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Lawrence A. Reid, Emilio Ridruejo, Thomas Stolz (Eds.)

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OTTO ZWARTJES (AMSTERDAM/NETHERLANDS)

Oyanguren de Santa Inés's grammar of Tagalog (*Tagalysmo Elucidado* 1742): towards a reconstruction of 18th century reflections on comparative typology*

Abstract

This paper analyses descriptions of three Asian languages: Chinese, Tagalog and Japanese by the Spanish Franciscan Melchor Oyanguren de Santa Inés. Although the author did not aim at a systematic analysis of these three languages, we find a great number of examples and analysis, where the author attempts on the one hand to contrast Asian languages with European languages, such as Spanish, Latin, Greek, and on the other hand he demonstrates that there are also important typological differences between these Asian languages. For the period in question, it is noteworthy that the author sees similarities between Japanese and his own native tongue, Basque, both agglutinative languages. This paper demonstrates that Oyanguren did pioneering work on the field of comparative typology antedating the achievements of Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro and Wilhelm von Humboldt.

1. Introduction

Melchor Oyanguren de Santa Inés (1688–1747) was born in Salinas (Guipúzcoa, Spain) in 1688. He arrived in the Philippines in 1717. After having worked as a missionary in South-east Asia (Cochinchina) he returned to the Philippines in 1725, where he became 'doctrinero' in the village of Los Baños de Aguas Santas in 1726 and 'Minister' in Saryaya until 1736. For health reasons he decided to return to Spain, but never arrived there. On his journey back to Europe he passed Mexico where he became President of the Hospicio del Convento de San Agustín de las Cuevas (today in Tlalpan). He died there in 1747.

His Japanese grammar entitled *Arte de la lengua japona, dividido en quatro libros segun el arte de Nebrixa, con algunas voces proprias de la escritura, y otras de los len-*

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guages de Ximo, y del Cami, y con algunas perifrases, y figuras was published in Mexico (Joseph Bernardo de Hogal) in 1738 and his grammar of Tagalog appeared in 1742 under the title *Tagalysmo elucidado, y reducido (en lo posible) a la Latinidad de Nebrija*. Con su sintaxis, tropos, prosodia, pasiones & c. y con la alusión, que en su uso y composición tiene con el Dialecto Chinico, Mandarin con las lenguas Hebrea y Griega, also printed in Mexico (Francisco Xavier Sánchez). Two works are lost, his grammar of Basque and a trilingual dictionary Tagalo-Castilian-Basque (Zwartjes 2010: 9).

The most important sources for his Japanese *Arte* were the grammar of Japanese written by the Spaniard Diego Collado (†1638) – who was inspired mainly by the work of the Portuguese Jesuit João Rodrigues (1562–1633) and the anonymous *Vocabulario de Japón declarado primero en Portugués por los padres de la Compañía de Jesús de aquel Reyno, y agora en castellano en el Colegio de Santo Thomás de Manila*, printed in 1630 in Manila (Colegio de Santo Tomás), a Spanish translation of the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam com a declaração em Portugues, feito por alguns Padres, e Irmãos da Companhia de Iesu* completed in 1604 in Nagasaki. As the titles indicate, Antonio de Nebrija (c. 1441/44?–1522) served as the linguistic framework which shaped his analysis of the Japanese and Tagalog data. Before Rodrigues, the Jesuit Duarte da Silva (1536–1564) wrote an *Arte da Lingua Japoneza* and a *Vocabulario da Lingua Japoneza* which have been lost (Streit 1929, 380). After the expulsion of the Christians from Japan many Christian books were burnt, although some of them were possibly brought to the Philippines. Even before the expulsion, Japanese teaching manuals were brought to Manila, as we can read in the letters written by Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) (cf. Moran 1993: 157).

The *Tagalysmo elucidado*, mentions some predecessors who served as the main sources of his data, sometimes called “los primeros Tagalistas” (1742: 11), and in other cases they are mentioned by name: Francisco Blancas de San José (1560–1614), Oliber de N.H.S. Gregorio de N. H. Sta Anna, not identified yet, and Gaspar de San Agustín (1646–1724) who wrote a short compendium of Tagalog. Blancas de San José has the nickname “El Cicerón Tagalog”¹ since he wrote one of the most important pioneer works of Tagalog, although he was not the first. We have reports that around 1580, an *Arte del idioma Tagalog* was written by Juan de Plasencia Portocarrero (†1590). According to others, the first grammar of Tagalog was written by Agustín de Albuquerque (†1581) (Sueiro Justel 2007: 84), and other works are written in the period before Blancas by Bernardino de Jesús (†1604), Juan de Quiñones (1551–1587) (Streit 1929: 332, 363, 366). We cannot exclude the possibility that Oyanguren also had access to these works, and that these authors are some of the “primeros Tagalistas”.²

¹ In other sources he is called *Aquiles de esta dificultad* [The Achilles of this difficult (language)] (San Agustín 1787 [1703], *Prólogo al lector*), or *Demosthenes de esta lengua* [The Demosthenes of this language] (1787 [1703]: 153).

² There is documentation that more grammars were composed in this period. See Sueiro Justel (2007: 77–87) for more details.

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As we have demonstrated in previous studies, Oyanguren's grammars are particularly interesting since he includes a great number of different languages in his examples and linguistic 'theories'. Contemporary authors, such as San Agustín, only describe Tagalog and no other Asian languages are mentioned. Oyanguren's work was not written exclusively for the learning of one particular language; he obviously had the purpose of explaining to learners of Japanese, Chinese, and Tagalog some important features of the other languages. Nevertheless, Oyanguren was not the only polyglot missionary. It has been documented that Juan de San Pedro knew Visayan and Tagalog. Jordán de San Esteban, a missionary of Sicilian origin, was educated in Spain and knew his native tongue (Sicilian) Italian, Spanish, Chinese, Latin, Greek, and the Philippine language spoken in "La Nueva Segovia". Father Joseph de Madrid knew Cebuano, Visayan, Tagalog, the 'language of Ytuy', Chinchea (Southern Mǐn-Chinese), Italian and Portuguese, and Esteban Ortiz spoke the "Mexican language" (probably Nahuatl), Tagalog, Ilocano and Chinese sufficiently well to enable him to confess and preach in them (Quilis 1997: 14). As we can see, it was not at all uncommon for missionaries to speak or understand more than one indigenous language, but unfortunately no grammars or dictionaries written by these priests survived. Linguistic typology or comparison was generally not considered an object of serious study nor as a useful tool in the process of language learning.

