

THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE OF KAPAMPANGAN VOCABULARIES: A DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS

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Abstract

The study examined the evolution of the Kapampangan language over time through the use of historical texts, dictionaries, and linguistic tools, such as interview guides and word lists. Data were taken from 62 informants in 31 towns in the Kapampangan-speaking region; the provinces of Pampanga, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, Bulacan and Bataan were included in the study. Elders who were 60 years old and above, and young adults aged 17-30 years old were the main sources of information for the study. One criterion was that the participants must be native Kapampangans, meaning they were born, grew up, and currently live in the province where Kapampangan is spoken. It compared the collected data from the past to the present day. The study also examined the impact of industrial and technological advancements on language evolution. The study revealed that the Kapampangan language has been influenced by Tagalog due to its geographical proximity, and most of the younger generation has adopted this change, assimilating elements of Tagalog. In addition, social media and technological innovations have contributed to this trend.

Keywords: Kapampangan; diachronic, vocabularies; language.

1. Introduction

Kapampangan refers to both the language and the people residing in the Central plains of Luzon in the country called the Philippines. Most of the speakers of the Kapampangan language are found from Pampanga, parts of Tarlac, and in the boundaries of Bataan, Nueva Ecija, and Bulacan provinces. It is one of the major languages of the country and represents rich cultural heritage and tradition; however, like any other languages in the world, Kapampangan is susceptible to shifts, changes, and evolutions. Its transformation was influenced by different factors such as cultural change and the belief system, sociolinguistic and political dynamics, and technological and industrial advancements. The Kapampangan language has also absorbed elements from various colonial influences from

Spanish, Japanese, and American occupations in the country. It has also been shaped by factors such as education, where English and Filipino are used as a communication medium in classroom discussion. In addition, the migration of people from other regions due to industrialization in the Kapampangan speaking region led to the adoption of languages used in other provinces by the natives; this also impacts the retention of cultural heritage, as it represents the values, traditions, and worldview of its speakers.

The field of Diachronic Linguistics, which is also referred to as Historical Linguistics, investigates phonology, grammar, and semantic changes, reconstructs older languages, and demonstrates genetic relationships among languages. It originated from etymological speculations in classical and medieval times, comparative studies of Greek and Latin, and scholars' speculations on the origins of other languages. Neogrammarians' theories are crucial in this field. In the 20th century, historical linguists applied these methods to non-Indo-European languages (Britannica, 2010). Historical linguistics was late to recognize that language contact can lead to structural linguistic changes. Leading figures believed in strict constraints on structural interference. Various research over the past half-century has increasingly acknowledged the importance of language contact for explaining linguistic changes. Recent monographs and textbooks on language contact have become numerous, with recent studies highlighting the challenge of the tidy family tree in mixed languages (Thomason, 2006). In addition, it emphasizes the sequential study approach to understand language development, highlighting its significance for word change and its need to explore long periods of time. Historical linguistics studies language over time, either from the present perspective (reconstruction) or from earlier stages (language change) (McMahon, 2001). With a focus on the evolution of language development, the diachronic study analyses the changes of language across different historical periods.

Contemporary linguistics often divides language practice and grammar. However, new investigations are reviewing this carefully, debating whether grammar is dynamic and constantly changing due to several factors which impact both the structure and usage of language, which will influence both comprehension and classification (Diessel, 2007). Semantic change refers to both external and internal variables, and it is often influenced by dictionaries, referential properties, and anticipation by interest groups. Historically, semantic change was considered unsystematic, but recent work suggests significant systematicities and unidirectionalities can be identified, especially crosslinguistically (Traugott, 2006). On the other hand, the study of language change typically concentrates on sound, analogy, morphosyntactic, and semantic shift. Diachrony unveils the connection between lexicon and grammar and the cognitive representation of phonological and grammatical structure. Recent developments in cognitive linguistics have broadened understanding of

gestures, sound change, assimilation, temporal factors, and grammaticalization (Bybee, 2012).

The linguistic quest of the Kapampangan was examined in this study, spanning from 1732 BC to the present day situation, focusing on its development, surrounded by societal, cultural, and technological shifts, this study also explores how cultural changes, sociolinguistic influences, and technological advancements shape the meanings of vocabulary. The implications of language evolution on cultural heritage conservation, interaction patterns, and intergenerational language transfer within the Kapampangan-speaking community were also examined in this study. This paper is important in diachronic linguistics and language documentation, as it provides a comparative framework for understanding language change and continuity within the Kapampangan lexicon.

2. The study: Methodology

The study analyzed historical context and linguistic nuances of vocabulary entries to identify shifts in semantic connotations over time using the word list. Selected words were taken from old dictionaries, poetries, essays, and other pertinent documents relevant to the study.

A comparative analysis of historical meanings with contemporary ones identified instances of semantic change or expansion. The comparative analysis in this study plays a critical role as it entails correlation of contemporary words to the older words from which they originated. This technique serves as the foundation for linguistic classification and is recognized as a significant milestone in the history of ideas (Campbell, 2015).

