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Forms of Consciousness in *El Filibusterismo*

Benedict R. O'Gorman Anderson

This sequel to "Forms of Consciousness in Noli me tangere" turns to El Filibusterismo. The article shows that Rizal's new conception of Philippine society as a racial "pyramid," pitting indios against chinos and Spaniards, produced an anti-Chinese racism absent in the Noli. It also shows Rizal's difficulties in coping with the Philippines' ethnolinguistic variety. A further section considers the reasons for the surprising poverty of the Fili's political vocabulary. Finally, attention is focused on Rizal's problems in locating a linguistic vehicle for effective communication among his countrymen. The Fili goes beyond the Noli's Spanish-Tagalog binary to introduce a hybrid, urban lingua franca.

KEYWORDS: nationalism, racism, Rizal, Chinese, lingua franca

In the article "Forms of Consciousness in *Noli me tangere*," which *Philippine Studies* published at the end of 2003, I promised that it would be followed rapidly by a parallel text on *El Filibusterismo*. It is an embarrassment that this promise has taken three years to fulfill. More and more fascinated by the complexities of the *Fili*, I took time out to research and write *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (2005), a substantial part of which is devoted to an analysis of the novel's mysteries. Hence it is now possible to return to Rizal's sequel with, I trust, a more sophisticated point of view. Although there are many difficulties involved, in what follows I have tried to format my study to make its quantitative data as comparable as possible to the earlier data assembled on the *Noli*. The aim is, first, to register what

changed, and what did not change in the key vocabulary of the two novels published four years apart, and then to comment analytically. As before, the analysis is divided into two parts: one devoted to considering the deployment and distribution of words referring to (a) “racial” and ethnic groups, and (b) political concepts; the other reflects on Rizal’s use of Tagalog.

But before laying out the quantitative data, it is necessary to mention an irresolvable problem that is more marked in the *Fili* than in the *Noli*. In the former, there are a great many passages in which the Narrator either reads the minds of the characters, or seemingly voices over what they are supposed to have said. We have long been familiar with the technical concept of the “unreliable narrator,” but the peculiarly polemical style of the *Fili* forces the analyst to consider carefully whether, for example, the paraphrased speech of Don Custodio should be attributed, for statistical purposes, to the stupid, pompous, colonial Liberal himself, or to the malice of the Narrator. In fact, there is no way to decide definitively one way or the other, so that I have found no better solution than to assign the relevant vocabulary items to the Narrator, while adding in parenthesis that they come in the form of paraphrases of characters’ thoughts and speech. Readers should feel free to reassign the items to the characters, if they feel this is appropriate.

PART A

Category A: Colonial “Racial” and Ethnic Strata

In its nominal form, *peninsular* is just as rare in the *Fili* as in the *Noli*. It occurs only five times, twice in the Narrator’s commentary, and once each in the speech of the young Basilio, Pecson, and the High Official. The adjectival form is used four times, twice by the Narrator and twice by anonymous voices.

In the *Fili* the words *criollo/criolla* and *sangley(es)* have disappeared completely. But, as we shall see, they survive in veiled form.

In the case of *mestizo/mestiza*, however, there are some interesting changes. The noun occurs 14 times: Narrator, 11 (including one

voiceover for Juanito Pelaez); Tadeo, 2; and Simoun, 1. Tadeo is unique in the two novels in specifying what kind of racial mix is involved, referring to one person as a *mestizo español*, and another as a *mestizo chino* (Rizal 1990, 162 and 164, ch. 21 "Tipos Manilenses"). This last instance is the *one and only* time that Rizal makes plainly visible the existence of the powerful, rising group of Chinese mestizos, to which he also belonged.¹ The adjective *mestizo* occurs only once, when the Narrator describes Simoun's visage. While the *Noli* mentions the contemptuous diminutive *mesticillo*, its sequel does not. However, the *Fili* introduces another kind of racial mix, the *mulato*, used by the Narrator three times (once paraphrasing Don Custodio), and by P. Sibyla and Custodio once each. All these items occur in discussions of the mystery of Simoun's origins.

By contrast, *chino* appears almost twice as frequently as in the *Noli*. In the case of the noun, the Narrator accounts for more than half (43) of the 73 instances, followed by a wide range of characters: Simoun, 6; Ben Zayb, Makaraig, Pecson, and unnamed students, 3 each; Capitan Basilio, Quiroga, P. Salví, and a clerk, 2 each; and P. Irene, Isagani, Momoy, and Chichoy, 1 apiece. As an adjective, *chino* appears 10 times: the Narrator, 9; and Tadeo, 1. The Narrator uses the adjective as often for "things" as for people, for example speaking ironically of Plácido Penitente's recourse to *la táctica china* (ibid., 95, ch. 13 "La Clase de Física").² The meaning of *chino* will be discussed below; here it is enough to say that it is a lineal descendant of sangley.

Similarly, *indio/india* crops up far more often in the *Fili* than in the *Noli*. The male form of the noun occurs no less than 74 times. It is instructive that the Narrator is far and away the main user—sometimes, matter of factly; sometimes, ironically—with 44 instances, which, however, include 9 voiceovers for Victorina, 4 for Custodio, 3 for the coachman, and 2 for Ben Zayb. The other users are P. Camorra and Ben Zayb, 5; Simoun, Custodio, and anonymous voices, 4; Pecson, 3; Isagani, P. Florentino, Momoy, Tadeo, P. Fernandez, and the coachman, 1 each. The Narrator is the sole user of the female form (3 times, including a malicious description of Victorina) (ibid., 4, ch. 1 "Sobre-Cubierta"). The adjectival form occurs 4 times, split between the Narrator, 3, and Simoun, 1.³ It is instructive that for all Rizal's political

investment in the concept *indio*—we will recall that Elias calls himself such, and the good Isagani is similarly described (*ibid.*, 243)—the novelist in him cannot resist a splendidly sardonic aside. The Narrator speaks of the students assembled for a night out at the “Pansitería Macanista de buen gusto,” as ranging from *el indio puro* (*si es que los hay puros*) *al español peninsular* [from the pure *indio* (if such exists) to the peninsular Spaniard] (*ibid.*, 193, ch. 25 “Risas—Llantos”).

Naturales, as a synonym for *indio*, is no commoner in the *Fili* than in the *Noli*. Only the Narrator uses the word, and no more than six times.⁴ All are contained in his satirical fictionalization of the famously absurd public quarrel in 1886 over ceremonial precedence between the Chinese, mestizo, and *indio gremios* of Manila (*ibid.*, 119–20, ch. 16 “Las Tribulaciones de un Chino”).

Finally, as in the *Noli*, Rizal firmly occludes the huge regional variety of peoples in his country. The Narrator refers casually to two unnamed students as coming, one from Iloilo, and the other from the Visayas. Plácido Penitente is allowed once to call himself a Batangueño. But, again, no Ilokanos, Bikolanos, Boholanos, or Muslims. Elias’s *tribus independientes* in the Cordillera have disappeared. No less striking is the fact that the Tagalog as such are never mentioned; we find Tagalog-the-language referred to just twice, by Cablesang Tales, and by the Narrator who notes (*ibid.*, 64) that Simoun deliberately speaks “*en mal tagalog*” to hide his real identity. The adjectival form occurs only once, when the Narrator applies it sarcastically to a decrepit ship.

There is something very interesting here. Like the *Noli*, the *Fili* is, as we shall see, full of Tagalog words and idioms, but they are never named as such. In Simoun’s grand attack on *españolismo* and those of his fellow-countrymen who stand behind the Hispanization project, he says over and over again that Spanish will never be the language of the people of the Philippines: *mientras un pueblo conserve su idioma, conserva la prenda de su libertad, como el hombre su independencia, mientras conserva su manera de pensar. El idioma es el pensamiento de los pueblos* [so long as a people preserves its language, it preserves the security of its liberty, as a man does his independence so long as he preserves his manner of thinking. Language is the thinking of peoples] (*ibid.*, 48, ch. 7 “Simoun”).

But Simoun never gives this *idioma* a name. Furthermore, in his oratorical fury, he has forgotten a criticism he has made just a moment earlier, when he asked Basilio: *Quereis añadir un idioma más á los cuarenta y tantos que se hablan en las islas para entenderos cada vez menos?* [Do you wish to add still another language to the forty plus languages spoken in the islands, so as to understand each other even less?] (*ibid.*).

Rizal was anything but a fool. By 1891 he had been all over Western Europe, passed through the United States, and spent some enjoyable weeks in Japan, but in his own country he had never been more than 100 kilometers outside Manila. At the same time, he knew from his classmates, and especially from Blumentritt's encyclopedic anthropological-linguistic studies, that those he imagined as his countrymen in fact had no single *idioma* to express their *pensamiento*. This is exactly why he wrote his major nationalist texts in the *idioma* that Simoun claimed could never be the national language of Filipinas. At the same time, in the vein of nineteenth-century European romantic nationalism, and ignoring the experience of the Americas, he wished for a one-people-one-language cohesion that his *cien años* realism could not credit. There is an attractive modesty here. He could not bring himself to claim Tagalog as the national language because he recognized its narrow geographic limits. Tagalog was his first language, and fragments of it are all over the *Fili*, as we shall see. But these fragments are never given a name.

In the following table, the data from Table 1 of my earlier article are included in parentheses so that readers can make comparisons for themselves.

The most conspicuous and important change to underscore is a sharp racialization that overrides the graded traditional colonial hierarchy.⁵ To a vastly greater extent than in the *Noli*, the essential categories are *chino* and *indio*.⁶ (We shall see below that Spaniards are mentioned less than half as often as either.) Furthermore, the two groups are not vertically juxtaposed, in the traditional manner of, say, peninsulars over creoles; on the contrary, they gaze at each other on a horizontal axis between natives and foreigners. Exemplary in this manner is the figure of Quiroga, for whom there is no parallel in the *Noli*. Despite his wealth, his Spanish name, the elite social circles in which he moves, and

Table 1. Mention of "racial" terms in *El Filibusterismo*

	Total Frequency	Narrator's Use	No. of Characters Using the Term
Peninsular (n/adj)	9 (4)*	4 (2)	4 (1)
Criollo/a	- (2)	- (1)	- (1)
Mestizo/a (n/adj)	15 (6)	12 (5)	2 (1)
Mesticillo	- (2)	- (-)	- (1)
Mulato	3 (-)	1 (-)	2 (-)
Sangley	- (1)	- (1)	- (-)
Chino/a (n)	73 (35)	43 (18)	13 (7)
Chino/a (adj)	10 (4)	9 (1)	1 (1)
Indio/a (n)	74 (44)	44 (7)	12 (14)
Indio/a (adj)	5 (1)	3 (-)	1 (1)
Naturales	6 (5)	6 (3)	- (2)
Bisaya (n/adj)	- (5)	- (5)	- (-)
Tribus	- (1)	- (-)	- (1)
Ilokano	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)
Tagalo (adj)	1 (-)	1 (-)	- (-)

*Figures in parentheses refer to comparable figures for *Noli Me Tangere*.

his significant role in the novel's plot, he is almost invariably described as *el chino Quiroga* in the manner of *el verdadero yankee* Mr. Leeds, whereas, say, P. Sibyla is never called *el español*, nor Cabesang Tales's daughter *la india Juli*. Quiroga's alienness is marked by his attire and his reputed ambition to become the Celestial Kingdom's first consul in Manila, but above all by his speech. His Spanish is quite understandable, but stereotypically he constantly mispronounces the letters r and d as l (e.g., *pelilo* for *perdido*, and *luinalo* for *[ar]ruinado*). It is curious, however, that he untruthfully insists to Simoun that he is *hápay*, a Tagalog word whose secondary, popular meaning translates to "bankrupt," or "financially ruined."

