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**Revolusi! Rebolusyon!:  
A Filipino Revisiting of Benedict Anderson's  
"The Languages of Indonesian Politics" (1966)**

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**Abstract**

The essay "The Languages of Indonesian Politics" (1966) was one of the first published works in Benedict Anderson's long and distinguished career. In that seminal work, he introduced the concept of "revolutionary Malay" which he asserted was the basis for the construction of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language. According to him, the prerequisite for the development of "revolutionary Malay" was the appropriation of Dutch as the "inner language" of the bilingual nationalist intelligentsia. From its explosive rise, Anderson then traces the fate and vicissitudes of "revolutionary Malay" through the immediate post-revolutionary era, the downfall of Soeharto and the advent of Soeharto's Orde Baru. This paper proposes that the concept of "revolutionary Malay" could be employed as a comparative tool in understanding the earlier Philippine experience of language and revolution at the turn of the twentieth century. This study will therefore delve into the three vocabularies (i.e., nationalist, bureaucratic and radical) in Tagalog which Anderson saw as constituting a "revolutionary" vernacular by initially looking at the example of *tao* (person, human being).

Benedict Anderson's essay on the "Javanese concept of power" (1972) is a central reference in his body of work. This essay exerted a significant influence on several Filipino scholars, most notably on Reynaldo Ileto, due to certain family resemblances they observed between the so-called "Javanese concept of power" and certain traditional Philippine practices. Anderson's method in that essay was a systematic reconstruction of a particular Javanese concept of "power" through the use of literary, linguistic, historical and ethnographic sources. It should be clear to careful readers that Anderson was not positing any ahistorical or homogeneous conception of Javanese power. He was fully aware of the methodological difficulties involved in undertaking such a project. One would do well to read the footnote where he wrote:

In the ensuing discussion of Javanese political ideas, I am attempting to map out a pure model for analytical purposes. Traditional Javanese political culture was an extremely complex phenomenon, in which, as in any other culture, it would be naïve to try to discern complete consistency. In that traditional culture an indigenous matrix was

imperfectly compounded with heterogeneous Brahmanic, Buddhist, and Islamic elements. Nonetheless, the slow process of absorption and synthesis over the centuries prior to the “coming of the West” permitted the crystallization of a relatively high degree of internal consistency. The model I am trying to delineate is thus an “ideal type” which should not be taken as a historical reality... Java’s subjection to Western political, economic and cultural domination has, particularly in the past hundred years, set in motion an irremediable process of decrystallization. Contemporary Javanese political culture is therefore a heterogeneous, disjunctive, and internally contradictory complex of traditional and Western elements, with a lower degree of internal logic and coherence than in the past... (20)

If, in the essay on Javanese power, Anderson was attempting to arrive at a kind of abstract ideal type, an essay he wrote six years earlier seems to point towards a more concrete and dynamic analysis of Indonesian cultural and linguistic phenomena. Anderson’s essay on “The Languages of Indonesian Politics” (1966) came out in the first issue of the journal *Indonesia*. It was the very moment in time that he had developed an expertise in Javanese language and literature at the age of thirty. In that essay, he developed the very suggestive notion of “revolutionary Malay.” Anderson wrote:

No one has yet attempted to look at the language of contemporary Indonesia as an enterprise for the mastery of a gigantic cultural crisis, and a partly subconscious project for the assumption of "modernity" within the modalities of an autonomous and autochthonous social-political tradition. Yet this is of decisive importance for the generations that lie ahead, since with every decade that passes, "Indonesian" is becoming more and more the one language through which Indonesians of all kinds are coming to grips with modern and ancient realities. The polyglots of the colonial and early post-revolutionary period are slowly beginning to disappear from the scene. The "new Indonesian" is therefore of paramount importance for the shaping of the younger Indonesian national consciousness. (124)

To start off, Anderson characterized colonial Indonesia as a “bureaucratic wonderland: a cluster of interacting but basically separate linguistic and cultural universes, linked by the miracle of modern bureaucratic and technical organization” (124). He observed that such discontinuities between “linguistic-cultural universes were fundamental to the structure of colonialism” and that, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the effort to overcome these linguistic discontinuities among the Indonesian intelligentsia mainly took the form of bilingualism (125). However, Anderson observes that “since the psychological effort to maintain equilibrium between two universes is so immense that few could sustain it. The early radicals who leapt out into Dutch and ‘conquered’ the organization and methodology of colonial society became increasingly isolated from the aboriginal Indonesian world.” (One remembers, the passage in Jose Rizal’s *El Filibusterismo* where the character Simoun castigates members of the Filipino intelligentsia who took pride in speaking Spanish while neglecting their mother tongues to the point that they could no longer properly write and speak in these languages.) The generation which succeeded this bilingual intelligentsia therefore had to take up the task of forming “a

counter-language to Dutch, a modern, nationalist language, which would in itself reestablish the connection with Indonesian traditions, without compelling each individual to master the crisis internally through a bilingual conquest" (126). This younger intelligentsia, had to advance towards a "radical absorption of Dutch as a 'whole'" by means of the possibilities offered by a new language. Anderson thus proposed the seeming paradox that the "spread of Indonesian as a national language was only possible *once Dutch had become the inner language of the intelligentsia*: Only then could Indonesian be developed to receive the new thinking..." (RG – italics mine) One particularly important aspect of bilingualism for Anderson was that it allowed for the transmission of Russian Marxist theories on colonialism and imperialism to the Indonesian intellectual elite. According to him, "Dutch socialist and communist writing affected virtually the whole of the intelligentsia of the '20s and '30s. For this reason a socialist-communist vocabulary became the common property of the entire nationalist elite of those years." The acquisition of Dutch as an "inner language" implied that the process of thinking in Dutch while writing (or speaking) in Malay was a necessary part of the process in which "Dutch thoughts" became expressible in Malay, thereby rendering Dutch superfluous as a language in Indonesia.

