Kapampángan or Capampáñgan: Settling the Dispute on the Kapampángan Romanized Orthography
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Abstract
Is it Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan 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-Kapampángans) 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 Kapampángan Literacy
The conflict has severely affected the current status of Kapampángan literature. Up to the present, the debate has become an emotional issue and not an intellectual one. Kapampángan publications became the first casualties. Newly published works were publicly attacked merely for the orthography they used and not by their literary merits. Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan writing by the mid 1970s. By the early 1980s, there were no more Kapampángan publications in circulation. No new Kapampángan 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, Kapampángan literature has stood still. Today, majority of Kapampángan speakers below the age thirty are illiterate in their own AMÁNUNG SÍSUAN ‘mother tongue’ (from Kapampángan amánu [n.] ‘language’ and súsu [v.] ‘to suckle’).

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

Everyday, the average Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan sounds more Tagalog than Kapampángan. Aside from the many Tagalog words that made their way into the Kapampángan vocabulary, some Kapampángan verbs are now being conjugated in the same manner as Tagalog. (Kitano pers. comm.) Since majority of the youths have no access to any form of Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan, 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 Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan language together with its indigenous writing system. (Marcilla y Martin 1895)

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1 Kitano Hiroaki of the Aichi University of Education observed this phenomenon during his recent survey of Kapampángan verbs at Angeles City in August of 2005.
The need to represent the sounds of the Kapampángan 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
Kapampángan language in its traditional writing system was an added burden for the friar-administrators and was later deemed impractical. When Agustinian friar Diego Bergaño wrote the two most significant linguistic works on Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan script. (Bergaño 1860)

2.2. Kapampángans Identify the Spanish Orthography as Genuinely Kapampángan

Throughout the more than 300 years of history under Spain and the early part of the American rule, the Kapampángan language has been written solely in the Romanized orthographic system introduced by the Spaniards. Due to the great number of written volume of Kapampángan 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 TUTÜNG KAPAMPÁNGAN ‘genuine Kapampángan’ (from Kapampángan tutu [adj.] ‘true’ and Kapampángan [n.]).

2.3. The Literary Tradition of the Town of Bacúlud

Many of the Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan súlat [n.] ‘letter’ and Bacúlud [n.] ‘the old name of Bacolor’). Kapampángan writers from Bacúlud refuse to give up this orthography even up to this date. (Ocampo pers. comm.)

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 Kapampángan writing:

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2 This is often the topic discussed by Vedasto Ocampo, current Kapampángan Poet Laureate, at his residence in Magalan, 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 Kapampángan Writing. That phenomenon was José Gallárdo.

3.1. Indigenization and the Wáwâ Tradition

Throughout Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan writing. The Kapampángan nationalist writers from Wáwâ wanted to create a distinct identity different from the Bacúlud literary tradition. The inspiration came from a non-Kapampángan: 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 Kapampángan Writers from Wáwâ (Guagua), AURELIO TOLENTINO and MONICO MERCADO, would adapt Rizal’s proposal into Kapampángan Writing.

3.1.1. Monico Mercado

The first Kapampángan 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 Icban Castro’s LITERATURE OF THE PAMPANGOS (Castro 1981:49) shows Mercado’s faithfulness to this new orthography. He was a member of the Kapampángan elite who wore the Spanish title DON. He was born in Wáwâ on May 4, 1875. He was a renowned writer in both Kapampángan 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 Wáwá tradition was the renowned playwright Aurelio Tolentino. He was a fierce revolutionary and a devout nationalist. A close friend Revolutionary Leader Andress Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto, Tolentino was one of the first 13 members of the Katipunan organization (Lacson 1984:544). He was arrested on several occasion 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 Kapampángan were written in Rizal’s proposed nationalist orthography. Among the Kapampángan works in the new nationalist orthography were KASULATANG GINTÚ 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 Kapampángan

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 Kapampángan language’s standard orthographic system.
He established the Akademyang Kapampangan in 1937 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 Kapampángan writers who continued to write in the old Spanish orthography. But when Zoilo Hilario proposed the same orthography to standardize written Kapampángan, 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 Kapampángan writing whereby every Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan, were placed in a subordinate position to Tagalog. Many saw Hilario’s aim of imposing the ABAKADA as nothing more but the Tagalization of Kapampángan Literature and of the Kapampángan Language itself. With Hilario’s campaign to unify all Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan writing. First she decided to stop calling the orthography ABAKADA since it has been emotionally

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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 COMPREHENSIVE 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 Kapampángan 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.)

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 INDÜN TÍBÛAN ‘motherland’ (from Kapampangan indû [n.] ‘mother’ and tûbû [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 Kapampángan writing became even more emotionally intense.

### 3.3. José Gallárdo and the Orthography called K

José Gallárdo was the only Kapampángan writer of the late 20th century to join the ranks of the legendary great men of Kapampángan 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 ÁRÍ NING PARNASONG KAPAMPÁNGAN ‘The New King of the Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan masses at a time when the Province of Pampanga was at the center of social unrest in the 1950s and 60s.

