

Kapampangan Lexical Borrowing from Tagalog: Endangerment rather than Enrichment

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Abstract

It has sometimes been argued that the Kapampangan language will not be endangered by lexical borrowings from other languages and that lexical borrowings help enrich a language rather than endanger it. This paper aims to prove otherwise. Rather than being enriched, the socio-politically dominant Tagalog language has been replacing many indigenous words in the Kapampangan language in everyday communication. A number of everyday words that have been in use 20 years ago ~ *bígâ* (clouds), *sangkan* (reason), *bungsul* (to faint) and *talágâ* (artesian well) just to name a few ~ have all been replaced by Tagalog loan words and are no longer understood by most young people. This paper would present a list of all the words that have been replaced by Tagalog, and push the issue that lexical borrowing from a dominant language leads to endangerment rather than enrichment.

I. Introduction

At first glance, the Kapampangan language does not seem to be endangered. It is one of the eight major languages of the Philippines with approximately 2 million speakers (National Census and Statistics Office, 2003). It is spoken by the majority in the province of Pampanga, the southern half of the province of Tarlac, the northeast quarter of the province of Bataan, and the bordering communities of the provinces of Bulacan and Nueva Ecija (Fig. 1). It has an established literature, with its grammar being studied as early as 1580 by the Spanish colonisers (Manlapaz, 1981). It has also recently penetrated the electronic media: the first ever province-wide news in the Kapampangan language was televised in 2007 by the Pampanga branch of the Manila-based ABS-CBN Broadcasting Corporation. It has also a number of advocates campaigning on the internet at the Yahoo Group forum *Academia ning Amanung Sisuan International (ANASI)*.

Despite its large population, its well-developed literature and its adaptation to electronic media, the Kapampangan language exhibits certain anomalies that can only be interpreted as symptoms of endangerment. Kapampangan speakers, with the exception of an elite few, are now mostly illiterate in their own language, it being not taught in schools. It is also not being used as the medium of instruction and its use is actually being proscribed in the classroom, whereby students pay a fine every time they speak it. It has been observed that with the proliferation of the public pre-school education program known as the Day Care Centers since the 1990s, Kapampangan parents began talking to their children in the dominant Philippine language, Tagalog, rather than in their mother tongue. The Kapampangan language therefore is already showing signs of being moribund since the younger generation are no longer being taught to speak it. As for the population that continue to speak it, their version of Kapampangan evidently shows signs of lexical attrition whereby a number of the significant indigenous vocabulary is slowly being replaced by words borrowed from the dominant language, Tagalog.

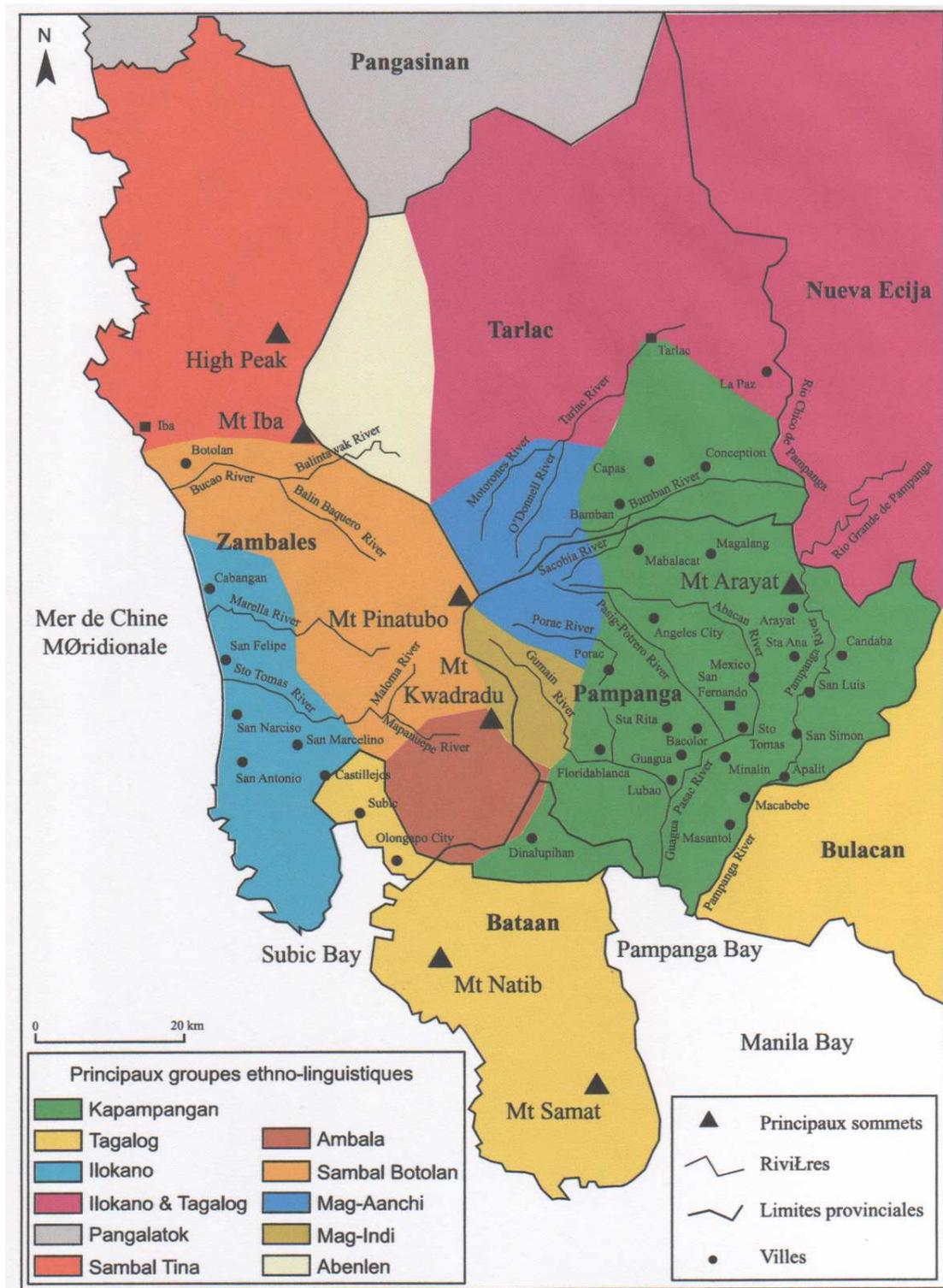


Figure 1. Carte ethno-linguistique du centre de Luçon, Philippines, au début des années 2000. (JC Gaillard. 2009).

II. Creation of the Filipino Nation and the Rise of the Tagalog Language

During the Spanish colonial era, the different ethno-linguistic groups within the Philippines, at least the major ones, were regarded as “nations” by the Spaniards (Morga, 1609; San Agustin, 1698; Diaz, 1745 and Bergano, 1860). The Spaniards took advantage of these differences and pitted one nation against the other. For instance, the Kapampangan people, who were highly favoured by the Spaniards, made up the bulk of the Spanish colonial armed forces and were used to quell various ethnic uprisings all over the archipelago (Henson, 1965 and Corpuz, 1989). One Spanish friar wrote, “One Castilian plus three Kapampangan is equal to four Castellans” (Diaz, 1745, see also Henson, 1965; Tayag, 1985 and Corpuz, 1989).

When the Philippines declared its Independence from Spain in 1898, their constitution defined “nation” simply as “the political association of all Filipinos” (1899 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines). The “Filipinos” at that time saw no commonality among themselves except a shared historical experience of being a Spanish colony. It was a Tagalog, in the person of Manuel Luis Quezon, the Resident Commissioner of the Philippine Islands under the United States and later president of the Philippine Commonwealth Government, who envisioned and laboured for the creation of a Filipino “nation” that is unified by one common language and identity (Gueraiiche, 2004). In 1937, Quezon proclaimed Tagalog as the basis of the national language through an Executive Order (Bautista, 1996). The teaching of Tagalog in all schools became obligatory by 1940 (Gueraiiche, 2004).

