one of domination and subjugation. The agency that the 'White author' takes under his control allows him to write history in such a way that his perspective is universal in a circular logic of deserving power based on his ability to take power, as Churchill writes forcibly:

> The history of mankind shows conclusively that the race with the knife possesses the earth; the man with the club and the dornick shaped to his hand is beaten; he dies, or he scuttles away…the whole story of primitive man the world around warrants this assumption. (Churchill, 1916, p. 174)

As the agent and author of 'history,' Churchill engages in discourses of methodologies, one of the most prevalent of which assumes that scholars can use philology as a means of racial determination, quantification, and evaluation. The discourses construct the epistemic, cultural practices of the field, which he calls "anthropogeography" (Churchill, 1916, p. 1), but linguists currently refer to as culture history or prehistory:

> […]From these sources, we derive important information on the cultural history of several peoples. However, there is by no means sufficient information on which to base more than the most cursory comparative study. We have still less information in the domain of anthropometry; the records are few and so scattered over the area that we are far from a conspectus; the most that we can derive from their comparison is the recognition of the possibility that more than one race is included within the designation of Melanesians.

> Until our knowledge of Melanesia has been brought to a higher stage, the chief reliance in our studies must rest upon the linguistic record. Of course this is not to be considered final in the determination of race and affinity. However, it is so much the best material available that we are justified in utilizing its data for the establishment of comparative investigation. Yet even here, our knowledge of Melanesia is of very unequal advancement. We find three stages clearly marked. In the first, we have discovery records—more or less scanty collections of words gathered by explorers; in the second stage, we have works which purport to be dictionaries of a few languages; in the third are the essays which assume to state the problems of Melanesian philology and in some sort to solve them. (Churchill, 1916, p. 3)

These discourses of the 'civilized, White agent' in the making of history contrast with the 'uncivilized, Black object of subjugation,' which, through the study of their languages and the methodologies for doing so enwrapped in these various discourses, create a narrative that circularly justifies imperial activity and the colonial condition.

Further, into the investigation of Melanesia, Walter D. Ivens' *Dictionary and Grammar of the Language of Sa'a and Ulawa, Solomon Islands* brings into perspective the religious discourses that construct the 'Melanesian' as the 'once before Heathen' to be brought into 'civilization.' These inhabited 'islands of the Blacks'—the meaning behind the Greek-derived Melanesia[11]—can be brought from darkness into light. Ivens holds that the purpose and "…use of Melanesian languages by a missionary is confessedly only the preliminary to his using them as a vehicle for conveying the divine message of salvation" (Ivens, 1918, p. 163). However, this is not the only use of indigenous languages. Ivens proceeds in a discussion of Oceanic history through language for which he has imposed a European paradigm:

> It has been maintained that the Melanesians had adopted Polynesian forms of speech; that, in fact, the Polynesians were like the Romans of old and had imposed their speech upon the peoples with whom they mixed, but the facts of the case seem to be that, so far at least as language is concerned, the two peoples belong to one family, and also that of the two types the Melanesian is the older and is less worn and stands to Polynesian somewhat as Anglo-Saxon does to modern English; also that the explanation of many Polynesian peculiarities of speech is to be found in the typical Melanesian usages. (Ivens, 1918, p. 175)

This European paradigm of history leads to universals that, albeit probably undesired on the part of the missionaries here, inevitably justify European imperial activity. I observed this further as Ivens writes:

> There can, however, be no question of leaving them alone now, whatever may have been the case in past years; civilization, *i.e.*, trade, is coming in fast, and the inevitable consequence will be that the white man's view of life will alter the old style of things. Experience has taught us that wherever a people without a settled state and a kingdom and the external power of law is invaded by any of our Western peoples, with their vigour and personality, the less-developed people lose all their pristine distinctiveness, all bonds are loosed, and inevitable decay sets in; in other words, the white man destroys the black. Benjamin Kidd shows this most conclusively in his book "Social Evolution." In the case of Melanesia, the process may take time. However, the result is certain in the end is proved by the disappearance of the nomad Australian aboriginal and with a people of a higher culture by the story of the capable Maori people of New Zealand under modern conditions. (Ivens, 1918, p. 189)

All of the discourses through which these texts are written form the epistemic culture of these linguists and their grammars. The products of these linguists in the way that they acquire knowledge reveal how the inner workings of an academic discipline have a way of gaining a life of their own with an internal structure that goes beyond the humans involved. The discourses indicate what exactly that inner structure is, allowing for the eventual awareness, reflection, and revision of them at will.