Pertinent permits were taken before the field study, a formal letter was submitted to the governor of the province for approval, After receiving approval, the researcher proceeded to disseminate the letter to the mayors, followed by distributing it to the barangay (village) captains (chief) in order to obtain the names of prospective informants and arrange interview schedules.

The researcher conducted interviews with 62 native Kapampangan speakers: (a) elders who were 60 years old and above, and (b) young adults aged 17 to 30 years old; the responses of these two generations were compared and analyzed. The identified new words being used were compared with the same from the historical texts available from different libraries.

A total of 31 towns were included across 5 provinces in Central Luzon, Since native speakers are concentrated in Pampanga, all 22 towns were included in the study, namely: Angeles City; Apalit; Arayat; Bacolor; Candaba; City of San Fernando; Florida Blanca; Guagua; Lubao; Mabalacat; Macabebe; Magalang; Masantol; Mexico; Minalin; Porac; San Luis; San Simon; Sasmuan; Sta Rita; Sta Ana; and Sto. Tomas. There were four towns in the province of Tarlac: the Tarlac City; Capas; Bamban; and Concepcion. There were three towns in the province of Bataan: Hermosa; Abucay; and Dinalupihan. One town was

included in the Province of bulacan, Calumpit, as was Cabio, in the province of Nueva Ecija. (refer to figure 1 below).

The strong background and expertise of the researcher with the use of Kapampangan language, along with his familiarity with the terrain of the Kapampangan-speaking region, significantly aided him in the meticulous examination and interpretation of the gathered data. The study delves into the semantic evolution of the Kapampangan lexicon, analyzing its terms from historical sources dating back to 1700's and disused and analyzed new vocabulary items from various sources. The investigation also involved compiling words from historical materials such as the dictionaries by Bergaño (1732), Parker (1905), Dimalanta (1935), and Forman (1971); the researcher extracted the vocabulary items, and the data were then examined and created a word list consisting of 458 items. Words were clustered according to use, such as parts of the body, house, heavenly bodies, directions, numbers, materials used in carpentry, fisheries, farming, different animals, insects, vegetables, etc.

Randomly, the researcher selected archaic words from the available old dictionaries and other historical texts. These words were then presented only to the elders to see if they had any idea of their meanings. If the word was not understood, it would be used in a sentence to check if elders could understand its context.



Figure 1. The Towns of the Kapampangan Speaking Regions

Socially embedded factors which might contribute to the change of vocabularies of the Kapampangans are also discussed in this paper: language contact; societal interactions; and language usage. In addition, it investigated the influence of linguistic evolution on the preservation of Kapampangan cultural heritage, scrutinizing the alterations in vocabulary and their effects on the transmission of traditional knowledge across different generations.

The implication of industrial and technological advancements on Kapampangan vocabularies' evolution was also examined in this paper, and focused on the analysis of technological terminology and its influence on the language's lexicon.

3. The study: Results and Discussion

3.1 The Kapampangans

The Philippine archipelago is linguistically diverse, boasting its more or less 120 to 180 languages (Ethnologue, 2019); the country has a rich linguistic history of interaction with various cultures such as the Hokkien, Malayo-Polynesian, and of the Spanish. More than 300 years of Spanish rule slowly led to the adoption of Spanish culture and religion by the Filipinos, influencing the Philippine lexicon. On the other hand, the Spanish-American War in 1898 helped the Filipinos gain their independence, leading to the establishment of a democratic government and the institutionalization of English in government and education (Cruz, 2020), which later contributed to the way people communicate.

The Kapampangans who belong to ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines, primarily in the Central plain of Luzon, numbered around two million in the early 21st century. Their language is closely related to Austronesian (Britannica, 2018). The Austronesian Philippine language spoken in the Pampanga-Tarlac area of Luzon, Philippines. It is also known as Pampang, Pampangueño, and Pampangan. Kapampangan is grouped with Tagalog and Pangasinan-Sambal within the Philippine nine major groups of languages (Forman & Forman, 1971). Kapampangan, as an ethnolinguistic group, has a population of approximately 2,610,000 in the region, a majority of which (412,000 people) reside in Angeles City, a highly urbanized city (Population of Region III - Central Luzon (Based on the 2015 Census of Population), 2016).

Most of the Kapampangan speakers are concentrated in the province of Pampanga; however, this is adjacent to the imperial Tagalog speaking provinces: On its Southern part, Bataan and Bulacan are situated, and Nueva Ecija in North-east. Because of the geographical location of the Kapampangans, they were able to adopt some of their words.

3.2. Language Acquisition and Assimilation

The collected vocabularies from the informants were compared and checked for their presence to different dictionaries, such as Bergaño, 1732; Parker, 1905; Dimalanta, 1935; and Forman, 1971.

Despite the existence of precise original Kapampangan words, the new generation of Kapampangans prefers to use the Tagalog counterpart words as seen in Tables 1 to 4.