The Japanese grammar of Oyanguren does not have any indication that the author benefited from native speakers of the Japanese minority in Manila; probably he took all his linguistic data from written sources, mainly the grammar of Collado and the Spanish version of the *Vocabulario*,³ creating a completely different work with a different structure and approach. For the Chinese material, we have shown (Klötter & Zwartjes 2008) that Oyanguren relied heavily on the Mandarin grammar of Francisco Varo (1627–1687), since we find his name in a reference where he advises readers, particularly the more advanced learners, to consult his work as we can read in the following citation:

Por quanto en este Arte Tagalog, vá como encajada la substancia del Arte Chínico, ó Mandarin; declinaciones, composicion nominal, y conjugacion, y aver en él muchos vocablos, debajo de dos advertencias se insinúa su prolacion, por no dilatarme, pues se puede recurrir á los Artes del P. Varo, de la Sagrada Religion de N.P. Santo Domingo: ó á los del P. la Piñuela, ó Fr. Basilio Glemona Recoletos de Nuestro Padre San Francisco [Chinese or Mandarin grammar is incorporated in this grammar of Tagalog; i.e. declensions, nominal composition, and conjugation. Since there are many words included in it, I only allude to the meaning of them in a handful of observations, in order not to dwell on these matters, because one can fall back on the grammars of the Dominican Father Varo, or those of the Recollect Franciscan Fathers la Piñuela or Basilio Glemona] (Oyanguren 1742: 8)

³ "... porque este libro sigue el methodo del Vocabulario en las activas, y passivas ..." [because this book follows the method of the *Vocabulario* in its treatment of active and passive ...] (Oyanguren 1742: 140).

The sections on Chinese are embedded in the Tagalog grammar but the author does not tell his readers explicitly that he checked the linguistic data with native informants of the Chinese minority in Manila. The Tagalog linguistic data were also based on written sources, but opposed to the Japanese and Chinese data, the Tagalog material was checked using native speakers of the languages, as we can infer from the following citation:

Los Indios (à quienes yo he preguntado, y examinado sobre este assumpto, y se suelen enbobar, respondiendo ya cesta, ya ballesta) fuera de tener raíces generales, específicas, e individuales para semejantes oraciones, necesitan de mucha reflexión para la inteligencia de tanta reduplicación [I have asked and examined this matter with the Indians, but they are usually ignorant; they give me answers to my questions haphazardly. Their language consists of 'general', 'specific' and 'individual' roots for similar clauses and the Indians reflect lengthily on these matters in order to comprehend so many redundancies] (Oyanguren 1742: 141).

In Antiquity, Greek grammarians were usually not interested in languages other than Greek. They developed a descriptive model with the objective of describing their own language. In the tradition of Latin grammars, some isolated approaches to languages other than Greek and Latin are documented,⁴ but Roman grammarians were also mainly interested in their own language, Latin. The difference between Greek and Roman grammarians is the fact that the latter added another dimension to their grammatical theory. Although Latin-Greek bilingual grammars were not common, Greek served as the main source of inspiration, so that Latin grammars were no longer strictly monolingual, as the Greek grammars were.

There is documented evidence that during the Middle Ages, missionaries were interested in foreign languages. Some grammars and dictionaries survive as manuscripts, such as the *Codex Cumanicus*, describing a Turkic language, and Persian. Humanists in Renaissance Europe added another dimension to their linguistic interests, mainly the study of Semitic languages. In the 16th century, grammars of Aramaic, Hebrew and Arabic appeared and around the same period, missionaries started to describe a great number of non-Indo-European languages all over the world. Linguistic typology was not an established discipline, but authors often attempted to explain similarities and differences between languages from a broader perspective.

In pioneering studies on linguistic typology, the tripartite division between isolating, agglutinative and inflectional languages was introduced by August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845), the brother of the Sanskritist Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Schlegel (1772–1829), according to Auroux (2000: 18), who divided languages into those that are 'organic', like Sanskrit, Persian and those of Europe, and on the other

⁴ Cf. Marcus Terentius Varro's (born 116 B.C.) section in his *De lingua latina*, where the languages of the Phoenicians, the Egyptians and the Gauls are mentioned. According to Varro, these languages have words with 'only one case-form' ("Quare si essent in analogia, aut Phoenicum et Aegyptiorum vocabula singulis casibus dicerent") (Zwartjes 2008: 407).

hand 'mechanical' languages, like Chinese, Coptic, Basque and Amerindian languages (Koerner 1990: 250, Errington 2008: 73). Wilhelm von Humboldt distinguished four types: (1) isolating ("with no grammatical structure"), (2) agglutinating, (3) incorporating, or polysynthetic and (4) flecional (Errington 2008: 76).

Melchor Oyanguren de Santa Inés's main purpose was no different from that of other missionaries of this period: the teaching of these languages to missionaries. Nevertheless, being a real 'aficionado', his grammatical descriptions are accompanied by typological descriptions and comparative research. Even though Oyanguren made a clear distinction between the Indo-European languages he was familiar with (mainly Spanish) and Asian languages (Japanese, Chinese and Tagalog), yet he explained the most important typological differences between these Asian languages themselves, and in several sections he concluded that Japanese and his native tongue Basque – both agglutinative languages – shared some common typological features. Finally, we find observations on Greek, Hebrew, "the language of Siam", and Nahuatl. In Zwartjes (2008) Oyanguren's views on Hebrew are analysed and in Klöter & Zwartjes (2008) we concentrated on his Chinese material (*lengua chinica, dialecto chinico-mandarín, lengua caraya, mandarin, lengua de los sangleyes*). In this article we shall analyse his observations on Tagalog, in relation to his theories on Asian languages in general. Zwartjes (2010) contains three volumes; a facsimile edition of the two grammars and a monograph.

2. Asian languages

2.1. Chinese and Japanese

The Jesuit Francis Xavier (1506–1552) is one of the first missionaries who mentioned the difference between Chinese and Japanese. The languages were not mutually intelligible but he concluded that "when they write they understand each other only by writing, for they know the signification of the 'letters' [i.e. 'characters'], but the pronunciation always remains different" (Nachod 1922: 257,⁵ cited in Schreyer 1992: 5).

In some sections of his grammar, Oyanguren points out that Asian languages are "very different":

⁵ Oscar Nachod (1858–1933): "Die ersten Kenntnisse chinesischer Schriftzeichen im Abendlande" [The earliest acquaintance of Chinese characters in the West]. *Hirth Anniversary Volume* 1922, 235–73. London: Asia Minor. Compare also the observation of Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628) cited from the English translation entitled *China in the Sixteenth Century. The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583–1610*. 1953 [1615]. New York: Random House: "For instance the Japanese, the Koreans, the people of Cochin, and the Leuhians have books which are common to all, but they differ so widely in their spoken languages that no one of them can understand the others. [...] I have heard that over and above the symbols which they have received from the Chinese, the Japanese also have an alphabet and certain elements similar to our own, which enables them to write their own vernacular without the endless series of Chinese ideographs", cited in Schreyer (1992: 16).