An example of thinking in Dutch while writing in Malay, is a sentence from the Indonesian communist leader Tan Malaka's book *Madilog* (1943/2008) which reads "penjajah mentahka dia." This is quite hard to understand: *penjajah* means colonizer, *mentah* means "unripe" or "raw," *dia* means "his/her." I asked Ben Anderson what he thought of this and he couldn't make out the meaning. On the other hand, Hilmar Farid (email 1/24/13) (a scholar-activist who is now the Director General of Culture in Indonesia), proposed that Tan Malaka was thinking in Dutch and therefore literally translated the Dutch word *rauwe* (similar to "raw" in English and almost exactly the same in meaning as *roh* in German) which means to be "rough, without regard or consideration" (*kasar, tidak peduli yang lain*). The sentence therefore could be translated as "if the oppressor was rough and inconsiderate" or *kasar* (in contrast to *halus*). Tan Malaka, was fluent in revolutionary Malay precisely because he was sometimes thinking in Dutch while writing in Malay.

Anderson's essay thus set out to answer the following question as part of a future research agenda:

How has "Revolutionary Malay" set about the task of disciplining and uniting the bureaucratic colonial vocabulary, the Western democratic-socialist vocabulary, the nationalist-revolutionary vocabulary, and that of Javanese tradition? (126)

How did this new language, "develop into a means of communication that can not only express Indonesian nationalism, but also Indonesian aspirations, Indonesian traditions and international realities - within the limits of a single vocabulary" (124)? Anderson's concept of "revolutionary Malay" with its four main components, seems to useful when transposed to a notion of what we may call "revolutionary Tagalog." A possible project would be to reconstruct or trace the rise of revolutionary Tagalog in the late nineteenth century until the first two decades of the twentieth century when the ship of revolutionary Tagalog finally crashes on the rocky shores of



as *gente* [people, folk], and gives the example: *Mey tauo sa Simbahan, hay gente en la Iglesia* [There are people in the church]. Like San Buenventura, Noceda and Sanlucar also define *cataouhan* as *humanidad*. These two dictionaries from the periods spanning the beginning and that towards the end of Spanish colonization apparently do not indicate any major transformations in the Tagalog meanings of *tao*. However, the question arises if *cataouhan* was a concept originally independent of Christian theology or if it was devised specifically to serve as an equivalent to *humanidad*, which had its origins as part of a specialized Christological vocabulary (Bödeker 1982, 1063).

#### IV. Nationalist Vocabulary: Translation I (*Guillermo Tell* by Friedrich Schiller (1886))

“Wilhelm Tell” is considered Friedrich Schiller’s (1759-1805) most popular play. It was published and performed in 1804, a year before Schiller’s death. Upon the request of his brother Paciano, who was apparently keen on using it for nationalist propagandistic purposes, Jose Rizal translated Schiller’s “Wilhelm Tell” from German to Tagalog in the years 1886 to 1887. The translation was first published in a heavily revised and rather unfaithful version by Mariano Ponce (1907). (The National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) produced a new edition (2013) of what they apparently thought was Rizal’s “Guillermo Tell”, but the NHCP actually just reprinted the Ponce edition with modernized spelling.) Schiller’s work was written in a period of transition in the development of European (and specifically German) political concepts and has been called the “agit-prop play” of German Idealism (Cf. Guillermo (2009) for a more in depth discussion and analysis). Koselleck (1972) called the period from 1750-1850, in which Schiller, Goethe and Hegel produced their works, the *Sattelzeit* (threshold period). This extraordinarily productive period gave birth to a new European political language.

Translational neutralization is an observable feature in Rizal’s process of translating several different European words into a single Tagalog equivalent. *Tao* is one of the most interesting cases (Figure 2). Hierarchical feudal categories in German pertaining to high-born and aristocratic individuals such as *Herr* [master], *Ritter*, *Adel* and *Edel* were generally translated by Rizal unproblematically as *tao* who are *mataas* [high, high-born] or *mahal* [cherished, beloved, honoured]. Rizal does not use the Tagalog class or status categories of *maginoo*, *maharlika*, *timawa* etc. (Scott 1980). More generic concepts of *tao* such as *Mann* [man], *Mensch* [human being, person] or *Leute* [people, folk] are also more or less unproblematically equivalent to *tao* as defined in the Spanish dictionaries as *hombre*, *persona* and *gente*. More interesting is Rizal’s idiomatic translation of *Menschlichkeit* [humanity in the moral sense] as *pagkatao*. The era when Schiller was writing was the moment when the modern conceptualizations of the German concept of *Menschlichkeit* (and *humanité* in French) were consolidating and taking shape. The history of the concept of *humanité* in French from the seventeenth century onwards reveals three major strands: (1) The character of that which is human or human nature (*le caractère de ce qui est humain* or *la nature humaine*); (2) a sense of kindness, of benevolence for one’s neighbour which makes one feel compassion or pity for other men (*un sentiment du bonté, de bienveillance pour son prochain qui fait éprouver compassion ou pitié pour le reste des hommes*); (3) mankind as a whole, all men (*le genre humain dans son ensemble, tous les hommes*) (Duranton 2000, 11-12). On the other hand, in the German language, the theological