At the other end of the social ladder is the wretched, unnamed Chinese vendor who comes to the students' lodgings to sell snacks. The youngsters beat and kick him, yank his pigtail, and administer other humiliations—even though they pay him in the end. Here is what Rizal allows him to say: *Ab, malo esi—No cosiesia.—No quilistiano—Uste limoño—*

Salamaje!—tusu-tusu [Eso es malo—sin conciencia—no cristiano—Usted demonio—Salvaje!—Astuti-astuto!] (ibid., 100, ch. 14 “Una casa de estudiantes”).⁷ Needless to say, the students are not allowed to bully anyone else in this style. One cannot miss the whiff of racism. There is a change here, for the *Fili* has nothing in it like Tasio’s affectionate reference to his Chinese mother.

The other side of the coin is that the Chineseness of the rising Chinese mestizo class—which would complicate things—is again occluded. As emphasized earlier, only one person, and only on one occasion, mentions the term *mestizo chino*. This indicates, insofar as the traditional stratum of mestizos maintains its distinctiveness, that what exact mixtures are involved of Spanish, Chinese, Native, and other “bloodlines” are moving beyond public discussion. The mestizos are all “mixed,” all Catholic, all Spanish-speaking, all relatively privileged: above all, *not foreign*. But the *Fili* suggests something further: that, consciously or unconsciously, the Chinese mestizos, by insisting that they were above all *not foreign*, were preparing themselves to break out of the traditional racial hierarchy—upwards too!—by becoming national, it may well be before any other social group.⁸

At the same time, Rizal was far too gifted a novelist not to let the cat out of the bag on one riveting occasion: P. Millon’s Physics class.

Readers will recall that P. Millon makes every effort to intimidate and humiliate his students, but they may not have noted exactly how he goes about it, and what the social implications of his methods are. First of all, he shows that he commands street-Tagalog, in a way that is in absolute contrast with the absurd “Tagalog” part of P. Dámaso’s sermon in the *Noli*;⁹ and he uses his skill to mock what he supposes to be the real daily jabber of the youngsters among themselves.¹⁰ Second, he baits them by using the boys’ supposed “native” difficulty in distinguishing “ch” and “s” by calling Plácido Penitente *soplado* rather than *chiflado*; and between “p” and “f” by mockingly yelling at his victim: *apuera de la fuerte* [Out the door!], rather than the correct *afuera de la puerta*!¹¹ But thirdly—and I wish to emphasize this—P. Millon also calls Penitente *ñol* and, more cruelly, *señolía*: the first a corruption of (*se*)ñor, the second most likely of *señoría*.¹² The only other character who employs this latter word is the “Chinaman” Quiroga, who uses it

respectfully to Simoun (*ibid.*, 121). For reasons to be mentioned later, I think Millon's tactic makes little sense if the youngsters are solidly Spanish and indio, but only if many of them are Chinese mestizos.¹³ Such, of course, was the historical reality.¹⁴

If we now turn to the use of indio, something much stranger becomes apparent. The number of characters who use the word is more or less the same as in the *Noli*, and the number of times they use it is not too far away. One could say that, at the level of the two novels' *dramatis personae*, nothing significant has changed. But the Narrator? In the *Noli*, he used indio only seven times, while in the *Fili* the figure is almost six times as large. There are various ways to interpret this huge change, which do not, I think, necessarily exclude one another. First, as I argued in the earlier article, Rizal was acutely aware of the different category-systems prevailing in the metropole and in the colony. In the former, people originating from the Philippines were specified as *filipinos* (guys from Las Filipinas), and in Europe he accepted this and tried to valorize it in a nationalist manner. But he was quite aware that the term "filipino" in the colony was an unstable compound, saturated with the traditional meaning of "Spaniard born in the Philippines." In the colony, the one term with unambiguously non-Spanish and non-Chinese connotations was indio. His nationalist reappraisal of Morga was built on the idea of an uncontaminated "original people" for which, in the colony, only indio was adequate; one could think of it as metropolitan filipino translated into colony-speak. The most telling evidence for this revisionist-nationalist meaning for indio is that, when he signed his consent to the document decreeing his execution, he crossed out the word chino describing himself, and substituted (following Elias perhaps), not filipino but indio.¹⁵ He was, after all, back in the colony by then.

Secondly, indio in this manner was one solution to the obvious problem of what to do with many members of the elite (to which he belonged) who were of mixed Chinese-Spanish-"Native" origin. If, in the colony, these people were not to be called Spaniards or "Chinese," then they had to be indios, following the pattern of his own family that had changed its legal and tribute status from Chinese mestizo to indio. Indio thus came to his nationalist rescue.

It looks as if the Narrator's new obsession with the term reflects these concerns—the concerns of a man who had lived most of the previous ten years in the imperial metropole or elsewhere in Europe, but who was writing, far more than with the *Nolí*, for his compatriots on the other side of the globe. This argument is, I hope, furthered, when we turn to the *Fili*'s use of terms referring to españoles and filipinos.

Category B: The Political

In this section, I invite the reader to consider a whole range of vocabulary that exists partly outside the colonial legal-cultural system. Following the not completely satisfactory format of my earlier article, the starting point must be the use and interpretation of the terms Filipinas-the-place, español and its derivatives, and the fate of filipino. This time, however, I think it worth counting how Filipinas's counterpart, España, is deployed (Table 2). Then we will turn to the keywords *patria* and *pueblo* (Tables 3 and 4), as well as *nación* and its derivatives, before proceeding to an array of political terms foreign to the *Nolí*.

España crops up 33 times, distributed as follows: Narrator, 10 (one voiceover for Custodio); the High Official, 6; Sandoval, 5; P. Florentino, 4; Ben Zayb and P. Fernandez, 3 each; and Simoun and the ship's captain, 1 each. The meaning shifts back and forth between Spain proper and the Spanish Empire. It is no great surprise that most of the characters who use the word are peninsular Spaniards. The *Fili* actually refers to español(es) less often than does the *Nolí*. The noun occurs only 35 times, and is widely distributed. The Narrator leads the way with 12 mentions, which include single voiceovers for Ben Zayb and the coachman. There follow the High Official with 4, Tadeo and rumormongers, 3; Momoy, 2; Isagani, Simoun, Ben Zayb, Sensia, Lieut. Perez, an anonymous student, the ship's captain, and a convict, 1 each. As adjective, español occurs only 16 times, and does not always refer to people. The distribution is Narrator, 8 (including single voiceovers for Custodio, Timoteo Pelaez, Camaroncocado, and Ben Zayb); followed by Sandoval, Pasta, Simoun, Tadeo, the High Official, Isagani, Juanito Pelaez, and P. Fernandez, 1 apiece.

Where the *Fili* differs from the *Noli* is that in the former there are few visible ambiguities about the word; indeed, the Narrator at one point explicitly includes the creoles as Spaniards (i.e., *not* “filipinos” in the old sense), and on only one occasion adds the adjective peninsular after the noun. In this way español has become a quasi-racial and/or national word, erasing differences between the metropole and the colony. This change is not too surprising given Rizal’s long sojourn in Europe and his ample experience with metropolitan Spaniards. But, at the same time, the author is careful to include the metropolitan youngster Sandoval among the students involved in the campaign for a Spanish-language academy. The boy comes across as an amiably idealistic, if rather pompous, fellow, who is completely accepted by his mestizo and indio companions (he is visibly much nicer than the malicious Tadeo and the scheming Juanito Pelaez).

One possible reason for the relatively scarce use of español for people and things, however, is that, because of the second main thread of the novel’s plot, the campaign for a Spanish-language academy, the word is partly taken over by *castellano*, referring to the Spanish “national language.” I say “partly” because *el español* crops up 13 times, while its synonym, *el castellano*, appears 35 times. Distribution of the former is: Narrator, 8 (two voiceovers for Simoun); Simoun, 2; and Pasta, Juli, and P. Millon, 1 each; of the latter: Narrator, 14 (with two voiceovers for P. Millon and one for Isagani); Basilio and Capitan Basilio, 3 each; Simoun, Pasta, P. Camorra, and anonymous students, 2 apiece; and P. Sibyla, P. Fernandez, P. Millon, Makaraig, Custodio, Sandoval, and the Secretary, 1 each. It is worth noting that the use of *castellano* is overwhelmingly casual or positive. The only character to express “nationalist hostility” to the language is, of course, Simoun-Ibarra. The Narrator seems quite noncommittal.

The place Filipinas is mentioned 52 times, a shade more than in the *Noli*. The distribution is also quite similar: the Narrator, 38 (including voiceovers for Ben Zayb, 5; and Custodio, Timoteo Pelaez, and Simoun, 1 each); Simoun, 5; Pecson, 2; Isagani, 2; Makaraig, 2; and “Horatius,” 2; while Sandoval uses it once. What Filipinas “covers” is no less unclear than in the earlier novel. Chapter 37 (“Fatalidad”) indeed mentions Luzon, Albay, Kagayan, Tayabas, Batangas, Cavite, and

Pangasinan, but inexplicably it skips over Ilokos. No Bohol, no Mindoro, no Cebu, no Panay, no Leyte, and no Cordillera inhabited by Elias's *tribus independientes*.

On the other hand, there is the curious position of the Carolines, exemplified by the way the goodhearted but sometimes muddleheaded Isagani refers to them. In chapter 24 ("Sueños"), he muses sympathetically about the *insulares*, who are fighting a Spanish colonial expedition sent to forestall imperial German intervention in the remote, far-flung archipelago. The passage is so instructive that it is worth quoting in full:

Porque un viajero arriba á sus playas, pierden su libertad y pasan á ser súbditos y esclavos, no solo del viajero, no solo de los heredores de éste, sino aun de todos sus compatriotas, y no por una generación sino por siempre! Estraña concepción de la justicia! Tal situación da amplio derecho para esterminar á todo forastero como al más feroz monstruo que puede arrojar el mar! Y pensaba que aquellos insulares, contra los cuales su patria estaba en guerra, despues de todo no tenían más crímen que el de su debilidad Débiles y todo le parecía hermoso el espectáculo que daban, y los nombres de los enemigos, que los periódicos no se descuidaban de llamar cobardes y traidores, le parecían gloriosos, sucumbían con gloria al pié de las ruinas de sus imperfectas fortificaciones, con más gloria aun que los antiguos héroes troyanos; aquellas insulares no habían robado ninguna Helena filipina. Y con su entusiasmo de poeta, pensaba en los jóvenes de aquellas islas que podían cubrirse de gloria á los ojos de sus mujeres, y como enamorado en desesperación les envidiaba porque podían hallar un brillante suicidio. Y exclamaba: Ah! Quisiera morir, reducirme á la nada, dejar á mi patria un nombre glorioso, morir por su causa, defendiéndola de la invasion estrangera y que el sol despues alumbra mi cadáver como sentinela inmóvil en las rocas del mar!