En las mas de las lenguas assiaticas, aunque son muy distintas, el regimen de los verbos es muy semejante: el verbo substantivo xi, ser: rige dos nominativos como en la latinidad quando se los ponen: v.g. Francisco xi haò jîn. Francisco es buen hombre... [In most Asian languages – although they are very different from each other – the governance of the verb is quite similar; the substantive verb *xi* ‘to be’ governs two nominatives, as occurs in Latin, if they are present: e.g. *Francisco xi haò jîn*, ‘Francis is a good man’]. (Oyanguren 1742: 200–201)

Oyanguren’s references to ‘Chinese’ display some subtle, but nonetheless significant differences. In many instances, his wording is “the language of China, or the Mandarin dialect” (*la lengua de China, ó dialecto mandarín*). But then he also mentions the “Chinese dialects” (*dialectos Chinos*). This indicates that he had some idea of China’s linguistic diversity. However, data from Chinese dialects other than Mandarin did not enter his analysis. According to Oyanguren, the Chinese language is a ‘brief and easy’ language, although he admits that the use of the tones is difficult.

... en este breve resumen, con un poquito de comunicacion con ellos, para la comprehension de las tonadas; puede con facilidad el Missionario hacerse capaz de su language, y dár á muchas Almas esse Consuelo; pues la Lengua Caraya es breve, y facil; aunque sus frases, y tonadas son dificultosas [... with this brief summary and some exercise in communicating with them (i.e. the Sangleyes’, or Chinese speaking minority in Manila), the missionary will be sufficiently competent to understand the tones easily and able to give Consolation to these Souls; alter all, the Caraya (probably Oyanguren means “Cathay”) language is brief and easy, although its sentences and tones are difficult’] (Oyanguren 1742: 3)

Oyanguren mentions some characteristic features of Japanese, comparing and contrasting this language with Chinese, Tagalog, and Basque. The following citation illustrates this strategy (for more details concerning Japanese see Zwartjes 2008, 2009 and 2010).

La lengua Japona es invariable, y no tiene casos, en lo qual imita al dialecto Chino, ó Mandarino, que no tiene casos, aunque no le imita en las particulas, porque la lengua Japona tiene distintas, y muchas particulas; y la lengua China tiene pocas, ut sieng, seng: seng tien: tie, men &c. solo se advierte, que la lengua Japona en la mayor parte es subjuntiva como lo es nuestra lengua Vascongada. De qua egimus in sua arte [The Japanese language is invariable and does not have cases, resembling the Chinese or Mandarin dialect, which has no cases either, although it does not resemble Chinese as far as the particles are concerned, since the Japanese language has many different particles, unlike the Chinese language, which has few, e.g. *sieng, seng: seng tien: tie, men, etc.* It has only to be observed that the Japanese language is predominantly subjunctive, as our Basque language, *De qua egimus in sua arte* (“of which we dealt in the grammar of this language”)] (Oyanguren 2009 [1738]: 6)

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Es el Dialecto Tagalog muy abundante, sonoro, elegante, y que en la mayor parte imita a la pronunciacion Europea, aunque no es su pronunciacion dental como es la Cantabrica, y tiene, y consta de pronunciacion guttural mas Sonora, que la Arabiga, y menos dificil que la China, ò Dialecto Mandarin, sin la molestia de sus tonadas: en lo qual imita el ñgna in gangoso del Hebreo [The Tagalog language is very abundant, sonorous and elegant. Its pronunciation resembles *grosso modo* that of European languages, although its pronunciation is not as dental as the Cantabrian (=Basque) language; its pronunciation is more guttural and more sonorous than Arabic, and less difficult than the pronunciation of Chinese or Mandarin, without the trouble of all those tones, resembling the nasal twanging of Hebrew as far as the sound *ñgna in* is concerned] (Oyanguren 1742: 1–2)

2.2. Austronesian languages

According to Auroux (2000: 16) the birth of comparative linguistics in Austronesian languages has to be dated to the beginning of the 18th century, although the sources of this period are not mentioned. The most important works, according to Auroux (*ibid.*) are the 19th century works *Ueber die Kavi Sprache der Insel Java* (1830–1835) of Wilhelm von Humboldt, published by Buschmann, Dumont d'Urville's (1790–1842) *Apolo- logie* (1833–1834) and Pierre Louis Jean Baptiste Guassin (1821–1886)'s *Du dialecte de Tahiti des Isles Marquises et en general de la langue polynésienne* (1853). Although the Spanish missionaries did not write comparative studies on the relationship between Austronesian languages, they report from the earliest period that the languages of the Philippines belong to the same linguistic 'Malayan' family,⁶ although they were also aware that the languages they encountered were often mutually unintelligible, as we can read in the following citation:

Las gentes de lugares poco distantes no se entienden los unos con los otros.... En algunas partes observamos que en la boca de un río se hablaua una lengua, y en el nacimiento dél otra. Cosa que es de grande estoruo para la conuersion y en- señanza de estas gentes [People who are living in close proximity do not under- stand one another... In some regions, we observed that one language was spoken in the estuary of a river, while in the regions along the upper course of the same

⁶ By comparison: One of the first sources which describe the great similarity between Semitic lan- guages, such as Aramaic and Arabic is Yēhudah Ibn Qurayš's (9th–10th century) *Risāla*, (cf. Sáenz-Badillos 2005: 431; Téné 1980: 363; Zwartjes 1997: 17). The famous talk of William Jones (1746–1749) of 1786 is often seen as the 'birth of comparative philology' (Seuren 1998: 80), al- though two centuries earlier Thomas Stephens (ca. 1549–1619) had already discovered the similari- ties between the Indo-Aryan languages in India, Latin and Greek. Similarities between languages of the Dravidian family are first described by Robert Caldwell (1746–1794) and Francis Whyte Ellis (1777–1819) (cf. Sreekumar 2009).

river, another was spoken, causing many obstacles in converting and teaching these peoples] (P. Colín, 1651, cited in Quilis 1997: 12)

Most authors of this period probably considered Chinese to be a difficult language, probably based on its tonal phonology and writing system. Compared to Chinese, the Philippine languages were often labeled as 'easy'. The local writing system called *baybayin* is not complex and the phonological system is indeed not so complicated, compared to Chinese. Compared to other Philippine languages, Tagalog was considered the most difficult language, as some authors conclude:

I a la verdad estas lenguas no son muy difíciles, ni de aprenderlas ni de pronunciarlas. Mayormente agora que ai arte, i vocabulario; y mucho escrito en ellas. La más difícil es la de Manila (que llaman Tagala) [In fact, these languages are not very difficult to learn nor to pronounce, mainly because there exists a grammar and a dictionary, and much has been written in them. The most difficult one is the language of Manila, called Tagalog] (Pedro Chirino 1604, cited in Quilis 1997: 14)

According to Blancas de San José, Tagalog was the most 'universal' language of the Philippines, which does not surprise us, since it was the language spoken in the Manila area, which was the centre of political power and was the primary medium of communication between the colonial powers and the native population. ("Tagala, que es la mas universal desta tierra y la que se usa entre los indios alrededor de la ciudad por muchas leguas", cited in Quilis 1997: 17).

