

Kapampáŋan or Capampáñgan: Settling the Dispute on the Kapampáŋan Romanized Orthography

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Abstract

Is it Kapampáŋan or Capampáñgan? This petty squabble over orthography has for the past sixty years confused and discouraged native speakers from reading and writing their own native language. It is partly responsible for the retardation of Kapampangan/Capampangan literature and has thus far only promoted illiteracy rather than literacy. This paper aims to present in historical perspective the root causes of this problem and somehow discover a means to resolve it.

1. Introduction

For the past sixty years, there exists an ongoing debate on what orthographic system should be used to properly represent the Kapampáŋan Language. The conclusion of this dispute is far from being resolved. The purpose of the paper is to:

- a) show the beginnings and development of the conflict in a historical perspective
- b) present a glimpse of its adverse effects on the current status of the Kapampáŋan Language and Literature
- c) present the initial attempts at synthesis and the possible reasons why they have not yet succeeded
- d) open and present the issue to outside experts (non-Kapampáŋans) so as to receive suggestions on a possible resolution at an intellectual and not an emotional level.

1.1. The Adverse Effects of the Conflict on Kapampáŋan Literacy

The conflict has severely affected the current status of Kapampáŋan literature. Up to the present, the debate has become an emotional issue and not an intellectual one. Kapampáŋan publications became the first casualties. Newly published works were publicly attacked merely for the orthography they used and not by their literary merits. Kapampáŋan publications were attacked by one group or the other for supposedly favouring this or that orthography. New writers were being forced to join one writing faction over the other. There was a marked decrease in output in Kapampáŋan writing by the mid 1970s. By the early 1980s, there were no more Kapampáŋan publications in circulation. No new Kapampáŋan writers appeared on the scene since then. Hardly any works from the old group of writers were also known to have been

produced or published. For the past twenty years, Kapampáangan literature has stood still. Today, majority of Kapampáangan speakers below the age thirty are illiterate in their own AMÁNUNG SÍSUAN ‘mother tongue’ (from Kapampáangan *amánu* [n.] ‘language’ and *súsu* [v.] ‘to suckle’).

1.2. The Adverse Effects of the Conflict on the Spoken Kapampáangan Language

Everyday, the average Kapampáangan is bombarded by both spoken and written PILIPINO ‘Tagalog’ and English from both the local and national media. Local radio stations and newspapers are aired only in English and Tagalog. Public street signs are also in PILIPINO and English. Many private schools within the Province of Pampanga penalize students for speaking in their native language. Among the youth, spoken Kapampáangan sounds more Tagalog than Kapampáangan. Aside from the many Tagalog words that made their way into the Kapampáangan vocabulary, some Kapampáangan verbs are now being conjugated in the same manner as Tagalog. (Kitano pers. comm.)¹ Since majority of the youths have no access to any form of Kapampáangan culture, there was no means for them to reinforce and enrich their spoken language. Since a majority of them can not read or write in Kapampáangan, there was no means for them to record and develop their thought processes in their native language. In many gatherings Kapampángans seem more confident and articulate in exchanging views and ideas among their own KABALÉN ‘countrymen’ (from Kapampáangan *balayán* [n.] ‘country’) in Tagalog than they would in their own AMÁNUNG SÍSUAN. For instance, many Catholic priests are now delivering their homilies in the Tagalog language during a Kapampáangan liturgy while high school student meetings are conducted in the Tagalog language even if all the participants are Kapampángans.

2. Thesis: The Spaniards Conquer Luzon

Before the Spanish conquest of Lúsung Guo (circa 10th century AD – 1571 AD) and the subsequent creation of the Province of Pampanga in 1571, Kapampángans used their own indigenous writing system to represent their language (See Figure 1).