Through the years, an educational system and language policies were designed to mould and unify the population according to Quezon’s vision of a Filipino nation, with one language and one culture. In 1959, Education Secretary Jose Romero issued a department order renaming the Tagalog-based national language as *Pilipino* (Bautista, 1996). It was later spelled *Filipino* under Article XIV of the 1987 Constitution. This naming game was a clever doublespeak tactic aimed at distracting possible opposition to the use of Tagalog as the national language.

Through conditioning in schools, students learned that to be Filipino, one ought to speak Filipino (which is actually Tagalog). To speak Kapampangan or any other Philippine language is deemed unpatriotic. Nationalism and patriotism has been equated to speaking Pilipino/Tagalog. During the presidency of Ferdinand Marcos in the late 1960s to the early 1980s, the Kapampangan homeland became the hotbed and breeding ground of the nationalist and anti-establishment movement. However, the language they used was Tagalog and not Kapampangan. To prove their patriotism, Kapampangan nationalists became well-versed in the Tagalog language. The best publicly known Tagalog speaker to date, who is a product of that time, is the Philippine national television talk show host, journalist and socialist Professor Randy David of the University of the Philippines, a native Kapampangan speaker.

After the fall of the Marcos Dictatorship, Tagalog has finally replaced English as the second language of the Philippines (Anicia del Corro, pers.comm., May 9, 2009).¹ Through decades of conditioning in schools and the broadcast media, Tagalog has become the dominant language even within the Kapampangan homeland.

¹ This was stated in the lecture delivered by Anicia del Corro, Ph.D on Kapampangan Linguistics at Holy Angel University, May 9, 2009.

III. Evidence, Nature and Symptoms of Endangerment of the Kapampangan Language

The Kapampangan language has about 2 million speakers according to the population census conducted in the year 2000. But population figures alone are not enough to determine whether or not a language is endangered. Therefore, the framework designed by Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al will be used in this chapter. To determine the varied nature of language endangerment, nine factors have been considered by Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al. These are: (1) Intergenerational language transmission; (2) Absolute numbers of speakers; (3) Proportion of speakers within the total population; (4) Loss of existing language domains; (5) Response to new domains and media; (6) Materials for language education and literacy; (7) Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies; (8) Community members' attitudes towards their own language; and (9) Amount and quality of documentation (Lewis, 2006).

3.1. Intergenerational Language Transmission

The home used to be the last sanctuary of a language that is restricted in certain domains like the schools, the media and the workplace. The same was true for the Kapampangan language until the effective and widespread establishment of public pre-schools known as the Day Care Centers in every *barangay* or basic community within the Kapampangan homeland. In November 23, 1990, the Philippine Senate and House of Representatives passed Republic Act No. 6972 that called for the establishment of the Day Care Centers in every *barangay* (basic community) for the care and education of children below the age of six. Since the medium of instruction used in the Day Care Centers is Filipino (Tagalog), parents who wanted their pre-school children to be advanced in their lessons have began speaking to them in Tagalog. With the effective implementation of Republic Act No. 6972 in the late 1990s, the Kapampangan language has lost even the home as its final refuge.

Table 1. Factor 1: Intergenerational Language Transmission Scale
(Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al, 2003 as cited by Lewis, 2006)

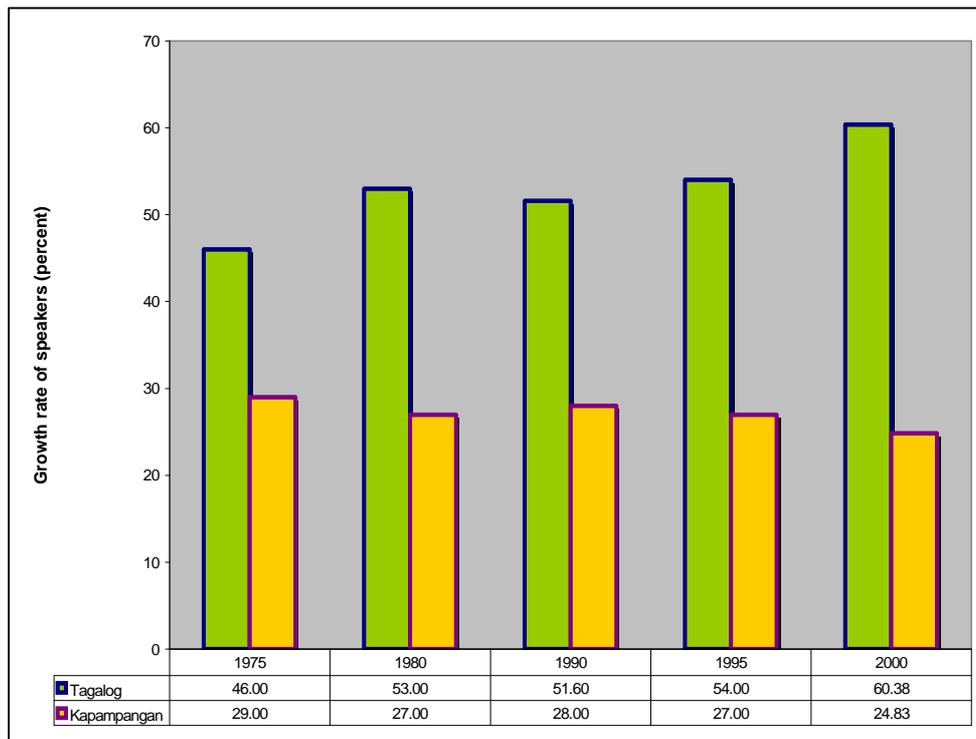
Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Speaker Population
<i>Safe</i>	5	The language is used by all ages, from children up.
<i>Unsafe</i>	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.
<i>Definitively Endangered</i>	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
<i>Severely Endangered</i>	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.
<i>Critically Endangered</i>	1	The language is used mostly by very few speakers, of great-grandparental generation.
<i>Extinct</i>	0	There exists no speaker.

The Kapampangan language may currently be on the brink of becoming moribund, at least in the urban centres of San Fernando, Angeles and the surrounding municipalities, as more and more parents have stopped using it with their children. Children below the age of twelve can now be found speaking only Tagalog. Even officers and active members of certain Kapampangan language and culture advocacy groups can be found guilty of speaking Tagalog to their children or grandchildren. Based on the criteria listed down by Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al (Table 1), the Kapampangan language may be definitively endangered.

3.2. Absolute numbers of speakers

In a paper presented to the United Bible Society Triennial Translators Workshop in Malaga, Spain in the year 2000, Anicia del Corro of the Philippine Bible Society wrote down her suspicion that the Kapampangan language may be endangered despite the fact that it is one of the eight major languages of the Philippines with approximately 2 million speakers. In a span of 20 years, from 1975 to 1995, Del Corro presented a graph that illustrated the steady decrease of Kapampangan speakers in proportion to the rapid increase of Tagalog speakers within the Kapampangan Region. Chart 1 is a modified and updated version of Del Corro’s graph with the release of the 2000 census data in 2003 (National Census and Statistics Office, 2003). The recent data clearly shows the considerable decline in the number of Kapampangan speakers in proportion to Tagalog speakers within the Kapampangan homeland in just a span of five years (1995 to 2000), from 27% in 1995 to 24.83% in 2000.

Chart 1. Comparison between Tagalog and Kapampangan speakers, modified and updated from Anicia del Corro’s chart (Del Corro, 2000).



3.3. Proportion of Speakers within the Total Reference Group

The Kapampangan language is still spoken by the majority within the Kapampangan speaking areas. However, it is in danger of becoming moribund since an increasing number of parents are no longer teaching it to their children. There is also an increasing phenomenon of code switching to Tagalog in certain social situations among the generation that speak it, mostly among teenagers and young adults. Lexical attrition is also evident in their version of the language whereby an increasing amount of Tagalog words replaces the traditional vocabulary.

Table 2. Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Reference Group (Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al, 2003 as cited by Lewis, 2006)

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Proportion of Speakers Within the Total Reference Group
<i>Safe</i>	5	All speak the language.
<i>Unsafe</i>	4	Nearly all speak the language.
<i>Definitively Endangered</i>	3	A majority speak the language.
<i>Severely Endangered</i>	2	A minority speak the language.
<i>Critically Endangered</i>	1	Very few speak the language.
<i>Extinct</i>	0	None speak the language.