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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.
Gallárdo 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 Candába, far removed from the literary centers of Bacúlud and Wáwá, Gallárdo did not inherit any attitudinal bias regarding orthography. Gallárdo began writing in the conventional Spanish style orthography. From the early 1970s up to the early 1980s, Gallárdo also wrote in the synthesised orthography proposed by Venancio Samson when he helped edit the Kapampángan organ of the Catholic Church ING MÁYAP A BALITÁ (Gallardo 1985-86).

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

Jose Gallárdo encouraged aspiring Kapampángan 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, Gallárdo saw the futility in continuing with old orthography. Since Tagalog-based Pilipino has been widely taught in schools throughout the Kapampángan speaking region, Gallárdo saw the practicality in using an orthography most familiar to young Kapampángans. In switching to K, Gallárdo was teaching the new crop of Kapampángan writers to use what was readily at hand (Ocampo pers. comm.). In the end, it was the versatile and unassuming José Gallárdo 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 Kapampángan orthography. Samson submitted a proposal aimed at reconciling the OLD and the NEW spelling in Kapampángan writing (Samson 2004). The OLD spelling Samson

5 Vedasto Ocampo justified his use of the K orthography in the same manner as José Gallárdo. 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 Kapampángan 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

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\begin{align*}
\text{Másakit} & \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{atian} \\
\text{sick} & \quad \text{ERG.1SG} \quad \text{stomach}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I have a stomach ache.’

as

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Masákit} & \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{atian} \\
\text{difficult} & \quad \text{ERG.1SG} \quad \text{stomach}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 Kapampángan 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.)

5. The Kapampángan 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 KAPAMPÀNGAN ‘Kapampángan 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.

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

The prediction that the Kapampángan ethnic group would be completely absorbed by the Tagalogs (Tayag 1985:176) was seen by various Kapampángan groups as a real threat. Siúálâ 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 Kapampángan language. He was torn between his extremist view of removing all traces of Spanish colonialism in the Kapampángan language and his ethnocentric disgust of making written Kapampángan look exactly like Tagalog. The issue was resolved by Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan writing. Nepomuceno opted for the immediate use of K and the dropping of the use of C, Q and N in all BATIÁUAN publications (Nepomuceno pers. comm.). Siúálâ ding Meángûbié agreed but insisted on the continuing use of the diacritical marks to retain the uniqueness of written Kapampángan from that of Tagalog. He also objected to the use of the W since it was never a part of the pre-Romanized Kapampángan script. Strictly speaking, Batiáuan simply revised the use of the ABAKADA in Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan’s sense of self and identity. Many Kapampángans have become interested in their language, culture and history. Kapampángan language mailing lists and discussion forums began appearing on the internet. Various Kapampángan art groups and cultural foundations were organized. Schools started offering courses on Kapampángan culture and even a Kapampángan studies center was built in Angeles City.

Many Kapampángans would now like to put their thoughts and sentiments into writing. Many of them are confronted by unresolved issue on orthography. Aspiring
Kapampángan writers are given four sets of ROMANIZED ATTITUDINAL PROCEDURES (Panganiban 1972:xi) in the Kapampángan writing system to choose from:

- b. the ABAKADA, also known as SÚLAT WÁWÁ ‘Guagua Script’, NEW ORTHOGRAPHY (Samson 2004, Manlapaz 1981:2), the Akademyang Kapampángan’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 WÁWÁ A ALÁNG 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 standard for all Kapampángan writing. (Samson pers. comm.)

### 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 Kapampángan Region who treasure the legacy of Crissot, Fajardo, Galura and Pabalan-Byron. For many of them, TUTŪNG 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.)

Works written in this orthography can still be found everywhere even on public street signs in many Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan rural Catholics therefore, the words of God can only be written

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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 TUTÚNG KAPAMPÁNGAN, there will always be a force ready to defend it against all other ROMANIZED ATTITUDINAL PROCEDURES in the Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan forums in the internet. Yet, even if many young people find this orthography convenient, a number of them still believe that TUTÚNG 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).  

6.3. The future of Venancio Samson’s HYBRID ORTHOGRAPHY

Many of Samson’s Kapampángan works and translations for the Catholic Church have began to resurface in the year 2001. The monthly organ of the Archdiocese of San Fernando, ING MÁYAP A BALITÃ, is still in circulation and continue to use Samson’s orthography. Among the works that will soon be in circulation are the first Kapampángan translation of the Catholic edition of the Christian Bible and the first ever comprehensive dictionary in the Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan writing as well as confuse

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10 See the Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan writing because there are many words in the Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan literary traditions naturally make contemporary Kapampángan literary enthusiasts view the use of the diacritical marks as new innovations to Kapampángan writing. Batiáuan therefore currently lack adherents to its revised orthography. At present, the Batiáuan revised orthography is the official orthography of the Kapampángan 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 Kapampángan 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
References


The preceding document was presented at the Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (10-ICAL). To properly reference this work, please use the following format:


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