Gaspar de San Agustin observed that the languages of the Philippines are actually 'dialects', which are not entirely different from one another, since they all belong to the same family of 'Malayan' languages.

De todas me he valido, y de otras de lenguas de estas Islas, porque ciertamente no son totalmente diversas entre si; sino varios Dialectos de un a misma lengua, que dicen sèr la Malàya; como en la Griega los Dialectos Attico, Ionico, Eolico, y comun. Y de la Latina las lenguas Italiana, Española, Portuguesa, y Francesa. Y en el Norte los Dialectos de la lengua Godt, ò Teutonica [I have made use of all (grammars) of this language (=Tagalog), and even of other languages of these islands, since they are not totally different from one another, but they are different dialects of the same language, which they say is Malayan; as occurs in the Greek language, where Attic, Ionic, Aeolic and *koiné* varieties are distinguished...] (Gaspar de San Agustin 1787 [1703]: *Prólogo al lector*, no numbered pages)

As Oyanguren mentions Gaspar de San Agustin as one of his sources, it is not impossible that the following fragment was inspired by him:

Aunque de la Torre de Babel salieron tantas lenguas matrices, el dia de oy ay muchas mas por los distintos dialectos, que se han originado de las mismas matrices, y por la comunicación de unas lenguas con otras: y para probar esto, no necessi-

tamos recurrir â dialectos Atticos, Jonico, Dorico, Eolico de la lengua griega, quando en el continente del dominio Español, tenemos dialectos del Vascuenze: en la America con la lengua Mexicana, y Peruana; en las Islas de Luzòn con la lengua Malaya, ô Tagala.

Y finalmente lo mesmo podemos decir de los distintos dialectos que ay en el Imperio de la gran China, sus provincias, y Reynos adyacentes, en cuyos dialectos tan diversos experimentan los Missionarios Apostolicos el "hoc opus, hic labor".

El dialecto Nison, ô Japòn es dialecto, que procediò del Imperio Chinico, como tambien sus habitantes, segun consta de sus historias: es dialecto, que se divide en otros muchos dialectos, segun distintos Reynos, que ay en el Japòn: es mas puro, menos dificil, que los dialectos Chinicos, pues estos con el dominio Tartaro han dejado introducir en sus dialectos distintas voces, tomadas [sic], guturales, &c [Although so many languages originated from the Tower of Babel, there are nowadays many more languages because of the different dialects which are derived from the same matrix languages, and because of the communication between the speakers of these languages. It is unnecessary to prove this on the basis of Greek dialects, such as Attic, Ionic, Doric, or Aeolic, since we find such variation in the realm of Spain, where dialects exist of Basque, and in America we find Mexican and Peruvian dialects, and the same occurs with the Malayan or Tagalog language in the Islands of Luzon. And finally, we can say the same of the different dialects which exist in the Great Chinese Empire, in its provinces and contiguous Kingdoms, where the Apostolic Missionaries encounter a great variety of dialects, experiencing "hoc opus, hic labor" (this work, this labour)]. The Nison, or Japanese dialect originates from the Chinese Empire, as the inhabitants of Japan, as has been established in the histories. It is a dialect which can be divided in several other dialects, according to different Kingdoms in Japan. Japanese is purer and less difficult than the Chinese dialects, since the Tartars have introduced several words, tones and guttural sounds in these dialects during the period of their occupation]. (Oyanguren 2009 [1738]: *Prólogo al lector*)

And in his *Tagalysmo elucidado* we read also that Tagalog belongs to the 'Malayan' family.

El Dialecto Tagalog, ô Taga ylog es dialecto de la Lengua Malaya segun se infiere de las Historias, y Conquistas primeras, que escribieron los primeros Españoles: llamase este Dialecto Tagalog, por los Indios Tagalos, que la hablan, y porque es la mayor parte de los que habitan entre rios, que esto es lo que quieren decir estas dos voces, ô una voz compuesta de Taga, y de ylog; hoc est, natural del rio: este Dialecto se divide en otros muchos como en el de Camarines, Pampango, &c. y sirve como de Matriz à los otros Dialectos, no obstante las muchas diferencias de vocablos, y mutacion de letras, que ay en todos los Dialectos, y la introduccion de muchas voces nuevas, con la comunicacion de otras

Lenguas, y Dialectos, y olvido de las voces naturales, y propias; calamidad de todas las Lenguas, que procedieron de la Torre de Babel, que unas se destruyeron del todo; otras se mezclaron con otras distintas, y otras se dividieron en distintos Dialectos [The Tagalog (or Taga ylog) dialect is derived from the Malayan language, as we can infer from the histories of the first Conquests, composed by the first Spaniards. This dialect is called Tagalog, a name derived from the Tagalog Indians who speak this language, and because its speakers live mainly between Rivers – which the two words *Taga* and *Ylog* in fact mean – forming the compound *Tagalog*; i.e. ‘naturals from the river’. This dialect is divided into many others, such as the dialect of Camarines, Pampango, etc. and serves as a matrix language for other dialects, regardless of the large discrepancies between the words, the changing of letters – which occurs frequently in these dialects – and the introduction of new words, as a consequence of contact with other languages and dialects, and the oblivion of their own natural words, a catastrophe which affects all languages which derive from the Tower of Babel; some languages are extinguished entirely, other are mixed up with several others, and others are split up into different dialects] (Oyanguren 1742: 1)

This means that the ‘discovery’ of the Malayo-Polynesian language family (or at least the relationship between the western branches of the family) antedates the so-called ‘discovery’ of the Indo-European language family (although it was still unknown that Malayo-Polynesian was actually a major branch of the Austronesian family).