3.4. Loss of Existing Language Domains

Currently, the Tagalog language has penetrated many of the traditional and even exclusive domains of the Kapampangan language.

Table 3. Factor 4: Loss of Existing Language Domain (Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al, 2003 as cited by Lewis, 2006)

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Speaker Population
<i>Universal use</i>	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions.
<i>Multilingual parity</i>	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
<i>Dwindling domains</i>	3	The language is in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
<i>Limited or formal domains</i>	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions.
<i>Highly limited domains</i>	1	The language is used only in a very restricted domains and for a very few functions.
<i>Extinct</i>	0	The language is not used in any domain and for any function.

3.4.1. In the Home

As expressed earlier in Section 3.1, the Kapampangan language has lost even the home as its exclusive domain with the effective implementation of Republic Act No. 6972 that called for the establishment of the Day Care Centers in every *barangay* (basic community). Since the medium of instructions in the Day Care Centers is Tagalog, parents began to stop speaking their mother language to their children, with the mistaken view that children only learn to speak one language.²

3.4.2. In School

At present, the use of the Kapampangan language is still restricted inside the classroom whereby students get penalized, usually a monetary fine, every time they speak it. It is also currently not the medium of instruction. At least two teachers known to the author have been dismissed from work for insisting upon using the Kapampangan language as a medium of instruction.³

² This is based on several interviews from 2004 to 2007 with at least 30 young couples in Angeles City and Magalang who speak to their children only in Tagalog. Many of whom are friends, relatives and former students.

³ The names of the the individuals involved and the institutions concerned are hereby withheld upon their request.

3.4.3. In the Workplace

In certain work places, especially in the Manila-based malls that have put up branches in Pampanga, the use of the Kapampangan language is discouraged even when dealing with customers.⁴ Other workplaces where the Kapampangan language is restricted include international fast food chains like KFC and MacDonald's, Manila-based fast food chains like Jollibee and Chowking, and the various internationally owned corporations that operate within Clark Special Economic Zone.⁵

3.4.4. In Particular Social Functions

An irritating point for many conservative Kapampangan speakers is the increasing phenomenon of code switching during courtship and love making.⁶ Many teenagers and young adults use the Tagalog language during courtship even if both parties are native Kapampangan speakers. They continue to do so until they become comfortable with one another, even if they have already become couples.⁷ Tagalog has become the language of love for many young Kapampangans due to current the proliferation of Tagalog language romance dramas on television and in the cinema.⁸

3.4.5. In Religion

In the province of Pampanga, the Kapampangan language was the traditional medium of the Roman Catholic Church and the Methodist Church, while Tagalog was the medium of the other Protestant denominations and the new Christian-based religions like the Iglesia ni Cristo and the Born Again Christian Churches. The Tagalog language found its way into the Kapampangan Christian services when Bible studies and charismatic fellowships seminars became popular in the urban centres of San Fernando and Angeles City in the late 1970s. At that time, the Christian Bible was readily available in the Tagalog language rather than in Kapampangan. At present, the Tagalog language has penetrated even the Roman Catholic celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Although it defies logic and common sense, hymns and homilies are currently being conducted in Tagalog by an increasing number of Catholic priests in Pampanga even if the entire celebration of the Holy Eucharist is in the Kapampangan language.⁹

⁴ This is the common complaint among Kapampangan expatriates who return to Pampanga after many years. See discussions in <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/AmanungSisuan>.

⁵ This is the common complaint of many of my former students from Holy Angel University who have been employed in these establishments.

⁶ A few couples I know admit to being sexually aroused if they speak Tagalog during love making. They added that the Kapampangan language sounds too vulgar and unromantic in bed. More studies need to be conducted in this area to determine whether or not this phenomenon is widespread.

⁷ This is taken from random interviews conducted with my former students at Holy Angel University from 1999 to 2004, and is still currently observed by the author among young couples.

⁸ Many young couples admit that they have taken some of their dialogues during courtship from Tagalog love dramas. Many them fantasise or identify themselves with their celebrity idols who speak Tagalog on screen.

⁹ In personal communications during the late 1990s, Kapampangan Catholic priests Larry Sarmiento, Sol Gabriel and Elmer Simbulan expressed their observations that the younger generation can not comprehend the priest's sermons unless they were delivered in the Tagalog language.

3.4.6. In Government

There was a time when classical Kapampangan was regarded as the language of both the church and the local government. Many local politicians, including the former Philippine president Diosdado Macapagal, father of the current president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, were celebrated Kapampangan language writers, poets and orators (Manlapaz, 1981 and Lacson, 1984). Local politicians were rated according to their mastery of classical Kapampangan.¹⁰ This changed after the collapse of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986. Tagalog speeches laced with nationalist and revolutionary slogans became the trend. At the opening ceremonies of the 1st International Conference on Kapampangan Studies held at Holy Angel University in 2001, only one of the four congressmen of the province of Pampanga, Oscar Rodriguez, delivered a speech in Kapampangan (Oscar Rodriguez, pers. comm., September 3, 2001).

At present, the Kapampangan language does not enjoy official language status even in the province of Pampanga, supposedly the stronghold of the Kapampangan language. Government sessions in both provincial and municipal levels are conducted in the Tagalog language.

3.5. Response to New Domains and Media

Since the collapse of the Marcos Dictatorship in 1996, Tagalog has quickly replaced English as the new medium in the national media, it being identified as the language that toppled the dictatorship (Del Corro, pers. comm., May 9, 2009).¹¹ Tagalog has replaced English in the news broadcasts. It can be said that the mass media has helped reinforce the dominance of Tagalog and the decline of the Kapampangan language, especially among children (Bas, 2007). Children's programs in the Tagalog language has replaced the ones in English. Even the most popular cartoons and Japanese animation have now all been rendered in Tagalog. Children now mimic their favourite television cartoon characters speaking the Tagalog language.

Despite the dominance of Tagalog in the mass media, the Kapampangan language has somehow still managed to cope with mobile communication technology and the internet but have somehow made minimal responses to the more conventional electronic media.

Table 4. Factor 5: Response to New Domains and Media
(Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al, 2003 as cited by Lewis, 2006)

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Response to New Domains and Media
<i>Dynamic</i>	5	The language is used in all new domains.
<i>Robust/active</i>	4	The language is used in most new domains.
<i>Receptive</i>	3	The language is used in many new domains.
<i>Coping</i>	2	The language is used in some new domains.
<i>Minimal</i>	1	The language is used in a few new domains.
<i>Inactive</i>	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

¹⁰ As witnessed by the author from the years 1981 to 1986, the monthly breakfast meetings of the Holy Name Society in Angeles City became the venue for the speeches and orations in classical Kapampangan of traditional politicians Ápûng Peleng Lazatin, Ápûng Quítung Nepomuceno and Antonio Abad Santos.

¹¹ Why Tagalog has replaced English as the Philippines' second language was one of the topics presented by Anicia del Corro in the third series of her lecture on Kapampangan Linguistics, held at Holy Angel University in Angeles City, Philippines on May 9, 2009.

3.5.1. On GSM Mobile Communications

Surprisingly, Kapampangan text messages are currently considered “cool” and “unique” while Tagalog messages are considered “too common” and É MÁKAPANIGLO ‘nothing to rave about’ by many Kapampangan speakers.¹² This phenomenon is also featured in the 15 minute promotional video of the Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies at the Holy Angel University since 2002 up to the present.

3.5.2. On the Internet

On the internet, the Kapampangan language has found its way into several blogs and discussion forum. The most active of which is the mailing list of the Kapampangan language advocacy group Academia ning Amanung Sisuan International (ANASI) and Pampanga Arts Guild’s Aláya – Kapampangan Art Forum on Yahoo Groups. Contemporary Kapampangan writers who have been trained to write in English are now slowly showing their skills in writing Kapampangan on Electronic Kabalen, a blog site for contemporary Kapampangan writers.

3.5.3. On Television

At first glance, it would appear that the Kapampangan language finally made progress and managed to deter endangerment by penetrating the television industry through TV Patrol Pampanga, the first province-wide Kapampangan language news program produced by the ABS-CBN Broadcasting Corporations. Upon proper observation however, TV Patrol Pampanga might actually be doing more damage to the Kapampangan language rather than serving it.