senses of *Menschheit* carried over into the eighteenth century in the senses of humanity (*Mitmenschlichkeit*) and love for one's neighbour (*Nächstenliebe*). From the mid-eighteenth century onward it acquired the sense of self-determining and autonomous subjectivity (*sich selbst bestimmende, autonome Subjektivität*) and a regulative principle in socio-political thought (*regulatives Prinzip des sozio-politischen Denkens*). In the same period, the quantitative and collective meaning denoting all human beings (*alle Menschen*), formerly very rare, began to enter popular usage. (Bödeker 1982, 1063-1064)

In Rizal's translation of *Menschlichkeit* as *pagkatao*, it appears that being human itself implies the possession of a sense of concern for one's fellow human being which merges both the ontological and the theological senses of the German concept. Rizal's further innovation is to translate the concept of *Natur* [nature] likewise as *pagkatao* [being human] and as *magandang loob ng kapwa tao* [the good will of the fellow human being]. The German phrase *Bande der Natur* [natural ties] therefore becomes *tali ng pagkatao* [human ties]. Nature is dissolved into the moral inflection of human nature and loses the characteristic it has in European languages of being a distinctive political idiom (*la nature humaine* loses its first term and retains only the second). The German word *Bürger* which uniquely implies both the senses of "citizen" (*citoyen*) and "bourgeois" is translated by Rizal in one instance as simply *tao*, in other instances it is translated as *tao sa bayan* [people of the country] and *kababayan* [fellow countryman], coming very close to the modern equivalent *mamamayan* in his translation of *Bürgereid* [citizen's oath] as *sumpang pamamayan* [oath of citizenship].

For the most part, the translational neutralization of *Herr, Ritter, Adel, Edel, Mann, Mensch* and *Leute* in Rizal's version pose no challenge or strain to the received meanings of *tao*. It is in the translation of *Menschlichkeit, Bürger* and *Natur* in the *tao* idiom that the semantic range of *tao* is tested. The role of the concept of "nature" and, more specifically, the "state of nature" in European revolutionary discourse is well-known. In fact, this idiom is central to the ideological system of "Wilhelm Tell." For example, a famous passage in the play includes the sentence: *Der alte Urstand der Natur kehrt wieder, Wo Mench dem Menschen gegenübersteht* (The ancient state of nature returns, where man faces other men). This is translated by Rizal in a way which completely effaces the concept of nature: *Nagbabalik ang matandang lagay ng lupa, kapag sa tao humahadlang ang kapwa tao* (The ancient condition of the land returns, when man stood in the way of his fellow man). Rizal's neutralization of "nature" as *tao* in Tagalog would not resolve the issue of adequate translational equivalence. Eventually, *kalikasan* (from the root word *likas* [natural]) would be devised as a direct translation of *naturaleza/nature*.

#### V. Bureaucratic Vocabulary: Translation II (*Panukala sa Pagkakana nang Repúblika nang Pilipinas (1898)*)

Apolinario Mabini's self-translation of his *Programa Constitucional de la República Filipina* (1898) into Tagalog as *Panukala sa Pagkakana nang Republika nang Pilipinas (1898)* can be considered one of the most important artifacts in the corpus of revolutionary Tagalog (superseded by the *Malolos Constitution* in 1899). Mabini wrote the following in the dedication to his translation,

Sa M. Presidente nang Gobierno Revolucionario ó Pamunoang Tagapagbañgong puri, Si Apolinario Mabini, taglay ang puspos na galang, ay dumudulog po sa inyo at nagsasaysay: Sa pagka't di nalilinġid sa kaniya na sa ganitong kapiitan nang bayan ay may katungkulan ang sino mang taga Pilipinas na umabuloy sa boong makakaya sa pagtatayo nġ lubhang malaking gawa nġ ating pagbabagong buhay, at natatanto din ang pagkakailanġang magcaroon ang bayan nġ kamunti man lamang pagkaaninaw tungcol sa katatayoan at pagkabuhay nġ isang bayang nagsasarilí, upang macapamily nġ lalong maigui, ay sumulat nġ isang munting libro na ang Pamagát ay «Panukala sa Pagkakana nang Repúblika nang Pilipinas».

To the President of the Revolutionary Government, I, Apolinario Mabini, respectfully approaches and narrates the following: Because it is not unknown to him that in this time of national crisis that each one who lives in the Philippines has a duty to contribute wholeheartedly in the pursuit of the extremely difficult work of revolution, and he is also aware of the need of the people to have even just a little understanding of the conditions and ways of life of an independent nation, in order to decide more intelligently, has written a small book entitled *Proposed Constitution of the Philippine Republic*.