Because a traveler comes to their shores, they lose their liberty and become the subjects and slaves, not only of the traveler, not only of his heirs, but even of all his fellow-countrymen, and not just for one generation but for evermore! Strange conception of justice! Such a situation gives [him] ample right to exterminate every stranger like the most ferocious monster the ocean can cast up!

And he was reflecting that those islanders, against whom his motherland [sic!] was at war, after all had no crime other than their weakness But for all their weakness, to him the spectacle they offered seemed beautiful, and the names of these enemies, whom the press did not fail to call cowards and traitors, seemed to him glorious, succumbing with glory at the foot of the ruins of their imperfect fortifications, with more glory indeed than the ancient Trojan heroes; these islanders had abducted no Filipino Helen. And with a poet's enthusiasm, he thought of the young men of those islands, who could cover themselves with glory in the eyes of their womenfolk; and, as if enamored of despair, he was envious that they could achieve a splendid suicide. And he exclaimed: "Ah! I would like to die, reduce myself to nothingness, bequeathing to my motherland a glorious name, die for her sake, defending her from foreign invasion, wishing that henceforth the sun would shine on my corpse like a motionless sentinel among the rocks of the ocean!"

But immediately Isagani turns half around and says: *Y el conflicto con los alemanes se le venía á la memoria, y casi sentía que se hubiese allanado; él hubiera muerto con gusto por el pabellón español-filipina antes de someterse al extranjero* [Then the conflict with the Germans came to his mind, and he almost regretted that it had been resolved; he would gladly have died for the Spanish-Filipino banner before submitting to the foreigner] (ibid., 186–87). Having thought of the Caroline islanders suffering a fate *parallel* to that of his own countrymen, he is now ready to fight to the death against the German foreigners who threaten the Spanish-Filipino flag flying over the decimated islanders. It is as if he believes somehow that the Carolines belong jointly to España and Filipinas.

One might expect, since Rizal termed the *Filí* a *novela filipina*, that the novel would use the words *filipino/filipina* much more often than the *Nolí*. But this turns out not to be the case. As a noun the word occurs only 22 times, virtually the same frequency as in the *Nolí*. But the distribution is wider, and the connotations more varied. The Narrator uses it 12 times (voicing over Custodio twice, and Timoteo Pelaez, Ben Zayb, a student, and a soldier, once each); there follow the High Official and Isagani, 3 each; and Custodio, Basilio, Sandoval, and Cablesang Andang, 1 apiece.

Oddly enough, when speaking about the preconquest population of the islands, Custodio refers to them as *los antiguos filipinos*, as if filipino were just a synonym for indio (ibid., 152, ch. 20 "El Ponente").¹⁶ Cabesang Andang uses the word in a comparable fashion, to mean a humble, long-suffering indigenous group from which she appears to exclude herself (ibid., 140, ch. 19 "La Mecha"). The Narrator describes Victorina as a *filipina renegada*, a renegade filipina, which would make no sense if filipina here meant a creole woman (ibid., 3, ch. 1 "Sobre-Cubierta").¹⁷ Basilio, however, is the one person to use the word in its traditional (creole) meaning (ibid., 13, ch. 2 "Bajo-Cubierta").¹⁸ Simoun never uses the term at all, unlike his previous incarnation Ibarra.

The adjective, however, is used far more in the *Fili* than in the *Noli*. Of the 30 mentions, the Narrator has more than half: 18 (including two voiceovers each for P. Florentino and Timoteo Pelaez, and one apiece for Custodio and Isagani); followed by Isagani, 4; Pecson and P. Fernandez, each 2; and Makaraig, Sandoval, the High Official, and "Horatius," 1 apiece. Only P. Fernandez (*estudiantes*), Isagani (*pueblo* and *juventud*), and the Narrator (*estudiantes*, *pueblo*, and *artistas* [craftsmen]) deploy the adjective for people, and they do so in a quite modern and ethnonationalist sense. Otherwise, the word is more commonly used in a quasi-geographical rather than anthropological manner, meaning something like "of/from the Philippines." The Spaniard Sandoval talks of the *vida filipina*, Pecson of *edificios filipinos*, Isagani of the *mundo filipino*, and the Narrator of *costumbres*, *miseria*, *vestidos*, and *hospitalidad*. There are two enchantingly unusual usages by the Narrator. In one place he refers to the peninsular Tiburcio, fleeing his dreadful wife into the remote countryside, as a *Ulises filipino* (ibid., 4), and in the other (which we have noted above) to "ninguna Helena [Helen of Troy] filipina."

However, the uses of *españoles* and *filipinos* need to be situated in the larger context of the novel. In *Under Three Flags*, I wrote, perhaps too whimsically, that the *Fili* is in some ways less a *novela filipina* than a *novela mundial*. I did so not merely because, unlike the *Noli*, the *Fili* includes some real and imagined foreigners—the verdadero yankee Mr. Leeds, with his long experience touring in South America; Quiroga; the French vaudeville players; and Simoun, who is thought to be a Cuban

Table 2. Mention of words referring to Spain and the Philippines.

	Frequency of Mention	Narrator's Usages	No. of Characters Using the Term
España	33 (39)*	10 (7)	7 (11)
Español (n)	35 (55)	12 (22)	13 (16)
Español (adj)	16 (n.a.)	8 (n.a.)	- (n.a.)
Filipinas	52 (49)	38 (19)	6 (10)
Filipino/a (n)	22 (21)	12 (18)	6 (3)
Filipino/a (adj)	30 (12)	18 (7)	7 (2)

*Figures in parentheses refer to comparable figures for *Noli me tangere*.

mulatto. The novel also mentions, in nominal and adjectival form, French, 16 times; americanos, 10;¹⁹ Europeans, 9; English, 7; Egyptians, 6; Jews, 5; Japanese, 4; Carolinians (insulares), 4; Yankees, 3; Germans, 3; Arabs, 3; Swiss, 1; Dutch, 1; Portuguese, 1; Italians, 1; and Persians, 1. (Most of these mentions come from the Narrator.)²⁰

The word *razas* comes up 14 times. The Narrator uses it the most, 10 times (with voiceovers for Ben Zayb and city gossipmongers); followed by Simoun, 2; and Basilio, Pecson, and Ben Zayb, 1 each. Raza does not always seem to be used in a fully modern sense to mean "race," but sometimes in the vaguer nineteenth-century manner to denote ethnicity or ethnoracial nationality. Thus, the Narrator speaks several times (e.g., *ibid.*, 156) of the *raza española*. Meantime, Ben Zayb rattles on (*ibid.*, 21) about the *raza amarilla* (yellow race). The only people to use a clear racial vocabulary are Custodio, who speaks once of *blancos* (*ibid.*, 153), and the Captain-General and Ben Zayb, who mention *negros*, the latter adding the English word "negroes" by way of specification.²¹ It is charming to find Basilio speaking rapturously about the golden age of yore when there were as yet no razas (*ibid.*, 50).

Following the format of my previous article, we now turn to the use of the key political terms *patria* and *pueblo*.

As one might expect, *patria* occurs a bit more often in the *Fili* (33 times) than in the *Noli* (24). But the distribution according to points of reference is significantly different. In its general, abstract form, *patria* is spoken of only once, by Simoun. Mr. Leeds's mummy speaks three

times of ancient Egypt as his patria. The remaining usages almost all point either to Spain and the Empire or to the Philippines. The Philippines is referred to in 15 places, distributed between Simoun, 5; Narrator, 5 (including one voiceover for Isagani); Isagani, 3; Pasta, 1; and P. Florentino, 1. As in the *Noli*, the usage is restricted to self-conscious Philippine patriots of different kinds (except the sly Pasta). Patria meaning Spain and the Spanish Empire occurs just as often. Of the 14 mentions, 6 come from the Narrator, all as voiceovers for colonialists (4 for the brutish Captain-General, 1 each for Ben Zayb, and colonialist newspapers); followed by the peninsular student Sandoval, 3; the Captain-General, 1; Pecson (sarcastically), 1; Ben Zayb, 1; an anonymous voice, 1; and Isagani, 1. The oddity here occurs in the episode discussed above where Isagani has conflicting emotions about the Carolines.

Table 3. Mention of "patria" in various senses in *El Filibusterismo*

	Frequency of Mention	Narrator's Use	No. of Characters Using the Term
Patria (general)	1 (6)*	- (1)	1 (3)
Patria (Egypt)	3 (-)	- (-)	1 (-)
Patria (Spain/Empire)	14 (5)	6 (-)	6 (3)
Patria (Filipinas)	5 (12)	5 (2)	4 (2)

*Figures in parentheses refer to comparable figures for *Noli me tangere*.

What is new in the *Fili* is the appearance of derivatives of patria, i.e., *patriotismo*, *patriota(s)*, and *patriótica*. With one well-known exception, the connotations are always good, and the small circle of people who use the words are sympathetically characterized. Patriotismo occurs seven times. The Narrator employs it thrice (with one voiceover for Sandoval); Simoun, twice; and Makaraig and Basilio, once each. It is only Basilio for whom, at a certain points, the term has echoes of fanaticism (*sonará a fanatismo*) (ibid., 50). Patriotas is mentioned once, by the High Official, and the adjectival form comes up once in the mouth of Basilio.

As for *pueblo*, we find the same polysemy as in the *Noli*, but differently proportioned. One simple reason is that, while the settings of the *Noli* are rather evenly divided between Manila and the township of San Diego-Calamba, the *Fili* is overwhelmingly set in the colonial capital.

Pueblo is used 43 times to refer to townships in the Philippines, including Cabesang Tales's Tianí. The distribution is as follows: Narrator, 28; Simoun, 6; Isagani and anonymous voices, 2 each; P. Camorra, Custodio, Juanito Pelaez, Basilio, and the Secretary, 1 apiece. No serious change from the *Noli*. But *pueblo* meaning San Diego-Calamba occurs only 7 times, always stated by the Narrator. The term also appears just once to denote non-Philippine towns, from the lips of Simoun.

Given that the novel devotes extensive space to politico-philosophical debates, it is natural that *pueblo* in the general sense appears far more often in it than in the *Noli*. The 30 references are distributed like this: Simoun, 11; Isagani, 6; Narrator (including a voiceover for Isagani), P. Florentino, P. Fernandez, and the High Official, 2 apiece; Pasta, Sandoval, Basilio, Ben Zayb, and Custodio, 1 each. *Pueblo* is used to refer to "peoples" other than the Philippines 9 times: Mr. Leeds, 3 (the ancient Egyptian people); Simoun, 2 (ancient Egyptian and Spanish); Isagani, 2; and the Narrator, 2 (voiceovers for Ben Zayb and Isagani).

Finally, *pueblo* clearly referring to the Filipino people, or the people of the Philippines, occurs 33 times: Simoun, 14 (who on one occasion refers acerbically to his countrymen as *este pueblo anémico*; Rizal 1990, 50); Isagani, 5; Narrator, 3 (including a voiceover for Basilio); P. Fernandez, 3; the High Official, 3; P. Florentino, 2; Basilio, 1; Camaroncocado, 1; and an anonymous voice, 1. The most important thing to observe here is that, while *pueblo* as the people of the Philippines was used only by four characters in the *Noli*, in the *Fili* the number has doubled, with at least two peninsular Spaniards using it in this sense. One suspects that this may reflect a social reality, i.e., that *el pueblo filipino* (the people of the Philippine Islands) was more common in Manila than a more ambiguous ethno-racial "filipinos." This suspicion may be enhanced if one notes that, of the total number of usages of *pueblo* in the *Fili*, the "Philippine" sense reaches 29 percent, compared with only 17 percent in the *Noli*.