A check on the archives of TV Patrol Pampanga’s Homepage would reveal that almost all of their news headlines are written in ungrammatical Kapampangan. Some of the sentences are incomprehensible and even incomplete. Many of them replace existing Kapampangan words with Tagalog vocabularies. The most glaring error committed by the news writers and editors of TV Patrol Pampanga, however, is the distortion of the Kapampangan language’s syntax through the constant omission of the cross-referent and double cross-referent pronouns (TV Patrol Pampanga Homepage, March-June, 2009).¹³ Cross-referent pronouns are central to the understanding of Kapampangan grammar (Del Corro, 1988 and pers.comm., May 12, 1989).¹⁴ Altering the syntax of the Kapampangan language by omitting the necessary cross-referent pronouns is like distorting the entire language itself.

ABS-CBN Broadcasting Corporation failed to grasp the fact that unlike Tagalog, Kapampangan grammar is not being taught in schools and so therefore not every educated native speaker is an expert in writing and editing his own language.

¹² Personal interview with young artists Tito and Toti Tanganco, tattoo artist Marlon Maristela, members of Pampanga Tattoo Community and members of Pampanga-based local rock bands Five Against The Wall, T.H.E.M., Mental Floss and Discrepancies.

¹³ This observation is made by several Kapampangan language experts and advocates, including this author, since 2007. Complaints have been already been submitted to the producers of TV Patrol Pampanga but the problem has not yet been remedied as evidenced by the news headlines in their current homepage.

¹⁴ A section on cross-reference and double-cross reference pronouns was discussed comprehensively by Anicia del Corro, Ph.D. in her lecture on Kapampangan linguistics during 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.

3.5.4. On the Airwaves

“No Smoking, No Kapampangan!” For a time this sign was hanging at the DJ booth of a radio station in Pampanga till an officer of the Batiáuan Foundation, a Kapampangan cultural advocacy group, called the attention of the owner (Nancy Lagman Tremblay, pers. comm., October 1998). The existence of the sign was reported to an officer of the Batiáuan Foundation by a UP student who was working there as a DJ (Alexandra Ibalio, pers. comm., August, 1998).

There are currently two radio stations operating in the Province of Pampanga: RW Station in the City of San Fernando and GV Station in Angeles City. GV Station currently airs one daily Kapampangan language program on the AM band and one weekly program on the FM band. Apart from those two, the rest of the programs are aired in the Tagalog language with some English programs on the FM band. RW station does not have any Kapampangan language programs to date. The use of the Kapampangan language is said to be restricted in all programs both stations, except for the specific Kapampangan language programs on GV.

3.6. Accessibility of Written Materials for Education and Literacy

The Kapampangan language has a rich literary heritage as evidenced by those collected and published by Venancio Samson (1979), Rosalina Icbán Castro (1981), Edna Zapanta Manlapaz (1981) and Evangelina Hilario Lacson (1984). It boasts of the longest work ever in Philippine literature, *Gonzalo de Cordoba*, written by Anselmo Fajardo of Bacolor in the early 1800s, the first ever *zarzuela* (Spanish version of the opera) written in any Philippine language, *Ing Managpi*, written by Mariano Proceso Pabalan of Bacolor in 1900, and even a literary golden age at the beginning of the 1900s (Manlapaz, 1981). Unfortunately these collections of literary pieces look more like obituaries of the Kapampangan language rather than an actual record of its vitality (Tayag, 1985). They are also now quite rare and not readily available to the public.

The Kapampangan people experienced two major calamities in the 20th century that destroyed much of their literature: World War II in 1941-45 (Manlapaz, 1981) and the volcanic eruption of Pinatubo and the subsequent mudflows in 1991-96 (Nestor Galura, pers.comm, August, 1997 and Joy Soto, pers.comm., July 1998-April 2009).¹⁵

When President Manuel L. Quezon of the Philippine Commonwealth Government legislated the teaching of English in place of Spanish in schools in the 1930s (Gueraiche, 2004), Kapampangans started to become illiterate in their language since it was originally written in the Spanish orthography (Henson, 1965). Henson blames the Philippine educational system in making their children illiterate in their mother tongue. It was also at about this time that Kapampangan writers began to lament the increasing role of Tagalog in Kapampangan society (Larkin, 1972). To complicate things further, the remaining literate population found themselves fighting over the issue of orthography when the Akademyang Kapampangan began campaigning for the use of the indigenised “Tagalog” orthography, the ABAKADA, in Kapampangan writing (Pangilinan, 2006). At present, Kapampangan speakers, except for an elite few who still squabble on what orthography to use, are illiterate in their own language.

¹⁵ Nestor Galura, a Kapampangan advocate and descendant of Kapampangan writer Felix Galura, and Joy Soto, a direct descendant of Kapampangan writer Crissot (Juan Crisostomo Soto) and head of the *Sapni nang Crissot*, a foundation of the descents of Crissot, lamented the destruction their hometown of Bacolor, the literary capital of Pampanga, and the masterpieces in the Kapampangan language written by their ancestors and other writers.

Table 5. Factor 6: Materials for Language Education and Literacy
(Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al, 2003 as cited by Lewis, 2006)

Grade	Accessibility of Written Materials
5	There is an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; and for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.
1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography available to the community.

To date there are no existing courses, syllabi and textbooks to teach and develop Kapampangan language literacy in the classrooms, and a practical orthography to be used is yet to be decided (Anicia del Corro and Robert Tangingco, May 9, 2009).¹⁶

3.7. Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies

Since the time of President Quezon in the late 1930s, the Philippine Government have systematically tried to unify the different ethno-linguistic groups within the archipelago under one Filipino (Tagalog) language and culture. This resulted in the marginalisation of the existing languages that have been erroneously taught in schools as mere “regional dialects” that can be sacrificed for the sake of the “national language.” The local government within the Kapampangan homeland have for generations been nothing more than mere extensions of the central government in Manila. They merely oversee the implementation of policies dictated by the central government, including those that are detrimental to the development of their own language and culture.

To date, the Kapampangan language does not even enjoy an official language status within the province of Pampanga, the supposed bastion of the Kapampangan language.¹⁷ Public street signs and official notices throughout the province are in the Tagalog language. Government sessions, and the deliberation of laws and policies in both the provincial and the municipal levels, are also conducted in the Tagalog language. Currently, there are no existing legislations that favour the development, or at least the protection, of Kapampangan language and culture.

¹⁶ Robert Tangingco, director of the Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies at Holy Angel University have been working closely with Kapampangan language experts under the guidance of Anicia del Corro, Ph.D. since December 2008 on the possibility of developing a course to teach the Kapampangan language to children.

¹⁷ Since 1994, Kapampangan nationalist Edwin Camaya and the Akademyang Kapampangan have been petitioning the Provincial Government of Pampanga and various municipalities for the legislation of the Kapampangan language into an official language of the province and the municipalities. They remain unsuccessful.

Table 6. Factor 6: Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies
(Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al, 2003 as cited by Lewis, 2006)

Degree of Support	Grade	Official Attitudes Toward Language
<i>Equal Support</i>	5	All languages are protected.
<i>Differentiated Support</i>	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domains. The use of the language is prestigious.
<i>Passive Assimilation</i>	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
<i>Active Assimilation</i>	2	Government encourages assimilation to the dominant language. There is no protection for minority languages.
<i>Forced Assimilation</i>	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non-dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.
<i>Prohibition</i>	0	Minority languages are prohibited.

The local judicial courts are also unfavourable to the use of the Kapampangan language. Testimonies in the Kapampangan language, unless translated in to Tagalog or English, are usually not entered into the minutes of the court. A mistranslation could lead to an unfavourable verdict (Lord Francis Musni, pers.comm., May 9, 2009).¹⁸

3.8. Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language

For decades, the Kapampangan ethno-linguistic group have exhibited a very problematic self image. A survey of ethnic attitudes conducted by the Filipinas Foundation in the early 1970s revealed that a significant percentage of the Kapampangan people chose Tagalog over their own as the most favoured ethnic group. Only 31% of the Kapampangan people chose themselves as favourable. On the question of the least likeable ethnic group, not a percentage of Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilonggo, Ilocano, Bicolano and Pangasinense chose their own ethnic group as the least favourable. 2% of the Kapapangan people however, chose themselves as the least likeable (Filipinas Foundation, 1975).

