Apprehending Philippine Negrito Languages, 1890-1990:

An Inquiry into Linguistic Ideology

By

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List of abbreviations

ADMU	Ateneo de Manila University
BNCT	Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes
CNI	Commission on National Integration
CV	Consonant-Vowel
CVC	Consonant-Vowel-Consonant
DLSU	De La Salle University
EO	Executive Order
IN	Indonesian
INL	Institute of National Language
LSA	Linguistic Society of America
LSP	Linguistic Society of the Philippines
MN	Melanesian
MP	Malayo-Polynesian
NCIP	National Commission for Indigenous Peoples
OMA	Office of Muslim Affairs
OMACC	Office for Muslim Affairs and Cultural Communities
ONCC	Office of Northern Cultural Communities
OSCC	Office of Southern Cultural Communities
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
PANAMIN	Presidential Assistance on National Minorities
PD	Presidential Decree
PJL	Philippine Journal of Linguistics
PL	Philippine Languages
PN	Polynesian
PNU	Philippine Normal University
RELC	Regional Language Center
SPDA	Southern Philippine Development Authority
UP	University of the Philippines

Chapter 1

Introduction

The last quarter of the 20th century witnessed the development of an area of language study called linguistic historiography, following the creation of the journal *Historiographia Linguistica* in 1973. As conceptualized and expounded by its pioneering expert, Canadian linguist E. F. K. Koerner, this approach to the review of the discipline's historical development significantly differs from earlier projects focused on linguistics history, in that it aims not just to chronicle or celebrate the various stages of language sciences, but to reckon with the field's past ideas and practices and investigate neglected aspects cogent to the progress of the discipline (Koerner, 1999).[1] In his assessment, prior accounts of the field's history offered either a summary of generational shifts in theoretical framework and methodology which viewed the evolution of the field as growing in a unilinear fashion, a hagiographic account highlighting certain paradigms or methodologies that came into prominence at different junctures in the field's historical timeline, or a detached presentation of continuities or discontinuities of theoretical frames and approaches. Linguistic historiography seeks to identify and investigate texts and practices from the past to enrich our current understanding of the nature of language and language study, illuminating areas that were previously overlooked or taken for granted. According to American linguistic historiographer Julie Tetel Andresen:

> In challenging previous assumptions about the history of linguistics, linguistic historiographers aim at an enriched vision of what language and language study must be by enhancing the sources of our present study.... We examine any and all texts or practices where language is either directly confronted, expressed, or discussed...reviewing the full range of the various shapes that have been given to language over the centuries. (1990, p. 17)

[1] In Koerner's view, in the last two decades of the 20th century, social science fields like anthropology, ethnology, and linguistics have started to reexamine old ideas and methods in their respective fields.

Linguistic historiography, then, is an epistemological frame that facilitates a reckoning with long-held, unexamined assumptions of received ideas about what came before as mirrored or reflected in the present and how these relate to what comes after in the discipline. Koerner (1999) asserts that an important neglected aspect of 19th and 20th century linguistic historiography is language ideology and mentions some key areas that deserve attention, namely ideologies pertaining to mother-tongue, language classification and typology, and the search for the original Indo-European homeland (pp. 22-52).

Since the turn of the 21st century, language ideology has received increased attention from scholars in various disciplines, especially linguistic anthropology, with some projects sharing the same interest in interrogating the complex ways that ideology is entangled with or embedded in language study. This surge of attention to the subject is explained by noted linguistic anthropologist Paul Kroskrity:

> ...linguistic anthropology has become increasingly cognizant of the socio-cultural foundations of language and discourse and the need to complement the usual preoccupation with microanalysis (details of phonetic transcription, complexities of verb morphology, ethnographic detailing of specific speech events, sequencing of talk within a conversational "strip") with an understanding of how such patterns might be related to political-economic macroprocesses. (2000, pp. 1-2)

Applying Kroskrity's suggestion to linguistic historiographic work, one way of interrogating linguistic ideology is through the examination of texts and practices focused on microanalytic language studies and their relationship to their macropolitical-economic contexts.

Philippine linguistics, a field that traces its beginnings to the last decade of the Spanish colonial period towards the end of the 19th century, has yet to have a sustained period of reckoning. A few studies on the history of Philippine linguistics offer a chronology of major developments in the discipline's theoretical frames and methodologies (Constantino, 1963 &

2000; Asuncion-Lande, 1973; and Spieker-Salazar, 1992 & 2012).[2] Studies by Constantino and Asuncion-Lande provide summaries of progression and shifts in research orientations at different periods in the field since its inception. Salazar gives detailed accounts of the history of Philippine language research focused on European contributions, starting from the earliest data gathering activities conducted by missionaries during the Spanish colonial period to the present. Works that go beyond chronicle of events are fewer. One important historiographic work on issues surrounding the selection of a language to become the symbol of national unity and identity was done by Andrew Gonzales (1980). More recently, Filipino language scholars have begun reexamining American colonial period ethnographies to shed light on how academic methodologies shape perspectives on tribal language communities (Rodriguez, 2010; Gallego, 2015).

This dissertation aims to contribute to an area of study that could constitute Philippine linguistic historiography. As a first step, this project is limited to the treatment of languages that in the literature are labeled as Negrito languages. It offers an examination of the evolution of Philippine Negrito language classifications over the course of more than a century of scientific linguistic research on the archipelago by both Western and Filipino scholars. I argue that linguistic classifications reflect ideologies established by and inherited from colonial powers that came to rule the islands at different periods in the archipelago's history. This project does the following: (1) provides a historiography of the classification of Negrito languages; (2) traces the evolution of linguistic ideologies pertaining to the description and classification of these languages; and (3) analyzes the relationship between linguistic ideologies and the persistence of categorizations of peoples established by colonial agents and institutions, with the unintended

[2] This review does not include a meta-study of postcolonial period surveys on national language and English language use, language attitudes, and language planning (Gonzales, 1985).

consequence of pushing Negrito speaking communities into what I would call their "perpetual otherness" vis-a-vis the rest of the population. I argue that the ideologies that inform linguistic classification work are strongly intertwined with, and sometimes mirror, the very same ideas that contribute to the decline, endangerment, and eventually, loss of these languages. I contend that language shift or loss could be a mechanism through which some Negrito communities grapple with or try to shed this otherness.

As analytical tools for demonstrating this deeply entangled relationship between linguistic ideologies and language endangerment, I offer a critical review of key linguistic classification works considered to be part of the canon of Philippine linguistics using the semiotic processes of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure proposed by Irvine and Gal (2000). The data sets comprise at least three major papers from each period of historical development of linguistics work in the Philippines: (1) by late 19th century linguists, ethnologists, and anthropologists, 1890-1900; (2) by early 20th century American period linguists and ethnologists, 1901-1946; (3) and by postcolonial Philippine linguists, 1947-1990. The temporal demarcations on this roughly century-long timeline are not entirely arbitrary but rather reflect the development of Philippine linguistics as an academic field of study, and the evolution and expansion of Negrito language research. Although Philippine language data collection and the production of vocabulary lists, dictionaries, and teaching grammars by Europeans pre-date the starting point of this project by centuries, the beginning of Philippine language research within what is considered to be modern linguistics research did not begin until the last two decades of the 19th century, concurrent with prolific years of Ferdinand de Saussure's modernizing work in the field. The endpoint year, 1990, marked the beginning of the development pilot projects for the Mother Tongue-Based Multi-Lingual Education program

mandating the use of school children's native language as the medium of instruction for the first three years of schooling, which would eventually be signed into law in 2012. These changes started a few years after the ratification of the Philippines' new 1987 constitution[3] that signaled major policy changes pertaining to the support for and use of minority languages in the educational system.

Research question

In 2012, a meeting on "Revisiting the Negrito Hypothesis: A Transdisciplinary Approach to Human Prehistory in Southeast Asia" assembled experts from various disciplines, including linguistics, in Paris. The following year, convenors of the event published a special issue of the journal *Human Biology* featuring papers presented at the meeting. In the concluding paper, after reviewing evidence presented by scholars at the forum, Stanley Ulijaszek (2013), a nutritional anthropologist from Oxford University, concluded that "the evidence presented in this double issue of *Human Biology* speaks more against the category of negrito than for it" (p. 495). Nevertheless, the use of the term persists in language classification work in linguistics.

After over 400 years of language documentation and linguistic classification in the Philippines, first by European philologists and friar grammarians, then by American and Filipino linguists, why does this mistaken overgeneralization about a Negrito ethnolinguistic group remain? What linguistic ideologies inform this categorization? How does this relate to language endangerment? In this project, I trace the historical provenance of current linguistic ideologies regarding Negrito languages to demonstrate how these have evolved yet remained constant in their valuation of languages spoken by racial minority communities.

[3] Minority communities' right to self-determination is enshrined in the 1987 Constitution. This is a shift in policy orientation from previous priorities regarding minorities which focused on national integration.

Theoretical framework

According to Irvine and Gal (2000), ideological representations of linguistic differences are constructed through the semiotic processes of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. In their conceptualization ***iconization*** is defined as the process through which particular language forms are considered to be iconic indexing the social identity of its speakers. That it is, certain linguistic features are interpreted as indicative of the inherent nature of the social group or community of speakers. ***Fractal recursivity*** refers to the idea that distinguishing features of a language which are considered iconic can be positioned in a dichotomous relationship resulting in the creation of "normal" and "other" identities, and that this dichotomy is projected onto some other level within or outside the group. ***Erasure*** is the process through which the differentiations produced are maintained or stabilized, and "other" identities are disregarded. This results in the simplification of the sociolinguistic field where language speakers or some of their linguistic behavior and other sociolinguistic phenomena in their community are ignored. (p. 35)

Irvine and Gal's proposal specifying semiotic processes involved in linguistic differentiation is a practical conceptual framework for interrogating ideology formation and evolution through the examination of texts and practices in language classification.

Data & Methodology

Following Irvine and Gal's theoretical framework, I apply the concepts of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure to the analysis of representative samples from sets of scholarly work on language documentation and ethnolinguistic classification from the periods I have identified. While I cite various scholars from each major period of linguistic classification work

on Philippine languages, I focus on two key figures from each period whose works are considered major contributions to Philippine linguistic classification.

The earliest data collection work on Philippine languages was conducted by European grammarians and philologists, most of whom were religious workers who went on missions to the Philippine islands from the 15th to 18th century. These collections are contained in manuscripts that included descriptions of ethnic groups of people and their cultural and community practices, grammatical sketches of their language, and vocabulary lists prepared by missionaries sent to the Philippines by various friar orders, such as the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians. These manuscripts became the basis of the earliest attempts at Philippine language and ethnolinguistic classifications done by European philologists who had severely limited interaction with native speakers and neither traveled nor spent time in the Philippines, nor interacted much with native speakers of the languages they were trying to describe.

In the 19th century, the idea of classifying things, including languages and their speakers, came to be a very important scientific enterprise. For the colonizers, these research investigations were projects that served political and economic considerations towards more efficient colonial administration and optimizing economic gains and opportunities. For Filipino scholars, it was primarily a way of engaging with their colonial masters as equals in pursuit of scientific knowledge in a perceived even playing field of academia. Linguists became preoccupied with the study of yet undescribed languages, mostly without a written tradition, and efforts were made to establish their genetic relationship and prehistory. Moving away from but influenced heavily by philology, linguists started using the historical-comparative method to offer expanded language classifications, drawing from data collected by field linguists, ethnologists, and anthropologists. It was during this period that the languages of the Pacific islands were posited to form the

Austronesian language family based on initial comparative studies by philologists like Wilhelm von Humboldt (1832, 1836, 1838) and Franz Bopp (1816, 1833, 1841).[4] In this study, I will identify commonalities with the criteria used in earlier classifications and see how similar or different they are from those proposed by the emerging scientific study of languages called linguistics.

The early decades of the 20th century saw significant leaps in the rise of linguistics as a field of study. Many American scholars saw in the rich language diversity of the newly acquired colony opportunities to test out theories and methodologies of this rapidly developing scientific discipline. Historical linguistics work focused on establishing genetic relationships and shared prehistory among the languages spoken by a large number of ethnolinguistic groups across the archipelago. This was done mainly through language reconstruction using the historical-comparative method. In a marked departure from philological tradition, this period was characterized by the beginnings of the field's strong emphasis on the primacy of spoken language rather than printed/written text-based data. Another significant change during this period was the introduction of government institutions that supported language research efforts, the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (BNCT), established at the beginning of the American occupation; and the Institute of National Language (INL), which was established in the latter years of the American colonial period. In reviewing the language classification works of this period, I focus on the ideologies that permeated through the institutions under whose auspices many linguists of the period conducted their work.

After gaining independence in 1946, Philippine language classification work continued with the intensification of linguistics projects in the rest of the Austronesian world. New

[4] The term Austronesian only came into conventional use in early 20th century, although comparative studies of Pacific island languages started roughly a century earlier.

methodologies were introduced in the process of establishing connections between branches and sub-branches of this language family, such as lexicostatistics, glottochronology, and dialectology. During this period, a new generation of religious missionaries came to the Philippines to proselytize using local languages, making language documentation—preparation of a grammatical sketch and vocabulary list—a necessary part of their work. One such group that has had a lasting impact on Philippine language research is the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). SIL missionaries still have a presence in many parts of the Philippines, and they continue to conduct research as well as Christian missionary work in the country to this day. Nineteen years after the abolition of the BNCT in 1987, a new government agency was created that was tasked with advocating for non-Christian minority communities: the Commission on National Integration. Between 1957 and 1987, this office would have different configurations and several name changes, including Presidential Assistant on National Minorities (PANAMIN) in 1975 and Office of Muslim Affairs and Cultural Communities (OMACC) in 1984 during Ferdinand Marcos's administration. In 1987, following the ratification of the new Philippine constitution under Corazon Aquino's administration, OMACC was split into three government agencies, the Office of Northern Cultural Communities (ONCC), the Office of Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC), and the Office of Muslim Affairs, (OMA). Upon close examination, the purview of these offices is in fact based largely on ethnolinguistic classifications of minority, i.e., non-Christian, communities by linguists and ethnologists who worked for the BNCT during the American colonial period. In analyzing classification works from this period, I focus on the common streams of ideologies among linguists with disparate backgrounds—missionaries, academics, governments workers. The period after martial law was lifted in 1981 saw significant shifts in Philippine language classification work as well as institutional orientation. For instance,

typological classification, which is based on synchronic morpho-syntactic comparisons, took center stage. This new language classification method was appealing, as it was as empirically driven but far less speculative than the historical-comparative reconstruction method. These methodologies need not be mutually exclusive, however, and many linguistic classification works are made richer by employing a combination of both synchronic and diachronic approaches. In looking closely at classification works from this period, I focus on the enduring ideologies that have survived for nearly two centuries and analyze how these ideas have changed or remained stable as new institutions were established and old ones were abolished.

In this project, I carefully reviewed available materials with substantial discussion on Negrito languages and their position within the wider study and classification of Philippine languages from each period. From this vast corpus, I selected two scholars from each period whose work significantly impacted Philippine linguistics as a discipline and the apprehension of Negrito languages within the field.

(1) Late 19th Century linguists, ethnologists and anthropologists (1880-1900)

- Ferdinand Blumentritt
- Trinidad Pardo de Tavera

(2) American period Austronesian linguists and anthropologists (1901-1945)

- Morice Vanoverbergh
- Cecilio Lopez

(3) Postcolonial period Philippine linguists (1947-1990)

- Thomas Headland
- Teodoro Llamzon

In each period, I chose to review studies done by a foreign scholar—European and American—and a Filipino linguist in order to see whether there are significant differences in the way linguistic ideologies were reflected in their work given their positionality within the macro-level social arrangements of their colonial and postcolonial contexts.

Background: Sociolinguistic situation of Philippine Negrito languages

In order to contextualize the significance of language classification and the place of Negrito language communities within the Philippines, an overview of the sociolinguistic situation in the country is essential. There are roughly 180 indigenous languages in the Philippines. Ten of these are considered major languages by virtue of the fact that each one has more than a million native speakers, all together comprising around 90% of the country's entire population. One of these major languages, Tagalog, is the basis of the national language called Filipino (previously called Pilipino), a standardized dialect taught in schools and used in government and mass media communication. Along with English, Filipino is also one of two official languages, which function as languages of governance and information dissemination. The remaining 170 languages are considered to be minority languages, with their native speakers ranging from as few as eight to as many as over a hundred thousand. A number of these minor languages are endangered, as many of its speakers have shifted or are in the process of shifting to a more widely spoken dominant regional or national lingua franca. A language is said to be endangered when there is significant disruption in its intergenerational transmission and a consistent steady decline or contraction of linguistic domains. Most minority languages in the country, though currently are still robust, may be on a perilous path towards inevitable decline if no intervention measures to aid in their survival are put in place. It is in this context that most

minority linguistic communities, including Negritos, find themselves, and language documentation projects are viewed as a step towards addressing not only the problem of language imperilment but also educational achievement issues in the local school districts where kids from these communities go. The idea is that with the production of written materials in these minority languages, early literacy success would eventually lead to narrowing the huge achievement gap between children in majority language communities and those in smaller language communities.

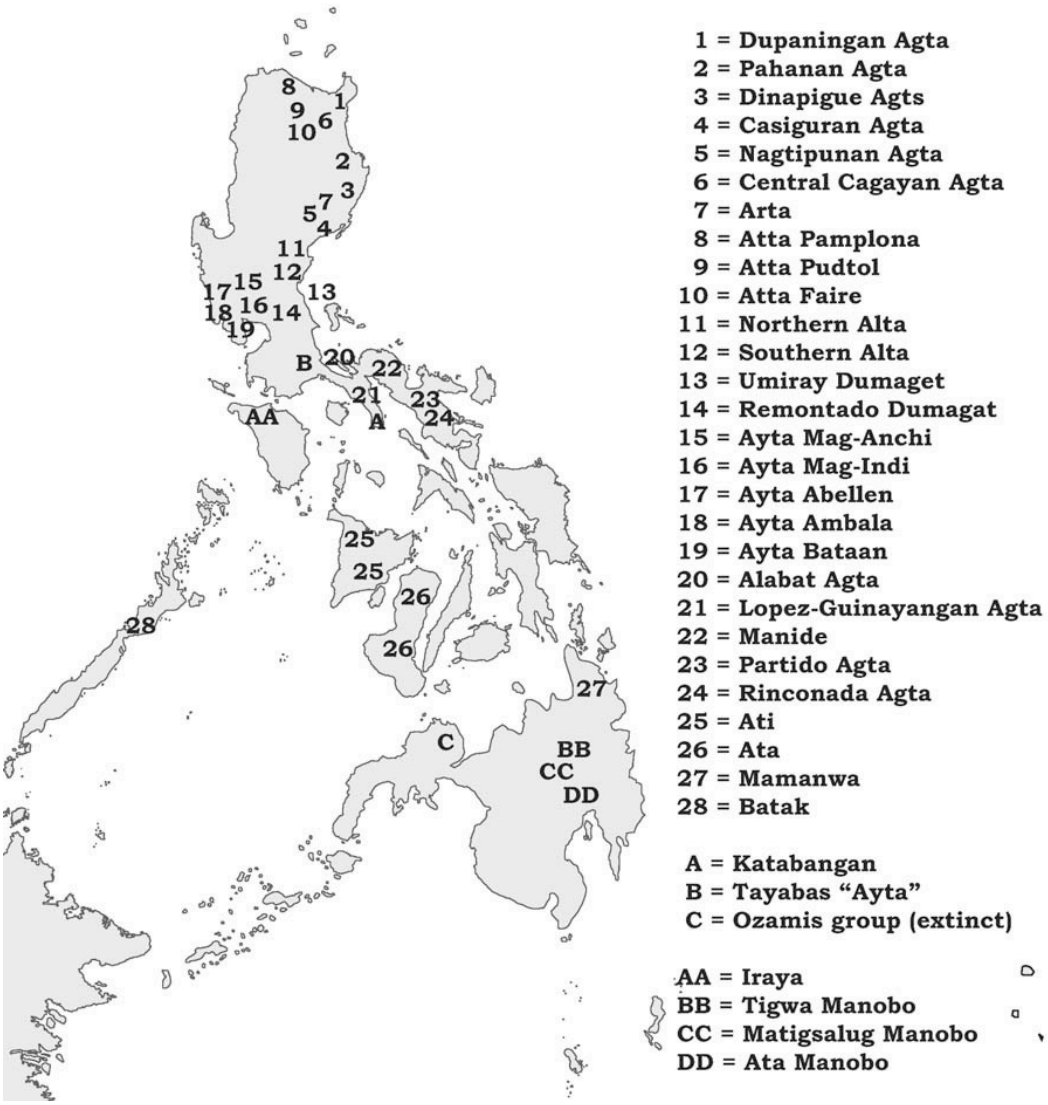
To provide a background on the discussion of Negrito ethnolinguistic groups in anthropological and linguistic literature, a brief overview is necessary. Based on the SIL's Ethnologue (Lewis, 2018) and the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP)[5] figures, there are approximately 46,000 Black Filipinos belonging to 28 ethnolinguistic groups. According to Lawrence Reid (2007), they "...represent the earliest population of the Philippines and in the literature these groups have most often been referred to as hunter-gatherers" (p. 10). In his assessment, Jason Lobel (2013) considers Reid as the researcher who has written most extensively on Philippine Negrito language groups and their prehistoric development (p. 30). I would note that most of Reid's Negrito-focused work were produced in the after 1990s. Several other scholars, like linguist and anthropologist Thomas Headland, and anthropologist Bion Griffin, have done long-term, in-depth research on one or two of these groups and/or their languages. Of the roughly 150–175 documented languages of the Philippines, Headland (2003) lists 32 Negrito languages, Reid (1994) lists 24, while Lobel (2013) includes 31 languages spoken by groups of people he refers to as "black Filipinos" and seven additional languages spoken by groups of people he calls "part-black Filipinos"— communities not traditionally

[5] NCIP was created in 1997, merging and replacing the ONCC and OSCC.

considered Negrito. These discrepancies could largely be attributed to differing approaches to linguistic research, availability of data and definitions of the term "Negrito."

Negrito languages are considered to be among the most highly endangered languages of the Philippines. There at least 28–32 Negrito languages based on the SIL's Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) used for determining language endangerment levels (Lewis, 2009). Sixteen, or half, of all Negrito languages are highly endangered, where significant disruption in intergenerational transmission, rapid shrinking of linguistic domains, and nearly complete language shift are observed. Despite the fact that without exception all Negrito languages belong to the Philippine subgroup within the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family, claims about a possible non-Austronesian substratum in several of them persist, based solely on the presence of very small numbers of seemingly non-Austronesian lexical elements. Negrito languages are often discussed in linguistics literature as though they form a natural sub-branch within the Philippine subgroup, despite the fact that they are genetically (based on historical comparative reconstruction) and typologically (based on synchronic morpho-syntactic comparison) more closely related to non-Negrito languages within their geographical locations. This can be attributed to the conventional ways in which scholars from various disciplines, including anthropology, history and linguistics, consider Negritos in the Philippines to comprise a population of a distinct racial type. Bellwood (1985, p. 172) describes them as "the small statured representatives of a once widespread population which comprises the very varied populations of Australia and Melanesia today, but which has been absorbed almost entirely into a much more numerous Mongoloid population in Southeast Asia." This map by Lobel (2013) shows the general geographic areas where Negrito language communities are concentrated:

Figure 1: Language communities of Black Filipinos (Lobel 2013, p. 32)



Chapter outline

A critical reading of the treatment of Negrito languages of the Philippines in linguistic literature, particularly in works that focus on language classification, will serve to demonstrate the pervasive and enduring nature of language ideologies that trace their roots back to the dawning of Philippine linguistics and anthropology as scholarly pursuits in the late 19th century. Through a close reading of the works by key figures in these disciplines, I present a critical view

of their impact on the language ideologies that have become normalized and widespread in the academic world and beyond. By following a historical timeline, the lifespan of these ideologies is contextualized, the shifts and turns are illuminated, the gaps are filled, and the seemingly disparate dots are connected. The periodization of linguistic studies and language classification works more or less reflects the historical development of the academic disciplines with direct involvement in conducting and shaping much of the work on Philippine language classification. It also almost neatly corresponds to the conventional way of periodizing Philippine's history—Spanish colonial period, American colonial period, and 20th century postcolonial period.

Chapter 1 (Rationale and theoretical framework) explains the rationale and research questions of the project and introduces each section of the dissertation.