Table 4. Mention of "pueblo" in its various senses in *El Filibusterismo*

	Frequency of Mention	Narrator's Use	No. of Characters Using the Term
Township in Filipinas	43 (32)	28 (1)	8 (8)
Township of San Diego	7 (55)	7 (22)	- (13)
People of San Diego	- (5)	- (4)	- (1)
Peoples in general	30 (10)	2 (-)	10 (5)
People of Filipinas	33 (21)	3 (1)	8 (4)

*Figures in parentheses refer to comparable figures for *Noli me tangere*.

In writing about the various Spanish derivatives of the Latin word *natio* found in the *Noli*, I expressed my surprise at three things: their paucity in the text (12 occurrences); the fact that they are used only by the Narrator, Tasio, Ibarra, and Elias; and the absence of the powerful abstract noun *nacionalismo*. The surprise in the *Fili* is that very little has changed. The novel contains only 15 examples. Nación in a general sense appears 6 times (Simoun, 3; the High Official, 1; the Captain-General, 1; and Basilio, 1); referring to the Philippines, it is used twice by Simoun; the High Official uses it twice to refer to Spain; while the Narrator uses it once to refer to China. Simoun uses the adjective *nacional* just once. The noun *nacionales* occurs once in the Narrator's commentary, but only to refer to foreigners in the Philippines. Finally, in two places Simoun speaks curiously to Basilio of *vuestra* (not *nuestra*) *nacionalidad*. In effect, only the well-traveled and highly educated High Official and Simoun use the *natio* derivatives more than once, forming a circle even smaller than that in the *Noli*. Even more strikingly, in so highly political a novel, *nacionalismo* again fails to make a single appearance.

Nonetheless, it is impossible to overlook a very large expansion of political vocabulary in the *Fili*, even if, as we shall see below, this expansion is of a rather peculiar character. Rather than trying to put the items in this vocabulary into some logical, systematic order, I have decided to list various semantic clusters in descending order of frequency.

- A. Political and/or personal autonomy of a vague kind (30 in all). *Libertad* comes up 20 times, distributed between P. Florentino and Isagani, 6 times each; Simoun, 5; the Narrator, the High Official, and Sandoval, 1 each. The adjective *libre*, in a political sense, is used twice by the Narrator, and once each by Simoun and Isagani. *Independencia* appears 5 times, with some unexpected meanings. Only Simoun (1) uses it to refer to the independence of the Philippines from Spain; the others, Isagani (2), Sandoval (1), and P. Florentino (1) deploy it negatively to mean the independence of the colonial government from the society it governs. The adjective *independientes* is mentioned only once, by the High Official.
- B. Variations on the root politic- (21). The noun: *Política*—the usual Romance language usage to cover both “politics” and “policy”—is mentioned 10 times; the Narrator, 5 times (including voiceovers for Basilio and Custodio); P. Fernandez, 2; Basilio, Custodio, and Sandoval, 1 apiece. In adjectival form, it occurs 9 times: the Narrator, 8 (including two voiceovers for Custodio); and a sarcastic Pecson, 1. *Políticos* (politicians) appears twice, in the mouths of the Narrator and Isagani. Except where “policy” is intended, all these references have opportunistic, amoral connotations.
- C. Variations on the root filibuster- (18 all told). These include 7 mentions of *filibusterismo*: Narrator, 2 (one voiceover for city gossips); Simoun, 1; Pasta, 1; Pecson, 1; Isagani, 1; an anonymous voice, 1. The noun *filibustero* gets 5 mentions: 1 each by the Narrator, Sandoval, P. Sibyla, P. Camorra, and the curate of San Diego. The contemptuous *filibusterillo* crops up four times (P. Camorra, Custodio, the Captain-General, and the Narrator reporting on rumors). There is one mention each of the adjective *filibustera* (Sandoval) and the noun *filibusterado* (Narrator).
- D. Variations on the root liberal- (16 all told). The noun *liberal* is mentioned by the Narrator 5 times (including voiceovers for Custodio and “political circles in Madrid”), and 1 each by Tadeo and Isagani. The adjective *liberal* appears 8 times, distributed between the Narrator, 5; and Sandoval, Makaraig, and Juanito Pelaez, 1 apiece. Finally,

the Narrator once uses the sarcastic verb-form *liberalizarse*. It should be understood that liberal typically refers, in a quite restricted and often contemptuous manner, to the corrupt metropolitan party of Práxedes Sagasta. I shall discuss this further below.

- E. Variations on the root soci- (16 all told). The noun *sociedad* comes up 13 times, divided between the Narrator, 4; Simoun, Pasta, and Isagani, 2 each; and Basilio, P. Fernandez, and P. Florentino, 1 apiece. The adjective *social* is used by Basilio twice (*armonía, la gran fábrica*) and Simoun once (*conciencia*).
- F. *Revolución* appears 14 times, divided between Simoun, 6; the Narrator and Basilio, 2 each; the High Official, P. Sibyla, the firecracker man, and an anonymous voice, 1 apiece. *Contrarrevolución* is mentioned once by Simoun. It is quite unclear whether in all these instances the word has the same meaning; even for Simoun, who uses the word most often, it seems to denote little more than a violent onslaught on the existing order, but without any real ideology or postrevolutionary program. Armed social revenge, perhaps.
- G. Words connected to the idea of citizenship (10). The variations are interesting. *Ciudadano* is used by Isagani three times, twice in a general sense and once with reference to the Philippines; Pasta and P. Florentino each use it once in a general sense; Sandoval uses it once to refer to Spain; while Basilio speaks of a time when men were free citizens *del mundo* (*ibid.*, 50, ch. 7 "Simoun"). Fellow-citizen (*conciudadano*) is mentioned by Basilio; and *paisanos (nuestros)* is referred to twice, once each by P. Florentino and Mautang.
- H. Words referring to colonies and metropolises (8). Metropolis is used only once, by Basilio. The noun *colonias* is mentioned by the Narrator (voicing over Custodio), Custodio, and Basilio each once. The adjectival form comes up four times, used twice by Pasta and twice by Isagani.
- I. Assimilationism (5). This covers both the ideology of Hispanicism and a policy of Hispanization. *Españolismo* is distributed between Simoun, 2; and Narrator, 1. *Españolización* is mentioned twice by Simoun.

- J. Reform (4). We find the sarcastic variant *reformistas* used one each by the Captain-General and an anonymous voice; *reformas* used once by the Narrator; and *progreso*, used once, positively, by Isagani.
- K. Finally there is a small pile of miscellanea (13): *partido* is mentioned three times by the Narrator; *policía secreta* is used twice by Camaroncoco, once by the Narrator; *ideología* is mentioned once by Pasta to mean empty talk, hot air; *repúblicas* is used twice by Simoun, referring to S. America, and once, maliciously, by the Narrator to describe the apartment Ben Zayb shares with others (*ibid.*, 262); *clase* is mentioned twice by the Narrator, including a voiceover for a soldier;²² *capitalista (de terrenos)*—i.e., not a manufacturer, but an agribusiness landowner—is referred to once by the Narrator.

What strike the reader most forcefully in the quantified material laid out above are absences. One could think of them as of two distinct but connected types. First of all, although Rizal had lived in various European capitals for almost ten years by the time he finished the *Fili*, what we do not find in this “political novel” is any mention of, say: monarchies, parliaments, constitutions, elections, courts of law, trade unions, peasant leagues, aristocracies, bourgeoisies, professionals, intellectuals, imperialism, conservatism, socialism, social democracy, nihilism, anarchism, nationalism, anticolonial insurrection, Freemasonry, women’s emancipation, racism, and so on.²³ One could, of course, argue that many of these institutions, classes, and ideologies were absent in the Philippines in 1890, and therefore irrelevant. But such an argument is implausible for several reasons.

The first is that there is a good deal of evidence that some of the items above do appear, disguised, in the text. Simoun’s bomb-plot is partly based on Narodnya Volya’s spectacular bomb-assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, the year before Rizal arrived in Europe for the first time. Simoun’s rhetoric partly borrows from the discourse of the nihilists and anarchist proponents of “propaganda by the deed.” The radical peasant leagues of Andalusia—and their brutal suppression—are indirectly alluded to by Sensia when she exclaims that maybe (Simoun’s) bomb plot is the work of *La Mano Negra* (the Gothic term

devised by the Spanish state for its rural enemies).²⁴ The second reason is that in general anticolonial movement activists read a great deal about the outside world from newspapers and books, and as a result usually pushed for the introduction of modern political institutions, hitherto *absent* in the colonies. Colonial intellectuals also tried critically to grasp the nature of colonialism by using some of the conceptual tools of the social sciences, and, of course, various types of socialism and liberalism.

The second type of absence is one to which attention has already been called. Rizal himself told Blumentritt that the servant class in Manila was largely Ilokano; and he knew that his beloved country contained many different ethnolinguistic groups, a fair number with members living and working in Manila. He was perfectly aware, too, as we have seen, of the importance of the Chinese mestizos in the Philippines. But all are exiled from his novels.

What to make of all this? I have proposed some lengthy explanations in *Under Three Flags*, and will therefore only summarize them here. The first is that Rizal had almost no serious political experience, knew little of contemporary political thought, and was not much interested in "politics" as such. One powerful piece of evidence for this view is the near-total absence of books on political theory or nineteenth-century politics either in his substantial personal library or his huge correspondence. He was fundamentally a novelist of genius, and a satirist of great power. But every satirist of his caliber is primarily, not very deep down, a moralist. The second is that one key element in the *Fil*'s plot, the students' campaign for a Spanish-language academy, was a not-too-veiled satire on the "assimilationist" policies tactically pursued by Marcelo del Pilar and his followers in Madrid and Barcelona, with the unreliable and opportunistic support of Sagasta's liberals. The unlovely, scheming students Tadeo and Juanito Pelaez, the blowhard Spaniard Sandoval, the rich amateur student-politician Makaraig, and the muddled Penitente easily outnumber the idealistic Isagani and the sardonically realist Pecson, and can be read as parodic portraits of some members of the Filipino colony in Spain that Rizal disliked or distrusted.²⁵

The malicious intent is visible also from another angle, that of policy. Campaigning for a Spanish language academy is basically senseless. The

students are already fluent in Spanish and have no need for it. What Rizal does not permit them to do is to campaign for any of the serious policy changes that Del Pilar was campaigning for in Spain, and which were quite well known in Manila: secularization of the school system, equality with Spaniards in the colony on the basis of metropolitan law, political autonomy within the Empire on the model of Cuba, ending the political power of the friars, introduction of greater personal and public freedoms, and so on.²⁶ This analysis suggests a key reason for at least some of the gaping “absences” outlined above.