Mabini translated his draft constitution into a very confident and assured Tagalog which was meant to give the *bayan* [people], even just a little understanding (*kamunti man lamang pagkaaninaw*) of the great changes then taking place. (Almario published his Filipino translation of Mabini's constitution in the belief that no Tagalog translation existed (2015, 7).) All of the necessary nationalist and legal vocabularies for running the machinery of the state were laid out in that work. *Tauo* is used to translate *hombre* [man] (*los deberes del hombre* [the duties of man] > *catungculan nġ tauo* [the duties of man]), *humana* [human] (*la vida humana* [human life] > *cabuhayan nġ tauo* [the life of people]). Importantly, *pueblo* [people] is translated as *tauong bayan* [the people] which is still a very prominent usage in contemporary Tagalog. The notion of "individual" (*individuo*) is notably elided or rendered merely as *tauo*. For example, *derechos individuales* [individual rights] is translated simply as *catuirang quiniquilala dito* [the rights which are recognized here]; *cada individuo* [each individual] is rendered as *isa't isa* [each one]; *los individuos* [the individuals] as *ang mga tauo* [the persons]. The Spanish concept of *conciencia* [conscience] seems to strongly collocate with *individuo* in Mabini's text, producing phrases such as *conciencia de cada individuo* [conscience of each individual] which is translated as *consiensia nġ bauat tauo* [the conscience of each person] and *las conciencias individuales* [the individual consciences] translated as *consiensia nang bauat catauo* [conscience of each person].

This work bears comparison with the first constitutional draft of the Republic of Indonesia, *Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia* (1945). One of the three main drafters of the 1945 Indonesian constitution was the legal scholar Soepomo (1903-1950) who had studied at the University of Leiden and was influenced by the German historian of law Otto von Gierke and the latter's organicist doctrine of *Genossenschaftstheorie* (Gueci 2000). Somewhat in

advance of Mabini, Ito Hirobumi (1841-1909), who would later become the first prime minister of Japan, famously also undertook a study tour of Germany in 1882. Coming under the influence of Lorenz von Stein, a professor of law at the University of Vienna, Ito decided on pursuing a Japanese constitution on conservative Prussian lines (Thompson 2016). The elision of the *individual* in Mabini's draft program also occurs in the Indonesian constitution of 1945 where there is likewise no mention of the notion of "individual rights" even while there is a consistent usage of the phrase *tiap-tiap warga negara* [each citizen]. The modern notion of "individual" in European languages is deeply imbricated in notions of social contracts and rights which as Anderson observes in his essay on "Javanese power," have no practical purchase on Indonesian politics as such.

#### VI. Radical Vocabulary: Translation III (*Dalawang Magbubukid* by Errico Malatesta (1913))

Jose Ma. Sison's (1966) influential sketch of the history of the worker's movement in the Philippines relates that the two books which had allegedly served as the basis for the Constitution of the Union Obrera Democratica (UOD) (the first Philippine labor union established in 1902 under the leadership of Isabelo de los Reyes (1864-1938)) were *Vida e Obras de Carlos Marx* by Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) and *Los Dos Campesinos* by the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta (1853-1932). (This account was based on Ildefonso Runes' primary research on the Philippine labor movement some parts of which would later be published in *The Manila Chronicle* (1967).) William Henry Scott, on the other hand, writes that Isabelo de los Reyes returned to the Philippines from Spain in 1901 with a library which included such authors as Kropotkin, Proudhon, Malatesta and Marx. Copies of Marx and Malatesta were then supposedly given by de los Reyes to the labor leaders Hermenegildo Cruz and Arturo Soriano (Scott 1992). These were presumably the works mentioned by Sison except that it was Marx rather than Engels who was mentioned by Scott as being the author of one of the volumes. One could actually analyze the UOD's Constitution as consisting of an interesting combination of anarchist and Marxist principles at the time when the Marxist and anarchist camps had already broken up ideologically and organizationally in Europe (after the Hague Congress of 1872). Errico Malatesta's famous pamphlet, originally entitled *Fra contadini: dialogo sull'anarchia* (Florence 1884) was later translated, most likely from the Spanish, by Arturo Soriano under the pseudonym Kabisang Tales (a character from Rizal's *El Filibusterismo*) and published as *Dalawang magbubukid (entre campesinos): mahalagang salitaan ukol sa pagsasamahan ng mga tao* (Manila 1913). This short work is the only complete translation of a classic work of anarchism into the Tagalog language. Malatesta, who was a close collaborator of such figures as Mikhail Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin should more plainly be dubbed an anarchist instead of being labeled rather vaguely as a "radical socialist" which is the term used by Sison. Malatesta's pamphlet was also erroneously given the title *Los Dos Campesinos* which is simply a back-translation from the Tagalog (*Dalawang Magbubukid* or *Two Peasants*) rather than referring to the correct Spanish title *Entre Campesinos*, which is actually included in brackets within the Tagalog title (Scott 1992).

Locating the probable editions of these two books which were supposedly used in drafting the UOD Constitution faced major obstacles. Pedro Ribas' (1981) rigorous bibliographical essay on the introduction and translation of Marxist works into Spanish from 1869 to 1939 contains no work by Engels entitled *Vida e Obras de Carlos Marx*. The most similar title in the listing is *Carlos Marx. Recuerdos sobre su persona y su obra*, but this was estimated by Ribas (1981) to have been published in Madrid only as late as 1932. It seems likely that a book by Engels with such a title even in the original German had never existed. On the other hand, twelve editions of Malatesta's pamphlet dating from the beginning of the 20th century are currently available in the archives of Salamanca. The most accessible version which will be consulted in this study is the one which was revised by Malatesta in 1913 and translated by the anarchist writer Diego Abad de Santillan (1897-1983) for publication in *Tierra y Libertad* in 1936. Until the Spanish translation upon which the Tagalog translation had been based is identified, no rigorous evaluation of the process of rearticulation of anarchist ideas into Tagalog is possible. However, the analysis below will consult de Santillan's translation (DAS) as a kind of reference point, a hypothetical source text, in analyzing the Soriano's Tagalog translation (AS).