3. Oyanguren’s description of Tagalog

3.1. Word classes

In Spanish (or in English) there is a clear correspondence between morpho-lexical and syntactic categories. Morphological properties of the noun are usually clearly distinguishable from those of verbs. Many Asian languages do not have such a clear-cut division. According to Himmelmann (2005: 361) content words in Tagalog “do not have to be subclassified with regard to syntactic categories and they have all the same syntactic distribution, i.e. they all may occur as predicates, as (semantic) heads of noun phrases and as modifiers”. Oyanguren’s knowledge of the ‘root’ from Hebrew grammar probably helped him to find a solution for this descriptive problem. According to traditional Greco-Latin grammar, nouns have declensions and cases, opposed to verbs which have conjugations and tenses. In Renaissance Western grammars of Hebrew, the concept of the root (Latin ‘radix’) was introduced and the ‘radical’ (also ‘substantial’) letters determined the meaning (the ‘semanteme’), as opposed to the ‘servile’ (or ‘accidental’) letters that do not have a ‘meaning’ (see Zwartjes 2008). Oyanguren was not the first

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who introduced the term *raíz* 'root' in a grammar of Tagalog, since we find a detailed definition in the grammar of Blancas de San José. Nevertheless, the comparison between Tagalog and other languages are innovations by Oyanguren:

La lengua Tagala imita en su verbalizacion á la lengua Hebraica, pues tambien suele verbalizar sus nombres, como consta del Cap. 9. Genes. Iaphet elohim leiaphet: Mas la lengua Tagala excede en este supuesto a muchas lenguas, pues apenas ay parte de oracion Tagala, que no se pueda verbalizar segun la significacion, que se le quisiere dar, atendiendo siempre á la genuina inventiva de la lengua, que es metaphysica, y muy discreta [Tagalog resembles Hebrew regarding its 'verbalisation', since Hebrew also verbalises its nouns, as can be demonstrated by the example Cap. 9. Genes. *Iaphet Elohim leiaphet*. However, Tagalog exceeds many other languages in this respect, since there exists hardly any part of speech in Tagalog which cannot be verbalised, according to its meaning one wishes to give to it, maintaining the genuine inventiveness of this language, which is metaphysical and very discrete] (Oyanguren 1742: 72)

Supongo lo tercero, que las voces Tagalas son indiferentes para verbalizarlas, nominalizarlas, y adverbializarlas, y se acomodan, y asimilan á nuestra lengua Cantabrica Española, ó al Dialecto Japon, aunque aliter, & aliter [In the third place, I suppose that Tagalog words are indifferent (not morphologically marked as a noun, verb, etc.) and can be verbalised, nominalised or adverbialised, and they adjust and resemble our Spanish Cantabrian language or the Japanese dialect, although there are differences] (Oyanguren 1742: 174)

In the following citation from Oyanguren we read:

Es el verbo segun Nebrija una parte de la oracion, que tiene modos, y tiempos, y no tiene casos: esto se entiende del Verbo latino, porque en el Tagalysmo ay muchissimas raizes indiferentes, (como tambien en el Dialecto Mandarin Chinico) y aunque algunas raizes ex parte modi significandi parezcan verbos, vt, labas pr. sacar, ò salir: labis pp. derramarse, &c [According to Nebrija, the verb is a part of speech which has modes and tenses and lacks case; this is what we understand from the Latin verb, because in Tagalog there are many indifferent 'roots' (as occurs also in the Mandarin Chinese dialect), although some roots resemble verbs *ex parte modi significandi* (=by meaning) e.g. *labas*, 'to take', or 'to leave': *labis* 'to drain away', etc.] (Oyanguren 1742: 71)

In modern grammar, apart from the word 'root', often the concept of 'base' or 'stem' is used. A corresponding term existed in the period in question ('thema'), but Oyanguren does not use it. Schachter & Otanes (1972: 355-356) distinguish 1) simple bases, 2) derived bases, 3) compound bases and 4) phrasal bases. The first class, the simple bases can generate different word classes, as in the following examples:

kurbata 'tie' > *magkurbata* 'wear a tie'
ganda 'beauty' > *maganda* 'beautiful' > *gumanda* 'become beautiful'
 (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 355–356)

Probably, Oyanguren had such morphological processes in mind when he claimed that 'roots' can be verbalized, nominalized, etc. Derivation is no longer seen as a morphological process from one part of speech to another (nouns from verbs, verbs from nouns, etc.), but as verbs, nouns, etc., from 'roots'.

3.2. Inflection

According to Oyanguren, Asian languages do not have the same inflectional morphology as Latin or Spanish. In the following sections we shall analyse a selection of definitions related to the Greco-Latin 'nominal declensions and verbal conjugations'. (Remember that the author is attempting to 'reduce' Tagalog to Latin grammar, as far as this was possible: "en lo possible").⁷

3.2.1. Nominal declension, according to Oyanguren

3.2.1.1. Case

An important observation made by the author in the beginning of his grammar is that Tagalog does not have 'cases', as occurs in Hebrew and Castilian, but, instead of them, in this language certain 'particles' are used, which must be placed before the nouns:

Declinacion no es otra cosa ex vi nominis, que el apartamiento de los casos obliquos, del recto, ò nominativo, á quien los Logicos conocen por verdadero nombre. Los Tagalos imitan á los Hebreos en no tener casos propios; y se asemejan al Dialecto Castellano, en añadir anteponiendo unas particulas, ò articulos á los nombres, ò voces, para distinguir, y hacer sus casos [Declension is *ex vi nominis* nothing else than the setting apart of the oblique cases (=inflected) from the *casus rectus*, or nominative, which the Logicians label as 'the real noun'. Tagalog nouns resemble their Hebrew counterparts in not having proper cases,

⁷ "El motivo de escribir este Arte (aviendo tantos) es el nivelarlo en lo possible á la latinidad, poniendo reglas fixas, evitando con esto la confusion de tantos Artes, unos cortos, otros largos, otros muy confusos, pues á penas avrá Arte, que se parezca á otro; porque unos trasladan, y juntan de distintos Artes, otros mudan lo trasladado, y assi ay tantos Artes quantas cabezas, *quot homines tot artes*" [The reason why I have composed this grammar, among others, is the aim to equate this language to Latin, putting fixed rules, avoiding confusion which is present in so many other grammars, some of them brief, others voluminous, some of them confusing, since there hardly exists a grammar which resembles any other; some grammarians copy and put together from different grammars, others emend what has been copied, and thus, there are as many grammars as individuals. ("*quot homines tot artes*") (Oyanguren 1742: 2).

and they are equivalent to the Castilian Dialect regarding the preposition of some particles or articles before the nouns, or words, for the distinction and formation of their cases] (Oyanguren 1742: 15)⁸