Table 1 presents vocabularies that have evolved and been adopted from Tagalog. Based on the responses of younger informants, it was found that some original Tagalog words have been integrated into Kapampangan, a significant phonological shift is observed based from the collected vocabularies, with the mid-central vowel “e” or /ə/ evolving into the close back rounded vowel “u” or /u:/, examples are: The word mosquito, which is *amuk* or *yamuk* among the Kapampangans and *lamok* among the Tagalog, becomes *lamuk*. The turtle, which is *pau* and is *pagong* to the Tagalog, becomes *pagung* to the Kapampangan. Similarly, the *ngungut* or *coconut*, which is *niyog* to the Tagalogs, becomes *niyug*. The word *duldul* or thunder, which is *kulog*, turns into *kulug*. The word *ulas*, which means blanket and is *kumot* to the Tagalogs, becomes *kumut*. The *tulari* or waterfalls, which is *talon* to the Tagalog, becomes *talun*. The *ayun* or earthquake, which is *lindol* among the Tagalogs, becomes *lindul*. The *manayup* or to hunt, which is *mangaso* to the Tagalogs, becomes *mangasu*. The *alino* or shadow, which is *anino* among the Tagalog, becomes *aninu*. The *sepu*, which means end or *dulo* in Tagalog, becomes *dulu*. The *kamposanto* or *kabusanto*, which means cemetery and is *sementeryo* to the Tagalogs, becomes *simenteryu*. The word *pamun*, which means to ask for permission and is *abiso* to the Tagalogs, becomes *abisu* to the Kapampangans. The word *tutuki*, which means next and is *susunod* to the Tagalog, becomes *susunud*. The word *tikdo*, which means wake up and is *bangon* to the Tagalog, becomes *bangun* to the Kapampangans. Finally, the word *pantyun*, which means tomb and is *puntod* to the Tagalog, becomes *puntud* to the Kapampangan.

Table 1. Phonetic sound “e” or /ə/ which became “u” or /u:/

Kapampangan	English Translation	Tagalog counterpart	Tagalog Assimilation
<i>Pawu, pau</i>	Turtle	<i>Pagóng</i>	<i>Pagung</i>
<i>Amuk, yamuk</i>	Mosquito	<i>Lamók</i>	<i>Lamuk</i>
<i>Ngungut</i>	Coconut (mature)	<i>Niyóg</i>	<i>Niyug</i>
<i>Duldul</i>	Thunder	<i>Kulóg</i>	<i>Kulug</i>

<i>Ulas</i>	Blanket	<i>Kúmot</i>	<i>Kumut</i>
<i>Tulari</i>	Waterfalls	<i>Talón</i>	<i>Talun</i>
<i>Ayun</i>	earthquake	<i>Lindól</i>	<i>Lindul</i>
<i>Manayup</i>	hunt (v.)	<i>Mangáso</i>	<i>Mangasu</i>
<i>Alino</i>	shadow (n.)	<i>Aníno</i>	<i>Aninu</i>
<i>Danggut/ Sepu</i>	End	<i>Dulo</i>	<i>Dulu</i>
<i>Patiriktirik, kampusantu/ kabusantu</i>	Cemetery	<i>sementeryo</i>	<i>Siminteryu</i>
<i>Pamun</i>	Ask for permssion	<i>abiso</i>	<i>abisu</i>
<i>Tutuki</i>	Next	<i>susunod</i>	<i>susunud</i>
<i>tikdo</i>	Get up	<i>Bangon</i>	<i>Bangun</i>
<i>Pantyun</i>	tomb	<i>puntod</i>	<i>puntud</i>

Another noticeable change is the shift of the "e" or /e/ sounds to "i" or /i:/ sounds, as presented in Table 2. The word *ulad* among the Kapampangans, which means "worm" in English, becomes *bulati* (from *bulate* in Tagalog). The word *asung*, which refers to a "rice mortar" (called *almires* in Tagalog), becomes *almiris*. The word *malyari*, meaning "possible" or *pwede* in Tagalog, becomes *pwedi*. The word *uwa*, which means "yes" and is equivalent to *sige* in Tagalog, becomes *sigi*. Lastly, the word *patiriktirik*, having variations like *kampusantu* or *kabusantu* (which means "cemetery" and is *sementeryo* in Tagalog), becomes *siminteryu*.

Table 2. From phonetic /e/ sound to /i:/

Kapampangan	English Translation	Tagalog counterpart	Tagalog Assimilation
<i>Ulad</i>	Worm (earth)	<i>Buláte</i>	<i>Bulati</i>
<i>Asung</i>	Rice mortar	<i>Almires</i>	<i>Almiris</i>
<i>Malyari</i>	Possible	<i>Pwede</i>	<i>Pwedi</i>
<i>uwa</i>	yes	<i>Sige</i>	<i>Sigi</i>
<i>Patiriktirik, kampusantu/ kabusantu</i>	Cemetery	<i>Sementeryo</i>	<i>Siminteryu</i>