Words such as *gente* [people, folk] and *persona* [person] in DAS when rendered in AS as *tao* does not seem problematic. However, instances in DAS where *humano* [human] appears in AS as *tao* is a rather more complex case. (Figure 3) In DAS, *humano* is collocated with *deber* [duty], *género* [genre, class, kind] and *bienestar* [well-being]. On the one hand, *género humano* [human species] in DAS, or the ontological fact of being human, appears in AS as *pagkatao* [being human]. On the other hand, *deber humano* [human duty], the moral dimension of being human, in DAS appears in AS as *pagpapakatao* [literally translatable as "the striving to be human"]. This distinction in AS contrasts with Rizal's translation of *Menschlichkeit* as *pagkatao* which reflects the moral rather than the ontological dimension. Both Soriano's and Rizal's renderings imply in different ways the Tagalog saying, "Madali maging tao pero mahirap magpakatao" (it is easy to be a human being but difficult to attain humanity), which suggests a gap between the ontological and the ethical. *Hombre*, in DAS which is the term most frequently paralleled in AS as *tao*, is a rather interesting case. It collocates with *derecho* [right], as in the phrase *los hombres tienen el derecho* [men have the right] which is rendered in AS as *mga tao'y laging may karapatan* [persons always have rights]. The word *karapatan* [right] was in fact a rather new coinage at the time the translation was written, its collocation with *tao* was therefore a new linguistic phenomenon. In contrast to Soriano, Rizal, did not have any direct translation of "right" [*Recht* in German] at his disposal when he was translating "Wilhelm Tell."

*Individuo* and *individual*, are relatively new usages in European languages inseparable from the French Revolution and the rise of the bourgeoisie. The concept of the individual is inseparable from the metaphysical notion of pre-social possession of rights by persons who then enter or leave society at will. In DAS, *individual* and *individuo* collocate with *aislado* [isolated, as in "isolated individual"] but most often with *propiedad* [property],

mejor que yo. mientras exista la propiedad individual, o sea, mientras la tierra y todo lo  
tire adelante, peor se estará. con la propiedad individual cada uno trata de vender su mercancía  
que podría ser; porque cuando existe la propiedad individual, la producción está cohibida y fuera de  
de todos los obstáculos derivados de la propiedad individual, crece más rápidamente que la población

monarquía, los hechos que derivan de la propiedad individual son siempre los mismos. la competencia os «socialistas» creen que aboliendo la propiedad individual, o sea la causa, se abolirá al propio lista», preguntadle si quiere abolir la propiedad individual, o en una palabra, si quiere o no

This whole way of speaking is reflected in Macpherson's concept of "possessive individualism" which is premised on the idea that, "The individual is essentially the proprietor of his own person and capacities, for which he owes nothing to society" (1990, 263). Property accrues to the individual and not to human beings, to persons or to man as such. *Individual* and *individuo* is neutralized in AS as *tao* and collocates it with *pagmamay-ari* [property] to produce the phrase *pagmamay-ari ng tao* (property of persons) which parallels *propiedad individual* [individual property] in DAS without recourse to any distinct Tagalog term. (Cf. Scott's (1994) discussion pre-hispanic Filipino concepts of property to trace the history of this problem.)

*Sociedad* [society], also another new usage coeval with the concept of individual in eighteenth century European, or more specifically French (*société*) political thought, is paralleled into the *tao* idiom as *pagsasamahan ng tao* [the community of persons]. *Social* in DAS is matched in AS by both *pagsasamahan ng tao* and *pag-aayos ng tao* [the order of persons]. Hence the subtitle of the translation as "mahalagang salitaan ukol sa pagsasamahan ng mga tao" (an important dialogue about society). *Sistema* in DAS appears in AS in the *tao* idiom as *panuntunan ng tao* (rules/regulations of human beings). *Revolución* in DAS is appears in AS either in its common nineteenth century equivalent *himagsikan* [revolution] or in an explanatory form in the *tao* idiom as *pagbabagong-ayos ng tao* [re-ordering of people]. A post-revolutionary social arrangement called *la nueva sociedad* [the new society] in DAS is rendered in AS as *bagong pagsasamahan ng mga tao* [new community of people].

In contrast with the more easily assimilable *gente*, *persona* and *humano*, it can easily be observed that terms such as *individuo*, *sociedad*, *social*, *sistema* and *revolución* which have been absorbed into the idiom of *tao* are in a relationship of higher semantic tension with it. In these latter cases, the terms are either directly borrowed or they break away and generate new lexical equivalents from preexistent or newly minted words. The invention of the word *lipunan* [society] and the borrowing of *rebolusyon* [revolution] during the first decades of the twentieth century are cases in point. *Indibidwal* [individual] would also attain some currency in the latter half of the twentieth century.