3.2.1.2. Number

Nouns in Tagalog can be pluralized explicitly, but "the pluralization of a noun need not, and in some cases, in fact, cannot be formally signaled if the context makes the plural meaning clear. Without context the sentence *Nasa mesa ang libro* means 'The book is on the table'. But the same sentence can be used to mean 'The books are on the table' in a situation where both the speaker and the hearer know that more than one book is being referred to. (The insertion of the word *mga* before *libro* would make the plural meaning explicit...)" Schachter & Otnes (1972: 111). In Oyanguren's words:

Aunque los Tagalos no tienen concordancias de nominativo, y verbo; por no tener los verbos inflexion de personas imitan a los Japones, y Chinos en no tener personas el verbo y suelen tener alguna indiferencia en la cõcordancia del sustantivo, y adjetivo; pues tal vez concuerdan; y tal vez las voces son tambien indiferentes para singular, y plural [no obstante tienen articulos de pluralidad] [In the Tagalog language, concord between the nominative and the verb is non-existent, since their verbs do not inflect in person, resembling Japanese and Chinese, which do not mark person in their verbs either. In Tagalog there is generally some indifference in the concord between the substantive and the adjective, since in some cases they agree, and occasionally words are also indifferent for singular or plural (although some articles of plurality do exist)] (Oyanguren 1742: 34)

Oyanguren compares this feature with Basque, where nouns are strictly invariable for number, for example, *etxe* means indifferently 'house' or 'houses' (number can be understood by the use or absence of quantifiers or determiners). In English there is obligatory agreement in number between the subject and predicate of a sentence: *The man is a lawyer/The men are lawyers*. In Tagalog there is, in general, no obligatory number agreement between the predicate and the topic.⁹ As we can see, Oyanguren's description is fairly correct.

⁸ Cf. his grammar of Japanese: (Oyanguren 2009 [1738]: 4).

⁹ The term 'topic' is used as defined by Schachter & Otnes (1972: 60): "The topic expresses the focus of attention in the sentence. In many cases it corresponds to the subject of an English sentence ... But there are also many sentences in which a Tagalog topic is not translatable by an English subject, and, conversely, in which an English subject is not translatable by a Tagalog topic". There are, however, a few cases of obligatory number agreement, as well as of obligatory absence of number agreement (cf. Schachter & Otnes 1972: 111ff.).

3.2.1.3. Gender

One of the differences between European and Asian languages is the gender system. In Tagalog and in Mandarin, masculine, feminine, and neuter genders are not distinguished. Oyanguren postulates the existence of the dichotomy 'grammatical' versus 'philosophical genders', which is obviously an important and creative solution.

*Esta lengua es como nuestra lengua Vizcaína, ó como la lengua tagala, ó como la lengua de China, ó dialecto mandarino, que no tienen generos masculinos, femeninos, &c. para las concordancias, como sucede en la lengua Latina, y su dialecto la castellana, ó en los dialectos de la lengua griega: por lo qual careciendo de generos grammaticales, algunas de estas lenguas tienen sus generos philosophicos, como sucede en la lengua Vascongada. En la lengua mandarina no obstante ser los adjetivos comunes de tres: distinguen á los machos por la particula kung, y á las hembras por la particula mù, y aun tienen otros nombres particulares (hablando de animales) distintos de los machos de las hembras: y lo mesmo sucede en esta lengua Japona, en la qual los generos son comunes de tres, ó comunes de dos [This language is like our Basque language, or Tagalog, Chinese, or the Mandarin dialect, which do not have masculine, feminine, etc. genders for the construction of concord, as occurs in Latin and the Spanish dialect, or in the dialects of the Greek language; since these languages (=Japanese, etc.) lack gramatical gender, whereas some of them do have philosophical genders, as occurs in Basque. In Mandarin, however, adjectives are common to three (genders); they mark males with the particle *kung*, distinguishing them from the female where *mù* is used, and they even have some other particular names when they speak of animals, distinguishing the male from the female; and the same applies for Japanese, where gendres are common for three, or common for two] (Oyanguren 2009 [1738]: 52)*

In his grammar of Japanese, we find a similar description:

De los generos se puede discurrir lo mismo, que aunque no tienen generos grammaticales de masculino, y femenino, tienen unos generos logicos en algunas raizes conjugadas: en las quales las que sirven a los del genero masculino, no pueden servir al femenino, y otras raizes son indiferentes para uno, y otro sexo, y esto sucede en la lengua Hebrea, como lo tenemos probado en el Arte Cantabrico, que se escribió el año de 1715: en el Cantabrisimo elucidado, v.g. al varon se le dice: Houag cang umagolo, no te amancebes: á la hembra: houag cang paagolo: indiferente: houag mong calunyain no te amácebes; con él, ò cõ ella' [We can reflect upon the genders in the same manner, although grammatical genders, such as masculine and femenine are lacking, there exist some logical genders and some conjugated roots, some of them that are used for the masculine, cannot be used for the femenine, and other roots are indifferent regarding to one or another sex, and this

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occurs in the Hebrew language, as we have proven in the Basque Grammar, which was composed in 1715 and in the *Cantabrisimo elucidado*, e.g. to the male, one says: *Houag cang umagolo* "do not cohabit"; to the female: *houag cang paagolo*; and indifferently: *houag mong calunyain*, "do not cohabit, with him, or with her"] (Oyanguren 2009 [1738]: 70; Zwartjes 2010: 124)

Basque, his own native tongue, was again of great help. There are no noun classes, no grammatical gender and no noun classifiers in Basque and there are no gender distinctions either made within the system of free personal pronouns (Saltarelli 1988: 200).

3.2.2. Verbal inflection, according to Oyanguren

3.2.2.1. As we have seen in the paragraph devoted to grammatical gender of nouns, Oyanguren also distinguishes, in both his Japanese and Tagalog grammars, between those tenses which he labels as 'grammatical', as opposed to those which are 'philosophical'. Apparently, he was aware that not all traditional Latin tenses had inflectional morphology equivalents in Japanese and Tagalog.

el verbo Tagalog no tiene modos: Mas á esto se podia responder, que la lengua Tagala tiene sus tiempos filosoficos con sus incrementos como se vè claramente en los presentes, y futuros con la geminacion de la primera syllaba de la raiz, ó particula [The Tagalog verb does not have modes. The question why this is the case can be answered as follows: this language has its philosophical tenses with its increments, as can be seen clearly in the present and future tenses, reduplicating the first syllable of the root or particle] (Oyanguren 1742: 71)