Chapter 2 (Conceptual frames in interrogating Negrito language classification) discusses key concepts that inform the work of interpreting linguistic ideology formation and details some background information on the development of language classification as a field of scientific inquiry and the notion of language endangerment.

Chapter 3 (The orientalist tradition of language classification) deals with language classification of Philippine languages in the late 19th century. This starting point is not arbitrary, but rather marks the beginning of the study of Philippine languages beyond the mere collection of language data for pedagogical purposes, which characterized the works conducted by European friars and other scholars from the late 16th century to much of the earlier decades of the 19th century. This chapter examines the earliest texts on Philippine language classification and how these were extended to categorization of peoples. The analysis focuses on descriptions of Negrito languages in the 19th century, exemplified in the works of German ethnologist Ferdinand Blumentritt and Filipino historical linguist Trinidad Pardo de Tavera.

Chapter 4 (The colonial nature of ethnolinguistic taxonomy) presents an analysis of key texts produced during the American colonial rule and demonstrates the complex entanglement between linguistic scholarship and the larger colonial project. The discussion focuses on documentation of Negrito languages and peoples in the early 20th century, specifically in the works of Dutch linguist Morice Vanoverbergh, and Filipino linguist Cecilio Lopez. Widely cited monographs on Philippine ethnolinguistic groups produced under the auspices of the BNCT and the INL are also reviewed.

Chapter 5 (The science and politics of early postcolonial linguistic classification) offers a critical analysis of key Negrito language classification texts produced in the decades of postcolonial Philippines—an era of a more well-established "scientific approach" to genetic, areal, and typological linguistic classifications—and their unintended political consequences. Much of the literature from this period were produced by linguists affiliated with or collaborating with government institutions (e.g. Offices of Northern and Southern Cultural Communities, University of the Philippines Department of Linguistics and Oriental Languages) and religious organizations (SIL, Philippine Bible Society). Emphasis is given to works by two key figures from this period: American anthropologist Thomas Headland and Filipino linguist Teodoro Llamzon.

Chapter 5 (Summary of findings and proposed research directions) summarizes the analyses presented in the preceding chapters and offers a glimpse into Negrito language documentation and (re)classification conducted in the late 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century. With scholars of diverse institutional affiliations producing large amounts of data and new approaches to the description and classification of Negrito languages during this period, I look closely at the ideological threads that trace their roots back to the earliest attempts

at ethnolinguistic categorizations and show how these have transformed or remained stable over time. I offer ways of contending with enduring 19th century linguistic ideologies and their consequences for future Philippine linguistic historiography projects.

Chapter 2

Conceptual frames in interrogating Negrito language classification

This chapter provides definitions and detailed discussions of key conceptual frames used or interrogated in this study to clearly define the issues under consideration and the academic terrain in which they are located and explored. Widely accepted definitions and some specific examples are provided to ground the present work within the area of study with similar interests.

Language ideology

Language ideology has been the subject of investigation in a number of disciplines in the social sciences, particularly in sociolinguistics, linguistics anthropology and cultural studies for the last couple of decades. There is a wide range of approaches to the study of language ideology differing in specific ways scholars have conceptualized it, thereby setting the scope and limitation of their areas of inquiry. In surveying the large body of literature on language ideology, Kathryn Woolard identified the following definitions to be most useful and highly cited in sociolinguistics and linguistics anthropology:

> Language ideologies have been defined most broadly by Rumsey as shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world. With more emphasis on linguistic structure and on the activist nature of ideology; ...Silverstein defines linguistic ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use; ...with a greater emphasis on the social facet, language ideology has been defined by Heath as "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group; and…according to Irvine, it is the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests. (1998, p.4)

In sociolinguistics, which is focused on studying the effect of any aspect of society on language use, there is extensive work on language ideology aimed at analyzing variation in discourse in a

specific speech community to examine how that variation affects the negotiation of meaning in interaction and relates to the community's social structure. Some of the leading scholars in the field whose works continue to influence research in language ideology today are Dell Hymes (1962), proponent of ethnography of speaking; Alessandro Duranti (2015), pioneer of language socialization; William Labov (2012), known for his work on language variation and change: and Joshua Fishman (1991), eminent scholar of language and ethnicity, education and multilingualism. Sociolinguistic approaches have generated studies focused on dialect prestige, diglossia, code switching, literacy, and bilingualism/multilingualism and language in education. The important variables often taken considered in the examination of language ideology are the speakers' age, gender, class, and education. Also key are perceived interlocutor role and identity, setting, genre and type of speech event.

In linguistic anthropology, most research on language ideology aims to examine the relationship between speakers' beliefs about language and the social and cultural context in which these beliefs are embedded reveal the ways in which they are created and maintained by these systems. The objective is to show the connection of assumptions people have about language to their social experience and political as well as economic interests. Building on the work on the ethnography of speaking pioneered by Hymes and informed by methodology from Critical Discourse Analysis and pragmatics, much of the work being done by linguistic anthropologists aims to "explore the capacity for language and linguistic ideologies to be used as strategies for maintaining social power and domination" (Schieffelin & Woolard, 1994, p. 55). Some notable scholars in the field are Kathryn Woolard, whose work on the politics of ethnicity in Catalonia is an important contribution; Bambi Schieffelin, known for her work on language ideologies in contact situations; Paul Kroskrity, noted for his work re-analyzing language purism in Tewa; and Michael Silverstein, whose work demonstrates how language structure and change may be

shaped by social structure and change. Largely due to its critical approach, the field is particularly focused on studies that examine the link between ideology and language contact and post-contact situations, multilingualism, identity, variation and change, language shift and endangerment, language policy and other management activities. The field remains wide open in terms of approach, scope and methodology. This is perhaps due to the nature of language ideology itself, which, as Paul Kroskrity describes, "is a cluster concept, consisting of a number of converging dimensions with several partially overlapping but analytically distinguishable layers of significance" (2000, p. 297).

The connection between language and identity is essential to a nuanced understanding of linguistic ideology. Since language is a formative element in shaping a person's identity, the home lingual environment one is born into inevitably makes a person subject to the cultural and lingual environment of that community. However, this cultural and lingual environment is always in flux, as members of the community constantly negotiate and contest existing social and political power structures within their own and in relation to other communities. In these contested spaces and processes of negotiation, everyone is agent of his/her own linguistic identity and practice to the extent that s/he can learn other languages from the diversity of communities in the larger environment. Engaging in any language practice necessitates construction and reconstruction of identity of the self in relation to others within and outside one's community, as individuals take on different roles, navigate complex social terrains, adapt to changing environments, and adopt new ways of language use. Following sociolinguists Robert LePage and Andree Tabourett-Keller, Rajend Mesthrie asserts that linguistic behavior can be thought of as "a series of acts of identity in which people reveal their personal identity and their search for social roles" (2008, p. 71).

Inequalities observed among native speakers of languages or language varieties forming a language hierarchy parallel those inequalities that pervade social hierarchies. The lower one's language or language variety is on the hierarchy the more restricted one's ability seems to be agent of his/her linguistic identity. For instance, in multilingual societies, members of marginalized linguistic communities end up adopting identities ascribed to them by more dominant outside groups, usually a colonial or state/national elite power. Institutional support for certain languages or language varieties further reinforces the marginalization of non-dominant languages/language varieties on the lower rungs of the hierarchy, expressed in various forms such as language policy in education and government administration, use in mass communication, portrayal in popular media, performance of religious and creative expression, and pronouncements of official state recognition. This understanding of the role played by states and other powerful institutions, often run by elites or dominant groups, in perpetuating unequal power relations provides us a way of connecting micro-level language practices to macro-level social conditions that contribute to language ideology formation.

Language ideologies in a particular linguistic community are inextricably linked to that community's social history. These arise from social experiences and are motivated not by language but by meaning-making activities embedded in social, political, economic, and religious conditions prevailing in a community's historical and contemporary experiences. To fully understand language ideologies, both dominant and emergent, we must make every effort to thoroughly account for the social, political, economic, and religious experiences that are strongly linked, or potentially have given rise to these language ideologies.

For instance, in Kroskrity's re-analysis of language purism ideology in Tewa, he demonstrated how even professional experts sometimes misrecognize the motivations for certain language ideologies, due not only to assumptions they bring into their work from their own language

ideologies, but more importantly due to an incomplete understanding of the sociopolitical history of the community they are studying. He draws attention to "the disjuncture of imported and indigenous language ideologies" (2000, p. 15). His review of Dozier's work on Tewa language and ethnic identity points to potential perilous paths ethnographers traverse when they unquestioningly bring into their analysis their own professional language ideology—"the assumptions about language in general and about indigenous languages in particular that shaped professional discourse…especially in the treatment of language and identity" (p. 330).

To cite another example, in his close reading of Benjamin Lee Whorf, Silverstein elaborates on how meta-pragmatic analyses are the main mechanism effecting language change largely due to grammatical analogy. His analyses of English gender pronoun shift and Standard American English tense-aspect categorization are examples of ideology motivated language change. They demonstrate how awareness of folk grammatical explanation not only explain but actually affect linguistic structure or rationalizes it by making it more regular. As Woolard ans Shieffelin explain, "Imperfect, limited awareness of linguistic structures, some of which are more available to conscious reflection than are others, leads speakers to make generalizations that they then impose on a broader category of phenomena, thereby changing those phenomena. Structure conditions ideology, which then "reinforces and expands the original structure, distorting language in the name of making it more like itself" (2000, p. 101).

The sociopolitical and historical grounding of language ideology is most readily observable in the ways literacy is practiced and evaluated across language communities. In most educational settings, the prevailing convention is to define literacy as the ability to understand through reading and writing short simple sentences about a person's daily life. While this traditional view of literacy is changing to include the primacy of functional competency and critical thinking

skills, the traditional narrower notion of literacy remains and continues to figure in policy decision making, owing to persistent ideologies about literacy being a neutral, necessary skill associated with development and modernity. Woolard and Schieffelin, among others, point out however that "literacy is not an autonomous, neutral technology, but rather it is culturally organized, ideologically grounded, and historically contingent, shaped by political, social, and economic forces… The definition of what is and what is not literacy is always a profoundly political matter" (1994, pp. 65-66).

Linguistic classification as a field of academic inquiry

The diversity of languages spoken by diverse population groups often associated with geographic locations, cultural practices and, sometimes, apparent physical traits of language speakers have been long been the object of fascination and subject of scholarly inquiries since the time of ancient Roman and Greek academies. Over time, the development of systematic and structured approaches to the classification of objects in the natural world inevitably expanded to include the classification of languages, sometimes extended to account for observed differences in, or speculate on potential but not apparent boundaries among language communities.

In the history of the wider field of language sciences, which includes the somewhat narrower and often considered more technical field of linguistics, language classification as a method of linguistic inquiry emerged in lockstep with what would later be known as historical linguistics, with the lofty ultimate objective of tracing the original European) language and its original homeland. This view of linguistic diversity and approach to language study works under the premise that present-day languages are descended from an original ur-language and that linguistic history inherently carries with it the history of its speakers. Following this logic, the primary goal of historical linguistics is to uncover a language's history which would also, at least

partially reveal the history of its speakers. Language classification, therefore, can be viewed as revelatory of boundaries and proximal distance, in terms of historical development, between languages and their speakers.

Genealogical or genetic classification is a method of classifying languages based on posited common ancestry evidenced by shared basic vocabulary that show predictable systematic phonological differences across related languages. For example, present day Romance languages like Spanish, French, and Portuguese can be demonstrated to have shared common ancestry directly traced to Latin by showing basic vocabulary that diverged phonologically in predictable systematic ways. The historical junctures of linguistic divergence can be indicative of periods of rupture between the communities of speakers of these languages.

Areal classification was developed to account for observed common basic vocabulary across languages that do not show common ancestry. Rather than demonstrating linguistic divergence, this method aims to provide explanation of seemingly unrelated languages having significant shared features by demonstrating language convergence in areas where unrelated languages have come in contact resulting in surface level similarities. A more detailed and in-depth analysis of shared phonological features and basic vocabulary aims to show language convergence as a result of prolonged language contact. For example, in Central and Eastern Europe, protracted contact between German, Polish and Hungarian have resulted in the presence of similar basic vocabulary, phonological, morphological and even syntactic features across languages that belong to Germanic and Slavic branches of the Indo-European language family.

Typological classification emerged as a neutral method of language taxonomy without claiming or invoking shared historical development of languages and their communities of speakers.

With this approach languages are grouped based solely on observed linguistic features as evidenced by patterns of phonology, morphology and syntax. For example, syntactically, languages can be classified as either SVO (subject-verb-object) like English and Indonesian, VSO (verb-subject-object) like Tagalog and Welsh, or SOV (subject-object-verb) like Hindi and Japanese. Phonetically, languages can be classified into stress-timed, like English and Tagalog, or syllable-timed, like Spanish and Korean.

These methods of language classification are not mutually exclusive and each one does not invalidate the others. In fact, typological similarities and/or differences can sometimes be offered to support arguments for or against certain claims of genetic relationships between languages. For most linguists, genetic classification remains the gold standard in theorizing language relationships and language change. While each of these methodologies specify objective procedures in classifying languages, they can be, and have at different points been used to advance and promote certain ideologies, often in support of state or dominant group projects such as nation-building as in the case of national language ideology. This work is a close look at the ways that linguistic classification has figured in shaping the views about language diversity and its relationship to the politics of ethnic identity in the Philippines. More specifically I consider the case of Negrito languages as a study in the use of genetic classification methods to support language designations that perpetuate ideologies of political and cultural differences that have negative, perhaps unintended consequences of perpetually relegating certain ehtnolinguistic groups to the margins of the imagined Filipino nation.

Three important concepts strongly intertwined with and often invoked in studies on language classification, particularly in their presentation of narrative descriptions about language speakers and their communities, need to be mentioned and given due attention: identity, ethnicity, and nation.

Identity is conceptualized in a wide range of ways in various disciplines, but for scholars in the fields of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and other related disciplines, identity is a notion that is useful for mapping and defining both individual characteristics and their group memberships, with both also shifting according to changes in circumstances. Language ideology work in sociolinguistics often involves the examination of social roles and their corollary behavior to explain linguistic practice. An important concept in this approach is identity negotiation, a process in which a person negotiates the meaning of their identity with society. Language ideology work in the field of linguistic anthropology, on the other hand, often takes the term identity to refer to this idea of selfhood having properties based on the uniqueness and individuality of a person that distinguishes them from others. In interrogating ethnicity, this conceptualization was extended to the description of the manner in which the individual is affected by and contributes to the overall social context. Until recently, the term identity has been used in a largely sociohistorical way to refer to characteristics of sameness pertaining to a person's relationship to others and to a particular group of people.

Two views on identity that have had far-reaching impact on approaches to studies of race, class and ethnicity are the primordialist view and the constructionist view. The primordialist approach considers self-identification and group membership as immutable and can be identified using objective standards like shared physical traits and cultural practices In direct opposition to this view, the constructionist approach takes the position that identity is socially constructed and is

largely a political choice of particular characteristics. While both views have been widely criticized, they remain influential in conceptualizations of identity today. These disparate ideas of identity illustrate how complex the concept is and how difficult it is to define empirically. Explorations of identity use the term with different meanings, from having fundamental and abiding sameness, to being fluid, contingent, negotiated, and instrumental. There is a tendency for many scholars to confuse identity as a category of practice and as a category of analysis (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 5). It is not uncommon for researchers to follow their own preconceptions of identity, guided by highly influential frameworks, rather than accounting for the mechanisms by which the concept is crystallized as reality. In order to capture the dynamic and fluid qualities of human social self-expression, some scholars have suggested treating identity as a process, accounting for the diverse and ever-changing nature of social experience. Other alternative conceptions employ the conceptualization of identity as being constructed and given meaning by individuals in relation to personal decisions about interpersonal and social connections. These conceptions give significant consideration to the active role individuals have in social identity construction.

In a major shift of research focus, anthropologists studying identity introduced the concept of boundaries as an analytical tool for empirically accounting for how (ethnic) identity works, following Fredrik Barth who recommended that the focus for investigation should be “the ethnic boundary that defines the group rather than the cultural stuff that it encloses” (Barth, 1969, p. 15). The focus is on how individuals differently construct the idea of community membership and how individual members of a group conceive ethnic boundaries. Extending the concept of boundaries for delineating geographical or physical spatial borders to the mapping of variable and constantly-evolving qualities of experiences of individuals within groups is useful in defining these qualities and the extent to which they mark sameness and difference. The abstract

concept of identity is made concrete by referencing physical or observable manifestations of identity markers like language, clothing, art, architecture and ritual practices, stabilized over time and with the recognition of other individuals within and outside the group. The stability of identity markers is strengthened when there is intersubjective agreement on the meaning and interpretation of these markers. The boundary that identity markers create are considered to be exclusive when they have the effect of restricting the behavior of others or outsiders. On the other hand, an inclusive boundary is manifested when the identity marker put in place is one with which outsiders can freely and readily associate. Notwithstanding, inclusive boundaries have the corollary effect of restricting an individual's membership or inclusion within other boundaries. Although primordialist and constructivist views of identity differ greatly in their assumptions about the nature of identity, with major implications for how each orientation approaches their study, they share the conceptualization of the social embeddedness of identity. I lean towards the constructivist notion, but I see value in seeking to understand the nuances of primordialist ideas of identity. I consider it a useful source of relevant insights that may help explain the persistence of primordialism as an ideology (of language in particular).

While the social interactionist orientation in the study of identity focuses on the importance of individual role and identification within sites of interaction, the boundary-focused approach emphasizes the significance of markers of differentiation, their performance and interpretation in defining identity. Despite the contrast in focus, they share the central tenet of identity being constantly constructed and negotiated. In this project, I find that the interactionist approach is appropriate for exploring language practice and analyzing linguistic structure. However, the methodologies of the boundary-focused approach allow me to systematically account for the link between these micro-level practices and macro-level sociopolitical factors.

Ethnicity as a concept, like identity, has been conceptualized in a myriad of ways by social scientists approaching it from different disciplines, always with the goal of illuminating our understanding of its nature as an important organizing factor in society. Some of the most significant views that have influenced, but also set apart, the ways scholars analyze social groups are the primordialist, perennialist, and constructivist approaches.

The primordialist view conceives of ethnicity to have existed at all times of human history and that modern ethnic groups have historical continuity from the deep past. Central to this idea is the understanding of humanity as being divided into primordially existing groups rooted in kinship and biological heritage. In some versions of this conceptualization, ethnicity is considered to be an a priori fact of human existence, that it is natural and not just historical. Other versions of this view consider ethnic communities to be extensions of kinship ties and that the cultural markers they exhibit, language included, are overt manifestations of this biological connection. Clifford Geertz is often included in this group since he argues for the primacy of the power of primordial human attachments to blood ties, language, territory, and cultural practices. In his opinion, political actions of ethnic groups are often attributable to primordial attachments, which trump civil sentiments. "While Geertz does not consider ethnicity to be primordial, he believes that humans perceive it as such because it is embedded in their experience of the world" (May, 2001, p. 29).

The primordialist view is often critiqued as lacking in explanatory power. It fails to explain why ethnicity disappears as an organizing category in one historical period then re-intensifies in another. It also has problems dealing with the consequences of intermarriage, migration and colonization for the composition of modern-day multiethnic societies… and "the contradictions observed between mythic origins of specific ethnic groups and their communities' known biological history" (Smith, 1999, p. 13). As Stephen May articulates, our understanding

of culture must involve more than simply knowledge of difference but an understanding of why and how differences in language, thought, and behaviors come about. (May, 2001, p. 30)

The perennialist view assumes that ethnic communities and nations as types of social and political organizations are of immemorial or perennial character. Some may be characterized by continuous perennialism, while others recurrent perennialism (Smith, 1999, p. 159). Situational perennialism considers ethnicity to be a tool political groups employ to manipulate resources such as wealth, power, territory, or status in their particular groups' interests. Instrumental perennialism goes further, asserting that ethnicity is the basis for a hierarchical arrangement of individuals, a mechanism of social stratification. Ethnicity appears when it is relevant for furthering emergent collective interests and changes according to political shifts in society. Markers of cultural identity differ in significance and may be created, recreated or replaced by an ethnic group as deemed necessary or appropriate in specific social and historical situations and relative to other groups with the aim of reinforcing the borders and differences between them. Shared culture in this model is best understood as generated in and by the process of ethnic boundary maintenance rather than the other way around (May, 2001, p. 31).

The constructivist view considers both primordialist and perennialist approaches to be inadequate accounts of ethnicity. In this model, ethnic groups are envisaged as products of human social interaction, maintained only in so far as they are maintained as valid social constructs in societies. Ethnic boundaries are constructed both by the individual and the group as well as outside agents and organizations. Ethnic categories are externally defined while ethnic communities are internally defined. It must be emphasized that ethnicity is about social relationships rather than specific cultural properties, and that the formation of ethnic identity is largely shaped by the group itself, an internal process of ascription. This points to the importance of focusing on the relational, processual, and negotiated aspects of ethnicity (May, 2001, p. 31-

32). In a modernist version of constructivism, ethnicity is viewed as correlated with the rise of modern nation-states. In this view, concepts of ethnicity and group pride, such as nationalism, are products of modernity and emerged only very recently and in in concert with the rise of nation-states. Furthermore, prior to the emergence of modern nation-states homogeneous ethnic identity was not considered necessary or required to form large group cohesion or stable social organizations.

With my project involving multilingual communities, I find the constructivist approach to be most useful in terms of looking at language practices within and across communities and how in these interactions and boundaries are constructed, crossed, blurred, or maybe even erased. I think that this approach provides analytical tools for examining the effects of state language policies on minority community members' negotiation of their identity internally and externally most systematically.

There are far too many **theories of nation and nationalism** (with most debates centered around the question of whether it is primordial, perennial or purely modern invention) that it would be impossible to cover all of them, however briefly, in this introductory section. Therefore, I focus my discussion only on conceptualizations put forth by two contemporary thinkers whose comments on the role of language in nation-formation have resonated within sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, either sparking debates or pushing certain approaches in apprehending and analyzing language practices.

First, I consider Benedict Anderson's definition of a nation:

> The nation is an imagined political community - - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign... It is imagined as limited because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations….It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic

> realm….It is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings." (1991, pp. 5-6)

In this conceptualization, the role of print capitalism is a key factor in the rise of modern nation-states. It is a problematic stance, as it privileges literacy in the process of nation formation. In placing the national narrative expressed in a national language at the heart of nation formation, it ignores the ethnolinguistic differentiation within the geographical boundaries of a nation. Although Anderson recognizes the symbolic power of language in nation formation, he assumes a monolingual expression of national identity. A conceptualization of nation that relegates minority communities to the periphery contributes to the denigration and exclusion of national ethnic minorities in their own territories (Kymlicka, 1995, p.53).

Another influential theorist of nationalism is Ernest Gellner. He offers this conceptualization of the nation:

> Nations, like states, are a contingency, and not a universal necessity. Neither nations nor states exist at all times and in all circumstances. Moreover, nations and states are not the same contingency. Nationalism holds that they were destined for each other; that either without the other is incomplete, and constitutes a tragedy. But before they could become intended for each other, each of them had to emerge, and their emergence was independent and contingent. The state has certainly emerged without the help of the nation. Some nations have certainly emerged without the blessings of their own state. It is more debatable whether the normative idea of the nation, in its modern sense, did not presuppose the prior existence of the state. (1983, p. 6)

For Gellner, markers of national identity like language are contingent and not a necessity. Social psychologist John Edwards (1985) agrees with him in his view that nationalism is grounded in economics, and language per se is not especially important. Pragmatic considerations of power, social access, material advancement, etc. are of utmost importance in understanding patterns of

language use and shift, and by extension they are also the primary determinants of success for any language planning project. He views nationalism as an extension of ethnicity and argues that although not identical, since nationalism is a modern phenomenon, they share a lot of things in common. Elaborating further, he asserts that "ethnicity and nationalism are notions that rest upon a sense of community which can have many different tangible manifestations, none of which is indispensable for the continuation of the sense itself. The visible content of both ethnicity and nationalism is eminently mutable; what is immutable is the feeling of groupness. When this disappears, the boundaries disappear" (pp. 132-133). The continuing power of ethnicity and nationalism resides exactly in that intangible bond which by definition can survive the loss of visible markers of group distinctiveness. According to him, language can be an extremely important feature visible marker of identity but is not essential for identity maintenance. He goes as far as claiming that a language that ceases to have a communicative function, though it may remain symbolically powerful, ceases to be a real language. He further expounds that ethnicity is an enduring fact of life and that identities clearly survive language shift, and it is naive ahistorical and indeed patronizing to think otherwise. The essence of group identity is individual identity and the essence of individual identity, ultimately, is survival, personal security and well-being (pp. 98-100).