## VII. From Revolutionary Tagalog to National Language

Lazaro Francisco was born 1898 in Orani, Bataan and lived in Nueva Ecija until his passing at the age of 82 years old in 1980. He is one of the most prolific authors in the Tagalog (or "Pilipino") language. He was awarded the Republic Cultural Heritage Award in 1970. Four of his novels will be included in the digital text corpus for analysis. Francisco's novel *Ama* (Father) was first published in 1929, his later novels *Maganda pa ang Daigdig* (The World is Still Beautiful) were printed in 1955 and its sequel *Daluyong* (Deluge) in 1962. The novel *Ilaw sa Hilaga* (Aurora Borealis) was first written 1931 and twice revised for publication in 1947 and 1977. Francisco was well known for his unflinching and realistic portrayals of exploitation and oppression in the

countryside. In spite of this, his world outlook was a deeply conservative one which opposed any revolutionary stirrings even among the most desperately downtrodden and advocated ethical and moral solutions to social conflicts at the level of the individual and national whole. Francisco consistently deploys in Tagalog, “the classic argument of conservative ideology, an argument that aims at belittling the importance of the objective transformation of political institutions compared to the moral change ‘within the inner man’ (*in interiore homine*)” (Losurdo 2004). The novel *Ama* is one of the most elegant and classical expressions of this conservative mode of thought in Tagalog in which all social questions are reduced to moral ones. As one of Philippine radicalism’s most eloquent opponents, Francisco’s career as a writer spanned the whole period from period around the founding of the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (Communist Party of the Philippines) (PKP) in 1930 to the revolutionary ferment of the sixties. The digital text of Francisco’s corpus makes up a total of approximately 383,737 words.

In his French translation of Francisco’s *Ama* (2012), Jean-Paul Potet interestingly reinterprets some Tagalog passages as reflecting the concept of the “individual” (*individu*). The Tagalog phrase, “pagkilala sa karapatan ng isang kung sino” (recognize the rights of *this nobody*), is translated by him as, “reconnaitre les droits d’un *individu*” (recognize the rights of an individual). Another example, “pinagwawatak-watak sila ng *pagkakaniyahan*” (they were torn apart by their attitude of each going his own way), was translated as “*désunis par l’individualisme*” (divided by their individualism). Traces of what may be an anarchist lineage is felt in a sentence which a character from the novel supposedly quotes from a famous philosopher, “‘Ano ang kapisanan? Ang kapisanan ay sabwatan lamang ng marami laban sa isa, o ng nakararami laban sa iilan!’” (‘What is an association? An association is just a conspiracy of the many against the one, or the majority against the few!’). The character of the novel concludes from this that associations necessarily fetter and limit the *tao*’s freedom of thought, conscience and belief (paglalagay ng gapos sa kalayaan ng isip, ng budhi, at ng paniniwala ng tao). Potet translates this as the “fettering the free-will, the conscience and the convictions of an individual!” (un cas d’entrave au libre-arbitre, à la conscience et aux convictions d’un *individu*!). (These examples are only from the first two chapters of Potet’s translation.)

Amado V. Hernandez was born 1903 in Hagonoy, Bulacan, and died in 1970. He was posthumously given, together with Francisco, the Republic Cultural Heritage Award in 1970. In the fifties, he headed the Congress of Labor Organizations (CLO), the largest labour federation at the time, and was arrested by the Philippine state for communist subversion and served a long prison sentence. He is considered a central figure in twentieth century political radicalism in Philippine literature. His works comprising the digital corpus to be used include his two novels, *Luha ng Buwaya* (Crocodile Tears) (1963) and *Mga Ibong Mandaragit* (Birds of Prey) (1969) as well as a book of his collected plays and essays, *Dalawang Mukha ng Isang Bagol* (The two sides of a single coin) (1997). The digital texts of Hernandez’ works make up approximately 314,333 words. The total corpus of texts by Hernandez and Francisco combined is therefore approximately 698,070 words. By combining works of the radical Hernandez and the conservative Francisco into a single corpus, one would obtain a corpus which would combine and represent the language use of two of the greatest Tagalog writers of the twentieth century who stand at opposite poles of the Philippine political spectrum.

Collocational network analysis has been employed to produce the graph (Figure 4). In operational terms, a seed word, in this case *tao*, is first scanned by a program (written in Python) for its collocates five words to the left and five words to the right. Collocates have been filtered to include only selected political and ethico-moral concepts. The same process is likewise done for the collocates of the collocates of *tao*. This process is repeated up to a depth of five. The collocation data generated in DOT language is then inputted to a graphing program (the open source software Gephi) which produces a network graph for visual analysis. The thickness of the lines between nodes represents the strength of connection between them.

In the graph generated from the corpus, it will be observed that the node *tao* has 27 connected nodes, this is second in number only to the most prolific one which is *bayan* with 35. *Tao* is followed by *loob* [inner self] which has 19 connected nodes and *kapwa* [fellow human being] with 14. The strongest interconnections of *tao* are with ethico-moral terms such as *kapwa* (30) and *loob* (12) and with the political concept *bayan* [people, nation] (13). It also has strong links with more recently coined political words such as *kalayaan* [freedom] (8), *karapatan* [right] (4), *lipunan* [society] (4) and *katarungan* [justice] (3). One observes in the graph that the three terms *kapwa-loob-kalooban* form a closely interconnected cluster of moral-ethical concepts with *tao*. On the other hand, the seven terms *bayan, lipunan, kalayaan, karapatan, katarungan, katwiran* [reason] and *mamamayan* [citizen] form another closely interconnected cluster of political concepts. The ethico-moral and political clusters are joined mainly through the strong connections of *kapwa* and *loob* with *bayan*. It has already been noted that *bayan* is overall the most interconnected political concept. *Kapwa* seems to be a powerful mediator or transition between the person, *tao*, and the collective, *bayan*. *Kapwa* “socializes” the idea of *tao* by bringing it in contact with the “fellow human being.” The case of *kapwa* seems to demonstrate the existence of certain degree of artificiality in the distinction between the political and ethico-moral discursive fields. The psychologist Virgilio Enriquez relates that,

when asked for the closest English equivalent of *kapwa*, one word that comes to mind is the English word “others.” However, the Filipino word *kapwa* is very different from the English word “others.” In Filipino, *kapwa* is the unity of the “self” and “others.” The English “others” is actually used in opposition to the “self,” and implies the recognition of the self as a separate identity. In contrast, *kapwa* is a recognition of shared identity, an inner self shared with others (Enriquez 1992, 43).

