

**THE LANGUAGES OF THE PHILIPPINES  
IN THE WORKS OF LORENZO HERVÁS Y PANDURO (1735-1809)**

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MARA FUERTES GUTIÉRREZ  
Leed Metropolitan University

### 1. THE SCHOLAR AND HIS WORKS

The works of the Spanish Jesuit Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (Horcajo de Santiago, Cuenca 1735-Rome 1809) are one of the most complete contributions to the study of language and languages elaborated on the 18<sup>th</sup> century: on the one hand, this scholar analyses, through his treatises, all the theoretical questions related to language recurrently discussed by his contemporaries, such as the origin of language or the search for the primitive language; on the other hand, Hervás y Panduro develops one of the most detailed descriptions of the languages of the world of his time; moreover, he manages to establish the genetic relationships between some of them and therefore classify them in linguistic families.

His first work exclusively dedicated to the study of languages is *Catalogo delle lingue* (Cesena, 1784), which constitutes the 17<sup>th</sup> volume of Hervás y Panduro's Italian encyclopaedia *Idea dell'Universo* (1778-1787). This book is part of *Storia delle Lingue*, the linguistic section of the encyclopaedia, designed by his author to cover his entire hypotheses about the languages. Another four volumes, entitled *Origine, formazione, meccanismo ed armonia degl'Idiomi* (vol. 18, 1785), *Aritmetica di quasi tutte le nazioni conosciute* (vol. 19, 1786), *Vocabolario Poligloto* (vol. 20, 1787) and *Saggio Pratico delle Lingue* (vol. 21, 1787), complete this section and also close Hervás y Panduro's encyclopaedia.

The author composes these five works with the intention of relating the history of the languages of the world. For this reason, these texts share some common objectives, such as Hervás y Panduro's intention of demonstrating the importance of knowing the language's history to understand the history of nations or his interest in establishing linguistic families. Moreover, he uses the same sources to compose the whole section. However, each treatise specializes in examining different subjects: *Catalogo delle lingue* attempts to describe and classify the languages of the world; *Origine, formazione, meccanismo ed armonia degl'idiomi* shows Hervás y Panduro's theoretical foundations for his studies, so considers topics such as the language's origin and discusses other philosophical and theological questions related to language; *Aritmetica delle nazioni* comprises a selection of numerical vocabulary used by nations; *Vocabolario Poligloto [sic]* consists of a compilation of sixty three supposed basic words in more than a hundred languages to check their affinity; *Saggio Pratico delle Lingue* presents the prayer *Our Father* in more than three hundred languages with the aim to compare their *artificio gramatical* (grammar artifice) and adds its literal translation into Italian for the first time in this kind of collections. In a sense, the last three works can be considered as preparation materials used to compose the other two.

Subsequently, the Jesuit publishes *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas* (6 vols. 1800-1805), which has to be considered a different work from its Italian homonym: Hervás y Panduro's first intention was to translate his texts into Spanish, but he ended up writing new treatises due to the quantity of relevant information he managed to compile between the dates of appearance of each work (cf. Coseriu, who explains the differences between both Hervás y Panduro's catalogues). One of the effects of the inclusion of new data in his translation is that chapters of *Catalogo delle lingue* constitute volumes in *Catálogo de las lenguas*: in this second version, the author dedicates the first volume to enlist only the American languages, the second to the Asian and volumes 3 to 6 to the European; neither the end of the European part nor the African section were printed, but some evidences in other Hervás y Panduro's works show he wrote at least some of them.

In both catalogues, Hervás y Panduro studies the Philippine languages in the context of his observations devoted to the languages of the Pacific Islands. Firstly, he dedicates the second chapter of the Italian version (entitled *Lingue, che si parlano in parecchie Isole conosciute del Mare Pacifico dall'America sino all'Isole Filippine* 92-106) to the description of the languages of this part of the world; in this section, the languages of the Philippines occupy a relevant place. Then, regarding in the second volume of the Spanish catalogue—entirely consecrated to the study of the Asian languages—, there is a whole paragraph from the first chapter (*Capitulo I. Lenguas que se hablan en varias islas*

*conocidas de los mares Pacífico é Indiano Oriental y Austral desde América hasta Asia, y en la península de Malaca*, 10-53) exclusively dedicated to the Philippine languages (§ 2. *Dialectos malayos de las islas Filípinas* 24-53). It must be said that, although the scholar adds a lot of information about these languages in this second version of his work and re-elaborates the content's distribution, he does not change his main hypotheses related to these languages already exposed in the Italian treatise.

In addition, to complete Hervás y Panduro's vision of the languages of the Philippines, the other linguistic volumes of his encyclopaedia also have to be considered, as they provide relevant data about these languages. Furthermore, several Hervás y Panduro's manuscripts kept in different European libraries contain documents related to the Philippine languages which also must be examined; amongst them, there is a micro-grammar of the Tagalog and Bisaya languages, a Tagalog-Spanish dictionary and several letters sent by Hervás y Panduro's informants for these languages.

Taking into consideration the interest generated by Hervás y Panduro's observation of the Philippine languages in the contemporary scholars, it must be mentioned that although there are not specific studies devoted to Hervás y Panduro's contributions to the study of the languages of this particular area, some authors have analyzed the Jesuit's treatment of the Asian languages in his works. For instance, García de Paredes (115-131), Moreno Iturralde (147-152) –who reproduces with few changes García de Paredes' information– and Calvo (141-152) give short but relevant reviews about the Jesuit's principal achievements related to the Asian languages. Moreover, there are various monographic papers about this same topic: 1) Yanguas sums up the wisdom of Hervás y Panduro's genetic classification of the Oceanic languages thanks to the Jesuit's reading of Cook's diaries; 2) Fuertes (“El papel de los misioneros”) shows the significant role played by the missionaries in Hervás y Panduro's data collection about the Asian languages and 3) Sueiro Justel summarizes the contents of Hervás y Panduro's *Catálogo de las lenguas* with regards to the Philippine languages and highlights the value of his works. Also, it must be cited Batllori's work, where he describes Hervás y Panduro's manuscripts kept in several roman libraries, amongst which there are important documents related to his description of the Asian languages.