With the modernist conception of nationalism, minority groups claiming separate ethnic or linguistic identities will have to look beyond the discourse of nationalism in order to define their places and their identities in relation to the state. The examination of ideologies regarding nationalism and ethnicity, implicitly or explicitly marked by language practice, is where I contribute to further interrogating this complex issue. The study of language change and/or shift in multilingual communities within a poly-ethnic nation-state, I hope, will expand our understanding of this phenomenon.

Language endangerment

A language is said to be endangered when there is significant disruption in its intergenerational transmission and a consistent steady decline or contraction of linguistic domains. Language death happens when there are no more native speakers of a language and if eventually no one speaks it at all, it becomes extinct. Several factors, often in combination, contribute to language endangerment, but a wide range of studies in the field of linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics point to two major causes of the more rapid decline of imperiled languages: globalization and (neo) colonialism. Often, widely spoken languages associated with high prestige dominate minority languages leading to language shift and eventual disappearance of these less commonly spoken languages.

"Although languages have always become extinct throughout human history, they are currently disappearing at an accelerated rate due to the processes of globalization and neocolonialism, where the economically powerful languages dominate other languages," wrote Peter Austin and Julia Sallabank in their introduction to a volume on endangered languages (2011, p. 1). According to them, one of the most common causes of language endangerment are those that bring physical harm and danger to populations that speak certain languages. Natural disasters, famine, and disease can threaten language communities to the point of near extinction or cause irreversible damage to community life and livelihood, leading to mass dispersal or migration. In the Philippine context for instance, the 1991 Mount Pinatubo volcanic eruption caused massive displacement of Ayta populations. Forced to leave behind their homes in the mountains, many found themselves in communities where shifting to more dominant languages became necessary for survival.

War and genocide are other causes of language imperilment that bring sudden, drastic, violent end to both threatened speakers and languages. The extinction of many Native American languages is a direct result of mass extermination of native populations by European colonists. As expressed by many scholars of language decline and loss, without written records, today we do not have a way of knowing how many other languages would have been spoken in the Americas prior to European conquest of the continents (Grenoble & Whaley, 1998).

The perilous decline and eventual disappearance of languages can also result from non-physical acts of violence that push speakers towards a drastic change in their linguistic behavior, often to the detriment of their native language. In many post-colonial societies, the promotion of a single, often dominant language used by the elites figure prominently in nation-building projects and national identity-formation through formal education and mass media cultural production. Tantamount to political repression, official government policies that institute, promote and support such projects effectively marginalizes, and in worst cases, erases many languages spoken by small, politically and economically disempowered minority groups by severely limiting their use in most social domains. In these communities, it is not uncommon to find that educational opportunities can only be accessed through forced resettlement of children, uprooting them from their own communities and disrupting the intergenerational transmission of their native language. This kind of political repression has led to major language decline and even language death in many Native American, Australian aboriginal languages and minority language communities in Asia and Europe.

The disenfranchisement of minority indigenous communities politically and economically and leads to cultural upheavals that alter these communities in profound ways with lasting impacts on their linguistic behavior. When political and economic power are intertwined or closely associated with a specific language and cultural expressions, individuals cope and adjust to this

social configuration by prioritizing the hegemonic language over their own. The language or languages conferred with prestige and power by official government policy decision makers, elite cultural arbiters and economic leaders become key points of access towards social and economic mobility with the compounded effect of incentivizing the abandonment of minority languages. As a byproduct of colonialism, imperialism and conquest, dominant languages, often foreign as in the case of Spanish in most Latin American countries, sometimes local as in the case of Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia, play an important role in determining and shaping an individual's path towards advancement, socially and economically, in the former colonies. Political, economic and cultural domination push minority communities into long-term conditions of poverty making them disproportionately more vulnerable to the effects of disease and natural disasters. Under these harsh conditions, survival often means population dispersal and loss of the community and their language altogether. Even under the best conditions, with minimal risk to life and limb, cultural hegemony, as determined by political and economic powers, imposes its dominance through increased contact with and influence on minority language communities, often through more efficient communication technologies.

Studies on language endangerment focus on different forms or manifestations of marginalization and their effects on minority languages. Economic marginalization drives minority language communities towards population dispersal as members migrate to other cities or countries in their efforts to seek out opportunities for economic advancement. Cultural marginalization happens when the hegemonic powers of dominant groups are institutionalized through language policies governing the educational system and shaping literary and mass media productions. Political marginalization is established when access to, and participation in political activities, such as elections, judicial process, legislative hearings, public meetings and other official government action require the exclusive use of dominant language/s. In language contact

situations where speakers of different languages interact, sometimes a dominant language emerges, often established, reinforced and perpetuated by politically and economically advantaged groups. In such situations, language endangerment can occur when minority language speakers accept and attach weight to dominant language ideologies that paint minority languages in a negative light linking them to poverty, illiteracy, or social stigma. As a result, minority language speakers often abandon their native language and shift to the dominant language associated with modernity, economic success and social mobility

When communities lose their language, parts of their cultural traditions such as religious rituals, songs, myths, and poetry that are not easily transferred to another language are also often lost. This may in turn affect their sense of identity and weaken social cohesion, as their values and traditions are altered or supplanted with new ones. Losing a language may also have political consequences, as some countries confer different political statuses or privileges on minority ethnic groups, often defining ethnicity in terms of language. Communities that lose their language may also lose political legitimacy as a community with protected collective rights.

Chapter 3

The orientalist roots of language classification

This chapter examines some of the earliest texts on Philippine language classification and the ways in which it overlapped with or extended to categorization of peoples. The analysis focuses on descriptions of the so-called Negrito languages in the 19th century, exemplified here by the works of the Austrian ethnographer Ferdinand Blumentritt (1853-1913), and Filipino historian and linguist Trinidad Pardo de Tavera (1857-1925).

To embark on a project on the historiography of Philippine Negrito linguistic classification necessitates a contextualization of its place within the broader historiography of linguistics as a discipline in general. This historicized account recognizes the fact that the broadening of linguistics as an academic discipline proceeded concurrent with Western empire expansion, as newly conquered colonies became data-rich sites for testing existing theories and formulating new ones. It acknowledges the fact that academic interest in Philippine linguistics developed in the context of colonization.

Language classification work grew out of philology, the study of language through textual analysis of written historical sources. This birthed the discipline of comparative linguistics, which aims to establish historical relationships among languages by systematically comparing them, ultimately resulting in posited family trees or classification of related languages, genetically or typologically. In the 19th century, the idea of classifying things, including languages and their speakers, came to be a very important scholarly enterprise (Davies & Lepschy, 2016). Linguists of the period were preoccupied with the study of yet undescribed languages, mostly without a written tradition, and efforts were made to establish their genetic

relationship and prehistory. Moving away from but influenced heavily by philology, linguists started using the historical-comparative method to offer expanded language classifications, drawing from data collected by field linguists, ethnologists, and anthropologists. It was during this period that the languages of the Pacific islands were posited to form a family of related languages, which later came to be known as the Austronesian language family. Three of the most prolific and influential Austronesianists of the period whose works included significant amounts of Philippine language data were Wilhelm von Humboldt, Renward Brandstetter, and Wilhelm Schmidt. Von Humboldt, a Prussian diplomat and linguist, produced a large body of work on Pacific island languages that includes a three-volume tome providing detailed comparative studies focusing on the relationship between the languages of India and Java, the Kawi language on the island of Java, and the Malayan language family. Swiss linguist Brandstetter's volumes of research contributed to the systematic analysis of sound correspondence laws in Austronesian, including studies on Malayo-Polynesian languages, Indonesian linguistics, and comparative study of Tagalog and Malagasy. A member of the Catholic missionary order SVD, Schmidt was also an anthropologist, linguist, and founder of the Vienna School of Anthropology. He is credited with coining the term Austronesian, from the Latin word *auster* (south) and the Greek word *nesos* (island), which was adopted by linguists working on other related languages in same geographic region. Some of his influential works include studies on the relationship of the Melanesian and Polynesian languages, and a proposed subgrouping of language families and areas of the world (Spieker-Salazar, 2012).

Early classification work on Philippine languages relied heavily on data collected and recorded by Catholic missionaries who came to the archipelago to convert into Christianity local populations very early in the Spanish colonial period. According to historical sources, the

beginning of language data collection work on Philippine languages began with the arrival of Augustinian missionaries in the 1560s (Asuncion-Lande, 1973). With the aim of Christianizing the natives, the friars found that the most efficient way of doing it was for them to learn the local languages to use in their evangelization work. In the assessment of some historians, one thing the Europeans learned from their missionary work experience in the American continent was that in order for the native Americans to embrace the faith more willingly, native tongues should be used; yet it was necessary to adopt Spanish terminology for key concepts of the Christian doctrine, to make it more difficult for the natives to identify the new ideas with their pagan beliefs (Phelan, 1955). This tells us that language data-gathering and descriptions conducted by early encyclopedists and grammarians in the new colony were primarily aimed at facilitating proselytization and religious conversion, and, by extension, administration of local communities, because there was no separation between church and the colonial government. Toward this aim, the missionaries learned the local languages, wrote pedagogical grammars and came up with word lists for their own use as reference guides for confessionals, catechism, and the preparation of handbooks for the natives. The scriptures were also translated into the local languages.

It is important to note that literate societies already existed in the islands even before the Europeans arrived. In fact, there were at least nine varieties of a local written script or orthography, called the *baybayin* in Tagalog, used to write nine languages spoken by different groups of people across the archipelago, including Ilokano and Cebuano (Scott, 1994). The introduction of the European alphabetic writing, which later supplanted the indigenous syllabic writing, was a concrete manifestation of literacy ideologies brought by colonizers, effectively modifying specific linguistic behaviors among the indigenous language communities, forever

changing their writing system and impacting local views about the relative value of written and oral language traditions.

Using Latin as a model for grammatical analysis and their European alphabetic system as a standard for writing, it was no surprise that the missionaries found the local languages imperfect and lacking in precision. These early language documenters came to the conclusion that the local languages were necessary but imperfect vessels of God's message, given the absence of grammatical features found in European languages familiar to them (e.g., noun gender, nominal and verbal declensions for marking gender and number, etc., in Philippine languages) and the peculiar way that baybayin did not clearly and precisely indicate word meanings, for example because it did not accurately spell out a word due to the absence of symbols for vowels and the final consonant of closed word-final syllable (i.e., the old baybayin did not specify the vowel following each consonant and systematically dropped the final consonant of a word-final CVC or consonant-vowel-consonant combination). Hence, they found it their responsibility to correct the perceived gaps or imperfections in these languages and their scripts.

One of the earliest printed texts in Tagalog, the *Doctrina Cristiana en Lengua Española y Tagala* (Christian Doctrine in Spanish and Tagalog) printed in 1593, is a bilingual collection of prayers and Catholic teachings printed in both Latin alphabet and baybayin which was modified to specify the vowels that came with each consonant. The writing system was further modified when an Ilokano translation of the same text was printed 30 years later, introducing a way of representing in baybayin a closed word-final syllable. Further modifications were done later to handle other asymmetries between the orthography and sounds it represented. The natives who were literate in their languages already knew how to manage the asymmetry between their

languages' phonology and the graphic representations of the old baybayin. However, the purpose of the modifications to the writing system was to help the friars learn the local languages more efficiently. But even with the modifications, it remained imperfect to the Europeans due to the vast differences between the orthographic conventions and literacy practices of their own culture and the communities in the new colony. For example, baybayin did not write down predictable final-syllable occurrences of the sounds [l], [n], [ʔ] and [k]. The sounds [r] and [d] were in complementary distribution and thus were represented only by one symbol, and, not surprisingly, a number of Spanish consonants (for instance [f], [v], and [z]) did not have equivalent symbols in baybayin.

Whereas literacy in the alphabetic writing was to the European missionaries a way to record and read history and verbal creativity, for example in prose and poetry, literacy in baybayin was a way to write down reminders and personal letters of communication to each other. In Tagalog and other linguistic communities in the islands, for instance, literary tradition was mostly oral. Writing was contingent, and hence most of the materials used for this purpose were not chosen for their durable quality and largely ephemeral, like leaves and bamboo bark. With all of the modifications introduced, one can imagine how the writing system eventually took on a different character and became less and less familiar to the local communities that already had their own literacy practices prior to European colonization. It also changed the very nature of literacy practices in the local language communities. While literacy in baybayin was robust in the 15th century at the beginning of the Spanish colonial period, by the end of 17th century it was almost non-existent, and by the beginning of the 18th century it was extinct in most places, particularly in areas administered by the Catholic church which at that time was more or less synonymous with the Spanish colonial administration. Today, only three baybayin

scripts survive, with very limited use, in the remote communities of Buhid, Hanunuo, and Tagbanwa. Literacy practices in and around religious, trading, and government administration centers came to revolve around religion, education, business, and politics. The alphabetic writing system eventually supplanted the old orthography, including the Tagalog baybayin (Scott, 1994).

This language-centered picture shows a neat alignment between the interest in linguistic work for the purposes of Christianization, colonial government administration and trading. From these centers emanated not just ideas about faith, government, and business, but ideas about language too for a multilingual archipelago. The social and economic hierarchies established by the colonial rulers would have long-lasting impacts on the socioeconomic arrangements of the colonized peoples long after the official end of the colonial period. Produced from the middle of the 16th century to the end of the 19th century were more than one hundred pedagogical grammars of the major languages, hundreds of dictionaries, and a large number of catechism and confessional guides, and handbooks of Christian teachings (Salazar, 2012). This rich collection of materials became the data for late 19th century linguists who worked on the earliest attempts at classifying Philippine languages and coming up with a subgrouping of Philippine languages within the Austronesian language family, such as Schmidt, von Humboldt and Hermann van der Tuuk, as well as extensive phonological reconstruction work by German linguist Otto Dempwolff.

In 1582, motivated by the belief that the natives would not leave their pagan ways and superstitions until they abandon their languages, the Ecclesiastical Junta ordered the teaching of Spanish language to all natives of the islands. In line with this edict, primary schools were built next to Catholic churches, Spanish grammar books were published for use in these schools, and natives were taught reading, writing, and music with Spanish as the medium of instruction.

However, the order to teach Spanish language was poorly implemented due to lack of resources to pay instructors and severe shortage of qualified personnel (Asuncion-Lande, 1973). For practical purposes, missionary work continued to be conducted in local languages. Between 1593 and 1642, a total of 35 books were printed in major local languages, 24 of which were in Tagalog and the rest in Bisayan (5), Pampango (3), Bikol (2), and Ilokano (1). Even then, there was already significantly wider interest in the Tagalog language, largely due to preliminary but over-generalized observations and beliefs of the language documenters of the period that it was the best developed of the native languages which had a very rich literature, and had the highest rate of literacy compared with other linguistic groups (Asuncion-Lande, 1973). In reality, perhaps a more compelling reason for this focus on Tagalog was the fact that Spanish colonial interest centered on trade, and Tagalog was the lingua franca of the trade center of Manila. Outside of this major trading hub, other trade centers spoke Bisayan languages (in the Visayas and Mindanao), Bikol in the southern Luzon area, Pampanga in central Luzon, and Ilokano in northern Luzon.

Language classification and the orientalist gaze

Two key figures in the history of Philippine linguistics and language classification are Ferdinand Blumentritt and Trinidad Hermenigildo Pardo de Tavera, whose works are important contributions to linguistics scholarship in the 19th century. As scholars, both men were influenced by and grappled with prevailing approaches to, and methodologies for language studies of their time. Their scholarly writings were responses to and discussions with other language researchers of the period, many of whom were linguists, philologists, ethnographers, ethnologists, anthropologists, and historians pondering the complex relationships, overlaps and

boundaries between the conceptualizations of nation, race, ethnicity, language, and how they could be used to define geographic borders. Language scholars were influenced by and sought to expound on ideas advanced by 18th century thinkers, like Johan Gottfried Herder and Johan Christian Adeluung. By the time Blumentritt and Pardo de Tavera started perusing through mountains of Philippine language and ethnographic data collected over roughly three centuries by missionaries, colonial administrators, travelers, and scholars, linguistics as a discipline had already undergone major paradigm shifts.

The beginning of modern linguistics in the late 18th century took inspiration from ideas of the German philosopher Herder and philologist Adeluung. Herder, whose influential ideas are still discussed and debated in linguistics and anthropology today, argues that language plays a major role in shaping the worldview of the members of a linguistic community, and emphasizes the importance of language and cultural traditions in defining a people/nation. For his part, Adeluung's meticulous work on grammars and dictionaries of German dialects, with particular attention to accuracy of orthographic representation of spoken language, set methodological standards for creating written records of language for succeeding philologists.

Another notable philologists of the 19th century is Sir William Jones, who is often credited for laying down the foundation for comparative philology and Indo-European linguistics. During his tenure as a judge in British India, from 1784 until the time of his death in 1794, Jones produced massive amounts of materials on the languages of India, as well as other papers covering a wide array of topics in the social sciences. One of his most widely acknowledged contributions to the study of languages is demonstrating how European languages and the languages of India share considerable similarities which point to a close relationship among them, although he was not the first to have expressed the observation. Jones himself

published works that presented these similarities in a systematic manner and proposed the idea of Sanskrit being the common ancestral language, a proto-language, of related Indo-European languages. This shift of focus from tracing the historical development of a language (in philology) to establishing genetic relationships among related languages gave rise to comparative linguistics. There was great interest among 19th century linguists to find the ancestral or original language from which the languages of India and Europe were descended, and the way to do this was by using the comparative method, a systematic way of comparing relevant similar forms (e.g., sounds, morphemes, etc.) from related (sister) languages with the aim of reconstructing the proto-forms of what would eventually be a posited proto-language. The search for an original Indo-European language was believed to be an avenue for identifying the Indo-European homeland and tracing the historical development not just of its daughter languages but the history of the peoples, tribes, or nations that speak them as well. As Europeans, and later Americans, found more linguistic diversity in the colonies, this preoccupation with tracing genetic linguistic relationships expanded to the languages spoken by their colonial subjects, many of them without written traditions. The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), based on European alphabetic writing, was developed in the late 19th century as a device for making these languages legible to scholars attempting to make sense of the diversity in an organized systematic fashion. Through this seemingly objective approach to recording and representing the speech of colonial subjects, mainly for the benefit of the European scholars and their audience/readers, new language practices were introduced to the communities of their language informants, primary of which is literacy. In the case of the Philippines, literacy in local languages meant familiarity with a European alphabetic script and spelling system that came to be the orthographic representation of most newly recorded languages or the writing system that

supplanted the old Dravidian-originated scripts used by some language communities prior to European conquest. While comparative linguistics moved away from philology and turned their attention to the primacy of spoken language data over historical written sources, their methodology facilitated the recording of newly encountered languages following conventional European literacy practices. In fact, even with the emphasis on the gathering and use of spoken language data in the 19th century, many linguists still relied heavily, though not exclusively, on Philippine data collected and written by early grammarians, mostly missionaries, from the 16th to the 18th century. Blumentritt, for example, did all of his work on Philippine languages without travelling to the Philippines or working with native speakers of languages he analyzed, and relied solely on printed manuscripts accessible to him in Europe. Pardo de Tavera, even though based in the Philippines and could have travelled to areas outside Manila or provincial centers, also used old word lists and teaching grammars as his main sources.

Nation, language, and literacy

In his highly influential work, *Imagined Communities,* Benedict Anderson (1983) highlighted the importance of print capitalism to the rise of nations. In theorizing nationalism, he pointed out the key role literacy plays in the formation of communities with imagined shared histories, beliefs, values, and cultural practices. This idea presupposes a shared language among peoples dispersed across time and space whose main connection to each other is through printed words which, in my view, are partial recordings of expressions of specific cultural practices situated in a particular point in time, space, and context. Even as European intellectuals, particularly German linguists, like von Humboldt, Dempwolff, and Franz Bopp themselves came to espouse the idea of “one nation, one language” amid the turmoil of redefining the

geographical and cultural borders of their nation, Filipino intellectuals were also in the process of establishing their place in the world where they were both colonial subjects and, at the same time, free and enlightened thinkers preoccupied with scientific pursuits just like their European academic colleagues. While they were writing for fellow Filipinos, mostly intellectuals like themselves, they were also aware, perhaps even self-consciously, that they were addressing European scholars who were both their academic equal and colonial superior. This complex nature of their role as scholar and colonial subject navigating a world where institutional academic enterprise often overlapped, or went hand in hand, with imperial colonial projects would shape their own distinct approach to intellectual work. It was important for them to demonstrate their familiarity with scientific advances and philosophical debates of the day and knowledge of the application of these epistemologies and the current methodologies to their scholarly pursuits.

The 19th century saw major leaps in Indo-European studies, owing to unprecedented contributions from German folklorists and comparatists, such as Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (proponents of the Germanic sound laws), August Schleicher (proponent of the family-tree theory of language classification), and Friedrich Schlegel (proponent of the wave-theory of language classification). It was no accident that modern linguistics became established as an academic discipline in Germany. After the Napoleonic wars and in the full swing of the industrial revolution, the push for German unification (of Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony) found a natural ally in the Germanic language studies. Even outside Germany, many notable linguists were either German-trained, like the American W. D. Whitney, or Germans themselves, like Max Muller at Oxford. In fact, some historians of the discipline go as far as claiming that 19th century linguistics was an almost exclusively German undertaking (Robins 1979; Koerner 1989;

Hoenigswald, 1986). Linguistic reconstruction came to be a tool not just for uncovering Indo-Germanic, later Indo-European, prehistory, but also a heuristic for determining the homeland of the native speakers of its daughter languages—the intimate connection between race, language, culture being one of its central tenets. This ideology implies a stable border separating one language and nation from another. Following Herder's assertion, like the Grimm brothers, Humboldt himself believed that language is a peculiar property of the nation or group who speak it. As quoted by Robins (1979), Herder's own words said, "A people's speech is their spirit, and their spirit is their speech" (p. 97). This logic also assumes parallel development between language and thought, which may be extended to the historical development of the nation or group of people who speak a particular language, providing a seemingly logical explanation for the advancement of some nations and primitive nature of others.

It must be noted that two key scientific paradigms which had major influence on linguistics as a field of study are mechanistic physics and biological theory of evolution by natural selection. Directly informed by the philosophical views of positivism and empiricism, mechanistic physics theorizes that all phenomena, extended to language in linguistics, could be described in simple terms by invoking the deterministic laws of force and motion such that all future states could be predicted based on knowledge of the present state. Following the argumentation of the biological theory of evolution by natural selection, it is assumed that all natural organisms, language being one of them, can be described objectively, and that there is a natural order of organisms and organic bodies formed according to definite natural laws that inherently contain within themselves the internal principle of life gestation, maturation, and inevitable end. In his reading of the discipline's history, linguistic anthropologist Joseph Errington (2008) considers comparative philology as "...an instrument that provided evolutionary

support for ideologies of European empire... and that philologists used linguistic diversity to confirm the place of Germany in the world, and the superiority of what is now called the West over the rest... In this way, their work helped provide a linguistic image of what Nietzsche called the sum of human relations, metaphors of evolution which became intensified, transferred, and embellished in broader projects of colonialism on one hand, and nationalism on the other" (pp. 58-97). In Errington's view, this image of language presented by comparative linguistics have far-reaching impact beyond academia, in two specific ways:

> The first is the broadly organic view of history which helped to explain Europe's superiority in a colonial present, naturalize its ongoing civilizational advancement, and frame linguistic difference as human inequality in a colonial world. The second centers on philology as a very German science which made the past into a resource for nationalist ideologies in an industrializing Europe, nowhere more importantly than in Germans' confrontations with a political and cultural crisis of identity quite close to home. (p. 128)

The spread of this view of the world had the effect of normalizing the ideology of hierarchy and the dichotomized categories of the superior West/colonizer in contrast to the rest/colonized in apprehending the peoples and languages in their newly explored or acquired territories. That means, engaging in intellectual discourse required familiarity with and use of the discursive practices of such ideology for both scholars from the West, like Blumentritt, and from the colonies, like Pardo de Tavera.