The interactions with neighboring provinces of the Kapampangans, especially with the Tagalog-speaking provinces such as Bataan, Nueva Ecija, and Bulacan provide evidence that the Kapampangan language is evolving. This phenomenon is evident in the younger generation of Kapampangans, who have incorporated Tagalog words into their speech, altering them slightly to fit Kapampangan accentual patterns. Their adaptation of these words involves assimilating them so thoroughly that they become a natural part of the Kapampangan lexicon. The borrowing of these Tagalog words is noticeable during the interview; words collected from Table 3 support the aforementioned claims. The Kapampangan words *alti*, *kildap*, or *ngidlat*, which mean “lightning” in English, are equivalent to *kidlat* in Tagalog, but they are pronounced the same by the new generation of Kapampangans, following a Kapampangan accent. This is also true for the words *bunanari* or *pinanari*, which mean “rainbow” in English, in Tagalog, the word is *bahaghari*, and the new generation of Kapampangans uses it the same way but with a Kapampangan accent. Similarly, the following words exhibit the same pattern: *dalig* (wall) becomes *dingding*, *paling* (cheeks) becomes *pisngi*, *ulunan* or *ulun* (pillow) becomes *unan*, *alipan* meaning slave becomes *alipin*, *dayat* (sea) becomes *dagat*, *laug* or *saug* (lake) becomes *lawa*, *bagse* or *bakse* (paddle) becomes *sagwan*, *burak*, *pitak*, and *pinak* (mud) become *putik*, *kutkut* (to bury) becomes *libing*, *biga* (clouds) becomes *ulap*, *sapula* (to tie) becomes *tali*, *tuknang* (to stop) becomes *tigil*, *malagwa* or *masaguli* (easy) becomes *madali*, *tarundun* (embankment) becomes *pilapil*, *kasalungsungan* (at present) becomes *kasalukuyan*, *lako* (remove) becomes *tanggal*, *mengaskad* (passed out) becomes *mehimate*, *pane* (always) becomes *lagi*, *pasibayu* (again) becomes *ulit*, and finally, *pau* (turtle) becomes *pawikan*. *patse* or *nung* (when) becomes *kapag* or

kung, *sasabyan* (mentioning) becomes *babanggitan*, *akit* (traced) becomes *atunton*, and *alisus* (tornado) ipo-ipo. The usage of the Kapampangan accent with Tagalog words until they become inherently Kapampangan is a manifestation of the diversity of language. They can be mixed up anytime with outsiders.

Table 3. Borrowing Whole Words using Kapampangan Accent

Kapampangan	English Translation	Tagalog counterpart and Assimilation
<i>Alti, Kildap, Ngidlat</i>	Lightning	<i>Kidlát</i>
<i>Pinanari / Bunanari</i>	Rainbow	<i>Bahaghári</i>
<i>Dalig</i>	Wall	<i>Dingding</i>
<i>Paling,</i>	Cheek	<i>Pisngi</i>
<i>Ulanan, Ulun</i>	Pillow	<i>Únan</i>
<i>Alipan / Ipus</i>	Slave	<i>Alípin</i>
<i>Dayat Malat</i>	Sea	<i>Dágat</i>
<i>Laug / Saug</i>	Lake	<i>Lawà</i>
<i>Bagse, Bakse</i>	Padde (n.boat)	<i>Sagwan</i>
<i>Burak, Pitak, Pinak</i>	mud	<i>Pútik</i>
<i>Kutkut</i>	bury (inter)	<i>Ilibíng</i>
<i>Alangilang</i>	Cananga odorata	<i>Ilang-Ilang</i>
<i>Biga</i>	Clouds	<i>Ulap</i>
<i>Sapula</i>	To tie	<i>Tali</i>
<i>Tuknang</i>	Stop	<i>Tigil</i>
<i>Malagwa/ Masaguli</i>	Easy	<i>Madali</i>

<i>Tarundun</i>	Embankment	<i>Pilapil</i>
<i>Kasalungsungan</i>	At present	<i>Kasalukuyan</i>
<i>Lako</i>	remove	<i>Tanggal</i>
<i>Mengaskad</i>	Passed out	<i>Nahimatay</i>
<i>Pane</i>	Always	<i>Lagi</i>
<i>Pasibayu</i>	Again	<i>Ulit</i>
<i>Pau</i>	turtle	<i>Pawikan</i>
<i>Patse or nung</i>	when	<i>Kapag, kung</i>
<i>Sasabyan</i>	mentioning	<i>Babanggitan</i>
<i>Akit</i>	traced	<i>Atunton</i>
<i>Alisus</i>	tornado	<i>Ipo-ipo</i>

3.3. Kapampangan Language Evolution

There are Kapampangan words that share the same spelling as of the Tagalog but have different accent, meanings, and contexts. However, these Tagalog turned Kapampangan vocabularies have been embraced by the Kapampangans and utilized over time, adopting their Tagalog meaning instead of the Kapampangan. This evolution of Kapampangan vocabularies may be attributed to the popularity and widespread use of Tagalog in the country. Table 4 presents words which shared the same spelling with the Tagalog but having different meaning with the Kapampangans: *kalma*, which means “fate” to the Kapampangans but “relax” in tagalog; *ipis*, originally meaning “deck of cards,” now means “cockroach”; *batas*, referring to a “shortcut passageway,” now means “law”; the *damag*, originally “heavy,” now means “overnight”; *para*, previously “equal,” now means “to stop”; *gubat* which used to mean “clear the field,” now means “forest”, *likas* meaning transfer became “natural,” *lolo* meaning “to court” became “grandfather,” and *uling* which means “because” became “charcoal.” Speakers of these hybrid words don't even know that they have a different meaning from the ancient Kapampangan word. Iconicity, the similarity between a word's form and

its meaning, influences behavior in both the development of communicative symbols and language learning experiments (Monaghan & Roberts, 2021).