2.1. The Spanish Missionaries Initiate the Romanization of the Kapampáangan Language

In the late 16th century, during the early part of the Spanish conquest of Lúsung Guo (circa 10th century AD – 1571 AD), the Agustinian missionaries initially tried to study the Kapampáangan language together with its indigenous writing system. As late as 1699, more than a hundred years after the Spanish conquest, Spanish friar Alvaro de Benavente continued to study the Kapampáangan language together with its indigenous writing system. (Marcilla y Martin 1895)

¹ Kitano Hiroaki of the Aichi University of Education observed this phenomenon during his recent survey of Kapampáangan verbs at Angeles City in August of 2005.


Figure 1. The indigenous Kapampangan script reconstructed by Siualâ ding Meangûbié in 1987

Ding Matuang Súlat Kapampangan

kambal siualâ	mikukúyug a siualâ	siualâ	ibat lâbí	dalan kng dílâ ← ibat ípan	ibat akmlán
				←	
				←	
			titiup	sasalitsit	dalan árung

ka -ká- ki -kí- ku -kú- ke ko kang
 -kã -kĩ -kũ


Figure 2. The indigenous Kapampangan script as recorded by Alvaro de Benavente in 1699



RELIGION
S. AUGUSTINI

P.
DELGADO

PAMPANGO.



Núm. 12.

Alfabeto pampango del Ilmo. y Rmo. Sr. Alvaro de Benavente manuscrito de 1699.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
V.O.	=	Z	N	O	T	V	T	
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i
j	k	l	m	n				
10	11	12	13	14				
N	V	V	3	2				
ng	o	u	p	s	t			

The ... present the sounds of the Kapampangan language in an orthographic system more familiar to the Spaniards was more expedient for the friars who needed to evangelize and administer the newly conquered province at once. Perhaps the need to read and write the

Kapampáangan language in its traditional writing system was an added burden for the friar-administrators and was later deemed impractical. When Augustinian friar Diego Bergaño wrote the two most significant linguistic works on Kapampáangan during the Spanish era, the ARTE DE LA LENGUA PAMPANGA in 1729 and the BOCABULARIO DE PAMPANGO EN ROMANCE Y DICCIONARIO DE ROMANCE EN PAMPANGO in 1732 (Manlapaz 1981), they did not include any notes or references on the indigenous Kapampáangan script. (Bergaño 1860)

2.2. Kapampángans Identify the Spanish Orthography as Genuinely Kapampáangan

Throughout the more than 300 years of history under Spain and the early part of the American rule, the Kapampáangan language has been written solely in the Romanized orthographic system introduced by the Spaniards. Due to the great number of written volume of Kapampáangan works written in this orthography, many Kapampángans have long disassociated this orthography with Spain and colonialism. Most Kapampángans to date still consider this orthography as the TUTÛNG KAPAMPÁNGAN ‘genuine Kapampáangan’ (from Kapampáangan *tutu* [adj.] ‘true’ and *Kapampáangan* [n.]).

2.3. The Literary Tradition of the Town of Bacúlud

Many of the Kapampáangan literary masterpieces written in the Spanish orthography were produced in Bacúlud (Bacolor), then the capital of the Province of Pampanga and the center of arts and letters during the Spanish colonial regime. Writers from Bacúlud who achieved god-like status in the history of Kapampáangan literature included Anselmo Jorge Fajardo who wrote 31,000 line comedy GONZALO DE CORDOBA, Mariano Proceso Pabalan Byron who wrote ING MANAGPE, the first ZARZUELA ‘Spanish opera’ to be written in any Philippine language, Felix Galura y Napao who was one of the leaders of the Revolution against Spain in Bacúlud, and Juan Crisostomo Soto who wrote ALÂNG DIÓS and in whose honor the argumentative verse known as CRISSOTAN was named after (Manlapaz 1981). Since the Spanish orthography has long been identified with the works of the literary giants of Bacúlud, this writing system also came to be known as the Bacolor Orthography or SÚLAT BACÚLUD (from Kapampáangan *súlat* [n.] ‘letter’ and *Bacúlud* [n.] ‘the old name of Bacolor’). Kapampáangan writers from Bacúlud refuse to give up this orthography even up to this date. (Ocampo pers. comm.)²

3. Anti-thesis: Challenging the Established Order

Two significant events that occurred outside of Province of Pampanga had a profound impact on the future of Kapampáangan writing:

² This is often the topic discussed by Vedasto Ocampo, current Kapampáangan Poet Laureate, at his residence in Magalang, Pampanga during the month of August and November, 1994.

