

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

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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 Kapampanganor 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 resolveit.

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## **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 historicalperspective;
- b) present a glimpse of its adverse effects on the current status of the Kapampáŋan Language andLiterature;
- c) present the initial attempts, synthesis and the possible reasons why they have not yetsucceeded; and
- 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 emotionallevel.

## **The Adverse Effects of the Conflict on KapampáŋanLiteracy**

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 are publicly attacked merely for the orthography they use and not by their literary merits. Kapampáŋan publications are attacked by one group or the othersfor supposedly favoring this or that orthography. New writers are being forced to join one writing faction over the other. There is 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 theold 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 of thirty are illiterate in their own *Amánung Sísu* nor ‘mother tongue’ (from Kapampáangan *amánu* [n.] ‘language’ and *súsu* [v.] ‘to suckle’).

### **The Adverse Effects of the Conflict on the Spoken Kapampáangan Language**

Day by day, the Kapampáangans encounter both spoken and written Filipino and English languages from both the local and national media. Local radio stations and newspapers are aired in English and Filipino. Public street signs are also inscribed in Filipino and English. In fact, there are private schools within the Province of Pampanga which 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.)<sup>1</sup> Since majority of the youths have no access to any form of Kapampáangan culture, there are no means for them to reinforce and enrich their spoken language. Since a majority of them cannot read or write in Kapampáangan, there is no way for them to record and develop their thought processes in their native language. In many gatherings, Kapampáangans seem more confident and articulate in exchanging views and ideas among their own *Kabalén* (from Kapampáangan *balayán* [n.] ‘country’) or ‘countrymen’ in Tagalog than they would utter in their own *Amánung Sísu*. 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 using Tagalog even if all the participants are Kapampáangans.

### **Thesis: The Spaniards Conquer Luzon**

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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

**The Spanish Missionaries Initiate the Romanization of the Kapampangan Language**

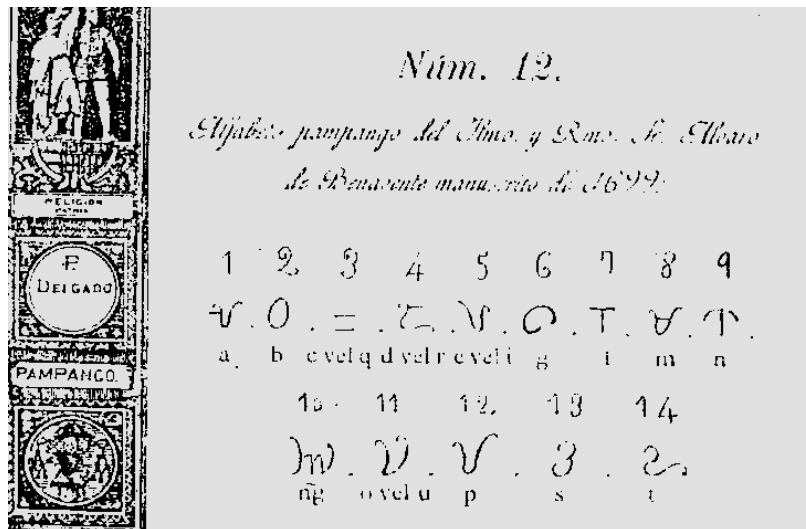
In the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, during the early part of the Spanish conquest of Lúsung Guo (circa 10<sup>th</sup> century AD – 1571 AD), the Agustinian missionaries initially tried to study the Kapampangan language together with its indigenous writing system. As late as 1699, more than a hundred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

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

Ding Matuang Súlat Kapampangan

kambal siualâ	mikukuyug a siualâ	siualâ	ibat lâbi	dalan kng dilâ ← ibat ipan	ibat akrûlan
			 pa	 da/ra	 ga
			 m	 la	 ka
			 titiup	 sasaltsit	 dalam arung
			 ba	 sa	 ng a

ka    -ká-    ki    -kí-    ku    -kú-    ke    ko    kang  
       -kâ         -kî         -kû



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

The need to represent the sounds of the Kapampáangan 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).

### **Kapampángans Identify the Spanish Orthography as Genuinely Kapampáangan**

Throughout more than 300 years under Spanish colonization 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 Kapampáangan* ‘genuine Kapampáangan’ (from Kapampáangan *tutu* [adj.] ‘true’ and *Kapampáangan* [n.]).

### **The Literary Tradition of the Town of Bacúlud**

Many of the Kapampáangan literary masterpieces written in the Spanish orthography were produced in Bacúlud (Bacolor), which is the former 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.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> 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.

### **Anti-thesis: Challenging the Established Order**

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

- a) The first was the rising nationalist influence of José Rizal in the late 19<sup>th</sup> 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 Kapampangan Writing. That phenomenon was José Gallardo.

### **Indigenization and the Wáwâ Tradition**

Throughout Kapampangan 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 Kapampangan writing. The Kapampangan nationalist writers from Wáwâ wanted to create a distinct identity different from the Bacúlud literary tradition. The inspiration came from a non-Kapampangan, José Rizal.

It was José Rizal, the national hero of the Philippines, who first proposed of indigenizing Philippine writing when he proposed 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 Kapampangan writers from Wáwâ (Guagua), Aurelio Tolentino and Monico Mercado, would adopt Rizal's proposal into Kapampangan Writing.