Table 4. Shared Spelling with Divergent meaning

Kapampangan	Meaning	Meaning in Tagalog
<i>Kalma</i>	Fate	Relax
<i>Ipis</i>	deck cards	Cocroach
<i>Batas</i>	short cut	Law
<i>Damag</i>	Heavy	overnight
<i>Para</i>	Equal	To stop something
<i>Gubat</i>	Clear the field	Forest
<i>Likas</i>	transfer	natural
<i>Lolo</i>	To court	Grandfather
<i>Uling</i>	Because	Charcoal

3.4. Articulatory Reduction

As might be expected, most sound changes have a physiological basis. Since such sound changes typically result in articulatory simplification, they have traditionally been related to the idea of ‘ease of articulation’. Although this notion is difficult to define precisely, we can readily identify cases of articulatory simplification in our everyday speech, such as the deletion of a consonant in a complex cluster or, in some dialects, the insertion of a vowel to break up a complex cluster. Table 5 presents a collection of words with gradual phonological reduction: The Kapampangan word *ating* meaning “older sister” in English became *ati* (“ng” was removed). The word *maugtu* meaning “lunch” became *magtu* (“u” was removed). The word *intud/intud* meaning “knee” became *tud* (the “in” and “im” were removed). The word *ulunan* meaning “pillow” became *ulun* (“an” was removed). The word *ubingan* meaning “snake” became *bingan* (“u” was removed). The word *babagwa* meaning “spider” became *bagwa* (“ba” was removed). The word *kampusantu* meaning “cemetery” became *kabusantu* (“mp” was removed and replaced with “b”). The word *laulta* meaning

“farmer” became *lauta* (“l” was removed). The word *dayatan* meaning “fields” became *dayat* (“an” was removed). The word *nanu* meaning “what” became *nan* (“u” was removed). The word *nanang* meaning “auntie” became *nang* (“na” was removed). The word *malilyu* meaning “dizzy” became *malyu* (“li” was removed). The word *mangwas* meaning “to wash” became *manwas* (“g” was removed). The word *siknangan* meaning “strong” became *sikanan* (“n” was removed). The word *kinangwa* meaning “taken” became *kinanwa* (“g” was removed). The word *panenayan* meaning “wait” became *panayan* (“ne” was removed) and *panan* (“ya” was removed). The word *magsalibatbat* meaning “flagellant” became *magsalbat* (“ibat” was removed). The word *bungsul* meaning “fainting” became *bunsul* (“g” was removed). The word *ali* meaning “no” became *e* (“al” was removed and “i” was replaced with “e”). The word *almusal* meaning “breakfast” became *amusal* (“l” was removed). The word *midinan* meaning “will have” became *midyan* (“n” was removed). The word *atin* meaning “there is” became *tin* (“a” was removed). The word *menigsu* meaning “almost” became *migsu* (“ni” was removed). The word *lugal* meaning “place” became *ugal* (“l” was removed). The word *datukanan* meaning “container” became *dukanan* (“at” was removed). The word *Pakiramdaman* meaning “listen” became *Pakramdaman* (“i” was removed). The word *Biringhi* meaning “Paella style kapampangan dish” became *Bringi* (“h” was removed).

Table 5. Gradual Phonological Reduction

	From	To
Big/older Sister	<i>Ating</i>	<i>ati</i>
Lunch	<i>Maugtu</i>	<i>magtu</i>
Knee	<i>Intud/ imtud</i>	<i>tud</i>
Pillow	<i>Ulunan</i>	<i>ulun</i>
Snake	<i>Ubingan</i>	<i>bingan</i>
Spider	<i>Babagwa</i>	<i>bagwa</i>
Cemetery	<i>Kampusantu</i>	<i>kabusantu</i>
Field	<i>Laulta</i>	<i>lauta</i>
Field	<i>Dayatan</i>	<i>dayat</i>

What	<i>Nanu</i>	<i>nan</i>
Auntie	<i>Nanang</i>	<i>nang</i>
Dizzy	<i>Malilyu</i>	<i>malyu</i>
Wash	<i>Mangwas</i>	<i>manwas</i>
Strong	<i>siknangan</i>	<i>Sikanan</i>
taken	<i>Kinangwa</i>	<i>kinanwa</i>
wait	<i>Panenayan</i>	<i>Panayan and panan</i>
Flagellant	<i>Magsalibatbat</i>	<i>magsalbat</i>
Fainting	<i>bungsul</i>	<i>bunsul</i>
No	<i>Ali</i>	<i>e</i>
Breakfast	<i>Almusal</i>	<i>amusal</i>
Will have	<i>Midinan</i>	<i>midyan</i>
There is	<i>Atin</i>	<i>tin</i>
Almost	<i>Menigsu</i>	<i>migsu</i>
Place	<i>Lugal</i>	<i>ugal</i>
container	<i>Datukanan</i>	<i>dukanan</i>
listen	<i>Pakiramdaman</i>	<i>Pakramdaman</i>
Paella style kapampangan dish	<i>Biringhi</i>	<i>Bringi</i>