- a) The first was the rising nationalist influence of José Rizal in the late 19th century.
- b) The second was the legal imposition of Tagalog as the Philippine National Language in 1937 and its proposed orthography, the ABAKADA.

It was a local phenomenon however that solidified the movement bent on changing the established orthography in Kapampáangan Writing. That phenomenon was José Galládo.

3.1. Indigenization and the Wáwâ Tradition

Throughout Kapampáangan history, Wáwâ has been an irritant to the Spanish authorities at the provincial capital of Bacúlud (Bacolor). During the British invasion of Manila in 1762-64, while the seat of government was in exile at Bacúlud, Wáwâ rose in arms and sided with the British. In 1898, the first cells of Andres Bonifacio's underground revolutionary society, the Katipunan, were first established in the Province of Pampanga at Wáwâ (Larkin 1972:115). Although Baculud served as the political seat and the center of arts and letters, it was merely an economic satellite of the rich port city of Wáwâ (Larkin 1993:33). By the end of the Spanish era, writers from Wáwâ rose to wrest Bacúlud's monopoly on Kapampáangan writing. The Kapampáangan nationalist writers from Wáwâ wanted to create a distinct identity different from the Bacúlud literary tradition. The inspiration came from a non-Kapampáangan: José Rizal.

It was José Rizal, the Philippine National Hero, who first proposed of indigenizing Philippine Writing when he proposed of simplifying Romanized Tagalog by replacing the letters C and Q with K. Rizal was supposed to have used the BAYBAYIN, the native Tagalog script, as his basis for doing so (Panganiban 1972:xi). Two Kapampáangan Writers from Wáwâ (Guagua), AURELIO TOLENTINO and MONICO MERCADO, would adapt Rizal's proposal into Kapampáangan Writing.

3.1.1. Monico Mercado

The first Kapampáangan work written in José Rizal's proposed indigenized orthography was perhaps Monico Mercado's translation of Rizal's MI ÚLTIMO ADIÓS. It was written in January of 1897, just a few days after Rizal's death on December 31, 1896 (Paular 1989:258). A collection of his work that appeared in Edna Zapanta Manlapaz's KAPAMPANGAN LITERATURE: A HISTORICAL SURVEY AND ANTHOLOGY (Manlapaz 1981) and Rozalina Icbán Castro's LITERATURE OF THE PAMPANGOS (Castro 1981:49) shows Mercado's faithfulness to this new orthography. He was a member of the Kapampáangan elite who wore the Spanish title DON. He was born in Wáwâ on May 4, 1875. He was a renowned writer in both Kapampáangan and Spanish and has distinguished himself as a lawyer and politician (Lacson 1984:538).

3.1.2. Aurelio Tolentino

The most prolific and most controversial writer of the Wáwâ tradition was the renowned playwright Aurelio Tolentino. He was a fierce revolutionary and a devout nationalist. A close friend Revolutionary Leader Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto, Tolentino was one of the first 13 members of the Katipunan organization (Lacson 1984:544). He was arrested on several occasions by the American colonial authorities for revolutionary activities, famous of which is the staging of his seditious Tagalog drama KAHAPON, NGAYON AT BUKAS in 1902 which earned him the title FATHER OF THE TAGALOG DRAMA. His writings in both Tagalog and Kapampangan were written in Rizal's proposed nationalist orthography. Among the Kapampangan works in the new nationalist orthography were KASULATANG GINTŪ published in 1914 (Tolentino 1914) and NAPUN, NGENI AT BUKAS (Manlapaz 1981:30).