Table 5. Factor 8: Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language
(Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al, 2003 as cited by Lewis, 2006)

Grade	Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language
5	All members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	Most members support language maintenance.
3	Many members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
2	Some members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only a few members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
0	No one cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.

¹⁸ Lord Francis Musni of the Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies at Holy Angel Univewrsity, also works as a Kapampangan translator for the local judicial courts. He brought this fact to our attention during the lecture of Anicia del Corro, Ph.D. on Kapampangan Linguistics last May 9, 2009 at Holy Angel University.

Although an increasing number of Kapampangan parents now speak to the next generation in a language different from their mother tongue, some parents have expressed that they would not do so if the schools and Day Care Centers would not make their children suffer for not knowing Tagalog (Norman Tiotuico, pers.comm., October 2004).¹⁹ The children however have a different understanding why their parents do not teach them their mother language. Many of these children believe that Kapampangan is a “bad” and “dirty” language and that their parents don’t want them to use it in the same manner that they don’t want them to use vulgar expletives.²⁰

There are parents however, especially those who work as teachers and government employees, who genuinely believe Tagalog to be socially and economically more viable than the Kapampangan language and that the sooner their children learn it, the easier it would be for them to move up in society.

3.9. Amount and Quality of Documentation

The amount and quality of documentation for the Kapampangan language is fragmentary at best and quite inadequate at worst. A problem in Kapampangan language is the phenomenon of diglossia. The written language, for what remains of it, is done traditionally in the formal classical style. It uses a lot of euphemisms and archaic vocabulary. It also has a tendency of being purist whereby words that are conspicuously foreign are weeded out. Kapampangan written in the 1970s would probably look no different from the ones written in the 1870s. Written Kapampangan therefore does not reflect the state in which the language is actually spoken and therefore can not probably be effective in determining the degree of endangerment. A separate method should be used in documenting the written and the spoken form of the language.

3.9.1. Grammar Studies

Records show that the Spanish colonisers began to study Kapampangan grammar as early as 1580 with Diego Ochoa’s *Arte, Vocabulario, y Confesionario Pampango* (Manlapaz, 1981). Two of these early grammars have already been translated to English by the Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies. These are Alvaro de Benavente’s 1699 *Arte de Lengua Pampanga* and Diego Bergaño’s 1729 *Arte de la Lengua Pampanga*. The problem with these grammar books is that they were based on the rules of the Latin grammar. They were also designed for the Spaniards who come from a different language family and not for the native speakers who already speak the language.

In the 1980s, the Angeles University Foundation and the Akademyang Kapampangan published the *Garalita*, a textbook manual for teaching the Kapampangan grammar (Lacson, 1988). However, the creator of the *Garalita*, the late Evangelina Hilario Lacson, despite her passion for the Kapampangan language, was not a linguist. Like the Tagalog *Balarila*, the *Garalita* has been based on the rules of the English grammar. Many features unique to Austronesian language in general and the Kapampangan language in particular, have not been taken into account. The word *Garalita* itself, taken from the words MAGARAL ‘to study’ and SALITA ‘sentence’ followed the Germanic rule of putting two different words together to create a new one and not the Austronesian method of creating new words through the use of affixes.

¹⁹ Kapampangan visual artist Norman Tiotuico of Angeles City has witnessed first hand how a public school teacher used corporal punishment on one of his sons for not understanding the Tagalog language.

²⁰ This is what my nieces and nephews in Magalang believe when I ask them why they do not speak Kapampangan.

So far, the linguists who have done significant studies and published works on the Kapampangan grammar include the late Andrew Gonzales of La Salle, Anicia del Corro of UP Diliman and the Philippine Bible Society and Kitano Hiroaki of the Aichi University of Education in Nagoya, Japan. Currently, Anicia del Corro is holding a monthly lecture on Kapampangan linguistics at the Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies at Holy Angel University in the hope of forming a team that will create Kapampangan grammar textbooks (Anicia del Corro and Robert Tantingco, December 6, 2008).

3.9.2. Dictionaries

A number of Kapampangan dictionaries and vocabularies had already been published since the Spanish era. Significant of these is Diego Bergaño's *Vocabulario* which was first printed in 1732. Bergaño's work is noteworthy since many of the words he gathered, and their explanations, give us a rare insight into 18th century Kapampangan culture and society. A contemporary Kapampangan dictionary written by Ernesto Turla in 1999 also managed to include entries unique to Kapampangan culture such as BASULTO 'a native song accompanied by dances', BAWE-BAWE 'a certain species of medicinal plant' and BETUTE 'a native sausage made by stuffing an animal with meat, usually frogs'. Modern Kapampangan dictionaries being peddled in the market are simple translations of Spanish-English Dictionaries, and not the product of lexicographical research. As a result, many words unique to Kapampangan culture have not been included.

Another problem with commercialised Kapampangan dictionaries is that they usually give one Kapampangan word equivalent for each English word without explaining the context. As a result, people who consult these dictionaries tend to use Kapampangan words out of context. For instance, the reporters at ABS-CBN Pampanga in the early part of 2007 sometimes wrote misleading stories because they relied solely on these unscholarly made dictionaries.²¹

The Kapampangan dictionaries currently in existence, including Bergaño's and Turla's, were designed for non-native speakers. Like the existence of the Oxford and Webster dictionaries in the English language, a Kapampangan dictionary made for Kapampangan speakers is needed to help them become proficient and literate in their native language. So far, the first ever Kapampangan-Kapampangan dictionary being written by Kapampangan translator and lexicographer Venancio Samson remains unfinished due to the lack of funds and public support.²²

²¹ This is witnessed personally by the author who worked with ABS-CBN Pampanga as a news anchor and Kapampangan language consultant from April-October 2007.

²² Venancio Samson is also the translator of the English version of Diego Bergaño's *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga* published by the Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies and Kapampangan Bible published by the Archdiocese of Pampanga. He also translated the many Catholic liturgical songs and prayers from their original Latin into Kapampangan after Vatican II in the 1960s.

Table 7. Factor 9: Amount and Quality of Documentation
(Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al, 2003 as cited by Lewis, 2006)

Nature of Documentation	Grade	Language Documentation
<i>Superlative</i>	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts; constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high quality audio and video recordings exist.
<i>Good</i>	4	There is one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and occasionally-updated everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings.
<i>Fair</i>	3	There may be an adequate grammar or sufficient amount of grammars, dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation.
<i>Fragmentary</i>	2	There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.
<i>Inadequate</i>	1	Only a few grammatical sketches, short wordlists, and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely un-annotated.
<i>Undocumented</i>	0	No materials exist.

IV. Lexical Borrowing from Tagalog

To better understand the phenomenon of displacement and lexical attrition in the Kapampangan language, it was necessary to examine the evidence and nature of its endangerment in the preceding chapters. It is also necessary to understand that the province of Pampanga, the stronghold of the Kapampangan language, is geographically surrounded by Tagalog-speaking areas (Fig.1) and is in close proximity to Philippine capital city of Manila, the Tagalog socio-political centre.

Tagalog words that have entered the Kapampangan language have been displacing a number of Kapampangan vocabularies. A number of its native lexicon are no longer being used and understood by a good majority of the younger generation.²³ The following is an initial attempt to classify and enumerate the most common Tagalog words that have replaced native Kapampangan vocabulary. The list is not yet comprehensive and exhaustive.

4.1. One Loan Word Displacing More Than One Kapampangan Word

Current speakers also have a penchant for using just one Tagalog-derived word in place of many words of similar meaning in Kapampangan.

²³ Based on the result of the *Kapampangan Language Shock Test*, which includes a test on the vocabularies still in use during the 1970s and 1980s. Tested on at least 1000 students from Holy Angel University during the author's tenure as a lecturer on Kapampangan Culture from the years 1999 to 2004.

For instance, the use of the Tagalog word PALIT [(verb) ‘exchange’] in place of the Kapampangan words ALÍLI [(verb) ‘change’, ‘replace’], LÍBE [(verb) ‘exchange’], BAYUÁN [(verb) ‘renew’, from BÁYU (adj.) ‘new’] and KANLAS [(verb) ‘to succeed someone (in office/position)]:

Original Form

ALILÁN mé kúle.

change [you (ERG.2SG)+that] color
Change the color.