3.5. The Endangered Vocabularies

Although Kapampangan is considered one of the major languages spoken in the Philippines, some of its vocabulary is threatened because certain Kapampangan words are only known by the elders and are unfortunately not familiar to the younger generations in the Kapampangan-speaking region. One reason is that these words were not transferred because they were not used regularly in everyday conversation, or they have other variations that are easier to use. The following are examples of such words: *karinan* meaning "place afar," *galgau* meaning "scared," *pakipamuk* meaning "appoint," *alino* meaning "shadow," *mekad* meaning "maybe" or "probably," *paldas* meaning "mourning," *pantok* meaning "struggle," *malumpawi* meaning "diminish," *dapu* meaning "crocodile," *manalwagi* meaning "carpenter," *alisus* meaning "tornado," *malinatnat* meaning "smoothness," *buntalag* meaning "expose" or "display," *lanubo* meaning "a shoot" or "a new growth," *paum* meaning "peaceful" which is the same as with *maum*, *mipakde* (become scared), *serga* meaning "rope," *salapong* (splits into two), *pulu* meaning "forest," *intud* meaning "knee," *tayag* meaning "to lift" or "to raise," *takde* meaning "arm," *pinanari* (rainbow), *bunanari* meaning "rainbow," *taldawa* meaning "farther out space," *aklis* meaning "cry," *panagimpan* meaning "dream," *tagimpan* meaning "daydream," *wakat* meaning "roots," *sapala* meaning "rude," *labwad* meaning "earth," *makipatlalu* meaning "to race," *batyo* meaning "to look," *abitasa* meaning "surely," *lalid* (single file), *gulud* meaning "cliff," *puroso* meaning "dull," *guyabnan* meaning "railings," *apisan* meaning "to touch gently," *dikil* (to be assigned to someone), *impun* meaning "tree," *kulodyung* meaning "acacia," *salbat* (anguish, grief, affliction), *subali* meaning "except," *balaus* meaning "continue," *pusitara* meaning "elope," and the word *pinang* meaning "G string." These words were seldom used by the Kapampangans, and because of this, they will tend to be forgotten and not known by the next generation.

Table 6. Lexical entities at risk of obsolescence

Kapampangan	English	Kapampangan	English
<i>Karinan</i>	place a far	<i>Taldawa</i>	farther out space
<i>Galgau</i>	Scared	<i>Aklis</i>	Cry
<i>pakipamuk</i>	apoint	<i>Panagimpan</i>	Dream
<i>Alino</i>	Shadow	<i>tagimpan</i>	Day dream
<i>Mekad</i>	maybe, probably	<i>Wakat</i>	roots
<i>paldas</i>	mourning	<i>Sapala</i>	Rude

<i>Pantoc</i>	Struggle	<i>Labwad</i>	Earth
<i>malumpawi</i>	diminished	<i>Makipatlalu</i>	To race
<i>Dapu</i>	crocodile	<i>Batyo</i>	To look
<i>Manalwagi</i>	carpenter	<i>Abitasa</i>	surely
<i>Alisus</i>	tornado	<i>Lalid</i>	single file
<i>Malinatnat</i>	Smoothness	<i>Gulud</i>	clif
<i>Buntalag</i>	expose or display	<i>Puroso</i>	dull
<i>lanubo</i>	a shoot, a new growth	<i>Guyabnan</i>	railings
<i>Paum, maum</i>	peaceful	<i>Apisan</i>	To touch gently
<i>mipakde</i>	Become scared	<i>Dikil</i>	to be assigned to someone
<i>Serga</i>	rope	<i>Impun</i>	tree
<i>Salapong</i>	splits into two	<i>Kulodyung</i>	akasya
<i>Pulu</i>	Forest	<i>Salbat</i>	Anguish, grief, affliction
<i>Intud</i>	knee	<i>Subali</i>	Except
<i>Tayag</i>	To lift, to raise	<i>balaus</i>	continue
<i>Takde</i>	Arm	<i>Pinang</i>	G string
<i>pinanari / bunanari</i>	rainbow	<i>Pusitara</i>	elope

3.6. Lost Vocabularies

Randomly, the researcher selected archaic words from the available old dictionaries and other historical texts. These words were then presented to the elders to see if they had any idea of their meanings. Unfortunately, the informants were unable to provide the meanings, even when the words were used in sentences. Some unfamiliar collected words are shown in Table 7. The words include *dapu berdi* meaning “dragonfly,” *subyang* meaning “an obstacle,” *tumuru* meaning “go to,” *pinduan* meaning “diverse” or “different kinds,” *sanak* meaning “deprive another of his possessions,” *lauit* meaning “more than or beyond,” *bulanggo* or *bulanggao* meaning “reddish,” *kasanawan/nauang* meaning “deformed” or “ugly,” *kabas* meaning “the same,” *kaustan* meaning “certificate,” *pinang* meaning “g-string,” *labwad* meaning “earth,” *katikút* meaning “folded,” *panagano* meaning “dedication,” *paralaya* meaning “east,” *mauli/mawli* meaning “south,” *tanak* meaning “pure,” *mitigho* meaning “became easy,” *lualta* meaning “farmer,” *talugigi* meaning “preface,” *katig* meaning “bamboos fastened to the sides of a boat,” *tanak* meaning “pure” or “refined,” *manalingting* meaning “examination,” *aun* meaning “pit,” “hole,” “burial,” or “place,” *sintang* meaning “to break into pieces,” *dawak* meaning “evil,” *pangati* meaning “downcast,” *mausta* meaning “clear,” *alti* meaning “thunder,” *minaktong* meaning “dirty old man,” *kausukan* meaning “sermon,” *pangulu* meaning “north,” *paroba* meaning “west,” *sipan* meaning “toothbrush,” and *tulari* meaning “waterfalls.”