There is one other fascinating occlusion that deserves a brief discussion: that of the grand *ci-devant* Spanish Empire itself. In the *Filí* Cuba is mentioned once, and Havana twice. The scanty references are also completely apolitical: Simoun tells P. Florentino that he made a lot of money in Cuba dealing impartially with the colonial regime and the nationalist *insurrectos*. (Actually, this formulation is incorrect: Simoun does not call them nationalists.) It is in Havana that he develops his intimate, corrupt relationship with “His Excellency” the Captain-General (modeled on Valeriano Weyler). Beyond that, nothing. The uninformed reader would not guess what the insurrectionaries were fighting for, or the huge violence of the war of 1868–1878, which ended in a political compromise, not a Spanish military victory. That between 1810 and 1838 Spain lost its entire continental empire in South and Central America is alluded to only in passing, and then only by Simoun, and on only two occasions, which is food for thought. Early in the novel the jeweler sardonically asks Basilio what he hopes for from Hispanization, and immediately provides his own answer. *Cuando más feliz, país de pronunciamientos, país de guerras civiles, república de rapaces y descontentos como algunas repúblicas de la América del Sur!* [At best, a country of military pronunciamientos, a country of civil wars, a republic of predators and malcontents like some of the republics of South America!] (*ibid.*, 47, ch. 7 “Simoun”). Later, he recapitulates this theme to an appalled Basilio: *allí está el Sur con sus repúblicas intranquilas, sus revoluciones bárbaras, guerras civiles, pronunciamientos, como en su madre España!* [There lies the South with its restless republics, its barbaric revolutions, civil wars, pronunciamientos, as in its mother Spain!] (*ibid.*, 250, ch. 33 “La última razón”). These jibes are quite odd. Simoun makes no

mention of the titanic politico-military struggles for independence from the Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century; nor does he seem aware that, in the 1880s, the major Spanish American countries—Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru—were mostly at peace, ruled by fairly stable oligarchies, and “developing” economically. It is not likely that Rizal intended to show up Simoun as an ignoramus; it is also not likely (though possible)²⁷ that Rizal was himself unaware of the fact that by the time he was writing the era of civil wars and pronunciamientos was (for the moment at least) past.²⁸ So?

One notices the tactical shifts of Simoun’s rhetoric. In the first case, “catastrophic” Spanish-speaking South America is deployed as a warning against Hispanization. In the second, it is utilized to show the cynicism of the European powers; their “applause” for the Latin American republics’ militarily-achieved independences follows the inhuman logic of “might makes right.” Hence, if his own revolution is bloodily successful, it will be accepted in the same spirit. Simoun’s tactic perfectly fits his mood and character. Still, one has to ask why the novelist bars any reference to, shall we say, the “Bolivarian Project,” which had ended imperial rule over 95 percent of the Spanish empire a generation or two before he himself was born? I am not sure if there is an obvious answer, but it is possible that nationalism, perhaps even an embarrassed nationalism, was at work. The more the history of the Empire was displayed, the more his beloved country could appear as a kind of political Juan Tamad, the last Spanish colony to stay subservient. Besides, the Philippines was unique, it was on the other side of the globe from South America, and it was the only colony in which Spanish was not the dominant language of everyday life for most strata. Perhaps he thought that the old Spanish empire was locally irrelevant?

PART B

In my previous article, the final section was devoted to studying some questions about the use of Tagalog in the *Noli*. One of the arguments that I then made was that the only plausible way to explain the facts—that the Narrator was far the largest user of Tagalog words, and that

a high percentage of these words had Spanish “translations” attached to them—was to underscore the degree to which the book was aimed at a sympathetic, but not very well-informed, “international” readership. I added that since Rizal wrote the novel in Spanish, and had a thoroughly Spanish name, the heavy use of Tagalog was a way of expressing his indigenous and authentic identity as a Tagalog and, maybe, Filipino.

None of this applies to the *Fili*, which in a way is confirmation of the argument above. We know that Rizal sent almost the entire print-run of the novel to Hong Kong, addressed to José Basa, whom he trusted to smuggle it into Filipinas. His readership was now to be his fellow-countrymen above all. The text reflects this intent, since practically none of the Tagalog words in it is explained or paraphrased in Spanish. No literate comrade in his country needed any such help.

But what do the quantitative data show? Depending on how one counts (unstressed Spanish words emerging from Tagalog? unstressed Tagalog words derived from Spanish?), the total is approximately 198 words, including, of course, repetitions.²⁹ Not only is the total substantially larger than the *Noli*'s approximately 127, but the distribution is far wider, almost doubly so. The details of the distribution look like this: Narrator, 80 (including 2 voiceovers each for Simoun and Cablesang Tales, and 1 each for P. Millon and Custodio); unnamed students, 20; Makaraig, 10; the candy-vendor, 8; Hermana Penchang, 8; Simoun, 7; Tadeo, 5; P. Millon, 5; Primitivo, 5; Isagani, 4; ship's captain, 4; anonymous woman, 4; Pecson, 4; Cablesang Andang, 3; rumormongers, 3; Salví, 2; Victorina, 2; Capitana Loleng, 2; Hermana Bali, 2; Quiroga, 2; anonymous voices, 2; town clerk, 2; and 1 each for Cablesang Tales, Basilio, Ben Zayb, Tandang Selo, Capitan Basilio, Penitente, a silversmith, a sacristan, the curate of San Diego, an anonymous man, neighbors, and a conspirator. The only significant group missing is that of the friars (except for P. Millon).

Some uses of Tagalog so visible in the *Noli* are (slightly less) conspicuous in the *Fili*. Once again Tagalog exclamations are often deployed for purely comic effect: *abá, nakú, ay, uy, aray, sulung, susmariosep*, for example. Most of the exclaimers are those bossy and shallow middle-aged women for whom Rizal seems to have had a special

aversion. The exception is P. Millon, who manipulates these interjections, quite consciously, to make fun of his students. The Narrator again often uses Tagalog nouns in the costumbrista manner, to describe objects and practices commonplace in the Philippines but not found in Spain. But there is no longer any whiff of the “native informant” or “tour-guide” in such descriptions.

When studying the *Noli*, I observed an intricate nexus between authenticity and the presence/absence of Tagalog. Crispin’s children’s song and the lines from Balagtas, both forming complete sentences, and both untranslated, are signs of the pristine truth of the uncontaminated language. La Consolación’s “perfect Tagalog” surfaces when she allows herself for a moment to feel the melancholy power of Sisa’s *kundiman*. Conversely, the heroic indio Elias never uses the language, and it is just this absence that protects his seriousness and purity. The central figure in the *Fili* who comes nearest to Elias is Simoun, who, if we delete all his references to *tulisanes*, could also be said to be a speaker of “pure Spanish” untainted by Tagalog, and thus symbolically its equivalent.³⁰ In the *Noli* mixed speech is always a sign for coloniality, but it remains to be seen whether this is still true for the *Fili*.

So far, so similar. The big difference between the two novels comes with the students, who use Tagalog 44 times. Almost all the named students, good, bad, and indifferent—Makaraig, Pecson, Penitente, Tadeo, and so on—use Tagalog words. The surprising exception is Juanito Pelaez, who, however, uses plenty of Spanish slang. The general pattern is repeated with the anonymous students (20 times). The interesting question that arises—given that these students are young, male, educated, and mostly from well-off families—is whether their linguistic habits are being satirized: so to speak aligning them with middle-aged, female, poorly educated characters like Hermana Penchang, Cablesang Andang, and La Victorina. Or are they meant to mock the “colonial-mestizo” linguistic practices of the Filipino community in Spain? Neither possibility seems to me fully plausible. The most telling evidence is the brilliantly achieved conversation that takes place between a candy-vendor with one of her (unnamed) student customers in the aftermath of the mass arrests.³¹ For the episode, though quite brief, runs flatly against the logic of Simoun’s passion of a “native”

national idioma as well as that of the rival campaign for the installation and promotion of “Academic” hispanization. It seems to me to show, for the umpteenth time, that the greatness of the novelist could never be tamed by his moral-political concerns.

Let us look at this conversation for a few moments. It is rendered in what is often called *chabacano*, but, in the *Fili*, a better traditional name, *español del Parían*, is more appropriate. Guillermo Gómez Rivera writes that *el caló chino de Binondo, o el lenguaje del Parían . . . es otro chabacano, o criollo, que originó del comerciante chino cristiano desde el comienzo de la trata de los galeones de Manila. A partir de ese tiempo, era el idioma popular de la compra y venta al por mayor y al por menor* [The argot of Binondo, or the language of the Parían . . . is a different chabacano, or creole, which originated from the milieu of Christian Chinese traders from the start of the galleon trade. From that time on, it was the popular idiom for buying and selling, wholesale and retail].³²

“Ya cogí ba con Tadeo?” preguntaba la dueña [“Is it true Tadeo’s been caught?” asked the proprietress]. “Abá, ñora,” contestaba un estudiante que vivía en Parían, “pusilau ya!” [“Good Lord, ma’am,” replied a student who resided in Parían. “He’s already been shot!”]³³

“Pusilau! Nakú! No pa ta pagó conmigo su deuda!” [“Shot! My God! And he still hasn’t paid me back what he owes me!”]

“Ay! No jablá vos puelte, ñora, baká pa di quedá vos complice. Ya quemá yo ñga el libro que ya dale prestau conmigo! Baká pa di riquisá y di encontrá! Andá vos listo, ñora!” [“Hey! Don’t speak so loud, ma’am, or you could be taken for an accomplice. Actually, I’ve already burned the book he lent me. Otherwise, maybe they’d search and find it! Be prepared, ma’am, keep a sharp eye out!”]

“Ta quedá dice preso Isagani?” [“You mean to say Isagani is in jail?”]

“Loco-loco también aquel Isagani,” decía el estudiante indignado, “no sana di cogí con ele, ta andá pa presentá! O, bueno ñga, que topá rayo con ele! Siguro pusilau!” [“That Isagani is really a fool,” said the student indignantly. “They shouldn’t have been able to catch him, but he went and turned himself in! Well, then, it’ll serve him right if the lightning strikes him! He’ll be shot for sure!”] La señora se encogió de hombros. [The lady shrugged her shoulders.]

“Conmigo no ta debí nada! Y cosa di jasé Paulita?” [“He doesn’t owe me a thing! And what will Paulita do now?”] “No di falta novio, ñora. Seguro di llorá poco, luego di casá con un español!” [She won’t lack for boyfriends, ma’am. Sure she’ll cry a bit, then marry a Spaniard!”]