Ferdinand Blumentritt

Blumentritt was born in Prague, then part of Prussia, in 1853. His grandmother belonged to the prominent Alcaraz family of Spain who, together with the Jesuits, were exiled from Manila in 1773. Blumentritt's early exposure to Philippine tribes was through artifacts in his childhood home which were brought to Europe by his grandmother's family. He studied history

and geography and started his teaching career at the age of 24 at the Ateneo of Leitmeritz in Bohemia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He later served as the school's director from 1900 to 1911. Blumentritt learned Spanish and some Tagalog and became a well-regarded expert on Philippine history, politics, languages and ethnography. He wrote extensively, in German and Spanish, on Philippine ethnolinguistic groups and to this day remains a thinker who is well-known to many scholars studying the Philippines, especially historians, because of his close association with key Filipino intellectuals who studied in Europe and figured prominently in the movement for Philippine independence from Spain, the most prominent of whom was Philippine's national hero, Jose Rizal. He became a vocal staunch supporter of Philippine independence during the American colonial period. Blumentritt died in 1913.

With limited training in linguistics, it is remarkable that Blumentritt's works on Philippine languages greatly impacted Philippine linguistics generations later. Even more remarkable is the fact that he did this without ever setting foot on the islands or travelling to Southeast Asia, a practice that was not uncommon for philologists of the period as they primarily worked with written texts and some did not feel the need to conduct their own data-gathering work but instead use word lists and grammars collected by travelers and other scholars who have been to the area. Relying solely on manuscripts, notes and other printed materials containing language data and ethnographic information from nearly three centuries of European missionary work and ethnographies published by ethnologists, anthropologists, philologists and travelers, as well as information provided by his Filipino friends, mainly Rizal who himself did some work on Philippine ethnology, Blumentritt produced a staggering number of publications pertaining to Philippine languages. His extensive works focused on the so-called Negrito languages have influenced many scholars who came to do research on them later. One such scholar was the

German anthropologist and then Dresden Museum Director Adolph Bernhard Meyer, a contemporary of Blumentritt's. After thoroughly reviewing Blumentritt's published articles on the subject, poring through other published materials, and conducting his own data collection while traveling in the Philippines, Meyer became convinced and argued strongly that Negrito languages contain non-Austronesian words and that speakers of these languages "represented the oldest human race on earth, pushed back into the mountains by the Malays" (Salazar, 2012, pp. 97-104). Meyer made this claim with the knowledge that all available word lists at that time contained only vocabularies which were related to other Austronesian languages spoken on the islands.

Between 1883 and 1899, Blumentritt published a large amount of materials on Philippine Negrito tribes and their languages. Illustrative of the kind of work he produced on the subject are listed here, originally written in German but mostly translated into Spanish and later into English:

(1) "On the Negritos of Limay, Province of Bataan in Luzon" (1883)

(2) "The Negritos of Baler" (1884)

(3) "Reports on the Negritos of Luzon" (1884)

(4) "The Negritos of the Philippines" (1885)

(5) "The Mountain Tribes of the Isle of Negros" (1889)

(6) "The Races of the Philippine Archipelago" (1890)

(7) "List of the Native Tribes of the Philippines and of the Languages Spoken by Them" (1890)

(8) "The Atas of South Luzon" (1891)

(9) "The Natives of the Isle of Palawan and of the Calamianan Group" (1991)

(10) “Contributions to our Knowledge of the Negritos” (1892)

(11) “The Negritos of Alabat” (1892)

(12) “The Negritos of the Upper Rio Grande de Cagayan, Luzon” (1893)

(13) “On the Negritos of Mindanao or the Mamanuas” (1896)

While Ferdinand Blumentritt himself made no categorical claims about Negrito languages being non-Austronesian, most of his papers suggested, at the very least, a separate subgroup of Philippine languages, described and labeled as being spoken by tribes of people distinct from speakers of other languages in the islands whose tribal designations were synonymous with their language name and the territory or land they occupied. Using the same works reviewed by Meyer in 1889, American ethnologist Otis Tufton Mason prepared a report for the Smithsonian Institution, where he was curator, on the tribes and languages of the Philippines. It was a translation of Blumentritt’s 1890 article entitled “List of the Native Tribes of the Philippines and the Languages Spoken by Them.” In it, Mason provides an introduction which carefully but concisely explains what he believed to be the ideas behind the listings and accompanying descriptions and designations for each language included in Blumentritt’s inventory. In Mason’s interpretation, he offers four discrete grounds for the listing, labeling, and classification presented by Blumentritt, namely, (1) the biological concept of blood kinship or race, (2) the linguistic concept of speech or language, (3) the political concept of tribal organization, and (4) the geographic concept of location (Mason, 1889).

After laboriously combing through the accounts of missionaries, scholars and travelers who wrote about the tribes and languages of the Philippines, Blumentritt came to the following generalizations: (1) Negritos are members of a race different from the other inhabitants of the islands. The most obvious evidence for their distinctiveness is their darker skin and woolly hair

compared to other natives; (2) The severely limited information on their languages suggest that they are different from the other Austronesian languages spoken on the islands. Unlike the major languages of the archipelago, Negrito languages have no written tradition, hence there is zero literacy among them; (3) Negritos seem not to have any sort of tribal organization as they are scattered among the Malay populations across the archipelago living in very poor conditions; (4) Negritos are found in various parts of Luzon, some islands in the Visayas, and on the islands of Palawan and Mindanao. In his 1880 list of tribes and languages, one of his aims was to clarify what he found to be a confusion over terminologies among scholars writing about the Philippines. In the article where he presents a list of Philippine tribes and languages, he has the following entry:

> Negrito. – (Native names: Aeta, Ate (Palawan), Eta, Ita, Mamanua (Northeast Mindanao), old Spanish name, Negrillos, Negros del Pais). The woolly-haired, dark-colored aborigines of the land who, in their miserable condition, live scattered among the Malay population in various parts of Luzon, Mindoro, Tablas, Panay, Busuanga, Culion, Palawan, Negros, Cebu, and Mindanao. There are supposed to be 20,000 of them. They are also spoken of under the word Balugas. The Negrito idiom of the province of Cagayan is called Atta. (1890)

The preceding passage exemplifies the way in which Blumentritt apprehended Negrito languages and their speakers, suggesting that these languages and peoples somehow comprise a distinct group that have linguistic and non-linguistic features that separate them from other groups and languages in the Philippines. With no direct encounter with speakers of these languages, Blumentritt relied on short narrative descriptions like *woolly-haired, dark-colored*, or references like *negrito, negrillos, negros*, by his sources and the sound patterns found in their group names, like *atta, aeta, ate, eta, ita,* as primary evidence for this grouping. This practice of conflating linguistic and non-linguistic evidence, e.g, social and economic conditions and racial type, to propose a dichotomized and hierarchical relationship between Negrito language groups

and the rest of the Philippine population is analogous to the taken-for-granted existing dichotomy and hierarchical arrangement between the colonizer and colonized population of the period.

Trinidad Pardo de Tavera

Pardo de Tavera was born in Binondo, Manila in 1857 to a wealthy family of Portuguese and Spanish descent on his paternal side and Cavite native and Spanish roots on his maternal side. He completed his primary and secondary education at the Ateneo de Manila and completed his Bachelor of Arts degree at the Colegio de San Juan de Letran in 1873. He started his studies in medicine at the University of Santo Tomas in Manila but moved to France on the invitation of his uncle Joaquin before he could finish his degree. He continued his training at the University of Paris and received his medical license in 1881. Shortly thereafter, Pardo enrolled in *Ecole nationale des langues orientales vivantes* (National School of Oriental Languages) where he received a diploma in Malay language in 1885. While in Paris, he was active member of the Filipino nationalist organization, the Propaganda Movement, and became acquainted with members of the secret society La Liga Filipina. During the American period, he briefly served as chairperson of the Department of Philippine Languages (which would later become the Department of Linguistics and Oriental/Asian Languages) at the University of the Philippines upon its establishment in 1922. He remained active in Philippine academic circles and politics until his death in 1925.

Although trained primarily as a physician, Pardo de Tavera was very involved in the study of and published articles on the languages and tribes in the Philippines. As a Paris-educated member of the Filipino elite, he became acquainted with European scholars interested in the Philippines, one of whom was Blumentritt. As a learned man of varied interests, he was a

prolific scholar in many fields, such as zoology, botany, politics, history and linguistics. Compared to his European contemporaries, Pardo de Tavera's linguistics studies were not very extensive. However, he was one of very few Filipino language researchers[6] of note during his time whose studies extended to the inclusion of some Negrito languages. Some studies on Philippine language authored by Pardo de Tavera are: (1) "A Contribution to the Study of Old Alphabets (Scripts) of the Philippines" (1884); "Sanskrit in the Tagalog Language" (1887); and "Etymology of the Names of Races of the Philippines" (1901). In the "Etymology" article, like Blumentritt, Pardo de Tavera made efforts to clarify the somewhat confusing terminologies used by scholars in identifying and describing different groups of people on the island who spoke different languages. For him, scholars claiming the existence of many "races" in the archipelago are misusing the term by applying the term to political groupings that are no different from each other (Pardo de Tavera, 1901). In his analysis, the term "race" is often misapplied to designate a group of speakers of a language when in fact, according to the most recent ethnographic studies, there are only three races who inhabit the islands, namely Negritos, Indonesians, and Malays. From these three races, hybrids or mestizajes form a wide variety of tribes distinct from each other by virtue of having their own language that what we would today call a linguistic group. He further asserts that political divisions often correspond to linguistic divisions, and thus the language name is often used to designate or be closely associated with place names of areas occupied by speakers of particular languages, like Pampanga, Ilokos, Pangasinan. However, upon closer examination, one would find that within a particular province, there are actually more tribes with different languages or dialects. Pardo de Tavera offers an alternative way of figuring out the actual number of tribes of the Philippines based on language by examining the

[6] Jose Rizal and Isabelo de los Reyes were two of Pardo's fellow-Filipino contemporaries who did research on Philippine languages.

etymology of terms used to designate groups of people, more specifically by decomposing the names and isolating the affixes that express the meaning "from/native of/natural to… (a place)," or "possessing ….," in each one. By doing this, he engages in academic linguistics study within the confines of established discursive practices of 19th century language taxonomy while simultaneously moving away from conventional ways of apprehending linguistic diversity in the country. In his proposed rubric, each affix is shown to combine with a word that denotes a place, e.g., a river, lagoon, mountain, etc., forming a compound word denoting a group of people. By studying the etymology of ethnolinguistic group names, he identified seven patterns in the nominal designations of tribes and their languages through the use of the prefixes */taga-/, /i-/, /a-/, /ma-/, /non-/, and the circumfix /ka- -an/.* Here are some examples of these names:

TAGA- Tagalog, Tagabawa, Tagabeli, Tagakaolo, Tagabanua

I- Ilokano, Ilongot, Ibanag, Itawes, Ivatan, Isinay, Ifugao, Iraya

MA- Malanao, Manobo, Maguindanao, Mamanua

KA—AN Katalangan, Kalibugan, Kalibugan, Kagayan, Kalagan

Designations for Negrito tribes and languages, according to Pardo de Tavera, do not seem to follow any of these patterns. However, he identified a number of mestizo (i.e., hybrid) Malay-Negrito groups whose tribe-language names show the same affixation patterns as the rest of the non-Negrito tribes. For instance, Iraya (mestizo Negritos in Palawan) and Mamanua (mestizo Negritos in Mindanao). As an illustration, here is how he explains the etymology of the word Tagalog:

> One of the largest linguistic groupings in the Philippines is formed by the Tagalog, whose name refers to the inhabitants of the provinces of Manila, Bulakan, Nueva-Ecija, Batáan, part of Tarlac, Laguna, Tayabas and the Morong district, with around of 1,250,000 individuals. Undoubtedly, in the old days, all these men were not called Tagalog: this was the name of a fraction of the population that inhabited Manila and, by extension, was applied by the Spaniards to all those who spoke the

> same language. This fraction was the one that inhabited Tondo, Manila and the towns of the Pasig basin, which is the reason why some old authors, doing etymology of how it sounds, explained the formation of the word as contraction of taga-ilog "inhabitant of the river"; but this is not possible, because if so, the letter I would not have disappeared, and even if this had happened, the tagálog form accentuated in the second one could not have remained, but Tagalog, because the word's phonetic similar origin. Other authors believe that this name is a compound taga- (affix) + the root word alog meaning "to wade" from where Tagalog would mean "men or inhabitants of the ford." Even if the explanation does not satisfy us, it is more logical to accept that the word tagalog comes from the root alog that, in Pangasinan, means "low land that fills with water when it rains", because precisely the natives who, at the arrival of the Spaniards, were called Tagalog in In the Manila region, inhabited, as they do today, low and waterlogged lands. (Pardo de Tavera, 1901)

Pardo de Tavera's analysis is all at once both an echo of European ideas about racial types intertwined with culture, and an attempt at a radical departure from ideologies tying language and people to an exclusive geographical territory. The claim that there are only three races inhabiting the islands reaffirmed the hierarchical social arrangement imposed by European colonial powers in maritime Southeast Asia. At the time, Indonesia and Malaysia were both under colonial rule by the Dutch and the British, respectively. In 19th century Philippines, the people designated as part of the Malay race were lowland Filipinos, mostly converts into the Catholic faith; those designated as Indonesians were mostly highland dwellers and non-Christian lowlanders. Negrito was the designation for the dark-skinned, wiry-haired people who lived in the mountains, often described in early ethnographies as wild heathens.

Like his European colleagues, Blumentritt included, Pardo de Tavera applied the same epistemological framework to his inventory of tribes and the languages spoken by them. Deploying the same organizing principles employed by linguists working on classifying Indo-European and newly discovered languages in their colonies, and perhaps foreshadowing what would later be the focus of his political career—that of nation-formation in a multi-ethnic, multilingual territory—he proposed a new way of categorizing languages, dialects and the tribes

that speak them. By underscoring similarities in etymological derivations of names of certain tribes associated with specific political entities within specific geographical locations, and at the same time acknowledging the multiplicity of dialects and languages found within those areas, perhaps unintentionally, he also highlighted the hierarchical relationship among Philippine ethnolinguistic groups, echoing the same sentiments expressed by European grammarians generations before him.

Linguistic differentiation in 19th century Philippines

Two overarching general themes can be gleaned from 19th century Philippine linguistic classification. First, a group of people, i.e., a tribe or nation, can be defined largely based on their common linguistic cultural expression, i.e., their language or dialect. Taxonomic work on Philippine languages and tribes by European and Filipino scholars, in other words, provided evidence from newly discovered languages in the colonies for the European notion of the inherent and inalienable connection between language and nation. Second, there is a natural hierarchy of languages, and this hierarchical arrangement is also often manifested in cross-tribal relationships. While the identification of typological distinctions between inflectional, agglutinating, and isolating languages was a major development in the language sciences, the notion that these typological categories somehow constituted a natural hierarchy of highly developed (inflectional) languages at the top, down to a less advanced (agglutinating), and primitive (isolating) languages at the bottom, was a problematic complication in typological language classification, and even more so when extended to ethnolinguistic taxonomy. In this formulation, all Philippine languages, typologically agglutinating, and by extension ethnic tribes that speak them, were considered to be naturally inferior to Indo-European languages and

nations/people. All succeeding linguistic differentiation in the colony, therefore, proceeded with the presupposition of inferiority to the colonizers' language.

With more than 300 years of European language documentation work by missionaries, ethnographers, travelers, and historians, mainly producing word lists, dictionaries, and ethnographic notes on the diverse groups of peoples speaking different languages across the Philippine archipelago,[7] 19th century linguists had mountains of data at their disposal to pore over, analyze, and compare with new data they themselves or their contemporaries collected. However, this mine of data included limited amounts of information on the languages spoken by smaller groups of people, often referred to as minorities, usually described as living either scattered among the majority language speakers or in mountainous regions away from colonial administration centers or parishes.

In proposing language classification and mapping them onto the geographical terrain of the Spanish colony in Southeast Asia, Blumentritt and Pardo de Tavera put forth ideological representations of linguistic differences that indexed language forms which came to be iconic of social identities of their speakers. Looking specifically at their treatment of Negrito languages, they both zeroed in on the speakers' self-identification words *agta, ayta, ita* and their variations as a linguistic form suggestive of a different subgroup of languages within the Philippines. In the absence of more robust language data, both scholars used ethnographic notes and articles to extrapolate distinguishing features of the speakers' social identities considered to be intimately connected to their linguistic identities. Thus, the words *agta, ayta, ita* and their variants came to be interpreted as tribe/s with language/s whose speakers are racially distinct and have most or all of the following features: illiterate, uneducated, heathen, wild mountain dwellers or itinerants,

[7] Spieker-Salazar (1992) groups early Philippine language research by Europeans into pragmatic language studies (1521-1767), philological and comparative studies (1767-1861), and Malayo-Polynesian linguistics (1861-1925).

economically disadvantaged, and politically unorganized. It must be mentioned that there were other minority ethnolinguistic groups that were also described as having some of the features associated with *Agta/Ayta/Ita*, but the one feature absent from the differentiation is racial distinctiveness. It can be asserted, therefore, that the linguistic forms *agta/ayta/ita* and their variants were made to be iconic of all Negrito languages speakers; the mention of the word conjuring images of uncivilized, pagan savages who have yet to benefit from the civilizing work and influence of the Europeans.

This iconization of *agta/ayta/ita* as indexical of all things uncivilized and non-Western-influenced positions Negrito language speakers in a dichotomized relationship with the rest of the native Philippine population, making them the *other* to the *normative* identity of the speakers of non-Negrito languages. This dichotomy is a reproduction of the same dichotomous relationship between the *normal/normative* identity of the colonial European rulers (literate and educated in inflectional language/s, Christian, economically advanced, politically organized) and the *other* identity of the colonial subjects in the archipelago. It was more important for Pardo de Tavera than for Blumentritt to make clear the distinction between the majority tribes that were politically organized, economically vibrant, literate, Christian converts, and those that were not. In their 19th century world, while it was considered natural that Indo-European languages and nations were on top of the hierarchy cross-linguistically and globally, the hierarchy of languages and tribes within the Philippines was yet unstable and, even with a long history of assertions about the superiority of Tagalog, there was still some room for contestations among multiple majority languages. Linguistic classification, thus, produced hierarchical and dichotomous relationships between languages and their speakers, some overlapping and others mutually exclusive, such as majority/minority, Negrito/non-Negrito, written/oral, Christian/non-Christian,

highland/lowland, trade/non-trade. Of all these dichotomies, the Negrito/non-Negrito distinction seems to be the most inflexible, non-porous linguistic categorization. That is, it is a fractal recursion of the fixed European/non-European dichotomy between the colonial rulers and the colonized Filipinos projected onto the linguistic differentiation among the diverse ethnolinguistic groups across the archipelago.

In a multilingual territory, a nationalist linguistic agenda can most efficiently be advanced by effectively deploying the semiotic process of erasure. Once linguistic distinctions are created, they need to be maintained by systematically simplifying the sociolinguistic field, rendering certain groups of people and/or their activities, linguistic and otherwise, invisible. By disregarding or ignoring certain sociolinguistic phenomena, a veneer of linguistic unity even amid diversity is created and perpetuated. For Pardo de Tavera, and to the extent that Blumentritt was sympathetic to the cause of his Filipino nationalist friends, the European framework of comparative linguistics work was a way to engage the colonial rulers in academic discourse to prove that the civilizing work of promoting literacy, education, Christianity, economic activity, and political participation can just as effectively be performed by Filipinos themselves. Although both Blumentritt and Pardo de Tavera did not espouse the European-originated “one nation, one language” ideology, their works reflected the pervasive ideology of linguistic hierarchy.

Chapter 4

The colonial nature of early 20th century ethnolinguistic taxonomy

This chapter examines language classification works produced during the American colonial period, 1901-1946, and explores the complex entanglement between linguistic scholarship and the larger colonial project. To demonstrate this complicated relationship between academic work and imperialist agenda, the discussion focuses on the documentation of Negrito languages and peoples in the first half of the 20th century, more specifically in the works of Dutch linguist Morice Vanoverbergh and Filipino linguist Cecilio Lopez. Given the significant impact of government institutions on scholarship during this period, monographs on Negrito languages produced under the auspices of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (BNCT) and the Institute of National Language (INL) will also be analyzed.

The turn of the 20th century marked the end of more than three centuries of Spanish colonial rule, with the declaration of Philippine independence in 1898. It was a short-lived victory, however, for soon after the first-ever flag raising of a sovereign people the Philippine army had to immediately go back into the battlefields to fight against the Americans to whom the islands were ceded by Spain after the latter's defeat in the Spanish-American war. Although pockets of resistance continued in disparate parts of the country, the Philippine-American war was declared "officially" ended in 1902, paving the way for nearly 50 years of colonial rule by the United States (US). The first Philippine Commission, an entity under the US Department of War, was appointed by President William McKinley in 1899, with Cornell University president Dr. Jacob Schurman at the helm. This body was tasked with conducting exploratory research on the islands and giving recommendations to the US government on decisions concerning the

newly acquired colony. In 1901, the Second Philippine Commission, headed by William Howard Taft, was appointed by McKinley, this time granting the body limited executive and legislative powers. Taft became the first governor-general of the Philippines' Insular Government when he was appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1901. With the passage of the Philippine Organic Act by the US Congress in 1902, coinciding with the official end to the Philippine-American War, the Philippine Commission's executive and legislative powers became fully fledged. The early years of US occupation saw the influx of American military troops with orders to quash the remaining indigenous armed resistance; government bureaucrats and technocrats with administrative and legislative powers to shape the political and economic priorities of the colony; business interests or their representatives seeking new ventures to multiply their fortunes in the opportunities presented by potential new markets, material resources, land, and cheap labor to exploit; teachers who took part in establishing a public school system; and many scholars from a wide range of disciplines conducting research across the archipelago, linguists, ethnologist, and anthropologists among them.

Philippine language classification in the early part of the 20th century was conducted largely by American and European scholars, primarily ethnologists and linguists who came to work on the Philippine islands under the auspices of or in close collaboration with the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (BNCT), an office within the Philippine Commission envisioned to function like the Bureau of Indian Affairs, an office under the Department of War in the US tasked with handling all matters pertaining to native American affairs and concerns. Concurrent with the establishment of American colonial administration in the US's newly acquired territory in the far east, American linguistics rapidly came into its own during this period with its focus on distinctly American interests, such as studies on American Indian languages, and the push for its

professional academic autonomy from other disciplines like anthropology. In 1917, Franz Boas started the *International Journal of American Linguistics*, a journal devoted to the study of indigenous languages in the Americas. In 1925, Leonard Bloomfield led the founding of Linguistic Society of America (LSA) and its journal, *Language*, which was expressly aimed at establishing linguistics as an autonomous academic field. Soon after LSA's founding, noted linguist Edward Sapir left his position as head of the Anthropology division of the Geological Survey of Canada to be an academic at the University of Chicago (Andresen, 1990, p. 2). Still, most researchers who worked on indigenous languages, many of which had no written tradition, were anthropological linguists, the majority of whom worked on government-sponsored projects aimed at collecting as much linguistic and ethnographic data from as many "newly discovered" ethnolinguistic groups across the US and its colonies often used as the basis for classifying languages and peoples. The underlying assumptions that researchers had about the "primitive" nature of their subject of study were embedded in their methodology and to a large extent shaped their analysis, often viewing language as aligning neatly with the primitive tribal membership and racial characteristics of its speakers. It was a period marked by a preoccupation, sometimes to the point of obsession, with categorizing ethnic groups of indigenous peoples as well as racial and national origins of immigrant populations. In the US for instance, Boas, widely acknowledged as the father of modern anthropology and particularly known for his extensive research on native American tribes and languages, was also part of a project that produced the "Dictionary of Races of Peoples" published by the US Immigration Commission in 1911. The ideology of the categorization of non-Christian tribes in the Philippines was an extension of the very same ideas held by American policy makers and scholars about the indigenous ethnolinguistic tribes in the US. In her work on the history of linguistics in the United States,

Julie Tetel Andresen thoroughly details the racialization of Native American ethnolinguistic groups by late 19th and early 20th century American linguists who did much of the groundwork for establishing linguistics research that focused on languages in the Americas without a written tradition. In her book *Linguistics in America 1769-1924: A Critical History,* she demonstrates effectively how this racialization was used to perpetuate the "natural order" or hierarchy of languages first proposed by 19th century neo-grammarians in Europe and reinforced by European trained American linguists. The fraught history of the documentation and classification of Native American languages is mirrored by the production of similar works on Philippine languages, particularly those spoken by, in the words of BNCT chief, David P. Barrows (1926), "uncivilized peoples" in the highlands and deep forests of Luzon and the Visayas. With this history, the ideology of minority languages carries corollary negative views about the people who speak them: wiry-haired, short-statured uneducated, wild, nomadic pagans who lacked the capacity for organization and self-rule (pp. 1-7). Late 19th century works by Ferdinand Blumentritt and AB Meyer on Negrito groups of the Philippines were treated as authoritative sources on the subject by American scholars and administrators, even as they were also expressly assessed as incomplete accounts requiring further investigation, particularly by those actively engaged in academic work, directly or indirectly associated with the BNCT and other newly established government institutions with language research interests, like the Institute of National Language (INL) and the linguistics program at the University of the Philippines (UP). It was under this intellectual climate that Dutch linguist and Catholic missionary Morice Vanoverbergh and German-trained Filipino linguist Cecilio Lopez found themselves immersed in their work towards systematically organizing the ever-growing corpus of linguistic data, as colonial government support facilitated researchers' ventures into previously inaccessible territories.