3.2. The Legal Imposition of Tagalog as a National Language and the ABAKADA

On 31 December 1937, upon the recommendation of the month-old National Language Institute (NLI), Commonwealth President Manuel L. Quezon proclaimed the language based on Tagalog as the Philippine National Language (Bautista 1995). In 1938, the National Language Institute (NLI) was dissolved and replaced with the Institute of National Language (INL). Its purpose was to prepare for the nationwide teaching of the Tagalog-based National Language by creating a dictionary and a grammar book with a standardized orthography. This new orthography was simply called the ABAKADA (Panganiban 1972). In the School Year of 1940-41, the teaching of the National Language, with its new standardized orthography, was set by law in the fourth year of all high schools in both public and private schools throughout the country. With the LEGAL IMPOSITION of the new orthography, Tagalog writers have now been divided into PURISTS and ANTI-PURISTS (Panganiban 1972).

3.2.1. Zoilo Hilario and his Akademyang Kapampangan

In the April 1946 issue of ING KAPAMPANGAN, Zoilo Hilario wrote MAMUNIKALANG BAYUNG PAMISULAT KING AMANUNG KAPAMPANGAN which was his proposal to standardize Kapampangan orthography (Manlapaz 1981:54). Being a member of the Institute of National Language (INL), Hilario sought to adopt the ABAKADA used in Tagalog and impose it as the Kapampangan language's standard orthographic system.

He established the Akademyang Kapampangan in 1937³ so as to create a movement that would promote his aim. Advocates were recruited from among local writers, poets and publishers. Among those who supposedly joined the ranks of the movement were renowned poets Amado Yuzon and former Philippine President Diosdado Macapagal. Whether Yuzon and Macapagal's membership in the Akademyang Kapampangan were an actual fact, a collection of their works that appear in Edna Zapanta Manlapaz's *KAPAMPANGAN LITERATURE: A HISTORICAL SURVEY AND ANTHOLOGY* was all written in the Spanish style orthography and not in the proposed ABAKADA. (Manlapaz 1981)

3.2.2. The Initial Resistance and the Emotional Response

The writers from Wáwâ had for decades been writing in a distinct orthography similar to the ABAKADA since the end of the 19th century and yet they hardly met any opposition from Kapampangan writers who continued to write in the old Spanish orthography. But when Zoilo Hilario proposed the same orthography to standardize written Kapampangan, he was met with fierce opposition. The main difference was that the nationalist writers of the Wáwâ tradition, though radicals, never imposed their orthographic system on others. The problem with Hilario was that he sought to IMPOSE this orthography on all forms of Kapampangan writing whereby every Kapampangan writer must comply. He even created an organization, the AKADEMYANG KAPAMPANGAN, to campaign for his cause. To complicate things, Hilario's move coincided with legal imposition of Tagalog as the Philippine National Language whereby all other Philippine languages, including Kapampangan, were placed in a subordinate position to Tagalog. Many saw Hilario's aim of imposing the ABAKADA as nothing more but the Tagalization of Kapampangan Literature and of the Kapampangan Language itself. With Hilario's campaign to unify all Kapampangan writing under a new orthography, the senseless conflict between the so-called PURISTS and ANTI-PURISTS that plagued the Tagalog literary scene also found its way among Kapampangan writers.

3.2.3. The Akademyang Kapampangan under Evangelina Hilario Lacson

Evangelina Hilario Lacson, who succeeded his father as leader of the Akademyang Kapampangan, began a new approach in imposing the use of the ABAKADA in Kapampangan writing. First she decided to stop calling the orthography ABAKADA since it has been emotionally

³ The official history of the Akademyang Kapampangan as narrated by Evangelina Hilario Lacson claims that it was founded solely by her father Zoilo Hilario in 1937. In an interview with Kitano Hiroaki in August 3, 1997 however, Lacson stated that Zoilo Hilario founded the Akademyang Kapampangan with renowned poets of the Wáwâ tradition Monico Mercado and Amado Yuzon. Kitano Hiroaki noted this in his description of the Kapampangan Language that was included in Jane Garry's *Facts about the World's Major Languages*.