It may be useful and interesting to look at this chatter line by line, since *español del Parián* (EP) has been dead in Manila for half a century.³⁴

- Line 1. In ordinary Spanish it would be: Ya cogieron a Tadeo? In ordinary Tagalog: Nahuli ba si Tadeo? (EP has only one indicative past tense, formed by *ya* + the infinitive, which also loses its final “r.” *Con* always replaces *á*. This is a Spanish sentence of sorts to which the unnecessary Tagalog *ba* is added.)³⁵
- Line 2. In Spanish: ya lo han fusilado; Tagalog: nabaril na! (The word order here is Tagalog rather than Spanish.)
- Line 3. In Spanish: Todavía no han pagado su deuda conmigo; in Tagalog: Hindi pa niya binabayaran ang utang niya sa akin. (In EP the present indicative is created by *ta* + the infinitive [pagá for pagar]. The word order of the start is Tagalog, while that of the ending is neither Spanish nor Tagalog.)
- Line 4. Spanish: No hable tan fuerte, señora, si no va a quedar cómplice. Ya quemé el libro que me prestó. Si no, me hubieron requisado y lo hubieron encontrado. Ten cuidado, señora! Tagalog: Huwag kang magsalita nang malakas, Senyora, baka ka madamay. Sinunog ko na nga ang libro na ipinahiram niya sa akin. Baka pa hanapan ako at makita ito. Magiingat kayo, Senyora. (EP uses *di* + shortened infinitive for the future indicative. *Baká pa* is idiomatic Tagalog, but the verbs are “active,” following Spanish.)
- Line 5. Spanish: Está diciendo que Isagani está preso? Tagalog: Sinasabi mo bang nakapreso si Isagani? (Seems to be Spanish with partly Tagalog word order.)
- Line 6. Spanish: Aquel Isagani es un verdadero loco . . . no le hubieran cogido, si no se hubiera presentado. Se lo merece, quo lo parta un rayo! Seguro que lo van a fusilar. Tagalog: Luko-luko talaga si Isagani, hindi sana siya mahuhuli, kung hindi pa siya

nagprisinta. O, mabuti nga at baka tamaan siya ng lintik! Sigurado babarilin siya! (Here the Tagalog is rather strong; the insertion of sana, the Hispanized “O, bueno nga” for the idiomatic Tagalog “O, mabuti nga.” I have changed Bomen Guillermo’s “siguro” to “sigurado,” following Tony Wood’s translation that feels right; the student is speaking with bravado, not with caution.)

- Line 7. Spanish: Conmigo no tiene ninguna deuda! Y que va a pasar con Paulita? Tagalog: Wala siyang utang sa akin! At ano na ang gagawin ni Paulita? (EP cosa – what; di jasé is the future form of hacer. The structure is Spanish.)
- Line 8. Spanish: No le faltaron novios, señora. Seguramente va a llorar un poco, y luego se va a casar con un español. Tagalog: Hindi siya mawawalan ng mga nobio, Senyora. Sigurado, iiyak siya nang kaunti, pagkaraan mag-aasawa din siya ng isang Kastila. (The structure is Spanish. Again, I think sigurado best conveys the student’s cynicism about Paulita’s shallow, opportunistic character.)

What are we to make of this?

The rapid, frightened, cynical chatter is funny, but, in the grim context of Tatakut, not at all parodic—i.e., intended to mock the interlocutors’ degraded grammar or ludicrous pronunciation.³⁶ Romanillos draws our attention to a postcard sent by Rizal to Pedro Paterno from Hong Kong on 9 February 1888, which reads: *Ñol, Aquí está nisós con ñol Iriarte. Yo di andá na Londrés, di pasá por Estados Unidos. Pronto di visitá con vos. Ya mandá nisós expresiones con el mga capatid y otro pa suyo. Adiós, ñol Maguinoo* [I am here with ñol Iriarte. I’m leaving for London via the United States. Will visit you soon. I send my greetings to the comrades and also to you. Bye-bye, ñol Maguinoo]. A straightforward communication in EP, with only the mild malice involved in combining ñol with the pretentious Tagalog title. (Romanillos adds that Rizal would have picked up EP while a schoolboy in Manila, and from his frequent visits to his grandmother in Trozo, one of the quarters where EP was commonplace.)

Still, there is something unsettling about the *Fili* passage, for all its brio. Even though Rizal casually mentions the student's "Chinese" Manilan address, the only sign of the *caló Binondo* is his unmarked use of *fuelte* for *fuerte*. Ñol is strikingly absent.³⁷ One can't help feeling that "Chineseness" has been airbrushed from the picture, leaving a "pure mix" of Spanish and Tagalog—like the airbrushing of Chinese mestizos throughout the novel. (It is instructive that, while Rizal used ñol in a very friendly manner when writing privately to Paterno, it appears in the *Fili* only in the malicious, mocking mouth of P. Millon.)

There are parallels elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Bangkokians almost universally replace the "correct" "r" with the Teo-chiu-derived "l" in everyday speech ("long lian," for "rong rian" = school, for example), but this transformation almost never appears in written Thai. Jakartans casually use Hokkien numerals and the Hokkien for thank-you ("kamsia") in conversation and private letters, but this behavior is rarely reflected in written "public Indonesian."

Nonetheless, despite the racist censorship involved, the chatter between the candy-vendor and her customer shows that we are in the presence of a real lingua franca for the streets of Manila, egalitarianly shared by poor vendors and their elite student customers. A patois, yes, and Simoun would not have approved, but also an instrument of social communication, not an emblem of political shame.³⁸ The *Noli* contains nothing like this.

Concluding Reflections

What can be learned from the laboriously accumulated and analyzed data on the terminologies and languages deployed in the *Noli* and the *Fili*?

The first and most general lesson is that the long-standing practice of selective and often tendentious short quotations from the novels in order to force their author into particular (and sometimes anachronistic) political positions is obsolete, and should now be abandoned. Any scholar trying to understand what Rizal "meant" by such terms as *pueblo*, *indio*, *patria*, *Filipinas*, *filipino*, and so on has to consider which

characters in the novels use these terms—to whom, and in what contexts—and to recognize that in most cases there is no single, stable meaning. This consideration necessarily includes the unreliable Narrator, who cannot always be taken as the personal voice or even voices of the First Filipino. Scholars must also be sensitive to the changes that are evident from the *Noli* to the *Fili*.

The second lesson is that it is essential to bear constantly in mind that the novels were written by a man who spent almost all his adult life (up to 1892) outside the Philippines. The *Noli* was clearly written in part for a non-Filipino readership; although the *Fili* is, in contrast, completely aimed at Rizal's fellow countrymen, its imagining of the Philippines is heavily refracted through the author's often painful experiences in Europe.

The third lesson is that, in the course of writing the novels, Rizal was, step by step, and probably not always consciously, rethinking his identities and those of his fellow countrymen. The *Noli* shows visible traces of the semantic turmoil surrounding the idea of "the filipino" in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. We thus find examples where the word is still used in the long-standing colonial sense to mean Spanish creole, and occasionally Spanish mestizo; and others where it acquires a metropolitan meaning, i.e., "someone arriving in Europe from the Philippines," no matter what his or her racial make-up or legal status in the distant colony. It is striking that neither the heroic Elias nor the Machiavellian Simoun ever refer to themselves as Filipinos—and we know that on the eve of his death Rizal wrote his identity as indio. It is clear also that Rizal's conception of his home-society changed between the writing of the *Noli* and the *Fili*. The imagined social structure of the *Noli* is, over all, consistent with the traditional graded racial hierarchy. But, in the *Fili*, it has largely been refigured in triangular form, with chinos and indios sharply and competitively set off against each other under Spanish colonial authority. Why this should have happened remains to be studied, but there is no doubt that in the second novel one finds disagreeably racist (anti-Chinese) episodes and language that are entirely absent from the *Noli*.

It is always good, when studying pictures, actual or metaphorical, to ask oneself "what is absent?" The accumulation of a mass of quanti-

tative data especially encourages the analyst to confront and even answer this question.

The fourth lesson is that students of these novels have to reckon with some extraordinary absences. Throughout the two books, only one character, Tadeo, and only on one occasion, specifically mentions the term *mestizo chino*, though almost all serious historians recognize that this notable stratum of colonial society was steadily growing in size, wealth, ambition, and political consciousness; and to a considerable degree it has since remained the most powerful social group in the country. Rizal was perfectly aware of its existence and importance, but the novels are composed in a manner that largely hides it. In this way the ground is laid for the *mestizo chinos* to become, most likely, the first “*filipinos*,” “*nationally*” contrasted with the “*real*,” and “*foreign*,” “*Chinese*.”

A second important absence is that of any substantial “*recognition*” of the enormous ethnolinguistic and cultural variety of the inhabitants of the Philippines. The novels show us no Ilokanos, no Bikolanos, no Pampangueños, no Cebuanos, and so on. There are only a (very) few passing references to Bisayans, Batangueños, and the *tribus independientes* of the Luzon Cordillera, and no local Moslems whatever. This absence cannot have been accidental, since Rizal’s circle of friends, and enemies, included (mostly Manilified) Ilokanos, Pampangans, and Bisayans. The difficulty is how to account for this absence. It is true that the Spanish colonial tradition did not emphasize these ethnolinguistic groups, which had no legal standing. Spanish censuses (unlike the American censuses that followed the Occupation) did not count them. But surely this cannot be the fullest answer, since we know that Rizal avidly read Blumentritt’s painstakingly worked-out “*map*” of the archipelago’s ethnolinguistic variety. One might have expected that the novels would show characters from the various ethnic groups transcending their provincial origins to become true nationalists, but this does not happen. They are simply absent.³⁹ One perceives a profound *aporia*. For the transcendence to happen, there would have to be a stable “*high*” term for their reincarnation, but both “*indio*” and “*filipino*” had not yet achieved this position—in *the colony*. This may also explain Rizal’s shyness about calling characters Tagalog, even though the

Tagalog language is everywhere in the texts. A peculiar picture of the Philippines' society emerges, without Chinese mestizos, and without ethnolinguistic groups, but also, on the whole, without a collective name—*yet*.

The third obvious absence is visible in the paucity of modern political vocabulary. The point has been made at length in the above analysis of the *Fili*, and need not detain us too long here. But the evidence inside the novels, and outside, suggests that Rizal was in many ways a political innocent, or, better, had little interest in the huge nineteenth-century debates about political institutions, forms, reforms, programs, and so on.⁴⁰ Simoun's "revenge" is quite personal and has no real political content at all. So the novels force the reader to recognize that the great man was above all an artist and a moralist; and, thus, that "judging" what politics he had at various times needs to take this fully into account.

The final conclusion, if one can call it that, is that the novels reveal to us the complexities of the relationship between nationalism and language, or, better, languages. Nothing exemplifies this better than Simoun's long, confused tirade against Hispanization. It is not simply that the gaunt conspirator himself never uses any indigenous language, not even Tagalog, and speaks to Basilio of "your nationality" as if he himself did not share it. He rattles on in excellent Spanish while insisting that only an indigenous language can express the true *pensamiento* of a colonized people, and also casually recalling that no less than forty languages are spoken in the Philippines. Rizal himself gave up the attempt to write a third novel, in Tagalog, after very few pages, and left it up to Paciano to translate the *Noli* into that language. When the great man traveled across the U.S., for which he had a European contempt, it did not occur to him to say that (colonial-derived) English could not express the *pensamiento* of the polyethnic republic; nor, in his acid remarks about Latin America, does Simoun attribute its problems to (ex-colonial) Spanish. Rizal wrote occasionally about the (to us heroic) Cubans, without much enthusiasm, but also without worrying about their Spanish speech. One notices also Rizal's reticence about his own Tagalog in the novels. Although the texts are full of Tagalog words, it

is only rarely that they are named as such, and at no point is there any claim that Tagalog expresses the *pensamiento* of the Philippine people. (We know from his correspondence that he criticized Ilokanos for speaking Tagalog badly, but as far as we know he made not the slightest effort to learn, and speak (badly too) the Ilokano language.) Another huge absence? Also a sign for a profound *aporía*? I think so.