Colonial institutions and ethnolinguistic classification

The BNCT was established shortly after the First Philippine Commission was dispatched to administer the US' newly acquired colony in 1901. Appointed as its first director was Dean Conant Worcester (1866-1924), a trained zoologist with an inclination for a taxonomic approach to scholarly pursuits and a keen interest in photography as a tool for documenting new discoveries. Having studied under Joseph Beal Steere, he started his career as an authority on the Philippines through his participation in Steere's Philippine expedition in 1887. Subsequently, he came to be regarded as an expert on the archipelago and in 1890 was sponsored by the Minnesota Academy of Natural Sciences to head his own expedition. With expertise gained from these major expeditions to the Philippines, Worcester was eventually tapped to hold administrative office in the 1st and 2nd Philippine Commission. He was part of the colonial administration as Secretary of Interior until his resignation in 1913. During his tenure as director of the BNCT, Worcester (1906) published a book describing the non-Christian tribes of Luzon. In his discussion of the Negritos in the area, he mentions Blumentritt's (1899) and Barrow's early works as some of his main sources.

After leaving the BNCT, Worcester remained on the islands and became a successful businessman, accumulating most of his wealth from very lucrative agribusiness interests. His photographic and film collection held by the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor is the largest colonial government sponsored collection of photographs (totaling to 15,000 negatives) and film reels. It is both a valuable archival material and a controversial scholarly work for the way it presents the relationship and dynamics between colonial master and colonized subject, scholar and research informant, photographer and the subject of his gaze. In this dichotomized

arrangement, the colonial master/scholar/photographer is in the position of power as agent of the state with full authority over the collection, analysis, and knowledge production from any and all data provided by the colonized subject/research informant/subject of photography. Worcester's tenure at chief of the BNCT facilitated the institutionalization of the ideology of majority-minority ethnolinguistic differentiation based on religious affiliation, with Christians considered the default majority, and non-Christians the minority "other." This is the 20th century iteration of the dominant ideology of the civilizing power of Christianity and the aspirational traits valued by the Christian majority received from an earlier colonial time.

In 1936, the first Philippine Assembly passed Commonwealth Act No. 184, establishing the INL. The following year, Philippine Commonwealth President Manuel L. Quezon appointed its members and signed Executive Order No. 134, formally adopting Tagalog as the basis of the national language. The institute was renamed as the National Language Institute in 1938, with the mandate to develop materials and strategies for the teaching of the Tagalog-based national language in Philippine schools. The establishment of INL unequivocally reinforced the neogrammarians' idea of a linguistic hierarchy, with Tagalog institutionally recognized and designated as the superior Philippine language. All other Philippine languages were pegged lower in the hierarchy, with those spoken by non-Christian automatically labeled as minority needing special protection in order to preserve their culture from the encroachment and abuses of the Christian majority. It goes without saying that in this new configuration English, being the language of the colonial administration and the social, political, and economic opportunities offered and supported by it, remains perched at the top of the hierarchy, without the threat of being equaled or surpassed as the perceived far superior language, even as nationalist movements at the time continue to push for independence from the US.

Morice Vanoverbergh

Vanoverbergh was a Belgian Catholic priest who spent many years of missionary work in the highlands of northern Luzon in the Philippines. He was born in Oijhem in 1885 and received his education in Brussels where he was ordained as a priest in 1909. He arrived in the Philippines on the same year and was assigned to work under the SVD order of Catholic priests in Abuco, Lepanto in northern Luzon. He traveled to the US in 1924 and returned to Belgium for a vacation in 1934, but he spent most of his life in the Philippines where he died in 1987. Apart from missionary work, Vanoverbergh did research in the area spanning through multiple disciplines. He collected and analyzed language data on several northern Luzon languages, including but not limited to Ilokano, Isneg, and Kankanay. He also recorded and studied folktales in these languages and translated them into English for the benefit of other folklore scholars. In the field of botany, Vanoverbergh also contributed to the American colonial government's Bureau of Science and is credited with identifying some plant species found in the area, a couple of them later named after him, such as the *vanoberghia sepulchrei* and the *vanoberghia rubrobrachteata*.

Vanoverbergh's fascination with the languages of the peoples in his mission area led him to more in-depth research, data collection, analysis and classification of the Negrito languages of Northern Luzon. Meticulously poring over printed materials prepared by missionaries who came before him, and painstakingly gathering more data himself, his research impacted the field significantly by contributing sizable data collected on the various Northern Luzon Negrito ethnolinguistic groups, with his description of them influencing future classifications of northern Philippine languages. Much of the succeeding work on Northern Philippine Negrito languages cite Vanoverbergh's data and analysis as starting points. Though his assertion about the presence

of non-Austronesian elements in these languages was largely ignored by mainstream linguistics for decades, the idea did not disappear and persisted, eventually gaining more ground in contemporary historical linguistics research.

Following Meyer and Blumentritt's earlier assertions, Vanoverbergh stated in his work that the languages spoken by Negrito groups could have originally been non-Austronesian and that there must be a non-Austronesian substrate in their observed current form. His claim, like Meyer's, was not so much based on available linguistic data, but rather a conclusion arrived at by drawing parallels between categorization of tribes and ethnicities based on racial and cultural differences. In the introductory grammatical notes of his 1937 book *Some Undescribed Languages of Luzon*, he states that,

> Nowadays every Negrito, whether in Cagayan or in Tayabas, whether living among the Iloko or the Tatalog (sic.), speaks at least two languages, very often three, sometimes more. At the same time he has lost his original language and has adopted as his own a language akin to that of his masters. (p. 13)

Even as he reached this conclusion after lengthy periods of data review and additional collection, as well as observation during Commonwealth government sponsored expeditions to Negrito areas, it is striking to see that he remained strongly convinced of the presence of trace evidence or distinctive linguistic behavior suggestive of a distinct language that Negritos must have spoken prior to their contact with Austronesian language-speaking Filipinos in neighboring communities who are presumed to be culturally superior. Some illustrative examples of the evidence he offers are the following. On the Casiguran Negrito vowels, he writes:

> … his (Negrito language speaker's) pronunciation of the vowels, at least of those that do not bear the accent, he seems to fluctuate between two or more of the languages he knows, so that, all in all, his pronunciation of them remains vague and indistinct; and this is true not only of the pronunciation of a given word by different person, but also of the pronunciation of the same word by one and the same individual on different occasions: sometimes it happens that he pronounces

> a certain term in two different ways while telling a story or during a comparatively short conversation. (p. 13)

In Vanoverbergh's discussion of Casiguran Negrito consonants, he claims that,

> In Negrito a real glottal catch almost always terminates a word ending in a vowel, especially at the end of a sentence or when the word is pronounced by itself. This is peculiar to all Negrito dialects known to me, and it is never found in any of the other Philippine languages of Luzon, where words that end in a glottal catch are very easily distinguished. (p. 15)

Despite the obvious presence of cognates for numerals in Tagalog, Ilokano and the Negrito "dialects" he lists, in his analysis of (Casiguran) Negrito numbers, Vanoverbergh makes the assertion that "Negritos are poor mathematicians. Nevertheless, they have a set of numbers of their own. As soon as they reach 'one hundred', however, they follow the Tagalog" (p. 27).

The preceding passages demonstrate Vanoverbergh's process in finding connections between specific Negrito linguistic features and behavior, such as phonological variations and use of loan words, with overgeneralizations pertaining to the social identity of their speakers, like inferior mathematical ability and posited loss of their original language. In his assessment, the multilingual Negritos that he encountered not only lacked their own language but also spoke less than perfect varieties of their neighbors' languages. Instead of apprehending Negrito speakers and communities as having languages on their own terms that are also Austronesian, as evidenced by comparative linguistic data, Vanoverbergh applied the same racialized categorizations used by 19th century ethnologists, further perpetuating the treatment of the Negrito as a language and identity that is separate from the rest of Philippine population.

Cecilio Lopez

Lopez was born in Marikina, Rizal in 1898, just as Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines was coming to an end. He received his academic training in linguistics at the

University of Hamburg in Germany where he completed his doctorate in 1928. Upon completion of his degree, he returned to the Philippines and took an academic position to teach linguistics at UP in 1930. He left the university to serve as Secretary and Executive Officer of the INL from 1937 to 1945. After the Second World War, Lopez went back to teaching at UP and served as chair of the Department of Linguistics and Oriental Languages until his retirement in 1963. He was the third person to serve as chair of the Linguistics Department at UP, succeeding the German linguist, Otto Scheerer[8] who took over the position after Pardo de Tavera's tenure. Lopez continued working at UP as emeritus professor in linguistics and was affiliated with the department until his death in 1979.

In Germany, Lopez did his graduate work under the supervision of Otto Dempwolff, eminent linguist considered by many Austronesianists as the father of Austronesian linguistics owing it to his highly influential meticulous and comprehensive work on sound correspondences in Austronesian languages and reconstruction of 2000 proto-Austronesian forms using the historical-comparative method, *Comparative Phonology of the Austronesian Vocabulary*. Lopez translated into English and referred to Philippine language data parts of Dempwolff's three-volume tome to produce materials for the teaching of linguistics at UP, and conducted similar historical comparative work himself, with a particular focus on Philippine and Indonesian languages.

Lopez was really more interested in Tagalog morpho-syntax than language classification, but was interested in language reconstruction and classification, due to his training in Germany

[8] On his arrival in the Philippines, Otto Scheerer worked for the German importer Klopfer & Co. He was a vocal supporter of Philippine independence but was nonetheless appointed by the American colonial government as provincial secretary of Mountain Province, where he started working on Nabaloi language studies. He started teaching at UP in 1911 and received his MA from the Royal Dutch Institute in 1915. He was the head of the Department of Philippine Languages at UP from 1924 until he retired in 1929.

and high influence from his European colleagues. Although his work on Negrito languages was limited in scope, it made significant impact on enduring ideas in the field of Philippine language classification, largely due to his stature as the first Filipino trained in modern linguistics and the first director of the newly established INL, a government entity tasked with "developing materials in and promoting the use of Tagalog as the Philippine's national language." Due to his role as INL Director, a large majority of his research output from 1929 until his retirement in 1973 focused almost exclusively on the Tagalog language.

The few publications focused on language classification by Lopez mention Negrito languages only briefly and offer scant data primarily gathered by other linguists who came to work on these languages earlier. Lopez's works, though highly technical and often devoid of discussions about the cultural practices of speakers beyond those that may be gleaned from the linguistic data they provided, may have unwittingly contributed to strengthening some of the claims made by previous scholars, such as Meyer, Blumentritt, Dean Worcester, and Vanoverbergh, that there is a distinct Negrito subgroup of languages, and that non-Austronesian elements are present in some of them. It must be noted that all linguistic taxonomies done by Lopez were carefully and deliberately situated in the larger context of establishing their place within the Austronesian language family (or outside of it), and the establishment of genetic and typological relationships of which was then a major preoccupation for many Western scholars of the languages of Southeast Asia and the Pacific islands.

In his key publications touching on language comparisons, *A Handbook in Comparative Austronesian* and *Comparative Philippine Wordlist I & II,* first printed and used at UP before and shortly after the second world war, but published much later after his retirement, Lopez (1974; 1976) provides illustrative samples of cognates linking Philippine languages with other

languages in the wider Austronesian world. Both *Handbook* and *Wordlist* expand on his review of the highly influential work by his doctoral supervisor, "Studies on Dempwollf's Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes," a work in which he highlights the key sound correspondences across languages spoken in the Philippines and other parts of the so-called Austronesian world. To do this, Lopez used Dempwolff's posited proto-Austronesian forms (PAN) and reflexes of these forms in representative languages from major Austronesian subgroupings of Polynesian (PN), Melanesian (MN), and Indonesian (IN), to analyze the forms found in 18 Philippine languages (PL). In this work, he includes one language labeled as Negrito, Pinatubo-Negrito (Pneg), which according to his description is a language spoken by a group of people occupying the parts of the forests of Mount Pinatubo in Pampanga. As is typical of Lopez's comparative works, his *Handbook* and *Wordlist* focus solely on linguistic data and his analysis of them, and has very little to say, if at all, about the speakers of the languages included in the study. This is in stark contrast to Vanoverbergh's discussion of Philippine languages, particularly Negrito languages, where he provides commentaries, observations and judgements about the people who speak them. This difference could be due to Lopez's strict adherence to a method of analysis that looks at linguistic forms, specifically phonological (sounds) and morphological (words and affixes), almost exclusively as units of analysis. While Lopez, like Vanoverbergh, used data gathered by other field researchers, supplemented by his own work with language informants, he did not consider the descriptions provided by his sources pertaining to physical characteristics and social identity of speakers as sufficient or even necessary for an adequate linguistic description.

Data gathering for Lopez's *Handbook* started before the Second World War and picked up where he left off after the war. In addition to data collected by Lopez and his students,

supplementary data from a number of printed sources were also included. Robert B. Fox's 1952 article in the Philippine Journal of Science entitled "Pinatubo Negritos: Their Useful Plants and Native Culture" must have served as an important source of his Pneg language data, since Pneg only appears in the post-war versions of both *Handbook* and *Wordlist*. It must be noted that Sambal (Sbl), a close variety or dialect of Pneg and a language labeled as Negrito in some late 20th century linguistic literature, is listed as a separate entry in both publications.

Here are two sample entries from an updated monograph of the *Handbook* published by the Archives of Philippine Languages and the Philippine Linguistics Circle at UP Diliman in 1978. These examples illustrate how Lopez's method simultaneously applies an objective approach of apprehending languages on their own terms and reinforcing racialized categorization by using received practice of using the label ***Neg*** to mark the difference of certain languages.

I. CVCVC Morph

Entry #3. -a': *buŋa' (*buNah) 'flower'

IN- PL: Tag Seb Hil Ilk Bkl Pmp Apa Igt Sul bunga. Ibg vunga, Nbl vunga, **PNeg** bungaq, Mgd unga 'fruit', BtkJ fengga 'id.', Mar onga 'fruit', taribonga 'fecund; fruitful'.

TB- Ml buŋa' 'id.', NgD buŋah 'yield rent or interest', buŋeh'rice flour, Ho vuni 'id.'

MN- Fi vuŋa' 'name of a tree with red flowers.

PN- Sm fuŋa' 'id.'

*buŋa' is retained in TB and Ml, with *-' becoming -h in NgD buŋah and becoming e in buŋeh (from the old speech level, although not in the open syllable). In Ho *b- > v-, *u is normally retained, *-ŋ- > -n- and *a, which is normally retained becomes I the explanation, if even provisionally only, is that an old (level) literary language is the source, similar to the change in NgD *a to e.

*b- > Fi v-, Sa f-.

III. Doubled Roots

Entry #98. *d.apd.áp 'name of a tree; shade tree'

> IN- PL: Tag Seb Hil Ilk Bkl LeySam Png Pmp Akl Sbl Cuy dapdáp, Sul dapdap ‘a tree (Erythrina indica)’, **PNeg** lapláp ‘shade tree’.
>
> MN- Fi Sa rara’ ‘name of a tree, Erythrina’.
>
> PN- Sm lala’, lau-lala’ ‘name of several plants and vegetables’.
>
> In TB dapdap, *d.- and *-d.- > d- and -d-. In Ja d.apd.ap, *d.- and *-d.- is retained and the final *-C of the first syllable is always lost… In Ml and NgD dadap, *d.- and *-d.- > d- and -d- in Ml and in NgD, and the oral *-C, that is, the *-p of the first syllable, is lost in Ml and in NgD.
>
> In Fi and Sa rara’, *d.- and *-d.- > r- and -r- in Fi and in Sa and the oral *-C is lost in both the first syllable and the word-final, here becoming –‘.
>
> In Sm lala’, *d.- and *-d.- > l- and -l- and, as in Fi, the oral *-C is lost in both the first syllable and the word-final, here becoming –‘. (Lopez, 1978, pp. 3-4; 99-100)

In the preceding examples, the symbols used for Philippine languages are follows: Apa- Apayao; Bkl- Bikol; Btk- Bontok (BtkJ- data from Jenks and BtkS- data from Schadenberg); Cuy- Cuyonon; Hil- Hiligaynon; Ibg- Ibanang; Igt- Ilongot; Ilk- Iloko; Ita- Itawis; Ivt- Ivatan; LeySam- Leyte-Samar; Mgd- Magindanao; Nbl- Nabaloi; Pmp- Pampangan; PNeg- Pinatubo-Negrito; Png- Pangasinan; Sbl- Sambales; Seb- Sebu; Sul- Sulu; Tag- Tagalog.

Following Dempwolff, these abbreviations are used for the other Austronesian languages: TB- Toba-Batak; Ja- Javanese; Ml- Malay; NgD- Ngaju-Dayak; Ho- Hova; Fi- Fiji; Sa- Sa’a; To Tonga; Fu- Futuna; Sm- Samoa.

In addition, the following abbreviations are also used: IN- Indonesian (subgroup of languages, found in a geographical area within the Austronesian world that includes both Indonesia and the Philippines); MN- Melanesian (subgroup of languages); PN- Polynesian (subgroup of languages); PL- Philippine languages; PAN- Proto-Austronesian; PIN- Proto-Indonesian.

Forms marked by an asterisk (*) are posited reconstructed proto-forms, and glosses are enclosed by single quotation marks. Lopez remarks that the gloss ‘id.’ “stands for the “same”

meaning in PIN (=PAN).” The phonetic symbols shown here are the ones used in the UP published monographs.

The following are sample entries from Lopez’s *Wordlist,* as published by UP’s Archives of Philippine Languages and Dialects and the Philippine Linguistics Circle in 1976. As mentioned in Lopez’s introduction, much of the data included in the volume was gathered before the WWII, with additional data collected after the war. The publication was first printed and used in linguistics courses that he taught in late 1940s through the 1950s at UP. The same symbols and abbreviations employed in the *Handbook* are used in the *Wordlist.* In these examples, Pinatubo language is also labeled as ***PNeg*** highlighting the racial difference of its speakers, a practice that Lopez probably did not intend to adopt but nevertheless used with the unintended consequence of unwittingly reinforcing and perpetuating 19th century racialized approaches to apprehending linguistic difference.

> P. 13 entry: *bukid ‘pile earth pile’: Tag bukid ‘field (for cultivation)’, Seb Hil Bkl LeySam Cuy Mgd bukid, **PNeg** bakil (free form), bukil (bound form) ‘mountain’, Ilk bakir ‘forest’, Png bukig ‘east’, Pmp bukid ‘village’, Ibg vukíq, vikiq ‘mountain; forest’, Ivt vuchid ‘a variety of grass’.
>
> P. 13 entry: *bulan ‘moon’: Tag buwán, Hil Ilk Bkl LeySam Pmp Akl Sul bulan, Png Sbl Cuy bulán, Ibg Ita vulán, Ivt buhan, vuhan, Btk BtkS fuan ‘id.; month’, fuwan ‘id.’, Nbl bulan, **PNeg** buwán ‘month’, Igt buan ‘month’, dalan, delan ‘moon’, buulan ‘east, Mar olan ‘id.’
>
> P. 63 entry: *pajay ‘rice-plant; rice on the stalk’: Tag Hil Mgd Ita Akl palay, Ilk Ibg pagay, Bkl paráy, paroy, Png pagéy, Pmp pale, Sbl pali, Cuy paráy, Btk pagey, pakey, Sul paay ‘id.; unhulled rice’, Ivt palay, paray ‘id.; unhulled rice’, pakey ‘hay’, Nbl pagey ‘’id.; unhulled rice’, payow ‘rice field’, **PNeg** pahi ‘rice grain’, pali ‘upland rice’, Igt page, pawey ‘rice’.
>
> P. 63 entry: *pakuh^{II} ‘name of a plant’: Tag Akl Sbl pakóq, Seb Hil Bkl LeySam pakó, Pmp pakúq, Ibg pakú, Mgd Ita paku, Igt Btk pako ‘the bird’s nest fern’ (Asplenium nidus)’, Ilk pakó ‘a kind of ornamental plant’, pako ‘a kind of ornamental plant; a variety of edible fern’, **PNeg** pakóq, Mar pako ‘ferns in general’. (Lopez, 1976, pp. 13, 63)

Lopez's *Wordlist* shows the reflexes of PAN forms in the Philippine languages for which he has collected data, either collected by him and his students or taken from available printed sources of data collected by other linguists. Although Lopez does not offer comments about the language communities themselves and the cultural or social practices of the speakers of the languages included in his study, the standard abbreviations used to designate these languages carry with them unmentioned information readers of the materials are assumed to understand. The target audience are linguists and other experts in related fields, all of whom are expected to have some familiarity with literature in Philippine colonial government census, geography, ethnology, and ethnography. More specifically, the language names either pertains to speakers of languages in specific geographic locations (e.g., Sambales, Samar-Leyte, Pangasinan, and Sulu) or they invoke labels found in publications of the Ethnology office (e.g., Negrito, Nabaloi, Ilongot, and Bontok).

By employing the largely taxonomic historical-comparative method of linguistic research of his time in apprehending Philippine language data and locating them within the wider Austronesian field of research, Lopez was engaged in establishing space for local expertise and knowledge production in his discipline. Even as political discourse focused on the role of a common language in nation building and national identity, his academic research at UP focused on the multiplicity and diversity of languages in the archipelago. By limiting his analyses solely on language data comprised of morphological and phonological forms (i.e., words and sounds) and steering clear of observations and judgments about social organization, economic activities, and cultural practices of communities of speakers, Lopez was able to successfully engage fellow linguists and the general public in discursive terms that were understood to be scientific, objective, authoritative, and impartial. Due to his stature in academia as the first Filipino linguist

trained in the “scientific” study of languages, it was no surprise that he was given the task of directing the INL. In his capacity as institute director, while having sustained his interest in comparative work on Philippine languages, he was compelled to devote a considerable amount of time and effort on the development and promotion of one Philippine language as the symbol of national unity, Tagalog.

Lopez had a long, illustrious career conducting research on Philippine languages and teaching linguistics at UP, but his most prolific years were during his time at INL. He continued and expanded his research focused on data collection and analysis of more Philippine languages after the country gained independence in 1946 and remained active in teaching linguistics well into the 1970s. His decades-long career spanning across colonial and postcolonial periods could partially explain why his works stand in significant contrast to those of Vanoverbergh’s. His scholarship straddles two major currents and periods in linguistics as an academic discipline. While he was trained in Europe in the late 19th century comparative method of historical linguistics, he conducted his scholarly works within American-established, and later on American-influenced, academic institutions, which in Lopez’s time saw the divergence between historical or diachronic and synchronic linguistics. The 19th century comparative method of reconstruction that seeks to establish genetic relationships of languages was heavily guided by the principle of historicism, with the idea that language provides information on the historical development not only of the language but of the community of speakers and the relationship between them and speakers of related languages. On the other hand, 20th century structuralism and generative grammar divide the discipline into synchronic and diachronic linguistics, and take a view of language development that is independent of the social and political history of the speakers’ community. For diachronic linguists, internal reconstruction provides a methodology

for positing an abstract and idealized proto-form or state of a contemporary spoken languages. Typological classifications of related languages are considered to be made more robust and reliable by including proto-language data from these reconstruction works.

Linguistic differentiation under American colonial rule

Language classification during the American colonial period were primarily conducted by scholars under the auspices of government institutions, mainly the BNCT, INL, and the linguistics program at UP. Even as Philippine linguistics started to flourish as an academic field in early 20th century, with American linguist Leonard Bloomfield's ideas largely defining the direction of the field, linguistic taxonomy relied heavily on data and analyses first laid out by 19th century scholars. While empirical data gathering was made more accessible and efficient with support and subsidy from government institutions and the introduction of better language recording technologies, linguistic classification proceeded with little reflection and reexamination of ideologies that informed earlier works upon which new taxonomies were being established and, perhaps without intending to, older ones were reinforced.