identified with Tagalog. Instead, she began calling it as the ORIGINAL KAPAMPANGAN ORTHOGRAPHY. In her book KAPAMPANGAN WRITING: A SELECTED COMPENDIUM AND CRITIQUE, Lacson wrote: *What simply could have been written with only two letters using the ORIGINAL KAPAMPANGAN ORTHOGRAPHY, KE (a form of the possessive adjective MY), the Spaniards spelled with three, QUE.* (Lacson 1984:5) Neglecting the role José Rizal played on Tagalog writing and its subsequent influence on the Kapampangan nationalist writers of Wáwâ, Lacson on the same page added: *Meanwhile, Tagalog writers stuck to their old orthography and did not allow it to be corrupted by any of our colonizers...* Throughout the seminars she conducted and countless campaign speeches, Lacson had insisted that the idea of replacing the Spanish orthography with an indigenize one was purely the result of her father's genius (Lacson pers. comm.)⁴.

Despite her apparent neglect of Rizal's influence and the literary tradition of Wáwâ, Lacson succeeded in driving this message across: that the orthography proposed by his father and the Akademyang Kapampangan has all along been the TUTÛNG KAPAMPÁNGAN orthography and that those who continue to write in the manner of the Spaniards were the ones lacking in nationalism and genuine love for their INDÛNG TÍBÛAN 'motherland' (from Kapampangan *indû* [n.] 'mother' and *túbû* [v.] 'to grow'). With this new rationale, Lacson was able to recruit new members into the Akademyang Kapampangan who campaigned fiercely to impose his father's proposed orthography. The dispute over the use of the two sets of Romanized orthography in Kapampangan writing became even more emotionally intense.

3.3. José Gallardo and the Orthography called K

José Gallardo was the only Kapampangan writer of the late 20th century to join the ranks of the legendary great men of Kapampangan Literature. He was the most prolific and most talented writer of his time. In 1949, he was officially conferred the most coveted title of BÁYUNG ÁRÎ NING PARNASONG KAPAMPÁNGAN 'The New King of the Kapampangan Parnassus', successor to the late Amado Yuzon (Manlapaz 1981:46). His works were widely read and highly sought after. Being a former member of the HUKBALAHAP 'The Peoples Army against Japan', his works appealed greatly to the Kapampangan masses at a time when the Province of Pampanga was at the center of social unrest in the 1950s and 60s.

⁴ Topic of Lacson's opening speech at the *Seminar Workshop on Kapampangan Culture Its History, Language, Literature and Its Role in the Identity of the Filipino* held at the Angeles University Foundation on May 8-13, 1989. This will be repeated in various Akademyang Kapampangan seminar-workshops.

Gallardo was quite pragmatic when it comes to the question of orthography, freely switching from one Romanized form to the other. Hailing from the remote northeastern town of Candaba, far removed from the literary centers of Bacúlud and Wáwâ, Gallardo did not inherit any attitudinal bias regarding orthography. Gallardo began writing in the conventional Spanish style orthography. From the early 1970s up to the early 1980s, Gallardo also wrote in the synthesised orthography proposed by Venancio Samson when he helped edit the Kapampangan organ of the Catholic Church *ING MÁYAP A BALITÂ* (Gallardo 1985-86).

In the mid 1970s, when Gallardo became editor of *ING SIWALA*, the Kapampangan section of *THE VOICE* (Manlapaz 1981:2,46), Gallardo began writing in K, the name young Kapampangan readers gave to the *ABAKADA* (The Spanish style orthography was simply called *Q AMPÓNG C* ‘Q and C’). Gallardo’s reason for doing so was expediency and not an allegiance to any literary tradition. He laments that there are less and less Kapampangan writers and that the unprofitable bickering over orthography was not advancing the cause of Kapampangan literature (Tayag 1985:171).