LIBÁYAN móng Euro reng Dollars ku.

change [you(ERG.2SG)+those] Euro (ART.PL+LK) Dollars my
Change my Dollars to Euros.

BAYUÁN mu né ing passport mu.

renew (ERG.2SG) (already+ABS.3SG) (ART.) passport your
Renew your passport.

Nínung KINANLAS kng dating mayor?

who replaced that old mayor
Who replaced the old mayor?

Current Form

PALITAN mé kúle.

PALITAN móng Euro reng Dollars ku.

PALITAN mu né ing passport mu.

Nínung PINALIT kng dating mayor?

The equivalent of the English word ‘if’ that links two clauses together has many forms in the Kapampangan language, depending on its context:

NUNG ‘if’ (denoting condition):

Milúb ka NUNG mamáyad ka.

enter (ABS.2SG) if pay (ABS.2SG)

You may enter if you pay (the entrance).

PATÍÉ ‘if’ (denoting consequence):

Patén daka PATÍÉ é ka memáyad utang.

kill (ERG.3PL+ABS.2SG) if not (ABS.2SG) pay loan.

They will kill you if you don’t pay back your loan.

PÁNGA ‘if’ or ‘when’:

Alâ néng utang PÁNGA memáyad ya.

none (NONEXIST) [he(ERG.3SG)+that] loan if paid (ABS.3SG)

He will remove all his loans if he pays.

PÓTANG ‘if’ (‘soon after’):

Ibúlus da né PÓTANG memáyad né.

free (verb) (ERG.3PL) [he(ERG.3SG)+that] if paid [he(ERG.3SG)+that]

They will set him free after he pays.

Current Kapampangan speakers prefer to use the word PAG, derived from Tagalog KAPAG, in place of all four forms regardless of the slight difference in context:

<i>Milúb ka PAG mamáyad ka.</i>	You may enter if you pay (the entrance).
<i>Patén daka PAG é ka memáyad utang.</i>	They will kill you if you don't pay back your loan.
<i>Alâ néng utang PAG memáyad ya.</i>	He will remove all his loans if he pays.
<i>Ibúlus da né PAG memáyad né.</i>	They will set him free after he pays.

Here's an additional list without sentence examples:

Tagalog Loan Word	Kapampangan Original	English Equivalent	Remarks
báhid	sálat	[n.] blemish [v] to blemish	spiritual, quality
	dúsing	[n.] blemish [v] to blemish	physical, appearance
kakayaán	kagiúan	[n.] ability	
	gélingan	[n.] skill	
	ténakan	[n.] talent	
lágî	pané	[adv.] always	habitual
	maralás	[adv.] always	frequent
	marátun	[adv.] always	in reference to location
lulung	mipasúbû	[v.] to overdo something	
	mipasóso	[v.] to be addicted	
úbug	tábas	[n] shape	
	lílik	[v.] to mould	

4.2. Confusion due to homonymic loan words

Tagalog loan words that share the same sounds in Kapampangan but possess different meanings often cause confusion among older speakers. The following is a list of the most common loan words that causes confusion in intergenerational communication because of their Kapampangan homonyms:

Loan word from Tagalog	Kapampangan
ÁKIT [v.] 'to attract'	ÁKIT [v.] 'to see'
BA (a question marker)	BA [exclam.]
KAUÉ [v.] 'to wave' (from Tagalog <i>kaway</i>)	KAUÉ 'to swim'
KÍNIS [adj.] 'smooth'	KÍNIS [v.] 'to bite'
LALÂ [v.] 'to become worse'	LÁLA [v.] 'to weave a basket'
LINGUN [v.] 'to look at a specific direction'	LINGUN 'to attend to an important business'
SABÉ [adv.] 'together' (from Tagalog SABAY)	SÁBÉ [v.] 'to smear' or 'to smudge'
SABÉSABÉ [adv.] 'altogether'	SABÉSÁBE [v.] 'to smudge all over'

The following four examples are taken from actual conversations. The third and fourth example confuses even those from the same generation:

- Example 1: Person 1 (age 24): *Nandin ya pa KÁKAUÉ i Pedru.*
earlier (3SG) already waving (DET.) Pedru
Pedru has been waving (at us).
- Person 2 (age 40): *Nú ya KÁKAUÉ i Pedru?*
where (3SG) swimming (DET.) Pedru
Where is Pedru taking a swim?
- Example 2: Person 1 (age 27): *Ói, LÍLINGUN ya keni itang babaing ita.*
(EXCLAM) looking (ABS.3SG) here that+LK woman+LK that
Hey, that woman is looking at us.
- Person 2 (age 40): *Nánung LILINGUNÁN na keni ning babaing ita?*
what [attend to business (v)] (ERG.3SG) here (ART) woman+LK that
What sort of business is that woman attending to here?
- Example 3: Person 1 (age 24): *MEKÍNIS ya lúpa i Pedru!*
smooth(VERB.PAST) (ABS.3SG) face (DET) Pedru
Pedru's face has gotten smoother!
- Person 2 (age 24): *Nánung MENGÍNIS kng lúpa na?*
what bit (DET) face (ERG.3SG)
What bit his face?
- Example 4: Person 1 (age 24): *MEÁKIT ya kang Pedru i Babaguâ.*
attracted (ABS.3SG) (DET+LK) Pedru (DET) Babagua
Babagua was attracted to Pedru.
- Person 2 (age 27): *Ót sásalikut ya i Babaguâ kang Pedru?*
why hiding (ABS.3SG0) (DET) Babagua (DET+LK) Pedru
Why is Babaguâ hiding from Pedru?

4.3. Human Anatomy and Conditions

The parts of the body has been said to be an area of the lexicon that is resistant to loss (Craig, 1997), and yet the Kapampangan language is already losing some of its native lexicon. The following is a list of some of the Tagalog loan words that have replaced their original Kapampangan counterpart, at least among the younger generation:²⁴

²⁴ Based on the result of the *Kapampangan Language Shock Test*, which includes a test on the vocabularies still in use during the 1970s and 1980s. Tested on at least 1000 students from Holy Angel University during the author's tenure as a lecturer on Kapampangan Culture from the years 1999 to 2004. The students' age ranged from 16 to 20 years old, which means that they were born around the early to the mid-1980s.

Tagalog Loan Word	Kapampangan Original	English Equivalent	Remarks
balíkat	pagó	shoulder	
bátuk	tundun	nape	
bewang	tináuak / áuakan	waist	
bintí	butit	the calf	
dibdib	sálû	chest	
iló / meflo (Tag. <i>hilo</i>)	liû / meliliû	dizziness / to get dizzy	
imaté / meimaté	bungsul / mébungsul	faint / to collapse	
inlalaki (Tag. <i>hinlalaki</i>)	tindaragul	thumb	
inlalato (Tag. <i>hinlalato</i>)	talíring dátû / mangmang	middle finger	The rich called it DÁTÛ ‘chief’ while the poor called it MANGMANG ‘useless’.
ita (Tag. <i>hita</i>)	puád	thigh	
kabataan	kabayangan	youth	Kapampangan word KAYANAKAN was an exact translation of Tagalog KABATAAN. Now it has been replaced by this very word.
nunal	alimpúyû	mole	
tigdas	ípe	measles	

NB: The Kapampangan word BULBUL ‘bodily hair, fur, feather’ is now being considered offensive by a lot of people because it is being understood in the Tagalog context. The word BULBUL in Tagalog only means ‘pubic hair.’