Early 20th century language classification work further strengthened and solidified distinctions between majority/minority, Christian/non-Christian, and literate/non-literate linguistic groups—designations which came to be considered by scholars and their audience as indexical of group members' social identities. Government-sponsored linguistics work of the period proceeded with the approach analogous to that employed by early Christian missionaries, which was to carve out mission territories. With the majority Christian population heavily concentrated in the lowland and areas under established colonial government administrative control, massive amounts of written data became readily available and more materials were

developed based on literacy practices established by Spanish period parishes. The American colonial period saw the rapid rise in the number of scholarly works concentrated on the minority, non-Christian, non-literate linguistic groups, particularly those in the highlands and rural areas on the periphery of colonial administrative control. The BNCT had affiliated scholars, mostly non-Filipinos like Vanoverbergh, who collected and analyzed data on the under-documented languages of groups that did not convert to Catholicism during the Spanish period. Some scholars, like Vanoverberg were also missionaries doing proselytizing work while conducting their scholarly research in the field. On the other hand, many Filipino scholars like Lopez, mainly working at the INL or the linguistics program at UP, while not entirely neglecting minority languages, were mainly focused on the majority languages and developing new materials that might support literacy programs within the newly established public education system.

Vanoverbergh, working under the auspices of the BNCT, and Lopez, directing the newly created INL and leading the UP Linguistics program, set out to enrich the scholarly research and understanding of Negrito language classification with seemingly little attention to ideologies that informed earlier linguistic classification by working within the norms established in the previous colonial period. Following their predecessors, they both analyzed linguistic differences indexed by specific language forms considered to be iconic of the social identity of their speakers. Even as both scholars acknowledge the diversity of minority, non-Christian, non-literate linguistic groups that are starting to be recognized as belonging to the same language family, they also wholly adopted the iconicity of lexical forms, like /ita/, /ayta/, /agta/ ‘person; people’, deeply entangled with the racial phenotype associated with Negrito language speakers as described by Spanish period reports, compelling them to preserve the stipulation /neg/ as a key detail about

these languages. Better access to previously inaccessible geographical areas, contact with speakers and, consequently, increased linguistic data appear to have had little effect towards a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between ethnic and linguistic identity. What emerged from early 20th century language classification was a reinforced ideology of linguistic hierarchy from the political and economic centers to the periphery.

Vanoverbergh encountered Negrito language speakers who spoke multiple languages. The fact that the languages they spoke were all Austronesian and also spoken by non-Negritos in the region led him to the conclusion that Negritos must have lost their original language and adopted the languages of their neighbors. He went on further to state that traces of their original language remain, offering mainly speculative assumptions about observed phonological variations of some of words from other languages and a distinctly pronounced word- or sentence-final glottal stop (what he terms a "glottal catch"). While acknowledging that Negritos speak Austronesian languages just like their non-Negrito neighbors, he was convinced that the observed phonological differences as well as the lack of numerals beyond a hundred are evidence of traces of non-Austronesian linguistic features. This practice of trying to find non-Austronesian elements in Negrito languages shows the strong pressure and influence of 19th century racial categories on linguistic classification in the 20th century. Vanoverbergh's important contribution that should have been worthy of further investigation was his adroit observation and documentation of the prevalence of multilingualism in Negrito communities. Multilingualism is in fact a key characteristic of most communities in the Philippines, and a fuller picture of these communities warrant research that approaches them as multilingual rather than monolingual groups.

Lopez did most of his work at INL and UP, poring over reams of language data mostly from available printed texts, word lists and dictionaries supplemented by additional data collected by him and his students working with informants of various Philippine languages either in the field or at UP. In working to systematically organize the vast amounts of linguistic data collected by different scholars over many decades from different languages, he was methodical, adhering only to what he considered scientific approaches to language study, carefully avoiding value judgements about linguistic communities. Using data available to other pioneers of Austronesian linguistics of his time, Lopez's comparative analyses closely looked at the data and provided descriptions that showed precise phonological and morphological similarities across languages documented thus far, Negrito languages included and distinctly labeled following notation practices used in earlier works that he consulted.

Vanoverbergh and Lopez employed widely divergent approaches to linguistic analyses and classification, but both of their works offer similar ways of apprehending Negrito language data. By explicitly stating that there are notable phonological variations and a lack of numerals beyond a hundred found in Negrito languages that can be used as evidence of an original non-Austronesian language, Vanoverbergh used these phonological forms as indexical of iconic Negrito feature which is an aberration in the Austronesian geographical terrain. On the other hand, by simply adopting and not examining labeling practices used by his data sources, Lopez in effect further strengthened and perpetuated old assumptions and presuppositions about Negrito languages as possibly having non-Austronesian roots. Thus, any observed aberrant feature, phonological or otherwise, came to be interpreted as iconic of *other* identity, a reproduction of the same 19th century convention of considering the majority, Christian, and non-Negrito groups as being *normative* and treating those that fall outside these categories as *others* often ascribed

with some or all attendant characteristics of being illiterate, uneducated, heathen, wild mountain dwellers or itinerants, economically disadvantaged, and politically unorganized. In this iteration, the fractal recursion of the dichotomy is mapped onto the relationship between linguistic groups of majority Christian non-Negritos and other identities. This reproduction of 19th century linguistic hierarchy reflected the emergent power dynamic which saw the rise of majority language speakers, such as Tagalog, Cebuano, Kapampangan and Ilokano, in the social, political and economic arena, without displacing the colonial masters at the peak of the totem pole. Early 20th century language classification thus preserved the hierarchy of languages, but dichotomous relationships started to overlap or erode gradually. For instance, as minority language speakers joined Protestant religions introduced by American missionaries, the Christian/non-Christian dichotomy became less relevant in the non-Muslim regions. Likewise, the spread of public education slightly dulled the literate written tradition/non-literate oral tradition, with more people learning to write their own languages. Of the dichotomies established by 19th century ideology, only the race-based Negrito/non-Negrito distinction remained extremely stable.

American colonial period linguistic classification saw the overlapping and gradual erosion of some previously rigid dichotomies and a further simplification of the sociolinguistic field in the service of a nationalist agenda, literacy and progress. Supported by institutions like the BNCT, INL, and to some extent the UP Linguistics program, predominant linguistic distinctions created by 19th century ideologies were transmitted and effectively maintained.

Chapter 5

The science and politics of early postcolonial linguistic classification

This chapter offers a critical analysis of key Negrito language classification texts produced in the first five decades of postcolonial Philippines, an era of a more well-established "scientific approach" to genetic, areal, and typological linguistic classifications and their unintended political consequences. Much of the literature from this period were produced by linguists affiliated with or collaborating with government institutions, e.g., the Offices of Northern and Southern Cultural Communities (ONCC and OSCC), the Department of Linguistics and Oriental Languages at the University of the Philippines (UP), the Institute of National Language (INL); and religious organizations primarily working on Bible translations, e.g., the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), and the Philippine Bible Society. Emphases are given to works by two key figures from this period: American linguist and anthropologist Thomas Headland, who was part of the first batch of SIL researchers and came to work on minority languages in the Philippines; and US-trained Filipino linguist Teodoro Llamzon, who served as the founding president of the Linguistics Society of the Philippines.

Postcolonial projects and institutions

While linguistic science's shift from the neogrammarian's historical approach to a structuralist orientation can be credited to the ideas put forth by Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) in Europe and Leonard Bloomfield (1887-1949) in America, it was not until the end of the Second World War that structuralism gained traction and dominated the study of Philippine languages, both by American and Filipino scholars. The University of the Philippines' (UP) linguistics department, with documentation of all languages and dialects spoken in the country as

one of its primary goals, started publishing its academic journal, *The Archive of Philippine Languages,* now simply called *The Archive,* featuring articles that deal with their documentation, data collection and grammatical analyses. Folklore studies was closely associated with the research work being done by linguists in the program, as a large chunk of linguistic data or corpora being collected in the field almost always included folk tales, songs, poetry, and other narratives shared by language informants from various linguistic communities across the land.

In 1968, Filipino linguists Bonifacio Sibayan of the Philippine Normal College (now Philippine Normal University or PNU) and Ernesto Constantino of UP spearheaded the founding of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines (LSP), an organization with the expressed mission of bringing together scholars conducting research and writing about Philippine languages. Teodoro Llamzon, a linguist at the Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU), served as its first president. LSP started its academic publication, *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* (PJL), in 1970 and, with the support of Ford Foundation and Asia Foundation, established a PhD program administered by a consortium of three universities—PNU, ADMU, and De La Salle University (DLSU). The program's primary, but not exclusive, focus was on language teaching, perhaps due to its ties with PNU, an institution that trains future elementary and high school teachers as its main objective. The first cohort of scholars in the program were conferred their doctorate degree in 1975. After Llamzon's term, Brother Andrew Gonzales, FSC, of DLSU, a prolific scholar of linguistics, practically ran LSP almost singlehandedly, serving as the organization's executive secretary for 17 years and JPL editor for 21 years. Under his direction, LSP prioritized language teaching research agenda and training of English and Filipino teachers, working closely with the Philippines' Department of Education, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), the British Council, United States Information Agency, and other professional organizations of language

teachers and translators.[9] LSP played a major role in designing and evaluating the 1974 bilingual education program in Philippine schools and regularly conducts teacher training workshops for language teachers, linguists, and translation practitioners. In addition to collaborations with government institutions, LSP also facilitated collaborations and discussions among other linguists affiliated with local and international organizations interested in studying Philippine languages, including SIL.

By the late 1940s, the distinction between the areas of concern as well as methodology and approaches between diachronic or historical linguistics and synchronic linguistics have largely been defined. Protolanguage reconstruction and genetic classification came to be important undertakings for many historical linguists. Philippine languages served as test cases for a variety of diachronic approaches during the postwar periods from 1946 to 1986, like historical comparative method, internal reconstruction, dialectology, glottochronology, and lexicostatistics, to mention a few. Historical-comparative method, developed over a number of decades by several generations of European linguists from the late 18th throughout the 19th century, was first applied to the reconstruction and genetic classification of Indo-European languages. In the 20th century, with some modification addressing major critiques of the methodology, such as the immutability of sound laws, random innovations, areal diffusion, and analogical development, to name a few, this method was used to analyze languages found in the Americas, Asia, and the Pacific. By comparing discrete individual features (mostly, but not limited to, sounds and words) of synchronically attested similar languages, a single earlier form of the languages being compared is posited. The approach assumes different synchronic stages of development by related languages that trace their roots back to a common parent language.

[9] Gonzales would later serve as Secretary of the Department of Education from 1998 to 2001 during President Joseph Estrada's administration.

Internal reconstruction is a similar approach, except that it only looks at data from a single synchronically attested language, instead of data across languages, to reconstruct an earlier form or proto language. This analysis may be used to support genetic classification by comparing reconstructed proto-forms with posited proto-forms of similar (that is, having shared vocabulary or cognates—words similar sound and meaning) or closely (mainly geographically) related language.

Some examples of comparative-historical and internal reconstruction work on Philippine languages are Llamzon's *Proto-Philippine Phonology* (1975), Matthew Charles' *Problems in the Reconstruction of Proto-Philippine Phonology and the Subgrouping of the Philippine Languages* (1974), and Consuelo Paz's *A Reconstruction of Proto-Philippine Phonemes and Morphemes* (1981). Llamzon's study references Otto Dempwolff's earlier proto-Austronesian proposals and expands on the analysis of Philippine language-specific forms by looking at additional data to clarify the status of some problematic forms. Charles' work offers a comprehensive review of proto-Philippine reconstructions thus far and identifies issues that present problems for the subgrouping of Philippine languages. In contrast to Llamzon's and Charles' studies, Paz's work employed a top-down approach that treated language data as the primary consideration instead of existing proposed proto-forms to arrive at her own proto-Philippine phonology proposal.

Using Morris Swadesh's 200-word list in his work entitled *A Lexicostatistical Classification of the Malayo-Polynesian Languages* (1962),[10] Isidore Dyen proposed a classification based on methods of lexicostatistics and glottochronology.[11] In this approach, it is assumed that the rate of lexical loss and change over time is constant, so that data from existing

[10] Within the Austronesian language family, Philippine languages are classified under the Malayo-Polynesian branch.
[11] Glottochronology was developed by Swadesh as a quantitative method of determining historical linguistic development and language divergence.

seemingly related languages sharing a significant number of cognates can be considered to contain reflexes of common proto-forms from a posited parent or proto-language. By applying this statistical method, the time depth of separation of related languages can be determined. David Thomas and Alan Healey used the same methodology in their Philippine language classification work, *Some Philippine Language Subgroupings: A Lexicostatistical Study.* It is worth noting that in this linguistic classification works no Negrito language labels are referenced, so that the reader's attention is focused solely on linguistic data and their analyses. For example, their study includes Atta, Agta, and Baler-Dumagat, languages that in earlier studies would have had Negrito designation. The use of a quantitative approach must have played a role in the apparent deliberate effort to exclude extraneous non-linguistic data in the treatment of the languages under consideration. It was likely assumed that interested audience would acquaint themselves with at least the geographic areas where these languages are spoken by consulting other sources. Dialectology was developed as an empirical method used to establish the geographical dialect boundaries of language varieties. Boundaries are specified and clearly marked by identifying isoglosses, the geographic boundaries of specific linguistic features, such as differences in pronunciation, variation in meaning of a word, or use of a morphological or syntactic form.

In 1953, SIL came to the Philippines on the invitation of Ramon Magsaysay, a popular politician who was later elected president of the Philippines in December of the same year. With a formal agreement between the Philippine's Department of Education, SIL played a key role in language policy making and teaching in the country. Even though SIL is a religious organization with Bible translation and proselytization as priority projects, their staff and other SIL-affiliated scholars were involved in language teacher training, literacy programs, materials development,

language documentation, translation, field methods instruction, and linguistic data collection, analysis, and publication. With their highly influential reach and unencumbered access to government agencies, academic institutions, and local communities where they had presence, SIL was in the best position to be the gateway to the languages of the Philippines. In some sense SIL is the 20th to 21st century counterpart of the Catholic missionary-grammarians of the 17th to 19th century. While SIL may employ different approaches and methodologies in terms of language data gathering and analysis, and its members and affiliates receive linguistics research training prior to their deployment, proselytization was still a primary objective for this religious organization. Many notable Austronesian linguists of the 20th century, particularly those with expertise on Philippine languages, have at one point or another worked with or under the auspices of SIL. Most of them have served on the editorial board or have published their works in PJL. Some have taught in the doctoral program in linguistics established by LSP and jointly ran by LSP-affiliated faculty from ADMU, PNU, and DLSU.

While SIL worked closely with the Department of Education, LSP and PJL, UP's Linguistics Department, with Cecilio Lopez at the helm and later succeeded by Constantino, made a deliberate effort to establish itself as an institution dedicated to data collection, analysis and archival work on all Philippine languages. The comparative method, reconstruction and dialectology were used for historical linguistics works, while Bloomfield's structuralist approach dominated synchronic linguistics, largely due to Constantino's training in linguistics at Indiana University, where he received his doctoral degree in 1957. For more than a decade, with significant funding from the Toyota Foundation, Constantino collected a staggering amount of transcribed language data consisting or word lists, sentence patterns, and varying lengths of narratives, some with audio and video recordings, of over 120 Philippine languages. Many of UP

Linguistics Department's graduates analyzed data in the collection to prepare sketch grammars and glossaries for a number of languages. However, a big chunk of Constantino's collection have yet to be thoroughly studied or be made more widely available to the community of linguistics researchers and the general public at large.

Even as it reinforced its function as the government's main language planning body with a mandate to institute, recommend, and issue language policies for implementation by various government agencies, particularly the Department of Education, the Institute of National Language (INL) expanded its function during the first four decades of postcolonial period to include language development efforts for other Philippine languages. For instance, INL saw the introduction of the use of vernacular languages as auxiliary medium of instruction in schools, the preparation of lexicographic materials for Philippine languages other than Tagalog, and collaborative work among language experts representing major language groups across the country.

The Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes was abolished in 1936, a year after the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth and the start of the ten-year transitional period towards independence from the US. A new agency called the Commission on National Integration (CNI) was created in 1957, with the aim of supporting the advancement of groups previously referred to as non-Christian tribes, now to be officially called national cultural minorities (Republic Act 1888). Under the Marcos administration, CNI split into two agencies in 1975: the Southeast Philippine Development Authority (SPDA) through Presidential Decree (PD) 690; and the Presidential Assistance on National Minorities (PANAMIN) through PD 719. In 1984, the Marcos government created the Office for Muslim Affairs and Cultural Communities (OMACC) through Executive Order (EO) No. 969, consolidating SPDA and PANAMIN under one agency

tasked with supporting the advancement and integration of non-Christian minorities into mainstream Philippine society. These offices were later abolished and in 1987, under Corazon Aquino's administration, three new offices were created: the Office for Muslim Affairs (OMA) through EO 122-A, Office for Northern Cultural Communities (ONCC) through EO 122-B, and Office for Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC) through EO 122-C. The latter two offices would eventually be merged to form the current National Commission on Indigenous Peoples with the enactment of the 1997 Indigenous Peoples Rights Act. Although conceived as completely new government agencies, these entities took on the identity and function of their institutional predecessor, with the expressed mission of advocating for the rights and needs of minority communities in specific areas of the Philippines, most of them located in the Cordillera region of Northern Luzon and the non-Christian communities in Mindanao. While language was not the main focus for these government entities, the classification of languages in the respective regions under their direct purview served as major basis for identifying the so-called cultural communities whom their offices were created to serve. This demonstrates how knowledge production in academia can influence and even shape official government policymaking decisions with far-reaching and lasting impacts on the social and political life of communities affected by these policies.

Thomas Headland, Summer Institute of Linguistics

American anthropologist and linguist Thomas Headland was born in Los Angeles, California in 1935. He was in the US Army in 1954-1956 where he served with the 508 Airborne Regimental Team in Japan. He received his BA in Anthropology from Bethel University in Minnesota in 1960 and completed his MA in 1981 and PhD in 1986 at the University of Hawaii.

He held various faculty positions at several US universities, including the University of Texas at Arlington from 1986 to 1995, and the University of North Dakota from 2001 to 2010, where he taught linguistics. He also taught anthropology at Southern Methodist University in 2010-2011. He has been a Fellow of the American Anthropological Association since 1983. He currently holds the position of Senior Consultant in Anthropology at SIL International, an organization where he has been an active member since 1960, serving at different points in his career in various capacities. At SIL Philippines, Headland held the following positions: Field linguist and Bible translator (1962-1977), Translation Consultant (1970-79), Chair of the Ethnology Department (1971-79), and Language Survey Coordinator (1974-76).

Headland arrived in the Philippines in 1962 as part of the first batch of SIL researchers who came to work on studying yet undocumented languages in the remote rural areas of the Philippines. While many SIL-affiliated scholars worked closely with the country's Department of Education on language policy matters, particularly as they pertain to medium of instruction, researchers who opted to work in far-flung isolated communities focused on compiling language data and preliminary analyses of these collections, much like what early Spanish and American colonial period missionaries did during their time in these communities. Together with his wife, Janet, Headland worked with SIL in the Philippines from 1962 to 1986, where their three children were born and raised. Since returning to the US, he has continued making regular research trips to the country and producing new publications.

While Headland's contribution to our knowledge of Philippine Negrito populations is vast and valuable, spanning decades long ethnography and language documentation well beyond the specified time frame of this chapter, I focus on his output during his first three decades in the country working with Negrito communities in Luzon. He remains active in the field and still

publishes Negrito language-related articles and is now more focused on teacher training and materials development for the Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education program. Being a scholar affiliated with a well-established institution whose projects are sanctioned by the Philippine government, his work carried a significant amount of weight and easily gained a wide academic audience hungry for data from yet undescribed or little-known tribes and languages. With missionary work motivated and guided many of SIL's affiliates, their scholarly pursuits were equally rigorous and expansive, and Headland's were no exception. Primarily trained in cultural anthropology, his ethnographic work on various Negrito groups, especially the Dumagats of Luzon, called the attention of many scholars interested in studying so-called hunter-gatherer tribes and primitive cultures. Headland came to be regarded as an authoritative expert on the Negritos of the Philippine owing to his prolific and extensive work on the subject matter and time spent in the communities where he conducted research, such as Aurora and Quezon provinces. The importance of his works echoed through and influenced other disciplines, one of which is the field of Philippine linguistics. Consequently, linguists working on determining the relationship of the so-called Negrito languages to the rest of the non-Negrito languages spoken in the country came to rely on data provided by SIL scholars who have had resources and time spent in their communities, like Headland.

In preparing his *Linguistic Atlas of the Philippines* in 1974, Curtis McFarland conducted a relatively exhaustive survey of major sources of language classifications to date, including listings of language names by Blumentritt (1890), Conklin (1952), Reid (1971), and Yap (1977), as well as comparison and subgrouping of Philippine languages within the Austronesian language family by Chretien (1962), Dyen (1965), Thomas and Healey (1962), Llamzon (1976), and Walton (1979). In addition, he also looked at regional studies focused on smaller groups of

languages and speech varieties, to name a few: Manobo languages by Elkins (1974); Sama and East Mindanao languages by Pallesen (1977); Central Cordilleran languages by Reid (1974); Northern Cordilleran languages by Tharp (1974); and Mangyan languages (1974) and Bisayan languages by Zorc (1977). This last group of sources also included Dumagat languages by Headland (1974), a study explicitly identifying Negrito and non-Negrito Dumagat language varieties.

According to Headland, later followed by McFarland and other scholars that subscribe to his analysis, Dumagat languages are spoken along the Eastern (Pacific) coast of Luzon in the provinces of Quezon, Isabela and Cagayan by both Negritos and lowland Filipino groups. The group has five distinct languages: Negrito (East Cagayan), Paranan, Dumagat (Casiguran), Kasiguranin, and Dumagat (Umirey). He further asserts that Negrito (East Cagayan) is a collection of dialects spoken by Negritos along the East coast of Cagayan and in the municipalities of Santa Ana and Gonzaga. Kasiguranin is spoken by non-Negritos in Casiguran, Aurora. While Headland's long-term linguistic research and ethnographic work with Dumagat-speaking communities and proficiency in several of these language varieties give him credence and authority to speak with expertise on Dumagat culture, other linguists of the period studying Negrito languages in other areas of the country could not make the same claims to expertise on Negritos of the Philippines.

Nonetheless, it must be mentioned that aside from Headland's work on Dumagat languages, Negrito-focused linguistic works were also research pursuits of other scholars of the period. For example, McFarland's *Atlas* claims that two of the identified ten Northern Cordilleran languages—Atta and Agta—are Negrito languages. Atta, which may be mutually intelligible with Ibanag, is spoken by Negritos along the western coast of Cagayan, in the

Pamplona vicinity, while Agta, also known as Central Cagayan Negrito, is spoken by Negritos in the Central Cagayan area of Alcala and Baggao. He also posited that following earlier languages classifications that may be traced to as far back as the late 19th century, Botolan-Sambal, one of the five Sambalic languages (i.e, Bolinao, Sambal [Tina], Botolan, Kapampangan, and Sinauna), is a Negrito language, and that it is the language of Botolan and Aburlin Negritos living in the mountainous areas of Botolan near the boundary with Pampanga. Bolinao, Sambal (Tina) and Botolan are very closely related and sometimes collectively referred to as Sambal. Further, of the six languages identified in East Mindanao (i.e., Mamanwa, Kamayo, Davaweño, Mandaya, Kalagan, Tagakaulu), Mamanwa is described as a language spoken by Negritos in the vicinity of Lake Mainit in Agusan del Norte and Surigao del Norte. McFarland's linguistic atlas lists 14 Manobo languages, including one called Manobo-Ata spoken in Northwestern Davao, in the vicinity of Kapalong municipality. Despite the language name (Ata), there is no mention of Negrito language speakers of Manobo.