Jose Gallardo encouraged aspiring Kapampangan writers to simply write something and not worry about committing errors in spelling. Since the Spanish language and the manner it was written was no longer taught in schools, Gallardo saw the futility in continuing with old orthography. Since Tagalog-based Pilipino has been widely taught in schools throughout the Kapampangan speaking region, Gallardo saw the practicality in using an orthography most familiar to young Kapampangans. In switching to K, Gallardo was teaching the new crop of Kapampangan writers to use what was readily at hand (Ocampo pers. comm.).⁵ In the end, it was the versatile and unassuming José Gallardo and his *Aguman Talasulat Kapampangan* (*AGTAKA*) who did more to popularize the new orthography and not the elitist and inflexible *Akademyang Kapampangan*.

4. Synthesis: Venancio Samson’s HYBRID ORTHOGRAPHY

In 1970, prior to his official translation of the Christian Bible in the Kapampangan language, Venancio Samson called the attention of the Philippine Bible Society to the existing dispute in Kapampangan orthography. Samson submitted a proposal aimed at reconciling the OLD and the NEW spelling in Kapampangan writing (Samson 2004). The OLD spelling Samson

⁵ Vedasto Ocampo justified his use of the K orthography in the same manner as José Gallardo. Personal Communications with Kapampangan Poet Laureate Vedasto Ocamp, Magalang, Pampanga, August & November 1994.

referred was the Spanish style orthography or C & Q. The NEW spelling referred to the ABAKADA, now popularly known as K.

Samson proposed to eliminate the peculiarly Spanish QU, Ñ and LL and replace them with K, NY or NI and LY or LI respectively. As a compromise to those who miss the OLD spelling, the C was retained before a, o and u. Samson however rejected the use of the W. Samson also insisted on the placing of diacritical marks to denote stress. Unlike Tagalog, Samson noted that there are a lot of words in the Kapampáangan language that read differently even if spelled similarly. Notice the similar spelling but different readings of the following words: MASAKIT [adj.] ‘painful’, MASÁKIT [adj.] ‘difficult’ and MÁSAKIT [n.] ‘ill’ (Henson 1965:171). With the absence of diacritical marks that denotes proper stress, what would prevent a person from reading

Másakit	ku	atian
sick	ERG.1SG	stomach
‘I have a stomach ache.’		

as	Masákit	ku	atian
	difficult	ERG.1SG	stomach
	‘My stomach is difficult.’		?

Samson’s synthesis was at first readily accepted by the Catholic Archdiocese of Pampanga and utilized it in most of its Kapampáangan language publications during the early part of the 1970s. These included missals, devotional books and its monthly publication ING MÁYAP A BALITÂ. It soon however met strong opposition from the Akademyang Kapampangan members within Catholic hierarchy. Many of Venancio Samson’s translations and publications were stopped and replaced with works written in the NEW orthography (Samson pers. comm.)⁶.

5. The Kapampáangan Nationalism and Batiáuan’s Revised Orthography

In the mid 1980s, cultural advocates and researchers Edwin Camaya and Siuálâ ding Meángûbié began their independent campaigns to promote the idea of a BANGSÂNG KAPAMPÁNGAN ‘Kapampáangan Nation’. The two met and formed an alliance and began to work extensively after the eruption of Mount Pinatubo. In 1992, they met Dave Nepomuceno on-line who gave them a medium to air their ideas on the internet.

⁶ This was discussed by Ámung Venancio Samson during the Camalig Breakfast Club Forum held at the Historic Camalig Restaurant in Angeles City, June 4, 2004.

In 1997, Edwin Camaya, Siuálâ ding Meángûbié and Dave Nepomuceno finally met in person and established the BATIÁUAN FOUNDATION, INC. whose aim was to develop Kapampáangan studies through research and to popularize Kapampáangan language and culture. One major obstacle to popularizing Kapampangan language was the intense squabble over orthography.