Furthermore, it should be noted that the words making up the ethico-moral cluster, though not untranslatable, are known to be very difficult to translate into other languages (Guillermo 2014). Such words as *kapwa, loob* and *kalooban* can be assumed to be of much older provenance than the other four words *karapatan, katarungan, kalayaan* and *katwiran* which are all modern linguistic innovations designed to address the need to express new realities and ideas (Cf. Almario 1997). The etymology and circumstances of coinage of *kalayaan* in particular has been a topic of contention (Almario 1993; Salazar 1999). For its part, the word *lipunan* has been generated by a need for a more direct equivalent to *sociedad* or society which has emancipated itself from the *tao* idiom (e.g., *pagsasamahan ng tao*). It can be said that these

latter were generated out of a crisis of the bilingual consciousness which sought more direct equivalents for political concepts it had imbibed through a foreign tongue. In all these usages, *tao* itself is obviously neither just an ethico-moral nor political concept, it is deeply imbricated in both worlds of discourse. However, “the shift from moral commandments to legal norms is an essential moment in the secularization of the modern world” (Losurdo 2004).

## VIII. Summary and Conclusions

According to the historian Zeus A. Salazar,

The traditional social scientists do not know what to do with the terms “pagkatawo” and “loob,” because these are concepts which one can see are really unique to the Filipino; and the connection to “pagkakapantay” is one proof why this cannot be equated with “égalité,” “igualdad”/“equality” of the West – above all because the European concept is connected only to “droits”/“derechos”/“rights” and not, like “pagkakapantay,” to any other possible translation of “pagkatao” in French (“l’être”/“la personne humaine” / “l’essence humaine”), English (personhood?; humanness?; essence of being human?; the depth of one’s being?) and in any other Western language.

Walang magawa ang mga tradisyonal na siyentistang panlipunan, gayumpaman, sa “pagkatawo” at “loob,” dahil sa ang mga ito’y talagang mga dalumat na kitang-kitang taal sa Pilipino; at ang pagkakaugnay sa “pagkakapantay” ay isa sa mga patunay na ito’y hindi talaga maitutumbas sa “égalité,” “igualdad”/“equality” ng Kanluran – higit sa lahat, dahil sa ang konseptong Europeo ay nakakabit lamang sa “karapatan”/“karampatan” (“droits”/“derechos”/“rights”) at hindi, tulad ng “pagkakapantay,” sa anumang maaaring salin ng ating “pagkatao” sa Pranses (“l’être”/“la personne humaine”/“l’essence humaine”), sa Ingles (personhood?; humanness?; essence of being human?; the depth of one’s being?) at sa iba pang lengguwaheng Kanluranin. (1999a, 68)

The approach to Philippine political lexicography presented here attempts to go beyond the “strong etymologism” of Salazar’s approach which tended to fix the meanings of “indigenous” political ideas to an ancient Austronesian substrate (Guillermo 2009). Rather than seek a core or essential meaning which reflects a “Filipino mentality” as Salazar does, this approach strives to look at the dynamics of actual usages as attested through time. It is debatable to assume as Salazar does that “equality” has no connection with “humanity” or that Tagalog *pagkatao* could not develop a strong conceptual connection with “rights” (*karapatan*) per se. These are empirical linguistic facts which always threaten the boundaries of restrictive interpretations. For example, the graph shows a collocational relationship between *pagkatao* and *karapatan* of which an instance is found in Francisco, “Hindi pinakukundangan ang kanilang *pagkatao* at ang kanilang mga *karapatan* at katwiran” (Their *pagkatao* and their rights and reasoning were not respected). Such examples arguably demand a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between *pagkatao* and *karapatan*. Texts from the crucial period of the turn of the twentieth century show how the interface between Tagalog and the languages of nationalism, bureaucracy and radicalism generated a specifically new Tagalog language: a revolutionary

Tagalog. Indeed, Koselleck's notion of *Sattelzeit* as an immensely important period in the generation of European political vocabularies and concepts, seems pertinent in Mojares' discussion of "powerful words,"

A look back at powerful words in the Philippines - whether borrowed (like *nasyonalismo* and *demokrasya*) or invented from indigenous lexis (like *bayan* and *kalayaan*) - shows that these words were generated and charged by "powerful" events, like war and revolution. Powerful social movements like communism in the 1960s and 1970s also dynamized language and introduced words (*masa*, *kapitalista*, *burgis*) that have become part of the popular vocabulary (2006, 46)