There is every reason to think that, if the malign *Kano* had not seized his country, and if the First Republic had been allowed to survive, a kind of Filipino Spanish would have become, *de facto*, either the official language or the country's *lingua franca*. Mabini shows this trajectory most beautifully. Although he was not a wealthy *ilustrado*, never went to Europe, and treasured his own transcription of *Florante at Laura*, he was completely comfortable with Spanish, and all the complex decrees he issued in Aguinaldo's name were in that language. Aside from all the other likely reasons for this stance, one has to remember that all nationalisms need to represent themselves to other nations, and local languages can only rarely fulfill this function. (Who, outside the Philippines, then understood Tagalog, or Ilokano, or Cebuano?) Every ex-colonial country, and by no means just these countries, faces the same problem. How to speak or write to the rest of the world? How to speak or write among "ourselves"?

If one looks at the decolonized world that began to emerge after 1945, one sees two solutions to the first problem. One of these is to establish formally one of the "international languages"—English, French, Spanish, and Arabic, perhaps Portuguese too—as an "official language" (alongside a local "national" language). The "democratic" intent is to have all the young citizens learn one of these languages as a globally-useful second language via the national educational system. The second solution is to give the selected foreign language no formal status, but confine its use to the narrow strata that need special training in dealing with the outside world. Here the tendency is toward oligarchy, and self-enclosed and self-perpetuating elites. Had Mabini had his way, I have no doubt that he would have chosen the first option, Simoun notwithstanding. All the better if the Spanish themselves were removed from imperial power, especially since almost all the major languages of the

Philippines had long been impregnated with bits and pieces, not always recognized as such, of Castilian.

The domestic problem is quite another matter. Again, there are two general options. The first, which is a residue of “second-generation” European romantic nationalism, is to enshrine *one* local language as the “national language.” This solution can often be the source of unending problems. The local language selected is typically that of the politically and economically dominant ethnolinguistic group, not in the least interested in learning other domestic languages. The policy is almost always resisted, because the pressure comes from the state and the state’s educational system, and appears to offer members of the dominant group a huge advantage in the realm of public-service employment, especially if it is policed by an examination system. This is why, at one level, Tagalog has been resisted in many parts of the Philippines. The formal logic is that only the Tagalog speak “really good” Tagalog, and so . . . every other linguistic group has to bow to Tagalog superiority. But this is only one side of the story. As in many other countries, Tagalog, resisted as “the national language” when it comes via the state, is embraced as a “lingua franca” via the markets of domestic travel and commerce, and of the mass media. The condition for acceptance in the market is that it is not policed, and that people come to feel they need it in their everyday lives. In such circumstances, Tagalog becomes less the “national language,” than a needed lingua franca. It is not the monopoly of the self-interested Tagalog, but is open to everyone to adapt it, “corrupt” it, change it, in accord with local needs. Inevitably resistance to this process comes from part of the ethnic oligarchy: “these people don’t understand *malalim na Tagalog*.” But the truth is that there is no lingua franca that is “malalim.” (Nor, it appears, is “malalim na Tagalog” uncontaminated by Spanish.) This is what we learn from Indonesia, which has a hugely successful national lingua franca, spoken differently all over the huge archipelago, and with no one effectively dictating its usage or monopolizing it (not even the Suharto dictatorship!).

The second alternative is to understand the cultural politics involved and opt for an open lingua franca that does not belong to any one group. So to speak: “Down with *malalim na Tagalog*! Rescue street

Tagalog for all of us!" Here one sees the vast political difference between a lonely "national language" (many countries today have given up on this nineteenth-century European idea), and a common lingo that everyone can pick up and use in talking to everyone else. The *Fili*, thanks to a creative power that Rizal himself sometimes did not recognize, offers a striking example, entirely absent from the *Noli*. The splendor of the conversation between the candy-vendor and the student from Parian shows that the novelist was aware of the possibilities of a domestic lingua franca—EP, I have called it—understood completely, also by Spaniards, and the nationalist elite, as well as the masses, in multiethnic and multilingual colonial Manila. Not "recognized" officially, of course, because it was neither "malalim na Castellano" nor "perfect Tagalog," and was contaminated by the tarbrush of the "foreign" Chinese. Rizal could have faked this up, by having the conversation take place in Tagalog, but he was too brilliant a writer to fall for this absurdity. The result is that Simoun's retro call for a single pure language, representing the *pensamiento* of all the vast, exhilarating variety of Las Filipinas, is good-humoredly cancelled by EP. The amazing thing is that EP survived Rizal by half a century in Manila.⁴¹ Here we see the lineaments of a project that was destroyed in the catastrophe we are accustomed stupidly to call the Second World War: Spanish as "official" language, and a massively various EP as a popular lingua franca.

But a basic, popular political impulse cannot be destroyed. So long as "American English" is kept as a class quasi-monopoly, it will be subverted from all sides. Filipinos who laughed at Erap's "English" too easily forget that their own version of "American English" is often laughed at by the distant monopolists of "malalim na English." One has to learn to enjoy "Pakidoorbella na lang kayo!"

Taglish is one democratic descendant of EP. The country needs it: a language to which everyone can contribute in her or his own wild way. Communication *über alles!* This does not mean accepting mixed language merely as a lowest common denominator. We have seen the astoundingly beautiful, opulent possibilities of mixed-language growth and depth in Patrice Chamoiseau's stunning *Texaco* and *Soliman le Magnifique*, in Salman Rushdie's novels, and in the glorious epic poetry of Derek Walcott.

Notes

I would like to express my gratitude to Bomen Guillermo, Carol Hau, Ambeth Ocampo, and Tony Wood, for the invaluable help they gave me in preparing this article. Needless to say, they bear no responsibility for errors or misinterpretations readers may find.

1. Though his father's family had originally been legally classified as mestizo (Chinese), before Rizal's birth a petition to change this status to that of *indio* had been approved by the authorities.

2. Note that the Chinese language is once mentioned by Custodio, while the Narrator speaks once of a *chinífabo* newspaper in Manila.

3. Simoun once calls the American Red Indians "indios" (Rizal 1990, 250, ch. 33 "La Última Razón"). Ben Zayb and an anonymous gossip suggest that Simoun is an indio-inglés and the Narrator sarcastically echoes this description. Don Custodio is said to be ridiculed in Madrid as an *indiano*.

4. Simoun uses the adjective *indígena* once, but to refer to "things," not people.

5. For a splendidly astute discussion of this process in relation to the *Filí*, see Hau 2000, 140–52.

6. It is likely that this racialization had its objective correlate. Toward the end of the 1880s, as part of its cautious program of reforms, Spain abolished the long-standing legal status of mestizo. Although, socially speaking, the distinction between mestizos, *indios*, and creoles/peninsulars did not easily disappear, one consequence of legal change was for Spanish mestizos to move up to the status of Spaniards, while Chinese mestizos were merged with indios, creating in effect a triangular structure with the Spanish at the top, and indios and (foreign) *chinos* as opposing "legs." My thanks to Jun Aguilar and Father Schumacher for alerting me to this important change.

7. This is bad—[you have] no conscience—[You are] not Christian—You are a devil—Savage! Cunning rascal! On the one hand, the editors of the 1990 edition of the *Filí* suggest in their commentary that *tusu-tusu* is a deformation of *astuto*. This seems plausible, since it continues the expressions of the poor fellow's fury. On the other hand, Carol Hau suggests that *tusu-tusu* may be an onomatopoeic rendering of the Chinese habit of clucking their tongues to express disapproval, bewilderment, or protest.

8. This progress is by no means unique to the Philippines. Some of the most important early Thai nationalists, such as Rama VI and Luang Wichit Watthakan, were Chinese mestizos who aimed their nationalist guns primarily against "the Chinese Foreigners."

9. He uses *pa*, *nach*, *abá*, *ny*, *sulung*, *oy*, and *ajá* several times and the Spanish-derived *cosa* once. It is worth bearing this in mind when later in this essay I discuss the *chabacano* conversation between the candy-vendor and an unnamed student in "Tatakut" (ch. 27).

10. The novelist has a brilliant aside on this practice. The narrator says that Millon learned this style of speech from a professor of Canon Law. *Si el Reverendo queria con ello rebajar á los alumnos ó á los sagrados decretos de los concilios es cuestion no resulta todavía apesar de lo mucho que sobre ello se ha discutido* [Whether His Reverence wished thereby to disparage the students or the sacred decrees of the (Papal) Concilia is a question still unresolved, despite so much argument on the subject] (Rizal 1990, 92). Rizal thus broaches the wonderful idea that a peninsular-Spanish Dominican professor might be sufficiently fed up with his Order's reactionary obscurantism to use street-language to make veiled fun of it.

11. Notice that this is exactly the same type of contemptuous stereotyping that the novelist uses against the Chinese vendor in the following chapter, and against Quiroga two chapters thereafter.

12. This variant of señor does not occur in the *Noli*, which does, however, have a character called Ñor Juan. *Señoría* today means the abstraction "rule," but earlier probably meant something like [Your] Lordship.

13. Penitente calls himself a Batangueño. But his mother, Cablesang Andang, as we will see below, excludes herself from the class of *filipinos*, by which she seems to mean *indios*; we might then infer that Penitente is a Chinese mestizo who likes the idea of being Batangueño better.

14. Here I have to register my dissent from Vicente Rafael's ingenious-nationalist discussion of this chapter in his new *The Promise of the Foreign* (2006, 45–51), which hinges on the foreignness of Spanish for the students. In fact, nothing in the novel indicates that they see it this way; they chat among themselves in fluent and idiomatic "gay blade" Spanish, and they have had years of Spanish schooling before entering Santo Tomás. They are elite youngsters, most of whose parents probably use Spanish at home. (Compare Ateneo students today, who fluently babble to each other in English. At worst, they speak the language with a local accent.) What the students are really up against in the Physics class is an overwhelmingly boring system of rote learning, and a professor who, equally bored teaching a subject that is not his field, enjoys showing off his casuistic skills. P. Millon clearly assumes that the students understand his language perfectly, but not the subject; what he mocks is their imputed accent. Rafael mentions some of the minutiae of Millon's baiting, but he pays no attention to their social implications. Hence, the students tend to appear as twentieth-century "Filipinos." One may note by contrast that the long discussion between Isagani and P. Fernandez in chapter 27 ("El Fraile y El Filipino") proceeds fluently and transparently in excellent, unmarked Spanish.

15. Information very kindly given to me by Ambeth Ocampo who has studied the original document. As we have seen, *indio* was Rizal's legal status, but he is unlikely to have been thinking legally at that grim moment.

16. Jun Aguilar has reminded me that this phrase was actually coined by Rizal

in his *Morga*, so it is odd, but amusing, to find it attached here, out of character, to Custodio.

17. The narrator has already told readers that she is an *india* under her dreadful makeup. Here the semantics of the word seem to oscillate between *india* (she is shameless enough not to have the dignity to know who she is), and something more modernly nationalist—she is a traitor to her nation.

18. He is describing his professors, saying that half are *peninsulares*, and half *filipinos*.

19. The word *americano* often has an unclear referent, although sometimes it seems to mean Americans, and sometimes Latin Americans.