The prediction that the Kapampáangan ethnic group would be completely absorbed by the Tagalogs (Tayag 1985:176) was seen by various Kapampáangan groups as a real threat. Siuálâ ding Meángûbié, then head of BATIÁUAN, was for instance quite conscious of the fact that Tagalog words were replacing more and more indigenous terms in the spoken Kapampáangan language. He was torn between his extremist view of removing all traces of Spanish colonialism in the Kapampáangan language and his ethnocentric disgust of making written Kapampáangan look exactly like Tagalog. The issue was resolved by Kapampáangan heritage scholar Marco Nepomuceno, then vice chairman of the BATIÁUAN. Based on his research, the use of K in place of C and Q does not equal Tagalization but rather an indigenization, at most a Rizalization, of Kapampáangan writing. Nepomuceno opted for the immediate use of K and the dropping of the use of C, Q and Ñ in all BATIÁUAN publications (Nepomuceno pers. comm.).⁷ Siuálâ ding Meángûbié agreed but insisted on the continuing use of the diacritical marks to retain the uniqueness of written Kapampáangan from that of Tagalog. He also objected to the use of the W since it was never a part of the pre-Romanized Kapampáangan script. Strictly speaking, Batiáuan simply revised the use of the ABAKADA in Kapampáangan writing by removing the letter W and the insistent use of the simplified diacritical marks.

6. Assessments and Conclusion

The aftermath of the catastrophe brought about by the eruption of Mount Pinatubo in 1991 had awoken the Kapampáangan's sense of self and identity. Many Kapampángans have become interested in their language, culture and history. Kapampáangan language mailing lists and discussion forums began appearing on the internet. Various Kapampáangan art groups and cultural foundations were organized. Schools started offering courses on Kapampáangan culture and even a Kapampáangan studies center was built in Angeles City.

Many Kapampángans would now like to put put down their thoughts and sentiments into writing. Many of them are confronted by unresolved issue on orthography. Aspiring

⁷ This was a constant topic discussed with Marco D. Nepomuceno during our meetings at the Historic Camalig Restaurant, Angeles City, in October of 1999.

Kapampáangan writers are given four sets of *ROMANIZED ATTITUDINAL PROCEDURES* (Panganiban 1972:xi) in the Kapampáangan writing system to choose from:

- a. the Spanish style orthography, also known as TUTÛNG KAPAMPÁNGAN ‘genuine Kapampáangan’, SÚLAT BACÚLUD ‘Bacolor Script’, OLD ORTHOGRAPHY (Samson 2004, Manlapaz 1981:2), or simply Q AMPÓNG C ‘Q and C’.
- b. the ABAKADA, also known as SÚLAT WÁWÂ ‘Guagua Script’, NEW ORTHOGRAPHY (Samson 2004, Manlapaz 1981:2), the Akademyang Kapampáangan’s ORIGINAL KAPAMPANGAN ORTHOGRAPHY (Lacson 1984), or AKADEMYA.
- c. Venancio Samson’s HYBRID ORTHOGRAPHY or ÁMUNG SAMSON.
- d. The Batiáuan Revised Orthography, also known as SÚLAT WÁWÂ A ALÂNG WA ‘Guagua Script without the W’, or simply BATIÁUAN.

Venancio Samson recommends: *Let history be the final judge to this irreconcilable issue on orthography. Let each faction produce as many works as they can and in time let the future generation decide which orthography is worthy to become the stanndard for all Kapampáangan writing.* (Samson pers. comm.).⁸

6.1. The future of the Traditional Spanish Style Orthography

At present, there are no known writers in the Bacúlud Tradition. Still, it has strong advocates among the people of Bacolor and the rest of the Kapampáangan Region who treasure the legacy of Crissot, Fajardo, Galura and Pabalan-Byron. For many of them, TUTÛNG KAPAMPÁNGAN can only be written in SÚLAT BACÚLUD, the Spanish style orthography used by Crissot and the other literary giants of Bacolor. (Samson pers. comm.)⁹

Works written in this orthography can still be found everywhere even on public street signs in many Kapampáangan towns. Among the rural masses, the PASIÓN ‘Pasion of Christ’ written in the traditional Spanish script is the most sacred book of the Catholic Church. Starting out young, many of them read the words of God for the first time through the reading of the PASIÓN. For many Kapampáangan rural Catholics therefore, the words of God can only be written

⁸ This was expressed by Ámung Venancio Samson during the Camalig Breakfast Club Forum held at the Historic Camalig Restaurant in Angeles City, June 4, 2004.