4. CONCLUSION

[11] *Melanesia*, refers to the group of islands in the south-west Pacific that includes the Bismarck archipelago, New Guinea, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, New Caledonia, and many others. The word Melanesian is derived from the ancient Greek *μελαν-* meaning 'dark-colored' or 'black' and *νῆσος* meaning 'islands' rendering the sense 'islands inhabited by dark-skinned peoples.' This term was first attested perhaps in the French as *mélanésien*, an adjective and a noun found in J. S. C. Dumont D'Urville's *Voyage de l'Astrolabe* from 1832 (OED).

The discourses of 'representation by quantification' serve as the foundation upon which all other discourses are built and maintained. All of these discourses together construct the epistemic culture of early American linguistics in regard to their treatment of Oceanic languages and, by way of this, its peoples, cultures, and societies. The 'White man' as the positionality and subjectivity of the 'civilized agent' served as the author of history, which allows him to justify his imperial exploits and the colonial condition derived from them. I must point out that I use 'he' and 'him' for the positionality was always male at the time and predicated on a constructed masculinity of the 'hunter with the knife' discourse. Also, while I write 'author' and 'agent,' I must state that these were the conceptions of the self for their roles within these discourses, having no single 'maker,' but taking possession of the self in such a way that the 'author' never realizes that he is the pawn of these discourses.

These discourses, through the hands of these linguists as they engage in 'anthrogeography,' culture history, or prehistory, rewrite European history, legitimizing Europe's colonial endeavours by creating a system of universals that justify them. Any natural historicity is lost to the narratives of European colonial-minded discourses. The practices of these linguists through their methods, which presumably created the representations they needed as the actors and objects of their narrative, function collectively to create "the story they tell themselves about themselves" (Geertz, 1973, p. 448). Each history is written in a way that 'Oceanic' history or 'Southeast Asian' history is a retelling of the European narrative—indeed, the European re-telling of the story of himself to himself in a circular logic that a constructed universe of his creation reinforces, justifying the ends that his history exhibits. According to these discourses, it will always be the Western narrative of a tale of justified conquest for the White and the recounting of the subjugation and worthy defeat of the Black—whoever that may be in any given context.

In this study, I have examined, through Foucauldian discourse analysis, four linguistic grammars published between 1905-1918 covering five Oceanic languages: Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Tagalog (Philippines), Sissano (Papua New Guinea), Sa'a (Solomon Islands), and Ulawa (Solomon Islands) in order to understand the linguistic practices and the discourses through which linguists performed them as they functioned in the making of the epistemic culture that early American linguistic science embodied.

Studies such as this one are important in order to understand the current post-colonial atmosphere that these epistemic cultures have left behind, as well as in order to serve as a critique of current practices that may not be completely divorced from their dark colonial past. One of the limitations of this study is that it focuses exclusively on American linguists. This strategic boundary, created around the subject matter, helps us to get a clearer picture of a specific epistemic culture at a particular point in time under specific conditions. While this strategic move is useful, future studies would serve well to investigate and potentially compare cultures of linguistic fieldwork across various ethnolinguistic traditions (i.e., 'French colonial linguistics,' 'Portuguese colonial linguistics,' or even, 'Japanese colonial linguistics'),

Today, many minority languages deal with linguistic insecurities—notions of shame due to the usefulness or prestige of various languages that play into complexes of cultural and racial inferiority. These attitudes are in constant interaction with languages that may serve as a cause of language devaluation, language endangerment, and, in the most extreme cases, language extinction. One language ceases to be spoken on average every 40 days (Simons, 2019, 1) and with the loss of each language is the loss of a new perspective on what the world is and can be. Even saying this plays into its own set of discourses; however, the hope is that these newly supplanted ones require and provide the space for the self-representation of the world's people groups in order to deconstruct the colonial entitlement to all through 'representation as quantification.'

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