Although Headland is primarily a cultural anthropologist whose work centers on the Negrito communities of Luzon, his contribution to linguistics is significant and enduring. To this day, he is considered an authoritative voice in the area of Negrito language documentation and classification, and cited by linguists as an expert on Negrito language and culture. While he remains a prolific scholar of Philippine anthropology and still remains in close contact with Negrito communities with whom he has established social ties to this day, a conscious decision was made for this study to review his linguistic research output during the first four decades of post-American colonial period. As with other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, those early decades immediately following World War II witnessed a kind of rebirth of academia, making way for reconnecting with well-established conventions and practices in

certain disciplines and at the same time paving the way for forging new paths in other fields. For example, these decades birthed major shifts in research orientation in a number of disciplines, such as the “Pantayong Pananaw” (from/for our own perspective) in history, and “Sikolohiyang Pilipino” (Filipino psychology) in psychology. In linguistics, the language documentation and classification works of the period laid the groundwork for determining and establishing future linguistics research practices. As a member of the government-sanctioned organization of language research experts that is SLI, Headland had unfettered access to language informants even in remote rural areas and institutional support for making his research output available to audiences within and outside academia, in the Philippines and beyond.

Roughly three decades since SIL’s arrival, Headland and Laurence Reid, another SIL-affiliated linguist, encapsulated how Negrito languages and their speakers were apprehended by SIL and Philippine linguistics scholars working on establishing genetic language relationships at the time in the following passage: “The Philippine Negritos, some 25 ethnolinguistically different groups numbering in total 15,000, are hunter gatherers in various stages of culture change” (Headland & Reid, 1989, p. 44).

Rejecting the then-prevalent idea in anthropology that hunter-gatherer tribes such as the Negritos of the Philippines are “primitive isolates,” Headland & Reid proposed the notion of an “interdependent model” that takes into account linguistic evidence as well as non-linguistic ones, indicating that prehistoric foragers have been in sustained contact and symbiotic relationship with their agriculturalist neighbors for thousands of years, and together they form a complex system of trading and politics. Arguing against still predominant views in the discipline describing primitive tribal societies as having well-preserved cultures untouched by modernity due to long periods of isolation, their proposal appeared to open doors towards engagement with

language unencumbered by the weight of racial stereotypes received from 19th century categorizations of people. However, ideas particularly advanced, established, and spread by the academy can prove to be very durable, difficult and slow to change. All Negrito groups that Headland studied speak Austronesian languages, but despite the absence of significant supporting linguistic data, Headland maintained that "at some time in the prehistoric past, the ancestors of today's Negritos must have established some type of contact with the Austronesian immigrants in the course of which they lost their own languages and adopted those of the newcomers" (Headland & Reid, 1989, p. 44).

In another article that came out much later about the peoples of Casiguran, co-written with his wife Janet, Headland provides the following description: "The Agta Negritos of the Philippines consist of 11 language or dialect groups numbering in total 11,000 people. Often referred to as 'Dumagats,' they are mobile hunter-gatherers living in small widely scattered temporary camps over several thousand square kilometers of rain forest in Eastern Luzon" (Headland & Headland, 1997, p. 79).

Headland offers similar descriptions of Negrito groups in various other publications, reinforcing the *'otherness'* of Negritos while simultaneously acknowledging the fact that their languages have shared Austronesian ancestry as other language groups in the country. There is no malicious intent in providing such description and it remains common practice among Negrito scholars today. I am suggesting that it is time to reexamine this received practice and reevaluate the ideological roots of such labeling methods. In doing so, perhaps new approaches might illuminate our understanding of the ways in which racialized methodologies have been perpetuated in our own disciplines and start untangling the biases from the science.

Teodoro Llamzon, Linguistics Society of the Philippines

Llamzon was born in Culion on the island of Palawan, Philippines in 1926. He entered the San Jose Seminary in Caloocan, Rizal in 1940 where his studies were interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War. He finished college after the war and received his MA in Philosophy at Sacred Heart Novitiate of the Society of Jesus in Quezon City in 1950. He subsequently traveled to the US to study theology at Woodstock College in Maryland and was ordained into the priesthood at Fordham University in New York in 1957. He then moved to Washington, DC to study at Georgetown University and received his MA in Language Teaching in 1959. He briefly taught Tagalog at Yale University, where he also got an MA degree in Malayo-Polynesian Languages in 1966. He returned to Georgetown and received his PhD in Linguistics in 1967, after which he went to Holland for post-doctoral studies.

Upon his return to the Philippines in 1968, he joined the faculty of the Department of Languages and Linguistics at ADMU in Quezon City. Llamzon was a founding member and the first elected president of the LSP, a professional organization established in 1969 by a group of scholars interested in Philippine language research, many of whom were either SIL-affiliated foreign researchers or Filipinos trained by SIL linguists or graduates of linguistics programs in the US. He also served as editor of PJL on its inception in 1970. From 1976 to 1986, he worked at the Regional Language Center (RELC) in Singapore where he was appointed linguistics specialist, served as chair of the research and publications committees, and editor of *The RELC Journal* from 1977 to 1985. He accepted a faculty position in the Graduate School at DLSU, where he continued his linguistics research until his retirement in early 2000s.

While the majority of Llamzon's work focused on language teaching, of both English and Pilipino, his early writings came to be significant contributions to the field of Philippine

language classification, reviewed and cited by succeeding scholars concerned with subgrouping of Philippine languages and the Austronesian language family. He thoroughly combed through previous works on Philippine language subgroupings, as well as those by his contemporaries, which proposed different classifications using various methodologies and analyzing a wide range of data sets available to them. In his review of these materials, Llamzon identified three types of subgrouping work on Philippine languages. The first of these language classification works were those aimed at relating Philippine languages to the other languages within Austronesian family, like works in German by Wilhelm Schmidt (1926) and Otto Dempwolff (1934). The second group of studies were proposals for a Philippine language family tree and works aimed at clarifying the position of specific languages within the tree. Llamzon reviewed proposals by D. Chretien (1962), a classification of languages based on morpheme distribution; H.C. Conklin (1952), a subgrouping based on geographic organization of available lists of languages per region; Thomas and Healey (1962), a classification of 37 languages using lexicostatistical calculations of morpheme retention; and Dyen (1965), a subgrouping of 89 languages based on semantic harmony using Swadesh's (1952) 200-word list. The third type of classification works were focused on determining the internal relationship between languages within a specific branch of the Philippine language family. Llamzon examined several proposed Philippine language classifications, such as those by R.B. Fox, W.E. Sibley, and F. Eggan (1954) on Northern Luzon; Y. Yamada (1973) on Bashiic; R. Elkins (1974) on Manobo; McFarland (1974) on Bikol; and R.D.P. Zorc (1977) on Bisayan languages.

Llamzon himself produced Philippine language classification studies presented in two specific works. First, "The Subgrouping of Philippine Languages," an article in the *Philippine Sociological Review* (1966), presents a classification based on a reexamination and comparison

of earlier proposals. Second, in the book *A Subgrouping of Nine Philippine Languages*, published in Leiden (1969), details morphological evidence clarifying the position within the family tree of nine well-documented languages (i.e., Ilokano, Kankanay, Ibanag, Ifugao, Tagalog, Bikol, Samar-Leyte, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon). Llamzon and many of his contemporary Philippine linguists ceased using racialized designation in labeling language names. For instance, the notation */neg/* or */Language-negrito/* does not appear in any of his subgroupings. Following Dyen's analysis, he cites the following map in his 1966 article:

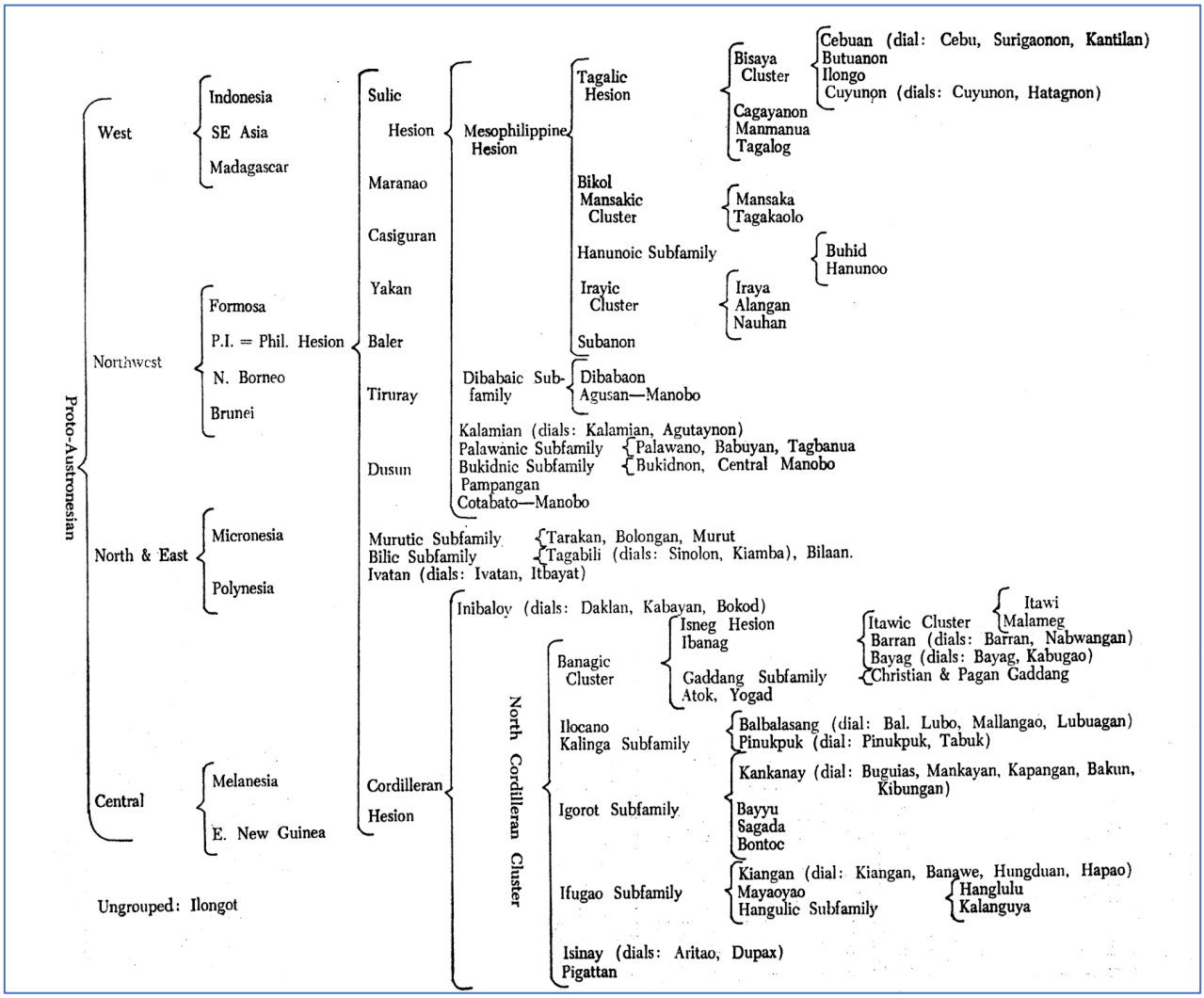


Figure 2: I. Dyen's 1965 Subgrouping of Philippine languages (Llamzon 1978, p. 24)

In a notable departure from previous common practice of stipulating distinguishing "pagan" and "negrito" as attendant designations for some languages, the classification presented here simply names the identified languages. This significant difference in late 20th century language identification from 19th century convention signaled a changing view in the field about the nature of language as a social practice that is not an index of race or religion. By apprehending languages on their own terms, overlapping but separate notions that were formerly taken for granted to be inherently tied to language, like ethnicity and race, could also be interrogated on their own terms disentangled from presuppositions.

In his 1978 *Handbook*, a linguistic map is provided by Llamzon specifying geographical areas for the 25 languages described in the book, and he adopts the new standard of focusing exclusively on the language names and doing away with stipulations that identify speakers' religion or race.

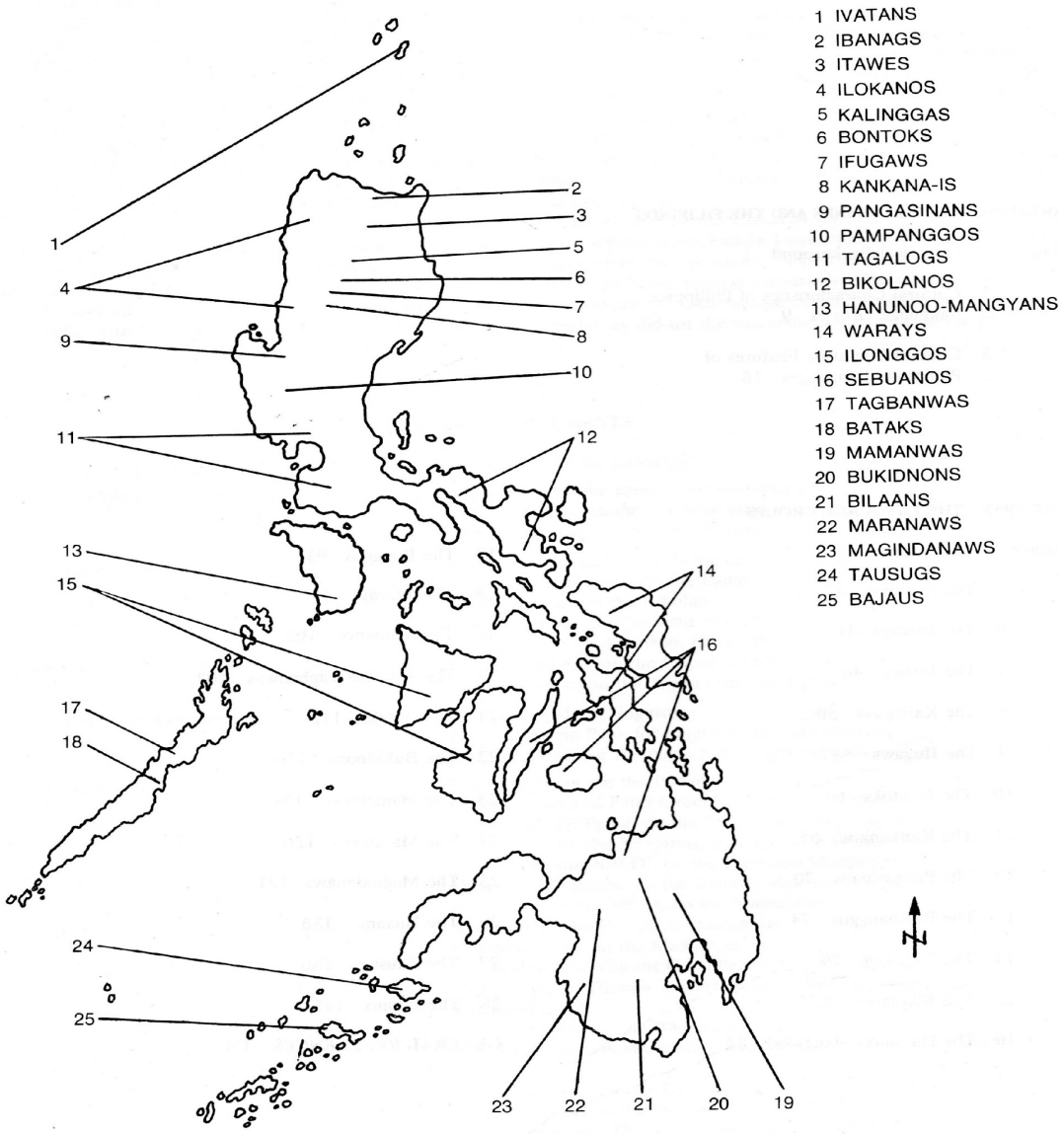


Figure 3: Location of Philippine languages (Llamzon 1978, p. 1)

Similarly, in the following proposed language family tree and linguistic map that were also produced during this period, neither Thomas and Healey's language classification (1962) nor McFarland's map of Manobo languages in his *Atlas* (1980) attaches labels pertaining to religion of race.

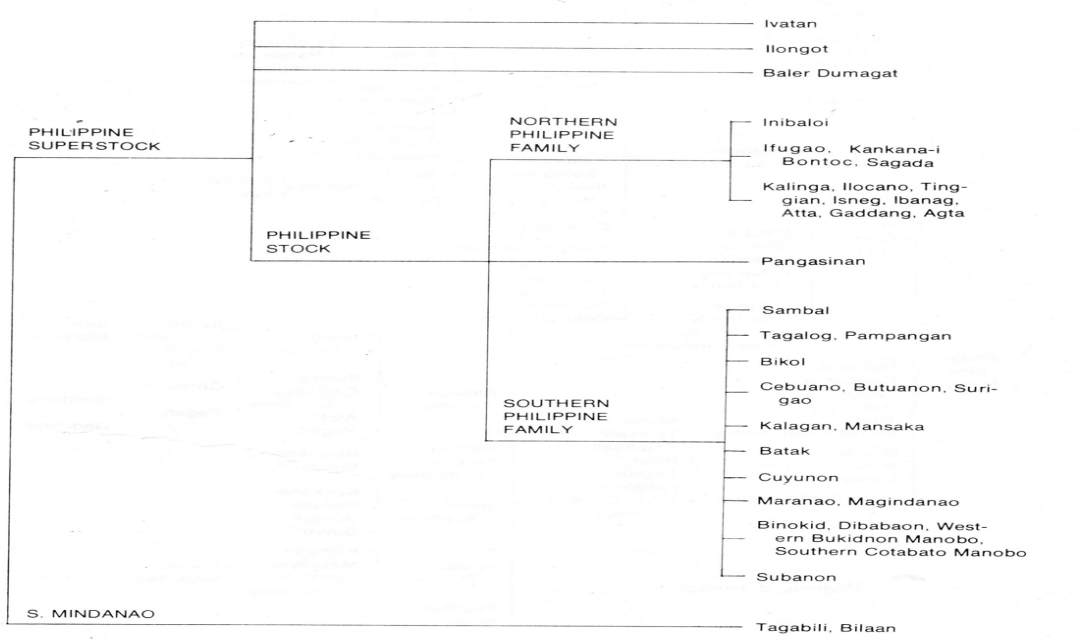


Figure 4: Thomas & Healey's 1962 Subgrouping of Philippine languages (Llamzon 1978, p. 23)

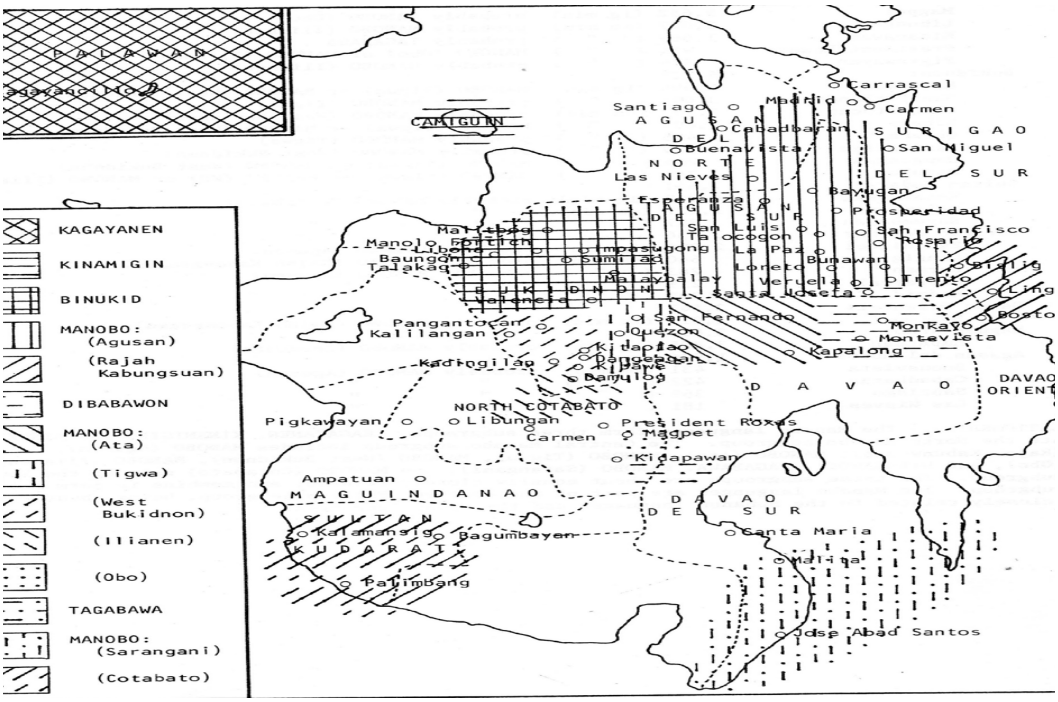
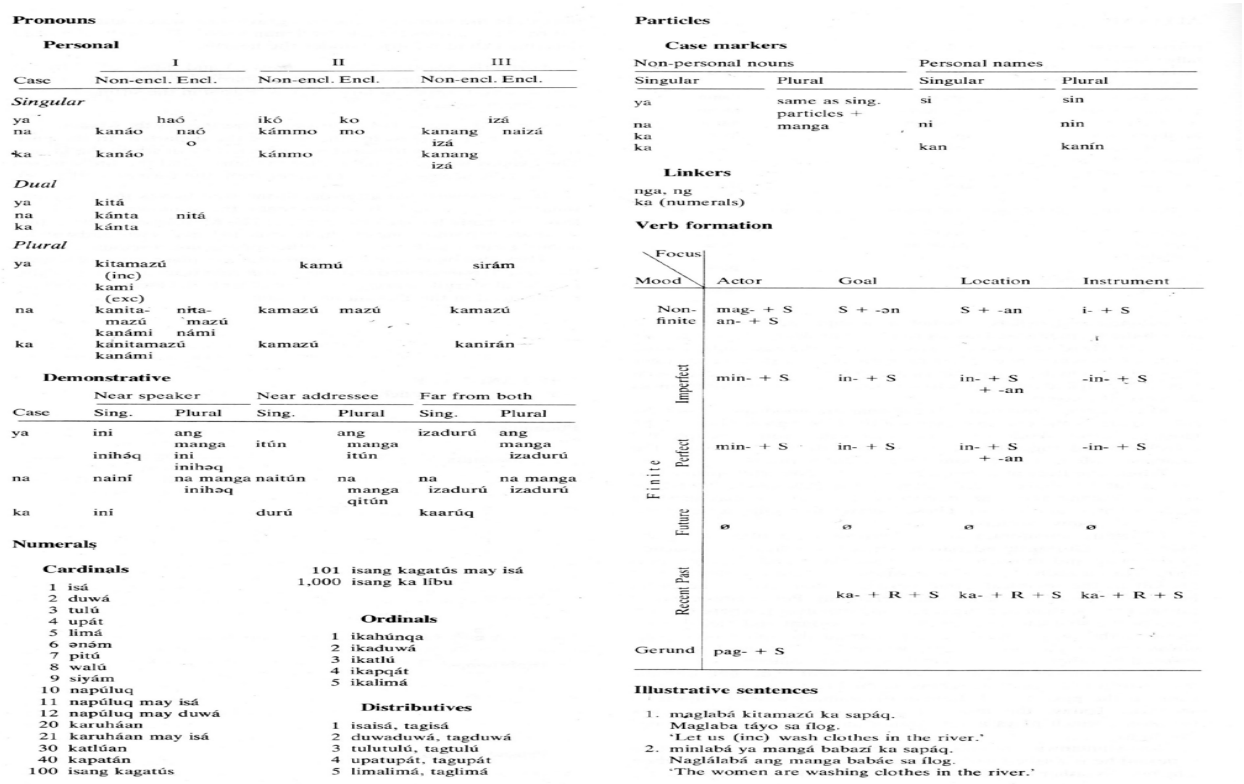


Figure 4: Linguistic map of Manobo languages (McFarland 1980, p. 103)

The absence of religious and racial stipulations in identifying languages and groups suggests a major shift in the linguistics discipline on the generalizations about speakers' social identities. However, if we look closely at these materials beyond the linguistic data they offer, 19th century ideologies persist, as postcolonial scholars largely unquestioningly relied scientific knowledge production of an earlier time. Indeed, since Philippine linguistics as an academic enterprise directly traces its roots back to colonial government-sponsored projects that used racialized methodologies in apprehending peoples in the newly acquired colony, change came at a very slow pace. While the linguistic maps and languages trees themselves do not contain labels pertaining to race or religion, these studies provided information about speakers of the listed languages. In their narrative descriptions of language communities, many linguists adopted the same standard practice by ethnologists and linguists from an earlier time by describing physical traits, emphasizing skin color and other characteristics that were deemed distinct to the group, especially when compared with speakers of other languages in the islands.