## 2. THE MALAYO-POLYNESIAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY IN HERVÁS Y PANDURO'S CATALOGUES<sup>1</sup>

The Malayo-Polynesian linguistic family is studied quite exhaustively in Hervás y Panduro's works, above all because he manages to obtain substantial information from the missionaries working in that part of the world. The Jesuit thinks Malayan is what he calls a *matrix language* with a lot of dialects scattered by the Pacific Islands. He also explains that the establishment of genetic relationships between some languages of this group might be complicated due to some particularities they show: for instance, each language's phonemes are significantly different from the phonemes of other varieties and, in addition, some communities of Malayan languages speakers' distort their language as time goes by due to their careless use of it. These peculiarities imply the impossibility of using just their pronunciation to recognize if these languages are part of the Malayan family, as Hervás y Panduro ideally would have preferred, because, according to his theories, pronunciation is the most perdurable feature of a language. However, the comparison of their grammar artifices and their vocabularies exhibits, for Hervás y Panduro, unquestionable data about their belonging to the Malayan group (cf. for instance *Catálogo delle lingue* 97-99, 116; *Vocabolario Poligloto* 160; *Catálogo de las lenguas* 2: 21-22).

The Jesuit recognises the extension of the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic family quite precisely already in the *Catálogo delle lingue*, although the distribution of this book's contents –which mainly follows geographic criteria, rather than linguistic– does not allow to appreciate Hervás y Panduro's achievements clearly, as the information about this linguistic family appears mixed with comments about languages from other groups. It is worth mentioning that the author himself might have detected this problem: that would have explained his insistence in showing the genetic affinity existent between the languages spoken in most of the Pacific Islands and those used by the habitants of the Thai-Malay peninsula on the next volume of his encyclopaedia (*Origine, formazione, meccanismo ed armonia degl'idiomi*, 1785) or the inclusion, in the same treatise (Numbers VII, VIII and IX), of several sheets through which he tries to demonstrate the same statement by means of comparing several terms and religious prayers in some of these languages. Moreover, he perseveres in affirming the existence of a genetic relationship between the varieties spoken in these part of the

world both in *Vocabolario Poligloto* and in *Saggio Pratico delle Lingue* (cf., for instance, Hervás y Panduro, *Saggio Pratico delle Lingue* 31).

Afterwards, in the Spanish *Catálogo de las lenguas*, Hervás y Panduro reorganizes the distribution of the contents of the Italian version. The new order pays more attention to the genetic relationship existing between the languages listed against their geographical location. He now displays his theories about the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic family in a unified section divided in three blocks, each of them corresponding to one of the regions in which Malayo-Polynesian dialects are spoken. The author himself anticipates his main hypothesis about this linguistic trunk at the beginning of the chapter devoted to it:

Todas las lenguas de que me propongo dar noticia en el presente capítulo, son dialectos del idioma *malayo*, que se habla en la península de Malaca. De esta península han salido enjambres de pobladores de las islas del mar Indiano y Pacífico, en las que, aunque parece haber otra nacion, que es de negros [...], la *malaya* es generalmente la mas dominante y extendida. La lengua *malaya* se habla en dicha península, continente del Asia, en las islas Maldivas, en la de Madagascar (perteneciente al Africa), en las de Sonda, en las Molucas, en las Filipinas, en las del archipiélago de San Lázaro, y en muchísimas del mar del Sur desde dicho archipiélago hasta islas, que por su poca distancia de América se creian pobladas por americanos. La isla de Madagascar, en que se habla un dialecto *malayo*, se pone á 60 grados de longitud, y á los 268 se pone la isla de Pascua ó de Davis, en la que se habla otro dialecto *malayo*; por lo que la extension de los dialectos *malayos* es de 208 grados de longitud. (10)<sup>2</sup>

So, first of all, the Jesuit enumerates several varieties of the Malayo-Polynesian family used by the inhabitants of the Pacific islands, specifically those located between America and Philippines; in particular, he mentions the language of the Sandwich Islands (now Hawaii, so he could be referring to the Hawaiian), the Rapa, the Tahitian and the dialects used in other islands of the French Polynesia, such as Marquesas Islands or Society Islands. Moreover, he assures Malayan is also spoken in Tonga, New Zealand (he may have had news about the Maori), New Holland (now Australia), Malicolo y Tanna (New Hebrides, now Vanuatu), New Caledonia, Mariana Islands and Palau (he could have information about the Palauan). Secondly, he dedicates a long paragraph to the languages of the Philippines. Thirdly, he takes into consideration other Islands in which Malayan dialects are also spoken, such as Molucas (now Maluku Islands), Java, Borneo, Sumatra and Sonda (now Nusa Tenggara or Lesser Sunda Islands) and also the islands between Sumatra and the Bay of Bengal. Moreover, he asserts that the language used in Madagascar is a Malayan dialect. Finally, he ends up his account of the Malayan languages developing his hypotheses about the origin of the Malayan nation:

Conjeturo pues que los primeros pobladores del Indostan fuéron malayos, y que despues de la confusion de las lenguas en Babel, los echó de él la actual nacion indostana, que es grandísima. Los malayos entónces se retiráron á las Maldivas, Madagascar y otras islas occidentales al Indostan, y á la península de Malaca, que está al oriente del mismo. Vino despues la nacion barmana, que como un grande enxambre se desprendió de la inmensa nacion de los chinos, y extendiéndose por Siam, Ava y Pegú, arrinconó á los malayos en la dicha península, y los obligó á extenderse por las islas sucesivamente inmediatas de Sunda, Molucas, Nueva Guinea, Filipinas, Palaos, Marianas, &c. [...] (49; see also *Catálogo delle lingue* 122).

So, Hervás y Panduro recognizes fairly clearly the extension along which the languages related to this trunk are spoken, except for his belief that people from the Maldives speak a Malayan dialect, when current studies document just the Maldivian, an Indo-European language, as the only one spoken in that Island.

With regards to the sources Hervás y Panduro could have taken into consideration to fix this perimeter, Yanguas affirms that the scholar could have been inspired by the theories of the orientalist William Marsden (1754-1836), who determines for the first time –apart from several

partial achievements of some previous authors— the Malayan origin of the languages from Madagascar to the Islands discovered by James Cook (1728-1779) in the last third of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Marsden's text, entitled *The History of Sumatra* (1783) actually appears cited in Hervás y Panduro's Spanish catalogue introduction (63-64), but it must be highlighted that there are not references to this treatise along the pages Hervás y Panduro dedicates to the Malayan languages. Nevertheless, it seems that the Jesuit prefers to support his account in the opinions of the missionaries who developed their labour in the area of Malayan influence.