The preceding discussion has shown that the *tao* idiom proved to be highly productive of new collocates which would temporarily provide a mechanism for the introduction of some new and previously unheard of concepts into the Tagalog language. However, in the subsequent development of revolutionary Tagalog, the unresolved tensions raised by the need to absorb a new political lexicon, would break the bounds of the *tao* idiom. As Mojares wrote, "A word comes into use because it responds to a semantic problem: it names something that was not quite there before. It is used because it does something that is significant which the existing vocabulary cannot perform" (2006, 45). Indeed, one could look at the Philippine case as an example of how local or national political vocabularies began to absorb, incorporate and transform the vocabularies of European political modernity. (For a discussion of the connection between translation, translatability and the world market see Kade (1971).) New words would be created which would stand in a more direct one-to-one relation of semantic equivalence with European concepts such as *katwiran* [reason], *kalayaan* [freedom], *katarungan* [justice], *karapatan* [right], *kalikasan* [nature], *mamamayan* [citizen] and *lipunan* [society]. There would also be cases of direct borrowing such as in the cases of *rebolusyon* [revolution], *burgis* [bourgeois], *partido* [party] or *indibidwal* [individual]. Some of these would more deeply impact on the Philippine linguistic-political consciousness (e.g., *kalayaan*, *katarungan*, *rebolusyon*) while others would retain an abstract and foreign quality (e.g., *karapatan*, *kalikasan*, *lipunan*, *indibidwal*) (Mojares 2006). The centrality of *tao* in Tagalog political thought and in the rise of revolutionary Tagalog is proven by the fact that many of these words were born out of its matrix.

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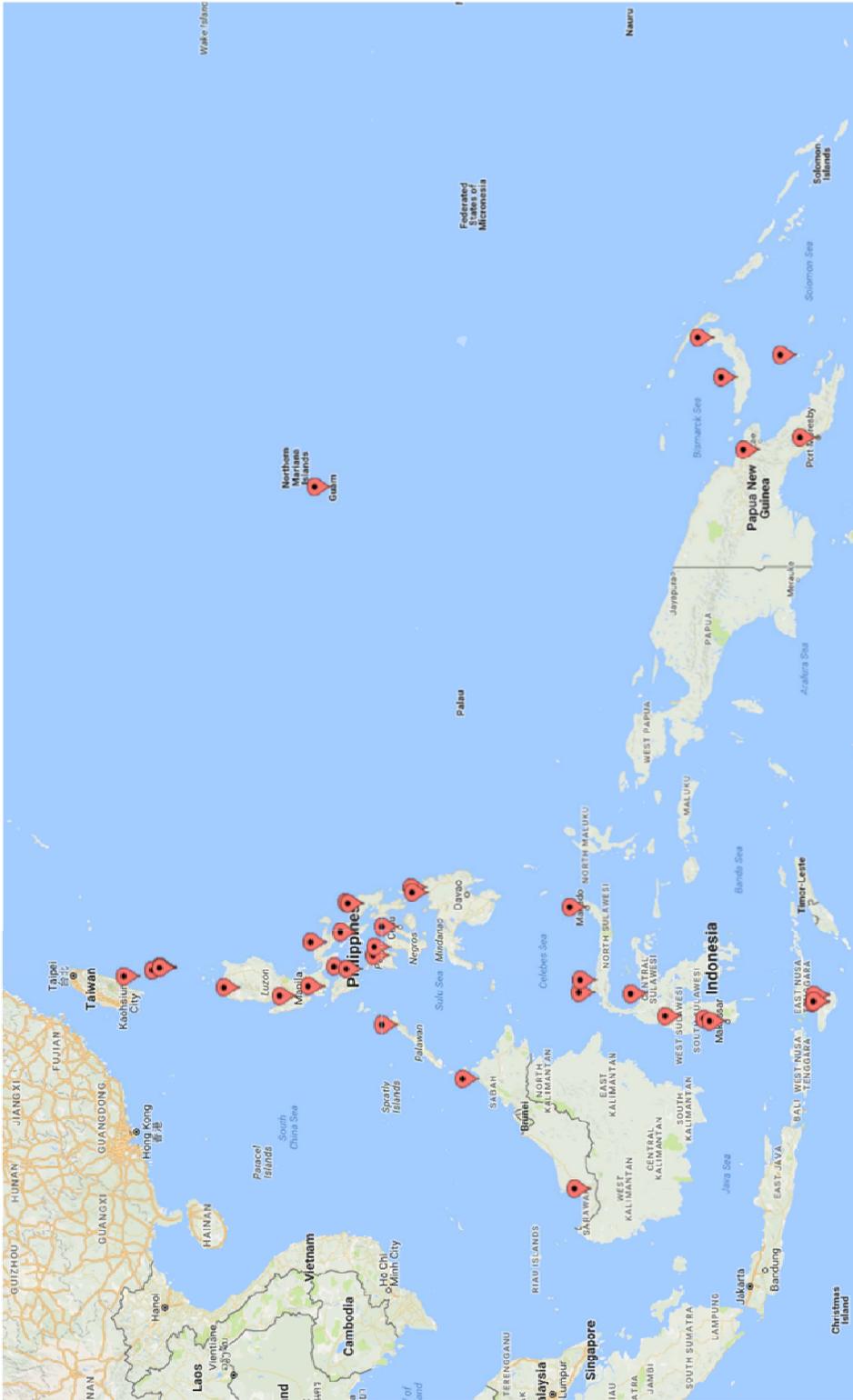


FIGURE 1: Map of closest cognates of Tagalog *Tao*





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