3.2.2.2. The term 'affix' is used in Oyanguren's theory of verbal morphology:

La syntaxis del Verbo passivo Tagalo es de nominativo de persona que padece, verbo, y genitivo de persona que haze... En los tiempos de preterito su conjugacion es adgetiva, y no necessita de afixo como nuestra lengua Cantabrica, ni de verbo substantivo, como las lenguas Latina, Griega, y China [The syntax of the passive verb in Tagalog the person which is affected is its nominative, the verb, the person which acts is its genitive. In the preterite tenses the inflection is adjectival, and an affix is not required, just as in our Basque language, neither is a substantive verb (the copula 'to be') needed, as in Latin, Greek or Chinese] (Oyanguren 1742: 194)

We have to interpret this passage as follows. Oyanguren argues that in Tagalog the formation of the preterite of what he calls 'passives' (distinguishing three different types)¹⁰ is realized by the affixation of *particulas modales*, but it is not clear what forms

¹⁰ "In modern grammar, the Tagalog voice system consists of at least four voices. Actor voice marked by the infix *-um-*, (*-ung-* in Oyanguren) or the prefixes *mag*, or *maN*, patient voice by the suffix *-in*, locative voice by the suffix *-an*, and the conveyance voice by the prefix *i-*. The latter three voices share several semantic and formal characteristics, which makes it convenient to use *undergoer*

he had in mind when comparing Tagalog with his own language, Basque. Since he refers only to the preterite tense, he was probably not attempting to describe the agreement markers of subject/direct object and indirect object, but was probably alluding to the Basque tense marker *-en* (*-e/i(n)...n*). Synthetic verbs only have present and past forms, whereas periphrastic verbs exhibit a separate inflectional constituent. The past tense to which Oyanguren refers is marked by an auxiliary whose forms are distinct for the four basic predicate types (intransitive, intransitive-dative, transitive, and ditransitive) or by the infix *-en-* in the synthetic verbs. A characteristic feature in Basque is that all forms have the suffix *-(e)n*, as the following example illustrates:

atzo presa-ka z-en-bil-tz-en
yesterday hurry-ADV 2sA-PAST-walk-Ap.PAST
'Yesterday you walked in a hurry'

No comparable preterite marker exists in Tagalog. According to Oyanguren the first distinction to be made (when inflecting a Tagalog verb) is determining its 'voice' ('stem', or 'root') from which other 'tenses' and 'moods' are derived. This fundamental distinction had been made earlier by Blancas de San José:

Con solo seys tiempos se hazen todos los modos, y tiempos dellos, en todas quantas maneras de verbos ay, assi en actiua, como en passiua; y con una sola misma voz se hacen todas las personas y los dos números singular y plural. De manera que no hay amabam, amabas, amabat, etc. Sino una misma voz haze para todos [With only six endings, the modes and its tenses are constructed, both in the active and in the passive. And all the persons and the singular and plural numbers are formed using one single word, so that there are no forms, such as *amabam*, *amabas*, *amabat* (Latin, "I loved", "you loved", "he/ she loved", etc.), but one single form is used for all] (Blancas de San José 1997 [1610]; Quilis 1997: 49–50)

In Oyanguren's *Tagalysmo* we find a similar observation, but again he not only contrasts Tagalog with Latin, but he compares this language also with Chinese and Basque:

Los Tagalos no tienen inflexion en los verbos, y assi se ponen las personas, por tenerlas el verbo, como succede en la latinidad, ò entre Dialectos Griegos: imita en no tener personas el verbo à los Dialectos Chinos, y á nuestros Dialectos Cantabricos, ò vascõgados: por lo qual el Tagalysmo lo mismo es, conjugar verbo que conjugar todos ... [The Tagals do not have inflected verbs according to

voices as a cover term for them" (Himmelman 2005: 363). As we have seen, Oyanguren uses the term 'affix' but the term 'infix' was not known yet. This does not mean that he did not know the existence of infixes, since he describes their use in detail: "Y lo particular de este tiempo en esta de *ung*, es que las raíces de incial consonante intercalan entre la consonante, y vocal el *ung* [como se dixo arriba]; y si la inicial es vocal, se antepone el *ung*" [a particular feature of the conjugation with *ung* is that *ung* is infixed when the first letter of the roots is a consonant, and when the roots begin with a vowel, *ung* is prefixed] (Oyanguren 1742: 76–77).

person, as in Latin or Greek, but they have person in the verb (i.e., person is marked on the verb). Tagalog resembles Chinese and our Cantabrian or Basque dialects in not having persons in the verb (i.e. verbs are not inflected for person), so that in Tagalog the conjugation of one verb is conjugating all of them...] (Oyanguren 1742: 81)¹¹

With the *particulas modales* and the *particulas transcendentales* (1742: 81) the speakers of Tagalog construct their 'modal conjugations' (*conjugaciones modales*). Verbs are not composed by prefixing 'prepositions' (as in *legere colligere, intelligere*) as occurs in Latin, but with these 'modal' and 'transcendental' particles the meanings of the roots are modified, pluralized, and with these modal markers the verb can be given different meanings (imperative, permissive, etc.):

Con las conjugaciones antecedentes habla el Indio Tagalo su lengua: y de estas modales se sirue como de proposiciones (por carecer de ellas) para modificar la significacion de las raizes, intentando, pluralizando, mandando, permitiendo, las cosas de intento, ó acaso, y otras phrases de distintas significaciones...[The Tagal Indian speaks his language using the preceding conjugations, and these modal forms correspond to propositions (which are lacking in this language), and they serve to modify the meaning of the roots, 'attempting', 'pluralizing', 'commanding', 'permitting', things as 'intention', or 'coincidence' and other phrases with different meanings] (Oyanguren 1742: 130)

3.2.3. Towards a theory which distinguishes agglutination from inflection

From the 19th century, scholars were beginning to develop theories concerning the typological differences between agglutinative, inflectional and isolating languages. Probably, as far as we can trace, Oyanguren is the first in the history of linguistics who compared his native tongue Basque with Japanese, both of which he classifies as *lenguas subjuntivas*, an equivalent for 'agglutinative'. Oyanguren classifies Tagalog as a language which has 'invariable words' (*voces indiferentes*); 'absolute words' (*los absolutos*) are to be considered 'simple roots without composition' (*raizes simples y sin composicion*). Tagalog is a language where 'segments' are agglutinated (*agregación de partes*), although he admits that inflection in Tagalog is not totally non-existent:

¹¹ Similarly, in another section of his grammar (*Schemalexos Tagalidum*), he says: "Los Tagalos imitan à los Griegos, y latinos en las mas de las figuras, aunque *aliter*, & *aliter* por ser distintas las phrases, y accidentes de sus oraciones, carecer de concordancias, y inflexiones personales, todo lo qual se verifica en el Dialecto Chinico Mandarin" [Tagalog resembles Greek and Latin regarding the other figures of speech, albeit differently, since the phrasing of these languages is different as is the syntax of their clauses, lacking concord and personal inflection, which all can be verified in the Mandarin Chinese dialect] (Oyanguren 1742: 202).