### 3. THE ACCOUNT OF THE LANGUAGES OF THE PHILIPPINES<sup>3</sup>

#### 3.1. *The importance of the informants*<sup>4</sup>

One of the most relevant values of Hervás y Panduro's description of the languages not only of the Philippines, but of the whole world, remains in his intention of basing his account, when possible, in direct testimonies provided by speakers of the languages he lists. He starts to develop this method of data collection when he moves to Italy: he meets there his religious order partners returned from their missions who also end up in Italy, like Hervás y Panduro, after the expulsion of the members of the Jesuit Company from the European domains; the scholar then sees the opportunity to contact them to get information about the languages spoken in their missions, since he manages to appreciate the scientific value of having oral informants to elaborate his works.

The typology of the material given to Hervás y Panduro by the missionaries is of different kinds: it includes, for instance, unpublished material, which the missionaries let Hervás y Panduro see before its publication, texts elaborated *ex profeso*, such as micro-grammars or micro-dictionaries, letters containing assorted data and finally oral information, communicated directly by the missionaries to Hervás y Panduro when having a conversation. Moreover, the scholar designs a linguistic survey to be completed by his informants in which he asks them for 1) the terms selected by him to compose *Vocabolario Poligloto* and 2) the literal translation of the Our Father, poured out by Hervás y Panduro in *Saggio Pratico delle Lingue*. Furthermore, some missionaries act also as mediators between Hervás y Panduro and other informant. It is worth mentioning the Jesuit never forgets quoting his helpers in his works but when they ask him not to.

Part of these materials is kept in several European libraries, which makes possible to examine its contents and see the impact it has in Hervás y Panduro's published works. With regards to the Philippine languages, the scholar receives information from Bernardo Bruno de la Fuente (1732-1807), Francisco García de Torres (1727-1786), Plácido Lampurlanes (1723-), Antonio Palomera (1733-1784) and Juan Antonio Tornos (1727-1802). Some of the news provided by these missionaries are literally transcribed in Hervás y Panduro's treatises.

Juan Antonio Tornos, missionary in Samar between 1755 and 1769, is one of the main Hervás y Panduro's informants in relation to the languages of the Philippine islands. The scholar himself explains they have had multiple conversations about this topic, although, as he explains in both catalogues, Hervás y Panduro also asks his collaborator to write down the information he provides him with to *empower* it:

Sobre las lenguas de las demas islas Filipinas presento el parecer y relacion que por escrito me ha dado el señor abate Don Antonio Tornos, con quien en la ciudad de Cesena he discurrido muchas veces largamente sobre las lenguas de las Filipinas; y aunque de estas habia yo adquirido perfecta noticia, no obstante, para mas autorizarla, le he pedido que la pusiese por escrito. El señor abate Tornos ha visto personalmente casi todas las islas Filipinas, y ha oido todos sus lenguages. Aprendió tan bien el *bisayo*, que habiéndole yo suplicado que me hiciese los elementos gramaticales y el diccionario, sin embargo de no haber hablado en diez y seis años, ni oido hablar á alguno, la lengua *bisaya* (para él inútil al presente), en el breve tiempo de veinte dias formó un diccionario tan completo, que contiene mas de mil y doscientas voces radicales, y sirve para hacer uso de mas de cinco mil palabras. [...] (*Catálogo de las lenguas* 2: 33; see also *Catálogo delle lingue* 95).

There are several materials prepared by Tornos between Hervás y Panduro's papers preserved at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI from now on) which could have been elaborated by Tornos to answer Hervás y Panduro's demands. In particular, these documents (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: fs. 317-345) consist of 1) information about the first habitants of the Philippine Islands (fs. 318-319 and fs. 329-334); 2) commentaries about the Bisayan grammar and alphabet, with special attention to the verb (fs. 320-334<sup>l</sup>); 3) the Bisayan names of the coins and measures used in Philippines (fs. 335-336); 4) a Spanish-Bisayan vocabulary (fs. 337-343), that, according to Batllori (229), is different from the one cited by Hervás y Panduro in both catalogues (*cf. Catalogo delle lingue* 95 and *Catálogo de las lenguas* 2: 33);<sup>5</sup> 5) some prayers in Bisayan and their translation (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: f. 344). The information contained in these texts is one of the main sources used by Hervás y Panduro to write his account of the Philippines' languages and also to examine their grammar artifice and vocabulary; moreover, some of Tornos' writings are integrally reproduced in both catalogues (*cf. Catalogo delle lingue* 95-97, 119; *Catálogo de las lenguas* 2: 33-36).

Bernardo Bruno de la Fuente, a Hervás y Panduro's school friend who lives in Philippines from 1759 to 1770, is considered by Batllori the main contributor to Hervás y Panduro's description of the Philippines languages (228). His collaboration can be specified, first of all, in the sending of at least six letters about this topic, all of them dated in Faenza and currently conserved at ARSI (Ms. Opp. Nn. 342): 1) 30<sup>th</sup> September 1783 (f. 263<sup>l</sup>); 2) 27<sup>th</sup> December 1783 (f. 269<sup>l</sup>); 3) 14<sup>th</sup> December 1783 (fs. 301<sup>l</sup>-302<sup>ol</sup>); 4) 6<sup>th</sup> January 1784 (f. 303); 5) 9<sup>th</sup> May 1784 (fs. 304<sup>l</sup>-305); 6) No date (fs. 306<sup>l</sup>-308). It is worth mentioning that the 5<sup>th</sup> is published by Hervás in both catalogues (*Catalogo delle Lingue* 99 and *Catálogo de las lenguas* 2: 36); he also includes there another two missives from Fuente: one is dated in Faenza the 5<sup>th</sup> January 1784 (*cf. Catalogo delle Lingue* 95 and *Catálogo de las lenguas* 2: 32-33) and the other one does not have a date (*Catálogo de las lenguas* 37-39). Both are lost today.