Table 7. Lost Vocabularies in Modern Language

<i>Dapu Berdi - dragon fly</i>	<i>Lualta - farmer</i>
<i>Subyang - an obstacle</i>	<i>Talugigi - preface</i>
<i>Tumuru - go to</i>	<i>Katig- bamboos fastened to the sides of a boat</i>
<i>Pinduan- diverse, different kinds</i>	<i>Tanak - pure, refined</i>
<i>Sanak- deprive another of his possessions</i>	<i>Manalingting - examination</i>
<i>Lauit- more than or beyond</i>	<i>Aun - pit, hole, burial place</i>
<i>Bulanggo or Bulanggao-Reddish</i>	<i>Sintang - to break into pieces</i>
<i>Kasanawan or Nauang- deformed, ugly</i>	<i>Dawac - evil</i>

<i>Cabas - the same</i>	<i>Pangati - downcast</i>
<i>Kaustan - Certificate</i>	<i>Mausta-clear</i>
<i>Labwad - earth</i>	<i>Alti - Thunder</i>
<i>Katikút - folded</i>	<i>Tulari - waterfalls</i>
<i>Panagano - dedication</i>	<i>Minaktong - Dirty old Man</i>
<i>Paralaya - East</i>	<i>Kausukan - Sermon</i>
<i>Mauli or mawli - South</i>	<i>Pangulu - North</i>
<i>Tanak - pure</i>	<i>paroba- west</i>
<i>Mitigho - became easy</i>	<i>Sipan - Toothbrush</i>
<i>Kapatangan - cut off</i>	

4. Causes of Kapampangan language change

4.1. Exposure and mindset

During the interviews with the informants, it was apparent that vocabulary related to carpentry, fisheries, farming, and other fields was not known to the younger generations, especially those living in highly urbanized cities such as Angeles, San Fernando, Mabalacat, and Tarlac, where these skills are not really present. This makes sense because how can one be knowledgeable about something when it is not available in the area where they live? Additionally, it was noted that women generally have knowledge about certain “gentlemen’s things” and how they work, such as skills and parts of specific materials in woodworking, farming, and carpentry. However, they could not clearly identify their names. Examples include the parts of a *gareta* (carabao carriage), *kalesa* (horse carriage), mechanical tools, and others, which typically involve men as the workers. This observation suggests that gender roles probably affect the identification of these words. It is also evident that exposure is important so that Kapampangans do not forget vocabulary inherently theirs.

It was also observed that the new generation of Kapampangans, especially those from below-average income families, no longer likes to work in the fields (rice, sugarcane, fisheries). They would rather pursue careers in carpentry, work as laborers

in firms and factories, or take up jobs as welders, house painters, and other skilled positions. Others prefer blue-collar jobs, such as staff positions in offices, malls, call centers, and similar establishments in nearby cities. This mentality of ignoring what they are supposed to inherit (specifically farming jobs) may affect the transfer of vocabulary to the next generation.

The mindset of middle-aged Kapampangans, where fluency in English and/or Tagalog is deemed superior to proficiency in the Kapampangan language is significant and influential. Due to how older people perceive the language their children are often taught to speak English or Tagalog instead of their native language at home. This belief leads Kapampangans in general to think that speaking these languages fluently will make them appear more intelligent among their friends and relatives, and to people around them. As a result, elders and parents alike communicate with their grandchildren and children in English and Tagalog instead of Kapampangan. Elderly informants revealed that some children can understand Kapampangan because they hear their elders using the language; however, they struggle to speak Kapampangan themselves. In addition, children prefer to watch English movies and enjoy listening to music composed by foreign artists. Few local television stations use the local language; if they do, they often mix Kapampangan with Tagalog and English with their Kapampangan reporting. The aforementioned predicament is a manifestation of a hindrance to the preservation of Kapampangan vocabularies.

4.2. Policies

A strong language policy and guidelines for safeguarding local languages in the country is actually needed to protect and preserve them. However, Filipino/Tagalog and English are widely used as mediums of instruction in schools because of policies being imposed by the Department of Education (DepEd) and the Commission on Higher Education (CHED), this mandates suppresses Kapampangan language, and the use of these languages promotes the adoption of words or phrases.

Political factors may also influence the vocabulary shifts of the Kapampangan language. In local government offices, for instance, their posters, memoranda, certificates, and other pertinent documents are written in English, with nothing written in the local language. Based on observation, employees in the Local Government Units (LGUs) use three languages: Kapampangan, Tagalog, and English.