20. The Fili also has an amazing range of geographical references: Europe, 19 (Narrator, 13 [one voiceover for Ben Zayb]; Simoun, 2; Tadeo, Cabesang Andang, Timoteo Pelaez, and Ben Zayb; 1 each); Hong Kong, 11 (Narrator for Penitente); N. America/USA, 7 (Narrator, 4 [with voiceovers for Isagani, Custodio, and Ben Zayb]; Simoun, 2; Ben Zayb, 1); S. America, 3 (Simoun, 2; Narrator, 1); China, 3 (Narrator, Ben Zayb, Makaraig); India, 3 (Narrator, 2; Simoun, 1); Japan, 3 (Narrator, 2; Makaraig, 1); Russia, 2 (Simoun and Narrator); Germany, 2 (Simoun and Narrator); Persia, 2 (Narrator and Leeds); the Carolines, 2 (Narrator and Custodio); Rome, 2 (Narrator and Simoun); Havana, 2 (Narrator and Custodio); Jerusalem, 2 (both Narrator); Lake Moeris, 2 (Simoun and Leeds); Canton, 2 (Narrator); Cuba, 1 (Narrator); France, 1 (Tadeo); Portugal, 1 (Simoun); Ceylon, 1 (Narrator); Peru, 1 (Narrator); Egypt, 1 (Simoun); Poland, 1 (Simoun); Switzerland, 1 (ship's captain); Greece, 1 (Leeds); England, 1 (Isagani); Assyria, 1 (Leeds); Babylon, 1 (Leeds); Libya [Lydia?], 1 (Leeds); Siberia, 1 (Narrator); the Moluccas, 1 (Simoun); Constantinople, 1 (P. Florentino); Jena, 1 (Narrator for Ben Zayb); Sèvres, 1 (Narrator); Alexandria, 1 ("Horatius"); Abydos, 1 (Leeds); Guadalupe, 1 (Juanito Pelaez); Golconda, 1 (Simoun); Cannae, 1 (Capitan Basilio); Carthage, 1 (Simoun); Madrid, 1 (Narrator); Paris, 1 (Narrator); Delphi, 1 (Narrator); Philoe island, 1 (Leeds); Luzon, 1 (Narrator); Mindanao, 1 (Custodio); the Visayas, 1 (Narrator); Iloilo, 1 (Narrator); Los Baños, 1 (Simoun); Malolos, 1 (Pecson); San Mateo, 1 (Narrator); Batangas, 1 (Narrator); Albay, 1 (Narrator); Kagayan, 1 (Narrator); Pangasinan, 1 (Narrator); and Tayabas, 1 (Narrator).

The same is true of personages. From Graeco-Roman Antiquity we find: Ulysses, Calypso, Titus, Cicero, Horace, Seneca, Tacitus, Cleopatra, Hannibal, Annius Mucius Papilius, Pompey, Marc Antony, Caesar, Sulla, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epaminondas, Sappho, Helen, Polyhymnia, Jupiter, Juno, Psyche, Cupid; from ancient Asia and the Near East: Confucius, Buddha, Christ, Muhammad, Abraham, Cambyses, Khufu, Job, Amasis, Isis, Thoth, St. John Chrysostom, Eutropius the eunuch, St. Augustine; from European history: Richelieu, Héloïse, Marie Antoinette, the Princesse de Lamballe, Napoleon, Guzman the Good, Louis XV; thinkers and writers: Aquinas, Bentham, Boccaccio, La Fontaine, Descartes,

Schiller, Hugo; scientists: Tyndall, Secchi, Lavoisier, Darwin, Bunsen, Gay Lussac, Berzelius, Virchow, Quatrefages, and so on; painters: Rafael, Velazquez, Murillo.

21. See Rizal 1990, 81, ch. 11 "Los Baños"; and more seriously 256, ch. 36 "Apuros de Ben Zayb."

22. These two instances are quite interesting in relation to the commentary that immediately follows these listings. The first occurs when the Narrator begins his sardonic full-chapter portrait of Don Custodio, by describing him as belonging to *esa clase de la sociedad manilense* who are surrounded wherever they go by a groveling crowd of venal newspaper reporters: in effect, a member of Manila's colonial elite. We could translate *clase* more appropriately by "stratum" than by class (Rizal 1990, 148, ch. 20 "El Ponente"). The second occurs at the end of the novel, where the Narrator calls the *hijos de p*— uttered by a brutal *indio* mercenary soldier, *el insulto comun en la clase baja de los filipinos* (ibid., 273, ch. 38 "Fatalidad"). This is the old aristocratic way of talking about people of the "lower class," who are, of course, also "without culture."

23. One could put this the other way round by saying that the range of political terms mentioned in the novel is astonishingly constricted for a highly educated man who was a fluent reader of three, possibly four, European languages.

24. I have discussed these "borrowings" in some detail in chapter 3 of *Under Three Flags*.

25. The character in the *Filí* on whom Rizal focuses his formidable malice is Sagasta's stand-in, the ridiculous "liberal" Don Custodio. But the intensity of the venom is completely out of proportion to what we can see of Custodio for ourselves. He is a pompous, complacent, incompetent idiot, but he does not hurt anyone, he is not an intriguer, he is not shown to be a corrupt exploiter, and he has no power. The contrast with the *Nolí* could not be more striking. Dámaso, Salví, and La Consolación are almost demonically wicked, and responsible for terrible crimes. But, at least for Dámaso and La Consolación, the novelist on occasion shows a pity and human understanding that he never extends to Custodio. The Salví who makes a cameo appearance in the *Filí* is so feeble a figure that Simoun's strange revenge seems quite right. Taking a leaf from *Hamlet*, the jeweler simply gives him a big superstitious fainting-fit by means of Mr. Leeds's ventriloquism.

26. Far and away the fullest and fairest account of the complicated relationship between Del Pilar and Rizal is in Father Schumacher's classic, *The Propaganda Movement, 1880–1895* (1997), especially chapters 7–12. See also *Under Three Flags* (Anderson 2005, 94–104, 133–36). Their differences are illuminated by their attitudes to *La Solidaridad*. Rizal wanted it to be oriented primarily to Filipinos, awakening and strengthening their national consciousness, though he could occasionally use it for attacks on particular Spanish journalists, politicians, and bureaucrats. Del Pilar, however, regarded it as a journal for Philippine propaganda in Spain, to help influ-

ence public opinion in favor of reforms in the Philippines. Rizal was a prickly moralist and novelist who rarely failed to denounce the personal shortcomings of the Filipinos in Spain, while Del Pilar was an astute politician who saw every reason to keep the “colony” in Madrid and Barcelona as politically united as feasible.

Del Pilar was sure that (for tactical reasons) an “assimilationist” policy was the only way to persuade Spain to carry out major reforms in the Philippines. Rizal, anything but a politician, more and more believed this policy was useless and, nationally-speaking, reprehensible.

27. His library seems to have contained not a single book on Spanish America, and the region is barely mentioned in his correspondence. A true European provincial, perhaps?

28. One might try to imagine the outcome of Simoun’s plot, had it been successful: if not chaos, then surely a restless republic, maybe a barbaric revolution, a civil war, perhaps even a pronunciamiento or two?

29. The total would be reduced by 28 if *tulisan* were not counted. The word is of Nahuatl origin, but was taken over into Mexican Spanish, and eventually introduced into, and embedded within, Tagalog.

30. One might also suspect that the Narrator’s studious avoidance of Tagalog verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, and interjections guarantees his moral seriousness against the parodic possibilities of mixed language. He can make fun of the characters he describes, but has no inclination to make fun of himself (very much like the author, in fact).

31. This conversation occurs in chapter 27 (“Tatakut”), the one chapter given a Tagalog title, p. 220.

32. My thanks to Bomen Guillermo for this quotation from a text by Rivera, a member of the Academia Filipina de la Lengua, which he found at <http://www.rogersantos.org/rizal.html>.

33. Carol Hau has pointed out to me the significance of this address. In the early days after the Spanish conquest, the Parian was planned as a ghetto for un-Christianized *sangleyes*. It was located near the Spanish walled city of Intramuros, on the opposite side of the river from Binondo, the designated quarter for Christianized *sangleyes*, their native wives, and mestizo children. In 1790 the whole quarter was razed to the ground to allow an expansion of the fortifications of Intramuros, and its population moved to Binondo, which thus became the “Chinatown” we know today. See Wickberg 2000, 11–12, 20, 23, and 41. The seeming gratuitousness of giving the unnamed student a named address—in Manila’s oldest Chinese quarter—possibly represents Rizal’s hint that the boy is a Chinese mestizo.

34. My thanks to Tony Wood for the clean Spanish, and to Bomen Guillermo for the clean Tagalog. Romanillos (1992, 19–14) offers a fine, succinct account of EP/Chabacano’s grammar and syntax. The only drawback is that, though he notes that EP was widely spoken in Ermita, Quiapo, Malate, San Nicolás, Santa Cruz,

Trozo, and Paco till the Second World War, the article is focused mainly on Cavite. No mention of Chinese.

35. For alternative Tagalog versions of this passage, see Rosendo (1958, 403–4), Mariano (1958, 298), de Guzman (1960, 262), and Almario (1999, 231). Only Almario attempted to convey the patois character of the original. Comparison of the translations would be fascinating, but I cannot attempt it here.

36. In Rizal's personal library, there were no less than ten novels by Eugène Sue. Runners up were Dumas *père* with five, and Zola with four. One of the most alluring features of Sue's 1844–1845 blockbuster, *Les Mystères de Paris*, was its ample use both of Parisian argot and the patois of his native Auvergne.

It is quite likely that Rizal had Sue in mind here. See Anderson 2005, 46–48.

37. Romanillos (2006, 80–93) cites admiringly a Zamboangan *chabacano* version of Rizal's famous last poem. It contains plenty of words ending correctly in –or: vapor, rumor, dolor, olor, and so on (no dolol, vapol, and so on). This form of the patois had its origins within the native-manned, Spanish-officered colonial military. Rivera offers a short conversation in (Binondo-Manila) EP that contains not merely Señolia, but also polque (porque), otlo (otro), and luhai (lugar).

38. It is striking that Romanillos (1992) reports that even peninsulars quickly picked up EP for use in markets, haciendas, churches, and on the street. P. Millon!

39. Jun Aguilar has thoughtfully suggested to me that one can observe very similar situations in other parts of Southeast Asia. It took more than a generation for Javanese patriots to be capable of seeing their compatriots from Sumatra, Borneo, and Sulawesi, as genuinely “like” themselves, i.e., as full Indonesians (and even today many Outer Islanders complain of Javanese condescension). One can find the same difficulties experienced by Vietnamese with their Montagnard fellow-citizens, Burmans with their Chin and Kachin fellow-countrymen, and so on. Nothing at all peculiarly Filipino.

40. Many readers may be taken aback by this judgment, and will be inclined to remind me that after all Rizal spoke often about “freedom” in the novels. But again the evidence points, hesitantly, against such a response. The key word *libertad* appears in the *Fili* only twenty times, and is used by a very restricted circle of characters: Isagani, P. Florentino, Simoun, and two Spaniards, the High Official and Sandoval. The Narrator never uses the word.

41. *Chabacano* in different forms, i.e., not EP itself, survives cheerfully in Cavite City, Ternate, Zamboanga, and Cotabato.

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