There are more materials designed by Fuente preserved at the ARSI (Ms. Opp. Nn. 342), together with Hervás y Panduro's manuscripts: 1) a small booklet (fs. 267-288) containing information about the places where Tagalog and Bisayan are spoken, emendations to a Tagalog and Bisayan grammar written by Hervás y Panduro, the Our Father in Bisayan, a list of Tagalog and Bisayan grammars and multiple observations about the Tagalog and the Bisayan grammar (fs. 267-288); 2) a brief dictionary Spanish-Bisayan, which also contains several Tagalog terms, with various posterior additions in independent sheets (fs. 289-300<sup>l</sup> and 308<sup>l</sup>); 3) several prayers in Tagalog (f. 302). It seems that one of the grammatical documents related to Bisayan (fs. 270-287) was not sent by Fuente himself: Hervás apparently got these notes through Joaquín Camaño (1737-1820), since Camaño explains in a letter dated in Faenza on the 18<sup>th</sup> October 1783 preserved at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Ms. Vat. Lat. 9802: f. 50) that he has it and also expresses his intention of sending it to Hervás y Panduro. However, as admitted by Hervás y Panduro himself, all these materials help him to understand the Tagalog and Bisayan grammar artifices and vocabularies and let him make himself the literal translation of our father in Tagalog (*Saggio pratico delle lingue* 128).

In addition, Hervás y Panduro explains in *Origine, formazione, meccanismo ed armonia degl'idiomi* that he has listened to Tornos, Fuente and several students, native speakers of Tagalog and Bisayan who live at the *Propaganda Fide* college in Rome, speaking Malayan languages from the Philippine Islands and this auditions have made him conclude, by comparing their pronunciations, that the original pronunciation of a language tends to remain, although its syntax and vocabulary may vary more easily (75-76, 95-96).

Another of Hervás y Panduro's informants is Francisco García de Torres, who provides him with information about the Malayan dialect spoken in Capul, where he develops his missionary labour until the Jesuit estrangement. García de Torres writes several missives to Hervás; all of them are sent from Rome, currently preserved at the ARSI (Ms. Opp. Nn. 342) and mainly focused in the description of the Capul languages, although there are few allusions to the Tagalog and Bisayan vocabularies and alphabets: 1) 10<sup>th</sup> December 1783 (fs. 346-347); 2) 16<sup>th</sup> December 1783 (fs. 348-351); 3) 7<sup>th</sup> January 1784 (fs. 352-353); 4) 7<sup>th</sup> February 1784 (fs. 354-355). Moreover, Hervás y Panduro uses, in his catalogues, a letter from García de Torres to describe the Malayan dialect spoken in Capul, but that particular missive does not correspond with the ones currently preserved.

There are also other minor collaborators to Hervás y Panduro's account of the languages of the Philippines, such as Manuel Rodríguez de Aponte (1737-1815), who develops his labour as missionary in the Philippines from 1755 to the expulsion. He is considered by his colleagues one of

the best experts in Tagalog. In fact, most of Hervás y Panduro's informants for this group of languages frequently tell him to contact Rodríguez Aponte: for instance, Fuente warns Hervás that “[...] el único, *que* puede dar mejor noticia de la Lengua tagala es Don Manuel Rodriguez Aponte *que* esta en Bolonia: supo mui bien esta lengua, y tiene la memoria mas fresca; *que* yo. [...]” (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: f. 269<sup>ol</sup>, letter from the 27<sup>th</sup> December 1783). Also García de Torres (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: f. 352, letter from the 7<sup>th</sup> January 1784), advises Hervás to ask Aponte about the Pampango, just like Antonio Miguel García (1741-?) in his letter from Montefaleo, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1783 (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: fs. 309-310), who also suggests Hervás to speak with Rodríguez Aponte.

In particular, Rodríguez Aponte sends Hervás y Panduro a letter, dated on Bologna on the 31<sup>st</sup> January 1784 (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: fs. 315-316) with news about the Tagalog verb. It also contains his promise of sending him, if he finds it, an essay of Tagalog words. It is worth highlighting this letter is translated into Italian, presumably by Hervás y Panduro, and included as part of a Hervás y Panduro's manuscript Tagalog-Bisayan grammar found in the same bundle of papers.

Hervás y Panduro also receives two letters from Antonio Miguel García, which can be found in the same bundle of papers as the previous ones. The first one, dated on the 1<sup>st</sup> June 1783 (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: fs. 309-310), informs about the Tagalog origin and pronunciation; the second one, dated on the 21<sup>st</sup> June 1783, contains a list of terms and a prayer in the same language. Moreover, this missionary advises Hervás to ask Miguel Roldán (1728-?) and Salvador Busquets (1728-1807) for completing his information about the area, but it remains unknown if Hervás y Panduro ever spoke to them, as there is no evidence of this contact being established.

The last Hervás y Panduro's informant for the Philippine languages is Alfonso Gonzáles (1730-?), Jesuit coadjutor in the Philippines. He gives to Hervás the Tagalog numerals used in the everyday life, as explained by the scholar in his *Arithmetica*, where he reproduces them (139). In addition, there is a letter from Antonio Vitorica (1734-?) to Pedro Javier Casada (1739-1815) between Hervás y Panduro's manuscripts kept at the ARSI. It contains a Bisayan alphabet and it ended apparently in Hervás y Panduro's hands.

### 3.2. *The description of the languages of the Philippines*

Hervás y Panduro's account of the Philippine languages contained in *Catálogo de las lenguas* starts with a geographical and ethnological description of the area, including some physical features of its inhabitants. This report is supported in the data contained in Ptolomaei' (ca. 85-ca. 170) *Geography*, Murillo Velarde's (1696-1753) *Geographia historica* (1752) and, above all, in Francisco Colín's (1592-1660) *Labor euangelica, ministerios apostolicos de los obreros de la Compañia de Jesus* (1663), of which Hervás y Panduro copies large paragraphs (*Catálogo de las lenguas* 2: 25-30). Then he starts the enlisting of the languages of the Philippines, which is mainly based in the information he receives from his informants.

First of all, Hervás y Panduro undertakes the task of listing the Malayan varieties spoken in Abac or Capul, for which he reproduces a letter dated on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1784 written to him by Francisco García de Torres (1727-1786), as mentioned, without adding any other supporting statements. The missionary explains to Hervás y Panduro in this missive that a Malayan dialect with three variants, named *Inagta*, *Inabacnum* and *Abac*, is spoken in that Island.