4.4. Human Concepts, Time and Activities

Tagalog Loan Word	Kapampangan Original	English Equivalent	Remarks
ábang bié (<i>habang buhay</i>)	kábang bié	[adj.] lifetime	
ángâ (Tag. <i>hanga</i>) Ex: <i>Ángâan né.</i>	talangán Ex: <i>Tatalangan né.</i>	[v.] to admire Ex: He admires him.	
ayalála	aganakâ	[v.] to recall	
awig (Tag. <i>hawig</i>)	uángis	[n.] image, features	
dailan (Tag. <i>dahilan</i>)	sangkan	[n] reason	
gupit	urud	[v.] hair cut	
inga (Tag. <i>hinga</i>) Ex1: <i>É makainga.</i> Ex2: <i>É né míminga.</i>	pangisnaua Ex1: <i>É mángisnáua.</i> Ex2: <i>É né mángisnáua.</i>	[n.] breath Ex1: He can’t breath. Ex2: He is no longer breathing.	
iwalé (Tag. <i>hiwalay</i>)	kauánî	[adj.] separate	
kasalukúyan	kasalungsúngan	[adv.] currently	
káwig (Tag. <i>kahawig</i>)	kauángis	[adj.] look alike	
madálang	malágad	[adj.] rare, seldom	
makainis (<i>nakakainis</i>)	makasnuk	[adj.] irritating	
mámawig (<i>humahawig</i>)	uáuángis	[v.] to look alike	
minggáling (<i>nanggaling</i>)	menibat	[v.] to come from	
panindigan	talakaran	[v.] to be responsible	
pindut	tímid	[v.] to press the button	
pisil	apsal	[v.] to finger press	

punásan	pulísan	[v.] to wipe	
saing Ex: <i>Migsaing naka?</i>	tun “ <i>Tinun naka?</i> ”	[v.] to cook rice Ex: Have you cooked rice?	This is change is very significant because cooking rice has always been a central part of Kapampangan culture.
sulit	bauî	[adj.] worth it	
tánan	pusitára	[v.] to elope	
tuluy	baláus	[v.] to continue	
tuluytuluy	balábaláus	[adv.] continuous	

4.5. Human Tools, Dwelling and Equipments

Tagalog Loan Word	Kapampangan Original	English Equivalent	Remarks
bahag	pinang	[n.] loin cloth	
balun	talágâ	[n.] artesian well	
dingding	dalíng	[n.] wall, partition	
gulong	parúgang	[n.] wheel	
gumúlung	dumúgang	[v] to roll	
kabilâ	sumángid	[adj.] the other side, across	
kapitbáy (<i>kapit bahay</i>)	kasíping balé	[n.] neighbors	
saig (Tag. <i>sahig</i>)	landé	[n.] floor	

4.6. Animals and Animal Parts

Tagalog Loan Word	Kapampangan Original	English Equivalent	Remarks
buáyâ		[zoo] crocodile	
bubúyug	buanbuan	[zoo] a species of bee	
bubwit	bulílit	[zoo] baby mouse	BULILIT in Tagalog means ‘petite’
buntut	îkî	[anat.]	
gagamba	bábaguâ	[zoo] spider	
ngúsû (Tag. <i>Nguso</i>)	pambuk	[anat.] snout	
páníkî	talibátab	[zoo] bat	
sawa	bítin	[zoo] python	
súnge (Tag. <i>Sungay</i>)	sagu	[anat.] horn	
tútâ	kuâ	[zoo] puppy	

4.7. The Natural World

Tagalog Loan Word	Kapampangan Original	English Equivalent	Remarks
ilágâ (Tag. <i>hilaga</i>)	amiánan	North	
kanlúran	álbugan	West	
likúlikû	salásalingkû	[adj.] twists & turns	
tímug	ábagátan	South	
úlap	bígâ	[meteor.] cloud	

4.8. Common Expressions

Tagalog Loan Word	Kapampangan Original	English Equivalent	Remarks
álus (Tag. <i>halos</i>)	mékad	[adv.] almost	
anténtéyan (Tag. <i>hintayin</i>)	panepanényan	[v.] waiting	
bukambibig (Tag. <i>bukang bibig</i>)	panasbuk	[n.] expression	
diba?	alí mo?	[tag] “isn’t it?”	
kung tutuusin	nung pakasurian mé	‘when push comes to shove’	
maglaway (<i>naglaway</i>)	kumáyut uáuâ	[v.] to salivate	
migkátáun	mipaintágun	by chance/coincidence	
nung baga	nung uáří	“as if”	
pagkakataún	pamikátágun	[n]. chance, opportunity	
tás (Tag. <i>pagkatapos</i>) Ex: <i>Menakbag ya tás méte ya.</i>	kaibat Ex: <i>Menakbag ya kaibat méte ya.</i>	“and then” (clause linker) Ex: He fell <i>and then</i> he died.	

4.9. Introduction of Strange New Words

Since its operation in 2007, the reporters of TV Patrol Pampanga, the first province-wide news broadcast in the Kapampangan language, have been constantly inserting new Tagalog-derived words or even Kapampangan words with strange morphology into their news reports. The following are the most common:

Tagalog Loan Word	Kapampangan Original	English Equivalent	Remarks
kakayanan (Tag. <i>kakayanan</i>)	kagiúan	[n.] ability	
	gélingan	[n.] skill	
	ténakan	[n.] talent	
makatalagâ (Tag. <i>talaga</i>)	makataguláling	[v.] assigned (amount/person)	TALÁGÂ means ‘artesian well’ in Kapampangan
patúk	---	Meaning unknown.	
páyu	úsuk, kausúkan	[n.] advice	ÚSUK ‘advice’ means ‘smoke’ in Tagalog.
pepabulaanan (Tag. <i>pinabulahanan</i>)	liningad	[v. past] denied	
pesikahan	----	Meaning unknown.	Tagalog root unknown
pesinayánan (Tag. <i>pinasinaya</i>)	pepasináya	[v.] to inaugurate	morphing error
tampuk	---	Meaning unknown.	TAMPUK in Kapampangan means ‘flower or fruit stalk’.

4.10. Morphological Attrition

Not only is the Kapampangan language experiencing lexical loss due to replacement from Tagalog loan words, but also some words have begun undergoing Tagalog morphology. The list

is still quite minimal but worth looking into.²⁵ Aside from the list below, Kapampangan SÁKIT ‘to get sick’ is now articulated in the Tagalog form, *magkasakit* and GALÁNGAN ‘to respect’ in the Tagalog form, *igalang*. The list below does not include words with strange morphs that are being created by the reporters of ABS-CBN Pampanga.

New Tagalog-Derived Morphology	Original Kapampangan Morphology
PINAKA- [prefix – superlative adjective] pinakamasanting ‘most beautiful’ (for objects) pinakamalagû ‘prettiest’ pinakamatsura ‘ugliest’	PÉKA- [prefix - superlative] pékamasanting ‘most beautiful’ (for objects) pékamalagû ‘prettiest’ pékamatsura ‘ugliest’
MAGPAKA- [prefix – verb] magpakapagal ‘to get oneself tired’ magpakalasing ‘to get oneself drunk’ magpakasáuâ ‘to get oneself tired of something’	PÉPAI- [prefix – verb] pepaipagal ‘to get oneself tired’ pepailasing ‘to get oneself drunk’ pepaisáuâ ‘to get oneself tired of something’
MAG- [prefix – verb] ²⁶ magdílû ‘to take a bath’ magsalítâ ‘to speak’	MAN- [prefix – verb] mandílû ‘to take a bath’ manyalítâ ‘to speak’

4.11. Syntax Error

Anicia del Corro, former head of the Department of Linguistics at the University of the Philippines in Diliman and now head of translation at the Philippine Bible Society, said that the phenomenon of lexical borrowing is unavoidable and not a real cause for alarm since the changes they make on the language is only superficial. But changing the morphology and syntax of a language is a serious thing (Anicia del Corro, pers. comm., January 31, 2009). Thus far, the sole agency guilty of publicly altering the syntax of the Kapampangan language and introducing strange new morphology is ABS-CBN Pampanga through their province-wide daily news program TV Patrol Pampanga.

The most common error committed by the news writers and editors of TV Patrol Pampanga is the constant omission of the cross-referent and double cross-referent pronouns.²⁷ Cross-referent pronouns are central to the understanding of Kapampangan grammar (Del Corro, 1988). Altering the syntax of the Kapampangan language by omitting the necessary cross-referent pronouns is like distorting the entire language itself. Examples of these syntax errors can be seen from their past headlines, retrievable from the archives of their official website:

²⁵ Also taken from the result of the *Kapampangan Language Shock Test* administered to at least 1000 students from Holy Angel University in the years 1999 to 2004.