There are also few activities or programs intended for the preservation of the Kapampangan language, such as the creation of literary contests in Kapampangan arts (poetry, short stories, plays, etc.). These are rarely seen and sometimes removed from local programs, and are not celebrated or appreciated in the province. Instead, there is a preference for dance (festival, modern, hip-hop) and singing contests in Tagalog or English, probably due to the lack of Kapampangan songs suitable for singing contests. Additionally, the hosts or masters of ceremonies at events often use either English or Filipino/Tagalog instead of the local language.

4.3. Technological Innovations, Industrialization and Modernization

The old ways of farming were upgraded due to the rapid innovation in technology and industrialization. The old farming practices were replaced due to modernization, and they are no longer in use. Because of this, some words were replaced by new ones and eventually became weak, known only to the elders. This innovation affects Kapampangan language since the region is a farming region; one example of this is the *gareta* (carabao carriage) which has been replaced by trucks, and manual labor in agriculture has been substituted with large-scale machinery.

Adding to this, call center industries have proliferated rapidly, attracting college graduates to work as representatives. They prefer to use the language spoken in their company, which is English, even when they are at home.

Malls are sprouting like mushrooms in the progressive cities of the province, such as in San Fernando City, Mexico, Clark Field, Angeles City, and Tarlac City. Despite having few staff and employees from non-Kapampangan speaking provinces, they may still influence the use of the Kapampangan language.

Many fields have been converted into government housing projects and private subdivisions, attracting non Kapampangan tenants from nearby provinces who intend to work in the cities.

The introduction of new concepts and terminologies due to technological advancements significantly influences the language. The development of new words on the World Wide Web, such as “digital,” “email,” “websites,” “search engines,” and “app,” has had a similar impact. In the Philippine setting, due to the rapid growth of social media, words such as *eme* (just nothing), *charot* (just kidding), *amp* (amputcha), *sana all* (hope it would be for all), *mie* (short cut for mommy), *charis* (actually a name of a popular singer but it became an expression), and many more have developed and become popular expressions among the people; these expressions were previously absent from the lexicon of earlier generations. Unfortunately, innovation in technology often leads to the obsolescence of some native vocabulary because it is no longer relevant in the current setting. It adapts and acquires some popular vocabulary to give new meaning in the context of technology. The globalization of technological terms, particularly in the digital age, can result in the gradual replacement of native words with loanwords or translations. Furthermore, technological integration into daily life may lead to the evolution of language skills, including digital literacy.

5. Conclusions

Contact with different languages, cultures, and the proximity to Tagalog-speaking provinces affects the Kapampangan language, despite it being one of the major languages of the Philippines. The younger generation has adopted and assimilated Tagalog words, along with significant phonological shifts.

The Tagalog population is larger and outnumbers the Kapampangans; similarly, the close geographical proximity of the Kapampangans to the Tagalog-speaking

provinces such as Bataan, Bulacan, and Nueva Ecija significantly influences the Kapampangan language, leading to linguistic erosion within the Kapampangan linguistic context, with some phrases bearing resemblance to Tagalog lexicons.

One of the factors responsible for the evolution of the Kapampangan language is its interaction with other languages in earlier eras. Throughout the Spanish 300-year rule in the Philippines, they unintentionally introduced a multitude of words, terms (such as *bangko*, *lamesa*, *empanada*, and others), and cultural elements (such as Catholicity, feast day celebrations, and other rituals) to the Filipinos. On the other hand, the English language, introduced by the Americans, is now widely used in all government offices, non-governmental organizations, private offices, educational institutions, etc. The gradual obliteration of the Kapampangan language may also be attributed to the use of both English and Filipino as the primary medium of instruction in educational institutions; similarly, books written in these languages are also used in schools. Additionally, different government documents such as memoranda, contracts, and other related records such as public announcements, street signs and notices are also written in English and Filipino.

The younger generations' use of the Kapampangan language illustrates both linguistic assimilation and phonological evolution, where sounds change for ease of articulation. They showed a tendency to assimilate Tagalog terminology into their speech and adapt it to meet Kapampangan phonological patterns.

The mentality of some Kapampangans that their own language is less important compared to Tagalog and English is further reinforced by the influence of social media and technology. The younger generation's growing interest in creating content in English to reach a broader international audience contributes to this belief. This is reflected in their code-mixing of words with Tagalog and English during conversations, similar to how they teach their children to use these languages (Tagalog and English) in their everyday conversations.

This study highlights the vulnerability of certain Kapampangan words, particularly those that have become obsolete in everyday conversations and traditional practices.

In traditional fields such as farming, carpentry, and fisheries, Kapampangan vocabularies are gradually weakening and nearing eventual extinction. These are merely the results of modernization and industrialization. This phenomenon is largely linked to shifting societal perspectives toward traditional practices, alongside the influence of technological advancement and innovation.

The Kapampangan language, with its diversity and ability to adapt, has seen some words being reborn, finding a space in the vocabulary of the youth, while others have been absorbed and hybridized with Tagalog, reflecting Kapampangan's continuous growth and evolution.

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