Afterwards, Hervás y Panduro attempts to enlist the languages spoken in Luzon using the same technique, i. e., transcribing the information given by one of his colleagues; in particular, he copies one of Fuente's letters, where this missionary explains to the scholar the linguistic distribution of Philippines' biggest island:

En la isla de Luzon se hablan los siguientes dialectos: I. En Manila, la capital, y en sus contornos, el *tágalo*. II. en Camarines el *camarino*, que es una mezcla del *tágalo* con el *bisayo*, de Samar (137). III. El *pampango*. IV. El *pangasinan*. V. El *ilocos*. VI. El *zambale*, que es propio de los montañeses. — El *cagayan*. VIII. El *maitim* (esto es, el negro), que se habla por los negros que habitan en lo interior de las montañas. Todos estos lenguages son dialectos del *tágalo*, y entre algunos de ellos hay no poca diferencia. El *camarino* podrá llamarse mas *bisayo* que *tágalo*. (letter from Fuente to

Hervás y Panduro included in *Catálogo de las lenguas 2*: 32-33; see also *Catalogo delle lingue* 95).

Next, after assuring Tornos agrees with Fuente's proposal about the Malayan dialects found in Luzon, Hervás y Panduro tackles the study of the languages of the other Philippine islands by, again, reproducing one of his informant's opinion, Tornos in particular (33). This missionary mentions the *Mindanao*, the *Samar*, the *Joloano* and the *Bobolano* and asserts all these languages have to be considered descendants from the Bisayan, so this group of islands can be named *the Bisayan Islands*.

Furthermore, Hervás y Panduro also includes in both catalogues more detailed information about the languages of this area provided by both Tornos and Fuente. On the one hand, the scholar enumerates the Malayan varieties spoken in Mindanao through another letter from Tornos: "[...] En Mindanao [...] se hablan los siguientes dialectos: I. El *bisayo* puro en algunos países. II. El *mabometano* ó *malano*, que hablan tres naciones mahometanas, llamadas *mindanaa*, *malana*, é *irana* [...]. III. El *subano*, que hablan los *subanos*, que son gentiles, y viven casi siempre en las barcas, que son sus casas. IV: El *lutao* [...] V. El dialecto de los negros, que habitan en lo interior de Midanao [...]" (*Catálogo de las lenguas 2*: 34; see also *Catalogo delle lingue* 94). On the other hand, two more dialects spoken in Luzon, called *Panai* and *Casamalan*, are mentioned in both catalogues by copying another letter written by Fuente and also included literally by Hervás y Panduro in his treatises.

Finally, Hervás y Panduro seems to be particularly interested in solving if the language spoken by the black inhabitants of the Philippines belongs to the Malayan family and he concludes it does using information from a letter from Fuente (also partially published in both catalogues, see *Catalogo delle lingue* 99-100; *Catálogo de las lenguas 2*: 37-39). There is also a note related to the language spoken by this community inside one of Tornos' manuscripts, entitled "Algunas noticias acerca de los primeros pobladores de las / Islas Filipinas" and kept between Hervás y Panduro's documentation (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: fs. 319-322 and fs. 329-334); it says the black people living in Philippines "[...] tienen su lengua particular desemejante en todo á las demas lenguas de las Islas" (f. 329). However, the sentence *tienen su lengua particular* is crossed out and next to it, in Hervás y Panduro's caligraphy, it is written "Don Bernardo Fuente me dixo, *que no tiene lengua diferente*", so it seems the scholar trust better Fuente's than Tornos' criterion on this occasion.

This account of the Philippines linguistic situation provided by Hervás y Panduro reveals he (and his informants) use glotonyms (*Tagalo*) mixed with ethnonyms (*Mabometano*) and toponyms (*Mindanao*) to name the languages enlisted. This use of mixed criteria sometimes makes complicated to recognize the current correspondent to the language mentioned by the Jesuit, although it obviously does not happen when he uses a glotonym currently still in use, like in the cases of the Tagalo (current Tagalog), the Capul, Abac and Inabacnum (current Inabaknon, also named Capul, Kapul or Kapuleño), the Pampango (current Pampangan), the Pangasinan, the Ilocos (Ilocano), the Zambale (Sambal) the Cagayan (Kagayanen), the Subano (Subanun), the Joloano (Tausug) and the Boholano (a dialect of the Cebuano). Moreover, Hervás y Panduro's allusions to *Bisayo* as one of the two majority languages of the Philippines (together with the Tagalog) and his insistence in linking the Bisayo with its homonym ethnic group makes possible to conjecture that he might have been using that denomination to name not a language in particular, but the languages spoken by the etnolinguistic group named Visayas or the linguistic group constituted by the Cebuano, Hiligaynon and Waray-Waray, commonly known as Visaya. However, he could have also been referring to the Cebuano on its own or to another language spoken in the Visayan Islands, as their natives usually name their own language Visaya.

Other correspondences can be established using different criteria: for instance, attending to the phonographic resemblance, Hervás y Panduro's *Camarino* could refer to a language spoken in Camarines, which might be either one of the varieties of the Bicol or of the Agta, although Hervás y Panduro's information about the resemblance between this language and the Bisayan could be telling us that he is naming the first one. The same argument could be used to link Hervás y Panduro's *Samar* with the Waray-Waray, because some of the alternative names of this language are *Samareño*, *Samaran* or *Samar-Leyte*.

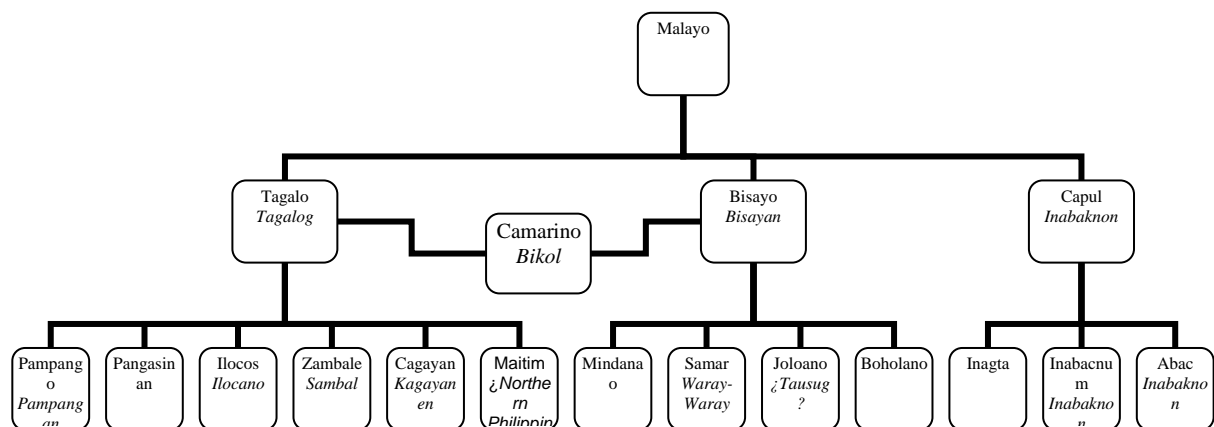
In addition, Hervás y Panduro's *Mabometano* and its dialects could be related to the Magindanao, if assuming that Hervás y Panduro's *Mabometano* ('Muslim') refers to the ethnic group named Moro ('Muslim') resident in the Philippine Islands, then remembering that the Magindanao