²⁶ So far, MAGDÍLÛ and MAGSALÍTÂ are the only words in this example. MAGSALÍTÂ has long been accepted into the Kapampangan vocabulary while is MAGDÍLÛ quite recent.

²⁷ This observation is made by several Kapampangan language experts and advocates, including this author, since 2007. Complaints have been already been submitted to the producers of TV Patrol Pampanga but the problem has not yet been remedied as evidenced by the news headlines (March-June 2009) in their current homepage.

Date	Retrieved from TV Patrol Pampanga Homepage	Remarks
06/04/09	<i>Kasu ning carnapping king rehiyun, mibaba.</i> case (ART+LK) carnapping (DET+LK) region gone down The case of carnapping in the region has gone down. Kásu ning carnapping kng rehiyon, mibaba ya case (ART+LK) carnapping (DET+LK) region gone down ABS.3GP	- Syntax Error - Gloss - English translation - <i>Proper</i> Kapampangan - Gloss
05/27/09	<i>3 katau king CL oobserban nung ating H1N1 flu.</i> 3 people (DET+LK) CL being observed if (EXIST+LK) H1N1 flu 3 people in CL are being observed if they are positive with H1N1 flu. 3 kataú kng CL óbserban da la nung atin lang H1N1 flu. 3 people (DET+LK) CL being observed (ERG.3PL) (ABS.3PL) if (EXIST) [(ABS.3PL)+LK] H1N1 flu	- Syntax Error - Gloss - English translation - <i>Proper</i> Kapampangan - Gloss
05/07/09	<i>Kotsi ampong trak misabalan, 1 mesugat.</i> car and truck collide one injured One person was injured in the collision bet. a car & a truck. Pamisabálan ding kotyi ampong trak, menyugat yang 1. collision (DET+LK) car and truck injured (ABS.3GP) one	- Syntax Error - Gloss - English Translation - <i>Proper</i> Kapampangan - Gloss
04/24/09	<i>Tahungan at Baklad piglako king Manila Bay.</i> [mussel ponds & fish traps (Tagalog)] removed (DET+LK) Manila Bay Manila Bay has been cleared of mussel ponds and fish traps. <i>Pisuliban ampong saplad piglako dó king Manila Bay.</i> mussel ponds and fish traps removed (ERG.3PL+ABS.3PL) (DET+LK) Manila Bay	- Syntax Error - Gloss - English Translation - <i>Proper</i> Kapampangan - Gloss
04/08/09	<i>Lilia Pineda memye payu kang Gov. Eddie Panlilio.</i> Lilia Pineda gave [advice (Tagalog)] (OBL) Gov. Eddie Panlilio Lilia Pineda gave and advice to Gov. Eddie Panlilio. ⁱ²⁸ Lilia Pineda, memié yang <i>kausukan</i> kang Gov. Eddie Panlilio. (DET) Lilia Pineda gave (ABS.3GP+LK) advice (OBL) Gov. E. P.	- Syntax Error - Gloss - English Translation - <i>Proper</i> Kapampangan - Gloss

4.12. Prevalent use of Tagalog and Hokkien (福建語) Question Marker “BA” (嗎)

Another common usage in the current spoken Kapampangan language is the interrogative marker “BA” (嗎) from Tagalog and Hokkien (福建語) (Wang [王德明], 1983). A banner on display at the Angeles City Site (Website) on May 28, 2009 reads:

Atin ka bang pamisale?
have (EXIST) (ABS.2SG) [ba (question marker) + LK] [something for sale (noun)]
Do you have anything to sell?

The correct Kapampangan is simply:

Atin kang pamisale?
have (EXIST) [(ABS.2SG)+ LK] [something for sale (noun)]

²⁸ A person would not be a person without the personal determiner “i” before a person’s name.

Do you have anything to sell?

V. Conclusion

A language that no longer being learned as a mother-tongue by children, unless this condition is dramatically reversed, is beyond mere endangerment, but already doomed to extinction (Krauss, 1992). Already the Kapampangan language is showing signs of being doomed unless measures are taken soon. In a report in the Sunday Times dated September 2, 2007, experts claimed that the Kapampangan language will no longer be spoken by a native speaker after 20 years (Bas, 2007). Besides the Kapampangan Homeland's given geographic location and the globalisation phenomenon, the leading factors that contribute to endangerment are (1) the nationalisation policy of the central government in Manila vis-à-vis the lack of protection and support from the provincial and local government units, (2) the Philippine educational system, (3) the national and local mass media and (4) the current attitude of the Kapampangan people towards their own language.

In the argument whether lexical borrowings from Tagalog lead to Kapampangan language enrichment or endangerment, enrichment should bring about the addition of new vocabulary for new concepts and not the replacement of the old vocabulary by a new vocabulary (Steve Quakenbush, pers. comm., May 27, 2009). Thus the replacement of existing Kapampangan lexicon with words borrowed from Tagalog does in fact lead to endangerment and not enrichment.

On the argument whether or not to accept endangerment as an inevitable aspect of the evolution of the Kapampangan language, evolution does not necessitate endangerment. Evolution is generally understood to mean a progression and not a regression. In the same manner, lexical borrowings from Tagalog, if it were to contribute to the evolution of the Kapampangan language, should therefore help enrich it and not displace it.

On the argument that the replacement of the native vocabulary by words borrowed from Tagalog as only superficial and not enough to distort nor destroy a language, lexical attrition is already an initial sign of endangerment. The loss of native lexicon to Tagalog loan words is but a stepping stone to morphological and even syntactic attrition (See 4.10 and 4.11). When the use of Tagalog vocabulary in place of the native lexicon becomes acceptable to the native Kapampangan speaker, it would only be a matter of time before the morphing of Kapampangan words in the Tagalog manner, as well as the distortion of their native syntax, also become acceptable.

The sample sentence below shows minimal difference between Tagalog and current spoken Kapampangan, at least on the surface:

Current Spoken Kapampangan Format:	PAPALIT MÉ ULIT [change (Tagalog)] (ERG.2SG+ABS.3SG) [repeat (Tagalog)] Change it again.
Tagalog:	Papalit mo uli. change ERG.2SG again Change it again.

Beyond the surface, the sentence PAPANIT MÉ ULIT uses a double cross-referent pronoun which can only be found in the Kapampangan language (Del Corro, 1988 and pers.comm., May 12, 1989),²⁹ The double cross-referent pronoun MÉ, which is a compound of the ergative second person singular pronoun MU and the absolutive third person singular YA is clearly not the same with the Tagalog ergative second person singular pronoun MO.

On the surface however, a native Kapampangan speaker who has no background on the grammar intricacies of his own language would simply accept that the sentence PAPANIT MÉ ULIT may just as well be the same as the Tagalog sentence PAPANIT MO ULI, with “O” and “É” in the pronoun as being the only real difference. The original Kapampangan form of this sentence using the original native lexicon looks very much different, albeit outwardly, in the sample below:

Original Kapampangan Format:

PAYALÍLI MÉNG PASIBÁYU.
change [(ERG.2SG+ABS.3SG)+LK] again
Change it again.

A number of native Kapampangan speakers are aware how much their language has changed (Ronaldo Tayag and Norman Tiotuico, pers.comm., June 11, 1998).³⁰ Many of them think that it is becoming increasingly similar to Tagalog. Practically every native Kapampangan speaker, except for a handful, is unaware of the grammar intricacies of their own language, so much so that it necessitates the lecture *What Kapampangans Don't Know About Their Language* (Kitano, 2008). Unlike linguists, the ordinary native Kapampangan speaker would not be able to go beyond the surface and see the difference between PAPANIT MÉ ULIT and PAPANIT MO ULI. If the current outward appearance the Kapampangan language looks similar to Tagalog, then it would be easy for them to simply discard Kapampangan and replace it with Tagalog.

²⁹ A section on cross-reference and double-cross reference pronouns was discussed comprehensively by Anicia del Corro, Ph.D. in her lecture on Kapampangan linguistics during 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.

³⁰ A discussion with Ronnie Tayag, Norman Tiotuico and other members of the Pampanga Arts Guild on the topic of Kapampangan culture and language loss on the eve of the 100 year anniversary of the declaration of Philippine Independence at the Culture Shack Gallery Café.

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