In the same 1978 *Handbook,* Llamzon does a thorough review of Philippine language classifications to date and considers newly available data to offer introductory descriptions of ethnolinguistic communities and general linguistic features of their languages, including phonology, key morphological forms, and sentence structures. These sections were thorough and applied new scientific approaches to language analysis. For illustration, here are some excerpts of data from his description of Mamanwa:



Pronouns

Personal

Case	I Non-encl.	I Encl.	II Non-encl.	II Encl.	III Non-encl.	III Encl.
Singular						
ya		haó	ikó	ko		izá
na	kanáo	naó o	kámmo	mo	kanang izá	naizá
ka	kanáo		kánmo		kanang izá	
Dual						
ya	kitá					
na	kánta	nitá				
ka	kánta					
Plural						
ya	kitamazú (inc) kami (exc)		kamú		sirám	
na	kanita-mazú kanámi	nita-mazú námi	kamazú	mazú	kamazú	
ka	kanitamazú kanámi		kamazú		kanirán	

Demonstrative

Case	Near speaker Sing.	Near speaker Plural	Near addressee Sing.	Near addressee Plural	Far from both Sing.	Far from both Plural
ya	ini	ang manga inihóq ini inihəq	itún	ang manga itún	izadurú	ang manga izadurú
na	nainí	na manga inihəq	naitún	na manga qitún	na izadurú	na manga izadurú
ka	iní		durú		kaarúq	

Numerals

Cardinals

1 isá
2 duwá
3 tulú
4 upát
5 limá
6 ənəm
7 pitú
8 walú
9 siyám
10 napúluq
11 napúluq may isá
12 napúluq may duwá
20 karuháan
21 karuháan may isá
30 katúan
40 kapatán
100 isang kagatús
101 isang kagatús may isá
1,000 isang ka líbu

Ordinals

1 ikahúnqa
2 ikaduwá
3 ikatlú
4 ikapqát
5 ikalimá

Distributives

1 isaisá, tagisá
2 duwaduwá, tagduwá
3 tulutulú, tagtulú
4 upatupát, tagupát
5 limalimá, taglimá

Particles

Case markers

Non-personal nouns Singular	Non-personal nouns Plural	Personal names Singular	Personal names Plural
ya	same as sing. particles + manga	si	sin
na		ni	nin
ka			
ka		kan	kanín

Linkers

nga, ng
ka (numerals)

Verb formation

Mood	Focus: Actor	Goal	Location	Instrument
Non-finite	mag- + S an- + S	S + -ən	S + -an	i- + S
Finite: Imperfect	min- + S	in- + S	in- + S + -an	-in- + S
Finite: Perfect	min- + S	in- + S	in- + S + -an	-in- + S
Finite: Future	ø	ø	ø	ø
Finite: Recent Past		ka- + R + S	ka- + R + S	ka- + R + S
Gerund	pag- + S			

Illustrative sentences

1. maglabá kitamazú ka sapáq.
   Maglaba táyo sa ílog.
   'Let us (inc) wash clothes in the river.'
2. minlabá ya mangá babazí ka sapáq.
   Naglálabá ang manga babáe sa ílog.
   'The women are washing clothes in the river.'

Figure 6: Inventory of some key morphological forms in Mamanwa (Llamzon 1978, p. 124)

In the preceding excerpt, Llamzon provides a discussion of important linguistic features, such as personal and demonstrative pronoun case forms, numerals in their cardinal, ordinal and distributive forms, case markers, as well as linkers. Furthermore, he gives a fairly detailed analysis of verbal affixes and example sentences demonstrating the use of some of these verb forms.

Even as the linguistic description is data driven, Llamzon's discussion of Mamanwa speakers and their community is illustrative of the way Negrito speakers were apprehended by linguists during this period. He describes the people, their primary economic activities, social institutions in the following terms:

> The Mamanwas are dark, curly-haired people inhabiting the mountainous areas northeast of Santiago, Agusan del Norte and western Surigao…Their name comes from man- banwa, inhabitants of the countryside or hinterlands….
>
> They subsist on swidden farming (kaingin), fishing in Lake Mainit, and hunting….
>
> They practice traditional courtship, marriage, divorce, religion & beliefs in supreme being, spirits, sacrificial offerings, burial rites, life after death… (1978, pp. 121-125)

Like many of his contemporaries, Llamzon relied heavily on earlier studies by anthropologists for information on social and cultural practices of the speakers of languages being documented or analyzed. One of Llamzon's key sources for his *Handbook*, for example, is Father John M. Garvan's work *The Negritos of the Philippines,* which offers general observations and preliminary descriptions of languages spoken by Negritos in Zambales. In the section on language, along with some lexical data (e.g., pronouns) and brief, disparate morphological description (e.g., some verbal affixes), Garvan has this to say: "As far as my observations, collection and inquiries went, I found that the more contact the Pygmies had with a neighboring people, the more their language absorbed their neighbors" (1964, pp. 188).

In Garvan's manuscript of over 200 pages in length, the presentation and discussion of language data comprise no more than four pages while the rest were detailed descriptions and observations on physical traits, habitat, spiritual beliefs and practices, social life, material culture and economy. Considering the intellectual period and climate under which works like Garvan's were produced, such studies followed very specific instructions on how to conduct research among peoples in the newly acquired colony. Garvan was introduced to the Negrito communities when he joined the Philippine Civil Service in 1903 as a schoolteacher. He stayed in the country long after he left the service, spending extended periods of time in Manobo communities. A review of the official guidelines for field workers devised by the BNCT outlining ethnographic

research procedures clearly reveals the motivations for collecting and presenting data in very specific ways. Here is a sampling of some instructions contained in the manual:

> 1. Learn carefully the names of the tribe, i.e., the name or names by which they are known to the Christianized peoples. Do they consider themselves to belong to some larger group or tribe or are there other and smaller groups affiliated with them? Are there other tribes speaking the same or similar dialects? (p. 9)

In the above instruction, the dichotomized relationship of non-Christian tribes and Christianized peoples of the islands was used as the starting point in learning about minority communities. The embedded hierarchical arrangement is expressed in the method of recording tribal names in which the Christianized people's viewpoint, rather than the tribe members', was considered as the standard.

> 2. Study and describe the habitat or territory occupied by the tribe. Does it follow one or more river or stream valleys? Is it mountainous, timbered, impenetrable, etc.? If possible, get the native name for each "rancheria," "sitio," or village and make a sketch map locating each, with notes as to hills, streams, and trails. (p. 9)

Identifying the territories occupied by minority tribes coalesced with mapping the location of important natural resources crucial to the economic interests of the newly established colonial government, such as land, water, and timber. Noting whether these communities were part of already established villages was necessary to determine their potential status as *terra nullius* or "nobody's land" that can be acquired by the state for political and economic gains.

> 3. ...Accustom yourself to notice physical features so as to gradually form in your own mind a correct description of the prevalent type. Notice color of the skin both on exposed and unexposed portions of the body; color of hair and eyes; character of hair, whether fine, coarse, straight, wavy, wooly, or growing in little spiral kinks peculiar to the Negro. Is the eye large and wide open or is it narrow with slanting or folding lid (mongoloid character)? Notice the muscular structure; are the limbs and body plump and rounded with full cheeks, or is the frame loose, flesh thin and cheeks sunken? Is there a well-developed calf to the leg, or does this muscle seem to be small and atrophied so that the heel bone projects backward? Are there unusual deposits of fat or adipose tissue in the body especially about the hips and buttocks? Does baldness occur? Note carefully the distribution and comparative abundance of the hair on the face. Does it grow low

> on the brow and is there, in addition, a fine growth distributed over the forehead? Are the teeth perfect?"... If possible take the following six measurements: (1) stature in bare feet; (2) "grande envergure" or... the maximum reach of the arms and hands;... (3) the head length or the greatest diameter obtainable between the forehead and the occiput;... (4) the head breadth or the maximum transverse diameter that can be found; (5) the nasal length or the distance from the point of deepest indentation between the eyebrows to the point of union between the nose and the lip; 6) the nasal breadth or the extreme distance between the two walls... of the nose.... (7) the nasal index (which can be obtained similarly from the nasal breadth and length)... and (8) the cephalic index (which can be obtained by multiplying the breadth by 100 and dividing by the length). In addition, the flatness or prominence of the nose, as well as the shape and position of the nostrils, should be noted, whether visible from the front or opening downward. (pp. 9-10)

The preceding passage is just a short excerpt of instructions on the method of recording information pertaining to physical characteristics of members of the tribes being studied. The invasive ways in which people were probed and measured gave these largely arbitrary methods an air of clinical objectivity, and their findings a sense of scientific authority. This aura of clinical science would have enduring consequences in cementing racialized ideologies that would be embedded in approaches to ethnolinguistic research for many years to come.

> 10....as soon as possible...obtain a small vocabulary from many different tribes for comparative purposes...everywhere the following vocabulary of words should be secured. It can be taken in a few moments and if possible should be procured from a number of different villages within the same tribe. These words are especially selected as subject to slight variation or misunderstanding and as not likely to possess synonyms: man, woman, head, mouth, eye, nose, teeth, ear, arm, breast, leg, earth, sky, sun, moon, star, water, fire, white, black, blue, red, green, yellow, uncooked rice, tobacco in the leaf, day, night, cloud, rain, thunder, cold, hot, large, small, good, bad, rich, sick, dead, here, there, no, yes, to sleep, to jump, to run, to fight, to eat, to drink; numerals as far as they can count. A few questions or exercises to test their power to use numbers will prove suggestive. In taking down these words be certain to get the proper word of the tribe and not some term that has been derived from outside sources. One must especially guard against words introduced from the Ilocano, Tagalo, and Bisaya. It is well to get this vocabulary from several individuals at different times. Some garrulous old women will be found the most reliable linguists. Women retain the native speech longer and have a better use of language than the men. (pp. 13-14)

Even as postcolonial period Philippine linguists moved away from racialized methodologies introduced in the 19th century in their approach to language study and classification or subgrouping in particular, the specter of old ideologies remain embedded in some areas of their academic practices. American colonial government's sponsorship of academic knowledge production work rooted in 19th century scientific traditions firmly established very specific ideologies that shaped approaches and methodologies in various disciplines, including linguistics.

Scientific Philippine linguistics projects, religious organizations, and government institutions: Overlaps and collaboration

Shortly after the end of the Second World War, the Philippines was granted independence by the US in 1946. As the number of US-trained Filipino scholars returning to the country grew in number, various academic fields also expanded. The second half of the 20th century produced more Filipino linguists working alongside their American colleagues in documenting and analyzing yet undescribed or under-documented languages. The period was marked by increased access to remote communities, additional data collection, and introduction of novel approaches to linguistics analysis and language taxonomy. However, even as scholars started using language classification methodologies based exclusively on linguistic data (e.g., lexicostatistics, syntactic typology), many continued to rely on 19th century racialized ways of engaging language communities and speakers.

Postcolonial Philippine linguists navigated the complex terrain of advancing scientific knowledge and serving as agents of change as affiliates of religious organizations, like SIL and the Philippine Bible Society, and government institutions, such as ONCC and OSCC. As late

20th century analogs of colonial period proselytizers and government administrators with interest in languages spoken by non-Christians, these institutions retained racialized ideas about peoples that helped shape their data collection techniques, community engagement and policymaking agenda. Their interest in languages was motivated by overlapping goals of promoting literacy, achieving administrative efficiency, and optimizing remote communities' role within the changing political economy. It was within these structures that Headland and Llamzon conducted their academic work, and their contribution to Philippine linguistics knowledge production was touched by ideologies established by their predecessors and firmly embedded in the discipline, even as their own works respond to these ideas by applying new approaches and expanding data gathering. In their efforts to give primacy to language data while also wanting to include information about speakers and their communities, and unquestioningly incorporating 19th and early 20th century expert knowledge about social identities, their own novel scientific knowledge production effectively reinforced and perpetuated old ideologies.

In the latter half of the 20th century, the use of linguistic forms as indexical of distinct iconic features of Negrito speakers was still evident. Even as Philippine linguistics scholars applied new techniques in analyzing data and classifying languages based on them, narrative descriptions invoking racialized distinctions remained in the literature. On the one hand, the data-driven approaches to language classification offered a neutral procedure of engaging with the diversity of languages in the country. However, by simply accepting and not reexamining received ideas about their speakers' social identities that are poorly understood, Philippine linguists and their discipline in general inadvertently bolstered these concepts, further contributing to their preservation. While the Philippine language family trees and comparative syntactic analyses offered objective means of demonstrating language relatedness, the

accompanying narrative descriptions of their speakers and communities belied this objectivity. Beyond the language data presented in these language subgroupings, 19th century race-based descriptions Negrito language speakers endured and by late 20th century appeared to no longer need to be confirmed by distinct linguistic forms in their language. The visible physical traits of Negrito language speakers have at this point become the iconic indexical feature that distinguishes them from other linguistic groups replacing the linguistic features, such as phonological difference and incomplete numeral system, which were previously presented as evidence of their difference.

In the early postcolonial period, the fractal recursion of the colonizer/colonized distinction projected onto the Philippines' language hierarchy was further projected onto the country's diverse linguistic landscape, replicating within the social arrangement in the new independent nation-state a fractal form of non-Negrito/Negrito distinction. In this binary categorization, while many non-Christian minority non-Negrito language groups slowly started to shed negative ascriptions, such as being uncivilized, war-like, uneducated, and lazy, non-Negritos became the idiosyncratic other, simultaneously having shared characteristic as other Filipinos of speaking an Austronesian language and being non-Austronesian based on their visible racial type.

The peculiarity of this period in Philippine linguistics is marked by the erasure of shared linguistic diachronic development and synchronic features with the rest of the languages in the country in describing Negrito languages. Even as labels stipulating racial distinction no longer figured in language classification expressed as family trees or typologies, the continued use of received race-based categorization of Negrito languages had the effect of further solidifying the otherness of their speakers. A truly data-driven apprehension of their languages

should shed the racialized ideologies embedded in the received conventions of language labels and standard descriptions of speakers and their communities.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The "negrito hypothesis," often attributed to French biologist A. de Quatrefages (1887), posits that human populations in mainland and maritime Southeast Asia—with apparent shared physical characteristics, specifically short stature, dark skin and wiry hair, distinct from the general populations around them—are descended from a common ancestral line with roots from preagricultural human populations in the region. It is also invariably referred to as the "negrito problem" due to the fact that tests of the hypothesis across a number of disciplines, such as biology (genetics), anthropology (physical and cultural), linguistics (synchronic and diachronic), archaeology, and geography, have so far yielded inconclusive or contradictory results. A two-volume special issue of the journal *Human Biology* was published following a multidisciplinary workshop held at the Museum of Natural History in Paris, France in 2012 on the topic "Revisiting the negrito hypothesis" (2013). Two well-known Austronesian (historical) linguists were invited to the workshop and contributed to the publication: Robert Blust and Lawrence Reid, both of whom expressing the view that the term Negrito remains an important heuristic in studying Philippine languages and that continued historical-comparative work on Negrito languages would eventually yield enough data to support the idea of their non-Austronesian roots. The same speculative notion was expressed by linguists in the late 19th century, a view that posited a classification of Negrito languages that was in search of adequate supporting data. It appears that this insufficiency of linguistic evidence is no deterrent to the preservation and perpetuation of antiquated race-based approach to language classification. The search for definitive linguistic clues demarcating a separate historical development and identity of Negrito language speakers, despite evidence to the contrary, more recently from genetics and other

scientific fields, is problematic because it objectifies Negritos as repositories of "original" indigenous culture, reinforcing the idea that unlike the rest of the Philippine population, they somehow kept their old practices largely intact and untainted by modernity. This perspective is also damaging because it keeps the Negritos separate from the rest of the population and puts them at the bottom of a hierarchy where other Philippine ethnolinguistic communities that are also categorized as minorities are already at a lower rung compared with the Christian majority. The impact of this differentiation is perpetual marginalization, as Negritos are kept separate from the rest of the population and apprehended simultaneously as noble preservers of culture and maladjusted primitives. As such, these communities are apprehended both as objects of pity and protection, as well as of contempt and derision, and their languages in perpetual state of endangerment. In this framing, the danger is viewed as either coming from the encroachment of outsiders or the perceived mistaken choices of speakers to change their social practice of language use by incorporating loan words, thus changing their language, becoming multilingual, or shifting to a different language entirely. From the late 19th century to the present day, multilingualism has always been observed in Negrito communities, and it should probably be studied as its own unit of analysis. For most members of this community, linguistic boundaries are fuzzy or nonexistent. Rather than approaching these language communities with conscriptions of monolingualism as reference, multilingualism should be apprehended as a natural state of linguistic behavior and studied as such.

Negrito language classification in colonial and post-colonial Philippines

In the preceding chapters, I reviewed Philippine Negrito language documentation and classification studies conducted in the late 19th century through the latter half of the 20th century

to examine linguistic ideology formation and evolution. By focusing on Negrito languages, I interrogated the complex web of entangled ideologies of language hierarchy and language as social identity by illuminating the intersecting binary categorizations of languages and their speakers, such as majority/minority, Christian/non-Christian, written/oral, non-Negrito/Negrito. Shaped by early language data collections, initial taxonomies based on these categories offered a view of language that indexed ethnolinguistic groups' social identity based on the relative value of their language within the hierarchy. These classifications, which were first proposed towards the end of the 19th century, were further solidified as new groups of researchers followed the same ideological threads in apprehending ethnolinguistic differentiation in the first four decades of the 20th century. The colonial context under which knowledge production operated during both periods—Spanish rule in the former and American regime in the latter—were marked by the prevalence of orientalist views on indigenous colonial subjects and use of racialized methodologies of data gathering and organization. Philippine language classification as a scholarly endeavor underwent rapid changes and expansion in the second half of the 20th century, gradually eroding some binary categories (e.g., Christian/non-Christian and written/oral) and slightly complicating the established language hierarchy, resulting in the opening up of areas of contestations. At the same time, this postcolonial period also saw the crystallization of the race-based binary categorization that put Negrito languages in a fixed *other* position in contrast to the rest of Philippine languages. As mentioned earlier, this differentiation relied on very little to no linguistic evidence at all and instead used 19th and early 20th century descriptions of Negrito communities derived from speculations of an original non-Austronesian language for which some phonological and morphological data were offered as proof, which late 20th century comparative studies disproved.

The focus on two specific linguists from each period serves to explore and highlight any similarities or differences in language ideologies that informed their scholarship, and to find out whether and how their position within existing social arrangements—first under colonial administration and later under an independent nation-state—may have figured in their approach to data gathering and organization. Although this procedure limits the scope of this investigation, it nevertheless affords us a lens through which we can start to trace the roots of ideas that fan the flames of enduring modes of Negrito language apprehension and categorization practices informing current knowledge production. A close reading of their works reveals that while both selected linguists from each period were looking at similar sets of data, language classification works by Filipino scholars differed from those by their European and American colleagues in salient ways. Engaging in academic exchange with his European colleagues, 19th century works by Trinidad Pardo de Tavera adopted the language of prevailing binary categories of his time but made deliberate efforts to shift the focus towards the multiplicity of languages within administratively designated provinces. This approach is a key departure from the prevalent European-originated ideology of "one nation, one language," and Pardo was effectively arguing for a multilingual nation worthy of recognition to stand alongside the colonizers' and other European monolingual nation-states. Early 20th century language classification studies done by Cecilio Lopez exemplify a move towards more scientific methodologies, focusing on data sets comprised nearly exclusively of linguistic forms. However, as American colonial government-sponsored projects in previously inaccessible geographic areas produced significantly increased research output, Lopez appeared to have felt the need to adopt race-based linguistic group designations that was standard practice among researchers affiliated with the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes at the time, effectively endorsing and consequently seemingly confirming the

validity of such categorization within the discipline. In contrast to Pardo and Lopez's use of racial categorization as a salient detail in making linguistic data legible, late 20th century linguist Teodoro Llamzon produced studies that did not include race-based labels in his language classifications and formal grammatical descriptions. What was previously labeled as Negrito languages were apprehended like other Philippine languages, analyzed and classified based on linguistic forms, with recognition that available language data—whether phonological, morphological or syntactic—do not index iconic features that set them apart from other Philippine languages, and that they all have shared Austronesian roots. These studies move language classification towards an engagement with data that disentangle linguistic features from race-based categorization of language speakers. Notwithstanding Llamzon's form-focused taxonomy, his narrative description of speakers still relied heavily on early ethnographies, substantially incorporating ideas from an earlier time where language and race are conflated.

Between 1890 and late 1990s, language ideologies have evolved, reflecting the ways in which colonial and postcolonial contexts shaped academic understanding of linguistic diversity in the country. A close reading of the apprehension of Negrito languages at different periods of Philippine linguistics development within the century provides us a lens through which the evolution of these ideologies can be comprehended. While the "one nation, one language" ideology almost instantaneously eroded as the centuries-long Spanish colonial rule came to an end, the ideology of language hierarchy remained stable, with each new generation of linguists reproducing works that seemed to reinforce it by implicitly invoking intersecting binary categorizations that are foundational to the hierarchy established in colonial times, namely: majority/minority, Christian/non-Christian, written/oral, lowland/highland, trade/non-trade, and non-Negrito/Negrito. Shifting social arrangements, with the intensified anticolonial movement

and eventual independence, paved the way towards the loosening or gradual erosion of all but one of these paired categories. The notion of a historical development of Negrito languages that is distinct from related languages of their neighbors persists not because of the buildup of linguistic proof but primarily based on their speakers' physical traits, particularly skin color, stature and hair texture, notwithstanding the fact that there are also Negrito language native speakers with different physical characteristics.

Semiotic processes in ideology formation of linguistic differentiation

The semiotic processes of ***iconization***, ***fractal recursivity***, and ***erasure*** as drivers of ideological representations of linguistic differences proposed by Irvine and Gal (2000) provides us a means to interrogate the evolution of linguistic differentiation that extended to categorizations of peoples established during colonial times, as European scholars tried to make legible for their audience the exotic practices of indigenous populations of the colony. Through iconization, the process that involves the apprehension of specific linguistic features as iconic of or typifying the social identity of its speakers, Negrito languages in the 19th century were viewed as having phonological and morphological forms that marked them as significantly different from the languages of their non-Negrito neighbors. These linguistic features were then taken to exhibit the social group's inherent nature that separated them from other groups. In the colonial context where there was an established dichotomy of colonizer/colonized, fractal recursivity operates by positioning iconic differences in a dichotomous relationship consequently creating "normal" and "other" identities, thus reproducing the dichotomy in defining the relationship between non-Negrito and Negrito languages that establish non-Negrito as the "norm" and Negrito as the "other" identity. This dichotomy intersected with other dichotomies used to

describe native languages and peoples, such as majority/minority, Christian/non-Christian, written/oral, trade/non-trade, lowland/highland. While these dichotomies overlapped in more complex ways in other linguistic groups, othered identities were firmly attached to Negrito groups. Through erasure, the process through which observable differentiation are produced, stabilized and perpetuated resulting in the simplification of the sociolinguistic field, the close relations of different Negrito languages to other languages in their neighboring communities was deemphasized or rendered invisible. Instead, research focused on finding linguistic evidence to support and further solidify the theory of a separate language development that point to Negrito languages having non-Austronesian roots.

With the introduction of new approaches to language classification and rapid expansion of data collection in the 20th century, the search for non-Austronesian linguistic elements took a backseat. Proposed classifications using novel scientific methodologies emphasized the primacy of robust language data and minimizing or completely leaving out speculative views about speakers' social identities. However, an examination of works produced during this period reveals a pattern of rehashing, without reexamining descriptions of linguistic groups based on dichotomies established in the 19th century colonial period, consequently reinforcing linguistic ideologies from an earlier time and reproducing them for a new audience.

Directions for Philippine linguistic historiography

This study is an initial foray into a future project that could be considered Philippine linguistic historiography, an area of research which has yet to find its footing within the discipline. Roughly a century after the establishment of the linguistics program at the University of the Philippines, which aims to build an archive of materials documenting all languages in the

country, it is high time for an examination of linguistic ideologies that figure in the development of data gathering procedures and language classification, as these aspects of linguistics research trace their roots back to the beginnings of European colonialism. There is a multitude of directions that can be pursued to illuminate our understanding of the creation, change and evolution of linguistic ideologies within the discipline and outside it. For instance, some avenues of interrogation could be grounded on the role of colonial and postcolonial government agencies, religious groups, non-government organizations, or educational institutions. Another route could be focused on fleshing out the intersections of binary categories and how they overlap or not, change or get eroded over time. One more direction could be an interrogation of linguistic ideologies that are expressed and displayed in popular media and how these invoke native and academic knowledge production. A pressing issue that also needs attention is language archive construction, interpretation, and access, and the extent to which linguistic ideologies shape and direct them. There are many more potential research routes that can be pursued, and I hope to expand on this initial work in the future.

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