is one of the languages spoken by this community in Mindanao and finally arguing that, according to the Jesuit, one of the *Mabometano's* dialects is the *Irano*, which could be identified with the *Iranum*, one of Magindanao's dialects. Furthermore, there is another reference in Hervás y Panduro's account of the Philippine languages related to an ethnic group, concentered in his allusion to the *dialecto de los negros en Mindanao* ('black people's dialect in Mindanao'), which might be a sociolect used by this group.

Other glotonyms used by Hervás y Panduro are more complicated to identify, especially when they are in fact toponyms referring to a place where more than a language is spoken. This happens, for instance, with Mindanao, although its association with the Bisayan group in Hervás y Panduro's works could mean he is referring to the Visayan ethnolinguistic group living in Northern Mindanao. The case of the glotonym *Maitim* is quite similar: it is a toponym correspondent to two towns in Luzon, but there is no evidence that Hervás y Panduro is naming, by using this toponym, one of the languages spoken there. Nevertheless, it might be a language from the Northern Philippine linguistic group and probably from the Northern Luzon subgroup, if taking into consideration Hervás y Panduro's allusion to the mountain chain in Luzon, in which apparently lives a community who speaks this variety. Finally, Hervás y Panduro's glotonyms Panai and Casamalan, although are mentioned between the languages spoken in Luzon, could be related to languages used in fact by the inhabitants of each island, so they could refer, for instance, to the Kinaray-A and to a language spoken at the Casamalan Island respectively.

Regarding the genetic relationships set by Hervás y Panduro between the languages of the Philippine languages, it can be highlighted that he believes all of them are dialects from the Malayan in the Philippines, of which the Tagalog and the Bisayan are the most important in the Islands. Both of them have several dialects themselves, noted as well by Hervás y Panduro. His complete idea of the Tagalog and Bisayan groups of languages can be seen in Diagram 1, where the current glotonyms correspondent to the varieties cited by Hervás y Panduro are also included in italics, when known.

Diagram 1. Hervás y Panduro's classification of the Philippine languages



According to Diagram 1, Hervás y Panduro manages to identify the Central Philippine language group, represented by the Tagalog, the Bikol and the Bisayan. However, he erroneously links the Tagalog with languages from the Northern Philippine group, such as the Pampangan, the Zambale, the Ilocano or the Pangasinan, or from the Southern Philippine group, like the Kagayanan. On the contrary, the Jesuit gives a quite complete description of the Bisayan area, mentioning several languages like the Waray-Waray, the Tausug or the Boholano. He also cites languages from the Northern Philippine group such as the Subanun or the Maguindanao, so the scholar manages to recognize varieties from three of the main and most expanded groups of Malayo-Polynesian languages spoken in the Philippine Islands.

Moreover, Hervás y Panduro also reflects on the linguistic fragmentation of the Malayan; as maintained by Sueiro (193), the Jesuit is mistaken when he puts it down to linguistic internal causes happened to the languages, although Tornos advises him the fragmentation is due to external reasons, such as the politics and the geographical dispersion; nevertheless, Hervás y



Panduro prefers to blame the Malayan syllabic alphabet, which allows and generates different pronunciations of the same word (Sueiro 193-194).

### 3.3. Grammar and vocabulary particular studies of the Philippine languages

#### 3.3.1. The presence of the Philippine languages in other linguistic volumes of Hervás y Panduro's encyclopaedia

The languages of the Philippines are also taken into consideration by Hervás y Panduro when examining and comparing the vocabulary and the grammatical artifice of the languages of the world, so it is possible to find information about them in the linguistic volumes written by the Jesuit devoted to these tasks. For instance, the scholar includes the Tagalog and the Bisayan between the languages used to elaborate his *Vocabolario Poligloto*, so he presents the selected 63 terms in both languages, amongst others belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic family. Although the author does not declare the sources used to compile these words, he could have taken them either from the Spanish-Bisayan vocabulary written by Tornos and cited by Hervás y Panduro in both catalogues or from one of the Tagalog and/or Bisayan micro-dictionaries kept manuscripts at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: fs. 337-343), complemented with his consultation of the Tagalog and Bisayan word lists found in the same bundle of papers (fs. 289<sup>l</sup>, 298<sup>l</sup>, 299<sup>l</sup>, 300<sup>l</sup>, 303<sup>l</sup>).

With regards to the presence of the Philippine languages in *Saggio Pratico delle lingue*, where Hervás y Panduro analyses and contrasts the grammatical artifice of the world languages using the *Our Father* prayer, it must be said the author inserts three samples, in particular two Tagalog prayers (numbers 56 and 57) and one Bisayan (number 58), amongst other Malayo-Polynesian specimens. A comparison between these three samples and the ones found at Hervás y Panduro's documents reveal the first one was provided by B. de la Fuente (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: f. 273<sup>o</sup>) and the third by Tornos (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: 344<sup>l</sup>). Furthermore, the reading of other Hervás y Panduro's texts allows to discover the possible origin of the second one, a Tagalog *Our Father* from 1593: it could have come from the *Doctrina cristiana tagalo-española*, printed in Manila by the Dominicans in 1593, because there is another prayer (an angelic salutation) included in *Origine, formazione meccanismo ed armonia degl'idiomi* (s.p., attached table IX, correspondent to § 93, p. 76) copied from this text, which proves Hervás y Panduro had access to it.