⁹ This was discussed by Ámung Venancio Samson during the Camalig Breakfast Club Forum held at the Historic Camalig Restaurant in Angeles City, June 4, 2004.

in the orthography used in the PASIÓN. Changing the letters of the PASIÓN would bring harm upon oneself and one's community.

As long as there are people who revere this orthography and consider it as the TUTÛNG KAPAMPÁNGAN, there will always be a force ready to defend it against all other ROMANIZED ATTITUDINAL PROCEDURES in the Kapampáangan writing system that were proposed to replace it.

6.2. The future of the ABAKADA

Due to the widespread teaching of Pilipino and its orthography, the ABAKADA, more and more Kapampáangan who want to write in their native language find this orthography quite handy. Many young people now use this orthography when writing text messages on their cellphones. It has also become the standard orthography on many Kapampáangan forums in the internet. Yet, even if many young people find this orthography convenient, a number of them still believe that TUTÛNG KAPAMPÁNGAN is the one written with the Q and C. A number of them would switch to the old Spanish style orthography if given the chance and the time to learn it. Many of them do not support the Akademyang Kapampangan's campaign to eradicate the old orthography (Pampanga-Online Forums 2005).¹⁰

6.3. The future of Venancio Samson's HYBRID ORTHOGRAPHY

Many of Samson's Kapampáangan works and translations for the Catholic Church have begun to resurface in the year 2001. The monthly organ of the Archdiocese of San Fernando, ING MÁYAP A BALITÂ, is still in circulation and continue to use Samson's orthography. Among the works that will soon be in circulation are the first Kapampáangan translation of the Catholic edition of the Christian Bible and the first ever comprehensive dictionary in the Kapampáangan language. Despite the Akademyang Kapampangan's renewed attack on Samson's orthography, Samson leaves the fate of his orthography to the judgement of history (ref. **Section 4. Synthesis: Venancio Samson's HYBRID ORTHOGRAPHY** and **Section 6. Assessments and Conclusion**).

6.4. The future of Batiáuan's Revised Orthography

Strictly speaking, Batiáuan simply revised the use of the ABAKADA in Kapampáangan writing by removing the letter W and the insistent use of the simplified diacritical marks, issues that the Akademyang Kapampangan strongly and publicly oppose. For the Akademyang Kapampangan, the Batiáuan revision serves complicate Kapampáangan writing as well as confuse

¹⁰ See the Kapampáangan language discussions at the forum sections of www.pampanga-online.com and feel free to make a survey on the attitudes of the forum members regarding this issue.

adherents to their proposed orthography. Batiáuan refutes that the diacritical marks are very essential in Kapampáangan writing because there are many words in the Kapampáangan language that are spelled the same but pronounce differently. The diacritical marks, Batiáuan insists, actually facilitate rather than complicate (Pangilinan 2004).

Lack of exposure to the works of the older Kapampáangan literary traditions naturally make contemporary Kapampáangan literary enthusiasts view the use of the diacritical marks as new innovations to Kapampáangan writing. Batiáuan therefore currently lack adherents to its revised orthography. At present, the Batiáuan revised orthography is the official orthography of the Kapampáangan language sections of the KAPAMPANGAN MAGAZINE ¹¹ and the PAMPANGA-ONLINE.¹² Batiáuan members agree with Venancio Samson to let history be the final judge on the issue of orthography and just let each group concentrate on producing as many Kapampáangan works as they can in the orthography that they propose.

¹¹ Kapampangan Magazine at <http://www.kapampanganmagazine.com>

¹² Pampanga-online at <http://www.pampanga-online.com>

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