Es un idioma compuesto por agregacion de partes, y assi la consideran los Tagalystas (no obstante que tienen su inflexion, y incremento los verbos) como los Chinos tambien hacen la misma consideracion de la suya [Tagalog is a language which is constructed by addition ('affixation') of parts, and this is the way the grammarians of Tagalog put it (irrespective of the existence of inflection or increment of the verbs) as the Chinese grammarians observe, referring to their language] (Oyanguren 1742: 37)

In conclusion, Oyanguren describes the use of prefixes, infixes and suffixes with astonishing detail, using the terms *afixo*, *incremento* and *agregación* and establishing the dichotomy between morphologically marked 'tenses' (*gramaticales*), as opposed to those which were not morphologically marked (*philosophicos/logicales*). In modern descriptions, 'tenses' in the Latin sense (i.e. present, imperfect, future, etc.) do not play a prominent role in the verbal paradigm, but rather 'focus', 'voice' and 'aspect', as the table (from Himmelmann 2005) in the Appendix demonstrates.

Oyanguren's description is far from comprehensive and we do not find a systematic analysis of these 'aspects', but when comparing his approach to the paradigms we find in modern studies, we can conclude that Oyanguren was not strictly following canonical Latin paradigms; he was trying to fit the linguistic data into a new framework.

3.3. Syntax

3.3.1. Word order

When Oyanguren describes word order in Japanese, he follows his predecessors, Colado and Rodrigues, although he adds that Japanese shares some features with Basque. He recognises that Japanese is an 'SOV' language:

Ponese el nominativo al principio de la oracion, y el verbo suele finalizar, ó terminarla, como se vee en muchos exemplos, que tiene el Vocabulario, el adverbio no suele seguir al verbo, antes le suele anteceder, las otras partes de la oracion se colocan segun cupieren, y el uso lo demuestra, aunque los adverbios de tiempo suelen posponer [The nominative has to be placed at the beginning of the sentence; the verb is generally placed at the end, as can be seen in many examples to be found in the *Vocabulario*, usually the adverb does not follow the verb, but generally it comes before it; the other parts of speech are placed at random, and language use demonstrates where to put them in the sentence, although time adverbs usually follow the verb] (Oyanguren 1742: 138)

When Oyanguren describes Chinese word order, he concludes that in this language the active ('or transitive') verb 'governs' the accusative (= 'direct object'), which has to be placed after the verb (SVO):

El verbo activo Chino rige acusativo despues de si, aunque no tenga particula, que lo determine á dicho caso: v.g. gò gai tien chù, yo amo a Dios. [The active verb in Chinese governs the accusative which comes after it, although it does not have a particle which determines such case, e.g. gò gai tien chù, 'I love God']. (Oyanguren 1742: 201)

In his chapter on compound adjectives, Oyanguren concludes that Chinese follows the opposite order compared to Tagalog:

El dialecto Chinico mandarin ordinariamente compone sus adgetivos al contrario de los Tagalos. [Mandarin Chinese composes its adjectives opposite to those of Tagalog]. (Oyanguren 1742: 49)

3.3.2. Agreement

The non-existence of 'accidents' such as gender and number also had implications for verbal agreement:

Ordinariamente los Tagalystas dicen, que en este Idioma, ni ay concordancias, ni generos, y siendo una lengua de tanta reflexion, y tan metaphysica no avia de faltar en uno, ni en otro, aunque lenguajes ay en que no se dan generos grammaticales, sino es logicales, como succede en nuestra lengua Cantabrica en la conjugacion de los mismos verbos, y aun en la lengua Hebrea [Usually, the Tagalog grammarians maintain that concord and gender are non-existent in this language. According to them, this language should not have any shortcomings, since it is a language with so much reflection, and which is so metaphysical. However, there are languages where grammatical gender is also lacking, but instead of it, they have logical gender, as occurs in our Basque language as far as the conjugation of the verbs is concerned; this applies even to Hebrew.] (Oyanguren 1742: 69)

4. Conclusion

It is obvious that Oyanguren's aim was not writing a study on linguistic typology. He never presents his linguistic observations and interlinguistic comparisons systematically, but if we situate these observations in its historical context, his pioneering observations are unique and worth to be studied, since they contain some crucial aspects of the phonology, morphology and syntax of three unrelated Asian languages, one agglutinating with mainly suffixes (Japanese), another agglutinating with mainly prefixes (Tagalog) and an isolating language (Chinese). It would be unfair to look only at Oyanguren's often inconsistent methodology and at his terminology which is not always transparent as seen through the eyes of a modern linguist, since in this article we have demonstrated that Oyanguren was trying to give a new dimension to descriptive linguistics, not only

by highlighting similarities between languages, but even more frequently, by pointing out differences between languages. This innovative approach was obviously not inspired by any previous grammarians. It was unique for a missionary grammarian to pay so much attention to linguistic typology. Some missionary linguists composed grammars of two or more different, even unrelated languages, as did, for instance, Luis de Valdivia (1561–1642), who wrote grammars of Mapudungun (Mapuche) and Millcayac/Allentiac. Nevertheless, we do not find any comparisons or cross references in these grammars between these languages. Oyanguren attempted to fit the linguistic data of unrelated languages into the categories of Nebrija's model, but in the subtitle of his Tagalog grammar the addition of the words *en lo posible* ["as far as possible"], he demonstrated that he was fully aware that the linguistic facts encountered in Asia were so different from Latin, that some of them could not fit into Nebrija's framework. Oyanguren came to the insight that suffixation and agglutination cast new light on Latin grammar which was always considered to be 'universal', but when 'exotic' languages were discovered, such views had to be re-written.

Appendix

	Actor focus				Object focus		
	Root	Comp	Inc	Cont	Comp	Inc	Cont
paint (art)	pinta	nagpinta	nagpipinta	magpipinta	ipininta	ipinipinta	pipintahin
paint (on an object)	pinta	nagpinta	nagpipinta	magpipinta	pinintahan	pinipintahan	pipintahan
park (in the garage)	garahe	naggarahe	naggagarahe	maggagarahe	iginarahé	iginagarahe	igagarahe
park (parking lot)	parada	pumarada	pumaparada	parapada	ipinarada	ipinaparada	ipaparada

Table 1

Comp=Completed (Perfective) Aspect – action started and terminated

Inc=Incompleted (Imperfective) Aspect – action started but not yet completed

Cont=Contemplated Aspect – action not started but anticipated or contemplated

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