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that Batllori makes some mistakes when he relates the contents of Hervás y Panduro's manuscripts and the published material regarding the Philippine languages. So, where he indicates the Tagalog *Our Father* contained in Fuente's notes is number 57 of the published he should have suggested it was number 56; in fact, number 57 is the 1593 Tagalog sample, whose origin seems clear. Moreover, when comparing Fuente's manuscript Tagalog prayer and the edited under number 56, there is no doubt about their equivalence. On the other hand, Batllori also proposes the Bisayan edited prayer corresponds to another one also sent by Fuente and kept in the same bundle of documents (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: 273<sup>o</sup>-274<sup>l</sup>); however, a detailed comparison between both reveals the Jesuit does not edit that one, but prefers to insert the sample sent by Tornos: although there are some minor differences between Tornos' version and the published, such as few orthographic alterations and several little changes affecting the word order, Fuente's *Our Father* shows substantial discrepancies with Hervás y Panduro's, like syntagms wholly omitted or notably altered (see for instance verse 8):

Table 1. Bisayan Our Fathers' comparison (□ stands for 'omission')

	Bisayan <i>Our Father</i> published by Hervás y Panduro ( <i>Saggio Pratico delle lingue</i> 129-130, n. 58)	Bisayana <i>Our Father</i> sent by Fuente (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: fs. 273 <sup>o</sup> -274 <sup>l</sup> ) (Batllori's hypothesis)	Bisayana <i>Our Father</i> sent by Tornos (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: f. 344 <sup>l</sup> )
1	Amahan namu	Amahan namu	Amahan namu
2	nga itotat ca	nga itotat ca	ñga □totat ca
3	sa langit	sa langit	sa-langit

4	Ipapagdayet	ipapagdayeg	ipapag <i>plaveg</i>
5	an imong ngalan	ang imong ngalan	an-impong- <i>ngalan</i>
6	Moanhi canamun	<i>ianhi mo</i> canamu □	moanhi-canamun
7	an imong pagcahadi	ang imong pagcahari	an imong pagcahadi
8	Tumanun	<b>Ipsonov</b>	tum anum
9	an imong buot	ang <i>imong</i> buot	<i>am</i> imong buot
10	dinhi sa yuta	dinhi sa <i>juta</i>	dinhi sa-yuta
11	maingun sa langit	maingun sa langit	maingun sa-langit
12	Ihatag	□Hatang	Ihatag
13	mo damun	mo <i>Cami</i>	mo damun
14	an canun namun	<i>óniana sa</i> canun namu	an canun namun
15	sa matagarlao	sa mataga <i>dlao</i>	sa matagarlao
16	Ug pauadun	<i>vg</i> pagrarun	ug pauadun
17	mo cami	mo <i>ang</i>	mo cami
18	san mga-sala namu	<i>amung</i> manga sala	san <i>mga</i> sala namu
19	maingun ginuara namun	maingun <i>Canamu</i> ginuara namun	maingun ginuara namun
20	sa mga-nacasala damun	<i>ang</i> manga sala <i>sa nacasa</i> □	san <i>mañga</i> nacasala damun
21	Ngan diri imo	<i>la canamu Apan di Cami bayaan</i>	<i>ngan</i> diri imo
22	tugotan	<i>apud di</i>	tugotan
23	cami maholog	cami <i>dan-un</i>	camí maholog
24	sa manga-panulai	sa manga panulay	sa <i>mañga</i> panulay
25	sa amun manga-caauai	—	sa amun <i>mañga</i> caauay
26	Apan baiiun	□ baii un	apan <i>vaiiun</i>
27	mo cami	mo cami	mo cami
28	sa manga-maraut ngatanan	sa manga □ <i>dautan</i> □	sa <i>mañga</i> maraut <i>ngatanan</i>

Moreover, it must be remembered there is a third Bisayan version kept between Hervás y Panduro's manuscripts (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: 269<sup>9</sup>) inserted in a letter from Fuente dated in Rome, on the 27<sup>th</sup> December 1783 (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: 314<sup>1</sup>) and also another Tagalog *Our Father* sent by Antonio Miguel from Montefalco the 21<sup>st</sup> June 1783 (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: fs. 311-314<sup>1</sup>), none of which incorporated to *Saggio Pratico delle Lingue* by his author.

Furthermore, the three specimens Hervás y Panduro decides to include in his work are also the only ones related to Philippines reproduced by Johann Christoph Adelung (1732-1806) y Johann Severin Vater (1771-1826) (*Mithridates* 1) in their work: these authors continue the tradition of collecting the *Our Father* prayer and, following a common practice in this kind of repertories, help themselves to copy specimens content in previous compilations when they find it appropriate,

as happens in this case. Moreover, they not only transcribe Hervás y Panduro's samples, but also the comments the Jesuit elaborated to accompany the prayers. However, it must be highlighted they clearly admit Hervás y Panduro as their source for their description of the languages of this part of the world.

Hervás y Panduro provides more information about the Tagalog and the Bisayan in *Saggio Pratico delle Lingue*: in particular, the Jesuit encloses the literal translation of the first Tagalog *Our Father*, elaborated by himself thanks to the documents sent to him by Tornos and Fuente (128). In addition, he contributes some grammatical comments, most of them consisting in the segmentation of the terms and the explanation of the meaning of their components, for instance:

*Sungasalangit* si compone delle particole *sa*, e *ungm*, che diventano, o fanno da verbo, nel quale, perchè si parla di presente, si raddoppia la radicale *sa* in fine, e così significa essere nel sito, dove determina il nome *langit* cielo (128).

In general, Hervás y Panduro's grammatical explanations inserted in this treatise agree with Ridruejo's opinion about the capacity of the missionaries who wrote the first grammars of the Philippine languages to segment the word in its constituents when describing them, but their problems to recognize the functions of the affixes; this is an obstacle which must be put in relation, as Ridruejo also sets up, with the agglutinative character of the Malayo-Polynesian languages and the necessity of adapting the grammatical categories expressed by flexional morphemes to a language with nearly no flexion ("La primitiva tradición" 185-186).

### 3.3.2. The Tagalog and Bisayan grammar

Hervás y Panduro composed or compiled, using previous treatises, several grammatical compendiums of different languages of the world. These texts constitute a medullar part of the scholar's work papers to contrast and establish genetic relationships between the world languages, but it is worth mentioning as well that the Jesuit had always the idea of publishing them, as he himself explains in several of his edited works (*Origine* 9; *Vocabolario* 29; *Catálogo de las lenguas* 1: 63). Moreover, there is a list of several of these treatises headed by the title "Orden de impresión" ("Printing order") preserved at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV, Ms. Vat. Lat. 9803: f. 50<sup>o</sup>), which confirms his intentions. However, none of them were ever published during Hervás y Panduro's life, although Clark and Moreno Iturralde have later edited different fragments. Nevertheless, forty two of them are kept in different Roman and Vatican libraries, so it is possible to evaluate their contents.