### **Monico Mercado**

The first Kapampangan 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 1897, just a few days after Rizal's death on December 31, 1896 (Pualar, 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 Kapampangan elite who wore the Spanish title "Don". He was born in Wáwâ on May 4, 1875. He was a renowned writer in both Kapampangan and Spanish and has distinguished himself as a lawyer and politician (Lacson, 1984:538).

### **Aurelio Tolentino**

The most prolific and the 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 Gintû* published in 1914 (Tolentino, 1914), and *Napun, Ngeni at Bukas* (Manlapaz, 1981:30).

### **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).

### **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 1937<sup>3</sup> 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)

### **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 19<sup>th</sup> century and yet they hardly met any opposition from Kapampáangan writers who continued to write in the old Spanish orthography. However, when Zoilo Hilario proposed the same orthography to standardize written Kapampáangan, 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 in all forms of Kapampáangan writing, whereby every Kapampáangan 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 national language of the Philippines, whereby all other Philippine languages, including Kapampáangan, were placed in a subordinate position to Tagalog. Many saws Hilario's aim of imposing the ABAKADA as nothing more but the Tagalization of Kapampáangan literature, and of the Kapampáangan language itself. With Hilario's campaign to unify all Kapampáangan writings 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 Kapampáangan writers.

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 Kapampáangan nationalist writers of Wáwâ,

<sup>3</sup> 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*.

Lacson on the same page stated that 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 indigenized one was purely the result of her father's genius (Lacson pers.comm.)<sup>4</sup>.

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 Kapampáangan* 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 tîbûan* 'motherland' (from Kapampáangan *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 Kapampáangan writing became even more emotionally intense.

### **José Gallárdo and the Orthography called K**

José Gallárdo was the only Kapampáangan writer of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century to join the ranks of the legendary great men of Kapampáangan literature. He was the most prolific and the most talented writer of his time. In 1949, he was officially conferred the most coveted title of *Báyung Árî ning Parnasong Kapampáangan* 'The New King of the Kapampáangan 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 Kapampáangan masses at a time when the Province of Pampanga was at the center of social unrest in the 1950s and 60s.

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 Wáwâ, 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 synthesized orthography proposed by Venancio Samson when he helped edit the Kapampáangan organ of the Catholic Church *Ing Máyap a Balitâ* (Gallardo, 1985-86).

<sup>4</sup> 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.



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 Filipino 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.).<sup>5</sup> 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*.

### **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 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. However, Samson rejected the use of the W. Samson also insisted on the placing of diacritical marks to denote stress. Unlike Tagalog,

<sup>5</sup> 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.

Samson noted that there are a lot of words in the Kapampáŋan 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

<i>Másakit</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>atian</i>
sick	ERG.1SG	stomach
‘I have a stomachache.’		
as		
<b>Masákit</b>	<b>ku</b>	<b>atian</b>
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 Kapampáŋan 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.)<sup>6</sup>.

### **The Kapampáŋan 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 Kapampáŋan* ‘Kapampáŋan 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.

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 Kapampáŋan studies through research and to popularize Kapampáŋan language and culture. One major obstacle to popularizing Kapampangan language was the intense squabble over orthography.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

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, vice chairman of the *Batiáuan* during that time. 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.).<sup>7</sup> *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.

### 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 down their thoughts and sentiments into writing. Many of them are confronted by an unresolved issue on orthography. Aspiring 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 Kapampáangan* 'genuine Kapampáangan', *Súlat Bacúlud* 'Bacolor Script', old orthography (Samson, 2004; Manlapaz, 1981:2), or simply Q *ampóng* C 'Q and C'.

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

- 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 stated, “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 Kapampáangan writing.” (Samson pers.comm.).<sup>8</sup>

### **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 Kapampáangan* can only be written in *Súlat Bacúlud*, the Spanish style orthography used by Crissot and the other literary giants of Bacolor. (Samson pers.comm.)<sup>9</sup>

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* ‘Passion 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 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 Kapampáangan*, 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.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> 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.

### **The future of the ABAKADA**

Due to the widespread teaching of Filipino and its orthography, the ABAKADA, more and more Kapampangan 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 Kapampangan forums in the internet. Yet, even if many young people find this orthography convenient, a number of them still believe that *Tutûng Kapampangan* 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 Forums2005).<sup>10</sup>

### **The future of Venancio Samson's HYBRID ORTHOGRAPHY**

Many of Samson's Kapampangan 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 Kapampangan translation of the Catholic edition of the Christian Bible and the first ever comprehensive dictionary in the Kapampangan 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).

### **The future of Batiáuan's Revised Orthography**

Strictly speaking, *Batiáuan* simply revised the use of the ABAKADA in Kapampangan 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 to complicate Kapampangan writing as well as confuse adherents to their proposed orthography. *Batiáuan* refutes that the diacritical marks are very essential in Kapampangan writing because there are many words in the Kapampangan language that are spelled the same but pronounce differently. The diacritical marks, *Batiáuan* insists, actually facilitate rather than complicate (Pangilinan, 2004).

<sup>10</sup> See the Kapampangan language discussions at the forum sections of [www.pampanga-online.com](http://www.pampanga-online.com) and feel free to make a survey on the attitudes of the forum members regarding this issue.

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 <sup>11</sup> and the Pampanga-Online.<sup>12</sup>*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.

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

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

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