Amongst these preserved micro-grammars, there is a Tagalog-Bisayan grammatical compendium, redacted in Italian and entitled just "Tagala, e / Bisaya" ("Tagalog and Bisayan") (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: fs. 243-262). The text is all autograph from Hervás y Panduro, except for § 28 (249<sup>o</sup>-250<sup>o</sup>) and § 60-63 (f. 256), which are written by one of Hervás y Panduro's regular amanuensis, as Batllori reveals. The scholar does not declare to have followed any particular source to compose this treatise, although it seems clear it is redacted using the information he receives from Fuente and Tornos. In this sense, taking into consideration the Jesuit never tends to hide the names of his informants and sources, he might have not cited them in this occasion because the treatise was composed by consulting more than one source and also because it was not just a summary of a previous grammar of the same language, as it happens with other micro-grammars he elaborated (see Fuertes "La actividad"). Nevertheless, the scholar applies again the technique of inserting literal transcriptions of his informants' letters when he finds it necessary: in particular, several characteristics of the Tagalog verb are explained through a letter from Aponte copied integrally in the micro-grammar and there Hervás y Panduro naturally declares the source indeed (fs. 251<sup>o</sup>-252<sup>o</sup>). Moreover, there are comments and additions to this compendium written by Fuente and Tornos found between Hervás y Panduro's papers, which would prove the Jesuit let his collaborators to see the draft of his micro-grammar and, furthermore, asks them to correct and complete it.

With relation to the contents of this text, it is relevant Hervás y Panduro presents together the Tagalog and the Bisayan grammars. This decision could constitute an answer to the same idea set by Ridruejo regarding the missionaries' conscience about the typological vinculation existent

between the Malayo-Polynesian languages, which implies they use the same pattern to describe them (“La primitiva tradición”). According to this theory, Hervás y Panduro’s micro-grammar would show a step further, consisting in presenting the grammar description of two of them together, although the author also gives an idea about some particularities of each of them (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: 264-266<sup>1</sup>).

The grammar is divided in seventy three paragraphs, plus several pages containing catholic prayers added at the end of the text in both languages. The treatise mainly describes the Tagalog and Bisayan parts of speech following the Greek-Latin paradigm and, when convenient, their morphological accidents. In general, the structure and the contents of the text show a process of exogrammatization in which the language of reference is Spanish, as can be seen, for instance, in the recurrent comparisons established by the author between this language and the two studied: “Nelle lingue tagala, e Bisaya, mancano le lettere spagnuole Ch. F. + LL. Ñ. RR. Z. La lettera H nelle parole delle dette lingue si pronunzia fortem, come la jota spagnuola. La sillaba gi si pronunzia, como fosse scritto ghi: la sillaba ge non si trova nelle dette lingue.” (ARSI, Ms. Opp. Nn. 342: f. 244).

One of the main problems the first grammarians of exotic languages find when describing Malayo-Polynesian languages is their agglutinant character (Ridruejo “Las primeras tradiciones”; “La primitiva tradición”). To deal with this challenge, Hervás follows the opinion of his Jesuit partner Aponte, who tells him every part of speech is conjugable. However, Hervás y Panduro does not include more specific details about this topic along his treatise, which above all focuses on giving several morphonological and morphological explanations related to different parts of the speech, in special the noun and the verb. Moreover, he also includes an alphabetic list of particles with some comments about their collocation and meaning.

#### 4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The languages of the Philippine Islands have a significant presence in the works of the Spanish Jesuit Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro. In particular, he attempts to classify them in his *Catalogo delle lingue* and its Spanish revised version *Catálogo de las lenguas*. There, he describes the linguistic distribution of this region of the world and determines all its inhabitants speak Malayan dialects. Moreover, he establishes there are two main languages in the Philippines: the Tagalog, mainly spoken in Luzon, and the Bisayan, spoken in the rest of the Philippines, and believes all the other languages registered in this region are dialects of these two. It must be highlighted the value of his observations related to the Central Philippine language group and, in special, to the Bisayan area, of which the author gives an accurate description in his works. In addition, he also takes into consideration the Tagalog and the Bisayan when describing the vocabulary and the *grammar artificie* of the languages of the world and also composes a Tagalog-Bisayan grammar containing relevant morphonological and morphological information about this two languages which remains unpublished.

Furthermore, it must be concluded that the ex missionaries’ assistance constitutes an essential and deciding factor in the achievements attained by Hervás y Panduro in his descriptions of the Philippine languages, as nearly all his order partners with which the author contacts send him valuable material and pertinent information about these languages. The data provided by his colleagues is integrated by different means in his treatises: for instance, in some cases, he copies literally the contents of some letters he receives, so he gives them the same treatment as the written sources. The application of this technique shows a total trust of his colleagues’ opinions. This information Hervás y Panduro obtains through these informants let him both to develop his comparative studies with direct data and also to establish quite correctly the genetic links existent between the languages spoken in the Philippine Islands.

#### NOTES:

<sup>1</sup> All the glotonyms cited along this work respect the graphic conventions established by Gordon.

<sup>2</sup> Hervás y Panduro understands the concept of *nation* as a reality referred to a group of people with the same origin, frequently the same language and a common tradition. This notion would be close to the concept of *community*, not to something related to political and/or administrative divisions.

As a consequence of his understanding of this concept, it must be taken into consideration, when examining Hervás y Panduro's account of the world languages, that he often uses toponyms, demonyms or ethnonyms to enlist the languages of the world (cf. Fuertes *Las ideas lingüísticas* 131-138)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Costa, who explains the status of the Jesuit missions in Philippines from their foundation at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the expulsion of the members of this religious order from the Spanish domains in 1767. In addition, Lorenzo García gives accurate details related to the expulsion and includes a biographic appendix (169-248) about the missionaries who develop their evangelic labour at the Philippines.

<sup>4</sup> Part of the information about the collaboration of the missionaries in the Philippines with Hervás y Panduro has been previously presented at Fuertes (“El papel de los misioneros”).

<sup>5</sup> There is a copy of this dictionary amongst W. von Humboldt's documents kept at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Coll[ectanea]. ling[üística]. quart[o]. 31: fs. 271-296).

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